VOLUME ONE

I.B.TAURIS

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

The Age of the Steppe Warriors

CHRISTOPH BAUMER

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME ONE

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

The Age of the Steppe Warriors

CHRISTOPH BAUMER

I.B.TAURIS
LONDON • NEW YORK • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

I.B. TAURIS
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA

BLOOMSBURY, I.B. TAURIS and the I.B. Tauris logo are trademarks
of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2012
Reprinted 2016, 2019

Copyright © 2012 Christoph Baumer
Translated by Miranda Bennett

Christoph Baumer has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents
Act, 1988, to be identified as Author of this work.

Photographs © Christoph Baumer 2012
Designed by Christopher Bromley

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for, any third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given in this book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher regret any inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have ceased to exist, but can accept no responsibility for any such changes.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN: 978-1-7883-1351-3 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)
HB: 978-1-7807-6060-5
ePDF: 978-1-8386-0868-2 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.

Contents

Introduction 1

I. Geography, Climate and Prehuman History of Central Asia 3

1. On the definition of Central Asia 4

Excursus: *The dinosaur hunter Roy Chapman Andrews* 8

2. The interdependence of geography, climate and history 11

3. The factors determining climate 17

Excursus: *Hominin or hominid?* 17

II. The Settlement of Central Asia in the Palaeolithic 19

1. 'Out-of-Africa' or 'Out-of-Asia'? 20

2. The earliest settlements of Central Asia 22

2.1 Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens* – supersession or interbreeding? 24

3. The birth of art 28

4. The bow – a 12,000-year-old success story 35

III. A Global Climatic Warming Ushers in the Mesolithic 39

1. The retreat of the glaciers 40

2. Petroglyphs as information sources 40

Excursus: *The petroglyphs of Tsagaan Salaa and Baga Oigor, Mongolia* 42

3. Microliths 47

IV. The Economic Revolution of the Neolithic 49

1. The primary and secondary Neolithic revolutions 50

2. Hunters and gatherers in the mountains and along the waterways of inner Central Asia 50

3. Agriculture and early settlements in southern Central Asia 52
4. The northern steppes of Central Asia – meeting point of hunters and herders with farmers 55

V. The Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age 57
1. The division of early history and the beginnings of metallurgy 58
2. An initial proto-urban development 60
  Excursus: *The pioneer Raphael Pumpelly in Anau* 61
3. The first cities of Central Asia in southern Turkmenistan 65
  Excursus: *The Indus Valley Civilisation, trade partner of Central Asia in the early Bronze Age* 76
4. Agrarian and stockbreeding cultures in northern Central Asia 78
  4.1 The cultures of Cucuteni–Tripolye and Usatovo 78
  4.2 Early stockbreeding cultures 82
  4.3 The emergence of horse riding 84
  4.4 The invention of wheel and wagon 87
  4.5 The culture of Maikop 92
  4.6 The Yamnaya–Afanasievo Cultural Complex 95
  4.7 Sun deities and horse sacrifices 98

VI. The Middle and Late Bronze Age 101
1. The Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex BMAC 104
  1.1 The BMAC Culture of Margiana 106
  Excursus: *Lord and Mistress of animals* 110
  1.2 The BMAC Culture of Bactria 114
2. Indo-European mummies in north-western China 122
  2.1 The origins of metallurgy in China 122
  2.2 The Ayala Mazar–Xiaohe Culture 123
  2.3 The wheel, the horse and fertility rites 134
3. The steppes of Central Asia: 'origin' of the Indo–European languages? 135
4. Mysterious stone steles of the Okunev Culture in Khakassia 137

Excursus: *Cultures of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age in the Minusinsk Basin* 139
5. From the Volga to the Yenisei: homeland of the Indo–Iranians? 139
5.1 Cultures west of the Urals 140
5.2 Cultures east of the Urals: The Andronovo complex 141
5.2.1 The culture of Sintashta – fortified circular settlements and chariot burials 141
5.2.2 Alakul and Fyodorovo 149
6. Karasuk and the cultures of Khirigsuurs and Slab Graves during the transition to the Iron Age 151
6.1 Deer stones: flying deer as companions in the afterlife? 157

VII. The Iron Age 165
1. Nomadic horsemen in north-eastern Central Asia 169
1.1 The kurgan steppe of Minusinsk 169
1.2 Herodotus's geography of Central Asian peoples 172
1.3 Tuva, nucleus of the Scythian peoples and the Scytho-Siberian animal style 175
Excursus: *The Siberian collection of Tsar Peter the Great* 180
1.4 The ice kurgans of the Altai 186
1.5 Stockbreeding cultures of north-eastern Kazakhstan and the western Siberian forest steppe 195
1.6 Achaemenid invasions in the territory of the Saka: The beginning of a 2,500-year-long conflict between nomadic horse-riding peoples and states of settled societies 198
Excursus: *Zoroastrianism and its symbol, Faravahar* 204
1.7 Nomadic and settled cultures between the 'Land of Seven Rivers' and Choresmia 205
1.8 Mountain, steppe and desert stockbreeders between the Pamirs and Altyn Tagh 209
1.8.1 Fergana and the Pamirs 209
1.8.2 The Chinese Altai and regions north of the Tian Shan Mountains 211
1.8.3 Oasis cultures south of the Tian Shan Mountains 216
2. Nomadic riding peoples on the north-western periphery of Central Asia 224
2.1 Cimmerians and early Scythians 224
2.2 Scythians in the Kuban region 229
2.3 The Pontic Scythians 233
2.3.1 The Scythian pantheon 235

2.3.2 War and burial customs 237
Excursus: *Olbia and the Bosporan Kingdom* 239
2.3.3 Chronology of the Scythian kings 244
2.3.4 Greek influences on Scythian toreutics and grave architecture 249
2.4 Sarmatians, Alans and Amazons 253
2.4.1 Sauromatians and early Sarmatians between the Volga and the Ustyurt Plateau 254
2.4.2 Sarmatians and Alans on the Black Sea and in the Roman Empire 256
2.4.3 Military innovations 262
Excursus: *The Amazons – myth and reality* 264
2.4.4 The polychrome animal style 267

VIII. Greeks in Central Asia 271
1. The campaign of Alexander the Great 275
2. The Greco–Bactrian Kingdom 283
3. Bactrian art of the steppe, Hellenism and Zoroastrianism 291
3.1 The golden treasure of Tillya Tepe 291
3.2 Aï Khanum – a Greek city in northern Afghanistan 296
Excursus: *The Oxus treasure* 298
3.3 The Oxus temple 300

IX. Outlook 303

Appendix 308
The most important prehistoric and early historic cultures of Central Asia

Notes 311

Bibliography 335

List of Maps 355

Photo Credits 357

Acknowledgements 359

Index 361

Concepts 361

People 367

Places 369

Horse race at the winter Naadam festivity, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, northern China.

Introduction

We must welcome the future, remembering that soon it will be the past; and we must respect the past, remembering that it was once all that was humanly possible.

ADAPTED FROM **GEORGE SANTAYANA** (1863–1952)

Central Asia is a region of superlatives and extremes. In a huge, though mostly sparsely populated area of about 10 million km^2 hundreds of languages have developed and manifold cultures have blossomed. Because of its great distance from seas and oceans, Central Asia has a distinctive continental climate with often bitterly cold winters and torrid summer heat, and water shortages prevail in large regions – when water is available at all. Sudden climatic, ecological or tectonic events sometimes forced people to repeatedly take drastic action – such as developing new economic systems or leaving their homelands.

For these reasons life in Central Asia has often focused on survival, which has facilitated the discovery of vital technologies in such areas as metallurgy, transportation, trade and warfare. The people understood that they had to adapt themselves to challenging conditions and lived as hunters, gatherers, fishermen, settled or nomadic cattle breeders, farmers or specialised artisans. In southern Central Asia there developed very early proto-urban cultures and trade networks, which enabled contacts and the exchange of goods between widely distant cultures, such as Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley Civilisation in modern-day Pakistan, and China. The mobility necessary for life in large stretches of Central Asia clearly fostered the early trade in certain raw materials; long before the Silk Roads, there were jade, lapis lazuli and tin roads.

The attraction of Central Asian raw materials for the wealthy economic powers at the periphery of the Eurasian continent has not changed in the twenty-first century. On the contrary, natural gas and petroleum have taken the place of silk, and existing and planned pipelines, which connect the vast gas and petroleum reserves of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Siberia to the energy-hungry economies of China and Western Europe, are modern-day Silk Roads.

We use the word ‘culture’ to describe those activities and achievements by people that can be of a material, spiritual, ethical, religious or political nature. A specific cluster of such activities forms a culture and sets it apart from other cultures for a certain time span. Cultures are often connected to a particular territory, which, depending on the dynamic of the culture’s representatives at a given time, can expand or contract. Cultures tend to develop, to varying degrees, an ability to shape other cultures or to be influenced by them. Cultures are time-bound entities that go through several stages of development.[1]

In the case of the cultural history of Central Asia, however, the availability of sources for the pre-Christian era is inversely proportional to the territorial expanse and cultural riches of the area under study, as the peoples of that time did little or no writing. Thus, before the military expansion of powerful literate cultures such as Achaemenid Iran, China, the Northern-Indian Kushan or the Greek Macedonians, Central Asia resembles a prehistoric world. The only written sources come from the periphery of Central Asia. Among the most instructive are the ‘Histories’ of Herodotus (*ca.* 484–*ca.* 425 BC), the Greek reports of the campaigns of Alexander the Great in Sogdia and Bactria, the ‘Shiji’ chronicle of the Chinese historian Sima Qian (*ca.* 145–*ca.* 87 BC), and the ‘Han Shu’, the annals of the Western Han Dynasty (202 BC–9 AD) from the first century AD.[2] To these are added a few stone inscriptions from the realm of the Iranian Achaemenids. The Scythians, who lived north of the Black Sea, were in contact with Macedonia, the Bosporan Kingdom and Rome. Hence we are better informed about the Scythian culture than most other Central Asian cultures. Otherwise, the attempt at a reconstruction of the pre-Christian history of Central Asia is founded mainly on archaeological, ecological and linguistic evidence.

Among the most relevant archaeological sources are burial sites. Graves are sacred sites for nearly all cultures, as here the fundamental vulnerability of the human being to his inherent transience reveals itself abruptly and inescapably. Confrontation with the death of compatriots turns one’s attention to one’s own mortality and encourages, as a counterweight, ideas of some kind of survival after death and belief in supernatural powers, whether benevolent or threatening towards humanity. Insofar as members of a social group share these hopes and beliefs, they orient themselves to common ideals that give rise to normalised patterns related to death, such as burial ceremonies. Burial rites reveal not only the efforts to ensure the deceased have a smooth transition to the afterlife and thus the realm of the ancestors, but also the hope of remaining in contact with them and being watched over by them as guardians. Furthermore, these rituals express the hope of holding onto consciousness and continuing some mode of existence after one's own death. At the same time, the awareness of their own finite existence forces people to fashion their temporal lives with this in mind.

For these reasons, burial rites took on a culture-creating function, in that they motivated the living to consider and define their own responsibilities in this life. In the end, culture arises considerably from the conflict with death within the framework of burial and memorial rites, as well as from reflection on the unanswerable question of existence after death. In this sense the culture and society of the living are founded also in the world of the dead. The culture of the Egyptian pharaohs, with their elaborate death rites and enormous graves, which were undertaken even during the lifetime of the ruler, offers an outstanding example of this.

A second source for finding out the cognitive, emotional or spiritual life of a culture without written sources is its works of art, whether sacred or profane. These include two-dimensional works, such as cave painting and petroglyphs, and later murals and tapestries, as well as three-dimensional, figurative objects. In artworks the artist expresses particular values, hopes and fears, which are shared by a specific community, so they enable inferences to be made about the culture. Artworks are the most valuable 'books' of pre-literate cultures.

Regarding the timeframe under consideration, the intention of this four-volume work is to provide a well-grounded overview of the entire history of Central Asia, from the beginning of prehuman life to the twenty-first century present. Details and nuances can undoubtedly be lost, but a comprehensive view that does not content itself with the listing of events in a chronicle is able to reveal long-term trends and complex, interdisciplinary connections. The alternative to the aforementioned approach would be to entrust each chapter to a specialist as editor. The result would presumably be, as in the case of the seven-volume *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*,[3] produced by UNESCO, a lovely mosaic but not a complete, overarching picture. Admittedly, no work of history can be definitive, since history marches forward and new discoveries bring to light previously unknown facts and refine interpretation – each cultural history can only, like nomads, mark out a stage of the journey.

I

Geography, Climate and Prehuman History of Central Asia

Geography is the basis of history. It appears that the changes of climate have caused corresponding changes not only in the distribution of man, but in his occupations, habits, and even character. The climatic changes have been one of the greatest factors in determining the course of human progress.

ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, *THE PULSE OF ASIA*, 1907[1]

1. On the definition of Central Asia

The region of 'Central Asia' is shrouded in an aura of mystery. As much as it evokes dramatic images of endless steppes, life-threatening deserts, fierce horsemen and transcontinental Silk Roads, it tends to defy hard-and-fast analysis. The first person to use the term 'Central Asia' was the German explorer and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) after returning from his research expedition of 1829. During this journey, at the behest of Tsar Nicholas I, he crossed Russia from St Petersburg in the west all the way to the Altai Mountains and the Chinese border[2] in the east. He was the first to recognise that Central Asia constituted a discrete entity within the Eurasian continent. The immense distance covered by Humboldt – the Russian-Chinese border is about 4,000 km from St Petersburg – gives a sense of how difficult it is to define Central Asia. It is as if one wanted to stake out a border in a borderless region.

One may attempt to define Central Asia in geographic, ethnic, economic-cultural or linguistic terms. In the linguistic sense it may be understood as the homeland of three great language families, namely Indo-European,[3] Altaic, and Uralic.

The Indo-European language family rapidly broke out of the bounds of Central Asia, developing into the Celtic languages in Western Europe, Hittite in Anatolia and proto-Tocharian in what is today north-western China, to name but a few. Speakers of the Iranian languages, especially the eastern Iranian subfamily, such as the equestrian nomadic Scythians, Sauromatians, Sarmatians and Alans in western Central Asia and the Saka in the east, played an important role until the first centuries of the Common Era.

From the sixth century AD, peoples of the Altaic language family shaped the history of Central Asia, beginning with the Turkic peoples and then, from the early thirteenth century, the Mongols. However, speakers of the Tungusic languages, which likewise belong to the Altaic language family, lived mostly in eastern Siberia and Manchuria and thus outside of Central Asia.

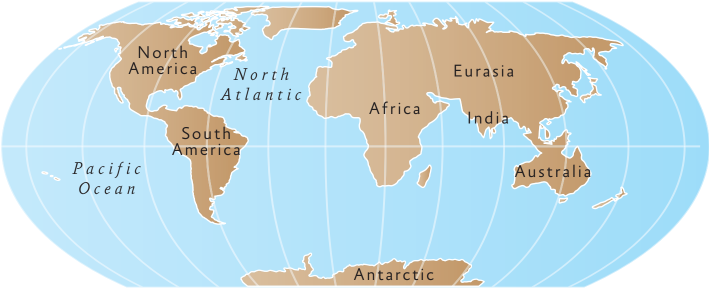
Finally, the presumed home of the Uralic language family lies in northern Eurasia, in the heart of the Urals. Within the largest, Finno-Ugric, language group, the Magyars were present in Eurasia before being driven from their then-homeland north of the Black Sea by the Turkic Pechenegs and fleeing to present-day Hungary. In summary, linguistic criteria are today inadequate to delimit Central Asia.

Economic-cultural aspects are also inadequate when it comes to delimiting the region of Central Asia. Large swaths of the Central Asian steppe belt were indeed home to stockbreeding peoples for millennia. Whether settled or, more commonly, mobile, these people developed their own individual cultures. The system of the semi-mobile livestock-raising economy began to develop first at the start of the third millennium BC in the heart of Eurasia as an adaptation to changing climatic and ecological conditions and does not represent an independent characteristic of Central Asia. In addition, agriculture began to advance in certain steppe and desert regions, thanks to irrigation systems along rivers.

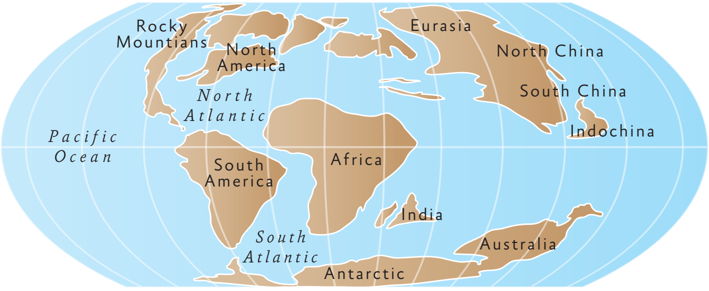
It is geographic and ethnic factors that most accurately define Central Asia. Such a combination suggests itself because history deals not only with the cultural, economic, socio-political and military phenomena within a given geographic area. History, of course, also concerns the peoples who live there. These communities prospered, either within their ancestral lands or, having left them, in new homes at or even beyond Central Asia's peripheries, which they infiltrated, occupied, and enriched with their own cultures. On account of the economically driven mobility of many Central Asian cultures, such as the Scythians, the Turkic peoples, and the Mongols, the phenomenon of migration runs through the history of Central Asia as a leitmotif. The geographic permeability of the relatively flat steppe belt, stretching over 4,400 km on the east–west axis from the Mongolian Altai to the Danube basin without significant mountain or water obstacles, has for millennia invited the migration of peoples. The reverse migration of people and cultures from the fringes to the centre also occurred, if more rarely and often as part of a strategy developed for economic and military reasons. Among these were the campaigns of Alexander the Great to the east, the offensives of the Chinese Han and Tang Dynasties to Central Asia and into Mongolia, and the annexation of large parts of Central Asia by tsarist Russia in the nineteenth century. The history of the Eurasian continent resembles a pulsing interaction between Central Asia and the peripheries in west, east and south, so the cultural borders of Central Asia shifted frequently over the course of history. These permanent interactions of peoples, languages, cultures and states caused Central Asia to become a unique 'palimpsest of cultures'.[4]

In order to lend these naturally unstable borders a fixed framework it is best to give priority to geographic aspects. As with culture and language, Central Asia is geographically defined in different ways. In the political context, the term designates the five one-time Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – a region that extends over 4 million km^2 and is home to 62 million people.[5] UNESCO uses a much broader definition, including in Central Asia all the countries and regions between the

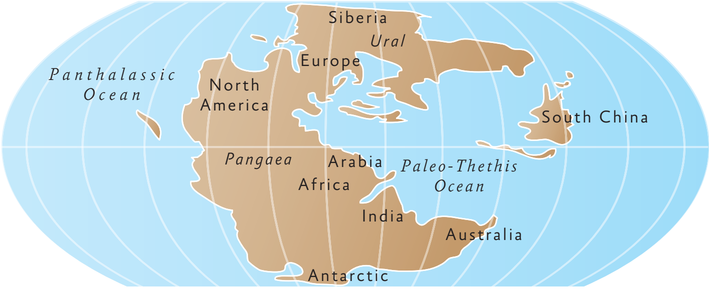
The continental drift from the Carboniferous to a future position in 50 million years


North America
North Atlantic
Eurasia
Africa
India
South America
Pacific Ocean
Australia
Antarctic

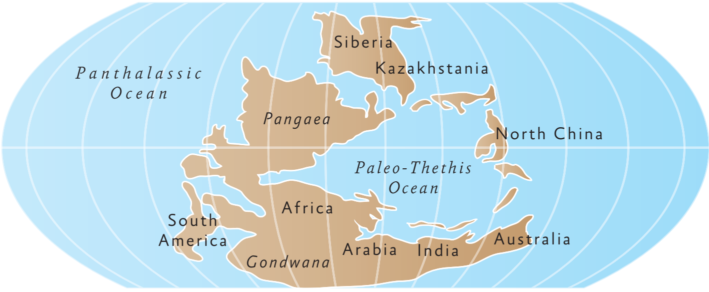
Future Quaternary (In *ca.* 50 million years) – Africa will have fused with Eurasia forming a new northern supercontinent; the Mediterranean Sea has disappeared and is replaced by a new mountain range and South America drifts into the northern hemisphere.


Rocky Mountians
North America
Eurasia
North China
South China
North Atlantic
Indochina
Pacific Ocean
South America
Africa
India
South Atlantic
Australia
Antarctic

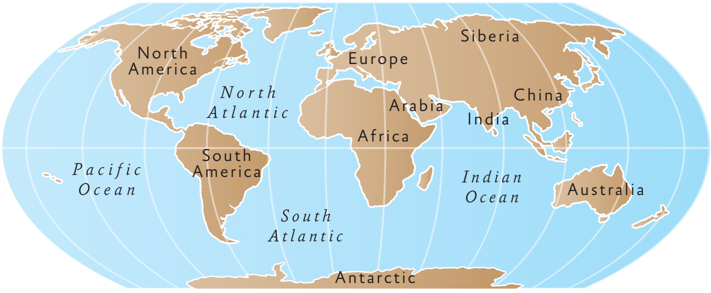
Cretaceous (145.5–66.5 million years ago) – The continents approached their present positions about 100 million years ago, but India was still located relatively close to the Antarctic and Australia.


Siberia
Ural
Europe
Panthalassic Ocean
North America
South China
Pangaea
Arabia
Paleo-Thethis Ocean
Africa
India
Australia
Antarctic

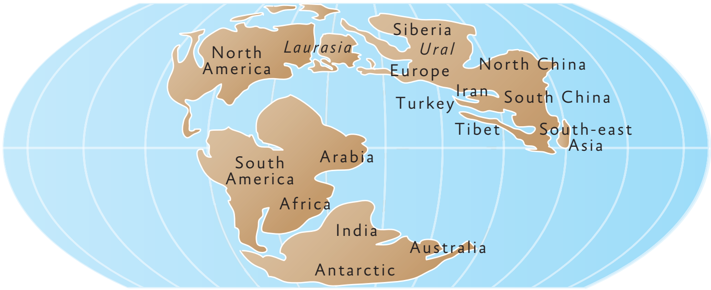
Triassic (251–199.6 million years ago) – East and north China have fused with northern Pangaea, south China and Indochina are still independent landmasses. At the end of the Triassic, initial fissures announce the separation of North America from Eurasia.


Siberia
Panthalassic Ocean
Kazakhstania
Pangaea
North China
Paleo-Thethis Ocean
Africa
South America
Australia
Arabia
India
Gondwana

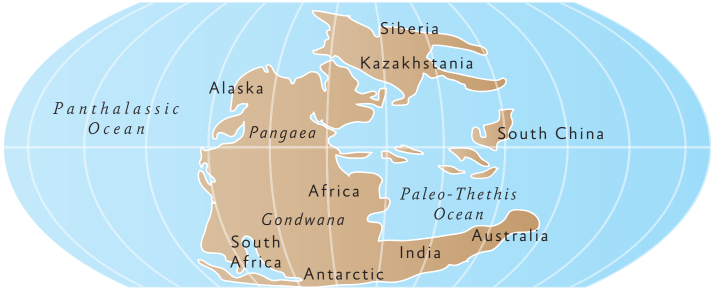
Carboniferous (358–299 million years ago) – At the end of the Carboniferous *ca.* 300 million years ago, the northern landmasses collided with Gondwana in the south to form the megacontinent Pangaea.


Siberia
North America
Europe
North Atlantic
China
Arabia
India
Africa
South America
Pacific Ocean
Indian Ocean
Australia
South Atlantic
Antarctic

Quaternary (since 66.5 million years ago) – Also the present positions of the continents remain unstable and are changing.


Siberia
North America
Laurasia
Ural
Europe
North China
Iran
South China
Turkey
Tibet
South-east Asia
South America
Arabia
Africa
India
Australia
Antarctic

Jurassic (199.6–145.5 million years ago) – Pangaea begins to break apart into the future continents.


Siberia
Kazakhstania
Alaska
Panthalassic Ocean
Pangaea
South China
Africa
Paleo-Thethis Ocean
Gondwana
South Africa
Australia
India
Antarctic

Permian (299–251 million years ago) – Laurasia and Gondwana form the megacontinent Pangaea, which is separated from the narrow landmasses in the east by the Paleo-Tethys Ocean.

TRAL ASIATIC
PEDITION

The dinosaur hunter Roy Chapman Andrews

‘I always intended to be an explorer, to work in a natural history museum, and to live out of doors.’[6] The American Roy Chapman Andrews (1884–1960) had the perseverance and assertiveness to realise this vision of his life. During his early college years, however, he just indulged his desire for a life outdoors and was a mediocre student. After receiving his degree, he looked within himself: ‘Mentally I took myself apart and examined the pieces. I didn’t like what I saw. On that June [1906] afternoon I changed from an irresponsible boy to a man just as though one suit of clothes had been taken off and another put on.’[7] Andrews then took charge of his life, went to New York, and found a position, for a token wage, in the taxidermy department of the American Museum of Natural History. He soon undertook scientific expeditions to Borneo, Japan and Korea. In North Korea he spent months exploring densely forested mountains infested with bandits and, upon his much delayed return to Seoul, was surprised to read his own obituary in the newspapers!

Andrews’ moment arrived in early 1920, when he proposed to the museum’s president Henry Fairfield Osborn (1857–1935) that he test the latter’s theory of the origin of dinosaurs, pterosaurs, and perhaps even human beings in Central Asia by means of fieldwork in the Gobi Desert in Mongolia. Andrews had decided to devote himself to this question as early as 1915, after reading one of Osborn’s articles, and had undertaken a five-month reconnaissance of the Gobi with his wife Yvette in 1919. Although at the time there had been only a single official fossil discovery in that area, the tooth of a rhinoceros, northern China and the Gobi were very promising sites for searching, since Chinese apothecaries had for a long time sold the teeth and bones of unknown animals as medicine. Additionally, the first investigations of the Jesuit Emile Licent of 1916–20 had revealed a couple of potentially interesting fossil beds.[8] Still more promising was the fact that about 150 million years ago the Central Asian plateau was dry land and unlike, for instance, Europe, parts of it had not been flooded. Thus a fossil inventory stretching over many epochs could be anticipated.

The first expedition left Beijing in Dodge automobiles on 17 April 1922, after a camel caravan sent out several weeks earlier had placed fuel depots at regular intervals. After just a few days the expedition made two spectacular finds at Iren Dabasu in northern Inner Mongolia. The first were the teeth and bones of a powerful mammal, approximately 34 to 56 million years old and resembling a rhinoceros, from the family Titanotheriidae (Brontotheriidae). The excitement was great, since this was the first discovery of a titanotherium outside America. On the same evening the real sensation made itself known. Andrews reported:

> While dinner was being prepared, Granger [the chief palaeontologist] wandered off along the grey-white ridge that lay like a recumbent reptile west of the camp. Even in the failing light he found a few fossil bits and we realized that we had another deposit at our very door. The following morning … Granger was at work, exposing the tibia of a large dinosaur! ‘This means,’ said Doctor Berkey [geologist], ‘that we are standing on Cretaceous strata – the first Cretaceous and the first dinosaur known in eastern Asia [north of the Himalaya]!’[9]

Another important find followed about 800 km north-west of Iren Dabasu in Outer Mongolia, near the lake of Tsagaan Nuur, when the expedition discovered the skull and parts of the skeleton of a baluchitherium.[10] The baluchitherium, today called paraceratherium or indricotherium, looked like a gigantic, hornless rhinoceros and weighed more than 16 tons. This herbivore was the largest land mammal of all time and lived in the Oligocene (33.9–23.0 million years ago) and early Miocene (23.0 to 5.3 million years ago).

At the start of August 1922 two more thrilling discoveries were made, 220 km south-east of Tsagaan Nuur near the region of Shabarakh Usu, a formation of red sandstone. The second of these finds was the most sensational of all five of Andrews’ Gobi expeditions but, ironically, was not recognised as such for an entire year. First the photographer Shackelford discovered the skull of an unknown reptile at the top of a sandstone chimney. This was an ancestor of the Ceratopsia, a group of herbivorous, beaked dinosaurs from the Cretaceous that had a snout similar to a parrot’s beak and a neck frill in the form of a bony collar. In honour of Andrews this fossil of a relatively small, up to two-metre-long dinosaur genus bears the name *Protoceratops andrewsi*. Toward evening Granger encountered fragments of eggshells, which were at first classified as the relatively ordinary eggs of an extinct bird.[11]

A year later, in July 1923, the expedition returned to the ‘Flaming Cliffs’ of Shabarakh Usu, modern Bayan Zag, where they found more eggshells, among them 13 petrified eggs in a sandstone block. They had a cylindrical, elliptical shape and were up to 30 cm long. A few eggs were broken open and provided a glimpse of the delicate skeletons of embryonic dinosaurs. Now there was no doubt: ‘it was evident that dinosaurs did lay eggs and that we had discovered the first specimens known to science.’[12] It was long assumed that these eggs were from protoceratops; today they are also associated with hadrosaurids, duck-billed dinosaurs.[13] Spherical dinosaur eggs were later also found in the Gobi and attributed to the powerful sauropods, which had long, snake-like necks and small heads. Another surprising find was made by the third expedition in 1925, 500 m from Bayan Zag, when they found hundreds

◂ Start of the fourth Mongolian expedition of Roy Chapman Andrews on 16 April 1928, north of Kalgan, now the city of Zhangjiakou, Hebei Province, northern China. American Museum of Natural History Library, New York.

of small stone tools and worked flints from the Mesolithic period (11,700–6000 BC), as well as countless rectangular pieces of dinosaur eggs bearing neatly carved holes – clearly these early human beings had crafted necklaces out of dinosaur eggs.[14] All these discoveries in the today pitilessly hot desert around Bayan Zag suggest that during the Mesolithic and at the time of the dinosaurs, mild, humid weather prevailed.

Andrews had to cancel the planned expeditions of 1926, 1927, and 1929 on account of an increasingly hostile stance toward foreigners among the Chinese authorities and because robber gangs were operating ever more boldly in northern China, but he was able to undertake two further expeditions, under difficult conditions, in 1928 and 1930. During the last trip Andrews came upon a graveyard of more than 20 platybelodons, colloquially called shovel-tuskers. These weighty herbivores, which had a shovel-like lower jaw, were presumably trapped in the quicksand of a swamp, from which they could not free themselves, some 15 to 20 million years ago.[15] After 1930 scientific work in China was no longer possible for foreigners; only Sven Hedin managed to work until 1935 in a region on the edge of Xinjiang plagued by civil war. Among the additional significant discoveries of the expeditions led by Andrews were parts of skeletons of three theropods, the bipedal dinosaurs velociraptor, oviraptor, and the small, nocturnal sauronithoides, as well as the armoured pinacosaurus, which was as long as 5 m and moved on all fours. All of these dinosaurs lived about 80 to 70 million years ago. At the completion of the five expeditions it was clear that the Gobi represented one of the richest regions of Asia for late dinosaurs and early large mammals.

In 1933 Andrews prepared for another expedition, this time to Soviet Central Asia, but fate had other plans. In 1934 the museum director Sherwood suffered a heart attack, whereupon Andrews was named interim director. Shortly thereafter he injured his back so badly in a fall from a horse that he had to give up riding forever, and the prospect of further expeditions dimmed. Andrews was persuaded to assume the post of director permanently. Though he initially enjoyed the work, he badly missed the outdoor life: ‘For twenty-five years I had lived in the field, sleeping in the open, and I was like a wild animal suddenly put in a cage.’[16] Soon the Great Depression cast its shadow over the museum: generous sponsors saw their fortunes dwindle, scientific expeditions were cancelled, and Andrews’ work became that of a promoter; on 1 January 1942 he resigned from the directorship.

Dinosaur eggs discovered in May 1925 by George Olsen at Shabarak Usu (Bayan Zag), Ömnögov Aimag, southern Mongolia. American Museum of Natural History Library, New York.

Chalk formation called 'Tchink' near Bozzhira on the Ustyurt Plateau, Mangyshlak Peninsula, western Kazakhstan.

Caspian Sea and Mongolia without access to an ocean; that is, the five former Soviet republics, central and eastern Russia south of the taiga, north-eastern Iran, Afghanistan, northern Pakistan, Kashmir, Ladakh, Tibet and Mongolia.[17] With this far-reaching definition, Central Asia becomes a very heterogeneous entity, climatically, economically and culturally, which is divided into two parts by the Hindu Kush, Pamir, Kun Lun and Himalaya mountains.

For the purposes of this book Central Asia is defined in geographic terms as the region that lies between the Caspian Sea to the west, Mongolia to the east, the southern Siberian steppe to the north, and the Hindu Kush and Kun Lun mountain chains to the south. It stretches from roughly 48° to 115° longitude and 35° to 55° north latitude and encompasses the five former Soviet republics, southern Russia from Lake Baikal to the Volga, northern Afghanistan, Xinjiang and Inner and Outer Mongolia.[18] The maximum distance along the east–west axis is approximately 5,000 km and along the north–south axis approximately 2,000 km. In terms of ethnicity and nomadic confederations or empires, however, the boundaries of Central Asia were temporarily enlarged when Central Asian peoples settled in peripheral regions and markedly influenced the culture there. The Scythians and Saka, whose territory extended from 32° to 100° longitude and from 42° to 55° north latitude, represent an outstanding example of such a process. Further examples are the Sarmatians, Alans and Huns in Eastern Europe as well as the Yuezhi/Kushan, and, more than a millennium later, the Timurids in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent. But most nomadic federations or empires were primarily defined by their rule over peoples, less over territories.[19]

2. The interdependence of geography, climate and history

Compared with the age of the planet, about 4 billion years, the 55-million-km^2 Eurasian continent, and with it Central Asia, is, in geological terms, a relatively 'young' formation. It grew out of the separations and collisions of various tectonic plates – more specifically, lithosphere plates – which support the oceans and continents and drift like rafts on the semi-fluid rock of the underlying mantle.

The current form of the Eurasian continent began to form in the geologic Permian age (299–251 million years ago), when the continents of Laurussia, Siberia and Kazakhstania came together and formed Laurasia, the forerunner of the Eurasian continent. At the same time, the Urals arose along the most significant junction of the colliding continents. The nearly 2,100-km-long mountain chain, which runs from north to south and rises to 1,895 m, marks the boundary between Europe and Asia. This border was established by the Swedish officer and geographer Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (1676–1747) in 1730, after he explored Siberia geographically and anthropologically during his 13 years as a prisoner of war. For Strahlenberg the boundary ran along the Urals, then the Emba (Jembi) River, which empties into the Caspian Sea, and finally the Kuma-Manych Depression north of the Caucasus.[20] With his definition of the border, which was recognised by Russia, von Strahlenberg resolved a centuries-long dispute, in which the border was proposed to be along either the Don[21] or the Ob. As a result of this boundary placement, the western part of Central Asia as geographically defined above, stretching from the Urals to the Volga, actually falls within Europe.

Shortly before the formation of Laurasia, at the end of the Carboniferous (358–299 million years ago), Laurussia fused with the southern supercontinent Gondwana, consisting of South America, Africa, India, Australia and Antarctica, from which came the final global geological megacontinent, Pangaea. Somewhat later, at the start of the Triassic (251–199.6 million years ago), first eastern China and then northern China collided with the supercontinent Laurasia, which formed the northern part of Pangaea. The Indian subcontinent, or the Indian Plate, began to collide with Eurasia only much later, some 40 million years ago. As the Indian Plate slid under the Eurasian, the Himalayas were pushed up by tectonic forces. The Himalaya range is still growing today. The interface between the Indian and the Eurasian plates was discovered by the Swiss geologist Augusto Gansser in 1936 near Kailash in western Tibet.[22]

The contiguous landmass of Pangaea, extending from north to south, enjoyed a climate at least 3 °C warmer than today's, allowing for an unlimited flourishing of land animals. Reptiles in particular, among them dinosaurs and pterosaurs,[23] experienced phenomenal growth and dominated life on land and in the air during the Triassic and the subsequent epochs of the Jurassic (199.6–145.5 million years ago) and Cretaceous (145.5–66.5 million years ago), while mammals in the broadest sense played a subordinate role until the Cretaceous. At the end of the Cretaceous, half of all species died out, among them all non-avian dinosaurs.[24] Thanks to particular geological conditions, spectacular discoveries of dinosaur fossils were made in southern Mongolia in the 1920s.

Already in the Late Triassic the first cracks of the eventual splitting off of North America from Eurasia were becoming evident. About 150 million years ago the global megacontinent Pangaea broke into the supercontinents Laurasia and Gondwana, and then, 15 million years later, the middle Atlantic opened like a zipper and divided North America from Eurasia. While the arrangement of the continents was comparable in rough outline to their current positions even 100 million years ago, they clearly approximated the present arrangement 12 to 14 million years ago. Since the continents are never still, however, further tectonic shifts are foreseeable. Extrapolation from the current movements points toward a union of Africa with Eurasia and disappearance of the Mediterranean Sea in *ca.* 50 million years.[25]

Geographic and climatic peculiarities have decisively shaped the development of Central Asia.[26] As a consequence of its particular position as a northern inland region, the compensatory mechanisms of the maritime climate play only a small role, which leads to a distinctive continental climate with large temperature differences between the cold and hot seasons. Winters in Central Asia are mostly cold to extremely cold; the summers, by contrast, warm to unbearably hot. The relatively northern position of Central Asia influences both the amount of daylight and the level of precipitation. Photosynthesis, vital to the growth of plants, is directly related to the amount of daylight, which is drastically reduced in northern zones during the long winter season. In addition, the prevailing west winds from the Atlantic and Mediterranean lose much of their moisture and compensating effect when they encounter the Urals and sweep eastward as dry winds. As a result the climatic differences between summer and winter, as well as relative aridity, increase markedly toward the east.

In general the west winds streaming in from the Mediterranean and the Black Sea are the main source of winter and spring rainfall in Central Asia. For this reason the climate of Central Asia is particularly sensitive to the lessening of moisture in these winds, as, for instance, when ice crusts covered Northern and Central Europe. By contrast, during the late Pliocene and early Pleistocene (*ca.* 2.8–2.4 million years ago) Central Asia was less arid and less broadly exposed to the dry, dust-bearing winds, since at the time the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea formed a single, large body of water.[27] In south-eastern Central Asia the trend toward aridity increases still further because the mountain chains of the Hindu Kush, Pamir, Kun Lun and Himalayas on its southern edge force the moist summer monsoon clouds that stream from the south to the north to rise and release their moisture as rain. Thus the temperature differences between the seasons are especially dramatic in the Taklamakan and Gobi deserts.

One of the most important ways of judging climatic conditions in a given region, as well as its suitability for agriculture, is to measure the effective moisture on the ground, that is, the relationship between precipitation and potential evaporation, which is a function of the prevailing temperature. Thus, for example, 100 mm of rainfall in the tundra or northern taiga on the northern edge of Central Asia can, on account of the very limited potential evaporation, lead to floods or the creation of new layers of silt, while the same amount in the Gobi Desert quickly evaporates because of the intense sunlight and high potential evaporation. In the tundra precipitation exceeds evaporation by more than 50 percent; in the Taklamakan Desert it is up to 170 times less. All these factors seriously limit the amount of land usable for agriculture, leading to a relatively low population density.

The Central Asian landmass forms an enormous rectangle that falls into four climatic zones, whose main axes run east–west. From the north to the south these are the tundra (which lies outside the scope of this work), the forested zone of the taiga, the grass steppes, and the deserts.

The tundra is a treeless zone, about 400 to nearly 1,000 km wide, north of the Arctic Circle.[28] It is characterised by extremely cold and dark winters; strong, freezing winds; frequent fog and cloudiness; and permafrost, so that the growing season is limited to about three months and snow covers the ground for nearly eight months of the year. This hostile zone is a kind of frozen desert. South of the tundra lies the taiga with its immense coniferous forests, which are interspersed with deciduous forests, such as those of birch, in its southern part. These forests appeared at the end of the last Ice Age, 12,000 to 10,000 years ago; they stand on permafrost whose surface thaws in early summer, leading to marshy conditions and an accumulation of mud. Until the exploitation of their rich natural resources of timber and minerals by the emergent Russia and the subsequent Soviet Union, both the taiga and the tundra played subordinate roles in the history of Central Asia.

On the southern edge of the taiga the forests merge first with a narrow band of steppe forests, which is followed by an entirely grass steppe, giving way in its southern part to a desert-like steppe. The Central Asian steppe is part of the Eurasian steppe, which extends from the lower Danube plain in the west over 7,800 km to the Pacific Ocean, interrupted only by the southern Siberian Altai and Sayan mountains. The climate of the grass steppe is semi-arid; it is not humid enough to allow the growth of forests and is largely unsuitable for agricultural use. Precipitation is low and results in a chronic moisture deficit; aeolian erosion is significant, and the salinisation of the soil is also a problem. These obstacles to arable farming were only overcome when agriculture was mechanised in the nineteenth century. Thus the steppe offered little in the way of immediate nourishment to human beings, the foundations of their economy were mostly hunting, fishing and animal husbandry. To avoid overgrazing, animal breeding was tightly controlled; the herds had to rotate their grazing areas within a designated perimeter.

The mobility of the steppe stockbreeders and their need for products and raw materials from settled agrarian cultures gave rise to a state of flux between peaceful trade and plundering raids. At the start of the tenth century BC the inhabitants of the steppe had at their disposal horses, two-part bits, and small recurve bows, a combination that not only gave them military superiority but also represented the goods most desired by the settled societies. This paradox was revealed especially clearly in the case of China, which could resist the steppe nomads on its northern border only by means of a cavalry but which, due to a lack of its own pastureland, had to acquire horses from the same nomads or, beginning in the sixth century AD, from the equally forbidding Tibetans. For the nomads the horse represented both their most valuable export and their strongest instrument of war. Finally, the flat topography of the Central Asian steppe greatly facilitated mobility. In fact, the peoples of the steppe enjoyed a freedom of movement almost on a par with that of seafaring nations – whether for purposes of trade or of war.

Since in Central Asia aridity always increases from north to south, on its southern edge the steppe opens out into wide stretches of desert devoid of vegetation. To the west the Mangyshlak Peninsula, which belongs to Kazakhstan, protrudes into the north-eastern Caspian Sea. The landscape here is marked by spectacular lime and sandstone formations, and is an important source of natural gas and petroleum. The peninsula is sparsely populated today, but more than 1,000 years ago it was the meeting point for different cultures. It is often considered part of the 180,000-km^2 Ustyurt Plateau, a tableland in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, which consists of clay regions in the west, salt regions in the north near the Aral Sea, sand dunes in the south-east, and marl in the east. At the southern end of the Aral Sea, the nearly 300,000-km^2 Kyzyl Kum Desert, whose name means 'red sand', lies in the western part of the Turanian Basin. The Kyzyl Kum, rich in such ores as gold, silver, copper, and uranium, covers central Uzbekistan and extends into southern Kazakhstan as well. In the north-eastern part of the Kyzyl Kum, the Syr Darya river, the ancient Jaxartes, separates the desert from the Mujun Kum desert. The Mujun Kum gives way in turn to the bleak, steppe-like semi-desert Betpak-Dala, whose Kazakh name means 'bad plain'. North-east of this 'bad steppe' stretches the sand desert Saryesik-Atyrau, which is split in its eastern part by the mountains of the Dzungarian Alatau from the Dzungarian desert. This approximately 50,000-km^2 desert, which lies in the north-western Chinese Autonomous Region of Xinjiang, is a plain of gravel and salt and has the distinction of being the furthest place in the world from any sea.

As the Syr Darya separates the Kyzyl Kum and Mujun Kum deserts, the river Amu Darya, the legendary Oxus, splits the Kyzyl Kum in its southern part from the sand and scree desert called Kara Kum. With an area of about 450,000 km^2, the Kara Kum covers more than 90 percent of Turkmenistan. From the fourth to the start of the second millennium BC, the desert, rich in petroleum and especially natural gas, was home to a proto-urban culture. Later, one of the most important routes of the so-called Silk Road ran through it, with the oasis city of Merv one of the most significant junctions. These sophisticated early cultures had economies based on irrigated agriculture, animal husbandry and interregional trade with the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia. They are outstanding examples of the fact that even thousands of years ago life flourished in the desert. A precondition for this was the existence of mountains on the edges of the desert, from which rivers flowed into the interior. Mountains force air to rise, cooling it, which lowers the saturation point and increases precipitation. In the case of the Kopet Dag Mountains on the border between Turkmenistan and Iran these rains, provoked by an orographic lift, directly feed the rivers.[29] The significantly higher mountains of Pamir and Kun Lun, by contrast,

Sand dunes more than 100 m high are a distinguishing feature of the Taklamakan Desert north of Qiemo, Xinjiang, north-western China.

A fisherman cuts a hole in the ice of the frozen Aral Sea in order to fish, western Kazakhstan.

function as enormous reservoirs for the snow and ice that swell the rivers during the annual snowmelt.

In north-western China the Tian Shan Mountains divide the Dzungarian Desert in the north from the Taklamakan Desert in the south. Spreading over 338,000 km^2, the Taklamakan is, after the Rub' al Khali in Arabia, the second largest purely sand desert in the world. Since it occupies an exceptionally continental location, is surrounded to the south, west, and north by high mountains that repel rain clouds and in the east meets up with the Kum Tag desert, its climate is hyper-arid, with less than 20 mm of annual precipitation and in parts up to 2,900 mm of potential evaporation. Although today the desert consists of shifting sand dunes, a glacial sea occupied the land until about 800,000 years ago, after which the climate dried up dramatically. As in the Kara Kum Desert, however, rivers running north from the Kun Lun Mountains once crossed the desert and provided the basis for life on both the southern edge and in the interior of the Taklamakan. At the turn of the third to the second millennium BC at the latest, there were Bronze Age settlements along the rivers and in the oases, which survived by means of livestock breeding and irrigated agriculture.[30] Because these rivers shifted significantly in the flat desert landscape and held gradually less water from about 1000 BC on, the oases and settlements moved southward in tandem, so that one could speak of 'wandering oases'.

North-east of the Taklamakan there are further deserts. First is the desert of Lop Nor, which can also be regarded as the eastern part of the Taklamakan, and the deserts of Gashun Gobi east of Xinjiang and Badain Jaran and Tengger in Inner Mongolia, with

the latter two belonging to the Gobi. Finally the Yellow River divides the Tengger Desert from the deserts of Mu Us in the centre and Kubuqi in the north of the steppe-like Ordos plateau. The largest of all the Central Asian deserts is the Gobi at just under 1,300,000 km^2. This desert forms a complex system of steppe, scree, sand, and stone deserts and occupies more than half of the Republic of Mongolia. Only 10 percent of Mongolia is forested and just one percent is arable, hence the extraordinarily low population density of just under two inhabitants per square kilometre, although this was higher in the Middle Ages. Though just three percent of the Gobi, whose Mongol name means 'stone desert', is made up of pure sand dunes, the winds that blast to the south and south-east allow these to advance further and, along with the deserts of Mu Us and Kubuqi, threaten Beijing in the medium term.

A few of the Central Asian deserts, such as the Kara Kum and Kyzyl Kum, expanded or appeared in the late Middle Pleistocene (*ca.* 400,000–126,000 years ago), which shrank the territory of hominins that are extinct today and limited their mobility. When one considers the simultaneous expansion of deserts in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran, this climatic development may have effectively separated Africa from Asia for about 300,000 years, with the consequence that human evolution during the second half of the Pleistocene may have developed independently on the two continents.[31]

The American geography professor Ellsworth Huntington (1876–1947) was one of the first researchers to recognise, in the early twentieth century, a close connection between climatic conditions and economic options and to perceive the powerful

At the Kyzyl-Art pass, 4,336 m above sea level, on the border between Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.

influence of climatic changes on the life circumstances of people within a given climatic zone. He carried out research trips to Turkmenistan in 1903–4 and the Taklamakan Desert and Lop Nor in 1905–6, studying the geology and archaeology of the region. This gave him insight into the causal relationship between an initial geological and geographical location, climatic changes and the effects on human history.[32] A river in the midst of an inhospitable desert enables life to flourish by making productive arable agriculture possible. The drying up of the river as the result of climate change brings about the slow death of this green oasis and the transition to animal husbandry. Without falling into mechanistic climate determinism, it is possible to see in the history of Central Asia connections between societal changes, crises and corresponding climatic changes that deprived people of their means of sustenance. Major examples are the transition from an agrarian economy to one based on livestock breeding on the steppes during the third millennium BC or the immense migration of people that took place between the third and sixth centuries AD.

Although people long for stable climatic conditions and today feel threatened by dramatic climate events, if seen over the long term climate and weather are fundamentally unstable things. Climate change represents normality in the history of the Earth, as can be seen from two extremes in our planetary climate: during the Cryogenian (*ca*. 850–635 million years ago) an ice crust covered the entire Earth, except for the Equator; during the Cretaceous, however, the poles were free of ice. For its part, temperature has direct effects on the expanse of the oceans, as cold binds up water as ice: during warm periods sea levels rise and during cold periods they sink. For instance, during the last cold period, 24,000 to 16,000 years ago, global sea level was 125 m below the present level. At this time the British Isles were connected to Europe, and North America was linked with north-eastern Asia via the Bering land bridge.[33]

3. The factors determining climate

The Earth's climate is determined by five factors:[34] the orientation of the Earth to the sun, the sun's activity, the concentration of greenhouse gases, volcanic activity, and the atmospheric and oceanic currents.

The particular orientation of the Earth to the sun means that the amount of solar energy that reaches the Earth is variable over the long term for three reasons. First, the orbit of the Earth around the sun does not form a circle but rather an ellipse, and the sun does not lie in the centre of this ellipse; secondly, the relative inclination of the Earth's axis to the plane of the orbit fluctuates; and thirdly, the orientation of the Earth's axis changes cyclically. The combination of these three cyclical factors – the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit and the slope and the precession of its axis – has led in the last 800,000 years in the northern hemisphere to a basic trend of ice ages lasting about 100,000 years each, peppered with periods of extreme cold. Between each ice age, however, warmer intervals have appeared, lasting 5,000 to 17,000 years. Since our current warm period began about 12,000 years ago, its end, statistically speaking, is perhaps soon overdue.

The second climate-determining factor is the activity of the sun, which is a variable star. Depending on the level of the star's activity and differences in its magnetic field, it transmits differing amounts of heat energy to the Earth. Since the late 1940s the Earth has been receiving an unusually high level of energy from the sun, which contributes to so-called global warming. Also with regard to this parameter, statistical data, according to researchers at the Max Planck Institute, indicate a decrease in the presently high level of solar activity in the coming decades, which could likewise contribute to global cooling.[35]

Without the third factor, the greenhouse effect, there would be no life on our planet. The French physicist and mathematician

Hominin or hominid?

Before the spread of DNA analysis beginning in the late 1980s, it was considered proven that human beings and their ancestors were clearly distinct from great apes such as the chimpanzee, gorilla and orang-utan, so humans were subsumed under the term 'hominids' and the great apes and their ancestors under the term 'pongids'. Genetic research has shown, however, that we humans stand much more closely genetically to chimpanzees and gorillas than all three of these do to orang-utans. Thus it follows that the ancestors of the orang-utan branched off long before the most recent shared ancestor of humans, chimpanzees and gorillas. For this reason the term 'hominid' now refers to human beings and their ancestors as well as chimpanzees and gorillas and their ancestors. The term 'hominin' was introduced in order to distinguish us from the two African great apes. 'Hominin' refers only to humans and their ancestors, while 'gorillini' is used for gorillas and their ancestors and 'panini' for chimpanzees and their ancestors.[36]

Jean Baptiste Fourier (1768–1830) discovered as early as 1822 that certain gases in the atmosphere absorb the Earth's long-wave radiation. Most of the penetrating, shortwave solar radiation reach the Earth's surface and cloud layers and gets reflected into the atmosphere as long-wave terrestrial radiation. There greenhouse gases such as water vapour, carbon dioxide, ozone and methane absorb this radiation and return them half to the Earth and half into outer space. This natural greenhouse effect results in a warming of the Earth's surface by currently 33 °C; without this effect the mean temperature on the surface of the Earth would be -18 °C, instead of the current average of 14 to 15 °C. The greenhouse effect is not in itself a catastrophe but rather a normal condition necessary for life. Humanity has also experienced epochs significantly warmer than our own, such as during the Eemian interglacial period (*ca*. 126,000–115,000 years ago), when the average temperature was 5 °C higher.[37] There have been much higher concentrations of CO_2 in the atmosphere than at present, and this did not per se represent an apocalyptic disaster. During the Permian (*ca*. 299–251 million years ago) the concentration of CO_2 was about 900 ppm,[38] compared to the maximum concentration in 2008 of 385 ppm, and during the Triassic (251–199.6 million years ago) it even reached about 1,750 ppm[39] – almost five times the amount in 2008! During the Triassic, however, reptiles, especially dinosaurs, experienced an extraordinary flourishing on the supercontinent of Pangaea. And 55.8 million years ago, the CO_2 level surpassed 1,500 ppm during the 'Palaeocene-Eocene Thermal Maximum' (PETM) when global temperatures soared by 5 °C and all major ice sheets disappeared. This dramatic global warming of an already warm environment led to the emergence of several major modern mammalian orders.[40] A future increase in global temperature would, however, lead to a rise in sea level, submerging low-lying coast regions and islands.

The fourth climate-influencing factor is represented by strong volcanic eruptions that release huge amounts of aerosols such as sulphur dioxide into the atmosphere. If such mega-eruptions occur in the tropics, they can influence the global climate as aerosols trapped in the stratosphere reflect sunlight and thus less solar energy reaches the Earth, temporarily cooling the climate. One of the most famous examples in modern times was the eruption of the Mount Tambora volcano on the island of Sumbawa, Indonesia, from April to July 1815. In 1816, the world suffered a 'year without a summer', with correspondingly widespread crop failures.[41] A comparable event happened in 535 AD when an enormous volcanic eruption took place in Indonesia, with negative consequences for the entire Eurasian continent. Thus the Byzantine historian Procopius (*ca*. 500–562) noted that in the years 535 and 536 the sun shone only weakly.[42]

The major ocean currents and the atmospheric currents, also called jet streams, represent the fifth factor. Both the cold currents directed toward the Equator and the warm currents flowing to the poles, as well as polar front and subtropical jet streams, balance the weather between extremely hot and extremely cold regions, in that they inhibit an unchecked heating of the tropics and a similar cooling of the polar regions.

In the following chapters and volumes we will encounter many dramatic historical events that were set in motion by global climate changes. These should be distinguished from similarly appearing, narrowly defined regional climate shifts caused by earthquakes, changes in river courses, or anthropogenic factors such as the overuse of soil or bodies of water, overgrazing, widespread felling of forests, etc. Because the eastern part of Central Asia is generally more arid than the west, changes in climatic conditions there tend to have more dramatic consequences, since the situation can become life-threatening more quickly. Thus the peoples of western Central Asia were better able to adapt to negative climate changes than those in the east, who often decided to migrate. There is, however, no climate determinism that directs the course of history. People and societies react differently to comparable changes in their natural environment, depending on their degree of mobility, the organisation of the society, the available technologies, their own and their foreign neighbours' military capabilities, and the prevailing ideology.

II

The Settlement of Central Asia in the Palaeolithic

On the Birthplace and Antiquity of Man. *It is, therefore, probable that Africa was formerly inhabited by extinct apes closely allied to the gorilla and chimpanzee; and as these two species are now man's nearest allies, it is somewhat more probable that our early progenitors lived on the African continent than elsewhere.*

CHARLES DARWIN, *THE DESCENT OF MAN*, 1871[1]

The motifs of the origin, purpose and transience of human life belong to the age-old fundamental questions of human beings. Prior to the Enlightenment, these three questions remained the purview of philosophy, ethics and religion, after which the natural sciences began to emancipate themselves from belief in the supernatural and turned to the first fundamental question, that of our origin. It was primarily Charles Darwin (1809–82) who began the radical breaking of taboo and in 1859 explained the development of human beings as the product of natural evolution. In the model proposed by evolution there are for living things only two options: adaptation and reinvention or extinction. Twelve years later Darwin put forth the hypothesis that all modern human beings descended from a shared African ancestor. Was Darwin right? Is Africa the cradle of humanity? Or is Asia?

1. 'Out of Africa' or 'Out of Asia'?

In the Early Pleistocene in Asia there were presumably only the hominins *Homo erectus*, whose name means 'upright man', but by the Middle and Late Pleistocene (781,000–12,000 years ago) perhaps six different species of the genus Homo (man) inhabited the region. These were: *Homo erectus*; the ancestors of *Homo floresiensis*; *Homo denisova*, discovered in Central Asia; Neanderthals; maybe an 'archaic *Homo sapiens*'; and modern *Homo sapiens*.[2] The small-statured *Homo floresiensis*, discovered in 2003, died out over 12,000 years ago, leaving only our species, *Homo sapiens*. The variety of human species in Central and Southeast Asia raises the question of whether modern human beings may possibly have developed in Asia.

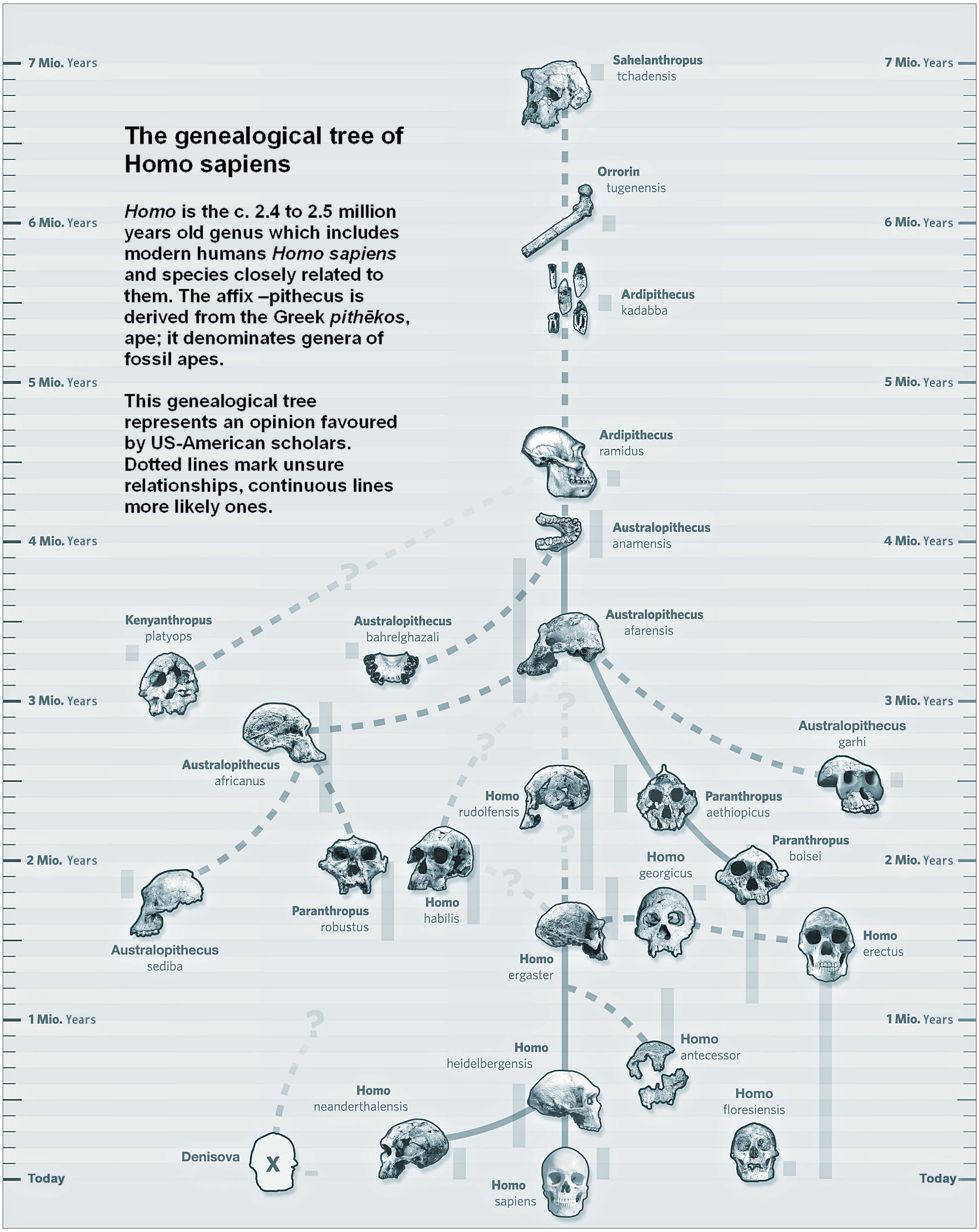
By the second half of the twentieth century almost no one contested the African origin of the first hominins. There are, however, two opposing schools of thought regarding the origin of human beings themselves. The 'Out of Africa' hypothesis postulates two or three significant migrations of early human species out of Africa. The first, of *Homo erectus*, took place about 1.8 million years ago, first to Asia and then to Europe, after which these hominins developed independently of each other on account of the isolation of their individual groups. A dissenting thesis, propagated especially in the United States, holds that *Homo erectus* refers only to an Asian line of descent and calls the further development of the *Homo erectus* remaining in Africa *Homo ergaster*, 'working man,' from which emerged *Homo heidelbergensis*, who settled in Europe some 600,000 years ago. Much later, about 100,000 to 130,000 years ago, the modern human being called *Homo sapiens* spread in a second or third wave from East Africa – first to the eastern Mediterranean coast and from there to Asia and Europe. In the process *Homo sapiens* is thought to have displaced and superseded all the other hominin species, including the Neanderthals, without interbreeding with them. For this reason, this hypothesis is also called the 'Replacement Hypothesis'. According to this theory, all human races have formed in a relatively short time out of this *Homo sapiens*, 'wise' or 'knowing' man.

The multiregional model, by contrast, postulates that the regional descendants of *Homo erectus* in Africa, Europe and Asia developed separately into modern human beings, with a continuous 'gene flow' on the edges of the centres of development ensuring anatomical and reproductive commonalities and preventing the development of regional divergent species. There is believed to have been no extinction of human species such as the Neanderthals,

Geological and prehistoric anthropological timetable

GEOLOGICAL CHRONOLOGY	AGE IN YEARS
Pliocene	5.332 – 2.588 million
Pleistocene	2.588 million – 12,000
Lower	2.588 million – 781,000
Middle	781,000 – 126,000
Upper	126,000 – 12,000
Holocene	12,000 – Today

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CHRONOLOGY	AGE IN YEARS
Palaeolithic	2.6 million – 11,700
Lower	2.6 million – 300,000
Middle	300,000 – 40,000
Upper	40,000 – 11,700
Mesolithic	11,700 – 8,500/5,500, depending on area of Central Asia
Neolithic	8,500/5,500 – 6,000/3,200, depending on area of Central Asia



The genealogical tree of Homo sapiens

Homo is the c. 2.4 to 2.5 million years old genus which includes modern humans *Homo sapiens* and species closely related to them. The affix –pithecus is derived from the Greek *pithēkos*, ape; it denominates genera of fossil apes.

This genealogical tree represents an opinion favoured by US-American scholars. Dotted lines mark unsure relationships, continuous lines more likely ones.

7 Mio. Years
6 Mio. Years
5 Mio. Years
4 Mio. Years
3 Mio. Years
2 Mio. Years
1 Mio. Years
Today
Sahelanthropus tchadensis
Orrorin tugenensis
Ardipithecus kadabba
Ardipithecus ramidus
Australopithecus anamensis
Kenyanthropus platyops
Australopithecus bahrelghazali
Australopithecus afarensis
Australopithecus garhi
Australopithecus africanus
Homo rudolfensis
Paranthropus aethiopicus
Paranthropus boisei
Homo georgicus
Australopithecus sediba
Paranthropus robustus
Homo habilis
Homo ergaster
Homo erectus
Homo antecessor
Homo heidelbergensis
Homo neanderthalensis
Homo floresiensis
Denisova
X
Homo sapiens
?

The genealogical tree of *Homo sapiens*.

but rather continuous interbreeding. Thus the individual human races arose hundreds of thousands of years ago, and different physical traits are in part a legacy of the different ways in which *Homo erectus* developed.[3] DNA analyses of modern human beings contradict this conclusion, however, as they show an overall strong uniformity of the human genotype of all races. The isolation of the individual hominin groups also makes the postulated gene flow unlikely. On the basis of additional genetic, anatomical and archaeological research, according to the current state of knowledge, the Out of Africa hypothesis has, broadly, prevailed.[4] However, the most recent DNA analyses of Neanderthals and two Denisova hominins from the southern Siberian Altai, as well as Chinese discoveries of a few skulls, more than 100,000 years old, which display characteristics of both *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens*, have called into question the 'Replacement Hypothesis'.

2. The earliest settlements of Central Asia

A global cold period led to an extreme drought in Africa 2.8 to 2.5 million years ago and the savannas rapidly expanded. In East Africa, out of the hominin *Australopithecus afarensis* developed the presumable ur-human *Homo rudolfensis*. Some 400,000 years later *Homo habilis*, the 'handy man', emerged. Since these hominins fashioned the first stone tools in the form of 'pebble tools', they freed themselves from direct dependence on their environment and began the Oldowan period. About 1.8 million years ago emerged *Homo erectus*, who used fire and began to make pear-shaped hand axes, worked on both sides, called bifaces, which made the butchering of meat much easier. The ability to use meat expanded the potential habitat for humans into non-tropical colder and drier regions where plant food was less abundant. These hand axes introduced the Palaeolithic era of the Acheulean, which slowly superseded the Oldowan period. With fire, protein sources could be cooked and stored frozen meat could be thawed. Fire also offered protection from cold and predators. Thanks to these capabilities, *Homo erectus* expanded its search for sustenance to the north and soon became the first hominin to leave Africa; the members of its species that stayed behind are also called *Homo ergaster*. In its migration to Asia *Homo erectus* proved to be a successful pioneer who met the challenges of new ecological surroundings with technological innovations.

Because the strongly continental and arid climate of Central Asia offered difficult living conditions even then, it is not surprising that the earliest traces of *Homo erectus* are found in the southern regions. In 1984 in south-western Eurasia in Dmanisi, Georgia, archaeologists came upon three mostly complete skulls and other fossils of a very early example of *Homo erectus*, who displayed a conspicuously smaller skull, with barely half the volume of ours. Nevertheless these early hominins possessed an exceptional social culture, since the toothless skull of an old man, no longer able to survive alone, indicates that the group living there cared for its old and impaired members. These 1.75-million-year-old fossils from the Lower Palaeolithic are among the oldest human discoveries found outside Africa.[5] Fossils up to 1.66 million years old from Java, Indonesia and northern China show that *Homo erectus* arrived in East and Southeast Asia not long after they reached Dmanisi in the Caucasus. Contemporaneous with the finds in Sangiran and Mojokerto on Java are those of Majuangou, which lies in the

Even today in mountainous regions of Central Asia the mountain goat is venerated as a symbol of life and fertility. Tashkurgan, Xinjiang, north-western China.

northern Chinese Nihewan Basin, 150 km west of Beijing; these are the oldest human fossils in East Asia.[6] Later discoveries of *Homo erectus* in China come from Yunxian in Hubei Province and from Lantian, Shaanxi, both of which are about 800,000 years old.[7]

Hand axes dated at 1.4 million years from Ubeidiya, in the valley of the Jordan River south of Lake Tiberias, are not only the oldest stone tools of the Acheulean outside of Africa but they also suggest that the Near East, perhaps together with the crossing of the then narrower and shallower Red Sea, was the most important route from Africa to Eurasia.[8]

The fossils from the famous archaeological site of Zhoukoudian, 50 km southwest of Beijing, are only half as old as those from Majuangou, but the rich trove provided significant knowledge about the development of humans in East Asia. The Swedish geologist Gunnar Andersson discovered the site and two apparently simian molars in 1921. Only five years later were they attributed to an unknown early human. A molar uncovered by the Swedish palaeontologist Anders Bohlin later laid the groundwork for the hypothesis of a new human species, *Sinanthropus pekinensis*, which was reclassified as *Homo erectus* in 1950.[9] A total of 28 sites in Zhoukoudian yielded human fossils, among them 14 skullcaps, from about 45 individuals, as well as animal fossils and tools made of stone, horn and bone. In the most important site, Locality 1, a former cave, the oldest tools were 720,000 years old. The human fossils showed that representatives of *Homo erectus* lived here with interruptions between about 690,000 and 420,000 years ago. It appears that these humans not only mastered fire but also engaged in violent conflicts, armed with clubs, which led to the death of inferior combatants; cannibalism was also not unknown to them. Likewise from Zhoukoudian, from Locality 4 and Locality 15 as well as the 'New Cave', come fossils as old as 250,000 years that serve for Chinese scholars as proof of the ostensible development of an archaic *Homo sapiens* within China.[10]

Slightly less than 1 million years ago, *Homo erectus* established a foothold in the heart of Central Asia, at least during times between ice ages.[11] As a precondition they must have adapted to the harsh continental climate, which required insulating clothing in the form of animal skins, protection from the elements, mastery of fire, and an economy based on hunting. Such an orientation toward the hunt, in turn, presupposed suitable weapons and the ability to plan, organise and successfully execute a hunt. Thanks to the prevailing winter cold, meat was easy to preserve and only had to be thawed with fire. Humans in Central Asia could survive only as adaptable and social beings. The oldest verifiable evidence from Central Asia comes from Kuldara in southern Tajikistan, where 880,000- to 995,000-year-old stone scrapers have been found. In addition, in the neighbouring site of Khonako II artefacts about 740,000 years old have been discovered. Lakhuti I, another nearby site, has yielded stone objects about 475,000 to 530,000 years old; of comparable age are the pebble tools from Karatau I south-east of Dushanbe.[12] Slightly more recent are the finds at Obi-Mazar (Lakhuti III), which are 380,000 to 425,000 years old, somewhat older than those from Kulbulak, at the western end of the Tian Shan mountains, where archaeologists discovered more than 70,000 (!) flint tools.[13]

Then, north-east of Tajikistan in the Kyrgyz part of Fergana, in the cave of Selungur 2,000 m above sea level, archaeologists came upon human fossils and stone tools that were dated to the Middle Palaeolithic and could be about 126,000 to 200,000 years old. It is unclear whether only descendants of *Homo erectus* lived in Selungur[14] or if Neanderthals, who left revealing traces in the cave of Teshik-Tash in southern Uzbekistan, did as well. Significantly older discoveries of stone implements have been made in the Karatau Mountains in southern Kazakhstan and on the western Kazakh peninsula of Mangyshlak, which have been attributed to the Early and Middle Palaeolithic.[15] In addition to over 100 Central Asian archaeological sites from the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic,[16] such as the Angara Culture's Makarovo IV west of Lake Baikal, the site in the basin of Issyk-Kul Lake in northern Kyrgyzstan, or the Bolshoi Gluchoj cave in the Urals,[17] Mongolia has yielded some informative finds. In 2006, for the first time, a well-preserved pre-Holocene skullcap of an archaic *Homo sapiens* from the Upper Pleistocene was discovered here. The skullcap is about 20,000 years old and was found near Salkhit in Mongolia, north-east of the capital Ulaan Baatar.[18]

In Mongolia, the cave of Tsagaan Agui in the Gobi Desert in the south of the country is especially outstanding, for here researchers have access to 700,000 years of stratigraphy. Belonging to the earliest layer are hand axes of the Acheulean type, worked on both sides. These clearly contradict the assertion found in older literature that such tools had not reached Central and East Asia. The theory of a so-called 'Movius Line', introduced in 1948 by the American archaeologist Hallam Movius, says that the ostensibly sophisticated technology of the Acheulean did not spread further north-east of a border stretching from the Caucasus to India and that the corresponding populations on this side of this boundary remained at a lower technological level. Further discoveries of bifaces from Central Asia, such as those from Mangyshlak in western Kazakhstan[19] and the 800,000-year-old sites of Yunxian and Lantian in China – both 200,000 years older than the earliest 'biface' of Europe – belie this theory.[20] In Tsagaan Agui layers from the Middle and Late Palaeolithic follow the Early Palaeolithic band. Buddhist votive gifts and a Chinese coin from the eleventh century[21] show that the cave offered people shelter into our own era.

2.1 Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens* – supersession or interbreeding?

The first fossils of *Homo neanderthalensis* were discovered in Belgium in 1829 and on Gibraltar in 1848, but only after the find in 1856 of a curious, flat skullcap with a pronounced supraorbital ridge in the Neander valley in Germany were these fossils recognised the following year as the now world-renowned early human. This realisation, two years before the seminal book *On the Origin of Species*, represents the advent of palaeoanthropology, and the Neanderthal was quickly seized upon as a kind of 'chief witness for the theory of evolution'.[22] The site in the Neander valley was 42,000 years old; as of today bones from more than 400 individuals of *Homo neanderthalensis* have been discovered worldwide.

From whom did the Neanderthals descend and how close do they stand to us genetically? Science was preoccupied with these questions, especially the latter, for more than a century. Because there is evidence that Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens* lived near each other for millennia in Europe and the Near East,[23] the questions arise of whether they interbred and whether their offspring were fertile. If such mixed offspring could reproduce, Neanderthals and sapiens do not represent two separate species; if they were infertile, however, Neanderthals and sapiens would be two distinct species, such as the horse and the donkey, which can interbreed but whose offspring are barren. Investigation of this palaeogenetic question is at the same time an investigation into our own ancestral heritage.

A widely accepted hypothesis assumes that some 800,000 to 900,000 years ago a speciation significant for human history took place in Africa, leading to two distinct lines of descent. *Homo heidelbergensis*, descended from *Homo ergaster*, migrated from Africa to Europe. Here he encountered the somewhat older hominins called *Homo cepranensis*[24] and *Homo antecessor*,[25] perhaps in Italy or Spain, and developed into *Homo heidelbergensis* more narrowly defined, from which came the Neanderthals.[26]

In Africa, by contrast, Heidelberg Man, more broadly defined, sometimes interpreted as a variation of *Homo rhodensiensis*,[27] evolved further into an archaic *Homo sapiens*, of which the 154,000- to 160,000-year-old Herto Man, discovered in 1997 in the Afar Triangle in Ethiopia, may be the earliest ancestor. This discovery attests to the Out of Africa theory in that, as genetic studies suggest, modern humans first appeared in Africa less than 200,000 years ago. This hominin not only possessed a skull volume of 1,450 cubic centimetres, at least equal to that of modern humans, but also appears to have performed post-mortem rituals. This can be deduced from the skull of a youth that was stripped of its flesh shortly after death and polished clean.[28] Modern *Homo sapiens* then emerged from this Herto hominin, advancing into the Near East some 100,000 to 130,000 years ago and starting to spread worldwide about 80,000 years ago. According to this hypothesis, three great human species lived in the prehistoric world at the start of the Middle Pleistocene: *Homo heidelbergensis/rhodesiensis* in Africa, *Homo heidelbergensis*, narrowly defined, in Europe, and *Homo erectus* in Asia, with these last two leading to evolutionary dead ends.

When modern humans advanced into Europe 45,000 years ago, two human species encountered each other after having been genetically separate for hundreds of thousands of years. The latest evaluations, based on DNA analyses of Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens*, show that the two evolutionary lines, one leading to Neanderthals and the other to modern humans, split about 516,000 years ago.[29] Until recently the overwhelming majority of researchers supported the idea that Neanderthals and modern humans did not interbreed. Since 2010, however, it has been shown that Neanderthals and sapiens interbred not just in isolated cases, which would result merely in infertile hybrids, but rather intermixed, since as much as 4 percent of the genetic material of the Neanderthals can be found in modern humans. This consistency can be found between Stone Age DNA and that of modern Europeans, Asians and peoples of Oceania, but not with African DNA; hence this intermixing must have occurred outside Africa, but before the ancestors of Europeans and Asians split off from each other. This intermixing presumably took place in the Near East, 50,000 to 100,000 years ago, when an ice age between *ca.* 115,000 and 65,000 BC forced Neanderthals out of Central Europe southward.

A study, published in March 2010, of the mitochondrial DNA[30] of a 30,000- to 48,000-year-old finger bone from a Denisova girl showed twice as much genetic separation from modern human *Homo sapiens* as the separation between Neanderthals and modern humans. The complete DNA analysis of the nucleus, published in December 2010, as well as an earlier study of an archaic-looking molar of another young Denisova adult, brought to light very surprising results: the Denisova hominins, whose remains were found in a cave in the southern Siberian Altai Mountains, were a sister group of the Neanderthals, from whom they branched off about 300,000 years ago. The Denisova genetic material is twice as far removed from that of today's European and Asiatic people as the Neanderthals are from modern Europeans and Asians, but it shows significant proximity to today's Melanesians of Papua New Guinea. The intermixing of Denisova hominins and the ancestors of the Melanesians presumably took place not in southern Siberia but in Southeast Asia. The researchers concluded: 'We estimate that 2.5% (+/- 0.6%) of the genomes of non-African populations derive from Neanderthals, in agreement with our previous estimate of 1–4%. In addition, we estimate that 4.8% (+/- 0.5%) of the genomes of Melanesians derive from Denisovans. Altogether, as much as 7.4% (+/- 0.8%) of Melanesians may thus derive from recent admixture with archaic hominins.'[31] The first complete decipherment of the genome of an Australian Aboriginal published in September 2011 showed a similar genetic proximity to Denisovians as do Melanesians.[32]

With regard to eastern Eurasia, the authors state 'These results show that on the Eurasian mainland there existed at least two forms of archaic hominins in the Upper Pleistocene. A western Eurasian form with morphological features that are commonly used to define as Neanderthals, and an eastern form to which the Denisova individuals belong.'[33] Interestingly, the Denisovan hominins did not contribute to the genetic makeup of the neighbouring Chinese and Mongols.

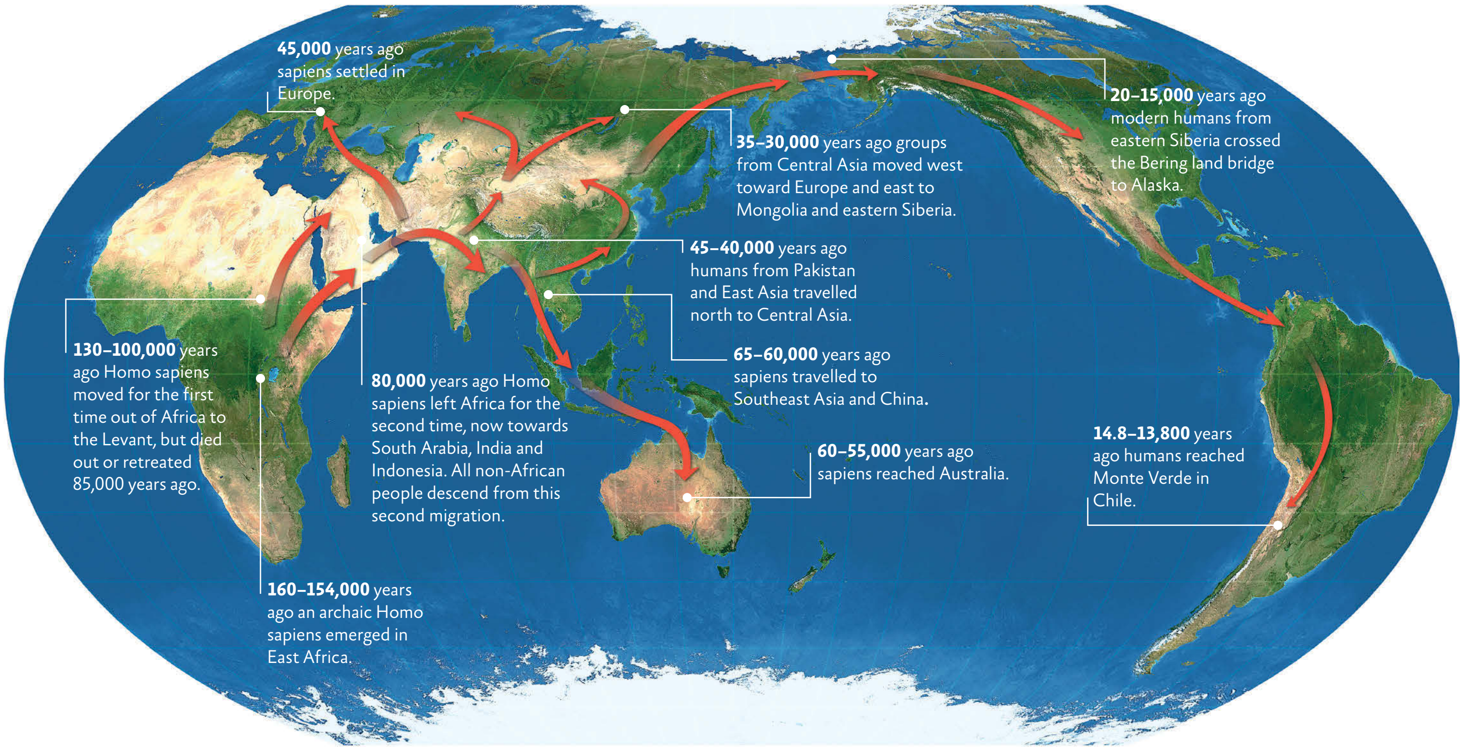
On the basis of these findings, the research team from the Max Planck Institute in Leipzig concluded that the Out-of-Africa theory remains valid insofar as the great preponderance of genetic variations that are spread outside of Africa originated in Africa: 'The vast majority of genetic variants that exist at appreciable frequency came from Africa with the spread of anatomically modern humans.'[34] The pure 'Replacement Hypothesis', however, cannot be sustained. It may be supposed that an 'Assimilation Out-of-Africa' theory will supersede the hitherto existing 'Replacement Out-of-Africa' theory.

The cave of Shanidar, inhabited by Neanderthals 80,000 to 60,000 years ago, northern Iraq.

Neanderthals were well adapted to a cold and harsh climate; they were of powerful, muscular build, somewhat smaller than modern Europeans but with a slightly larger brain. Their skulls were elongated, and the flat, projecting brow, as well as the pronounced supraorbital ridge, lent them an archaic appearance. Besides presumably cooked plants, meat was most prominent on the menu of Neanderthals, who, contrary to earlier ideas, did not eat carrion but instead actively hunted. During group hunts, which required planning and organisation, they used not only stones but also wooden lances and darts. Thanks to such long-range weapons, which were invented by *Homo heidelbergensis* about 270,000 to 400,000 years ago, it was possible to hunt large game such as wild horses, mammoths, woolly rhinoceroses and cave bears.[35] The animals were skinned, so that the Neanderthals could protect themselves from the cold with fur clothing. Contrary to general opinion, the Neanderthals were not pure cave dwellers, but also built a kind of tent at the entrances to their caves for protection and on the steppes probably constructed very simple shelters from mammoth tusks and bones. The remains of such shelters can be found on the western edge of Central Asia near Molodova in the Ukraine, among other places.[36]

It is unclear why Neanderthals left no traces after *ca.* 26,000 BC, after they had lived for nearly 10,000 years alongside *Homo sapiens* of the Cro-Magnon type. Presumably a combination of climatic, economic, technological and physiological factors led to the extinction of the Neanderthals. From 60,000 to 25,000 years ago the European climate oscillated rapidly several times between longer cold periods and short warm periods. This cycle peaked 30,000 to 26,000 years ago in a cold period, coupled with devastating loess storms, which damaged the vegetation layer.[37] The Neanderthals, who were dependent on eating meat, presumably could not adapt sufficiently to these volatile climate changes and their consequences, such as suddenly changed fauna that required new hunting weapons and tactics as well as preservation methods. In addition, the anatomical structure of Neanderthals meant they needed more calories than *Homo sapiens*, who, for their part, were more agile and mobile.[38] Analyses of comparable skeletons also suggest that modern Cro-Magnon humans were healthier and, in particular, suffered fewer broken bones than did Neanderthals, which indicates a greater life expectancy. Whether the Neanderthals' allegedly lesser speech abilities played a role is unknown.

The migration of *Homo sapiens* out of Africa


45,000 years ago sapiens settled in Europe.
35–30,000 years ago groups from Central Asia moved west toward Europe and east to Mongolia and eastern Siberia.
20–15,000 years ago modern humans from eastern Siberia crossed the Bering land bridge to Alaska.
45–40,000 years ago humans from Pakistan and East Asia travelled north to Central Asia.
130–100,000 years ago Homo sapiens moved for the first time out of Africa to the Levant, but died out or retreated 85,000 years ago.
80,000 years ago Homo sapiens left Africa for the second time, now towards South Arabia, India and Indonesia. All non-African people descend from this second migration.
65–60,000 years ago sapiens travelled to Southeast Asia and China.
60–55,000 years ago sapiens reached Australia.
14.8–13,800 years ago humans reached Monte Verde in Chile.
160–154,000 years ago an archaic Homo sapiens emerged in East Africa.

The latest research highlights two additional, related, factors that contributed to the extinction of the Neanderthals. These are their low reproductive ability – female Neanderthals matured later, gave birth only once every four years and had a relatively shorter life expectancy than *Homo sapiens*. As a result the Neanderthals had an extremely low population density. Presumably hardly more than 7,000 to at most 10,000 Neanderthals lived in Europe at one time, which meant they were highly vulnerable to epidemics, famine, or a more successful and probably better armed group of humans.[39]

Archaeological and palaeontological finds in Europe show that the geographic centre of the Neanderthal world lay between the Atlantic and the Black Sea. At times, however, it extended into the Near East, the Caucasus and Central Asia, as far as the Okladnikov cave in the Russian Altai. Presumably the Eemian interglacial period allowed the Neanderthals to settle in southern Siberia and Central Asia. Notably, the northern boundary of the Neanderthals' range in both Europe and Central Asia lies near the 52nd parallel, which bears witness to the adaptation of these prehistoric peoples to the harsh northern climate.

In Central Asia there have been over 100 discoveries from the period of the later Middle Palaeolithic and the early Late Palaeolithic (*ca.* 120,000 to 30,000 years ago) that include so-called Mousterian stone tools, which are characterised by sharp scrapers and flints with thin blades.[40] Although Neanderthals used Mousterian tools almost exclusively, one cannot automatically conclude that finds of such tools were necessarily associated with Neanderthals. This is because early sapiens and descendants of *Homo erectus* also used them. Just as we cannot assume that the distribution of cultural objects corresponds with the distribution of an associated language, we cannot assume that the distribution of human species corresponds with these objects either. Thus we associate a trove of Mousterian objects with Neanderthals only when contemporaneous corresponding bones are also found there.

A few Central Asian Neanderthal sites provide interesting evidence of their unexpectedly well-developed social relationships. While the 30,000- to 38,000-year-old bones found by Okladnikov attest to an advance of the Neanderthals almost to Mongolia, three sites are known in Uzbekistan: the Obi Rakhmat grotto north of the present capital of Tashkent with 30,000 (!) items about 70,000 years old;[41] the caves of Anghilak, in the south-eastern part of the country, with 40,000-year-old artefacts and the most interesting, that of Teshik Tash. Here in 1938 the Soviet archaeologist A.P. Okladnikov discovered not only many Mousterian tools but also a well-preserved skeleton, including the skull, of an eight- or nine-year-old Neanderthal child who died some 60,000 to 70,000 years ago. Assuming that the identification of this skeleton and the estimate of its age are correct, this refutes the theory sometimes put forth that Neanderthals first entered Central Asia about 35,000 to 40,000 years ago in reaction to the advancing sapiens.[42]

The young deceased Neanderthal was obviously intentionally buried; six pairs of horns of the Siberian mountain goat called 'Capra Sibirica' encircled the corpse, with the horns stuck point-down in the ground and oriented toward the skull.[43] This arrangement surely was not coincidental but rather manifests a burial rite; this represents one of the oldest gravesites in the world.[44] The Soviet archaeologist Vadim Masson interpreted this ritual as the start of totemism and compared it to the bear cult of the European Mousterian.[45] Interestingly, in the Pamir Mountains of Tajikistan the mountain goat is still venerated today; its horns often adorn the enclosure walls around Islamic sanctuaries.

Perhaps the humans of that time were familiar not only with burial rituals but also with cultic sites, as the cave of Ogzi-Kichik in southern Tajikistan suggests. There in 1979 Vadim Ranov discovered, together with about 10,000 artefacts, a 30,000-year-old oval stone arrangement without reference to a burial, with a pair of ibex horns on the end of the oval stuck in the ground.[46] Finally, a Neanderthal skull that is at least 30,000 years old was found southwest of Ogzi-Kichik, near the stone shelter of Dara-i Kur in north-eastern Afghanistan.

Although the cave of Shanidar in northern Iraq lies beyond Central Asia, it must be mentioned on account of its significance for the early settlement of Eurasia. In the 1950s in a back tunnel of the cave Ralph Solecki unearthed nine buried Neanderthals, 60,000 to 80,000 years old, of which skeletons I, III, and IV are the most famous.[47] The individual called Shanidar I was a 40- to 50-year-old man who was crippled by healed injuries suffered earlier and would not have been able to survive without help from others. From this Solecki inferred that these Neanderthals recognised a kind of social responsibility and cared for the sick and the elderly. Shanidar III, by contrast, died of a spear wound to the left lung; whether this was the result of a hunting accident or an intentional act of aggression is unclear.[48] The individual known as Shanidar IV, a 30- to 45-year-old man, was laid in a foetal position on a pallet of branches and twigs and likely covered with flowers that impeded inflammations. This was thus a planned, ritual Neanderthal burial like that at Teshik Tash.[49] The 40-m-wide, 45-m-deep, and 12- to 18-m-high cave was divided by stone walls and provided shelter to some 20 families. Holes bored in the ground in front of the rock face could indicate that the people stretched a kind of tent made of animal skins in front of the cave.

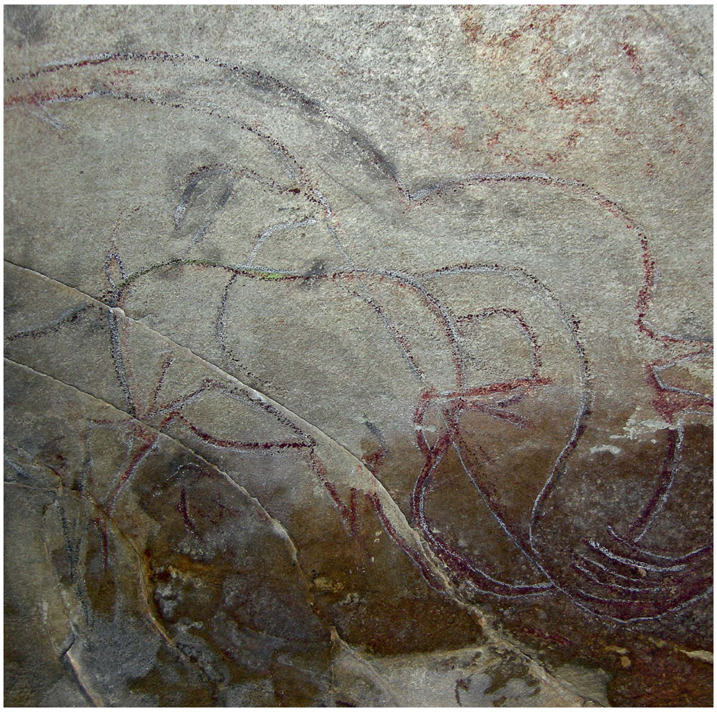
The modern human *Homo sapiens* left their East African homeland twice. They first set out for the Levant some 100,000 to 130,000 years ago, moving into the fertile bands on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean that stretch from Gaza in the south to north-western Syria in the north. This early *Homo sapiens* presumably died out here more than 80,000 years ago or returned from here to Africa. A few millennia later, however, modern humans began their successful settlement of the entire world. The climate was much drier than today and the sea level correspondingly low, which made it possible to cross the then-small Red Sea to reach the south-western Arabian Peninsula.[50] From here sapiens headed east toward India and Indonesia, from where they travelled to Australia about 60,000 to 55,000 years ago. A few millennia earlier, modern humans from India had settled in Southeast Asia and south-eastern China.

Only 10,000 years later did sapiens move from western Asia to the north and west, presumably because the climatic conditions at that time allowed for settlement. About 45,000 years ago modern humans reached Europe. At about the same time sapiens, coming from both Pakistan and East Asia, arrived in Central Asia, from where a few Central Asian sapiens turned west toward Eastern Europe, while others marched on toward Mongolia and eastern Siberia. DNA analyses indicate that the ethnic distinctions between European and Sino-Mongolid modern humans began to develop slowly about 60,000 years ago, and more than 40,000 years later – about 15,000 to 10,000 years ago – the differentiation of the current Asian ethnicities emerged.[51]

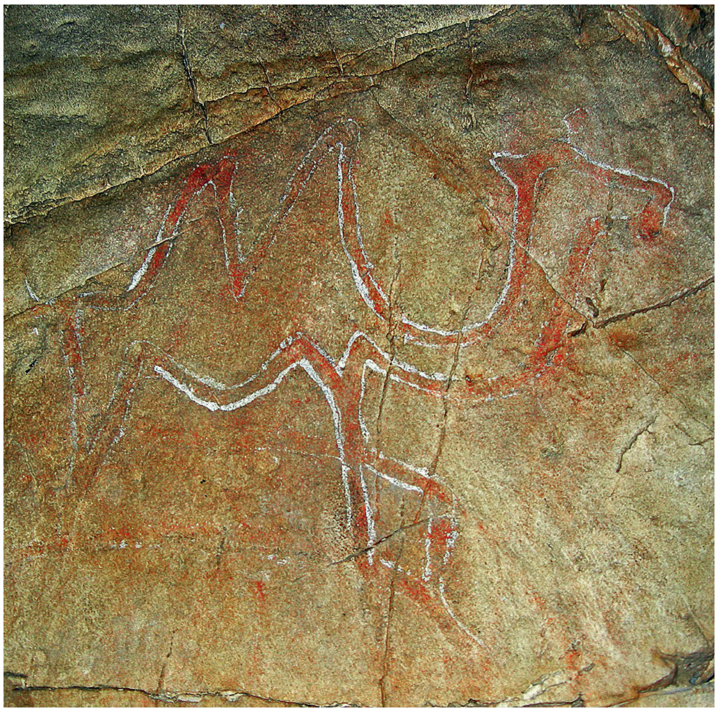
It is certainly conceivable that sapiens in the Siberian Altai encountered representatives of the Denisova ancient humans, whose genetic difference from sapiens is twice as great as that between Neanderthals and sapiens. For this reason the evolutionary anthropologist Johannes Krause of the Max Planck Institute has suggested that at one time in the Altai, which is about the size of Texas, three different human species lived simultaneously.[52] Before the end of the last ice age, presumably about 15,000 to 20,000 years ago, sapiens from eastern Siberia crossed the Bering land bridge, at that time dry land, which linked Asia with Alaska.[53]

3. The birth of art

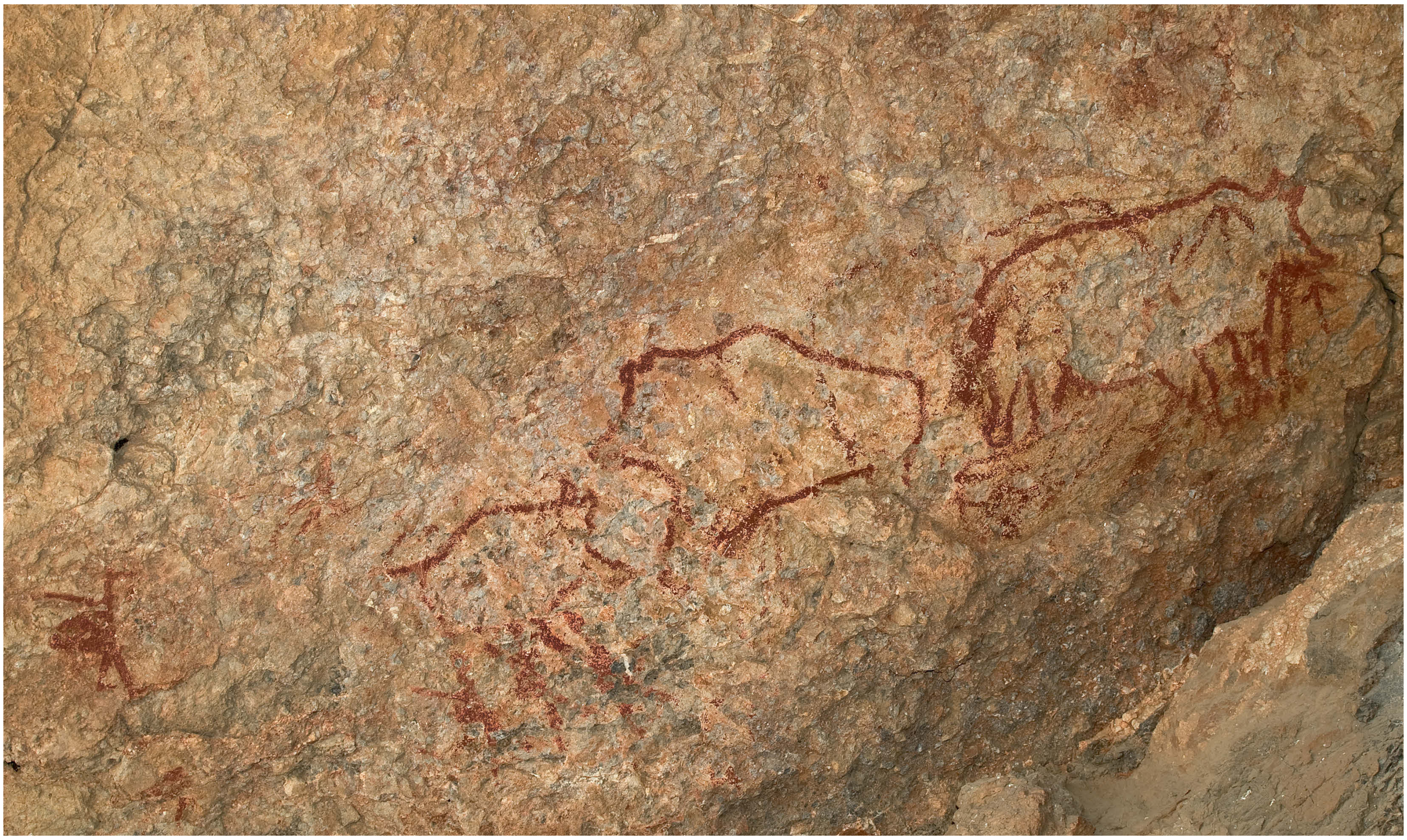
Just before the start of the Upper Palaeolithic, *ca.* 42,500 years ago,[54] a millennia-long cultural revolution began, marking the start of the pictorial, figurative and musical arts. Art blossomed quite suddenly, like a creative big bang, from the Iberian Peninsula in the west to Mongolia in the east. Perhaps it was the ecological conditions – extended cold periods, broad grass steppes, and changing fauna – which forced early humans to adopt a



Rock painting of two mammoths in the cave of Khoit Zenger Agui, Khovd Aimag, western Mongolia, *ca.* 13,000–15,000 BC.



The world's oldest portrayal of a Bactrian camel; rock painting in the cave of Khoit Zenger Agui, Khovd Aimag, western Mongolia, *ca.* 13,000–15,000 BC.



Rock painting of a bear hunt: from left to right, a hunter with a bird's head, a boar and two bears. Shakti, Pamir Mountains, Tajikistan, *ca.* 8000 BC.

mobile way of life. As they lived mainly off the hunt and secondarily from the gathering of edible plants, they had to follow the migration of animals. This led to social relations developing over large distances, which enabled the exchange of goods and pictorial styles. Examples of this are the snails from the Mediterranean used as jewellery and found in Central Europe, cave paintings, and the small, amply proportioned female figurines called 'Venus statues', which are found from Western Europe to Lake Baikal.

Of course, earlier human species such as the Neanderthals also exhibited an aesthetic sense, which may be seen in the symmetrical, superbly crafted hand axes of the Middle Palaeolithic, whose formal perfection far exceeds their functional purpose. An artistic engagement of the human being with himself and his world first began in the Upper Palaeolithic, as the more ancient, *ca.* 77,000-year-old piece of ochre engraved with lines from Blombos, South Africa, is certainly an artefact but hardly a work of art.[55] In the Upper Palaeolithic, however, cognitive abilities arising from interaction with the human environment enabled the creation of works of art in the form of colourful cave and rock paintings; small, portable figures of animals and people; and simple wind instruments.

While in Europe the earliest cave paintings were made in the Chauvet cave (France) 30,000 to 33,000 years ago, the oldest discovery in Central Asia were painted some 15,000 years later.[56]

The earliest rock paintings in Central Asia are in the cave of Khoit Zenger Agui in the province of Khovd in western Mongolia.[57] In the depths of the cave, where semi-darkness prevails, one can recognise on a pinkish-yellow limestone background contour drawings of animals, as well as arrows and dots, drawn in brown and reddish ochre tones. All the animals are shown in profile and consist at most of an outline. They represent wild sheep, ibexes, antelopes, a wild, two-humped camel and giant ostriches, as well as two mammoths or a small elephant of the species *Elephas namadicus*.[58] These last two animals provide evidence of the age of the paintings, since the mammoth and the *Elephas namadicus* died out in Mongolia 15,000 years ago at the latest; this is thus the lower limit of the dating. At that time a warm interim period forced both species to migrate north into colder Siberia. Simultaneously with the mammoth, or shortly thereafter, the ostrich also died out in Mongolia. Petrified ostrich eggshells show that the species was once much more widespread. The portrayal of the camel is also highly significant. In the first place, it is the oldest representation

View from the Shakti cave, located 4,199 m above sea level, on the Pamirs, Murgab District, Gorno-Badakhshan, eastern Tajikistan.

in the world of a two-humped, Bactrian camel. In addition, a slightly curved line drawn under the animal indicates a sand dune and a second line above it shows the horizon, lending the drawing a hint of three-dimensionality.[59]

As on a palimpsest, somewhat later portrayals of Siberian deer heads, snakes and arrows overlay the Palaeolithic paintings; it appears that the original pictures were reinterpreted as a hunting scene. In the Palaeolithic rock paintings of Khoit Zenger the complete absence of human representations also stands out; the animal reigns supreme in art and presumably also in myth.

Of a somewhat later date are the wonderfully well-preserved rock paintings of the abri of Shakti in south-eastern Tajikistan. The figures, drawn in ochre pigments of various shades, date from the early Mesolithic and are about 10,000 years old. They are found in the Pamir Mountains at a height of 4,199 m above sea level in a long dry riverbed, and are the highest Stone Age rock paintings in the world. The rock drawings are the work of people who came from western Tajikistan and were the first to settle in the eastern Pamir Mountains, at the end of the ice age after the retreat of the glaciers. At that time, the start of the Holocene, the climate in the eastern Pamir Mountains was warmer and more humid than today, offering the people a seasonal livelihood. In the summer hunters went up into the mountains, where they hunted red deer and boars. These hunters used the abri of Shakti, where they drew on the rock faces animal and human figures that most likely were related to hunt magic.

Today, however, this part of the Pamirs is a desolate wasteland of rocks and rubble, devoid of vegetation; even nomads can no longer live there. The French naturalist and hunter Vicomte Edmond de Poncins reported the impressions of his 1893 travels there as follows:

> The words at the start of Dante's Inferno came to mind: '*Abandon hope, all you who enter here*'. Regardless of one's ideas of desolation, desert, and aridity, the view of Kyzyl Art [the stone desert surrounding Shakti] will exceed all expectations. One could believe himself to be the only person who had ever seen this endless, accursed land, but the bleached bones that indicate the direction to follow show that others have come before.[60]

The abri of Shakti was discovered by archaeologists by chance in 1958, when they sought refuge from the weather. The cave-like shelter, oriented to the north, has an opening that is about 6.5 m wide and 8 m high. It is less than 4 m deep, but nonetheless offers protection from sun and rain. The drawings on limestone are arranged on a 250-cm-long frieze about 160 to 200 cm above the ground on the southern side of the cave. Of the seven figures, four are clearly recognisable: to the far left a 23-cm-tall man, holding a club, approaches three rather large animals; he resembles a bird and has a bird's head. The figure could represent a hunter wearing a bird mask and a bird-like costume as camouflage, a hunting tactic still used today in Central Asia and Mongolia. To the right stands the 40-cm-long figure of a boar, turned away from the hunter; it has either fallen into a trap or is surrounded by highly stylised hunters. To the right of the boar a 60-cm-long bear is ready to spring to the left, as if to attack the boar; below the bear are stuck in the ground one or two spears, with which it has been injured. To the far right stands an 85-cm-long bear, looking to the right, toward which fly three arrows from different directions; the scene portrays a bear hunt.[61] These rock paintings are part of the **Markansu** culture of the eastern Pamirs, to which the Mesolithic site at Oshkhona also belongs. Appearing in the eastern Pamirs at the same time as the Markansu culture was the Mesolithic culture of **Ishtyk**, whose stone tools displayed similarities to finds made in northern Afghanistan, which, for their part, were influenced by early Mesolithic cultures of south-western Central Asia.[62]

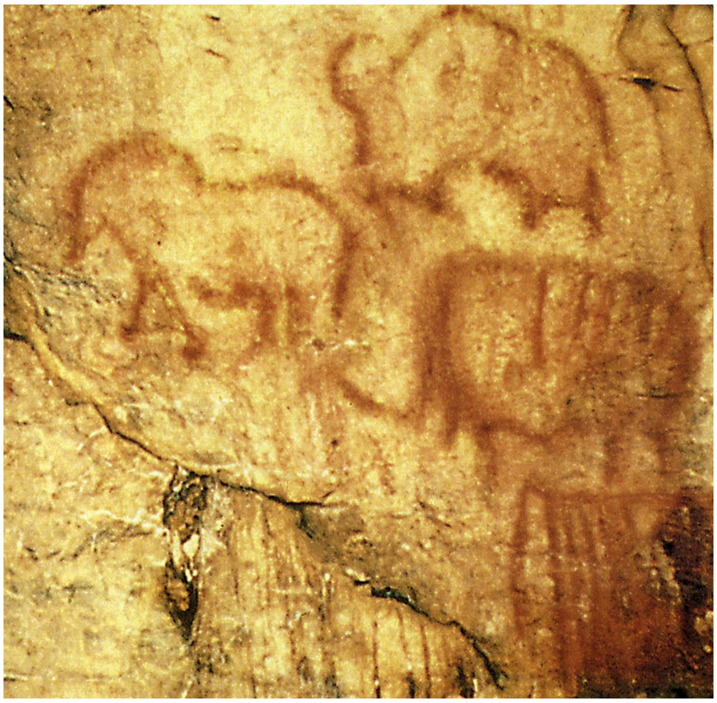
Just 2 km from Shakti is the shelter of Kurteke, 4,020 m above sea level, with traces of Neolithic drawings. Also close to Shakti, near the Naiza Tash pass, 4,137 m above sea level, there is another rock shelter with a few Neolithic paintings, presumably portraying a hunting scene.[63] Dating from the same epoch are the rock paintings in the cave of Ak Cunkur, at a height of 3,151 m above sea level in far north-eastern Kyrgyzstan on the border with China. The 45-m-long cave features hunting and dancing scenes drawn in ochre pigments that, as the author discovered in 2004, are no longer recognisable as they lie under a thick layer of soot.[64]

In contrast to the rock paintings of Khoit Zenger, in those of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan human figures clearly appear in the context of a hunt in at least three of the four caves. Thanks to the invention of the bow almost *ca.* 12,000 years ago[65] and the increased organisational abilities of the Mesolithic and Neolithic people, hunts could be more efficiently organised. Among the preparations for a successful hunt were attempts to actively influence elements of the environment. Presumably the rock paintings portraying hunting scenes had a magical relationship to the hunt preparations, whether as a wish that powerful spirits would provide for a successful hunt or that the corresponding animals would increase and remain in their usual habitats.

A somewhat different kind of coloured rock painting is found in the southern Urals in the Palaeolithic caves of Kapova and Ignateva, east of the city of Ufa. More than 50 drawings of mammoths, horses, a rhinoceros and possibly an ox, as well as unidentifiable beings and geometric figures, adorn the limestone walls of the Kapova cave. These drawings are divided into eight groups over the three levels of the cave. Most notable is a 35-cm-tall anthropomorphic figure consisting of a human torso and arms and a horse's legs; the head is no longer discernible. The colours used for the 14,000- to 16,000-year-old drawings were mostly ochre in various shades, ranging from a light red to a dark red-brown and purple-brown, with these different ochre tones being produced by the burning of iron ore or iron concretations. Added to these was the colour black, which was made from charcoal or manganese oxide.[66] On the basis of this discovery archaeologists assume that this complex cave had a cultic purpose and did not serve as a residence.

The humans of that time sheltered from cold, rain and predators not only in the caves or abris. They also built dwellings made of mammoth bones and tusk on terraces above a nearby canyon. Over the top of these makeshift dwellings, which were sunk slightly into the ground, they laid animal skins sewn together with sinew and bone needles. About 40 tusks driven into the ground formed supports for the roof and the entryway; on the ground, between the tusks, lay mammoth thighbones and skulls. Jawbones usually extended between these lower halves of the walls and the roof. The mammoth dwellings had a circular or oval floor plan of about 5 to 7 m in diameter and offered shelter to eight to ten people.[67] In Mezin, Ukraine, archaeologists found the remains of five such dwellings, consisting of 1,350 bones from at least 116 animals. At Mezhirich four such houses were discovered, the largest of which alone used 385 bones from 95 animals. Very similar dwellings made of mammoth bones were likewise found near Malt'a west of Lake Baikal. They usually did not stand alone but rather formed small settlements of three to six dwellings. These dwellings represent not only one of the earliest forms of architecture but also of the artistic embellishment of human habitations. The walls of Dwelling 1 in Mezin were decorated with zigzags, parallel lines and chevrons in reddish yellow pigments obtained from hematite and jarosite.[68]

These settlements show that in the Upper Palaeolithic southern Siberia and neighbouring Ukraine were rather well settled – in



Rock painting in the Kapova cave in the southern Urals, Russia. From left to right, a horse, a mammoth, a rhinoceros or a mammoth, a trapeze-shaped object, *ca.* 12,000–14,000 BC.

the Ukraine alone more than 500 Upper Palaeolithic archaeological sites have been found. They also indicate that the big game hunters of the Eurasian 'mammoth steppe' were semi-sedentary. Based on spear tips made of mammoth bones and the bones of slain bison and mammoths, which were found in the valley of a narrow canyon, the archaeologist Pidoplichko opined that the entire adult population of the settlement, including women, participated in the hunt. A few drove the animals over the ledge of a steep canyon, while others killed them with spears and presumably also spear-throwers as soon as they reached the valley floor. Such two-part spear-throwers had an effective range of about 30 m, and the spears reached a launch speed of more than 100 km/hr.[69]

The people also crafted arrowheads, hammers, needles and scrapers from mammoth bones and sharp awls from the shinbones of hares.[70] As long as sufficient big game lived within a habitat – the mammoth bone settlements stood dozens of kilometers apart – the hunters in it remained sedentary. According to Pidoplichko's estimate, these settlements lasted seven to 20 years, after which hunting communities moved on.[71]

At the 14,000- to 17,000-year-old settlement of Mezhirich, archaeologists also discovered jewellery in the form of carved mammoth bones coloured with ochre, small, flat, stylised female figurines and a rare engraved, flat mammoth bone. The archaeologist Ninelj Kornietz believes that mammoth bone dwellings, trees and a river are recognisable in the engraved forms. This would indicate that the piece was a kind of map. If this is true, it would represent by far the oldest map in the world and would attest to great imaginative abilities of the people at the time. At another mammoth bone settlement at Mezin, about 260 km northeast of Mezhirich, archaeologists found jewellery made from seashells that must have come from the Black Sea over 600 km to the south. This discovery provides evidence that even some 15,000 years ago goods were being exchanged between these hunting communities and people on the Black Sea, perhaps along the Desna and Dnieper rivers.[72]

At the Ignateva cave about 150 km north of the Kapova cave, only the entrance hall served as a place of settlement. The rooms decorated with 13,000- to 14,000-year-old paintings are, however, found deep in the cave's interior where complete darkness and nearly 100 per cent humidity prevail, since the air does not circulate. In this cave images of animals in shades of red and black also predominate; unfortunately, due to vandalism, they are not as well

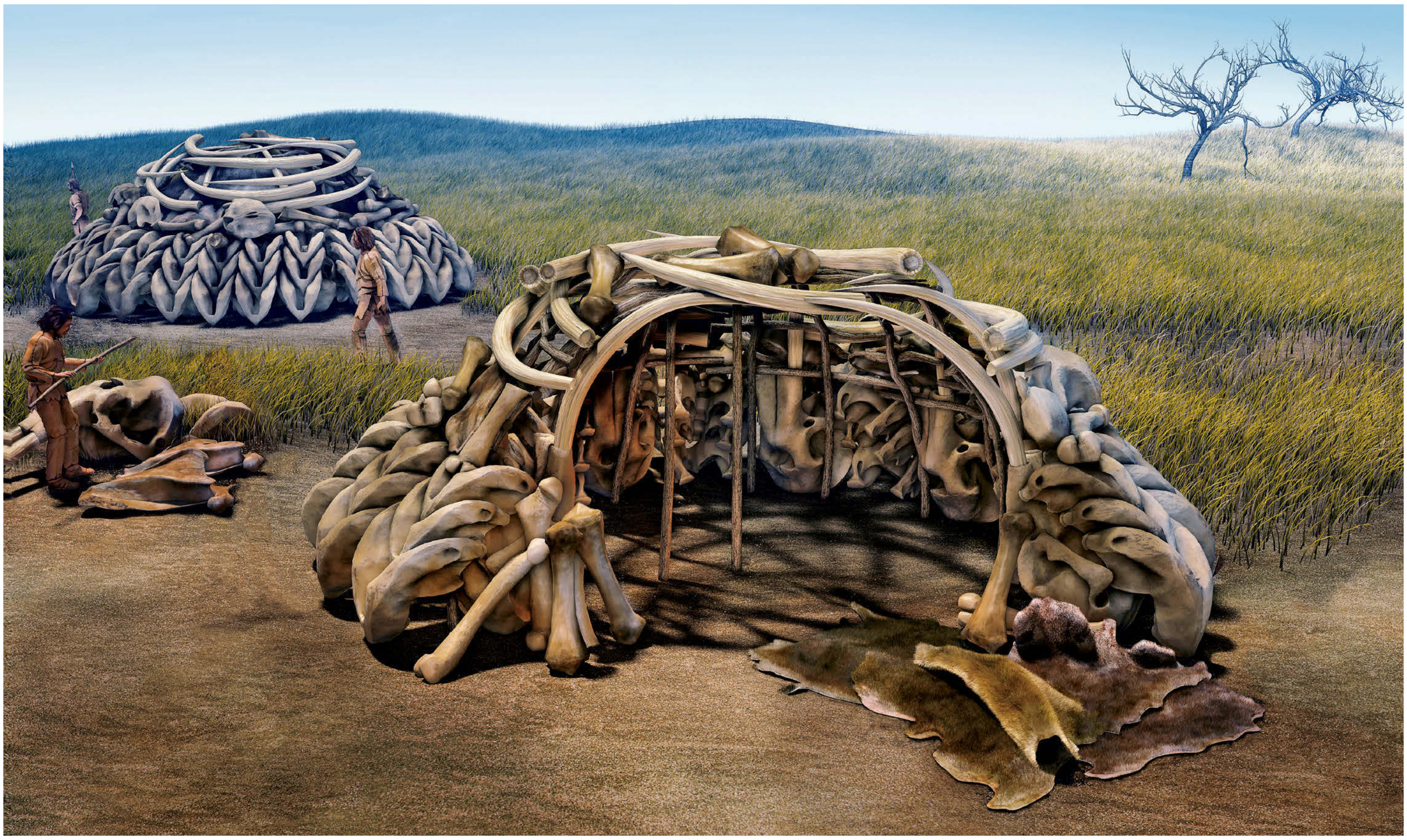


Illustration according to archaeological data of a settlement made of mammoth bones in the Ukrainian–Russian grass steppe from the Upper Palaeolithic.

Skeleton of a young mammoth which fell into the dripstone cave of Emine Bayir Chosar, central Crimea.

preserved as those at Kapova. Most of the animals portrayed are mammoths, but there are also horses, a rhinoceros, an auroch and a two-humped camel. Other figures depicted include a woman, a kind of stick figure, and a human-animal hybrid made up of a human body and a bird's head and legs, and arrows.[73] The very poorly preserved paintings of Serpievka 2 presumably date from the late Upper Palaeolithic; those of Muradymovka are more recent.[74]

Portrayals of mammoths are also prominent in the cave paintings of Western Europe, which date from *ca.* 10,000 to 17,000 years ago. Mammoths appear in at least 370 pictures in 41 different caves. European cave paintings also feature images of mysterious human-animal hybrids such as painted bull-, bison-, and deer-men or anthropomorphic statuettes like the 32,000-year-old figurine of the 'lion man of Hohenstein Stadel', made of mammoth ivory. In the Neolithic such hybrids also appeared in the petroglyphs of Central Asia. In the absence of written sources we can only guess at their deeper significance. Are they animal spirits and deified animals that appear to us with human attributes, or are they highly unusual humans endowed with animal attributes, who make contact with animal spirits? We do not know; evidence of parallels to shamanistic rituals remains speculative.

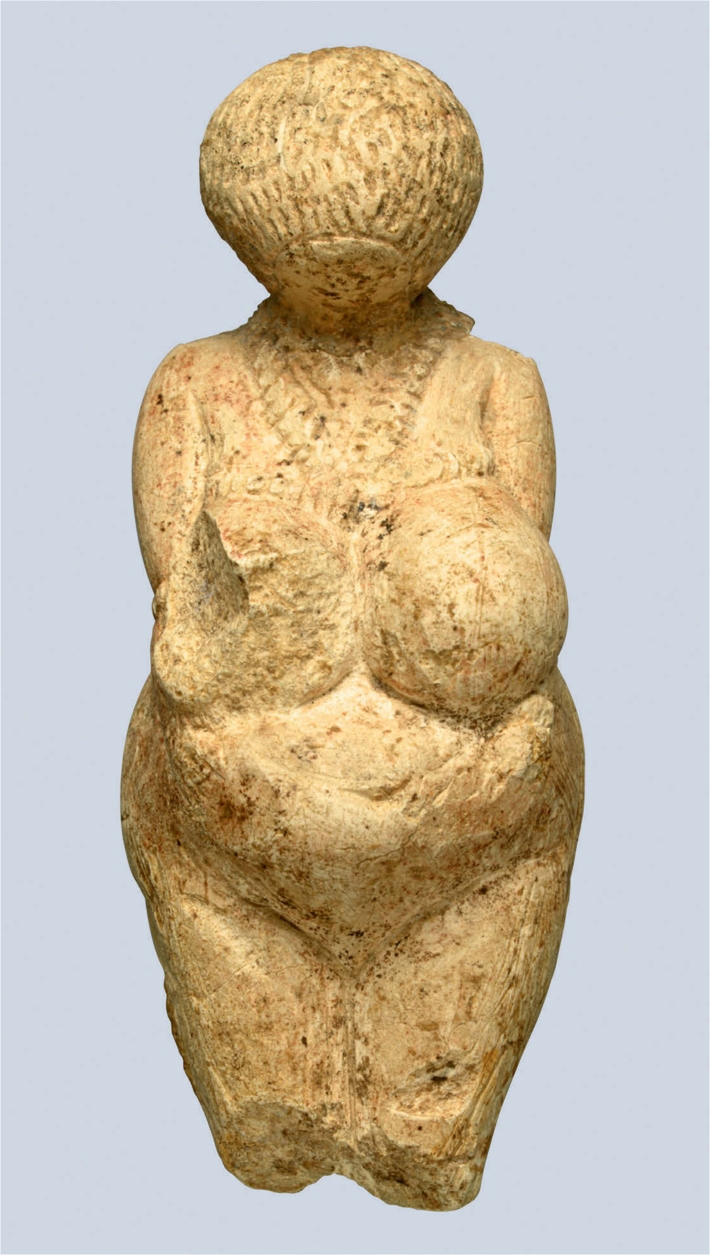
In any case, the rock paintings suggest that the people of the time saw the boundary between human and animal as not unbridgeable but rather in flux. It is also striking that the wall paintings of the Urals and Western Europe are found deep in the inaccessible cave interiors, where complete darkness and silence prevail. These were not residences but rather cultic sites, which were presumably open only to selected individuals. Whether they served purposes of hunting magic, were magical places of healing or initiation, or represented a bridge to the supernatural remains unknown. The appearance of rock paintings in the Earth's interior is hardly a coincidence, however; perhaps this development is related to dreams and memory, and it was the recollection of dreams that suggested to early humans the existence of a self-contained dream world and of beings independent of the body. Dreams opened for human beings the door to the unseen. Time spent in a dark cave, which offer hardly any stimuli to the senses, comes close to the conditions of a sleeping dream.

Regardless of their intended purpose, these paintings and drawings should be seen as art, since they express the desire to portray a figure or object according to aesthetic principles such that it is clearly recognisable and its attributes can be identified. Capacity for abstract thought, imagination, and the ability to think in symbols – capabilities that the Upper Palaeolithic human clearly possessed – are all essential preconditions for art, both its creation and its viewing.

In addition to cave paintings, the so-called Venus figurines connected Central Asia with Western and Central Europe in the Upper Palaeolithic. These tiny female figures, rarely more than 10 cm tall, may be made of stone, bones, mammoth ivory and clay. The term 'Venus' is misleading insofar as the statuettes have no relation to any 'goddess of love', but rather it denotes their nakedness. The statue that is presumably the oldest in the world is the 6-cm-tall 'Venus of Hohle Fels'. More than 35,000 years old, it is made of carved ivory and was discovered in Germany in 2008. This and the other 12,000- to 24,000-year-old Venus figurines of Western and Central Europe have pronounced feminine features, such as ample breasts and buttocks as well as abdomens and thighs. They give the impression of being pregnant or overweight; their faces are barely indicated. Their meaning has been interpreted in various ways, as amulets, as symbols of human fertility or an adequate diet, and as portrayals of goddesses.

About 2,000 km farther east similar figures of comparable age have been found in the Russian-Ukrainian lowlands west of the Urals. These include more than 120 statuettes discovered at Kostienki 1, as well as at Avdeevo and Gagarino.[75] Most notable is the 26,000-year-old 'Venus of Dolní Věstonice', discovered in the Czech Republic. This 11-cm-tall ceramic statuette lay near a camp of Upper Palaeolithic mammoth hunters. This female figurine and other terra cotta figures of mammoths and big cats found there show that the practice of hardening clay with heat was known millennia before the start of settled agrarian culture. Analyses of the statues of Dolní Věstonice reveal that they were fired in specialised kilns at temperatures of 500–800 °C.[76]

The small ivory figures from Bouret and Malt'a, north of Irkutsk on the western bank of the Angara River, reveal that 20,000 years ago the Upper Palaeolithic cultural zone extended over nearly 7,000 km from Western Europe to Lake Baikal. Here between 1956 and 1958 the archaeologist Gerasimov discovered near the remains of hunters' dwellings made of mammoth and woolly rhinoceros bones the grave of a child whose body had been covered with ochre and who had been given a diadem made from mammoth tusk. At the settlement Gerasimov discovered also dozens of small animal and human figurines, among them 24 Venus statuettes, whose age has been estimated at 20,000 to 23,000 years.[77] They belong to two different types, of which both are also represented in Western and Central Europe. The first are naked and have large breasts and wide hips, similar to most European female statuettes. The others, by contrast, appear to wear a fitted garment with a hood and have a sophisticated hairstyle and a very slender, even unnaturally thin figure, similar to the slim 'Venus of Galgenberg', who stands in a dancing pose.[78]



Palaeolithic female statue made of limestone, Kostienki-1, Don River basin, eastern Ukraine, *ca.* 20,000 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The culture of Malt'a on Lake Baikal existed at the same time as that of Kostienki-Avdeevo-Gagarino and along with the Western European hunter-gatherer culture of the Gravettian and Epigravettian, perhaps also along the preceding culture of the late Aurignacian. There is little doubt that they all formed a

Palaeolithic female statue made of mammoth bone, Malt'a, Siberia, Russia, 18,000–21,000 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

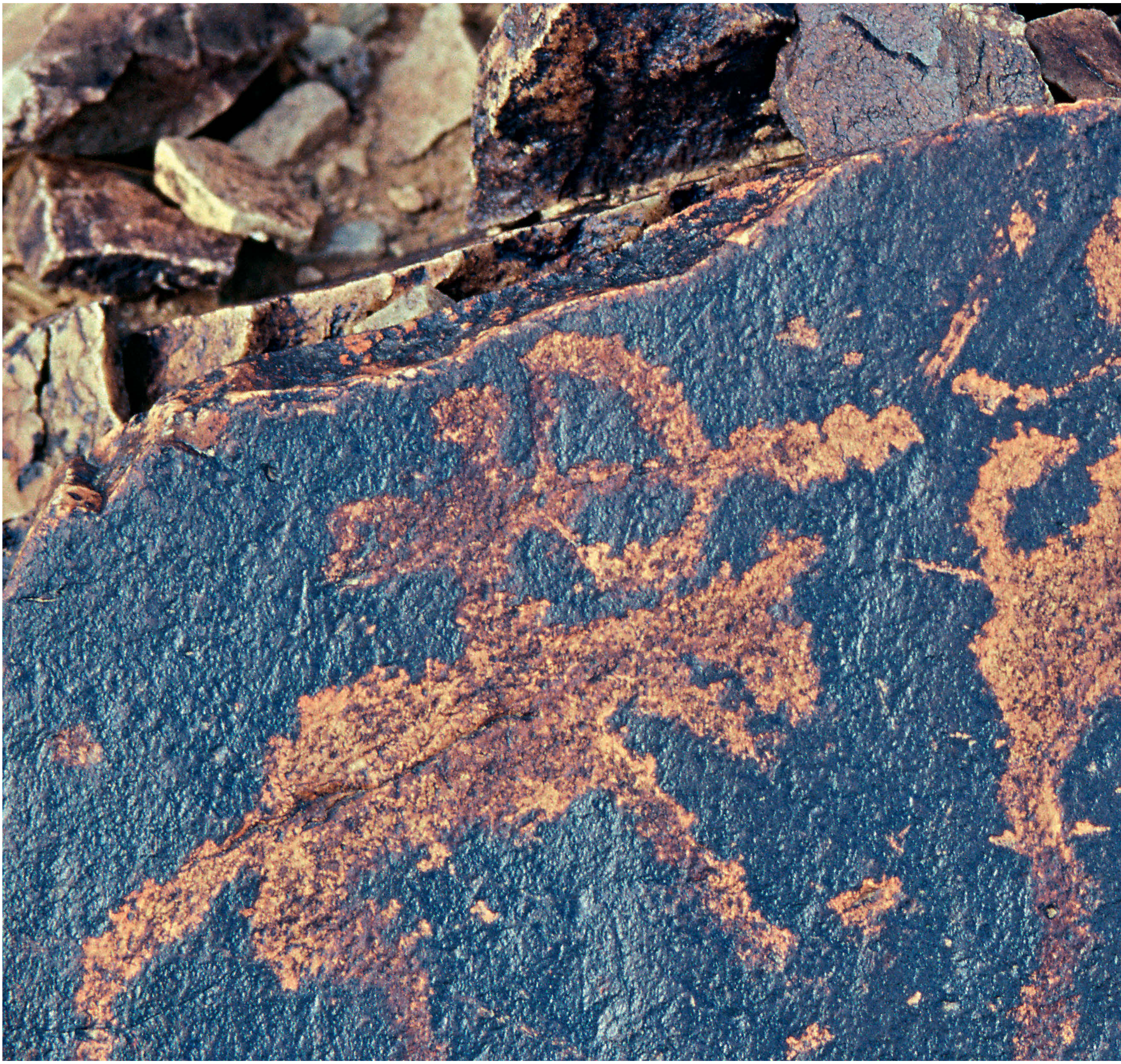
wide-ranging shared cultural horizon, in which social networks existed – a kind of pan-Eurasian proto-Silk Road of the northern steppe. When a markedly cold period set in about 20,000 years ago, Siberia and the Eastern European plains were depopulated as the hunter-gatherer communities migrated south and west for survival. These regions were slowly resettled only 4,000 years later, as the continental ice shield gradually receded.[79]

4. The bow – a 12,000-year-old success story

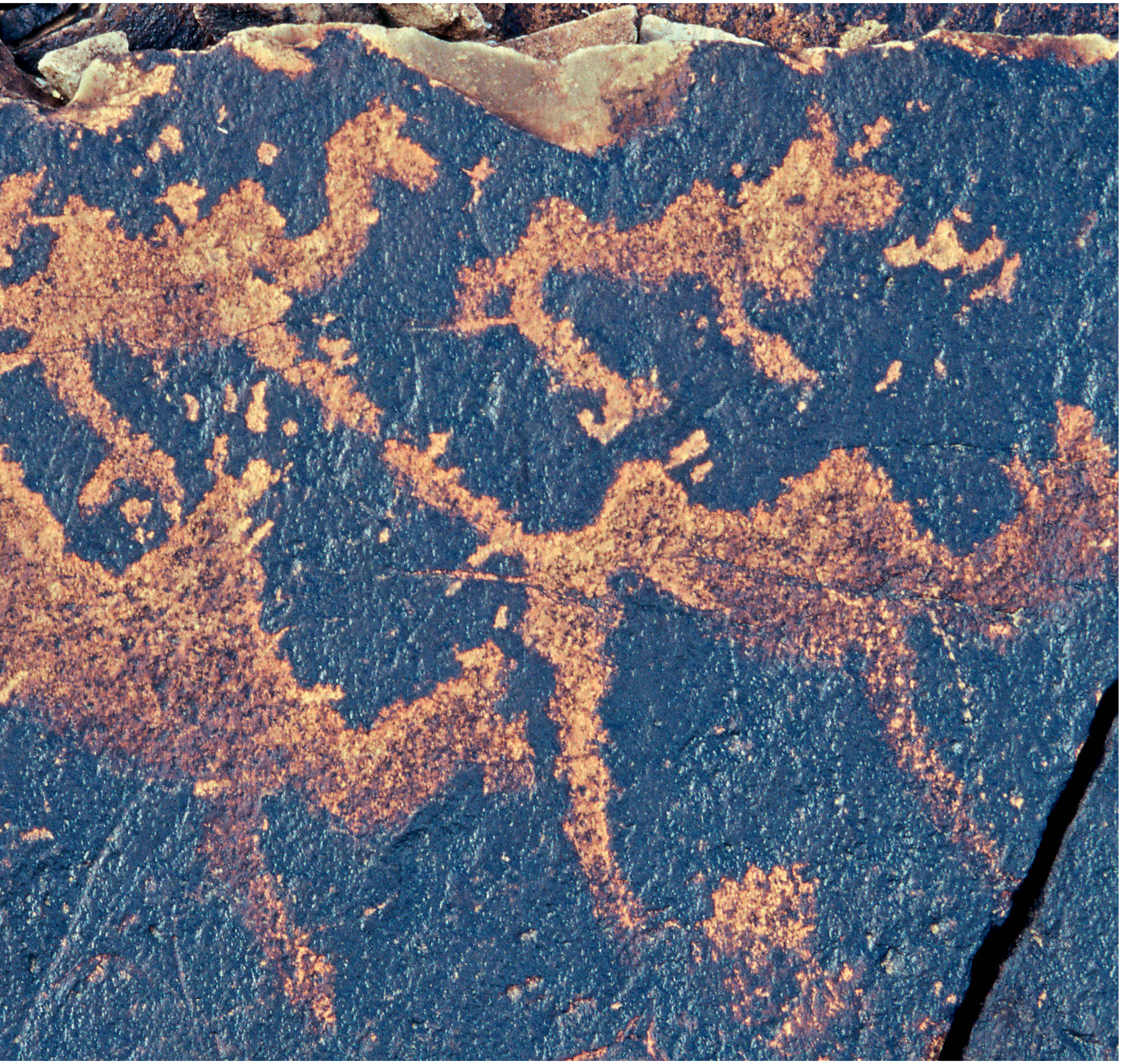
A second, somewhat later invention of the Palaeolithic was the bow. This new long-range weapon could be used both for hunting and fighting, and it had several advantages over the spear. Thanks to its greater range, the shooter was less exposed when taking a shot than was the thrower when using the spear. Second, it offered greater accuracy and, third, it was much lighter in weight, so a hunter could take many more arrows with him than spears. Finally, the arrow was faster and more convenient to make and could be shot from almost any body position and in any terrain. The bow revealed its full potential only millennia later in combination with the horse, when in the early first millennium BC on the steppes of Eurasia bands of mounted archers developed into the most feared fighting force of their time. As the rather small recurve bow of the Scythians could be drawn with relatively little effort, it was also an ideal weapon for women, especially as young female riders were the equals of male riders in agility and speed. The bow remained the dominant long-range weapon for *ca*. 12,000 years – gradually superseded by firearms only at the start of the late Middle Ages.

When precisely the bow was invented is disputed, since the oldest indications – *ca*. 20,000-year-old points made of flint – could also have served as the tips of light spears. A bow found near Mannheim in Germany in 1976 or 1978 is thought to be the oldest bow in the world. It is a 40-cm-long worked piece of pine, originally about 110 cm long. This approximately 11,700-year-old bow had a range of 80 m and a draw weight of 11 to 14 kg. The other and indisputable evidence for the bow is the approximately 12,000-year-old intact bows from Stellmoor near Hamburg, northern Germany, as well as two 8,000-year-old bows from Holmgård IV in Denmark.[80] Of roughly comparable age are the portrayals of bow hunters in petroglyphs on the eastern coast of Spain, which date to between 5000 and 2800 BC,[81] as well as those of Tsagaan Salaa in western Mongolia.[82]

The first bows were simple self bows without an arrow rest or a grip; out of this developed the longbow, whose length nearly equalled that of the bowman. More efficient than the self bow was the recurve bow, which features tips that curve backwards, so that it stores significantly more energy. Contrary to popular belief, the recurve bow did not first appear in the Bronze Age. This is shown by images of such bows in petroglyphs on Spain's Mediterranean coast and the almost contemporaneous rock paintings of Alta in Norway, dating from 5,000 to nearly 7,000 years ago.[83] Sixteen



A mounted archer hunts camels. Petroglyph in the Sirven foothills, Ömnögov Aimag, southern Mongolia, *ca*. 1000 BC.



4,500- to 5,000-year-old bows from a burial ground near Pribaikalja, north-west of Lake Baikal, may represent the oldest archaeological discovery of a recurve bow.[84]

The combination of a recurve bow with first bilobite arrowheads and, beginning in the late Bronze Age, three-winged trilobite arrowheads, was a deadly weapon. While arrowheads with bilobite tips could be pulled out of a wound that did not involve any vital organs, a trilobite arrowhead, with added barbs, caused a fatal loss of blood from the many parts of the body it could strike. In the later first millennium BC bands of Scythian riders multiplied the deadly effect of the weapon by dipping the arrow in a mixture of snake venom and blood contaminated with dung; the Greeks called this poison 'scythicon'.[85]

The composite bow, very likely invented on the steppes of Central Asia before or around the middle of the second millennium BC, represents a further refinement of the recurve bow. It was made of at least two materials, which further increased the tension force and draw weight and lessened the bow's length, so that it served as the ideal weapon for horse riders. Composite bows are usually made of a wooden core, over which, during a multi-year process, other materials like bone, horn, metal, or other types of wood are layered and wrapped in sinew and animal skins or tree bark. Depending on the type of arrow used, the later composite bows of the Mongol and Turkish horsemen had a range of more than 500 m. The laminated composite bow also had weaknesses, however, since it is vulnerable to humidity, which causes the layers to separate due to retained water. Thus horsemen from the north who invaded the humid plains of India, such as the Kushan, often discovered that their best weapons literally fell apart. For that reason the Byzantine Emperor Maurikios (*r.* 582–609 AD) who had successfully waged war against horse peoples recommended in his strategy handbook *Strategikon*: 'If the enemy has a very strong force of archers, watch for wet weather, which affects the bow, to launch our attack against them.'[86] With the introduction of the composite bow, bronze arrowheads with sockets of standard size and weight began to be produced, which made it easier to set up a shot and thus improved accuracy.[87]

Since bows were made of organic materials, well-preserved archaeological specimens remain rare in Central Asia. Among the oldest is the broken bow of Arzhan 2, Tuva (southern Siberia), which was unearthed in 2001 from the grave of a Scythian royal couple who lived in the seventh century BC.[88] Somewhat less old but better preserved is the asymmetrical horseman's bow of Olon Kurin Gol, found in Mongolia in 2006.[89] For climatic reasons the two best-preserved ancient composite bows come from the Turfan Basin and the Taklamakan Desert of China, two very arid regions on the eastern edge of Central Asia, where organic matter remains preserved for millennia. Both bows were grave goods; the one from Subexi[90] near Turfan dates from the fifth to the third century BC, and the one from Niya[91] in the interior of the Taklamakan Desert from the first three or four centuries AD.

III

A Global Climatic Warming Ushers in the Mesolithic

The paintings on rocks, they are the earliest dialog of the human being with eternity. With these pictures the human of prehistory recorded his wishes, his dreams, his worldview, his thoughts, and his experiences.

HERBERT KÜHN, FOREWORD TO *A.P. OKLADNIKOW, DER HIRSCH MIT DEM GOLDENEN GEWEIH*, 1972[1]

1. The retreat of the glaciers

The temperature in the northern hemisphere began to rise markedly about 14,700 years ago. This increase was caused by heightened solar activity, a notable increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, and a shift to the north of the warm Gulf Stream ocean current. This warm period ended after two millennia with a return to cold conditions, but 11,700 years ago the current warm period began abruptly, caused by an increased intensity in solar radiation, with a temperature rise of as much as 8 °C in ten years.[2] With the retreat of the great glaciers, the Pleistocene ended and the Holocene began, coinciding with the transition from the Palaeolithic to the Mesolithic.[3]

The Mesolithic is defined by scholars according to two different criteria. Its start is identified according to geochronological considerations and placed at the beginning of the Holocene around 9700 BC; its end, however, is determined by archaeological criteria. The Mesolithic ends with the Neolithic revolution, the beginning of productive economic activity in the form of animal husbandry or farming. Thus the transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic occurred at different times in different regions.

The huge increase in temperature, well above our current level, had lasting consequences for flora and fauna. In the northern half of Central Asia large wooded zones expanded, forcing the steppes southward; in the southern half, however, several steppe regions became drier and turned into hostile deserts, so Mesolithic archaeological discoveries occur there much less frequently than do Palaeolithic.[4] Only the technology of artificial irrigation enabled Neolithic people to settle successfully in desert oases, as they did in, for example, south-western Turkmenistan.

The warming of the climate also forced large mammals adapted to the cold, such as the mammoth, to migrate north, where they quickly died out. Among the animals, besides the mammoth, that went extinct at the end of the Pleistocene were the woolly rhinoceros, the steppe bison, the cave lion, the cave hyena and the giant deer. Scientists still do not know, however, whether these large mammals fell victim only to the temperature increase, since they had adapted to earlier climate fluctuations, or if additional factors, such as a decreased rate of reproduction or intensive hunting, also played a role. Particularly in the case of popular meat sources such as the mammoth, the steppe bison and the giant deer, increased hunting may have contributed to their demise. At the same time, the great herds of wild horses and reindeer also disappeared, forcing hunters to change their strategies. They could no longer ambush herds or lure them into a trap, such as a rock pit, but rather had to pursue individual animals, for which the bow, as an accurate weapon, was indispensable.

In north-eastern Central Asia and in the northern steppes, unlike in the south-east, the temperature increase at the start of the Holocene did not cause a drying out of the landscape but rather, thanks to increased precipitation and the melting of permafrost and glaciers, a rise in humidity. In the region of modern western Mongolia, the Altai and southern Siberia, large woodland areas and marshy plains expanded, opening new habitats for other animals such as aurochs, elk, red deer, argalis (mountain sheep), bears and wild pigs. These new arrivals offered humans a rich hunting ground, while simultaneously forcing them to become more mobile.[5] At that time north-eastern Central Asia provided hunters, fishermen and gatherers with a wealth of sustenance. With the retreat of the permafrost and the cold far to the north, human beings and animals adapted to relative warmth advanced into regions that today have a harsh climate.

2. Petroglyphs as information sources

For the Middle Stone Age onwards, scholars of culture and history have access to a new source of knowledge in addition to archaeological, ecological and genetic data. These are petroglyphs, widespread in the eastern half of Central Asia though found mostly in inaccessible locations. These stone engravings not only have a mythical, magical or shamanistic meaning, depending on the interpretation, but also reflect the material reality of the time.[6] Thus they convey irreplaceable information about the fauna, human lifestyles and technologies used, such as the emergence of domesticated cattle herds, the use of tents or four-wheeled wagons and two-wheeled chariots, as well as the adoption of horse riding and various weapons. The relevance of the petroglyphs for history is enhanced by their continuity in a particular place, since they were often carved over the course of several millennia in the same, clearly sacred location. In this way they may be understood as both open-air holy sites and the earliest stone ‘history books’. Since such sites with petroglyphs were often used for centuries or even millennia, they must have contributed to a strong sense of social and cultural identity in the community concerned.

Sites with thousands or even tens of thousands of engravings in Mongolia, Xinjiang, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and southern Siberia offer graphic information from the Mesolithic into the Middle Ages, provided the climatic conditions permitted human survival. Petroglyphs are an important extension of archaeological data because the latter provide information mostly from burial sites and the corresponding grave goods, while there are no portrayals of funerals in the petroglyphs. Instead, they depict important life events and traditions and the mythical and magical ideas associated with them.[7] In broad terms, archaeological burial sites give insight into a particular funereal culture, social norms, and to some extent material culture; petroglyphs, by contrast, tell us about life in this world and its associated ideals.

However, in the absence of organic material that permits the use of radiocarbon methods, petroglyphs are difficult to date. The organic material that becomes embedded in the fine engravings in the rock often oxidises, so that measurements result in a too recent date. In addition, organic matter can be blown by the wind into a layer of rock. Serving as a starting point for dating are analyses of the patina and the degree of weathering, the palaeoecological environment, and the technology employed. Dating based on stylistic characteristics is still highly inexact.

As surfaces for petroglyphs the artists chose granite-like stones, smoothed and polished by glaciers, or preferred so-called greywacke,[8] a relatively hard sandstone consisting of feldspar, clay shale, quartz, clay minerals, chlorite and mica. The boulders have a smooth surface and a patina whose colours range from dark brown through brick red to dark pink, so that the artists found ideal, naturally occurring 'canvases'. The engraved motifs first appeared white and were visible from greater distances than they are today; after a few centuries a new patina formed, lessening the contrast with the background. In the Mongolian Altai, for instance, it took about 3,000 years for the white colour of the petroglyphs to begin disappearing.[9]

Petroglyphs, which are defined as pictures either directly or indirectly engraved, embossed or scraped into rock, must be distinguished from rock painting, in which pigments are applied to rocks. In petroglyphs rock is removed, but this is not the case

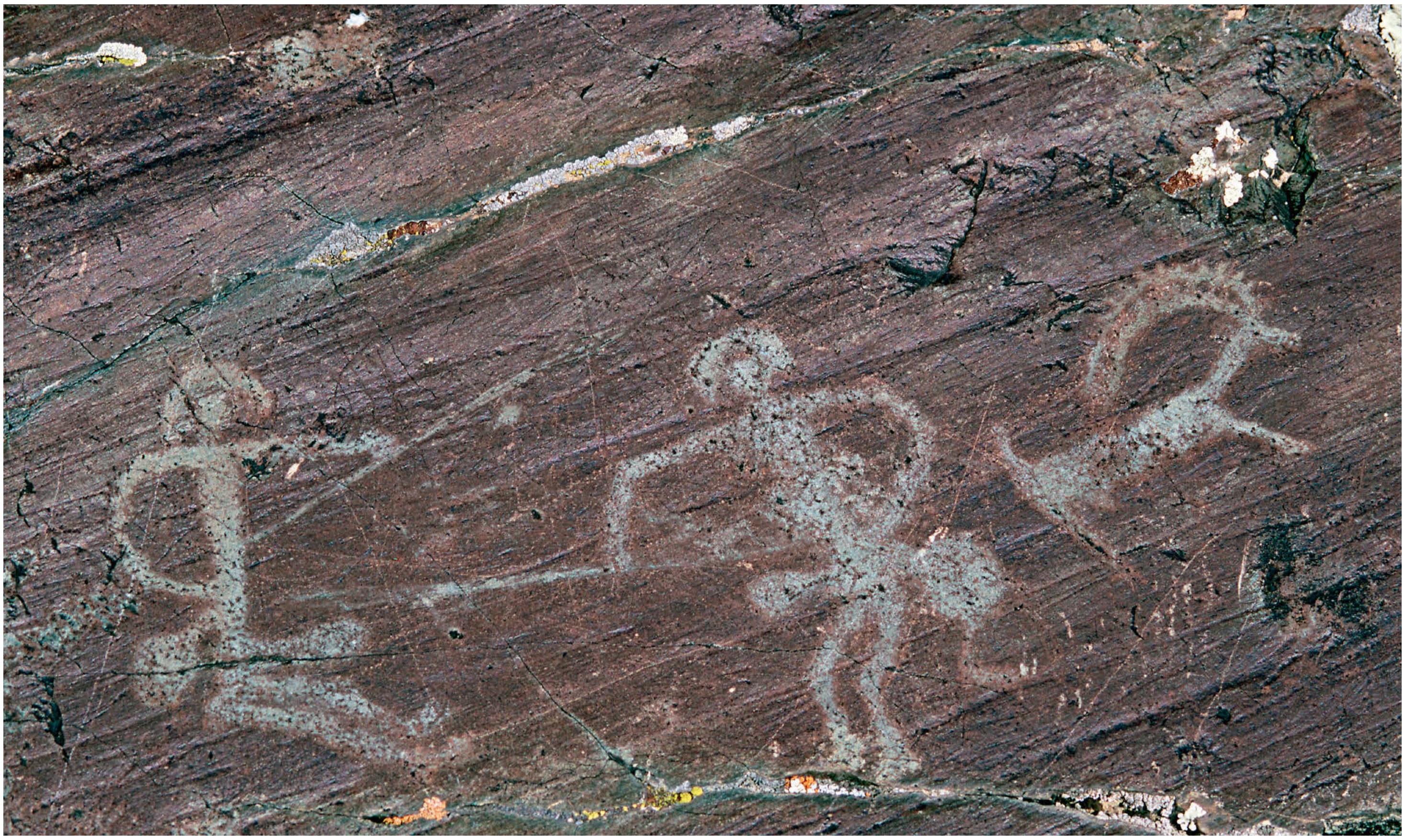
Crater of the Khorgo Uul volcano, 2,285 m above sea level and extinct for the past 8,000 years, Arkhangai Aimag, Central Mongolia.

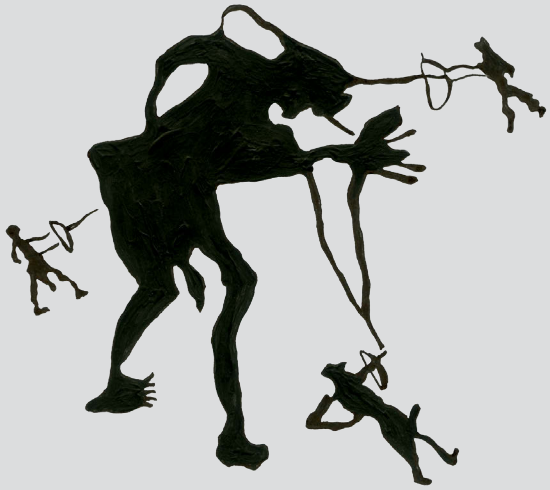
The petroglyphs of Tsagaan Salaa and Baga Oigor, Mongolia

The archaeological complex of Tsagaan Salaa and Baga Oigor is found in a sparse mountain steppe landscape of western Mongolia and, with its approximately 100,000 stone engravings, resembles a huge open-air museum that runs along the mountain rivers Tsagaan Salaa and Baga Oigor over an area of 15 km^2. The lowest engravings are about 30 m above the valley floor at a height of 2,240 m above sea level; the highest are at 2,630 m above sea level. They are mostly oriented toward the sun to the south, south-west or south-east. A few of the most heavily decorated and interesting complexes are found near areas sheltered from the wind, and presumably served as winter camps.

An exploration here is like a richly illustrated journey through 13,000 to 14,000 years of history. This petroglyph complex, still well preserved today thanks to its remote location, is not only one of the largest in Central Asia but also the most comprehensive with regard to chronological coverage of various cultural epochs. The stone engravings are landmarks of life over the course of climate fluctuations and the attendant development of a hunter-gatherer society into one of nomadic stockbreeders. This stone history book begins in the late Upper Palaeolithic when, toward the end of the last ice age, human beings hunted mammoths, which are portrayed in primitive form in a dozen petroglyphs. In the subsequent warm period of the Mesolithic, thick forests and marshy plains emerged in the Altai, which were inhabited by aurochs, elk and red deer. The petroglyphs of these animals, as well as of argalis and horses, were usually portrayed in the style of a monumental, somewhat static idealised realism; a captivating minority of them feature a lifelike, almost elegant realism, and all appear in profile. Toward the end of the Mesolithic they are joined by pictures of bears and Siberian ibexes; the latter suggest the start of a retreat of the forests.

The first human figures appear in petroglyphs dating from the Neolithic, which began about 6,000 to 6,500 years ago. Before this, stone art was dominated by animals. Now, however, not only the relationship between human and animal was reflected in the petroglyphs but also essential aspects of human existence. Animals no longer stood at the centre of the picture; the human being moved into that space. In Tsagaan Salaa three theme cycles can be seen: the hunt, human reproduction, and perhaps also a first step into the world of the supernatural. Neolithic hunters, usually large figures armed with a club or spear, were mostly portrayed frontally, as were birthing women. The third type of human portrayal is mysterious. It shows a bell-shaped figure with short legs, whose faceless head



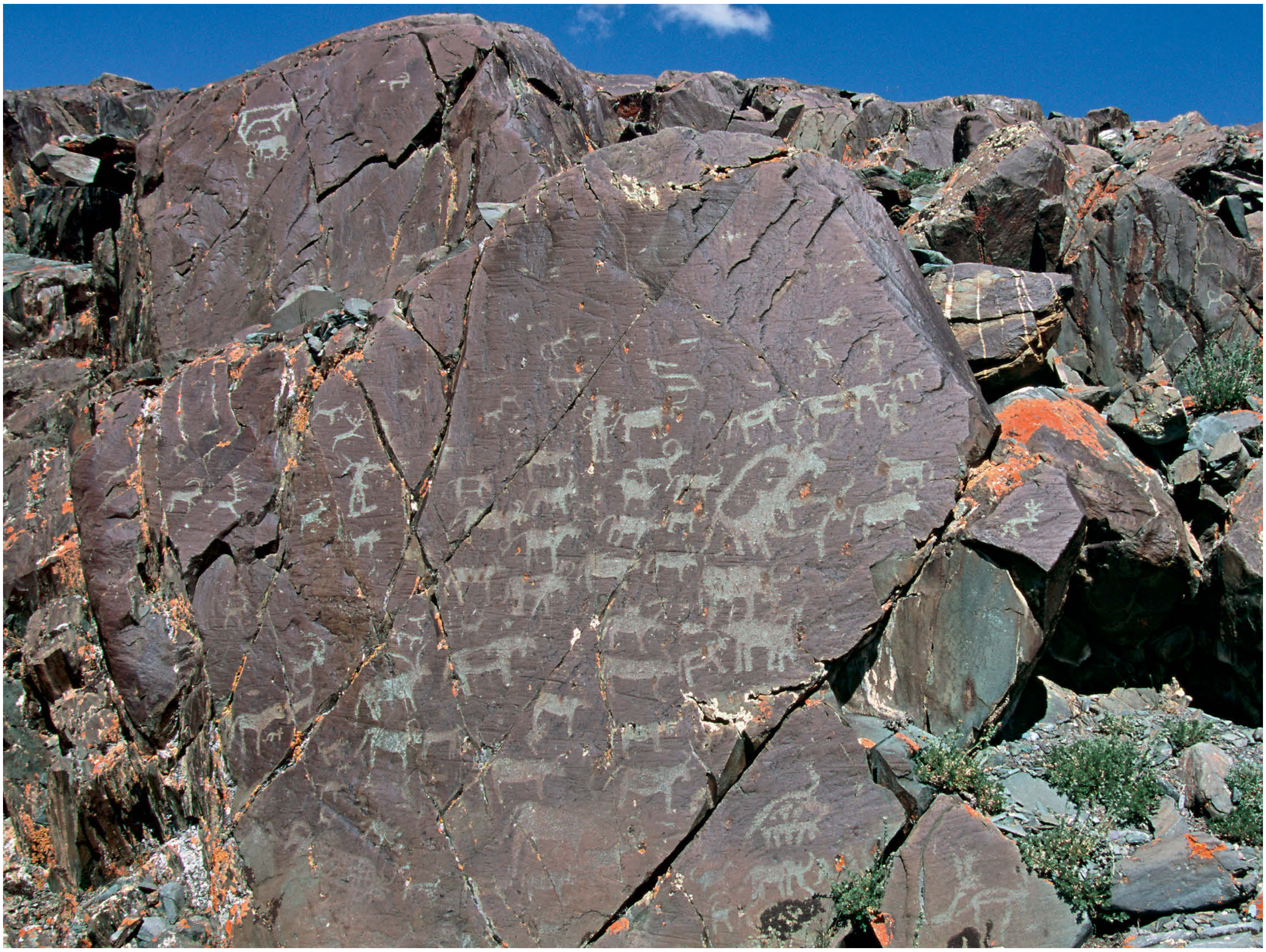


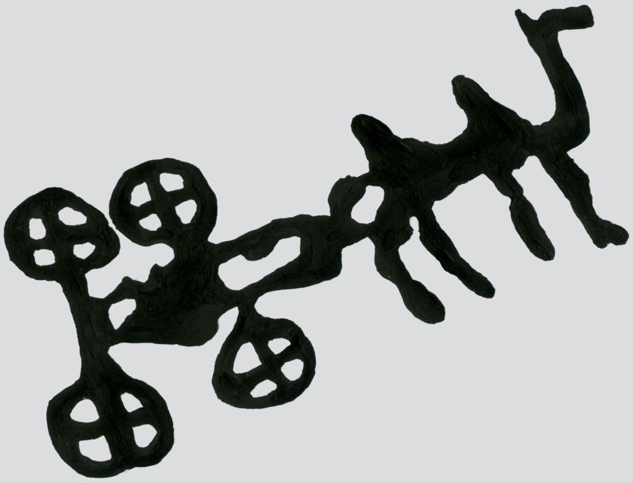
▲ (Top) Fight between two men with lances wearing mushroom-shaped headdresses, Tsagaan Salaa II, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, Bronze Age.

◥ (Above) Three archers attack a giant, Indian ink drawing of petroglyphs, Eshki Olmes, eastern Kazakhstan, Bronze Age.

◤ (Left) Bell-shaped figure with a mountain goat in its body, Baga Oigor I, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, Neolithic.

◀ (Opposite) Aurochs and horse, Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor complex, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, Mesolithic.





wears a pair of horns, and inside the body there appears an infant or an animal like an ibex.

Four thousand six hundred years ago a cooling and drying trend that had begun about 800 years earlier in the north-eastern half of Central Asia accelerated, affecting western Mongolia and the Altai in particular and heralding the start of the Bronze Age. As a consequence of the climatic disruption, forests shrank and the landscape that had developed in the once-humid climate disappeared,

▲ **Cattle herd, Tsagaan Salaa II, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, Bronze Age.**

◀ **Two-axle wagon with spoked wheels pulled by a camel, Indian ink drawing of petroglyphs, Arpa Uzen in the Karatau Mountains, southern Kazakhstan, Bronze Age.**

▶ **Light chariot pulled by a deer, Baga Oigor II, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, later Bronze Age.**

leading to the loss of habitat for aurochs and large woodland animals. With the retreat of the forests, grasslands rapidly expanded. In the petroglyphs aurochs disappear and scenes in which bears, deer, wild yaks, horses and ibexes are hunted with flat bows and spears became common. In other places, such as Ak-Kainar or Tamgaly, southern Kazakhstan, the aurochs remained venerated for a longer time, as seen in petroglyphs of the aurochs with very long horns either strongly curved or directed forward. But in Tsagaan Salaa the animals are no longer portrayed statically but rather dynamically in motion. Sometimes the hunters wear a mushroom-shaped head covering and on the back of their hips something that looks like a ball-shaped tail.[10] This motif appears in the entire eastern half of Central Asia, in Outer and Inner Mongolia, southern Siberia and Kazakhstan, which suggests inter-regional cultural ties. That armed conflicts increased towards the end of the Bronze Age is suggested by battle scenes, such as at Eshki Olmes (eastern Kazakhstan), where two groups of bowmen shoot arrows at each other.[11] Another previously unknown battle scene is the attack of a giant by archers, as found at Eshki Olmes and Langar (Tajikistan).

A surprising, rarely seen motif from the Bronze Age shows a man on skis, pursuing a deer or an elk, which bears a round disc on its antlers.[12] This striking scene recalls a myth of the Evenks, formerly called the Tungus. According to this myth, the giant elk Kheglen stole the sun, impaled it on its horns, and carried it to the north. Eternal night and cold threatened humanity. In order to save it, the divine hero Ma'en pursued the elk and tore the sun away from it, returning it to the people at dawn. The Evenks believed that this cosmic drama played out every night. According to this, the engraved skier would represent Ma'en, who is pursuing Kheglen. In another version, an elk kidnaps the sun and carries it on its horns through the daylight sky until a bear catches it and returns the sun to the underworld. Thus night follows day.[13]

Toward the end of the Bronze Age, about 3,100 years ago, a rapid decrease in wild game forced a gradual transition from an economy based on hunting with little animal husbandry to a system of nomadic livestock-raising with large herds. An increase in precipitation, leading to the emergence of lush grazing lands, encouraged this development. The petroglyphs reflect this shift in lifestyle, with hunting scenes becoming markedly less common and portrayals of domesticated cattle herds correspondingly more widespread. Images of laden oxen and advancing herds led by herders on foot or on horseback and guarded by dogs suggest that stockbreeders varied their grazing areas. But they also had settled winter residences, as depicted in the stone engravings showing outlines of huts and stables with cattle standing inside them. In the petroglyphic world camels now appear as mounts or draught animals.[14] Scenes of

conflict between armed men, bearing lances and longbows, are also depicted. Such images show that fights arose over herds, grazing lands and winter camps, which indicates that the idea of property was well established in the herding society. Among hunter-gatherers, the idea of property was presumably not widespread and was dangerous for the community. Insofar as herder families or groups identified protected winter camps with secure access to water as 'their own' and would regularly return to them, they became owners of a particular territory, which they had to defend. Another new motif is wagons and carts. There are usually two-wheeled carts, pulled by horses, oxen, camels or even deer, but no scenes of conflict, as one finds in northern China. In the mountainous regions of western Mongolia wagons and carts were ineffectual for fighting; they had a ceremonial function only. Occasional engravings of spoked wheels could also represent sun symbols, as found in Tamgaly, Kazakhstan.

Also from the second half of the Bronze Age are elegantly portrayed deer and elk with strongly stylised horns and sometimes elongated noses that resemble birds' beaks. The same deer figures are found on the so-called deer stones of central Mongolia. The deer steles were one of the forerunners of the animal style widespread among the Saka and Scythians, which extended from the Altai to the Black Sea.[15] In another type of stylised portrayal of deer the antlers assume the form of a tree, becoming a metaphor for the tree of life. In this context the deer with the tree-like antlers also symbolises fertility. Its antlers, shed and regrown each year, stand for the cycle of life and death; they symbolise the reproduction of humans and animals as well as the fertility of nature.

In the next cultural epoch, the Iron Age, which began about 900 BC and coincided with the age of the warrior nomads, battle scenes and hunting scenes with the recurve bow predominate in Tsagaan Salaa. The final significant period of petroglyphic art, that of the Turkic empires, is represented only sparingly in Tsagaan Salaa; outstanding examples of it are found about 40 km south at Tsagaan Gol. Among these are images of heavily armoured horsemen and falcon hunters.

Chronological correlations between climatic and cultural developments in the example of the petroglyphs of Tsaagan Salaa and Baga Oigor, Mongolia [15a]

PERIOD	DATE	CLIMATE	FLORA	FAUNA	ECONOMY	IMAGES
Late Upper Palaeolithic	– 9700 BC	Cold, dry	Dry steppe	Mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, ostrich	Hunter-gatherer	Mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, ostrich
Mesolithic	9700–4500 BC	Warm, humid	Forests, marshy plains	Aurochs, elk, argali, bear, horse	Hunter-gatherer	Aurochs, elk, argali, bears, horses, Siberian ibexes
Neolithic	4500–2400 BC	Start of cooling trend	Forests, marshy plains	Bear, deer, yak, ibex, horse	Hunter-gatherer	Hunters with clubs, birthing women, bell-shaped figures
Bronze Age	2400–900 BC	Cold, dry	Forests disappear, steppe	Bear, deer, yak, ibex, horse, camel	Hunter, herder	Hunters with bows, fighting, carts, cattle herds, stables, camels, stylised deer
Iron Age	900 BC–550 AD	Moderately cold, humid	Grass steppe	Bear, deer, yak, ibex, horse, camel	Nomadic herder, warrior horsemen	Recurve bows, battle scenes, cattle herds
Turkic Empires	550–750 AD	Moderately cold and dry	Grass steppe	Bear, deer, yak, ibex, horse, camel	Nomadic herder, warrior horsemen	At Tsagaan Gol: armoured horsemen, mounted falconers

in rock painting. Petroglyphs are carved into rock, with lines engraved with the help of a hard instrument made of stone or metal. Pictures could also be embossed by carving away the rock around a picture, or scraped by grinding. In the direct method, the surface was chipped away with a single hard tool; in the indirect, a stone was hammered by a second hard instrument, enabling much more controlled and precise work. Finally, to be distinguished from these two types of rock art are geoglyphs, also found in Central Asia, enormous pictorial or geometric designs made on the ground itself. Geoglyphs are drawings or geometric designs made by either removing material from a dark upper layer of pebbles or soil to reveal a lighter layer beneath, or by placing dark or light stones on a contrasting background. The geoglyphs of Peru, Chile, Arizona and England belong to the former category; those of Tajikistan and Mongolia to the latter.

Among the oldest petroglyphs of Central Asia are those that include unambiguous portrayals of mammoths, woolly rhinoceroses or ostriches, such as the rock pictures of Oglakhty[16] and Tepsej[17] in southern Siberia, which unfortunately have been flooded by a reservoir, or the two western Mongolian sites at Aral Tolgoi near Khoton Nuur lake[18] and Tsagaan Salaa.[19]

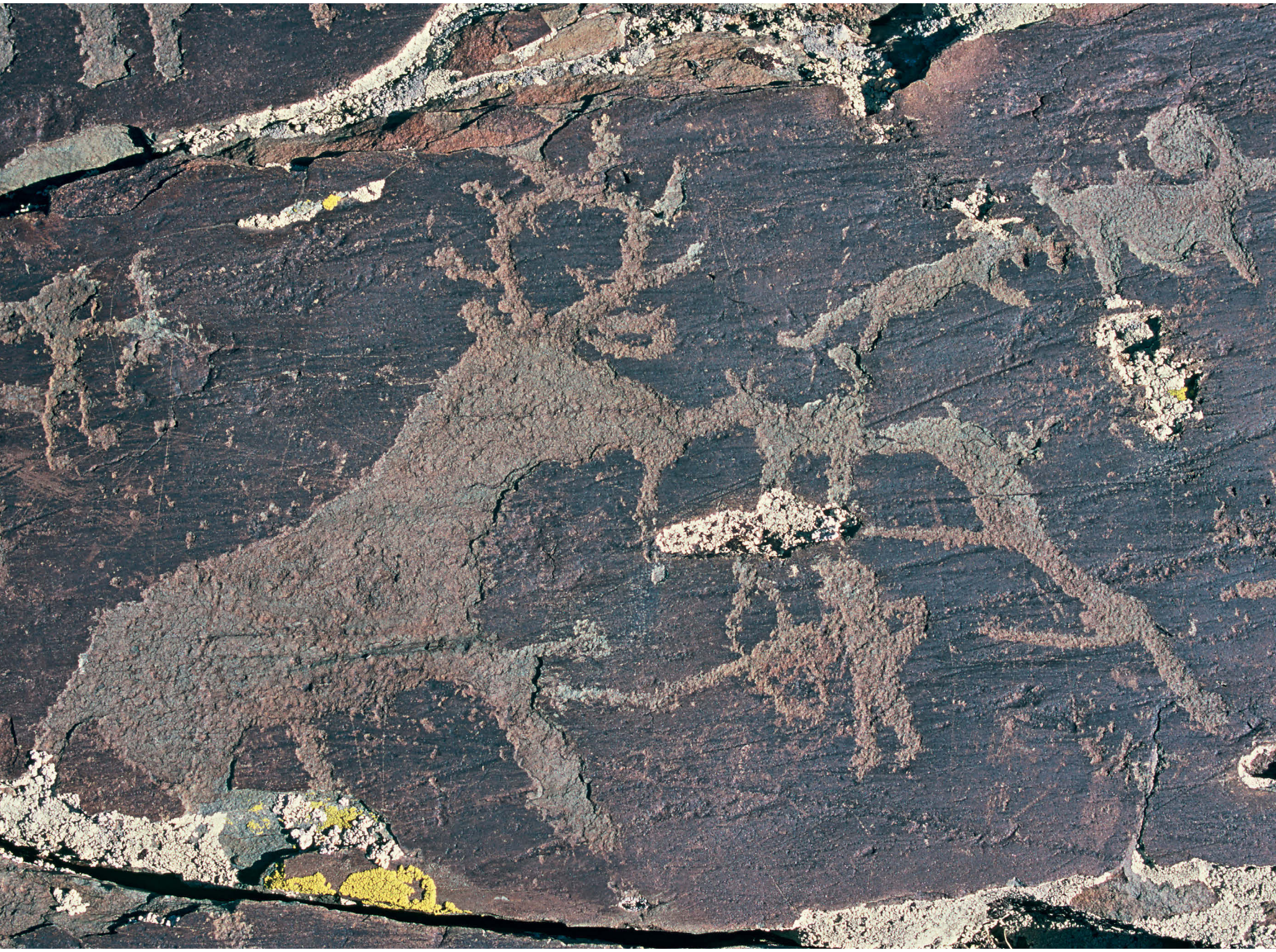
The Tsagaan Salaa site was important, indeed sacred, for hundreds of generations, or else the rocks would not have been used for engraving for so long. A similar, much smaller petroglyph site is Arschaan Khod in the Khentii Mountains in north-eastern Mongolia. In contrast to Tsagaan Salaa, which has been known only since 1994, the region of Khentii played an important role in the consciousness of the Mongols, since Genghis Khan was born here in 1167 and buried in 1227 in a still unknown location. The pan-Mongol diet of 1206, which declared Genghis Khan ruler of all the Mongol peoples, took place just 34 km north of Arschaan Khod.[20] This place remained holy even after prehistoric times, as evidenced by medieval inscriptions in Old Mongolian, Chinese and Arabic, more recent Buddhist epigrams in Tibetan script, and numerous blue offering scarves, which are placed in cracks in the rock as votive offerings. Arschaan Khod is still an open-air sanctuary with the sky as its roof. The oldest petroglyphs date from the early Mesolithic, and portray no living things but rather symbols of indeterminate meaning.[21] They are circles with or without dots in the centre; circles with two legs; triangles, some with legs, which could represent humans; arrows; and many hoof prints. In the Bronze Age petroglyphs of ibexes and yaks were added. (In Mongolia there have been additional archaeological discoveries of hunters, fishermen and gatherers, who left behind their tools such as microliths, but there are no other petroglyphs from the Mesolithic.)[22]

3. Microliths

During the Mesolithic one of the most popular tools was the microlith, which first appeared in Central Asia in the Upper Palaeolithic. In the Mesolithic and subsequent Neolithic it was used in hunting and fishing, as well as for agriculture and woodworking. It was an implement made of flint or obsidian, up to 3 cm long and 1 cm wide, needle- or blade-shaped, which was chipped out of a stone and then finished. Before people recognised the potential uses for these flakes of stone, they were simply thrown away.

Fastened to lightweight projectiles such as spears and harpoons, they increased the piercing force of these weapons during hunting or fishing and acted as barbed hooks that stuck in the flesh of the victim. Affixed to thin wooden rods, pointed microliths became light and effective arrowheads. Somewhat broader microliths shaped like triangles could also be placed like teeth on a bowed shaft made of horn or a handgrip and attached with a resinous substance. Such implements could serve as sickles for cutting grass or grain or saws for cutting wood. Attached to shorter and somewhat thicker wooden rods than were used for arrows, they could be used to make a borer.

Microliths, were a brilliant addition to Stone Age technology that had many advantages. The source of the microliths, that is the stone from which they were cut, was available in nature and did not have to first be produced out of other materials, as did bronze, for instance. Additionally, a skilled stonecutter could produce microliths quickly and efficiently with no waste, and they could be used in a variety of ways. For this reason this ‘cheap mass-produced object’ was also used during the Bronze Age and even the Iron Age, especially in those regions that had to import the raw materials for the production of metal. There expensive metal arrowheads were used only in war, while hunters were satisfied with the cheaper microlith arrows. For this reason microliths, like flint arrowheads, are poor sources for the dating of archaeological sites.



Hunters and dogs attack a deer, Tsagaan Salaa IV, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, Bronze Age.

IV

The Economic Revolution of the Neolithic

The camel is the constant companion of the nomad and often the source of his prosperity. Besides serving as a beast of burden and for riding, the camel supplies wool and milk and the hair is spun into ropes.

LT. COLONEL NICOLAI MICHAILOVITSCH PRZHEVALSKY, MONGOLIA, 1876[1]

1. The primary and secondary Neolithic revolutions

In the quotation above the Russian explorer of Central Asia Przhevalsky summed up the main principle of the two-part Neolithic revolution: in the first revolution, which was really a millennia-long evolution beginning in the tenth millennium BC, plant and animal sustenance was no longer only gathered and hunted but rather farmed and raised.[2] This innovation from the Near East marks the advent of farming and animal husbandry and simultaneously of the Neolithic.[3] Starting in the seventh millennium BC a few of these technologies also appeared in the warmer regions of the southern half of Central Asia, such as southern Turkmenistan. On the fertile western edge of Central Asia, in modern Ukraine, the encounter between hunter-gatherer cultures and agricultural-herding societies took place a millennium later.

The second Neolithic revolution, which began later, in the fifth millennium BC, is related to the use of animals. Instead of just consuming domesticated animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, horses and camels and using the inedible remains such as skins, bones, and sinews, people gradually began to use the animals in varied, combined, and repeatable ways without having to kill them. They were used as pack-animals for people and goods as well as draught animals for sleds, carts and ploughs; they provided hair for wool, felt and knitting, as well as milk and, in the case of horses, blood. For meat it was sufficient to slaughter just a fraction of the herd. Thanks to this varied and sustainable use of animals the people of the northern half of Central Asia now had the means of meeting their basic needs for food, clothing and shelter, as well as transportation for themselves and their goods, with a herding economy. The second Neolithic revolution was the genesis of mobile herding; now it was possible to use as grazing land the grass steppes that could not be used for planting and supported little wild game. The Neolithic revolutions changed the course of history. It enabled increased productivity and trade, giving rise to rapid population growth and the development of social hierarchies, but it also led indirectly to overgrazing and depletion of the soil and forests. However, those who lived in regions lacking the necessary conditions for both agriculture and nomadic herding, and nevertheless did not emigrate, remained part of a hunter-gatherer cultures even in the Neolithic, which we refer to as 'archaic Neolithic'.

As a consequence of the varied topography of Central Asia and its differing climates, all three developments – the transition to farming or to livestock breeding or the continuation of an archaic Neolithic – occurred in parallel. In the eastern half of Central Asia the boundary between the southern cultural sphere with agrarian and proto-urban cultures and the northern sphere of settled or semi-nomadic herders ran at first along the Amu Darya River. The proto-urban culture of Sarazm (fourth–second millennia BC) north of the Amu Darya was an exception. Towards the end of the second millennium BC this cultural boundary shifted north to the Syr Darya. In the geographic centre of eastern Central Asia, however, there existed an oasis of the archaic Neolithic with two noteworthy cultures: Hissar and Kelteminar.

2. Hunters and gatherers in the mountains and along the waterways of inner Central Asia

Toward the end of the seventh millennium BC, between the Amu Darya River on the southern border of Tajikistan and Lake Issyk Kul in north-western Kyrgyzstan, the archaic Neolithic culture of **Hissar** arose, with its geographic centre in south-western Tajikistan. In the then-forested mountains and their foothills communities of hunters, fishermen and gatherers, who used archaic pebble tools and hand axes, lived along the streams and rivers. The absence of microliths and the sparse discoveries of arrowheads underscore the archaic character of Hissar until the fourth millennium BC.[4] Beginning at this time, thanks to influences from the south-west, people on the peripheries and in the more accessible valleys gained knowledge of the domestication of goats and sheep, rudimentary farming and crude ceramics. The hand-crafted vessels, which were decorated with textile prints, did not have flat bases but rather came to a point, as people stuck them in the ground. In remote mountain regions of the upper Vakhsh valley an archaic form of the Hissar culture continued until the end of the second millennium BC, a kind of Stone Age enclave in an established culture of bronze.[5]

North-west of the mountain region of the Hissar culture, east of the Caspian Sea, extends the Turan Depression, in whose central and eastern part the culture of **Kelteminar** (*ca.* 5500–2400 BC) developed south of the Aral Sea. In light of the absence of sickles with flint blades and the many discoveries of arrowheads, as well as harpoons and net sinkers, it may be concluded that the people practised hardly any agriculture and instead lived by hunting and fishing; they also used slingshots as hunting weapons. The hunted

A Mongol captures a young horse with a catching loop, central Mongolia.

game consisted of gazelles, wild donkeys, boars, red deer, and presumably also wild horses. These people lived in the lower catchment area of the Zerafshan, whose name means 'sprayer of gold', and Amu Darya rivers.

At that time, the Amu Darya did not empty into the Aral Sea, as it did until the 1970s, but rather most of the water flowed into the Caspian Sea via the Sarykamysh Lake and formed the erstwhile Uzboy River, whose 700-km-long bed is today dry and in parts covered with sand, apart from a few long, shallow basins that appear in early summer with the snowmelt. Since the end of the last ice age the waters of the Amu Darya have repeatedly chosen this westward-tending riverbed and brought the Uzboy back to life, as shown by archaeological discoveries from times beginning with the Kelteminar culture in the sixth millennium BC. At that time the desolate Kara Kum Desert bordering on the Uzboy changed into a habitable steppe landscape with reeds and small alluvial forests.[6] The name 'Kelteminar' was coined by the Soviet archaeologist Sergei Tolstov (1907–1976), who was the first to explore the region of the Uzboy and that of Choresm, just to the north.[7] After the collapse of the Kelteminar culture in the second half of the third millennium BC the banks of the Uzboy were resettled and the river used as a transportation route in the mid-first millennium BC under the Iranian Achaemenids and the subsequent Parthians.[8] Parallel to these changes in the riverbed, the area of the Aral Sea also oscillated, since with the loss of the Amu Darya it had only the Syr Darya as a significant feeder river. In the sixteenth century, for instance, the Aral Sea contracted particularly significantly, and life along the Uzboy flourished.

When the English explorer Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1610), who travelled to Central Asia on behalf of the Muscovy Company, camped on Sarykamysh Lake in 1558, he noted that the Uzboy was being depleted by irrigation and no longer reached the Caspian Sea. He also predicted that the fertile landscape could soon become desert if water failed to return to the Uzboy: 'The water that serveth all that country is drawn by ditches out of the river Oxus [the Uzboy], unto the great destruction of the said river, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian Sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that land is like to be destroyed, and to become a wilderness for want of water, when the river of Oxus [its western branch, the Uzboy] shall fail.'[9] The fertile Uzboy valley did in fact dry up abruptly at the start of the eighteenth century, when the Amu Darya returned to its northern course, and the Turkmen inhabitants abandoned their land.

A Mongol nomad woman spins yarn out of sheep's wool. She sits in a yurt on a felt carpet with a pattern of highly abstracted heads of horned animals. Nomads' camp near Khar Nuur Lake, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia.

The people of the Kelteminar culture were mostly sedentary and lived, presumably as extended families, in spacious, oval-shaped huts with an area of 270 to 300 m^2 and covered by a cane roof. The hearths for individual families were found on the edges of the huts, while the one in the middle may have served a fire cult. Near their dwelling the people raised a few cattle, and they had dogs. Their pottery consisted of round-bottomed, hemispheric vessels as well as some that came to a point so they could be stuck in the ground. They were decorated with wavy or zigzag lines as well as triangular or rhomboid patterns, either painted or engraved with a stylus before firing.[10] Towards the end of the Kelteminar culture, around 2500 BC, its representatives came into contact with copper metallurgy and with agriculture, which they used to a limited degree, as can be determined from the small number of copper artefacts and a few stone sickles. They remained, however, largely a Neolithic society. Kelteminar was followed by the culture of Zamanbaba.

South of the Kelteminar culture there was in the sixth and fifth millennia BC a related culture, as can be seen in the archaeological finds in the caves of Jebel and Dam Dam Chasma II south-east of the Caspian Sea. The inhabitants hunted and fished and also raised domesticated sheep and goats. These animals appear not to have descended from the local wild sheep and goats, however, but rather from those of western Asia, Syria, or Mesopotamia – indicating a cultural transfer from the west.[11]

3. Agriculture and early settlements in southern Central Asia

On the Eurasian continent the cradles of stockbreeding and farming lie in the Fertile Crescent, a relatively rainy region in the Near East that extends in a sickle shape north of the Syrian Desert from the Persian Gulf in the east to Gaza in the west.[12] Here about 12,000 to 13,000 years ago people began to keep goats and sheep as domestic animals as well as to cultivate, irrigate, and store crops such as barley, wheat, lentils and peas. Two millennia later the raising of cattle and pigs began. As the next step of the second Neolithic revolution, additional uses were found for animals, such as the production of wool and their use for transportation and traction.

Over the course of millennia the introduction of these new methods of production in the Fertile Crescent yielded consequences of global significance. Settlements with production surpluses arose, as did cities with high population density, division of labour and centralised administration, with hierarchies and the attendant worldviews, as well as prestigious architecture. At the same time the ideas of private and state property emerged, bound up with the need to enforce and defend this property. Thanks to the division of labour, long-distance trade could also expand, and the anonymous and silent communication form of writing arose, presumably from the need to keep records of goods.

Towards the end of the eighth millennium BC the 'Neolithic idea' of the cultivation of wheat and barley as well as the raising of sheep and goats began to spread beyond the Fertile Crescent, first to the south-east and then, presumably in step with local climatic changes, into the Nile Valley, to Anatolia and south-eastern Europe and farther to Central and Western Europe. In the east migrants from western Asia reached the western part of the fertile Indus Valley in Baluchistan in western Pakistan around 7000 BC, where they encountered indigenous hunters and fishermen. From this grew the settlement of **Mehrgarh**, one of the first agrarian settlements of South Asia, which consisted of two dozen four-room mud brick houses and offered shelter to over 100 people. At burials goats were sacrificed and the dead were buried with grave goods such as tools, pendants, necklaces, bracelets and anklets, under houses or in the inner courtyard; seashells and lapis lazuli indicated trade with coastal regions and northern Afghanistan, where agriculture gained a limited foothold at Aq Kupruk around 6250 BC. Farmers not only raised sheep and goats; they also domesticated the local zebu cattle, which they used for ploughing. They kept clay statues of animals and seated people, a custom also found in the earliest agrarian settlement of Central Asia at Jeitun.[13]

In the seventh millennium BC the new technologies reached the south of Central Asia, first the southern coast of the Caspian Sea near the Gorgan valley and then the plains at the northern foot of the Kopet Dag Mountains in southern Turkmenistan. The systematic excavation begun by the Soviet archaeologist Vadim Masson in the 1950s has to date yielded some 20 farming settlements, of which **Jeitun** (6500–4500 BC) was the largest. Insofar as the culture of Jeitun appeared suddenly and without predecessors and no traces of wild wheat or barley have been found, it is likely that it emerged thanks to migrants from western Asia, who also brought with them domesticated sheep and goats. Since a dry desert climate with little precipitation prevailed in the northern foothills of the Kopet Dag Mountains, all the settlements lay in the deltas of rivers flowing out of the mountains. Without simple systems of irrigation no agriculture could be undertaken on the dry land.

An archer hunts an ibex, Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor complex, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, Bronze Age.

The oases thus relied on the mountains retaining sufficient water in the form of snow and ice and rivers bringing the spring snowmelt to the plains, where the farmers stored it. In the absence of precipitation in the oases, life there was directly dependent on precipitation in the mountains.

The settlements consisted of 30 to 35 standardised mud brick houses with a single rectangular room of about 25 m^2. In these small, single-family houses, the hearth was found to the right of the entrance. Since the houses were freestanding and the villages had only low surrounding walls, the inhabitants at the time must have felt little threatened, presumably thanks to the very low population density. Noteworthy was the discovery in the centre of the 7,500-year-old settlement of Pessejik Tepe of a house more than twice as large as the others, where no implements of daily life were found.

Godon Go River, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia. This region witnessed in the 3rd millennium BC the shift from a hunter-gatherer society into one of semi-nomadic stockbreeders.

On one side of the room, whose floor was covered by a thin layer of lime, there was a large fireplace and across from it a leopard was painted on a whitewashed wall in red and black pigment. This is the oldest wall painting of Central Asia, and it shows similarities to the wall paintings of Catal Hüyük in the Anatolian highland.[14] This room presumably served as a public cultic site, perhaps for a fire cult, and was thus one of the earliest cultic sites of Central Asia.

As in Mehrgarh, archaeologists found small clay statues of women and animals, which perhaps served as amulets, as well as ceramics decorated with red linear patters on a yellow background. Finds here included more than 500 sickles made of bone and antlers, which were trimmed with sharp flint blades, and many hand grinding stones. These objects underscore the significance of the cultivation of wheat and barley. In addition, the hunting of gazelles, wild sheep and wild asses with slingshots and spears continued to play an important role. Although the settlements were home to 200 to 350 people each, they were organised decentrally. Each family produced its own tools and made animal skins into clothing for themselves; there was not yet any task-specific division of labour. In Jeitun the dead were buried, as in Mehrgarh, within the villages, after they had been richly sprinkled with ochre – a custom that runs as a leitmotif through the prehistory of Central Asia.[15] In summary, the culture of Jeitun, lasting till 4500 BC, was a Central Asian outpost of the Near Eastern Neolithic, which laid the foundation for the coming cultures in southern Central Asia.[16] Although the settlements showed a standardised and thus planned architecture, which included public cultic sites or gathering spaces, the culture of Jeitun can still not be described as proto-urban, since the criteria of high population density, production surplus enabling trade, and an administrative structure remained unmet.

4. The northern steppes of Central Asia – meeting point of hunters and herders with farmers

In Mongolia economies developed differently according to the prevailing climate type. About 7000 years ago, in the humid half of the land east of the modern capital Ulaan Baatar arose settlements of farmers who grew millet, having adopted the art of farming from China.[17] The dead, buried with their feet bound together, were sprinkled with ochre and buried in a crouching position with bull skulls including horns buried in adjacent pits, which could indicate veneration of the bull as a fertility symbol. The settlements had stationary shelters, which were half-sunk into the ground and whose entrance was found in a roof that reached to the ground. By contrast, in the drier, western half of the region only seasonal shelters of hunters, fishermen, and gatherers have been found. The people living in these seasonal shelters also buried their dead in a crouching position, but covered the grave with a roughly cone-shaped, low pile of stones, so that these late Neolithic or early Chalcolithic (Copper Stone Age) kurgans[18] of western Mongolia are among the earliest burial mounds of Eurasia. A further difference between the two halves of the region concerns ethnicity, since the farmers in the east were Palaeo-Mongols, while the hunters and fishermen in the west were Europids.[19] This ethnic boundary between the Europid and Mongolid peoples began to shift slowly to the west only in the second half of the third millennium BC.

In the forest steppes of southern Siberia west of Lake Baikal lived other hunters and fishermen who sprinkled their dead with ochre.[20] Here followed various cultures with very similar burial practices, which often overlapped in time: the group called **Kitoi**, which began around 5500 BC was superseded in 4250 BC by the **Isakovo** and **Serovo**, who were followed around 3250 by the **Glazkovo**, who also erected burial mounds and lasted till 2100 BC. As artworks these people left behind bone carvings and petroglyphs portraying elk and deer as well as anthropomorphic figures.[21] South-west of the Baikal region, in northern Kazakhstan there were also hunting and fishing communities of the **Atbasar** and **Makhandzhar** cultures (5500–3000 BC). These people had highly developed stone tools and hunted wild horses and goats, though they raised neither animal.[22] That the economic systems of the time were similar from western Mongolia almost to the Urals can be explained by the fact that the same climatic conditions prevailed across the area and no technological influences infiltrated from outside.

Things unfolded differently in western Central Asia. While in south-eastern Central Asia a relatively linear development from a hunter-gatherer economy to an agrarian one may be observed, in the north-west economic and cultural change occurred in a variable way as the boundary between hunters and herders shifted back and forth with the rhythm of climate fluctuations and human-caused changes in regional ecosystems. About 8,500 years ago knowledge of farming and animal husbandry expanded from western Anatolia to Greece and Macedonia, after which, around 6200 BC, pioneers began to spread this knowledge northward, both along the western coast of the Black Sea and into the Pannonian Plain. These emigrants did not speak Indo-European languages but rather an idiom derived from a very ancient Anatolian language.[23] From this arose the Körös-Criä Culture in Hungary and Romania, whose farmers cultivated millet, barley and peas and raised cattle, pigs and sheep. The farmers who moved farther north-east encountered around 5700 BC in the south-western part of today's Ukraine the **Bug-Dniester Culture** (6500–5200 BC) from the earliest Neolithic.[24] After an earlier, pre-ceramic period, these hunters and fishermen adopted the pottery of the **Elshanka Culture** (7000–6000 BC) of north-western Central Asia. The very early Neolithic community of Elshanka lived in the middle Volga region in the area around the modern city of Samara and had mastered the art of pottery as early as 6700 BC.[25] Representatives of the Bug-Dniester culture presumably spoke an idiom derived from the large language family out of which proto-Indo-European, called PIE, crystallised around 4500 BC.[26]

For half a millennium the Dniester River formed the boundary between two different economic structures: sedentary farmers in the west and hunters and fishermen in the east, with the latter, in a process of 'Neolithicising', adopting over time the raising of pigs and cattle, as well as some cultivation of wheat, millet and barley.[27] After 5200 BC the Neolithic and later the Chalcolithic Age culture of Cucuteni–Tripolye,[28] whose origin lay west of the Dniester, advanced eastward and expanded to the Dnieper River near the modern city of Kiev. With this the boundary between agrarian and hunting economies shifted about 300 km to the north-east.[29]

East of the Dnieper lived hunters, fishermen and gatherers of the very early Neolithic **Dnieper–Donets Culture I** (5700–5200 BC), who still used rough-hewn stone axes and were not familiar with the finely polished axes of the contemporaneous Bug–Dniester Culture. They buried their dead in a supine position and sprinkled them with red ochre. Around 5200 BC the people east of the Dnieper began to domesticate cattle, sheep and goats, as well as to use polished axes, thus founding the Neolithic **Dnieper–Donets Culture II** (5200–4200 BC).[30] They lived in simple huts with roofs made of birch bark but carried out complex burial rites. Analyses of skulls and skeletons indicate that members of the Dnieper–Donets Culture II were strong, broad-faced Europids, in contrast to the farmers of the Cucuteni–Tripolye Culture, who corresponded to a gracile, Mediterranean type.[31]

The dead of the Dnieper–Donets Culture II were often laid first in an open charnel-house, after which the bones were stripped of their remaining flesh, covered with ochre, and placed in communal graves. As can be inferred from various rich grave furnishings, this society of early Central Asian stockbreeders was hierarchical, with a chief at the top of the hierarchy. Chiefs were buried with thousands of pearls, crystal, copper and gold jewellery, carved boars' teeth and stone maces. While the copper ornaments were imported from the Balkans, the polished maces, whose heads were sometimes formed into the shape of a horse's head, were local symbols of authority. They spread quickly east as far as the Urals and west as far as the Danube, where they found acceptance in farming cultures. The symbol of the horse clearly served as a powerful status symbol in the herding societies of the fifth millennium, elevating the chief above the rest of the people. The opulent burials were accompanied by sacrifices of cattle, horses, sheep and goats, whose meat was distributed to the participants. Thus more than 6000 years ago there emerged a burial culture which became, with modifications, the norm for the highest classes on the steppes of Central Asia into the Middle Ages.[32]

In summary we can see that the Neolithic revolution led to an agrarian economy beyond the western boundary of Central Asia, while in western Central Asia itself it took the form of adoption of technologies of animal husbandry. In the grass steppe regions this had the unrivalled advantage that cattle and sheep were able to use grass that was inedible for humans, and thus opened to them the possibility of surviving on the grass steppe without having to hunt. However, livestock are vulnerable to bad weather and can easily be stolen, which led to conflicts with thieves or foreign, predatory groups. The volatility inherent in the raising of livestock, which increased with growing mobility, forced herders to stand in constant readiness to fight, and clans to cooperate more closely.

Hence, west of the Dnieper people mostly engaged in farming; to the east, livestock-raising was supplemented by hunting, often connected with particular burial rites. This contrast marked the history of Eurasia until the end of the Middle Ages. Within the Central Asian steppe there was likewise an economic boundary, with stockbreeding well established west of the Urals and ignored for more than a millennium east of them.

V

The Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age

The only god they [the Massagetae] worship is the sun, to which they sacrifice horses: the idea behind this is to offer the swiftest of mortal creatures to the swiftest of the gods.

HERODOTUS, *THE HISTORIES*[1]

1. The division of early history and the beginnings of metallurgy

The basic division of prehistoric cultural history according to the raw material used to make tools and weapons traces back to the French scholar Nicholas Mahudel (1704–1747), who in 1734 published *The Three Successive Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron*. More than 80 years later the Danish museum curator Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788–1865) implemented this concretely when he reclassified the collections of the future National Museum of Denmark. In the exhibition, which opened in 1819, he combined the objects in three large halls: in the first hall of the Stone Age, all stone objects came from a grave or an environment completely lacking metal objects. The second hall, of the Bronze Age, featured exclusively bronze objects from archaeological sites where there were no iron objects, and the Iron Age hall had only iron objects. The exhibition was a tremendous success and the underlying principle was put into place in other museums and collections.[2] Thomsen's classification was based on the belief that earlier humans had undergone a technological development that was reflected in their tools and weapons. In this the new, more powerful tools in each case superseded the older ones, and human prehistory proceeded in steps from simpler to more advanced technologies and products. Thus Thomsen's classification by technologies of production gave archaeology a way to work according to the principles of stratigraphy and wrested human prehistory away from the authority of mythology and religion by offering it a scientific foundation.

Later Thomsen's schema was expanded to include the Chalcolithic, the Copper Stone Age, as a fourth age, and the Stone Age was divided into three parts, so that the chronology consisted of Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Such a model is, of course, subject to certain limitations. In practice it was quickly shown that the transition from one period to the next was not abrupt but rather took place over centuries or even millennia. As has already been discussed, in certain steppe cultures simple tools and arrowheads made of stone remained in use long after the introduction of bronze or even iron. Such a division according to the raw materials of tools and weapons is also not automatically meaningful for the entire developmental process of a culture, as shown by, for instance, the classical epoch of the Maya of Central America (200–900 AD), who lived in the Stone Age but had a sophisticated and precise astronomical calendar. Finally, the model cannot be applied worldwide, as certain cultures outside the Eurasian continent had no access to particular raw materials, such as copper. Nevertheless, for the history of Central Asia this scheme remains a generally recognised aid to orientation.[3]

In Central Asia the Chalcolithic followed the Late Stone Age. The name, derived from the Greek, means *khalkos*, 'copper', and *lithos*, 'stone', thus 'Copper Stone Age', which preceded the Bronze Age. In this period there appeared beside the dominant stone tools the first copper objects, such as first ornamental plates and soon thereafter simple tools.[4] The Copper Stone Age is sometimes hard to distinguish from the early Bronze Age, however, because at an early stage people began to blend additional arsenic with the small amount of naturally occurring arsenic in copper ore to harden it. The earliest copper ornaments appeared sporadically in Neolithic contexts of western Asia and Anatolia in the eighth and seventh millennia BC; true production, which included the forging and casting of everyday objects, began first in the fifth millennium BC, centred in south-eastern Europe, the southern Caucasus and southern Turkmenistan. In south-eastern Europe there arose the **Balkano–Carpathian Metallurgical Province** (*ca.* 4800–3700 BC), producing mostly pure copper objects, which extended from Serbia and Romania to the western part of the Ukraine and corresponded more or less to the region of the agrarian culture of Cucuteni–Tripolye.[5] The new material was not particularly suitable for the production of everyday objects, however, as copper bends even when cold and copper blades rapidly become dull. Thus attempts were soon made to improve the metal by alloying. This transitional period to the Bronze Age, in which artificial alloying played an important role, lasted several centuries. Following on the Balkano–Carpathian Metallurgical Province was the **Circumpontic Metallurgical Province**[6] (3300–1900 BC), which encompassed the Balkans, the Carpathians, the Caucasus, Asia Minor, the northern coast of the Black Sea and the western Central Asian steppes as far as the Urals. This 'province', which really represented a network of bronze-producing centres, played a leading role in the transmission of knowledge about metallurgy to the east as far as China.[7] A few of the richest copper mines were found in the Urals at the junction between western and eastern Central Asia, including the unique 500-km^2 Kargaly complex. The shafts, which ran as deep as 42 m under the surface of the earth, were hundreds of kilometres long, and it has been estimated that about 120 million m^3 of rock and marl were dug out with pickaxes and shovels, yielding 2 to 5 million tons of copper ore.[8] At the time the Urals formed a kind of export boundary to the east, as for a thousand years copper ore went only westwards, to the workshops on the Volga and the Don.

A hunter in the Russian Altai.

The first bronze alloy was presumably invented between 3750 and 3500 BC by the stockbreeding culture of Maikop on the south-western border of Central Asia.[9] This culture, which existed from 3750 to 3000 BC, extended into the northern Caucasus and had its centre in the valley of the Kuban River. Although the Kuban region lies just outside the geographic borders of Central Asia, its culture belongs to the cultural sphere of the Central Asian steppe. The Caucasus and especially the Kuban region met the requirements for early production of bronze, as they were rich in metal ores like copper, lead, silver and gold. Because tin was not available in the Caucasus, however, the early, high-quality bronze of Maikop consisted of a copper-arsenic alloy and later of copper and lead. Arsenic bronze is harder in a cold state than pure copper, easier to cast, and has a lighter colour. Because of its geographic location, the Caucasus formed a bridge between Mesopotamia in the south and the Central Asian steppe in the north, so the Maikop Culture exported its bronze in both directions as finished products or as bars. Soon the specialised forges of Maikop became the chief bronze producers for north-western Central Asia up to the Urals and had a decided influence on local workshops. Arsenic bronze also spread quickly west around 3250 BC as far as the Danube delta, but it only reached Central and Western Europe a millennium later.[10] Maikop also played a leading role with regard to another very significant invention: its people were the first in Central Asia to use heavy, four-wheeled wagons pulled by oxen.[11]

The superior tin bronze was developed not in the south-west of Central Asia like arsenic bronze, but rather in the north-east, in the forest steppes of the Urals and the Altai. Here lived bellicose, semi-nomadic herders, who began around 2000 BC to produce outstanding and superior weapons out of tin bronze, whose development is described as the phenomenon of Seima-Turbino.[12] This bronze was not only significantly harder and stronger than copper; it also had a bright gloss. The new technology was based on the enormous supply of tin in eastern Kazakhstan and the nearly inexhaustible reserves of wood for processing.[13] Thus these nomadic herders from the Altai broke the monopoly of the Caucasian arsenic bronze and began exporting new products and technologies to the west. Two millennia before the Silk Roads the tin and tin bronze roads emerged, stretching from the Russian–Mongolian Altai and eastern Kazakhstan to Eastern Europe. The early bronze technology based on arsenic or lead had spread from west to east, but the superior type of bronze using tin – whether in finished products or in bars – moved from east to west.

Tin bronze was also superior to unalloyed iron. In Iraq as early as the third millennium BC iron blades were fashioned out of meteorites, but because of their lack of purity they were often softer than comparable bronze blades.[14] Only when it became possible to produce iron alloys with small amounts of carbon – that is, steel – did iron become useful in weapons and tools. The blacksmith had to be aware that the red-hot steel needed to be plunged into cold water, in contrast to molten bronze, which requires slow cooling. The increasingly acute shortage of tin certainly also contributed to the triumph of iron.[15]

2. An initial proto-urban development

Towards the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth millennium BC, the people of the Neolithic Jeitun Culture began to spread to the south-east, presumably under pressure from a rapidly growing population. They settled in the narrow, 350-km-long fertile band in the northern foothills of the Kopet Dag Mountains, where the many rivers that flow north from the Kopet Dag into the Kara Kum Desert enabled farming and the creation of new settlements.

In the early twentieth century Raphael Pumpelly conducted pioneering excavations at **Anau** in southern Turkmenistan; later excavations confirmed most of his observations and many of his conclusions. At the northern Tepe of Anau it is possible to observe the transition from small, single-room dwellings to multi-room structures, with the organisation of the buildings corresponding to a typical agrarian settlement of the Chalcolithic. It consisted of several groups of closely standing building complexes with ten to 15 rooms, which had their own hearths. Each complex had a shared inner courtyard with children's graves beneath it and a large storehouse for agricultural products. The multi-family complex with communal facilities replaced the earlier single-family house of Jeitun. Presumably the families were related and formed a clan. Between these groups of buildings, narrow streets ran through the settlement, which also had an especially grand building with plaster walls and floors. This building presumably served the entire population for common ritual purposes.

Particularly striking in Anau North are the buildings with a circular floor plan, since these not only served as storerooms but were also in some cases clearly inhabited and may have been used as observation towers. They seem to anticipate the somewhat later defence towers of the settlements of Yalangach and Mullali Tepe 200 km to the east (after 3500 BC), where mud brick walls connected the towers to one another and thus fortified the site.

The pioneer Raphael Pumpelly in Anau

The honour of discovering this proto-urban culture went to the American Raphael Pumpelly (1837–1923). Pumpelly was a geologist and mineralogist who undertook large surveys in Japan, China, and, in 1864–65, the Gobi Desert, after which he was named the first professor of mining science at Harvard University. After his retirement Pumpelly decided to work as an archaeologist in Central Asia, with a goal of making a scientific study of the connections between geological conditions, climatic fluctuations and the development of early civilisations. He wanted to test the hypothesis that climatic changes represented a decisive factor in geographic shifts of entire settlements and migrations. Thanks to his multidisciplinary approach Pumpelly was a revolutionary who not only assembled an interdisciplinary team but also, because of his geological expertise, understood the great importance of carefully documenting each stratigraphic layer. He was one of the first archaeologists to use stratigraphic surveys to determine the age of finds and to establish complex relationships.

At age 65 Pumpelly travelled to the site of Anau in the northern Kopet Dag region of Turkmenistan, 8 km south-east of the modern capital Ashgabat. During an earlier trip he had been intrigued by two free-standing mounds (known as ‘Tepe’ in Central Asia) here. One was 12 m tall and the other 15 m; to the east stood a third mound, inhabited until about 1850. When he investigated a deep test trench in the northern Tepe, which had been excavated by the Russian general Komarov and his soldiers in a quest for treasure in 1886, Pumpelly counted 20 layers of settlement lying one atop the other. He recognised that this was a very old settlement that, over the course of time, had been rebuilt again and again over the naturally eroded ruins of an earlier layer. In 1904 he returned to Anau in the company of his wife Eliza, the economic geographer Ellsworth Huntington and the archaeologists Langdon Warner and Hubert Schmidt and began excavations.[16]

Based on his discoveries Pumpelly concluded that the northern Tepe represented the older of the two settlements. He found simple, rectangular mud brick houses, made out of air-dried bricks of a standard size. Under their floors were buried children in the foetal position, a custom that can be seen in many later settlements of southern Turkmenistan. In the lowest, earliest layer of the northern mound graves of adults were also found under the floors of some residences, and in these cases the room above the graves was no longer used.[17] Pumpelly also found pottery made by hand and painted with geometric patterns, spindle whorls and a few copper needles. There were no metal weapons, only stone maces and slingshots. Clearly the people were farmers who cultivated barley and wheat and also raised sheep, goats, pigs and dogs. Pumpelly believed the climate at that time was considerably more humid than today.

This northern settlement, attributed to the early Chalcolithic, was gradually abandoned after more than 1000 years, and a new settlement was built about 800 m to the south, where public and ritual spaces played a more important role than they had in the northern mound. Here Pumpelly also uncovered children’s graves under the floors of the houses, from which he concluded that the inhabitants of the southern, Chalcolithic settlement belonged to the same people as those of the north. New, however, were vessels crafted on a potter’s wheel, bronze sickles, daggers, spear points and arrowheads, as well as the occasional weapon made of arsenic bronze. In the lower layers there were also many small terra cotta figurines of bulls and women with broad thighs, the latter often near the children’s graves. Finally there came to light a cube-shaped seal, on whose sides were carved a lion, a man and a griffin in the form of a winged lion with the head of a bird. The upper 12 layers, however, belonged to another, Iron Age culture, whose representatives resettled the southern mound after it had been abandoned for a couple of centuries. When the nearby meandering river shifted its course to the east, the people followed and established a new settlement at the eastern mound.[18]

Pumpelly divided the two excavated mounds into four cultural periods, which were later, omitting the post-Bronze Age layers, organised into Anau I A, I B, II A, and II B. His original dating of Anau I as about 10,000 years old proved to be too early, but his second, of 6,500 years, was correct and has been confirmed by carbon-14 dating.

In this sense the *ca.* 6,000-year-old round towers of Anau North could represent prototypes of the typical fortified desert oasis architecture of the Bronze Age in south-eastern Central Asia.

The air-dried bricks used for house-building in Anau North were vulnerable to the rare rainfall and had a limited maximum life of 30 to 35 years. If a building fell into disrepair, the inhabitants did not patch it up but rather tore down the entire house or even a whole complex and rebuilt on the 30- to 40-cm layer of rubble. Since houses and building complexes were built and rebuilt over generations on the same site, long-term land tenure can be hypothesised. Even after large-scale destruction, for example by conflicts or earthquakes, and short-term abandonment of the mound, the farmers did not leave the site of their settlement but rather razed the ruins and rebuilt the village. This meant that no fewer than 20 different architectural layers were found on top of each other at Anau North.[19] Presumably the large cultic space, which was rebuilt many times, formed a geographic anchor for the location of the settlement.

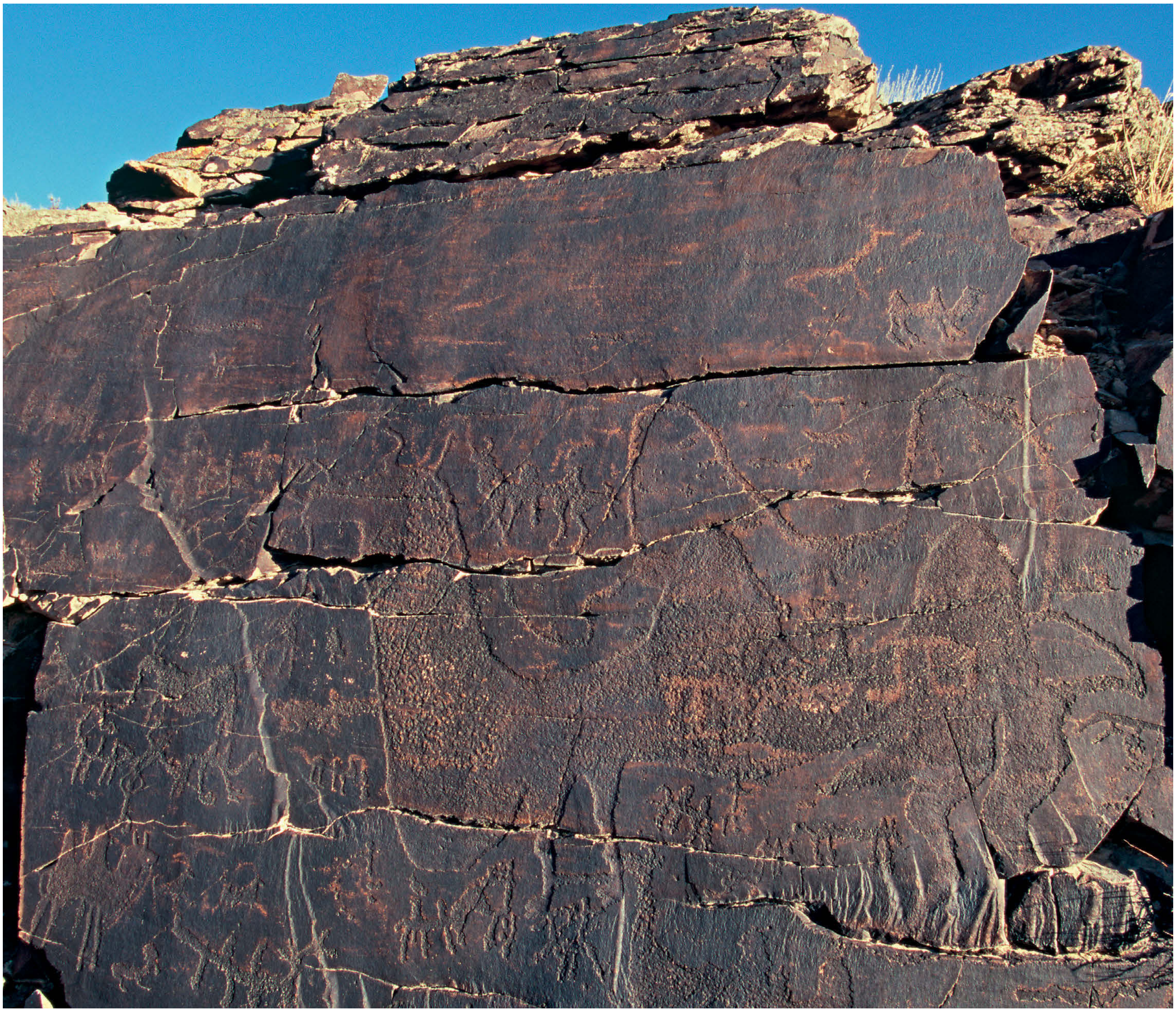
In contrast to the farmers of Jeitun, who depended on the collection of rainwater, those of Anau were familiar with the principle of tiered irrigation. They did not disperse the water that flowed out of the mountains when it reached the river delta but rather captured it upstream and directed it by means of clay and wooden canals, as well as low dams, over artificially built terraces, stepwise into the lower delta. In addition to farming, they raised sheep, goats, cattle, pigs and camels and hunted antelope and, in the mountains, ibexes. The discovery of the bones of Bactrian or two-humped camels in Anau as well as in settlements further south-east such as Altyn Tepe and Geoksyur from the time of Anau II B/Namazga III and IV suggests that in southern Turkmenistan the camel was for the first time not only hunted or raised for meat but also domesticated for transportation purposes as a pack or draught animal. Small, four-wheeled terra cotta wagon figurines from Altyn Tepe, approximately 4,500 years old, with a Bactrian camel as draught animal provide evidence of this. Their discoverer, Soviet archaeologist Vadim Masson, believed that the high population density of the small oasis at that time meant that food had to be acquired from far away, which encouraged the domestication of the camel and the development of four-wheeled wagons. At the same time the scarcity of resources forced people to construct complex organisations and societal structures.[20]

The original habitat of the two-humped camel extended from Inner Mongolia over the Mongol Republic as far as Kazakhstan, so that the name ‘Bactrian’ camel, given by Aristotle, refers not to its origin but rather to the approximate location of its earliest domestication.[21] The life expectancy of the camel is 35 to 40 years, of which it can work for 20 to 25 years. A well-fed animal can carry 200 kg for eight days without water if travelling on solid ground; in soft sand, however, it can go only five days carrying 120 kg without water. In the winter it can withstand temperatures as cold as -25 °C without problems, as well as heights up to 4,000 m above sea level, but extended periods of heat are intolerable, so caravans crossing the Gobi or Taklamakan desert traditionally avoided the summer months and travelled by night. In southern Central Asia people raised not only two-humped Bactrians but also, for cross-breeding purposes, single-humped

Chronology of the early settlements of Kopet Dag

CENTRAL KOPET DAG	EASTERN KOPET DAG: ETEK PERIODS	EASTERN KOPET DAG: GEOKSYUR PERIODS	MURGAB & BACTRIA: BMAC PERIODS	TIME (BC)
Jeitun				6500–4500
Anau I A (Anau northern mound)	Anau I A			4800–4000
Anau I B (Anau northern mound)	Namazga I	Dashli		4000–3500
Anau II A (Anau southern mound)	Namazga II	Yalangach		3500–3100
Anau II B (Anau southern mound)	Namazga III	Geoksyur		3100–2500
	Namazga IV	Altyn Tepe		2500–2200
	Namazga V	Khapuz Tepe	Kelleli	2300/2200–1900
Anau III	Namazga VI		Gonur, Togolok	2000/1900–1500
			Sapalli, Jarkutan	1700–1350

In 1952 Pumpelly’s four-period chronology of Anau was superseded by Kuftin’s ‘Namazga’ classification in six periods, which is used today for dating prehistoric archaeological finds in flat regions of south-eastern Central Asia up to the Iron Age. At the prehistoric site of Namazga, which lies 90 km south-east of Anau and consists of a 34 m settlement layer, B.A. Kuftin identified six cultural periods.[22]



Palimpsest of two male camels; the larger of which is more than 1 m high. Petroglyph complex of Arpa Uzen in the Karatau Mountains, southern Kazakhstan, Bronze Age.

dromedaries. The single-humped hybrid resulting from a male Bactrian and a female dromedary was significantly stronger than its parents. The 650- to 900-kg beasts were able to carry up to 450 kg, more than twice as much as a Bactrian. The descendants of hybrids proved to be ill-tempered and dangerous, however, so the male hybrids were castrated.[23]

Before camels were used to pull wagons in Kopet Dag, beginning at the end of the fourth millennium or start of the third millennium BC oxen had been yoked to single-axle carts, as depicted in miniature clay figurines. Because of the worsening drought, however, the more efficient camel replaced the ox as the preferred draught animal in the second half of the third millennium BC.[24]

In conclusion it seems likely the American archaeologist Frederick Hiebert is correct in saying that in Anau a local development from loosely organised farming villages of the Jeitun Culture to the proto-urban settlement of the southern mound took place, after which this type of settlement spread as far the Geoksyur oasis. These settlements had contact with northern Iranian cultures, although the migration of Iranian farmers to the northern Kopet Dag plain at the start of the fifth millennium BC that was postulated by the archaeologists Vadim Masson and Viktor Sarianidi is highly improbable.[25]

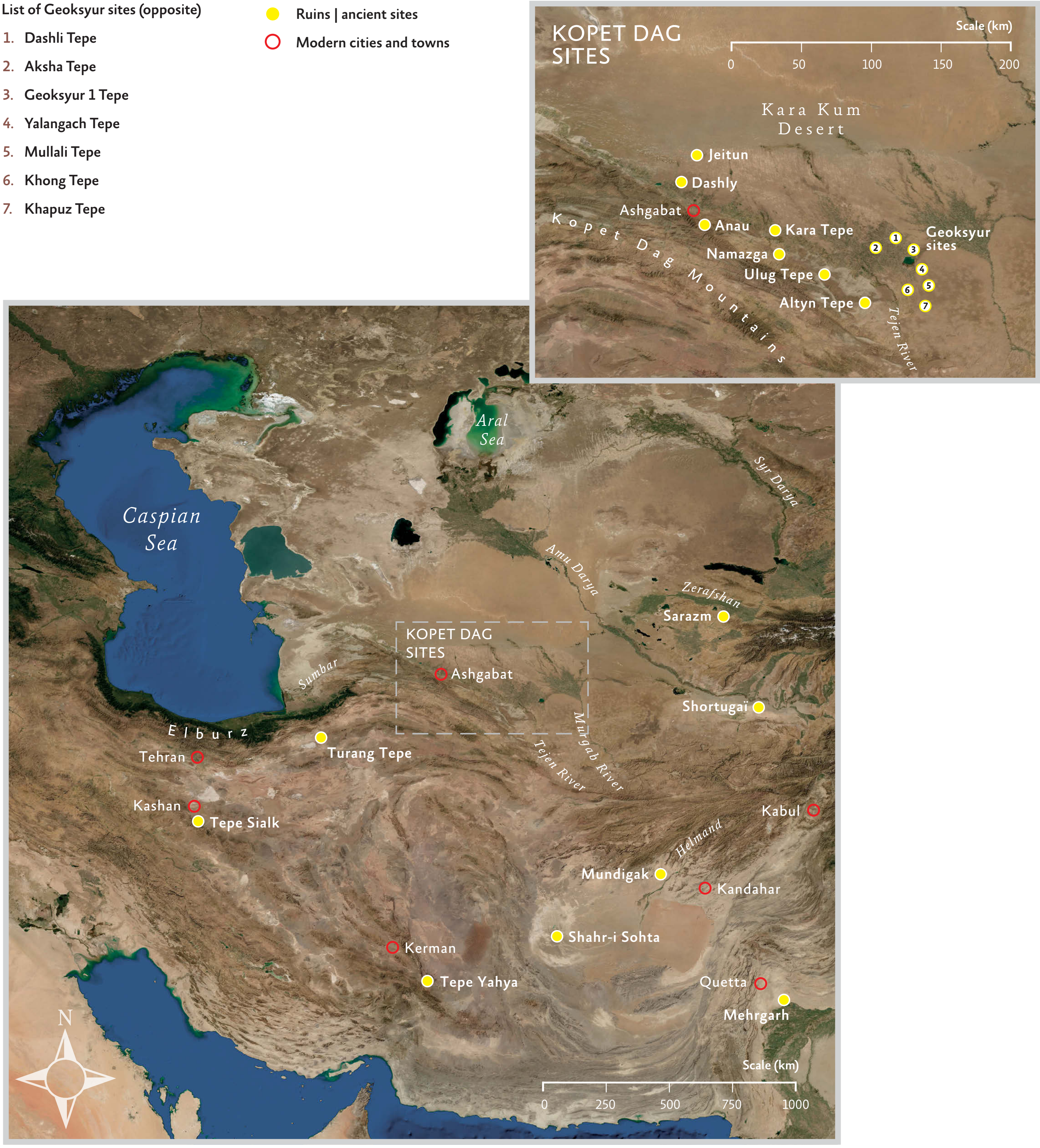
Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age sites of south-eastern Central Asia and the Kopet Dag sites

List of Geoksyur sites (opposite)

1. Dashli Tepe
2. Aksha Tepe
3. Geoksyur 1 Tepe
4. Yalangach Tepe
5. Mullali Tepe
6. Khong Tepe
7. Khapuz Tepe

● Ruins | ancient sites

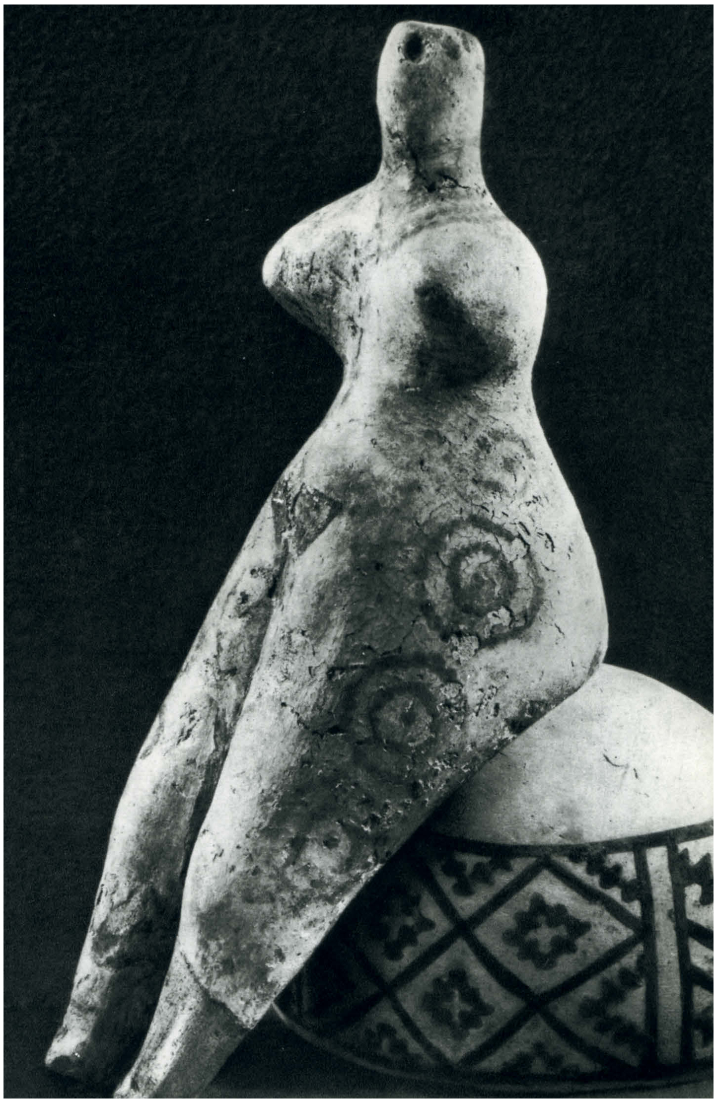
○ Modern cities and towns


KOPET DAG SITES
Scale (km)
0
50
100
150
200
Kara Kum Desert
Jeitun
Dashly
Ashgabat
Anau
Kara Tepe
Geoksyur sites
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Namazga
Ulug Tepe
Altyn Tepe
Kopet Dag Mountains
Tejen River
Aral Sea
Syr Darya
Caspian Sea
Amu Darya
Zerafshan
Sarazm
KOPET DAG SITES
Ashgabat
Sumbar
Shortugaï
Elburz
Tehran
Turang Tepe
Murgab River
Tejen River
Kashan
Tepe Sialk
Kabul
Helmand
Mundigak
Kandahar
Shahr-i Sohta
Kerman
Tepe Yahya
Quetta
Mehrgarh
N
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000

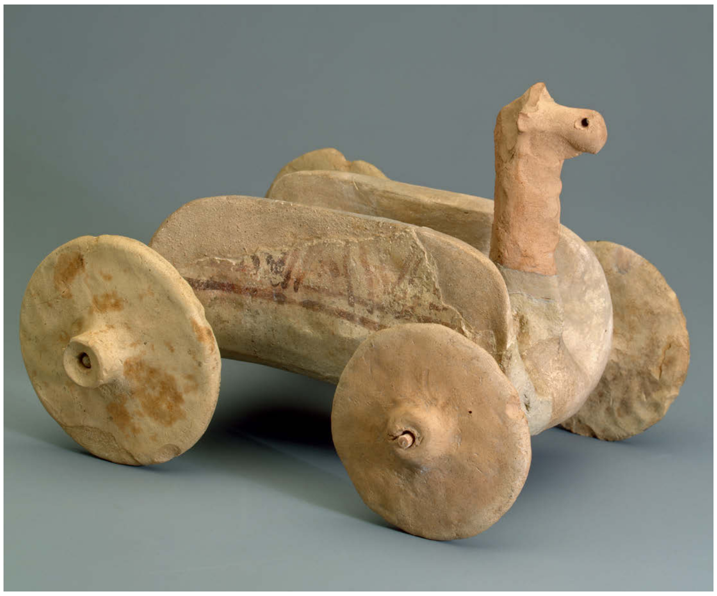
3. The first cities of Central Asia in southern Turkmenistan

In the second half of the fourth millennium BC there was a first wave of urbanisation in southern Turkmenistan, when farmers from the Anau region spread to the south-east and founded the settlements of Namazga, Ulug Tepe and Altyn Tepe.[26] After travelling about 200 km they reached the Tejen River, in whose delta they established, over the course of time, the nine settlements of the **Geoksyur oases**, which belong to the time periods of Namazga II and III. These stood on small, naturally occurring alluvial rises, which emerged like islands out of the swampy surrounding waters and whose banks were overgrown with thickets of reeds and riparian forests. The farmers of these small settlements began, with the help of clay spindle whorls, to turn the wool of domesticated sheep into yarn, so that the new materials replaced the earlier animal skin clothing.[27] The sheep *ovis orientalis* was first domesticated around 8000 BC in Mesopotamia as a source of meat, but its wool was first worked into yarn only 4000 years later. Now the sheep was valuable not only once as food but also daily as a source of milk, and annually or semi-annually for wool for textiles.

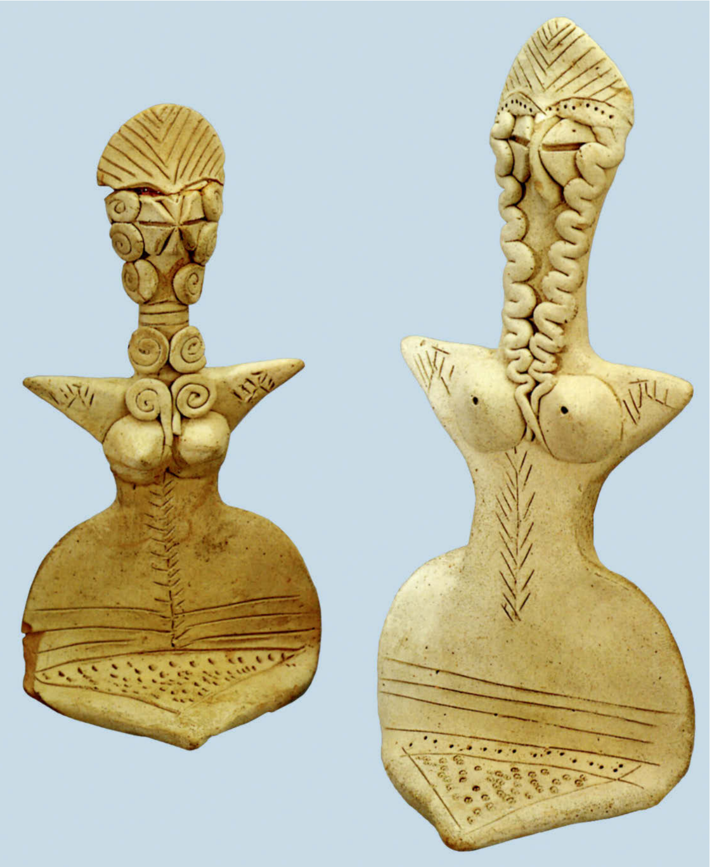
The earliest villages, established in the northern part of the river delta, such as Dashli Tepe, Yalangach Tepe and Aksha Tepe, were short-lived. The dramatically shifting Tejen River, which drifted westward, began, as a consequence of climate changes, to carry less water and no longer reached the mound settlements. The land dried up, forcing wild game to move to the south and making the cultivation of barley and wheat impossible. The farmers had to follow the water and built their dwelling farther south, but soon the steady disappearance of water forced the abandonment of Mullali Tepe and Geoksyur Tepe 9 as well. Geoksyur 1 was abandoned shortly after so that only the settlement of Khong Tepe in the south remained. The drying up of the delta continued unabated, however, and despite the construction of long irrigation canals the farmers had to leave Khong Tepe, too, after which they moved 18 km farther south to Khapuz Tepe (Namazga IV/V period).[28] This phenomenon, in which oasis settlements had to be abandoned as a consequence of dwindling water supply, was repeated many times in other agricultural oases, such as in the delta of the Murgab River east of the Geoksyur oases



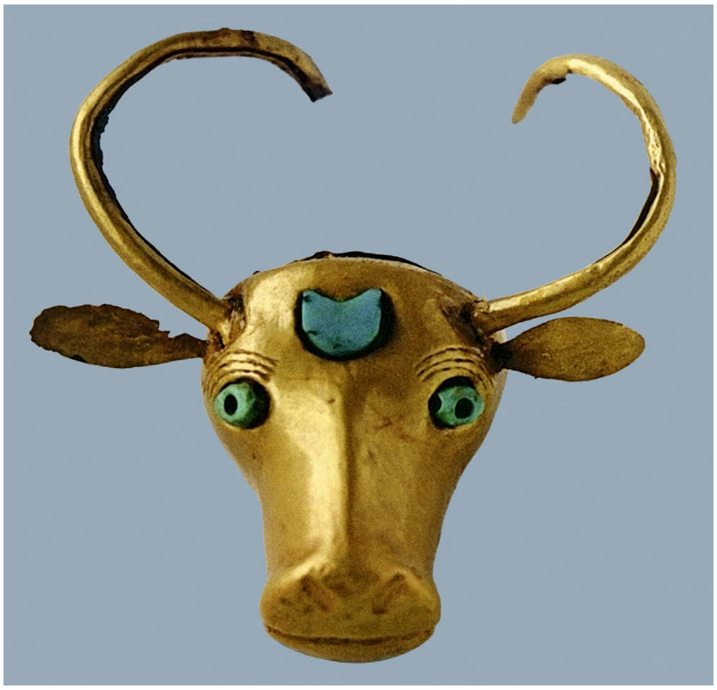
Painted terra cotta statue of a seated woman, presumably portraying a fertility goddess, Yalangach Tepe, Turkmenistan, *ca.* 3500–3100 BC. National Museum of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat.



Four-wheeled clay model of a wagon with painted side walls and a camel as draught animal, Altyn Tepe, Turkmenistan, *ca.* 2500 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Flat female statues made of terra cotta, which were part of a private domestic cult, Altyn Tepe, Turkmenistan, *ca.* 2600–2100 BC. National Museum of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat.



Gold bull's head with turquoise inlays found in a tomb close to the step pyramid of Altyn Tepe, Turkmenistan, *ca.* 2600–2100 BC. National Museum of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat.

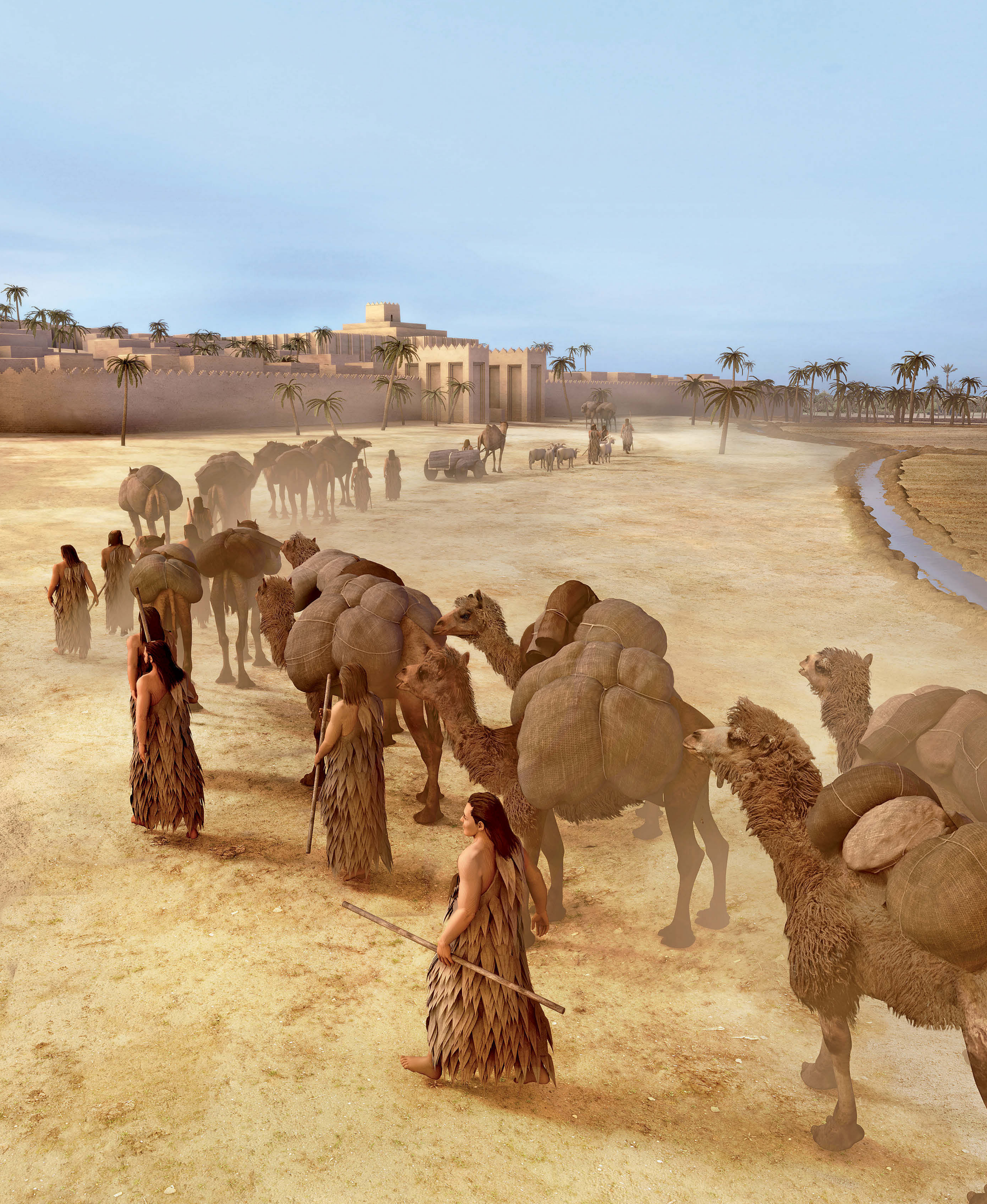
or in the Taklamakan Desert in north-western China, in the deltas of the Keriya, Niya and Andier Rivers, as well as the Tarim.[29]

As at Anau the Geokysur oases had circular buildings fortified with thick walls, which may have been used as granaries or defensive towers. Even if they served primarily as storerooms, they had a defensive function, since they were, as at Yalangach and Mullali, connected to one another by a wall around the settlement.[30] The houses of the earliest settlement at Dashli Tepe appear to have taken up the old idea, familiar from the Jeitun Culture, of one-room, single-family structures, although at Yalangach Tepe multi-room buildings also appeared. Clay statuettes found beside some ovens there depict rams and large-bodied, seated women, often painted with geometric patterns. These figures suggest that these hearths served profane as well as cultic purposes.[31] The female figurines, whose thighs were sometimes also decorated with the profile of a goat, and the ram statues, can be interpreted as typical fertility symbols of a Chalcolithic agrarian society in then-fertile southern Central Asia. Other, somewhat older female figurines, such as those from Kara Tepe, have strange, birdlike faces with almond-shaped eyes.[32]

About 600 years after the founding of the settlement of **Altyn Tepe** around 3200 BC the site developed into a city with all the attributes of an early Bronze Age urban culture in southern Central Asia. The urban characteristics consist of high population density, compact architecture, monumental buildings, centralised administration, coordinated provision of food, specialised types of work and commercial activities and a means of security, in the form of a city wall or defensive troops. The 25-ha city stood on a natural rise with steep sides, and in its heyday from about 2600 to 2200/2100 BC (Namazga IV and early V) the 4- to 4.5-m-high city walls made of mud bricks protected a population of 6,000 to 7,000 inhabitants. On a wide road through the 7- to 8-m-high monumental gate, which resembles the imposing entrance gates of Mesopotamian cities, carts pulled by camels travelled into the inner city, where perpendicular streets connected the individual quarters to each other.

As can be seen from the various types of private homes, Altyn Tepe was divided into four social strata. The lowest class was made up of servants or household slaves, who did not have houses of their own but rather lived with their masters. The next level

▶ **Illustration according to archaeological data of the Bronze Age fortified settlement of Altyn Tepe, Turkmenistan, *ca.* 2600–2100 BC. The camel drivers in the foreground wear a kaunakes, a cloak made of either sheep- or goatskin or sheep's wool, which was popular in the Bronze Age from Mesopotamian Sumer to southern Turkmenistan; in the background are the city gate and the step pyramid.**



One of the five excavations of Sarazm, protected by a metal roof, north-western Tajikistan, period of Sarazm II, *ca*. 3200–2900 BC.

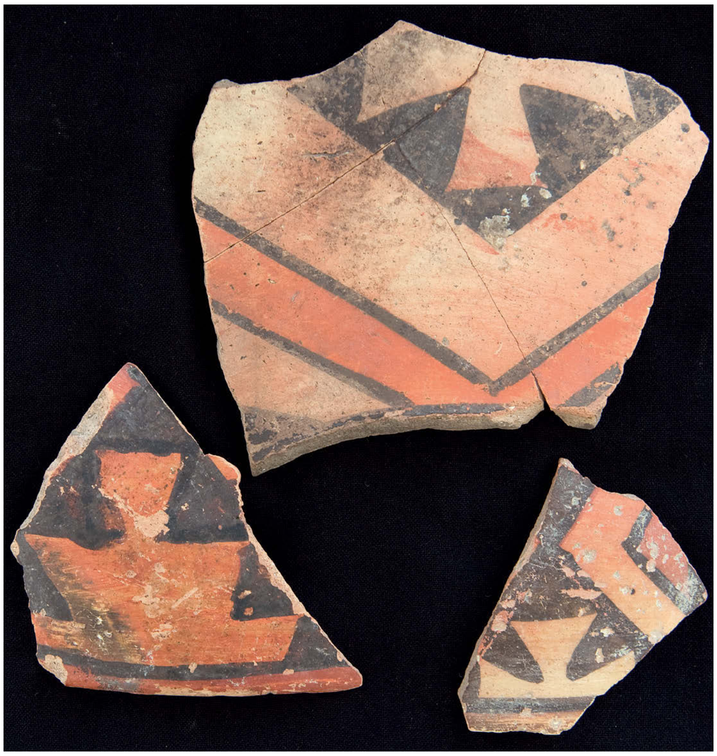
consisted of free artisans, who lived in their own quarters in large, multi-family complexes with living and work areas. Belonging to this class were potters who worked with potters' wheels; producers of the many small clay figurines of women; and blacksmiths, who worked with both arsenic-copper and tin-copper alloys. They most likely procured the necessary ores from the agrarian settlement of Sarazm in far north-western Tajikistan. Sarazm, whose founders came from the Kopet Dag oases, was one of the most important centres of metallurgy in south-eastern Central Asia and had, along with the nearby Fergana valley, rich sources of copper, lead, tin, arsenic, gold and silver.[33]

The affluent citizens had their own residential quarter made up of single-family houses, while the carefully constructed, spacious homes of the elite were concentrated along perpendicularly arranged streets around the cultic centre. As the graves with the richest inventory of grave goods were found in the cultic complex, the elite who lived and were buried here must also have served a cultic purpose. The cultic centre consisted of a 12-m-high, multi-storey pyramid with a rectangular base, which was topped with a tower made of mud brick. One side of the pyramid abutted a natural mound. This step pyramid, unusual for Central Asia, which could also be described as step terraces with an attached tower, strongly recalls the early ziggurats of Mesopotamia. This led the excavating archaeologist Vadim Masson to conjecture that this particular idea of sacred architecture was influenced by Mesopotamia and Iran.[34] Aside from the lack of ascending ramps, the similarities between the step pyramid of Altyn Tepe and the proto-Elamite step pyramid of Tepe Sialk, Iran, are indeed astonishing. The step pyramid of Tepe Sialk was built around 2900 BC on the ruins of a still older terrace shrine. Like Altyn Tepe, it had four increasingly smaller platforms one on top of the other. Right at the top was a small, tower-like structure, the symbolic home of the deity to which the pyramid was consecrated.[35] Another point of reference for the proto-Elamite culture may lie at the site of Tepe Yahya in south-eastern Iran. Here the massive step-style construction of Konar Sandal I from the mid-third millennium BC has been excavated. Individual chlorite vessels of a similar age from the neighbouring archaeological site of Jiroft are also decorated with schematic portrayals of ziggurats, so it is conceivable that Tepe Yahya and Jiroft provided inspiration for the step pyramid at Altyn Tepe.[36] Similar step pyramids are also found in the contemporaneous cities of Tureng Tepe south-east of the Caspian Sea, Mundigak north-west of the Afghan city of Kandahar, and Shahr-i Sokhta in south-eastern Iran.[37]

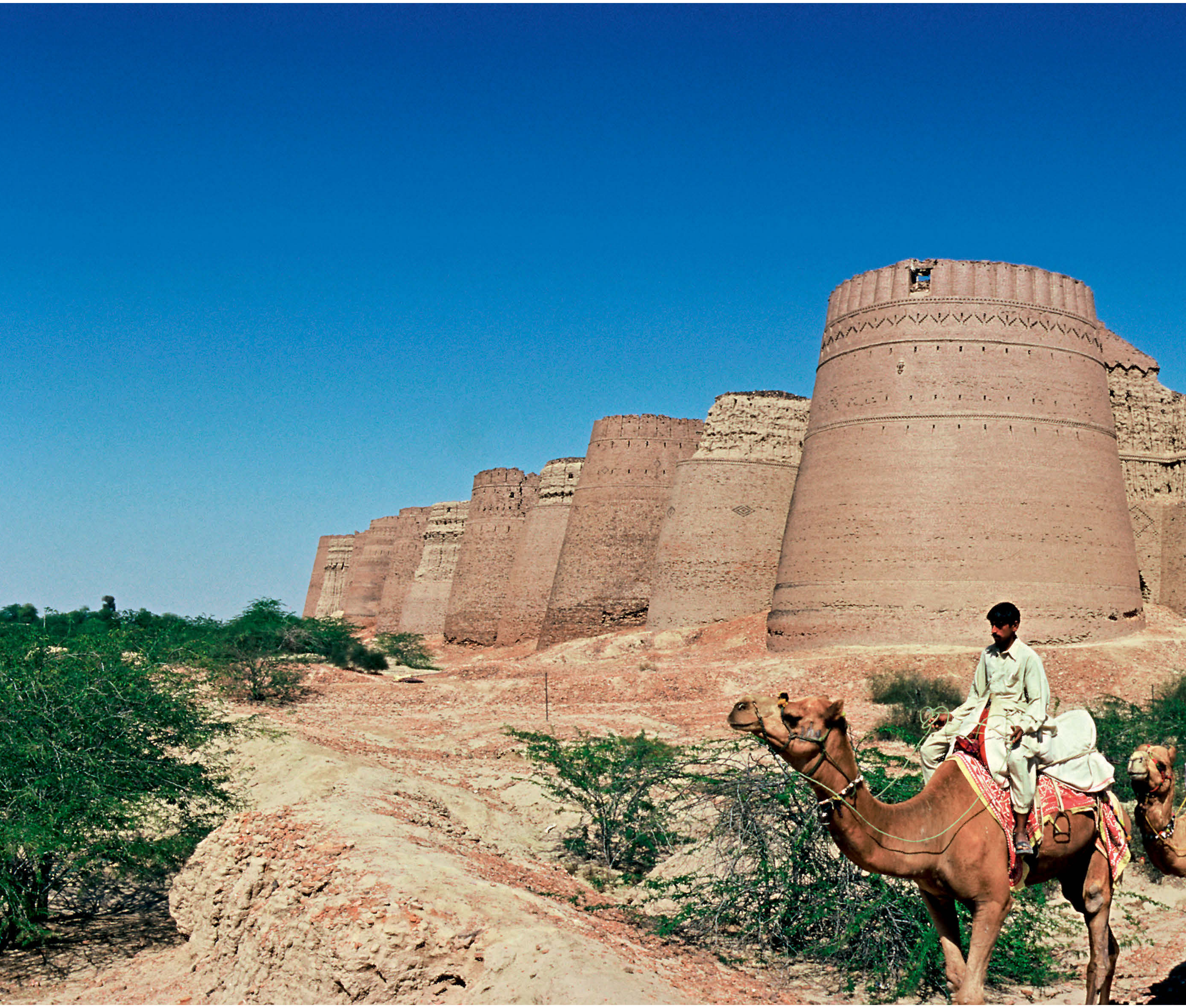
In Altyn Tepe there were two different cultic forms; an institutional one of the city and a private one of the households. In each house, in granaries and in some collective graves, there were schematically portrayed female terra cotta figurines with broad but flat hips, a flat torso with prominent breasts, a long neck, affixed eyes of a rhomboid shape, a hooked nose and snake-like braids falling on both sides of the face. The lower part of the body ended in a triangle instead of legs, since it would be stuck in the ground or in a recess beside an altar, analogous to the female statuettes of the contemporaneous agrarian culture of Tripolye in far western Central Asia and those of the Indus Valley Civilisation.[38] In other statues the lower part is bent forward at a right angle, representing a seated position.[39] These flat statuettes from the transition period from the Copper Stone Age to the early Bronze Age are fundamentally different from the voluptuous matrons of the mid-Chalcolithic, such as those from Yalangach Tepe.[40] In addition, many of the statuettes of Altyn Tepe have engraved symbols consisting of combinations of lines, which had a hidden meaning. Their unknown message is all the more intriguing because the symbols can be grouped and often appeared in identical form. Vadim Masson has compared these statuettes with the proto-Elamite marks of Mesopotamia and those of the Indus Valley Civilisation (*ca.* 2800–1800 BC), and found a few remarkable similarities.[41] The birdlike faces also indicate clear relations to Mesopotamia, as the snake-like braids do to the Indus Valley Civilisation, which may reflect an orientation toward Mesopotamia and particularly to the Indus delta.[42] These figurines of women presumably portray female deities, which were venerated in the context of private households.

Unlike in the profane dwellings, no female figurines were found in the civic cultic complex. In the grave of a man near the step pyramid archaeologists discovered rich grave goods that presumably had a cultic purpose. Among them was the 7.5-cm-high head of a bull made of pure gold, with horns made of silver covered in gold leaf. The eyes are made of turquoise and a third, crescent-shaped turquoise adorns the forehead. This golden bull's head recalls Sumerian toreutics,[43] especially the bulls' heads on the resonators of the lyres from the royal tombs of Ur.[44] Moreover, the Sumerian moon god Nanna-Sin, who could appear in the form of a bull, was the patron deity of Ur and the large, three-story ziggurat of Ur was dedicated to him. Thus Masson surmised that 'the cultic centre of Altyn Tepe was apparently dedicated to a male god, a local variant of Nanna-Sin, whose multi-story tower so obviously followed the prototype of the ziggurat of ancient Sumer'.[45] This means that in Altyn Tepe a private cult of mostly female fertility goddesses, which also protected the hearth and family, coexisted with a public cult of a patron god with roots in Mesopotamia. It is the moment at which male deities began to replace female deities at the top of the pantheon of south-eastern Central Asia. There was, in broad terms, a 'twilight of the goddesses', which heralded the transition from a purely sedentary agrarian society to nomadic trading societies and, before long, to bellicose stockbreeding societies.

The significance of the metal seals found here is still unknown. They are made of an alloy of bronze and low-grade silver with geometric or zoomorphic motifs, and they may have served as amulets. The most striking seal is in the form of a three-headed beast with the body of a big cat, two snake heads, and one head of a bird of prey, which was discovered in the grave of a woman in the temple district.[46] This fantastical creature seems to anticipate the three-headed demon Aži Dahäka from the Zoroastrian



With their decorative patterns of Maltese crosses and three-step pyramids, the ceramics of Sarazm II and III (3200–2500 BC) show close ties to those of the Geoksyur oasis of Turkmenistan. Local museum of Sarazm, north-western Tajikistan.



The late medieval fortress of Derawar Fort in the Cholistan Desert guarded an ancient trade route that linked the cities of the Indus Valley Civilisation with trade partners in Central Asia 4,500 years ago; Punjab Province, central Pakistan.

Avesta – one of the most feared servants of Ahriman, the destructive spirit.[47]

The inhabitants of Altyn Tepe continued the practice, begun in Anau, of 'intra muros' burial of infants. They were buried within houses, primarily in corners under the floor or beneath the threshold, rarely in containers. Adults, however, were buried in communal graves, which were either close to inhabited house complexes or in uninhabited, abandoned sections of the city.[48]

The domestication of the camel and the adoption of four-wheeled wagons made the transportation of goods much easier, enabling the oasis cities of Kopet Dag to engage in trade. They were part of a large trade network that stretched from Mesopotamia in the west to Sarazm (Tajikistan) in the north-east, Shortugaï (Afghanistan) in the east, and the Indus Valley Civilisation (Pakistan) in the south-east. Geographically speaking the oasis cities of Kopet Dag lay in the centre of this network. The distances from here, as the crow flies, to the Mesopotamian cities such as Ur was about 1,300 km; to Sarazm, 800 km; to Shortugaï, likewise 800 km; and to the Indus cities of Harappa or Mohenjo-daro, 1,400 to 1,700 km. The impulse behind this transcontinental trade was the insatiable hunger of the cities of Mesopotamia for ores and gemstones from eastern Central Asia.[49] These land routes supplemented the sea routes between the cities of the Indus Valley Civilisation and Mesopotamia. It is possible that merchants at that time were able to communicate directly with each other thanks to a common language, since similarities between the Dravidian languages of India and Elamite, which is now extinct, have led to the hypothesis of a shared precursor language. This proto-Elamite-Dravidian language would then have been the lingua franca between Elam and the Indus Valley Civilisation with its branches in the oases of Central Asia.[50]

One of the most sought-after commodities was tin, which was less widely available in Eurasia than copper or iron. One of the oldest and richest tin mines of the prehistoric world was found in the valley of Zerafshan near **Sarazm**, whose Tajik name Sar-i zamin means roughly 'beginning of the land'.[51] The proto-urban settlement of Sarazm lies near the city of Panjikent in north-western Tajikistan and was for a long time the most northerly settled agricultural centre in eastern Central Asia. Although only 5 ha of the 100-ha settlement have been excavated – the site is mostly covered by a farming village – four stratigraphic layers have been identified. Sarazm I (3500–3200 BC) was founded as a kind of colony of earlier oasis cities of Kopet Dag from the transition period from Namazga I to II in the fertile valley of the middle Zarafshan on a site settled since the Neolithic, as demonstrated by the discovery of pottery of the Kelteminar Culture. It was probably established for economic reasons, as the area around Sarazm is rich in ore and semiprecious gems such as turquoise.

That Sarazm developed from the blueprints of the immigrants, so to speak, can be deduced from the city plan of the well-preserved layer of Sarazm II (3200–2900 BC). The two- and three-room residences stood along straight streets, with public plazas with workshops and storehouses following sets of three to six houses. As in Altyn Tepe, monumental architecture enriched the

The 20-year-old Europid woman buried in Sarazm with a man and a girl was clothed in garments adorned with lapis lazuli, turquoise and carnelian, *ca.* 3000 BC. National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan, Dushanbe.

cityscape of Sarazm. One building, 7 m high and with a square floor plan of 15 x 15 m, was interpreted by the first excavator, Isakov, as the administrative centre, and a second as a temple, where first the sun was worshipped and later bulls were sacrificed. At the same time, small cultic niches stood in private homes, with a hearth for the sacred fire.[52] The close connection of Sarazm II and Sarazm III (2900–2500 BC) to Altyn Tepe and the Geoksyur oases can be seen in the nearly identically painted ceramic objects. Among the most striking patterns are white or red Maltese crosses on black or white backgrounds, as well as red three-level pyramids on a black background.[53]

The triple burial of a 20-year-old couple with a girl gives a sense of the prosperity of Sarazm at that time. The woman was buried in rich clothing adorned with beads made of lapis lazuli, turquoise and carnelian, and her head and arms were covered with dozens of gold and silver beads. Two bracelets made of seashells underscore her high social standing and indicate trade with the Indus Valley Civilisation. Craniological studies showed that both the adults were dolichocephalic – that is, they had long, relatively narrow skulls and a gracile build. Like the inhabitants of the northern foothills of the Kopet Dag and the Geoksyur oases, these people were Europids of the Mediterranean type.[54]

The final period, Sarazm IV (2500–1500 BC), flourished again for about 500 years, until the start of a widespread drought in Central Asia around 2000 BC, which also constrained life in the Kopet Dag and Geoksyur oases. Then, in the nineteenth/eighteenth centuries BC, stockbreeders from the Andronovo cultural horizon advanced from the north. They used the valley floor as grazing land and took over the mining of tin. At this time the last farmers of the Geoksyur–Sarazm Culture left the area.[55]

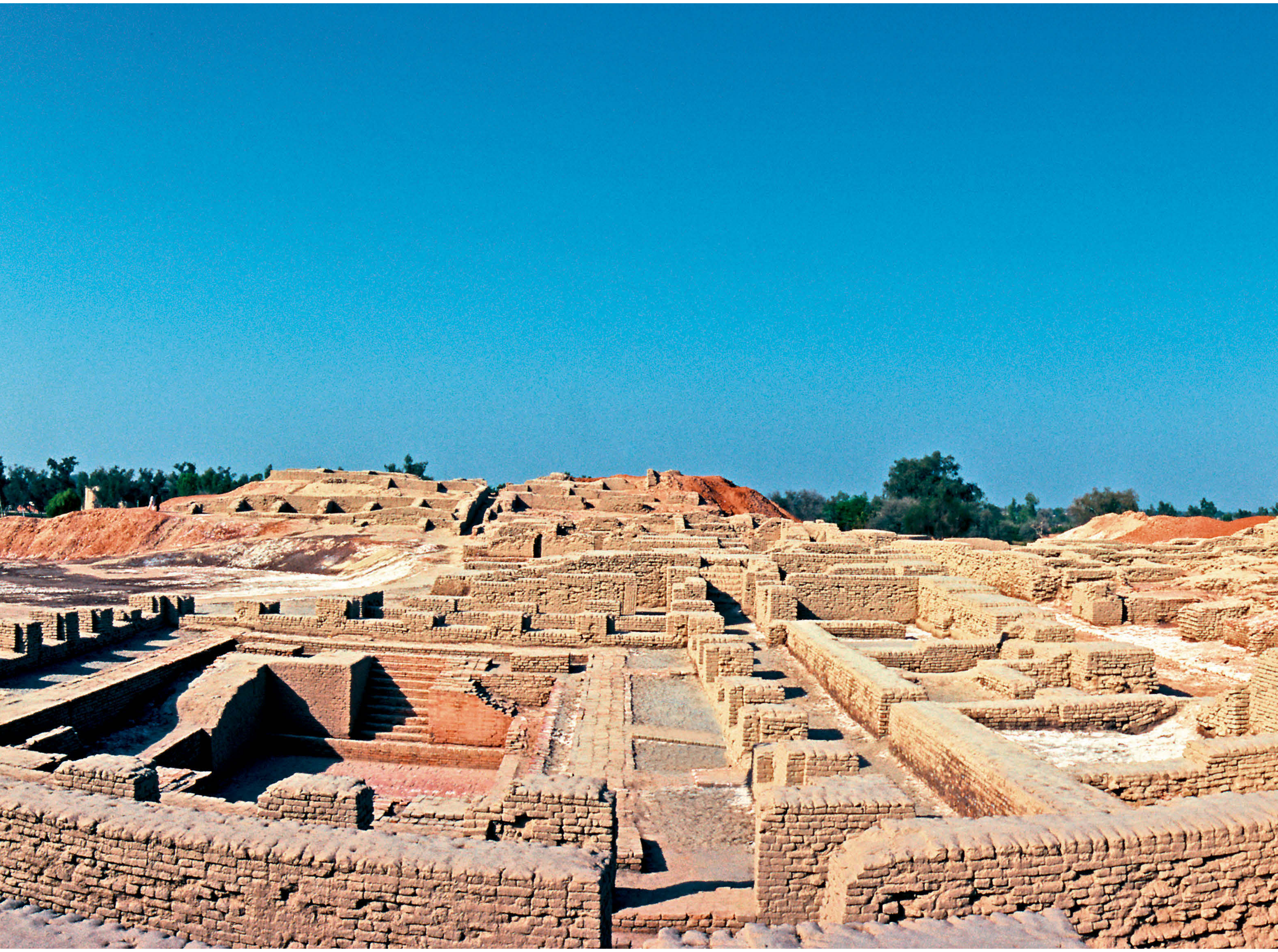
The trading cities of southern Turkmenistan were not satisfied with merely securing raw materials from the east; they also ensured their trade channels to the cities of the Indus Valley by founding the urban settlement of **Shahr-i Sokhta** in south-eastern Iran. This city was founded around 3200 BC and grew as large as 80 ha in area. Like Altyn Tepe, it had a monumental step pyramid. Shahr-i Sokhta lay halfway along the southern trade route, since it was 750 km from Altyn Tepe and 800 km from Mohenjo-daro. The distance to Ur in south-eastern Mesopotamia was 1,300 km. The city was not just a way station for trade caravans, however, but also a centre of artisanal production, where lapis lazuli, turquoise, carnelian, chlorite and seashells were crafted into objects that were usually exported to the city-states of Mesopotamia. At the same time as the collapse of Sarazm, at the start of the second millennium BC, this city fell and burned to the ground.[56]

The lapis lazuli and seashells discovered in the grave of the 'princess of Sarazm', as well as other finds, such as square clay seals, indicate that Sarazm conducted trade not only with the Altyn Tepe and Kopet Dag oases but also with Afghanistan and the cities of the Indus Valley Civilisation. Clay seals discovered in Altyn Tepe, as well as imported objects made of elephant ivory, underscore the trading relationships with the Indus Valley Civilisation, which had a trading post at **Shortugaï** in northern Afghanistan. This settlement in south-eastern Central Asia lies not far from the confluence of the Amu Darya and the Kokcha, close to Aï Khanum, where later Seleucus I (r. 305–281 BC) had a Persian settlement rebuilt as a Greek city. In the vicinity of Shortugaï there were also exceptionally rich reserves of lapis lazuli and turquoise.

Many objects found here were undoubtedly imports from the then-flourishing cities of the Indus Valley Civilisation. These include carnelian beads, worked agates, soapstone seals with carved images of rhinoceroses and ideograms typical of the Indus Valley Civilisation. Also other finds including bracelets made of seashells and game pieces made of clay, among them miniature zebus, camels and carts, as well as specially painted vessels were imports from the Indus Valley Civilisation. The gold, turquoise and faience objects were, however, fashioned by local artisans according to the techniques and taste of the Indus Valley Civilisation.[57] Shortugaï was a branch of one of the leading merchant cities of the Indus Civilisation, Harappa. Mohenjo-daro, like Sarazm, was a trading outpost of the Kopet Dag and Geoksyur oases of southern Turkmenistan.

In the first, urban period (2500–2100 BC), Shortugaï was a trading colony of the Indus cities with an outstanding production of pottery and brick buildings. Parallel to the collapse of the oasis culture of southern Turkmenistan, the post-urban period began in Shortugaï (2100–1700 BC) when a rustic tribal culture with traditional mud brick buildings replaced the urban trading culture. Contact with the Indus Valley Civilisation soon broke down, as that civilisation also reached its end. Trade dwindled and was conducted only with Bactria in the north. In the eighteenth century BC crude steppe pottery appeared – a clear indication that the nomadic stockbreeders who had earlier overrun Sarazm had now crossed the Amu Darya and advanced into northern Afghanistan.[58] Only 14 centuries later did Shortugaï experience a limited rebirth under Greek colonists.[59]

Although smaller cities with broad trade networks developed between Altyn Tepe and Geoksyur, the relatively large distances between the individual cities, as well as their limited militarisation, hampered the establishment of supra-regional entities like



Ruins of the city of Mohenjo-daro from the Indus Valley Civilisation, central Pakistan, *ca*. 2800–1800 BC. To the right in the background a Buddhist stupa from the second century AD rises above the ancient citadel.

The Indus Valley Civilisation, trade partner of Central Asia in the early Bronze Age

The cities of the Indus Valley Civilisation (*ca.* 2800–1800 BC), in today's Pakistan and north-western India, were the most important trade partners of the trading cities of southern Turkmenistan. The Indus Valley Civilisation was a unique urban culture that arose from the agrarian culture of Mehrgarh. It had highly productive agriculture and followed a revolutionary strategy of urbanisation. Over an area of 680,000 square kilometres traces of about 1,500 settlements[60] have been discovered. The most important cities, such as Mohenjo-daro, Kalibangan and Harappa, were constructed in a uniform manner according to a geometric master plan, whether this meant completely rebuilding older settlements or undertaking new construction from the ground up. The small upper city always stood in the west and was slightly elevated, and in the east lay the rectangular or parallelogram-shaped, much larger lower city with housing, workshops and storage facilities. The two- or three-storey houses were built of standard-sized clay bricks, 28 x 14 x 7 cm in size, which further increased the homogeneity of the architecture. Streets ran along the north–south axis of the cities, which had a secure water supply and a sophisticated system of waste water canals. In Mohenjo-daro, for instance, almost 700 wells provided fresh water for the 50,000 to 80,000 inhabitants, and from each house covered canals carried waste water to a communal canal that led to the nearby Indus.[61] In Mohenjo-daro there are no signs of monumental architecture, whether secular or sacred, which, considering the size of the city and its well-thought-out plan, is surprising.

The most important trading partners of the Indus Valley Civilisation were the cities of Mesopotamia, which were reached either by land through Iran or by sea. Trade between these parties was simplified by the introduction of standardised weights and measures. The second pillar of the domestic economy was agriculture, with crops transported to the cities by oxcart and barges. The Indus Valley Civilisation also developed its own script, which is preserved on small soapstone seals. To this day it has resisted all attempts to decipher it, since no multilingual documents like the famous Egyptian Rosetta Stone have been preserved. Making it yet more difficult is the fact that the inscriptions are very short; the longest consists of only 26 symbols or phonemes, and many of the more than 400 different symbols appear only rarely.[62] The script is presumably related to proto-Elamite, but the language affiliation remains unknown.

Another innovation of this culture is an early form of woven silk. The earliest evidence of silk worldwide comes from the Neolithic site of Qianshanyang in the Chinese province of Zhejiang, where silk threads about 4,570 years old were discovered. However, the most recent excavations at Harappa have brought to light silk fibres of almost the same age, dating to 2200–2450 BC.[63] The silk threads of China and of the Indus Valley Civilisation come from different moths, however: the Chinese from *Bombyx mandarina*, which was later domesticated as *Bombyx mori*, and those of Harappa from *Antheraea assamensis* and *Antheraea mylitta*. Interestingly, the threads of Harappa were spun in two different ways, which suggests the use of two different production techniques.[64] This most recent discovery has far-reaching consequences, because up until now early, pre-Christian discoveries of silk in Central Asia, Egypt or Europe were seen as indications of contact with China. In light of the long-standing isolation of China into the second century BC and, on the other hand, the transcontinental trade network already established in the third millennium BC of the Indus Valley Civilisation, exports from the northern Indian subcontinent now seem more likely.

The reason for the collapse of the Indus Valley Civilisation remains just as puzzling as its script. Presumably a variety of factors contributed, with both natural and human-caused ecological changes proving decisive. For one thing, at the start of the second millennium BC a pronounced drying of the climate in eastern Central Asia sped up, coupled with a weakening and a shift to the east of the monsoon rains. More dramatic effects were produced by tectonic shifts, most likely earthquakes, which led to the waters of the Sarasvati and Drishadvati rivers no longer reaching the Indus river system but rather moving eastward into the hydrological system of the Ganges. Thus the fertile, arable land also moved east, and the cities of the Indus began to suffer water shortages.[65] Furthermore, it may be assumed that the centuries-long intensive cultivation of the soil depleted it and that an irrigation system that paid little heed to drainage made the farmland too salty. In addition it is conceivable that overgrazing by goats and sheep – a phenomenon still seen in Central Asia and Mongolia today – also destroyed the vegetation that held the soil in place.

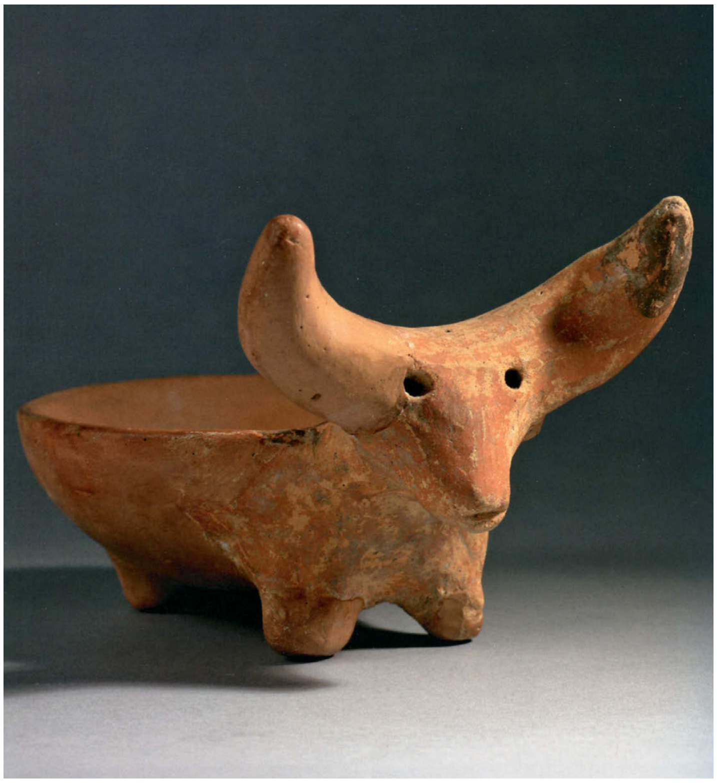
Finally, the enormous construction activity took its toll, as the production of bricks required vast amounts of wood. This led to radical deforestation of the surrounding environment with corresponding climatic consequences, as can also be seen in the fall of the cities of Mesopotamia.[66] External causes included the simultaneous collapse of trading partners in Mesopotamia and in southern Turkmenistan, as well as raids from the north. Although most scholars today believe that an attack by nomadic horsemen from the north did not take place, it is a fact that mass graves from the final period of Mohenjo-daro betray hasty and disorganised care for the dead. In addition, skeletons have been discovered lying in the streets, on thresholds and inside houses, indicating a violent end to a presumably already weakened city.[67] In any event, after the eighteenth century BC the agrarian-mercantile Indus Valley Civilisation disappeared, leaving behind no further trace.

Traditional single-axle cart in Punjab, Pakistan.

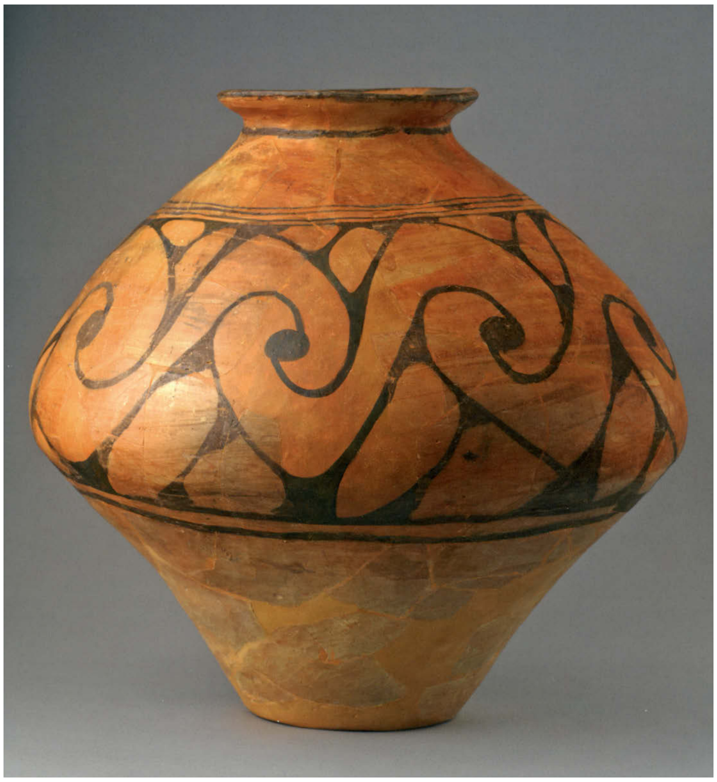
principalities or kingdoms. This markedly local character of the municipal government remained a hallmark of later cultures in the region of Bactria and Margiana until the Kushan era in the first centuries AD.

At the turn of the third to the second millennium BC Altyn Tepe and the last settlements of the Geoksyur oasis broke down, for a number of reasons. Climatic and tectonic factors played their part, as did the action of humans, although no effects from hostile enemies can be seen. As already mentioned, in the second half of the third millennium BC a weakening of solar radiation in the northern hemisphere ended the ideal climate of the early and middle Holocene, which caused both temperatures and precipitation to drop. Steppes dried out and deserts advanced not only in Central Asia but also in the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa.[68] In addition, the rivers that wound through the flat landscape tended to change their course as they silted up with sand. Thus the Tejen River shifted its delta to the west as early as the second half of the third millennium BC, forcing the people of the ancient Geoksyur oasis to abandon their settlement and relocate to Khapuz Tepe in the south-west.[69]

Human beings helped bring about the impending catastrophe, although the causes and effects involved were still unknown to them. The population growth in Altyn Tepe led to increased deforestation, salinisation of the soil resulting from excessive irrigation without adequate drainage, and overgrazing by herds of goats. All of these factors reduced the amount of land available for life-sustaining agriculture, and Altyn Tepe began to shrink. First the cultic centre and the residential quarter of the elite were abandoned and a gradual decline set in. As living conditions worsened people began emigrating eastwards out of the Kopet Dag–Tejen oasis system towards the neighbouring delta of the Murgab River north of the modern city of Merv (Mary) in south-eastern Turkmenistan. This theme, of natural and man-made factors forcing people to abandon their oasis settlements for a more favourable environment, would recur frequently in Central Asia until modern times.



Clay vessel from the Tripolye Culture in the shape of cattle, Shushkivka, Ukraine, *ca.* 3500 BC. National Museum of the History of Ukraine, Kiev.



Clay jar with dynamic decoration typical of the Tripolye Culture, Konivka, Ukraine, 4000–3500 BC. Museum of Archaeology, National Museum of Sciences of the Ukraine.

4. Agrarian and stockbreeding cultures in northern Central Asia

4.1 The cultures of Cucuteni–Tripolye and Usatovo

As in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age, this period in the history of northern Central Asia was marked by encounters between agrarian and stockbreeding societies. On the other side of the western border of Central Asia, in the second half of the sixth millennium BC during a Climate Optimum, there arose west of the Dnjestr River the sedentary agrarian culture of **Cucuteni–Tripolye** (*ca.* 5200–2800 BC), which also raised livestock.[70] In contrast to the steppe cultures, which are reconstructed largely on the basis of grave furnishings and classified by burial type, the Cucuteni–Tripolye Culture can be studied only by examining the architecture of its settlements and domestic finds. In the first period the small settlements consisted of either rough dug-out huts, which were easily flooded and needed regular repairs, or ground-level buildings made of stamped clay and used by nuclear families.[71]

Beginning in 4000 BC in the Ukraine, the second, middle period saw a population explosion, which led to the construction of gigantic settlements. They consisted of two or three – or, in extreme cases, even five – concentric circular or oval rings of two-storey houses, about 20–30 m long and 6–10 m wide, which were connected along their long sides into groups of four or five. The largest settlements reached an area of 450 ha and numbered 2,700 dwellings, which corresponded to a population of approximately 25,000 to 30,000 people.[72] These mega-settlements were earlier and larger than the first Sumerian cities, but they show no signs of a division of labour or of social stratification, and they had no public buildings, so they are seen not as cities but rather as gigantic settlements. As the self-sustaining farmers practised slash-and-burn agriculture, and the soil was quickly depleted, they were forced periodically to move eastward to seek new, virgin land, so the culture spread as far as the Dnieper. They ritually burned the abandoned settlements.[73] The Tripolye farmers obtained copper bars from what is today Bulgaria, working the metal into jewellery and also selling it to the nomadic stockbreeders north-east of the Dnieper.

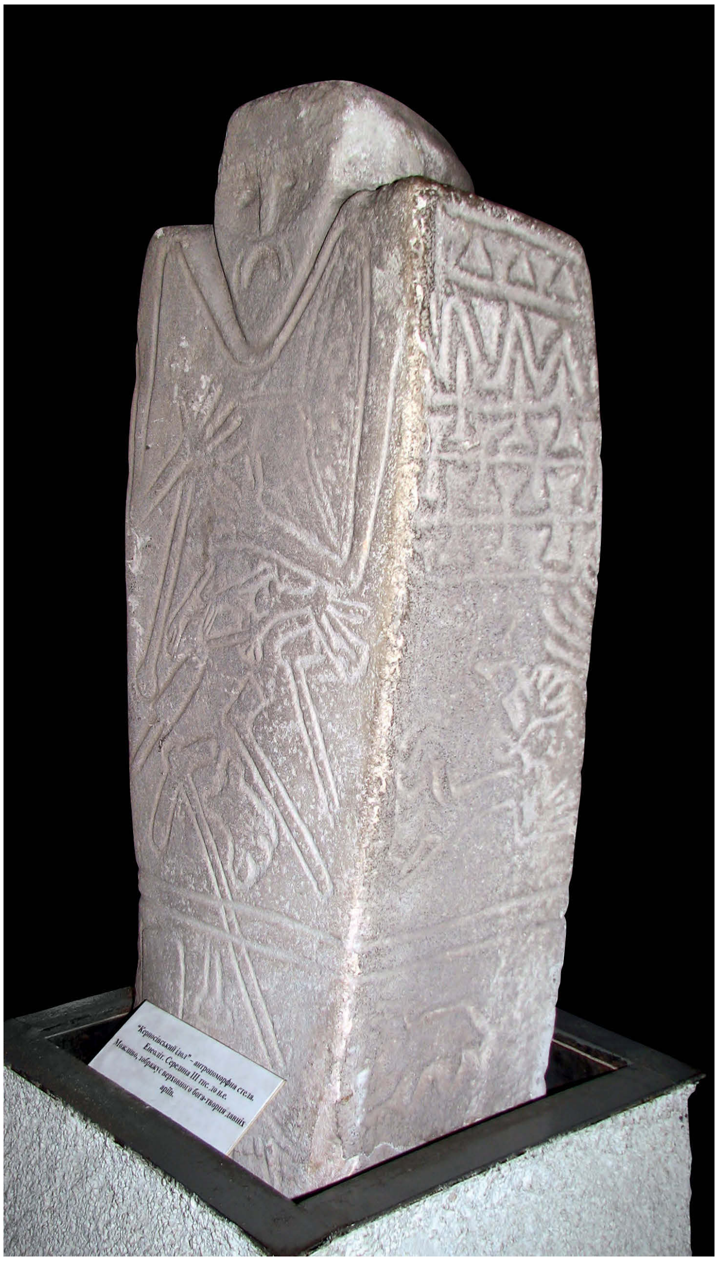
Female deities played an important role in the Tripolye Culture, as can be seen in the approximately 2,000 clay figures depicting either small, standing women or seated women with outstretched legs, broad thighs and backward-leaning torsos. Occasionally they sit on stools in a circle of as many as a dozen women. Such clay statuettes stood in houses near the hearth and presumably served a protective purpose. As the clay was often mixed with wheat and barley grains, they also symbolised fertility. In addition to the female powers, spirits associated with horned cattle also played an important apotropaic[74] role in the domestic cult, since in a few settlements the skull of a bull or a cow was found buried beneath each house.[75]

The Tripolye farmers were innovative not only in the way they built settlements but also in their means of transportation. Clay figurines of oxen pulling sleds and of oxen standing on two axles with four wheels indicate that in the winter these farmers used sleds on snow and frozen waterbodies, and knew that heavy loads could easily be moved by means of wheels and axles.[76]

Around 3300 BC Tripolye was overtaken by a severe, mostly self-inflicted crisis. A climatic cooling that had begun there around 3500 BC hampered farming, but the slash-and-burn agriculture that had been practised for centuries and the increasing depletion of the soil were more serious. Worse still, the slash-and-burn approach and massive deforestation for building and heating purposes reduced the forested part of Tripolye's area from 50 percent to about 9 percent.[77] In this way the Tripolye farmers destroyed their own natural barrier against the slowly advancing steppe nomads in the north-east, who at first could not cross this wall of forest with their herds. The stockbreeders in western Central Asia, who sought to escape the cooling climate by migrating to the south, began to infiltrate the cultural realm of the Tripolye. The new steppe landscapes exercised a pull on the herders to the north. They travelled on foot, as the use of the horse as a mount to overcome long distances began only about a millennium later.

Astonishingly, the Tripolye Culture did not collapse as a result of this migration but instead experienced a revival. In the third and final period of Tripolye the mega-settlements disappeared and smaller, better defended communities emerged. The farmers adopted the technologies of the advancing herders and used their land, which had been transformed into steppe, for grazing cattle, sheep and goats. It appears that the expansion of the steppe nomads' lifestyle to the west came about not so much through military attacks as by the adoption of technologies of animal husbandry appropriate to the changed climatic and ecological conditions.[78]

The steppe herders who advanced slowly into the territory of the Tripolye farmers, who now practised stockbreeding, belonged to the proto-Indo–European (PIE) language family and contributed essentially to its westward expansion.[79] Its culture can be seen as one of the precursors of the vast Yamnaya Culture. Most notably the two peoples who lived side-by-side, the local Tripolye farmers and the nomadic steppe herders, both maintained their own ancient cultural elements, which blended along the Dnieper and Dniester rivers into the hybrid **Usatovo Culture** (3300–2800 BC). In the flat graves near the settlements small female figurines were laid beside the dead. Such figurines are, however, not found in the kurgan graves, where the leaders of the steppe herders were buried. Instead of statuettes of women, their grave goods consisted of a pair of bronze weapons made of arsenic copper. The tumulus was surrounded



A 120-cm-tall stone statue portraying an older warrior from Kernosovka, Usatovo Culture, Ukraine, *ca.* 3300–2800 BC. Historical Museum of Dnepropetrovsk.

by a cromlech, a circular arrangement of megaliths (a custom that was also known to the culture of Mikhailovska that preceded the Usatovo Culture).[80] A few Tripolye graves also contained ceremonial stone maces with horse heads.[81] Presumably the newcomers, who helped spread the practice of using domesticated horses for meat, appointed themselves patrons of the local populace, but left their social structures and culture untouched. Metaphorically speaking, the subjected agrarian communities were like the goose that laid the golden egg, which only had value as long as it lived.

The burial sites also included stone steles, some simple and some anthropomorphic, made of granite, lime or sandstone and standing as tall as 270 cm, which were located south-west of the mounds.[82] The best-preserved anthropomorphic stele of Kernosovka portrays an older warrior with a drooping moustache, his hands folded on his chest. On the front are engraved weapons such as a battle axe and a pickaxe, as well as a lance, and under these are two horses. On the sides are a copulating pair, an ox, and geometric patterns; on the rear, two footprints and schematically drawn ribs and a spine.[83] The meaning of these steles is not known; perhaps they represent an idealised image of the deceased leader and his world in a coded form, which could indicate a marked social stratification and the elevated position of the leader. Alternatively, the steles may be an expression of ancestor worship, in which the dead do not disappear from the world but rather take on a new societal function in a changed form. With the demise of the honoured man, his 'afterlife' as an ancestor begins. In the subsequent Yamnaya period these steles were reused, whether for the building of stone circles or as tomb slabs inside kurgans.

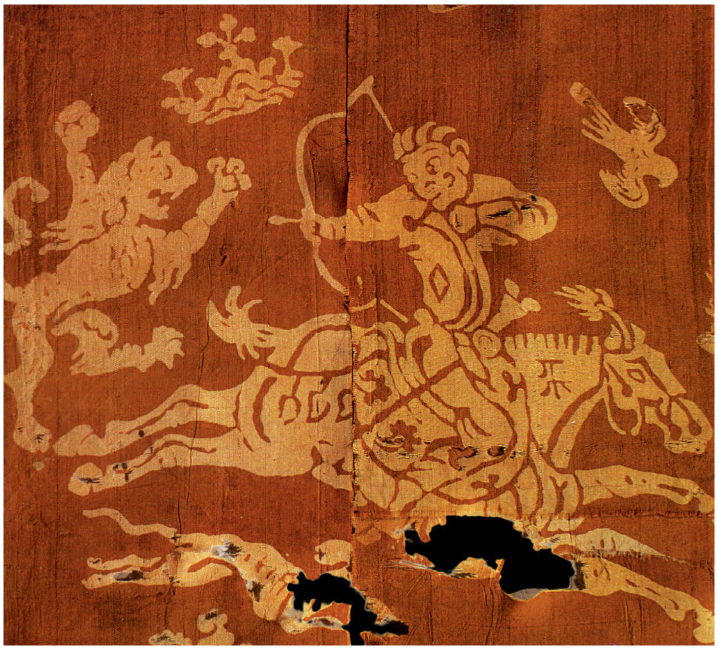
Dimitri Telegin has suggested that the anthropomorphic steles had their origin in the related, settled stockbreeding cultures of Mikhailovska and Kemi Oba on the northern coast of the Black Sea and in the Crimea. The surprising similarities to contemporaneous steles of southern France and northern Italy are generic and coincidental, however, as there was little cultural contact between the Black Sea region and the western Alps.[84] The custom of erecting stone statues of the dead, usually armed, at the gravesite or on a cultic site dedicated to the deceased, found its way into the entire northern half of Central Asia as far as Mongolia, where the so-called deer stones represented a particularly stylised and symbolically rich variant.[85] It was widely practised for over four millennia into the fourteenth century AD, and in Mongolia and southern Siberia the ancient stone figures are still venerated.

◀ **A Mongol rider captures a horse from a herd, central Mongolia.**

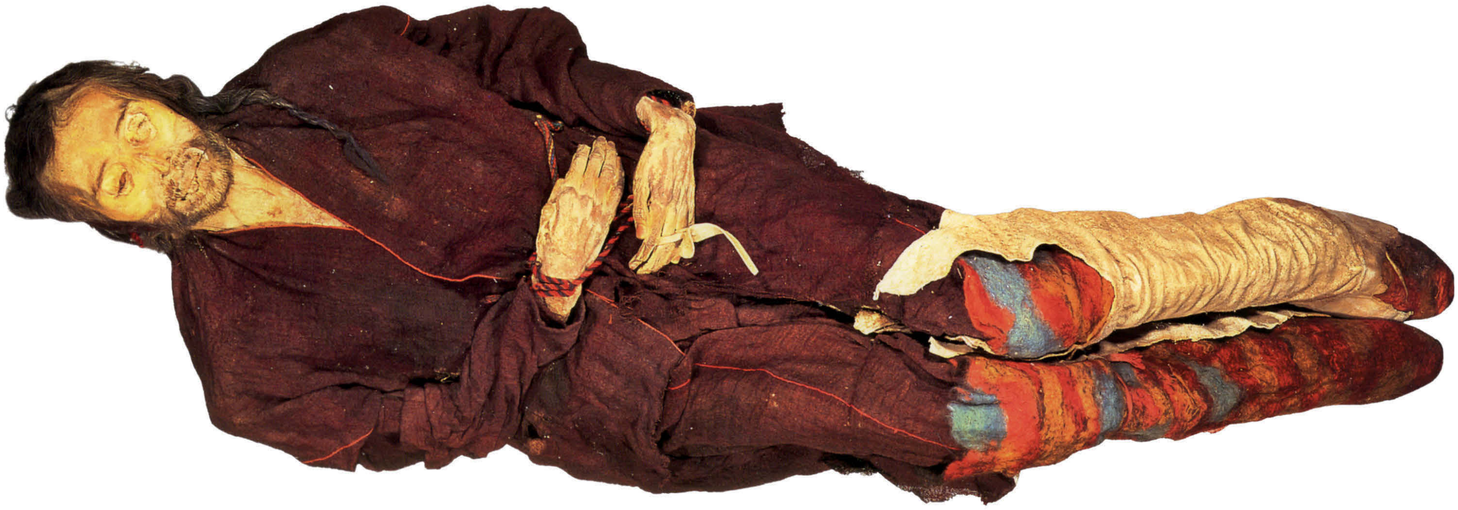
The Usatovo Culture and its mixed economy of primarily stockbreeding and secondarily crop farming influenced the economic forms of the eastern Funnelbeaker Culture of north-eastern and central Europe, from which the Globular Amphora Culture (3400–2700 BC) emerged. These people were not semi-nomadic herders but rather settled farmers who also devoted themselves to stockbreeding. Out of the Globular Amphora Culture emerged later the settled, socially hierarchical Corded Ware Culture (2800–2200 BC), which bordered the Yamnaya steppe culture to the east. This influence of the Usatovo Culture to the west has been associated by some scholars with the spread of Indo-European dialects, such as the proto-Germanic, proto-Slavic and proto-Baltic languages.[86] In any case, this development proceeded peacefully and gradually; an Indo-European invasion of Europe from the east never took place.

4.2 Early stockbreeding cultures

North-east of the Chalcolithic Dnieper–Donets Culture II, in the steppe forests of the middle Volga, two cultures with similar burial rites arose. The **Samara Culture** (*ca.* 5000–4500 BC) is the older of the two. These people used horses, as well as sheep and goats, for meat. Ochre was spread over the shallow burial chambers of male leaders, and the skulls, hooves and jaws of horses, sheep and goats sacrificed by the grave were laid in flat bowls. Additional grave goods were horse figurines carved from bone as well as sharp flint



A rider shoots a lion with a 'Parthian shot', shooting behind him while riding at a gallop. Silk weaving from Astana, Xinjiang, north-western China, Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD). Xinjiang Uyghurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi.



Mummy of a Europid man wrapped in a crimson cloak, wearing wool trousers and felt boots, necropolis of Zaghunluq near Qiemo, grave M 2, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 800 BC. The man was a rider; a leather saddle was placed near him. Xinjiang Uyghurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi.

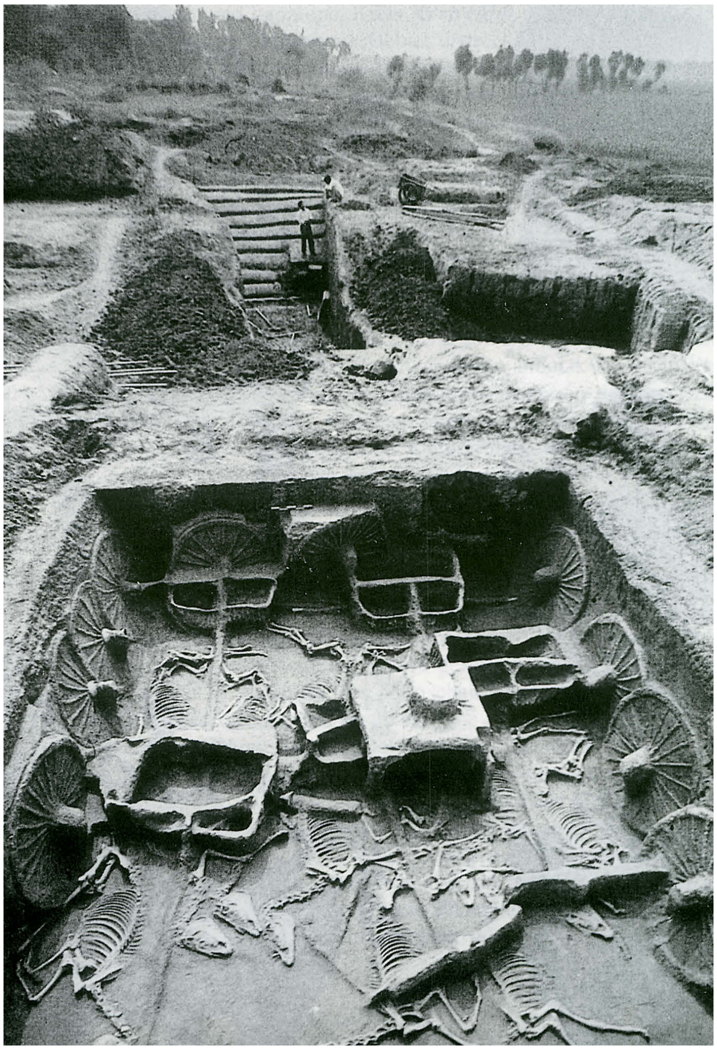
daggers. A few graves were covered with low mounds of earth or stone.[87] The **Khvalinsk Culture** (4700–3800 BC), found south of the Samara Culture, extended from Saratov on the Volga to the northern Caucasus in the south and the Urals in the east.[88] This culture overlapped in parts with the Samara Culture and also made reference to the culture of Dnieper–Donets II, as can be seen in the burials of adult men from ages 30 to 50. After death they were first laid in a communal ossuary, where their bones were cleaned and covered with ochre then placed in individual or communal graves. The grave goods were skulls, skins and hooves of sacrificed horses, copper jewellery, flint daggers and maces made of serpentine and soapstone, whose zoomorphic heads resembled that of a horse. Presumably these maces were status symbols.[89] A few of the graves were covered with a low stone mound.

These graves of the Samara and Khvalinsk cultures displayed several hallmarks of the burial practices of the subsequent stock-breeding cultures of the Central Asian steppe, which remained dominant for the warrior elite into the first centuries AD. The essential criteria were grave goods, varying in quality according to social status, weapons, status symbols associated with the horse, jewellery, and animal sacrifices, as well as the practice of covering the corpse with ochre and the erecting of a stone or earth mound. Later, at the great kurgan of Maikop or, above all, in the Scythian period, the burial of chiefs also included rituals of human sacrifice, in which a young woman, fellow warriors and servants of the deceased had to accompany the dead into the afterlife. The subsequent **Late Khvalinsk Culture** (3800–3300 BC) laid the foundation for the establishment of the important Yamnaya Culture on the lower reaches of the Volga and Don around 3300 BC.[90]

Contemporaneous with the Khvalinsk Culture, the **Srednyi–Stog Culture** (4500–3500 BC) flourished between the Dnieper and the Don, serving as the western counterpart of Khvalinsk and likewise playing an important role in the establishment of the Yamnaya Culture.[91] The farmers raised sheep, goats, horses and pigs, and they also fished. They lived in small, semi-nomadic communities and buried their ochre-covered dead on their backs with bent knees; a small, low mound of stone or earth was placed over the grave. The scholars David Anthony and, with a few reservations, J.P. Mallory, believe that this contiguous cultural area of Srednyi Stog and Khvalinsk, between the Dnieper and the Volga in the Ukraine and southern Russia, is the homeland of the proto-Indo–European language (PIE), which arose between the Dnieper, northern Caucasus, and western Urals between about 4500 and 3000 BC.[92] Anthony's hypothesis also states that toward the end of the Srednyi Stog Culture an Indo–European language group branched off from archaic proto-Indo–European, as successive groups of people moved south-west as far as Anatolia. This language group was proto-Anatolian, from which developed the languages of Hittite, Luvian and Palaic. Other authors, such as Kristian Kristiansen, relate this first expansion of an Indo–European language to the culture of Maikop (3750–3000 BC).[93]

It is not known precisely which culture began to use horses for transportation as well as for meat. Most authors presume that the horse was first domesticated as a food source in the fifth millennium BC on the steppes north of the Caspian and Black seas – that is, in the region between the Urals and the Dnieper.[94] These horses would not have been used as mounts, however. The bones of a buried stallion from the Srednyi Stog Culture found in Dereivka were cited by Marija Gimbutas as evidence for her theory of a 6,000-year-old invasion of 'Old Europe' by nomadic horsemen. However, this theory fell apart when it emerged that the horse burial dated to the period of the Scythians (*ca.* 800–200 BC).[95] In Dereivka domesticated horses were used not for riding, but rather as a source of meat.[96]

About a millennium later, also east of the Urals, the horse was not only hunted but also domesticated. In the 1980s the Kazakh archaeologist Victor Zaibert explored the site of **Botai** in northern Kazakhstan. Here he discovered a Chalcolithic hunter-gatherer culture dating from about 3700–3000 BC. The site held a settlement of 150 round or oval pit-houses, of which the dome-shaped roofs were covered with sod, as well as the bones of no fewer than 70,000 horses. At that time a more humid climate than today prevailed in northern Kazakhstan, and the steppe fed millions of wild horses. The people of the Botai Tersek Culture, who lived in settlements more than 150 km apart, hunted horses for their meat and also began to domesticate and breed them. Traces of simple cheek pieces from harnesses and signs of wear on teeth have led a few scholars to propose that primitive forms of bridles were in use beginning around 3500 BC, which suggests the use of horses for riding.[97] Presumably hunters used their horses during the hunt and while guarding their herds, certainly not for military purposes.[98] In any event, around the mid-fourth millennium BC there were two epicentres of horse husbandry, one east of the Urals in northern Kazakhstan and the other west of the Urals between the Don and the Dnieper. Both stockbreeding communities were not nomads but rather practised transhumance, moving their herds to different grazing areas according to the season.



Grave M 1100 in the necropolis of the Yan state with buried light chariots and harnessed horses. Liulihe, south-west of Beijing, dynasty of the Early Western Zhou, *ca.* eleventh century BC.

The first clear-cut example of the use of horses for riding that can be confidently dated is more than a millennium younger than Botai, however, and comes from Mesopotamia. It is a cylinder seal of Abbakalla of Ur, a scribe of King Shu Sin, who ruled from 2037 to 2029 BC.[99]

4.3 The emergence of horse riding

Besides the further development of metallurgy, the domestication of the horse and its use for riding was one of the most important innovations of Central Asia. Getting on horseback enabled the people to shift from largely stationary stockbreeding to an economy that was truly mobile. It also helped them take full advantage of the economic potential of the endless grass steppes of Central Asia. The combination of horse riding and the composite bow, invented before or around the middle of the second millennium BC, gave the steppe peoples unprecedented military might, against which the settled agrarian cultures could offer little resistance.

While innumerable wild horses grazed the steppes of Eurasia and North America during the Palaeolithic, in the Mesolithic they died out in North America and dwindled rapidly in Eurasia. Their last refuge was in the northern steppes between the Carpathians and western Mongolia, since in the dry and treeless steppes they were second to only the wild camel in their ability to survive. Thanks to their large, wide-set eyes, horses have a range of vision of about 300 degrees and are able to quickly spot almost any predator in an open landscape.

The further development and refinement of horse riding was a slow process. In the steppes bridle bits were originally made of organic material, such as wood or bone. In about 1200 BC, however, single-piece bronze bits started to be used. These enabled the rider

Two horses pull a light chariot; petroglyphs from Baga Oigor III, western Mongolia, late Bronze Age.

to steer the horse accurately and stop it in its tracks. Thanks to this newly gained control, he could enter battle on horseback. Like the solid bronze bit, the split, two-part bit was presumably invented in Egypt around the mid-second millennium BC; it was first introduced in the steppes beyond the northern Caucasus in the ninth century BC and from there it spread rapidly as far as Mongolia.[100] With it the rider could control his horse so well that he could simultaneously use the short recurve bow, whether riding forward into the wind or fleeing at a gallop, aiming the bow backwards at a pursuer and shooting with the wind. This tactic, called the Parthian shot, was mastered to perfection by the mounted archers of the Central Asian steppes.

At about the same time or somewhat earlier than the two-part bit the soft saddle made of cloth and leather appeared in eastern Central Asia, which Assyrian horsemen likewise used beginning in the ninth century BC. The horsemanship of the early mounted archers of Assyria appears to have been limited, however, as each bowman had to be accompanied by another rider, who held the reins of both horses. In this way they were inferior to the attacking steppe peoples of the Cimmerians and the Scythians, who were able to control their horses with their bodies and voices.[101] Another variant of 'two-man archery' was practised by Near Eastern warriors, who rode a camel in pairs, with the front man directing the animal and the rear man shooting.[102]

The oldest preserved riding saddle came from the south-eastern part of the Tarim Basin in north-western China. Here in 1985 in the cemetery of Zaghunluq near Qiemo Chinese archaeologists discovered the grave of a Europid man, approximately 50 years old, wearing wool trousers and felt boots. A leather saddle, as well as the skull and a hoof of a horse, had been laid beside him in the grave. The deceased was undoubtedly a horseman, who died around 800 BC and was accompanied into the afterlife by three women and an infant.[103]

Finally, the stirrup, combined with a solid saddle, was invented at the beginning of the fourth century AD in northern China, when Turko–Mongol steppe peoples began to conquer the area. The earliest representation of stirrups comes from a Chinese grave from 302 AD but this was in the form of a single short stirrup used as an aid for mounting. The first depiction of a complete stirrup pair comes from another grave, from 322 AD, and the oldest bronze stirrup was found in a grave of similar age containing the remains of a warrior of Xianbei, one of the nomadic federations of eastern Mongolia.[104] Such pairs of stirrups attached to saddles not only enabled riding in a squatting or almost standing position, which improved the rider's mobility, but also increased the impact of an attacking cavalry. They enabled armoured horsemen, sitting on likewise armoured horses, to attack with lances raised and support themselves with stretched legs against their saddles. It was the Xianbei tribe of the Toba that made a heavy, armoured cavalry the foundation of their army before the conquest of Northern China starting in 386 AD. The iron stirrup came to Europe only with the invading Avars in the second half of the sixth century.[105] The stirrup was not a requirement for the development of heavy cavalry, however, as the Scythians had begun protecting themselves with iron scale armour and lamellar shields beginning in the sixth/fifth century BC. At the same time, according to Herodotus, the horsemen of the Massagetae also covered the chests of their horses with bronze armour.[106] In combat the Saka and Massagetae first advanced with light cavalry or attacked repeatedly with lightning speed and released a hail of arrows at the enemy. This attacking force melted away as rapidly as it had struck, and moments later the heavy cavalry dealt the bewildered opponent the deathblow. The stirrup was also not a necessary condition for the introduction of long lances into cavalry, as can been seen in the armoured mounted warriors of the Sarmatians. The rider elite of the Sarmatians, who besieged the Scythians of the northern Pontic region as of the late fourth century BC, fought mainly with a lance of up to 5 m in length that they held in both hands.[107]

In most steppe nomadic cultures both girls and boys began to learn to ride at the age of three, growing into outstanding riders who constantly practised and refined their art in their everyday work of herding and hunting. 'Nature cannot bind the centaur more closely to his rear than the Hun sitting upon his horse', noted the Roman historian Claudianus (*ca.* 370– after 405 AD). In extreme cases every nomad, male and female, was a warrior from ages 15 to 30. The Chinese historian Sima Qian (*ca.* 145–*ca.* 87 BC) explained: 'The little boys start out by learning to ride sheep and shoot birds and rats with a bow and arrow, and when they get a little older they shoot foxes and hares, which are used for food. Thus all the young men are able to use a bow and act as armed cavalry in time of war.'[108] In the stockbreeding cultures of the Central Asian steppes women learned most of the skills that men did and sharing labour was necessary for survival, so that among the nomads social inequality between the sexes was much less pronounced than in agrarian or urban societies. To the nomad the idea of isolating his wife or wives in a house, as in urban civilisations, would be incomprehensible.

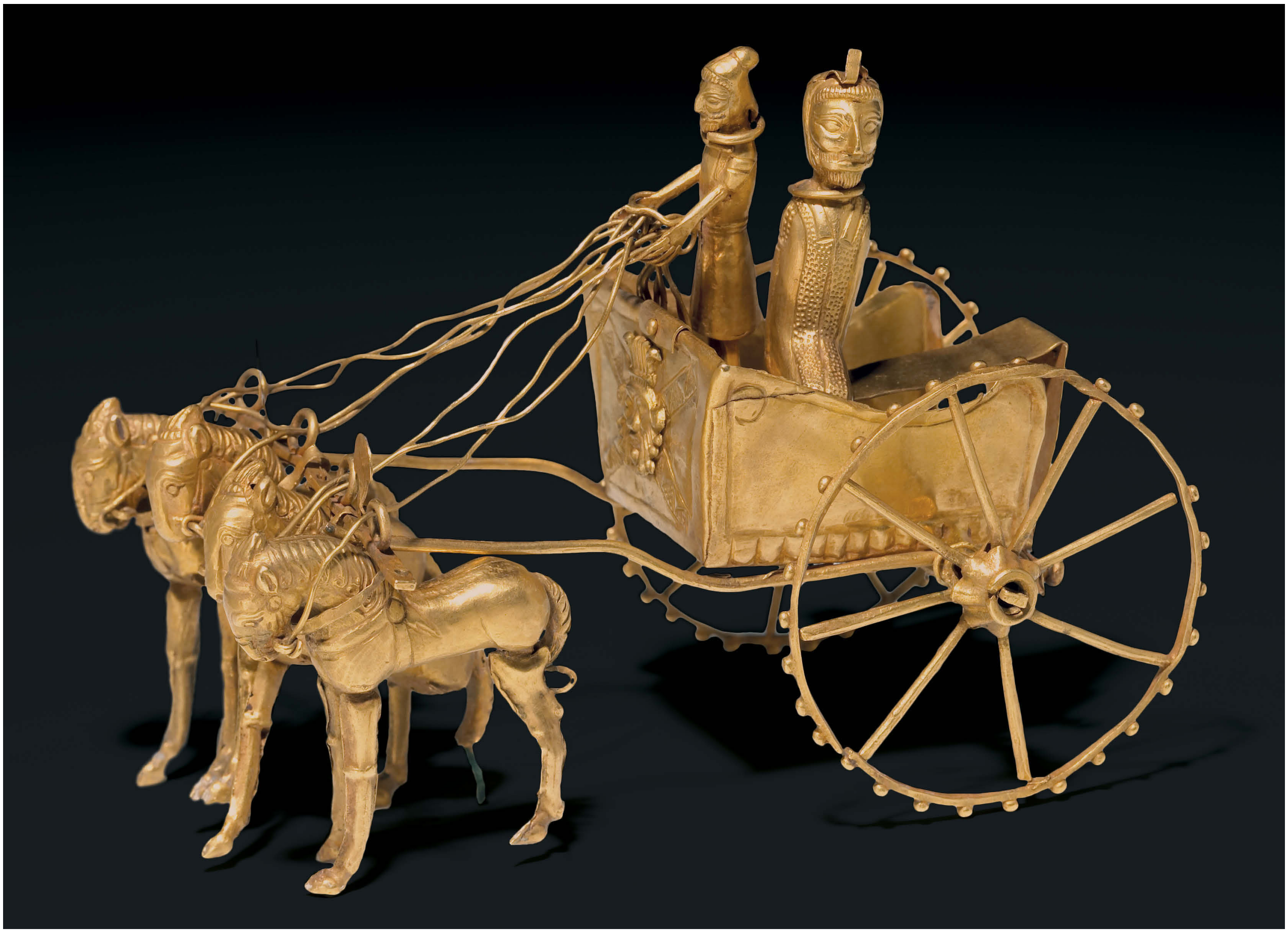
The riding and fighting abilities of the nomadic herders were necessary for survival as enemies often threatened to steal their herds. Besides, any increase in the size of the herd created a need for more grazing land and secure access to water, which extended the territory of a clan and increased the potential for conflict with other clans. For the nomads, everyday life was ideal training for warfare; because the handling of large, strong animals is more strenuous and dangerous than looking after plants, nomadic life prepared one much better for combat than did the settled life of the farmer. These skills were further developed by organised hunts. Leading large herds over sometimes unfamiliar territory also sharpened abilities in planning, coordination, and navigation. Now the horse changed from a hunted source of meat and milk to the vehicle of the steppe peoples. Nonetheless, during migrations and war horses were still used as food, whether a rider resorted to the emergency supply of dried horse meat that he carried in a saddlebag or opened the neck vein of a living animal and drank its blood.

The weapon system of the efficient cavalry emerged in the second half of the first millennium BC when horsemen no longer performed as heroic individual warriors but rather placed themselves under the command of a leader. He divided his riders into several disciplined bands, whose deployment he planned, coordinated and oversaw. Scythian, Sarmatian and later Hunnic bands of horsemen were able to maintain their cohesion during a battle and carry out tight shifts in direction on command. Combat was no free-for-all but rather a planned, corporate matter. During a campaign each mounted warrior had two or three horses, which he could ride in turn, so that such bands could move with extraordinary mobility and speed. This made them experts at surprise manoeuvres. The horsemen of the steppe were also masters of the feigned retreat from close combat. They would lead their pursuers on for days, so that they could stop and defeat the by-now disorganised enemy in a location of their choosing. The mounted warriors used the wide landscape as a tactical and strategic instrument; the armies of settled peoples usually found themselves completely at their mercy. It was this combination of skills with new technologies, honed in everyday life, and strategic leadership structures that made the bands of nomadic horsemen practically invincible for more than two millennia, except in the Mediterranean region.

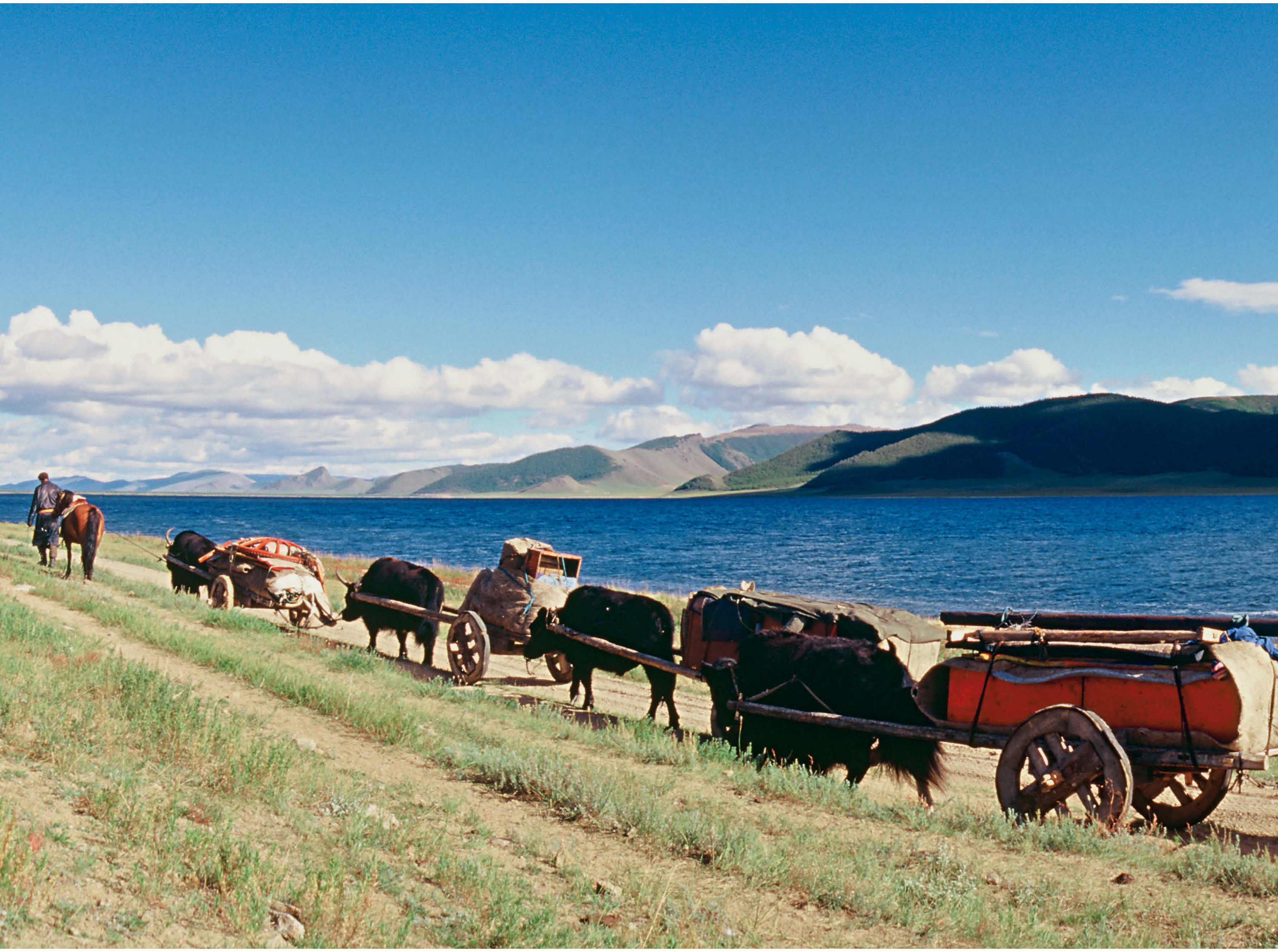
The horsemen met their match in the disciplined and flexible Macedonian phalanx of armoured hoplites fighting with lances up to 6 m long, and against the Roman refinement of a phalanx divided into cohorts and thus even more flexible. As long as the phalanx maintained its fighting line and formation the horsemen made no headway and suffered severe losses. If the horsemen attacked with bows, the phalanx formed a dispersed and shallow line in an attempt to surround the horsemen or the Roman phalanx would alternatively take the tortoise formation. In this very tight formation the front and both side rows of soldiers held their long shields vertically up to their eyes in order to fully cover the front and sides and the soldiers further back would place their shields horizontally on the helmets of the front men. If the horsemen tried to advance on the infantry with drawn swords and battle axes in a shock attack, the soldiers immediately formed themselves into a dense phalanx with lances held forward that no riders could break through, or waited in the tortoise formation till the attack passed and then attacked themselves.[109] Alexander the Great's cavalry victories against Greek and Persian infantry formations stand as exceptions to this rule, attributed to his tactical genius and bravado. Alexander's extraordinary military skill also showed itself in the victories of the cavalry under his command over Bactrian, Sogdian and Saka cavalry units – victories in which the Greek spears played an important role.[110] Finally, as already mentioned, the humid climate with heavy rains that damaged or destroyed composite bows, and the dependence on grazing land for the horses, as well as on flat or rolling landscapes for the deployment of the mounted bands, remained their inherent weaknesses.

4.4 The invention of wheel and wagon

Two additional inventions not only encouraged the development of nomadic stockbreeding but also literally gave drive to human history. These are the wheel and the wagon, which required the interplay of three fundamental technological principles. These technologies developed independently of one another for uses other than the wagon. The first uses the principle of rotation of an axle and wheel, the basis of which was the potter's wheel. The second consisted of a flat bed resting on axles. A sled outfitted with skids,



Achaemenid gold model of a light chariot with a driver and seated passenger, Oxus Treasure, fifth–fourth century BC. The British Museum, London.



Two Mongol nomad families on the way to their winter camp on the northern shore of lake Terkhin Tsagaan Nuur, Arkhangai Aimag, central Mongolia.

of the type used in both Mesopotamia and the far north, could have been the forerunner of this invention. The third piece of knowledge was the use of animals for pulling.

It is not known where or by whom the wagon was invented, as the use of wheeled transport appears to have begun simultaneously around 3500 BC in connected regions within a vast territory stretching from Central Europe as far as Mesopotamia. This revolutionary technology must have spread very rapidly. Among the oldest certain discoveries are the clay cups in the form of a four-wheeled wagon from about 3500 BC from the Baden culture;[111] a depiction of a wagon on a funnel beaker from about 3500 BC from Bronocice, southern Poland;[112] wooden disc wheels from the Alps from the mid- to late fourth millennium BC;[113] and discoveries in peat bogs in Northern Europe from the end of the fourth millennium BC.[114] Further to the east, terra cotta vessels from the Tripolye Culture in the form of animals standing on two axles with four wheels, which date to the first half of the fourth millennium, testify if not directly to the use of wagons for transportation then certainly to the knowledge that objects could be pulled with axles and wheels.[115]

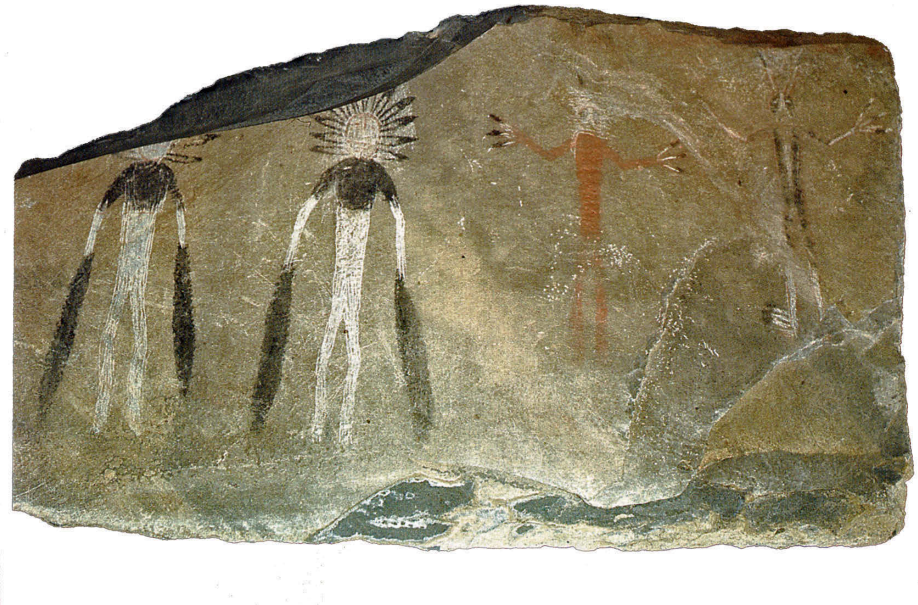
The importance of the wagon was shown by the discovery of a wagon grave of the Maikop Culture in the region of Kuban north-east of the Black Sea, presumably the oldest of its kind. In wagon graves a usually disassembled wagon was placed in the grave with the corpse, which had been brought to the burial on it. Presumably the wagon was an important status symbol and enabled the deceased to make the journey into the afterlife in a manner befitting his rank. The two solid wooden wheels from the kurgan of Starokorsunskaya in the Kuban region have been dated to the second half of the fourth millennium.[116] Soon thereafter the number of wagon burials in the Kuban region multiplied; of the nearly 200 wagon burials, with a total of 270 wagons, of the subsequent Novotitarovskaya Culture and the related Yamnaya Culture known today about half come from the Kuban region.[117]

Gold bull figurine that decorated a baldachin pole in the kurgan of Maikop, Kuban region, southern Russia, 3700–3400 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

About two millennia after the first wagon grave of Starokorsunskaya, the Chinese royal dynasties of the Shang (*ca*. sixteenth–eleventh century BC) and the Western Zhou (*ca*. eleventh century–771 BC) adopted this custom from the steppe peoples, as can be seen in the 41 wagon graves of the Shang. Thirty-seven of these graves appeared in the thirteenth to the eleventh centuries BC in the then imperial capital Anyang (today's Henan Province); in them single-axle chariots with spoked wheels, along with harnessed horses and charioteers, accompanied chiefs into the afterlife.[118] Three of the innovations of central China discovered in Anyang – wheeled transport, horse husbandry, and metallurgy – appeared all of a sudden in a highly developed form, which suggests that these skills were borrowed from the steppe cultures of Central Asia.[119] As in China, wagon graves also appeared in the Alpine regions of Central Europe in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC and, after an interruption, again in the eighth century and in the Hallstatt period.[120]

Regarding the much-cited evidence from the late fourth millennium BC for the invention of the wheel in Mesopotamia, these are either simply depictions of sleds on stone insignias and cylindrical seals or clay tablet pictograms of a sled that rests on wooden rollers or wheels. The earliest discoveries of actual wheels in Mesopotamia come from the first half of the third millennium BC – more than half a millennium later than the first finds from the Kuban region.[121] It appears that the technology of the wagon emerged in the north-western and eastern Pontic territory of the Tripolye and Maikop cultures and from there spread rapidly to central and southern Europe and Mesopotamia. The close trade relations between Maikop and Mesopotamia certainly contributed to the rapid transfer of technology to the south.[122]

In about 3200 BC[123] northern Central Asia began to experience drought and a climatic cooling. The wagon helped the stockbreeders, who until then were not fully mobile, to adapt successfully to the new ecological conditions. As drier grazing lands are more quickly threatened by overuse, the herders had to move their animals more



Anthropomorphic and theriomorphic figures with headdresses of circularly arranged feathers or sunrays, painted on a stone slab from a cist grave. Karakol, Altai, southern Siberia, *ca*. 2400 BC.

frequently. Thanks to wagons pulled usually by oxen but sometimes, beginning in the late third millennium BC, by harnessed camels, herders could take with them their modest possessions, supplies and simple tents. At the start of the first millennium BC at the latest the Scythians and their eastern forerunners perfected this kind of 'mobile home nomadism'. With their two- or three-axle wagons, pulled by oxen, they were able to carry with them their domed, yurt-like dwellings, made of felt and attached securely to the wagons, as well as their possessions and supplies, and to make wide-ranging use of the grass steppes.[124] On other wagons, the upper part of the wagon, covered with a barrel-shaped piece of felt tarpaulin, could be removed and reconstructed quickly on the ground.[125] The wagon and the riding horse allowed herders not only to manage large herds and retrieve straying animals but also to seek lush grazing lands and water sources over large distances. The wagon had an additional advantage, in that it did not have to be unloaded every night like a pack animal and goods stayed dry during rain without the need to set up special protection. As the increasing relative cooling, which was more pronounced in the east than in the west, forced the herders to seek warmer latitudes at least in the winter, there emerged a pattern of cyclical north–south migration. One result of this was that nomadic herders began to encroach on the territory of settled farmers.

Soon after the introduction of the wooden solid wheel and the three-part disc wheel, people sought to reduce its weight by hollowing out the discs and reducing the axles from two to just one. The breakthrough came with the introduction of the spoked wheel. This was not, as often assumed, invented in Mesopotamia, but rather in the Central Asia steppes east of the Urals. In wagon graves of the cultures of **Sintashta**, between the Rivers Ural and Tobol, and **Petrovka**, farther east in northern Kazakhstan, archaeologists discovered clear traces of spoked wheels as old as 4,100 years with eight to twelve spokes. They are about 200 years older than Anatolia's earliest seal impressions showing light chariots,[126] and 300 years older than the earliest evidence from Mesopotamia.[127] These funeral wagons of the Sintashta–Petrovka Culture are precursors of the light chariot, which is defined by two spoked wheels; a lightweight wagon body, open to the rear, which could carry at least a spear-throwing combatant; and a yoked harness for a team of horses controlled by bits. Both the light chariot on spoked wheels and the control by means of combined reins and bit, were inventions of the Eurasian steppe. Only with the invention of the light chariot with spoked wheels did the horse take on military significance.[128]

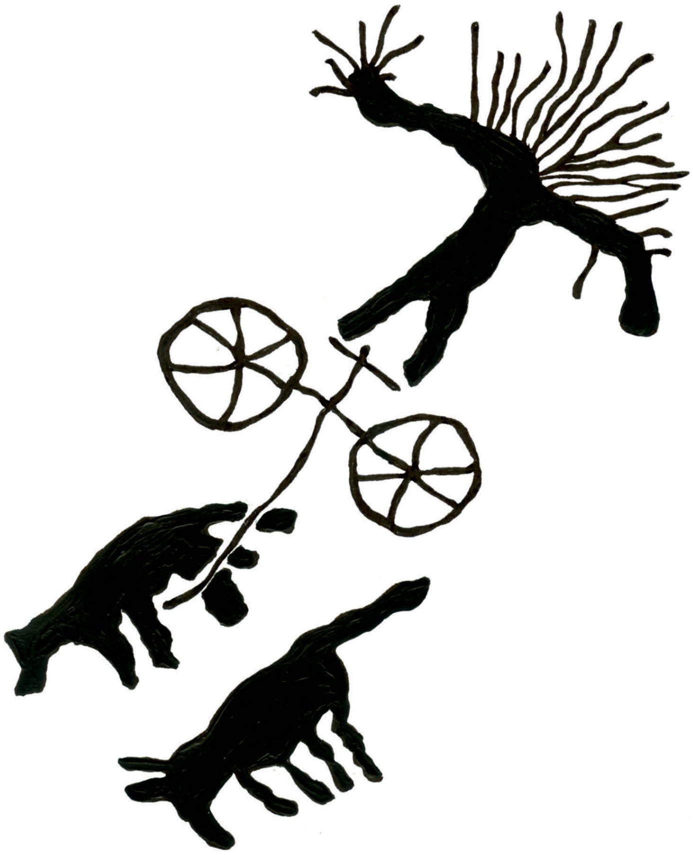
The chariot spread quickly from the steppe and reached a peak of its development in the Near East. From the eighteenth/seventeenth century BC in Egypt, the Hittite Kingdom and, to a lesser degree, in Assyria the chariot was one of the most prestigious and important implements of war. If the body of the chariot was small it carried only a single warrior, who either held the reins with one hand and threw spears with the other or wrapped the reins around his body and fought with a bow. Larger chariots normally carried two men; a driver and an archer. Because the wheels were attached to the axle independently of one another, they could move at different speeds when going around curves, enabling sharp turns. Chariots had the advantage over infantry of speed and surprise, as they could easily attack on the flanks or from the rear and could retreat just as quickly. They were suitable for carrying into battle a large quantity of 'one-way weapons' such as spears and arrows. On the other hand, chariots were highly vulnerable to salvos of enemy arrows and dependent on flat, dry land. Thus it should not be assumed that chariot battles took place on the grass steppes of Central Asia as they did in the Near East. In the grass steppes the chariot remained a means of transportation, also appropriate for raids and skirmishes, as well as an exclusive status symbol. When, in the ninth century BC, bands of mounted archers emerged in the Near East, they quickly superseded the chariot formations, since they were less vulnerable and more capable on rough terrain, as well as much more flexible.

The horse-drawn chariot was at the same time a fast means of transport, a dangerous weapon and an outstanding status symbol. It also had cultic functions, which is why it found a prominent place in art, even in impassable mountains at a height of 3,500 m above sea level, as in petroglyphs in the Pamirs or at Saimaly Tash in Kyrgyzstan. Interestingly, in the Near East chariots were usually portrayed in profile, while in the petroglyphs of Central Asia they are mostly shown in top view. This perspective resembled the view from above into an open grave, in which a chariot had been laid along with the sacrificed charioteer and horses in harness. In the petroglyphs of Central Asia all other depictions of people and animals are shown in profile, so such images of chariots can hardly be a coincidence. The chariot had symbolic significance as a grave good, presumably as a vehicle into the afterlife befitting the status of the deceased. In this way it was transformed into a cultic vehicle, which, depending on cultural emphases, took on different shadings of a common motif. In the steppes of Central Asia and in China it became a select vehicle for the dead; in northern Europe, the sun chariot, as in the sun chariot of Trundholm, Denmark; and in the Hellenistic territories of south-eastern Europe, as well as in the later Greco-Buddhist cosmology of Central Asia, it was the vehicle of the sun god.
In countless petroglyphs of Central Asia the spoked wheel also symbolised the sun, which was also the focus of a cult in Iron Age steppe cultures, such as the Massagetae, who sacrificed horses to the sun.[129]

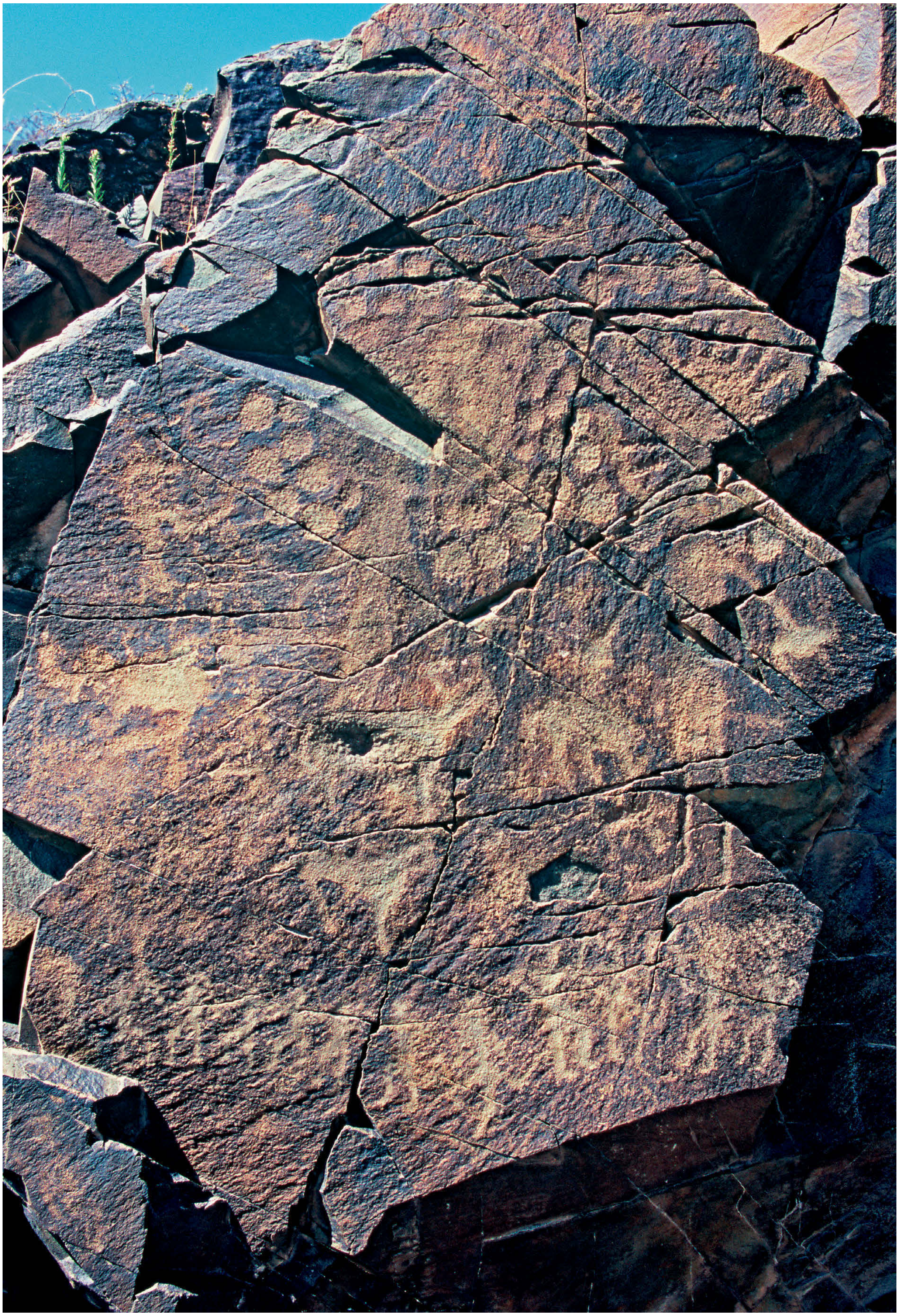
Finally, in the hymns of the Indian Rig Veda, composed in the late Bronze Age by speakers of an early Indo–European language, there resonates a bygone age of heroic charioteers and rich wagon burials, whose original homeland may have been in the cultural sphere of Sintashta–Petrovka.[130] In the Rig Veda not only do the most noble warriors fight in chariots, but the gods also ride them through the heavens; the sun god Surya, for instance, drives a wagon pulled by seven horses. In the Rig Veda the light chariot also serves as the metaphor par excellence for the nobility, as a hymn to the fire god Agni reveals: 'Him [Agni] have the Gods established at the region's base, doer of wondrous deeds, Herald of heaven and earth; Like a most famous chariot, Agni the purely bright, like Mithra to be glorified among the folk.'[131]

4.5 The culture of Maikop

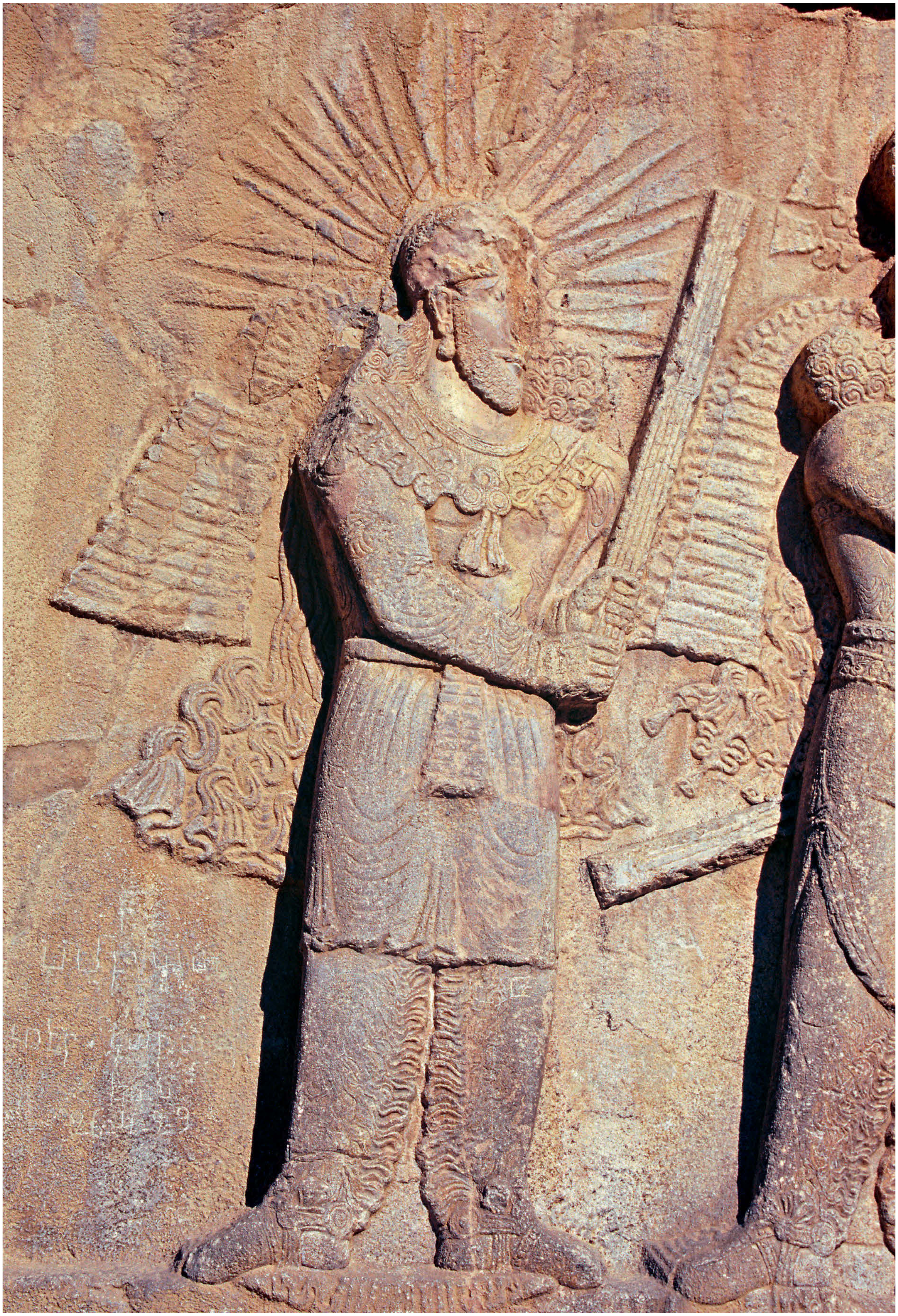
The northern Caucasian **Maikop Culture** (3750–3000 BC), which superseded the settled agrarian culture of Svobodnoe and preceded the Yamnaya Culture, was in many regards groundbreaking. They probably invented bronze in a process of alloying arsenic and copper, were among the first to use two-axle, ox-drawn wagons, and introduced into the western steppes of Central Asia the large burial monuments called kurgans, reserved primarily for the elite and for warriors, along with certain rituals of sacrifice and grave goods. The Maikop Kurgan on the Belaya River was made between 3700 and 3400 BC and originally stood 11 m high with a diameter of 100 m. It was explored in 1897 by the archaeologist Vesolovskji, who discovered the mortal remains of an adult man in a grave



A man with a sun-like head drives a light chariot. Indian ink drawing of a petroglyph from Eshki Olmes, eastern Kazakhstan, Bronze Age.



Two sun figures stand above and 12 people dance below, petroglyphs from Tamgaly, southern Kazakhstan, Bronze Age.



The Iranian god Mithra, with a crown of sunrays, holds a barsom bundle and sanctifies the investiture of the Sassanian king of kings Ardeshir II (r. 379–383; not pictured). Taq-e Bostan, Kermanshah, Iran.

covered with red ochre. He was clearly a high-ranking chief, as two women, presumably concubines, had been made to follow him into the grave. The site held rich grave goods. The deceased was laid under a baldachin supported by six or eight narrow poles, four of which were decorated with figurines of bulls with long horns. Two of these were made of solid gold and two of solid silver, crafted using a lost wax process. It is notable that the Russian scholar Rostovtzeff recognised as early as 1913 that the burial style of a 'grave tent', widespread among the Iron Age Scythians and described by Herodotus, traced back to the great kurgan of Maikop.[132] In a few of the burial chambers the walls and floor were plastered, perhaps to create a sacral reproduction of a house.[133]

The head of the deceased was adorned with a diadem of golden rosettes, most likely an import from the culture of Uruk in Mesopotamia. There were also decorated silver vessels and vases imported from Mesopotamia; small gold discs in the form of lions and bulls sewn onto clothing; weapons made of arsenic bronze; and necklaces with turquoise from north-eastern Iran and Tajikistan, red carnelian beads from western Pakistan, or lapis lazuli perhaps from Badakhshan in northern Afghanistan.[134] All of these discoveries attest to the wide-ranging trade relations of Maikop, which also served as the contact zone between the Tripolye Culture and the dynamic urban culture of Uruk.[135] The burial ritual of the Central Asian stockbreeding elite, fully in evidence for the first time at Maikop, consisted of a grand burial with the sacrifice of associated persons and horses, as well as the deposit of grave goods. These included weapons, jewellery, and, until some time in the middle of the second millennium BC, light chariots, over which an earth or stone mound was erected. In the cultures of Yamnaya and Sintashta–Petrovka, which followed Maikop, this burial practice and the worldview associated with it spread throughout northern Central Asia.

Interestingly, similar but still more spectacular grand burials took place in Ur, Mesopotamia, at the time of the Early Dynastic IIIA period (*ca*. 2600–2500 BC), in which concubines, musicians, soldiers and ox- and donkey-drawn wagons accompanied the king into the afterlife. The burials of Mesopotamia were embedded in a different worldview, however, founded on cyclically recurring agricultural events. Just as the plants die each autumn and sprout anew the following spring, Dumuzi, lover of the fertility and war goddess Inana, dies at the end of the year and is reborn in the spring. Presumably the royal burials of Ur are to be understood as representations of such myths.[136]

The heyday of Maikop coincided with that of Uruk from 3700 to 3100 BC. Regular trade occurred between the two cultures, driven by Uruk's insatiable appetite for ore, bronze bars and gemstones. In exchange the elite of Maikop obtained finished gold and silver jewellery from Uruk. Maikop was not only an important hub on the trade routes of Mesopotamia to the east and west; a fascinating mixed culture also developed there, as semi-nomadic stockbreeders took over the legacy of a settled agrarian culture. Maikop society was based on the raising of cattle, pigs, sheep, a few horses, and some cultivation of the land; the dead of the elite were buried in sites that were periodically visited. Evidence of this life style is gleaned from the fact that in the cultural sphere of Maikop about 150 necropolises have been discovered, but only 30 small settlements of sunken and round houses.[137]

The culture of Maikop also took part in the 'fibre revolution' of the second half of the fourth millennium BC, when in Mesopotamia wool from sheep began to replace flax in the production of textiles. This change had the great advantage of freeing high-quality soil from the cultivation of flax in favour of crops. It also meant that otherwise unusable land could be used for the rapidly growing herds of sheep. This gave rise to the new job of shepherd, often taken by women or children. Archaeological finds alone cannot tell us whether sheep were first raised for wool in Mesopotamia or the northern Caucasus, partly because this new technology spread very quickly. In any case, robust wool sheep were bred at the same time in Maikop and Mesopotamia, and in the kurgan of Novosvobodnaya 2 archaeologists discovered the earliest wool fragment.[138] The culture of **Kura–Araxes** (3500–1900 BC), originally located in the north-eastern and central Caucasus, served as intermediary between Maikop and Mesopotamia. Discoveries on the western coast of the Caspian Sea show that the Kura–Araxes people were influenced by the steppe culture of Maikop, constructing kurgans as well as flat graves.

4.6 The Yamnaya–Afanasievo Cultural Complex

At about the time the Maikop Culture was at its peak the **Yamnaya Culture** (*ca*. 3300–2250 BC) emerged on the Don and the Volga. The Russian word 'yama' means 'pit' and refers to the typical burial style, in which the dead rested in a pit-like grave. Hence this culture is also called the 'pit grave culture'.[139] It developed out of the horse- and stockbreeding culture of **Repin** on the middle Don (3600–2900 BC)[140] and the neighbouring culture of **Late Khvalinsk** (3800–3300 BC). In terms of lifestyle the Don represented a boundary within the Yamnaya Culture, since west of the river archaeological remains of partially fortified settlements indicate a sedentary community, while east of the Don the signs of settlement disappear, suggesting a semi-nomadic stockbreeding economy. The Yamnaya culture and its semi-nomadic form of economy represents an adaptation to an ecological crisis around 3500–3300 BC, when a change to a significantly cooler and drier climate led to a loss of agricultural production west of the Don and to sparser steppes east of the Don. These new baseline conditions forced the mostly settled livestock- and horse-breeders between the Don and the Volga to change the grazing lands for the herds more often; they had to shift to a semi-nomadic herding lifestyle. They transported their dwellings, possessions and supplies on two-axle wagons drawn by oxen and, perhaps starting early in the third millennium BC, they began to watch over their herds on horseback. In isolated, more humid forest regions, however, the cultivation of crops still took place.[141]

This semi-nomadic economy of the fourth to second millennium BC, in which the herders returned each winter to their grazing lands on a valley floor, is fundamentally different from the Iron Age nomadism of the first millennium BC, when Scythian and Sarmatian nomadic horsemen swept across the Eurasian steppes with their herds and wagons and often without a fixed home.

As a consequence of the absence of clear signs of settlements, the Yamnaya Culture is defined by its thousands of burial sites. The great necropolises lie in the open steppe near lush grazing lands, where the herders regularly brought their herds in particular seasons. The concentration of final resting spots in certain places indicates that the semi-nomadic herders organised their lives according to a defined system, coordinated with other clans and groups, and changed their grazing lands along established routes, following the rhythm of the seasons. The dead were buried on their backs with knees bent. Both the body and the ground were covered with ochre, which is why the Yamnaya Culture is also called the ochre grave culture.[142] Laid beside the dead were elongated, egg-shaped ceramic vessels of a yellowish colour, bone needles, and daggers and axes made of flint or bronze, as well as the skulls and bones of sacrificed sheep, cattle, and dogs. For chiefs or warriors, a wagon and a horse were sometimes also placed in the grave. In some cases anthropomorphic stone steles from earlier cultures were reused to close the burial chamber. Finally a kurgan of stone and earth was built over primary burials. This was not the case for secondary burials when additional dead were buried in the same kurgan, as many kurgans were used over decades or even centuries.

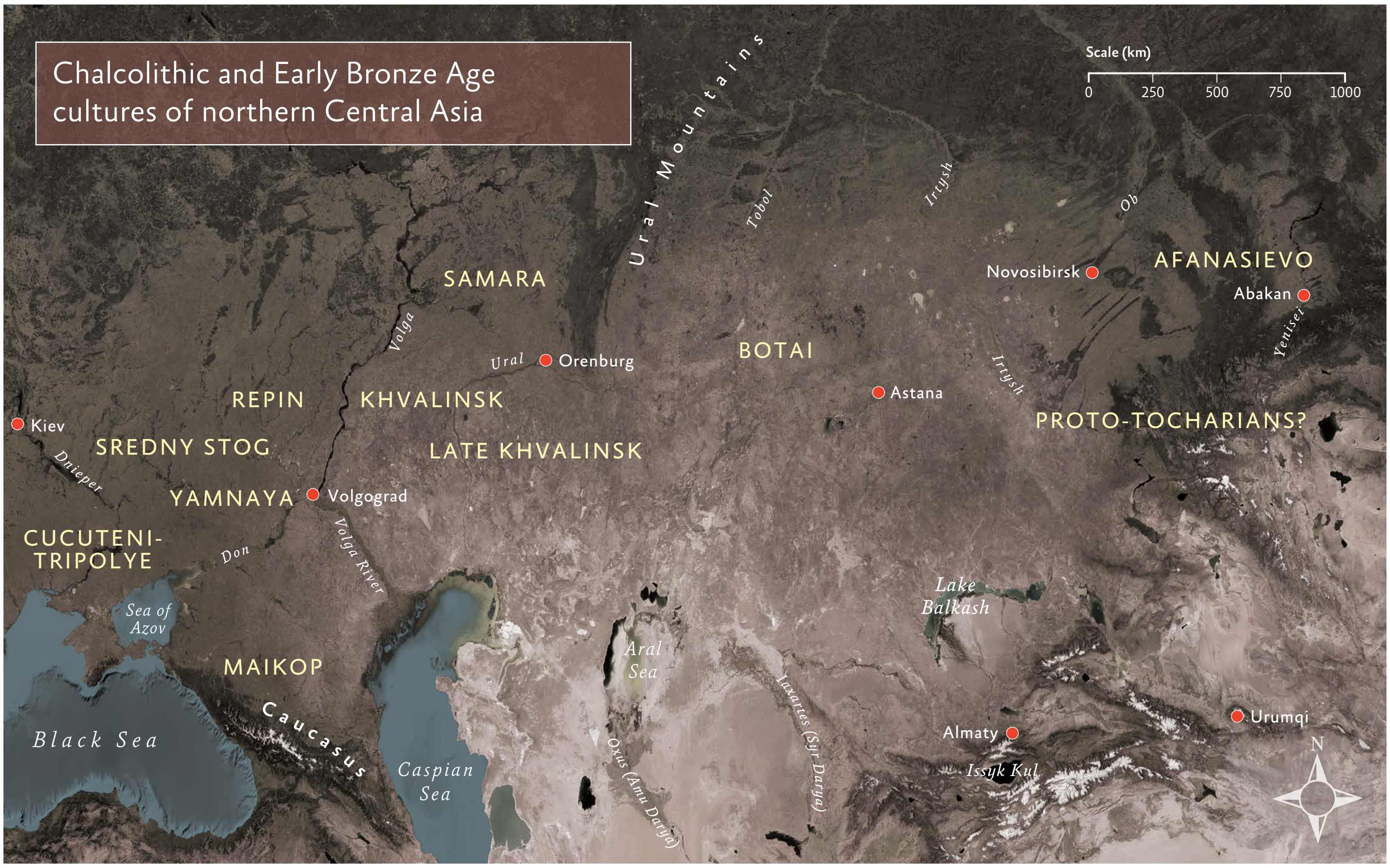
Around 3100 BC representatives of the Yamnaya Culture began to spread to the west and south-west, infiltrating the Circumpontic Region of the erstwhile culture of Srednyi Stog and the territory of Usatovo, until they reached the Carpathians and the lower Danube valley. The lack of archaeological evidence of destruction suggests that this migration of Yamnaya herders happened without significant warfare, and moreover, that the local settled populations adopted the economy of the newcomers.[143] The archaeologist and anthropologist David Anthony believes that this migration of Yamnaya people, whose homeland is identical to that of the proto-Indo–European language, was the vehicle for the rapid expansion of archaic western Indo–European dialects, out of which developed proto-Germanic, proto-Italic and proto-Celtic.[144] Anthony also believes that the migrants also took up elements of settled agrarian cultures, as can be seen from their burial rituals. In the west they encountered cultures that had female deities and buried statuettes of women beside the dead. This may explain why there are considerably more burials of women in the western part of the Yamnaya culture than in the east, where almost exclusively men and children were buried in the kurgans. This inequality changed, however, in the second half of the first millennium BC, the time of the Scythians, Sauromatians and Sarmatians – whose highest deity, Tabiti, was female. For example, some 20 percent of the Sauromatian kurgans with weapons as grave goods dating from this time held female 'Amazons', who, like male warriors, were buried armed and ready for battle.[145]

More than 3,300 km east of the origin of the Yamnaya Culture and at about the same time the **Afanasievo Culture** (*ca*. 3300–2350 BC) flourished in the Minusinsk Basin of southern Siberia. Its name is derived from Afanasyeva Gora in Khakassia, where the first three graves of this culture were excavated in 1920.[146] Although it is often considered a distant branch of the Yamnaya Culture, new carbon-14 analyses suggest that Afanasievo emerged at least contemporaneously if not somewhat earlier than the pit grave culture.[147] Anthony proposes that a group from the Repin Culture broke off and turned east before the establishment of the Yamnaya Culture, perhaps in a quest for new grazing lands or ore mines, which they found in abundance in the Minusinsk Basin and in the Altai. They settled here and brought to the local hunters and fishermen the skills of raising horned cattle and horses, as well as metallurgy and the construction of wagons. Out of this arose the culture of Afanasievo, which is considered by most Russian scholars to be the first real metal steppe culture east of the Urals.[148] Since these migrants came into contact with the Botai Culture while crossing the northern Kazakh steppe, it is not surprising that a few elements of this horse-hunting and -breeding culture found their way into the Afanasievo culture.[149]

The burial customs of the Afanasievo and Yamnaya cultures are so similar that one can speak of a widespread cultural complex. The dead were laid on their backs with knees bent in a rectangular pit, which was covered by a very low earth or stone kurgan; this was encircled by a cromlech or a rectangular stone fence. The dead and the floor of the burial chamber were sprinkled with ochre. Small vessels for smoke offerings in the form of footed bowls, clay vessels with pointed bases, metal items, the occasional wagon, and the bones of sheep, cattle and horses served as grave goods. The bones have been interpreted as the remains of a funeral feast that took place as part of the burial.[150]

The far-reaching correspondence between the material discoveries of the Afanasievo Culture and that of the Yamnaya suggests that its representatives were also Europids, and this has been confirmed by mitochondrial DNA and craniological analyses.[151] As in the case of the Yamnaya peoples who advanced to the west, those that moved east brought with them not only their economic and cultural forms but also their proto-Indo–European dialects. The splitting off of the proto-Tocharian language from proto-Indo–European followed after 3500 or 3400 BC, and it spread toward the end of the third millennium BC as far as the Tarim Basin in Xinjiang in north-western China. The early expansion of the Indo–Europeans far to the east explains why the Tocharian language did not implement many linguistic innovations of the Indo-Iranian language family, which was close to Tocharian in a geographical sense. In linguistic terms the proto-Tocharians were separate from all other Indo–Europeans from the second half of the fourth millennium BC onward.[152]

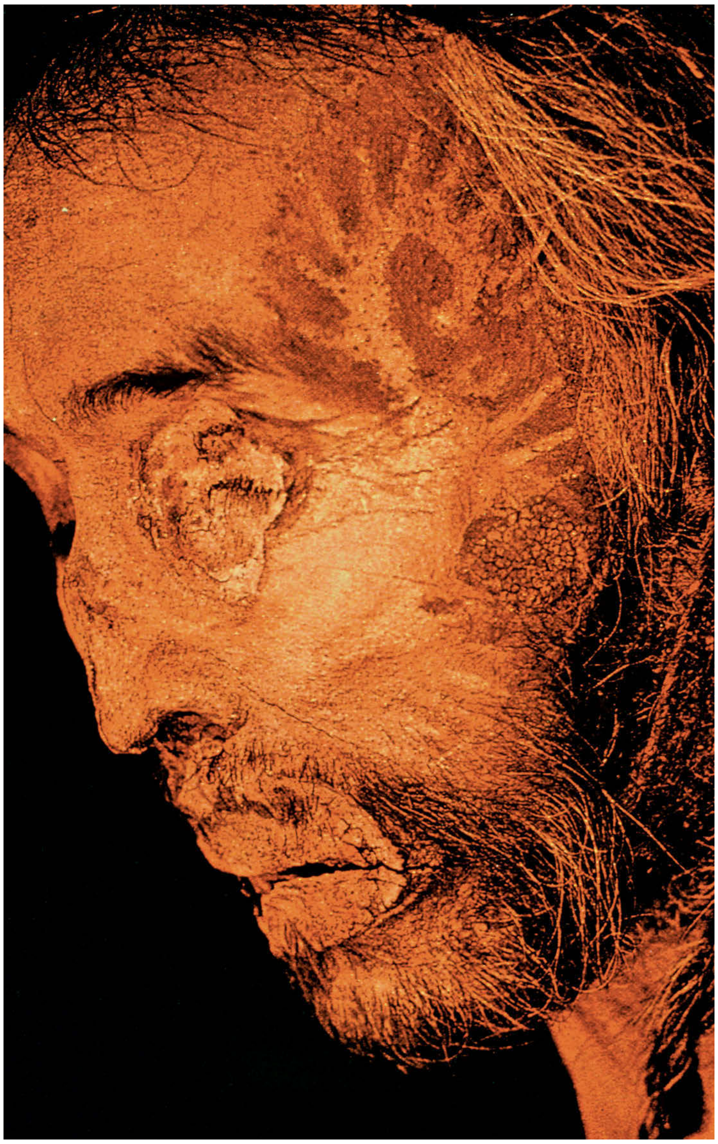
Early in the second half of the third millennium BC the pendulum of ethnic migrations swung back for the first time. After the spread of the Europids from the Volga as far as the Yenissei on the border of western Mongolia, Mongolid groups of the northern Siberian type advanced slowly to the west and began to exert pressure on the Europids in the Minusinsk Basin, where they developed the Okunev Culture (2400–1750 BC). Perhaps this migration of foreign groups provoked the ancestors of the proto-Tocharians to move southwards and settle towards the end of the third millennium BC in the Tarim Basin.


Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age cultures of northern Central Asia

Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000
Ural Mountains
Tobol
Irtysh
Ob
SAMARA
Novosibirsk
AFANASIEVO
Abakan
Yenisei
Volga
Ural
Orenburg
BOTAI
Irtysh
Astana
REPIN
KHVALINSK
Kiev
PROTO-TOCHARIANS?
SREDNY STOG
LATE KHVALINSK
Dnieper
YAMNAYA
Volgograd
Volga River
CUCUTENI-TRIPOLYE
Don
Lake Balkash
Sea of Azov
Aral Sea
MAIKOP
Caucasus
Yaxartes (Syr Darya)
Urumqi
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Oxus (Amu Darya)
Almaty
Issyk Kul
N

4.7 Sun deities and horse sacrifices

As a consequence of the lack of written sources we know little about the religious ideas of the Afanasievo Culture and its successors, apart from the fact that its representatives presumably worshipped the sun. The stone slabs of the cists[153] of Karakol in the Altai, which date to around 2400 BC and thus belong to the transition period from Afanasievo to Okunev (2400–1750 BC) provide one clue. These slabs were reused in the graves of the Okunev Culture and in earlier times stood as free-standing steles. Painted on them in red ochre, soot and black and white minerals are coloured portrayals of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic (in animal form) standing figures, whose heads are decorated with sunbeams and feathers and who can be interpreted as sun deities.[154] As the paintings were found on the inside of the cists, they were turned towards the dead and also had a ritual purpose.

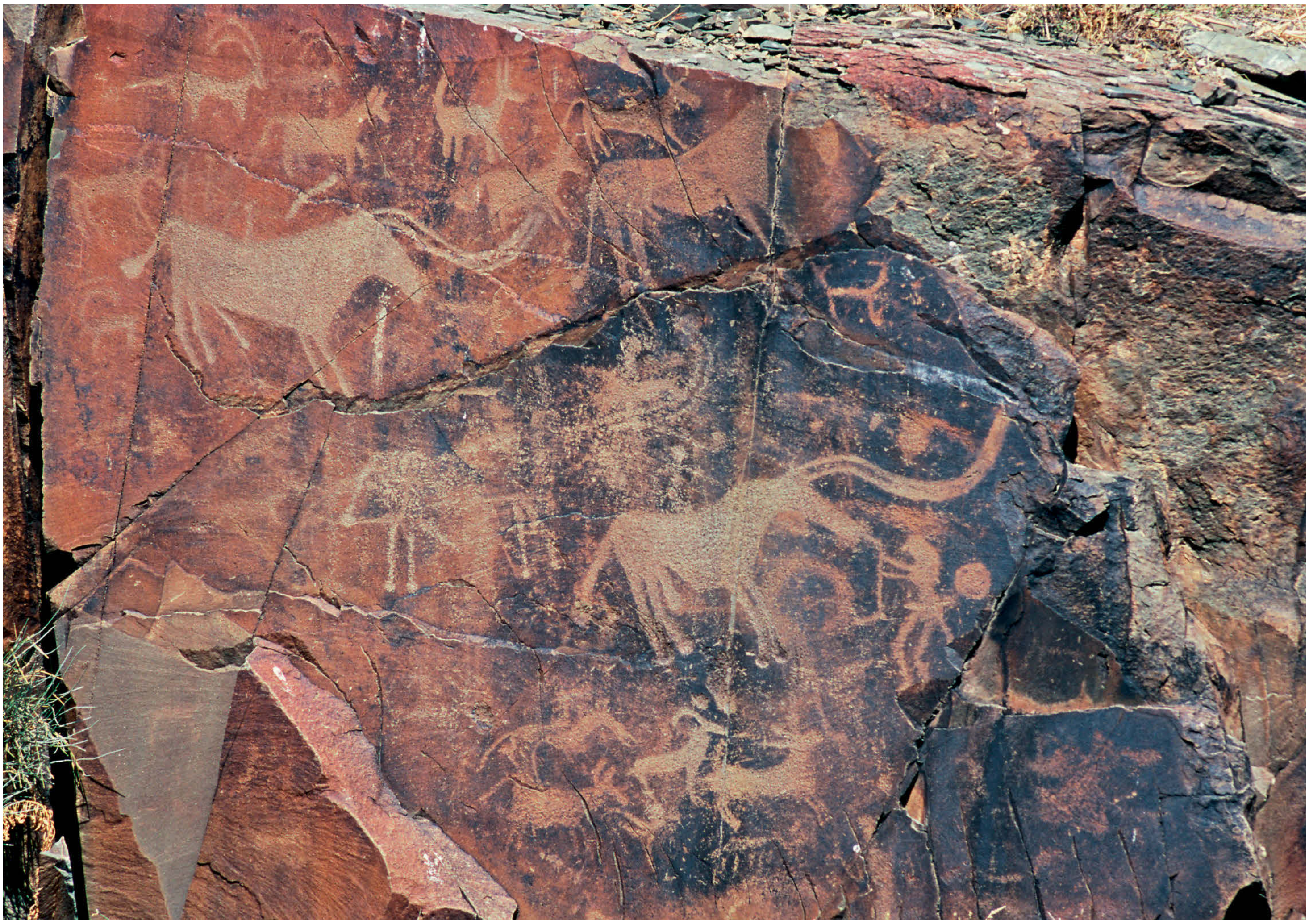


Sun symbols painted with ochre decorate the temples of a naturally mummified Europid corpse. Necropolis of Zaghunluq, grave M 2, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 800 BC. Xinjiang Uyghurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi.

The motif of an anthropomorphic figure with a sun-like head was widespread not only on the steles of the Okunev Culture based in the Basin of Minusinsk[155] but also in the petroglyphs of the subsequent cultural complex of Andronovo (widely defined *ca.* 2200–1250 BC), which extended from the Urals to the Altai and was related to the proto-Indo–Iranian language and the Indo–Aryans. Such stone engravings are found in Kazakhstan and in the Altai, for example in Eshki Olmes[156] (eastern Kazakhstan) and in Elangash[157] (Russian Altai), where in each case a 'sun figure' drives a chariot, calling up associations with the Indian sun god Surya. In Saimaly Tash (Kyrgyzstan) and in the open-air shrines of Tamgaly in southern Kazakhstan sun figures are chiselled into the rock in several places, whether alone or as part of a lively scene in which twelve armed, Lilliputian people dance before two large sun figures.[158] It was not only humans who were portrayed with sun-like heads, however, but also such animals as deer, mountain goats, and perhaps oxen, with the sun disc placed either over the animal's head or at the end of its horns.[159]

A few scholars have linked these apparent sun deities with the ancient Indo-Iranian god Mithra.[160] In the Vedas the god of fairness and contracts, Mithra, brings forth the morning light and is correspondingly invoked at dawn in the Rig Veda.[161] In the Zoroastrian scriptures Mithra is not identified with the sun god but rather venerated as the god of truth and contracts. Later, at the time of the Iranian Parthians (247 BC–224 AD) and the Sassanids (224–651 AD), he was also worshipped as the sun god. In images he drives a chariot pulled by white horses or wears a crown of sunbeams. In the Avesta he is glorified as the 'lord of wide pastures', who drives 'a high-wheeled chariot … drawn by fiery horses', which indicates an origin in a stockbreeding culture that used horse-drawn transport.[162] Finally, Mithra enjoyed great popularity in the Roman Empire, especially in the army, where he was worshipped as Sol invictus Mithras, 'invincible sun god Mithra'. It is quite possible that the idea of a male sun and light deity had its origin in the Central Asian cultural spheres of Afanasievo, Okunev and Andronovo.

Further traces of a sun cult practised by the Indo–Europeans can be found in the eastern Tarim Basin in north-western China, such as in the 3,600- to 3,800-year-old necropolis of Gumugou. Here there are six burial chambers in each case located below a ring of wooden poles tightly placed next to each other and four to seven deep. Around this 'hub' stand seven to nine additional concentric circles of thicker wooden poles, placed further apart. Seen from above, they look like rays streaming outwards from the ring-shaped

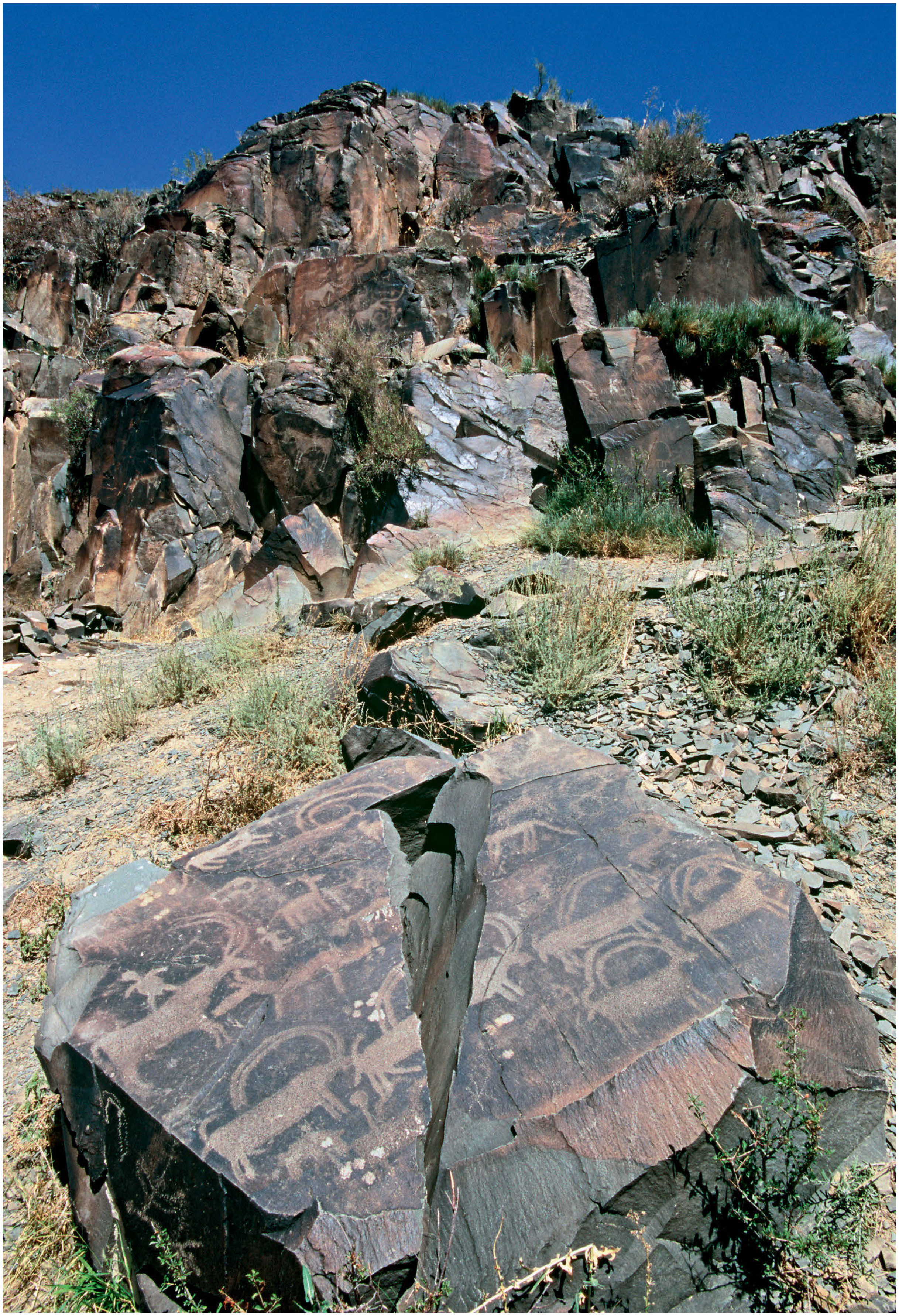


In the centre, an anthropomorphic figure uses a Bronze Age axe to kill a stallion with large horns, Bronze Age. The small rider figure on the sacrificed stallion was engraved later. Petroglyphs from Tamgaly, southern Kazakhstan.

centre – the sun symbolism is obvious. As in Gumugou, *ca.* 2,800-year-old Europids were buried in Zaghunluq. A sun symbol is drawn with ochre on the temples of the naturally mummified rider buried with his saddle, mentioned above.[163]

The petroglyphs of Tamgaly also show a burial ritual widespread in the steppes of Central Asia, which played an important role in the religious ideas of the Indo–Europeans. In at least two scenes an anthropomorphic figure kills a horned horse with a typical Bronze Age axe.[164] Horse sacrifices on the occasion of the burial of members of the upper class have been found over a span of nearly 6,000 years, from the steppe cultures of Khvalinsk and Maikop to the Mongol peoples of the late Middle Ages. Besides archaeological discoveries, written sources from Herodotus (*ca.* 484–424 BC) to Rubruk (*ca.* 1215–1270) report the sacrifice of horses at such burials. Particularly informative are the descriptions by Herodotus of horse sacrifices among the Iron Age Scythians and the Massagetae, who lived east of the Caspian Sea. Archaeological finds in dozens of kurgans between the Altai and the Black Sea have confirmed Herodotus' detailed accounts of the burial rites of Scythian kings, but with regard to the Massagetae he directly describes the sun cult and the horse sacrifices: 'The only god they worship is the sun, to which they sacrifice horses: the idea behind this is to offer the swiftest of mortal creatures to the swiftest of the gods.'[165]

The ritual of horse sacrifice, including corresponding grave goods, was fully developed at the latest in the culture of Sintashta (2200–1700 BC), the early form of the Andronovo Culture, east of the Urals.[166] These burial rituals form a surprising link to the Rig Veda. The horse sacrifice described in the Rig Veda, which was performed not at a royal burial but rather by a living ruler to acquire power and glory, recalls the archaeological discoveries made in the elite graves of Sintashta, so that one may surmise a common proto-Indo-Iranian ritual heritage.[167]



Late Bronze Age petroglyphs of ibexes, ordinary horses and horned horses. Tamgaly, southern Kazakhstan.

VI

The Middle and Late Bronze Age

A talent for following the ways of yesterday is not sufficient to improve the world of today.

KING WULING OF ZHAO, when in 307 BC he introduced mounted archers to replace war chariots[1]

1. The Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex BMAC

The concept of a Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex, abbreviated BMAC, from the Middle and Late Bronze Age, is attributed to the Russian archaeologist of Greek descent Viktor Sarianidi (b. 1929), who has since 1972 led groundbreaking excavations in the ancient delta of the Murgab River in the Kara Kum Desert of Turkmenistan. This complex was an oasis culture that flourished from about 2300/2200 to 1500 BC along rivers in the mostly arid regions of Turkmenistan, southern Uzbekistan, western Tajikistan and northern Afghanistan. The last three areas are subsumed under the term 'Bactria' and the first, farthest west region is called 'Margiana'. The cultural region of the third and second millennia BC known as Bactria extended along both sides of the ancient Oxus.[2]

The heart of Margiana was the broad ancient Murgab delta, north of the medieval city of Merv. 'Margiana' is the Greek version of the Persian name Margush, which is mentioned in the famous trilingual inscription of Bisotun, Iran, dating from about 516 BC. In the Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian text, King Darius I (r. 522–486 BC) glories in his victory over the princes and provinces that had rebelled against his elevation to the throne: 'I'm Darius, the king: the country of Margush became rebellious. They chose one man, a Margushian, with the name of Frada to be their chief. Later I sent for a Persian, Dadarshish by name, my slave and satrap of Bactria, and told him: "Go and defeat that army." [...] By the grace of Ahura Mazda, my army smashed the rebellious army.'[3] The extent to which the Achaemenid Margush corresponds to the Bronze Age Margiana is unclear.[4]

This culture of Bactria–Margiana arose between 2300 and 2200 BC when migrants from the Kopet Dag–Tejen oasis system, who brought with them their irrigation techniques and elements of the material culture of Namazga IV and V, mingled peacefully with the local inhabitants, who lived in the early Chalcolithic stage of Namazga III.[5] The corresponding discoveries of ceramics in the style typical of the early Namazga V stage contradict the proposal put forward by Sarianidi that these immigrants came from Iran or even northern Mesopotamia. The similarities that do exist between discoveries from the BMAC culture and some from the Mesopotamian cultural sphere are explained by intensive trade contact, without the necessity to resort to unsubstantiated theories of migration.[6] In the oases of Margiana the migrants from southern Turkmenistan found fertile soil, which allowed both the cultivation of millet and various types of wheat and the raising of sheep, goats, horned cattle and camels. Most oases also offered inexhaustible sources of free building material in the form of alluvial clay, which they mixed with water and ashes as a degreaser and, using a wooden mould, produced standardised, air-dried bricks. In Margiana no expensive, water-resistant, fired bricks were produced, unlike in Mesopotamia where they were used to build irrigation canals. Another material basis for this culture was the rich mineral lodes in the east, where certain settlements, such as Sapalli in southern

The most important settlements of the Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex and of the Early Iron Age[7]

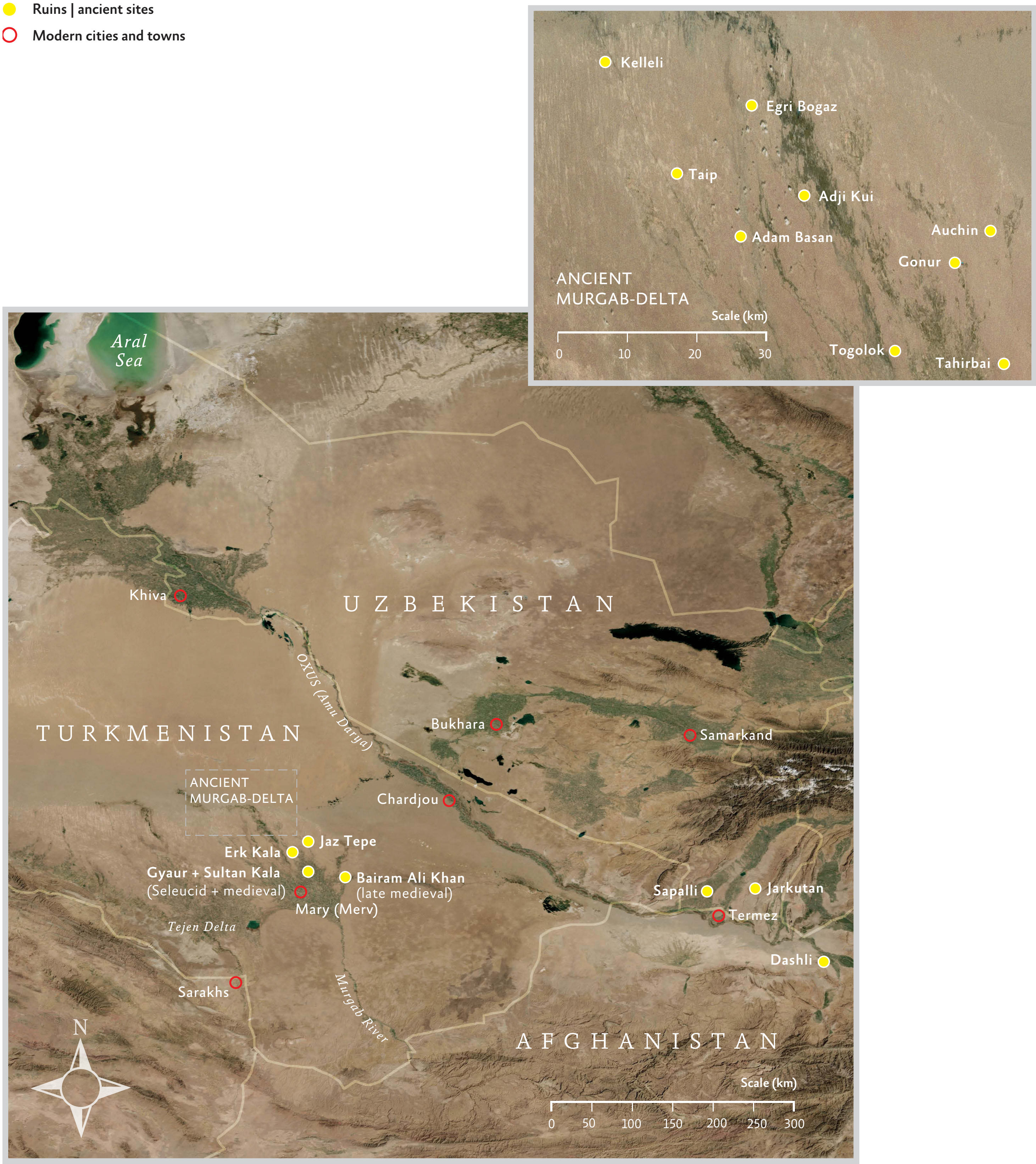
PERIOD	TIME HORIZON	SETTLEMENTS IN MARGIANA	SETTLEMENTS IN BACTRIA, TYPOLOGY OF SAPALLI
I. Kelleli (Namazga V)	2300/2200–1900 BC	Kelleli	
II. Gonur (Namazga VI)	2000/1900–1650 BC	Gonur, Auchin, Adji Kui, Taip, Adam Basan	
III. Togolok (Namazga VI)	1800–1500 BC	Togolok, Takhirbai	I. Sapalli (1700–1500) II. Jarkutan (1500–1350)
IV. Jaz I	1500/1400–1000 BC	Jaz Tepe	III. Kuzali (1350–1100)
V. Jaz II	1000–800 BC		IV. Molali/Bustan (1100–900)
V. Jaz III	800–329 BC		

◀ **The fortified settlement of Gonur Tepe North, Turkmenistan, *ca.* 2000–1650 BC.**

The main sites of the Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex and of the Early Iron Age

● Ruins | ancient sites

○ Modern cities and towns


Kelleli
Egri Bogaz
Taip
Adji Kui
Adam Basan
Auchin
Gonur
ANCIENT
MURGAB-DELTA
Scale (km)
0
10
20
30
Togolok
Tahirbai
Aral
Sea
Khiva
U Z B E K I S T A N
OXUS (Amu Darya)
Bukhara
Samarkand
T U R K M E N I S T A N
ANCIENT
MURGAB-DELTA
Chardjou
Jaz Tepe
Erk Kala
Gyaur + Sultan Kala
(Seleucid + medieval)
Bairam Ali Khan
(late medieval)
Mary (Merv)
Sapalli
Jarkutan
Termez
Tejen Delta
Dashli
Sarakhs
Murgab River
N
A F G H A N I S T A N
Scale (km)
0
50
100
150
200
250
300

Uzbekistan and Dashli in northern Afghanistan, were located. Great stores of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, and gemstones like lapis lazuli and turquoise were found here, enabling a profitable and enduring trade with Iran and Mesopotamia, as well as the Indus Valley.

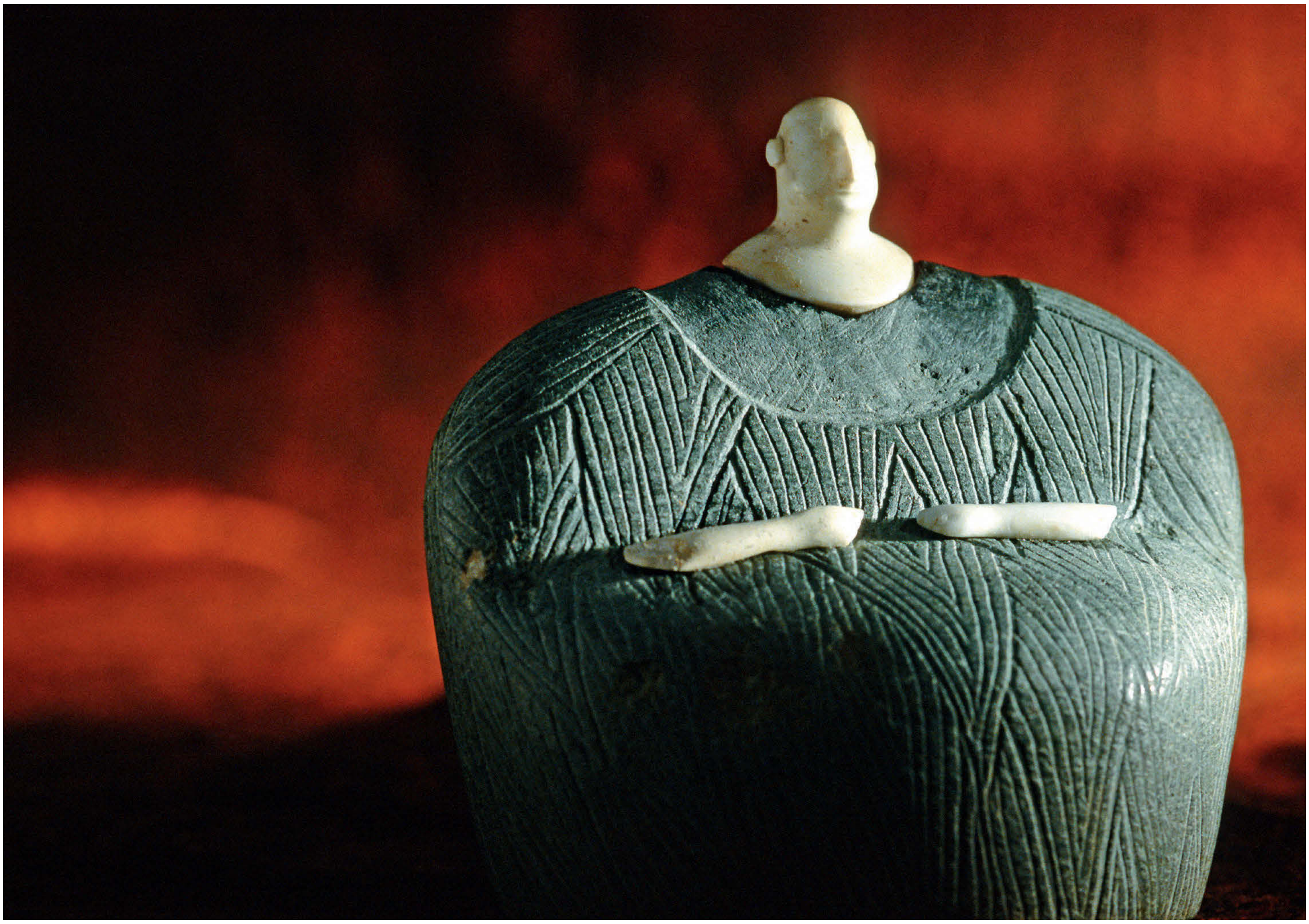
1.1 The BMAC Culture of Margiana

Because of comparable hydrological and tectonic conditions in the Murgab delta and the region of Geoksyur, the settlement history of Margiana followed a course similar to that of Geoksyur 1,500 years earlier. Over the course of the last 4,000 years, small tectonic disturbances and dramatic changes in the River Murgab's course as a consequence of sedimentation, combined with increasing aridity in the region where the river rises, have caused it to shift about 40 to 45 km to the south and the desert to advance accordingly.[8] Thus the settlements followed the water and likewise moved south.

The urban Margiana Culture can be divided into three Bronze Age periods, followed by the three Jaz-Periods, of which the last two extend far into the Iron Age:[9]

I. Period of Kelleli

The earliest, initially unfortified settlement of the BMAC is that of **Kelleli**, the farthest north in the delta. The ceramic objects found here represent transition forms from the classical Namazga V period of the Kopet Dag-Tejen oasis culture and the later ceramics of Gonur. In addition to finely crafted vessels made on the potter's wheel, Sarianidi discovered terra cotta female figurines, as well as statuettes of rams, goats and cattle, that all accorded with finds from the Kopet Dag-Tejen oasis culture. Since ceramics from the late phase of this first period have been found spread over the entire delta, from rich finds in Kelleli in the north to the occasional piece in the lowest level of Togolok 1 in the south, it may be conjectured



Female composite figurine from Gonur Tepe, Turkmenistan, *ca.* 2000–1650 BC. The body consists of soapstone; head and forearms are of limestone. National Museum of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat.

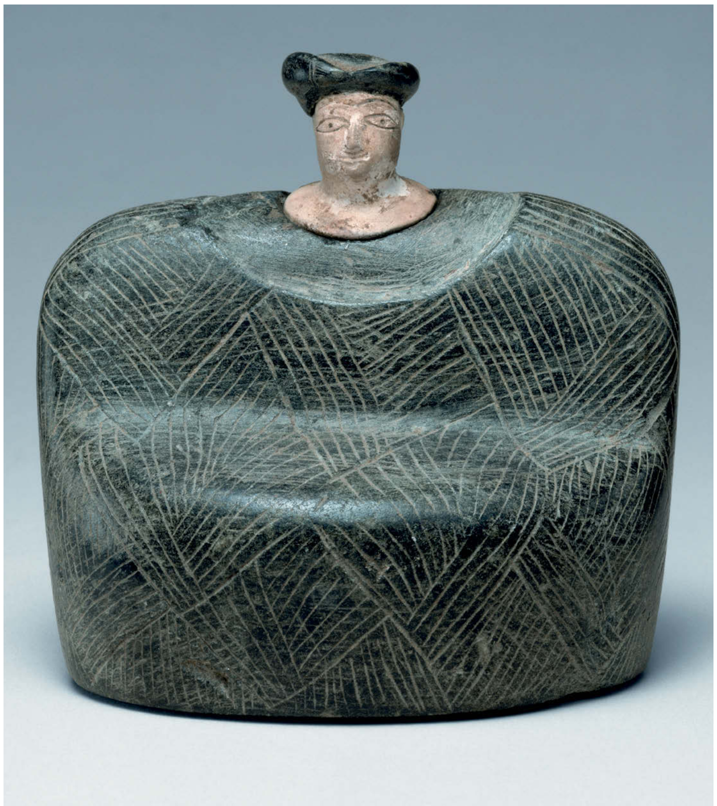
that towards the end of the Kelleli period the whole delta was settled by representatives of the same cultural form.[10]

II. The period of Gonur

At the turn of the third and second millennium BC the fortified settlements of **Gonur**, about 30 ha in size, arose 50 km south-east of Kelleli. Gonur was divided into a large northern and a smaller southern mound. In the centre of **Gonur North** rose a mighty fortress made of clay bricks, 120 x 115 m in extent. Its walls were reinforced by 20 rectangular towers. Inside the citadel archaeologists discovered along the inner walls small buildings with relatively few hearths, which presumably served as housing for members of a particular profession, such as administrators or civil servants, and were also used for storage. They also found a regularly laid out, clearly planned complex of monumental architecture and smaller spaces. The elite of the oasis probably lived here, along with its ruler, so Sarianidi interpreted this complex as the palace of the prince, whose authority may have extended to the entire delta.[11] In any case, such monumental architecture within a citadel indicates a hierarchically ordered societal structure. Residential quarters were found along the outer walls of the citadel. Here each house had its own hearth. This quarter was protected by another defensive wall 180 m by 170 m, with rectangular towers. Gonur North represents a forerunner of the classical structure of medieval urban architecture in eastern Central Asia, which consisted of a residential quarter, called *shahristan*, within a city wall, and a more fortified citadel, called *kala* or *ark*. The widely scattered buildings lying outside the second wall are comparable to the outer quarters called *rabat*.

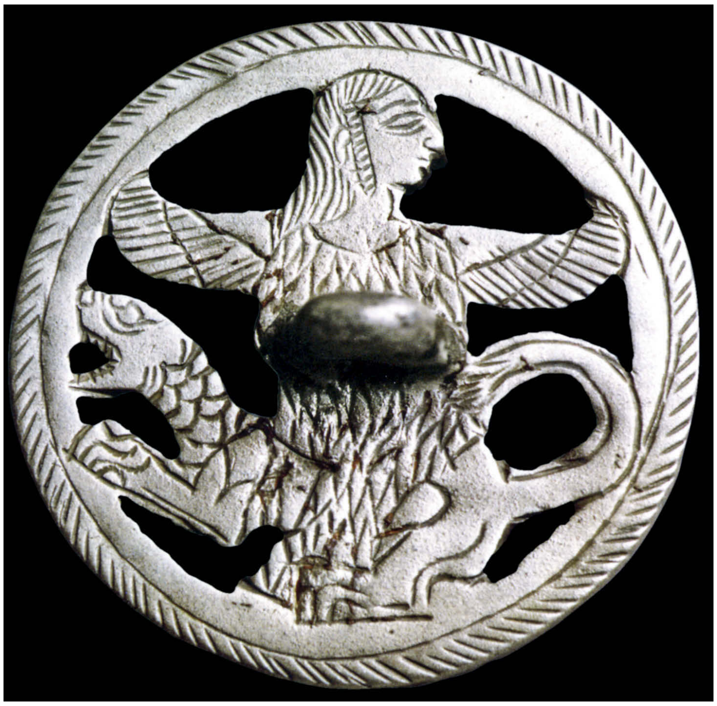
The complex of **Gonur South** was built somewhat later than Gonur North and consists of a walled parallelogram with sides of 115 m, with the outer wall fortified with 12 round towers. In the centre rose a square citadel, 65 x 65 m in area. The outer wall of this citadel had round towers at the corners and a projecting entrance bulwark on each side, also guarded by two round towers.[12] Rectangular towers are easier to build than round ones but have a more limited firing line and can be undermined and destroyed more easily than round towers. As in the earlier Kopet Dag-Tejen oasis culture, in the early layers of Gonur South graves and cenotaphs – grave-like structures that honour dead not buried there – were found under the buildings. Sarianidi interpreted Gonur South as a temple site, but today the complex is understood as a mature settlement that included both residential areas and workshops.[13]

Both settlements of Gonur came to a sudden end: the northern part burned down between 1700 and 1600 BC,[14] and the southern site was abruptly abandoned during the same time period. Discoveries of storehouses with full clay vessels, valuable stone mortars, and unfired pottery beside kilns indicate that the people fled in great haste.[15] The simultaneous increase in crude, handcrafted ceramics, of the kind common in the steppe culture of Andronovo – and especially its variant, the culture of Tazabagyab south of the Aral Sea – suggests that the demise of the BMAC Culture in Gonur was connected to the invasion of semi-nomadic representatives of the Andronovo Culture. These people spoke an Indo–Iranian or Indo–Aryan dialect.[16] This rough pottery of the Andronovo steppe culture had already begun to spread to Gonur a century before the settlement's fall, however, so Vadim Masson is probably right to suggest that there was a 'mutual interaction of two cultural worlds – the sedentary civilisation of the Bronze Age and the steppe tribes of herdsmen/farmers'.[17] The attacks from the steppes and the likely change in the course of the Murgab left the once-fertile land of Gonur desolate.

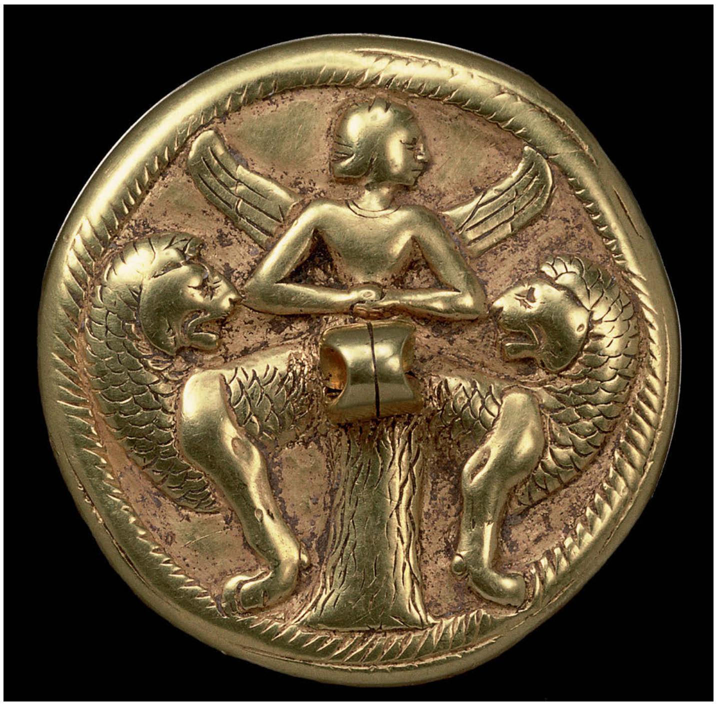


Female composite figurine, Bactria–Margiana, *ca.* 2000–1650 BC. The body and the hat consist of soapstone; the head is made from limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The construction of strong defensive walls is likewise an indication of an early threat from the north. About a millennium later, when the Murgab delta and with it the centre of an agro-urban culture had shifted about 50 km south to Merv,



Silver seal from Gonur Tepe, Turkmenistan, *ca*. 2000–1650 BC. A winged deity wearing a kaunakes, perhaps the Sumerian fertility goddess Inana or the war goddess Ishtar, rides a hybrid creature, part panther and part snake. National Museum of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat.



Gold seal of the winged war goddess Ishtar as 'mistress of animals', flanked by two lions, presumably from Turkmenistan, *ca*. 2000 BC. Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen, Ebnöther Collection.

oasis dwellers used walls not only to protect their cities from marauding steppe horsemen but also to guard their most important agricultural lands. Strabo reports that the Seleucid King Antiochus Soter (r. 281–261 BC) had the expanded city and its fertile surroundings enclosed by a wall measuring 1,500 Roman stadia, equivalent to 278 km.[18] Such walls also served as a dam against advancing sand and prevented encroachment by the surrounding desert. The archaeologist Frederik Hiebert assumed that the central citadel of Gonur South had been built or rebuilt on the ruins of the settlement after its abandonment, so he assigned the building to the post-BMAC culture. Such citadels, like the neighbouring one of Togolok 21, were later converted into storehouses and hostels, becoming the caravanserais of the Silk Roads of Central Asia.[19]

Both complexes, Gonur North and Gonur South, stood, like nearly all other settlements in the delta, on natural rises not suitable for agriculture. A system that paid attention to maximising the use of arable land, oversaw the construction and operation of a capillary-like irrigation system, and carried on a wide-ranging trade network required governmental structures with a single ruler at the head. The irrigation system was complex; it consisted of a 50-km main channel, from which side channels extended to water a cultivated area of approximately 45 x 20 km. The basic requirement for the existence of a state is a controlled social organisation that holds power for an extended time, whether legitimately or by means of force, and can prevent splits along tribal lines. Social development in Gonur also showed signs of later economic shifts, so that the source of prosperity and wealth was no longer agriculture but rather trade.

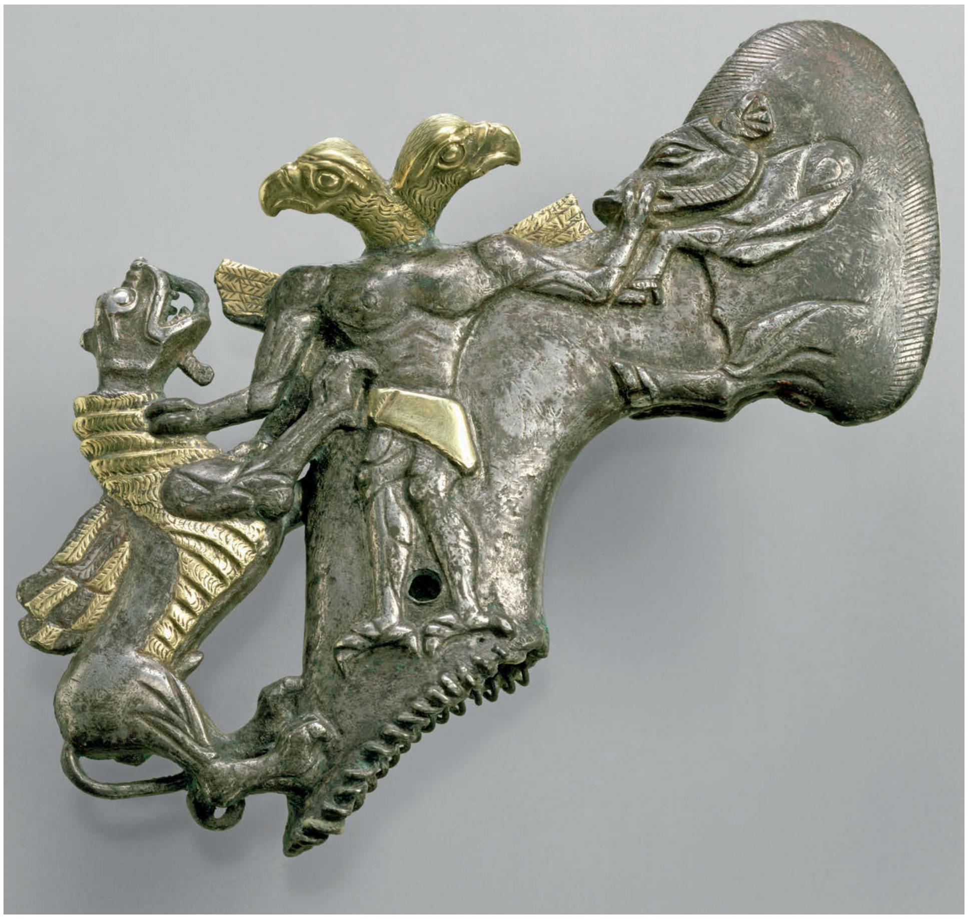
In Gonur Sarianidi discovered two cemeteries, a large one with thousands of graves, where the common people found their final resting place, and, in 2004, a much smaller one for the elite. In both necropolises the tombs mimicked the houses of the living, with a table in the centre of the room, a bench along one wall, shelves holding pottery, and a hearth. At both sites the graves served as family crypts that could be opened and closed as needed. A dromos or entrance corridor led to the seven excavated elite graves, which were 30 x 40 m in size and sometimes had several chambers. Although nearly all the graves of both cemeteries had already been plundered in ancient times, the elite graves still show signs of the coloured mosaics that decorated the walls and clay coffers. An Egyptian makeup pencil made of ivory discovered here and a seal from Harappa, engraved with an elephant and an inscription that was found in the residential district of Gonur, offer evidence of the international trade network.

Four elite graves contain extraordinary treasures, including two complete two-axle wagons in two graves and a single-axle cart in each of the other two. A camel was harnessed to one of the wagons, two camels to another one. All of the vehicles had large wooden disc wheels, reinforced by bronze fittings. Whether the practice of wagon burial was adopted from the steppe peoples to their north or from trading partners in Mesopotamia is not clear from the evidence, but the solid disc wheels and the absence of horse bones, with the exception of a sacrificed foal, points to Mesopotamia.[20] In one of the wagon graves the skeletons of ten young men lay beside the wagon; in a second the bones of 15 adults were mixed in with those of various animals such as camels, oxen, and dogs, and in the third grave – no. 3900, excavated in spring 2009, seven men and seven dogs were buried. Since neither grave appears to contain a primary person, they must either be cenotaphs or, as Sarianidi proposes, the remains of a ritual sacrifice, in which the still-living prince was only symbolically represented.[21]

As in the earlier period of Kelleli, in Gonur and the neighbouring oasis of Adji Kui fine polychrome ceramics, fashioned on the potter's wheel, were discovered, as were zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines. Among the latter were flat female statuettes, of the type familiar from Kelleli and Altyn Tepe. Many of them display a bird-shaped head with eyes slit sideways and a beak-like nose. The female figurines had a purely domestic protective function, as they were found in practically every house but in only three of nearly 4,000 excavated graves.[22] In the late phase of Gonur there appeared for the first time flat male figurines with similarly birdlike faces, which may signal a religious paradigm shift.[23]

The polar opposites of the flat female statuettes were the 8- to 15-cm-tall seated composite figures of matronly, full-figured women, whose bodies and head coverings were made of green steatite or chlorite, with heads and lower arms of chalk or marble and eyes of lapis lazuli. The women wear a so-called kaunakes, a typical Sumerian cloak of Mesopotamia, made of either sheep- or goatskin or sheep's wool, which was woven into a feather- or leaf-like pattern. The kaunakes was worn not only in Mesopotamian Sumer (*ca*. 2800–2000 BC) but also in neighbouring Elam in south-western Iran. About 40 such stone female figurines from Margiana and Bactria are known, of which 11 came from excavations and the remainder from the antiquities market.[24] The only complete figurine was found in 2001; it lay in an unplundered grave in Gonur, immediately behind the head of a 30- to 35-year-old woman.[25]

While the source of inspiration for such composite figures is to be found far to the west, where they had spread as far as Ebla,



Silver ceremonial axe with a shaft hole, decorated with gold inlays, Bactria–Margiana, twenty-first to twentieth century BC. A winged man with talons and two raptors' heads tames a winged lion and a boar. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Lord and Mistress of animals

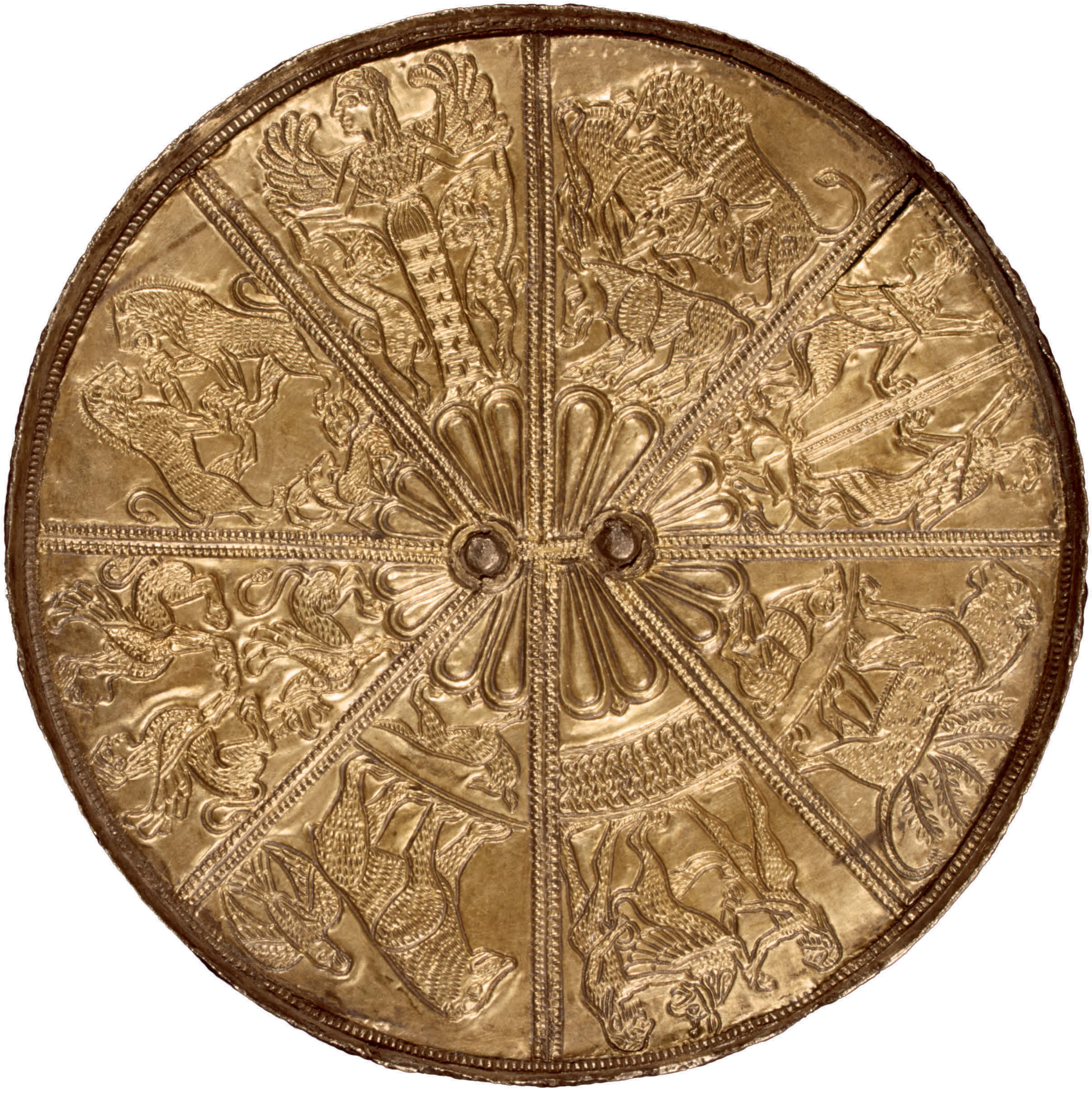
The motif of an anthropomorphic being standing between two or, rarely, among four or six animals represents an archetype that was known in pre-Christian times throughout Eurasia, from southern Italy to Mongolia, and presumably arose in Mesopotamia. Among the earliest portrayals is a 5,000-year-old cylinder seal from Uruk, on which a ruler stands between two goats, a tree of life sprouting from his shoulders.[26] Around the middle of the third millennium BC the motif took on a mythological dimension, as the semi-divine and semi-legendary king of Uruk, Gilgamesh, was depicted as the sovereign and invincible lord of animals. On the great lyre from the royal grave of Ur he holds two bulls with human heads, standing on their hind legs, and the bearded, anthropomorphic heads of the animals display the same features as Gilgamesh's face, indicating the closeness between the demigod and the two animals.[27] Additional images on the lyre likewise make reference to the BMAC Culture, since they show animals performing human religious activities. Similar scenes are found on cylinder seals from Margiana.[28]

On a Sumerian cylinder seal from the second half of the third millennium BC, however, Gilgamesh stands on two winged lions with crowned, bearded human heads and with each outstretched arm he holds a living lion by the hind leg.[29] In south-eastern Iran at the time unique vessels and weights were made of engraved green chlorite; their particular decoration is referred to as Intercultural Style.[30] The lord of the animals is portrayed in many variations on several vessels. For instance, he is standing on two lions and holding two snakes or standing on the ground while holding two panthers, snakes, or humped oxen.[31] The lord of animals can also himself appear in animal form, however, for example as an eagle subduing two snakes.[32] Portrayals of the lord of the animals were also quite popular in the first half of the first millennium BC in western Iranian Luristan, a centre for the production of metal snaffle bits.[33]

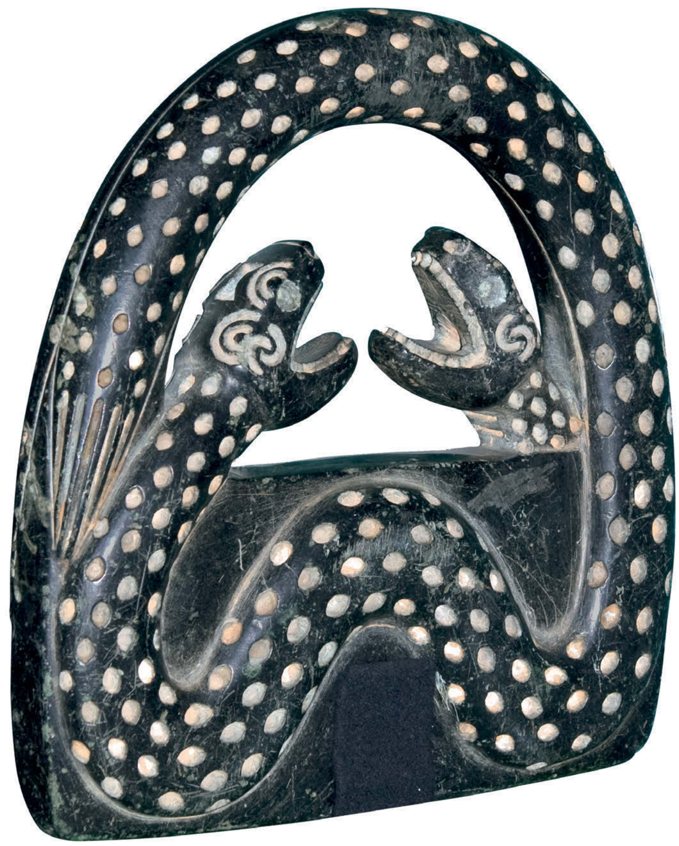
In the Near East in the second half of the second millennium BC a spectacular form of the mistress of the animals appeared.[34] This was the goddess Asherah, who was glorified in inscriptions from the ninth–eighth century BC as the wife of the Israelite god Yahweh.[35] On a gold disc from Ugarit she stands on a lion and holds two ibexes firmly in hand, while two snakes appear behind her hips. On a pyxis lid from Ugarit dating to the thirteenth century BC, she takes the form of the fertility goddess Astarte with a naked upper body and feeds two ibexes.[36] We find a similar composition on the famous 'Grächwil hydria' (570 BC), a bronze water jar from southern Italy. Here the mistress of the animals tames four lions, two rabbits, two snakes and an eagle. The animals symbolise the three spheres of life: the bird of prey, air; the lions and rabbits, earth; and the snakes, the connection to the underworld.[37] Familiar goddesses of antiquity that included aspects of the 'mistress of animals' were Artemis and Cybele.[38]

In the east this motif appeared in Bronze Age petroglyphs from Oglakhty,[39] Minusinsk and Tsagaan Salaa as well as in the Sirven Mountains of the southern Mongolian Gobi Desert, where the lord of the animals stood between two powerful yaks. These portrayals were presumably related to hunting rituals. In the context of these hunting cultures, the human being stands *in* nature, not *over* nature. Animals have souls and deserve respect; they may be killed only for food or clothing. Purposeless hunting is forbidden and could lead to the disappearance of wild game because the souls of animals that had been killed but not used could refuse to be reincarnated in the same area. In the same way the bones of slain animals were to be handled with reverence. Finally, the motif of a man taming two birds of prey can also be found on clay and soapstone seals of the Indus Valley Culture.[40] These seals were produced locally, but the motif originated in Mesopotamia, which did brisk trade with the cities of the Indus.

The motif later enjoyed popularity, in both its male and female forms, among the horse-riding peoples of the Saka and the Scythians, as several gravesites show. Among these is the famous silver mirror of Kelermes, decorated on the back with electrum – an alloy of gold and silver. It was uncovered in 1903 in the burial site 'Kurgan 4', of a Scythian prince north of Maikop. One of the eight triangular electrum sections, which form a universal cosmogram, shows a winged mistress of animals holding two big cats. The mirror was produced between 650 and 620 BC by a Greek-Ionian or Lydian workshop for the Scythian market.[41] Also spectacular are two finds from a small cemetery on the south-eastern edge of Central Asia in Tillya Tepe in northern Afghanistan. Here Sarianidi discovered the graves of an Alan prince of the Kangju tribal group and his five sacrificed wives. The graves contained two pairs of gold pendants with turquoise, lapis lazuli and garnet inlays from the first century AD. One pair portrays a mistress of animals with two wolves, and the other a lord of the animals with two dragons.[42] In Christianity, finally, the motif acquired new symbolic meaning in the depiction of Daniel in the lion's den. The Christianised archetype symbolised the victory of the righteous man over the powers of death – in a certain sense, the resurrection of the individual.[43]



The reverse of the silver mirror of Kelermes, decorated with sheets made of electrum, a gold-silver alloy, which was manufactured in Greek Ionia or Lydia. Kuban region, south-western Russia, around 650–620 BC. In the eight triangular segments, moving clockwise from the upper left, the following scenes are portrayed: the winged mistress of animals holds two panthers; a lion attacks a bull standing on the back of a boar; two winged hybrid creatures made up of predatory cats and women's heads turned backwards flank an Ionic column, while a small panther crouches beneath them; a powerful leopard stands on a crouching ram; two bearded men with thick hair or dressed in pelts attack a griffin. The scene presumably illustrates a story referred to by Herodotus in which the Arimaspi in the far east tried to steal gold guarded by griffins. In the next segment a bird of prey flies over a large bear, which stands over a small dog; two sitting sphinxes face each other above a winged griffin and two lions standing on their hind legs confront each other over an ibex. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Weight or amulet made of dark green chlorite in the 'Intercultural Style', Soch, Fergana region, eastern Uzbekistan, second half of the third millennium BC. On each side the handle is formed by a snake with a wide-open mouth. Historical Museum of Uzbekistan, Tashkent.

Syria, as early as 2400 to 2300 BC,[44] similar seated or standing female figures were depicted on Elamite silver vases of the same time. R. Ghirsman identified a slender standing female figure, clad in a kaunakes, as the Elamite goddess of war and victory, Narunde, and a crouching, voluptuous figure, by contrast, as the fertility and mother goddess Pinikir.[45] Presumably the composite figurines of Margiana and Bactria were examples of the latter.

Another female deity with Near Eastern roots can be seen on a silver seal found in a grave of Gonur in 1998.[46] On it a winged woman, wearing a kaunakes, sits backwards on a kind of dragon, consisting of a panther's body and a snake's head with an open mouth. She could be the Sumerian fertility goddess Inana or the related war goddess Ishtar, whose symbol was the lion and who was often portrayed with outstretched wings.[47] On another, gold seal – made, like the silver example, using the lost-wax process – two lions flank the winged, standing goddess Ishtar. In the mid-first millennium AD Inana/Ishtar became the Sogdian goddess Nana, who rode a lion and played an important role in the territory of northern Bactria.[48]

The pantheon of Margiana and Bactria also included male deities who tamed wild animals and had one or even two bird heads. One such hybrid is portrayed on both sides of a silver-gilt shaft-hole axe from the twenty-first or twentieth century BC. In the centre stands a winged man with two raptor heads and bird talons, wearing only a loincloth. With one arm, which ends not in a human hand but in three claws of a bird of prey, he manhandles a boar, which forms the cheek of the axe; with the other, he holds at bay a winged lion with bared teeth.[49] This man-animal hybrid is complex. He surely belongs among the various portrayals of the 'lord of animals', the archetypal image of a dominant human asserting power over animals and nature. Since here, as also in the vast majority of depictions of the 'lord' or 'mistress of animals', the tamed animals are living rather than dead. This archetype does not symbolise final victory of good over evil, as with St George slaying the dragon, but rather is related to the lifecycle of plants over the course of the seasons and with the royal responsibility to maintain order within cosmic chaos. By subduing instead of killing these two dangerous animals, the 'lord of animals' forces them to become his helpers. The owners of such ceremonial axes may have believed that they could partake in the extraordinary powers of the 'lord of animals'.

Similar ceremonial axes appeared in Elam and Mesopotamia and have been interpreted by H.-P. Francfort as symbols of power.[50] The winged hybrid of a human with the head of a raptor, which is also found in Bactrian metal and clay seals,[51] resembles the winged genies with eagles' heads of the Syrian-Anatolian world.[52] Such figures also appeared in the significantly later Neo-Assyrian Empire.[53] Another possible interpretation suggests the mythical first king of Sumer, Etana. He rode on the back of an eagle searching for a magical fertility plant to enable his childless queen to bear him a son. The myth of Etana developed around 2300 BC, at the same time as the epic of Gilgamesh, who in turn was figuratively depicted as the sovereign lord of the animals. On the basis of the selected examples it is clear that Bactria and Margiana were in close cultural contact with Elam and Mesopotamia, some 1,500 km away, and figuratively expressed religious and mythical content from them independently.

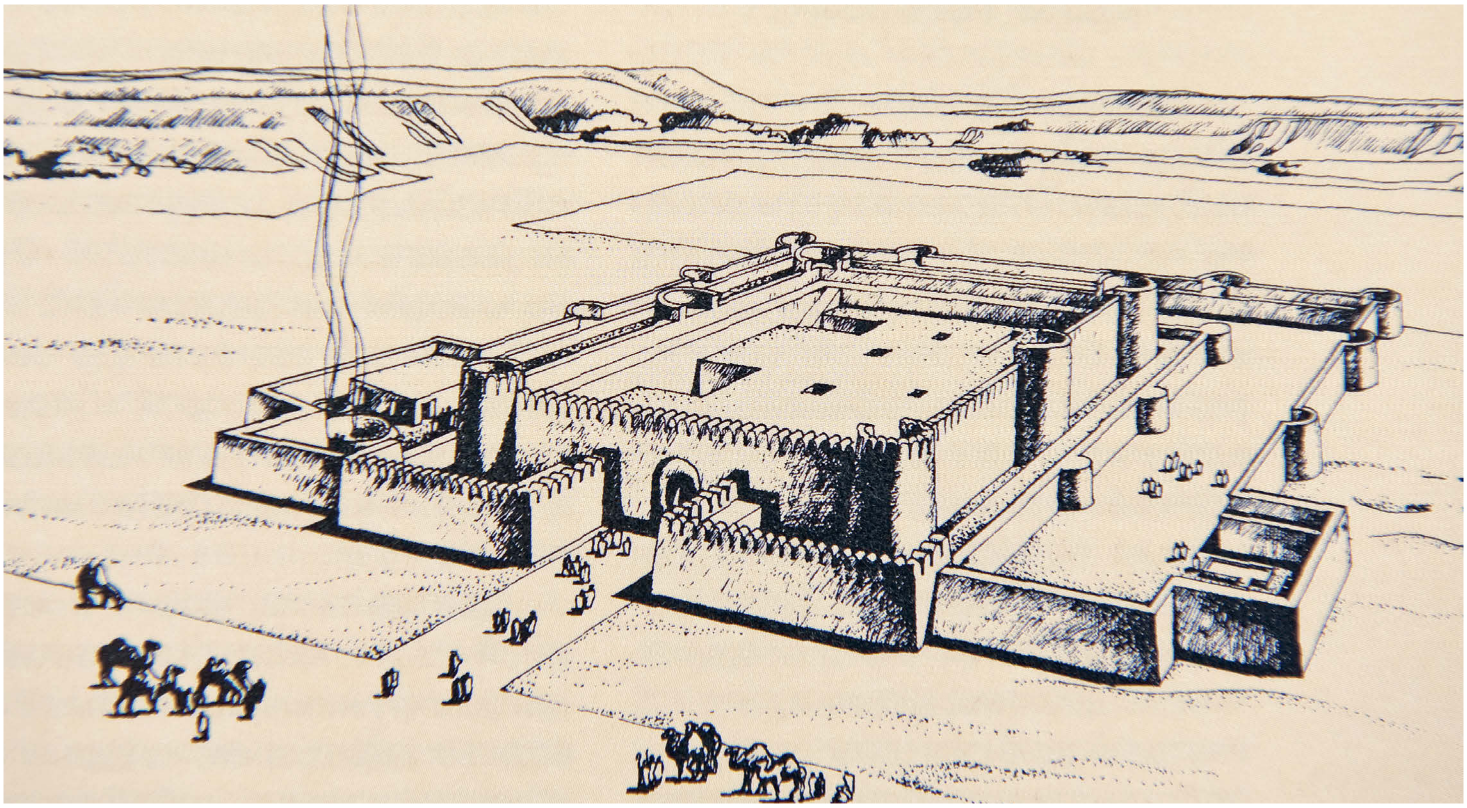
In 1974 and 1975, 16 km north-west of Gonur, at **Adji Kui**, I.S. Masimov discovered the ruins of nine settlements, four of which had vanished without a trace at the start of the joint Turkmen–Italian excavation project of 2003–2006 because these four sites had been used meanwhile for farming.[54] Of the remaining five ruins, which flourished in the second period of Gonur, the excavations of AK-1 and AK-9 are especially interesting. While the smaller structure of AK-1 was presumably a kind of caravanserai with particular administrative tasks, AK-9 had various functions over the course of its 1,500-year history. As early as the time of Namazga III around 3000 BC, long before the start of the BMAC Culture, the first simple houses were built. In their ruins archaeologists found not only flat clay figures of schematically rendered women but also so-called 'foundation pegs', made of fired clay. In Mesopotamia at the time it was common practice when building a temple to embed such foundation pegs at the corners. They took the form of a standing deity or an animal dedicated to him. This deity was often the personal patron deity of the ruler sponsoring the temple's construction and was his advocate to the patron god of the city, to whom the temple was dedicated. Since these objects were often inscribed, they convey valuable information about the context of the temple's construction.[55] The fact that this ritual was also known in Margiana underscores the intensive contact between the two regions.

In the Namazga V period around 2100 BC AK-9 experienced an appreciable consolidation of housing and erected a defensive wall in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, 4,932 m^2 in area, which was reinforced with at least 14 rectangular towers. Between 1600 and 1500 BC the 600 to 700 inhabitants had to abandon their settlement and make room for advancing migrants from Andronovo. The site remained inhabited sporadically until the fourteenth century AD.[56]

III. The period of Togolok

Togolok is the most important oasis of the third BMAC-period and lies 17 km south of Gonur. The oasis consisted of 30 smaller settlements, the fortified main site of Togolok 1 and the large, triply defended citadel of Togolok 21. The construction of strongly defended settlements and citadels at the start of the second millennium BC in Togolok, as in Gonur South, suggests the presence of external threats. **Togolok 1** was excavated by Sarianidi. Standing on a slightly elevated hexagonal site just 4,600 m^2 in extent, it was surrounded by a defensive wall fortified by round towers. A 30 x 30 m citadel stood in the northern part, integrated into the settlement.[57]

Togolok 21 was originally an impressive structure. In the centre stood a defiant 60 x 50 m citadel, with 8-m-tall walls outfitted with battlements and strengthened by six round towers. Two additional defensive walls surrounded the citadel, with the outer wall being 130 x 120 m. There were many buildings within the citadel and the inner wall, but the area between the two walls to the south and the west remained clear of buildings. Since there were only a few domestic hearths in the outbuildings of Togolok-21, it may be assumed that the well-fortified complex provided protection to the elite and selected workshops.[58] After the BMAC Culture, which



Sketched reconstruction of the fortress of Togolok 21 south of Gonur, Turkmenistan, early second millennium BC. According to Viktor Sarianidi, *Margush*, 2002, p. 172.

died out around 1500 BC, the culture of Jaz followed, marking the transition from the late Bronze Age to the Iron Age.

1.2 The BMAC Culture of Bactria

The agro-urban BMAC Culture expanded into Bactria somewhat later than it did to Margiana. In Bactria fortified settlements like Sapalli and Jarkutan emerged in southern Uzbekistan, as well as **Dashli** in northern Afghanistan, which displayed architectonic similarities with the two most important settlements of Togolok, as well as Gonur. According to Askarov and Ionesov this eastern cultural realm can be divided into four periods named after major archaeological sites: I. Sapalli (1700–1500), II. Jarkutan (1500–1350), III. Kuzali (1350–1100), IV. Molali/Bustan (1100–900).[59]

However, the fortuitous find of the '**Tepe Fullol** treasure' in 1966 south-east of Dashli in northern Afghanistan, which is tentatively dated between 2200 and 1900 BC, suggests that an outpost of the BMAC culture may have existed in Bactria a couple of centuries earlier than Sapalli. The hoard consisted of locally made gold and silver vessels which were hacked to pieces with an axe by the finders and later recovered by government officials. Later excavations unfortunately revealed no further artefacts. The procession of bearded bulls on a gold bowl is likely of Mesopotamian inspiration from the end of the third or the start of the second millennium BC, but the cruciform or stepped decorations on two other vessels are reminiscent of similar motifs at least five centuries older that were found at Sarazm II and III as well as Altyn Tepe, and which correspond to Namazga III. The classification of Tepe Fullol in relation to neighbouring cultures has not yet been settled.[60]

In **Dashli** two monumental structures from the beginning of the first Sapalli period have been discovered. The citadel Dashli-1 dominated the city, it had a square groundplan and was fortified with round towers. Dashli-3 was originally built as a palace, 88 x 84 m in size, with a double wall. After its destruction it was replaced by a fortress with a round defensive wall, which was reinforced by nine square towers.[61] **Sapalli Tepe**, for its part, consisted of eight symmetrically laid out residential quarters, which were arranged around a central plaza and separated from each other by straight streets; a square wall, 82 m long on each side and with no apparent military purpose, surrounded the settlement.[62] In the necropolis archaeologists discovered fragments of silk, approximately 3,700 years old, but it is unclear whether these came from China or the Indus Valley.[63]

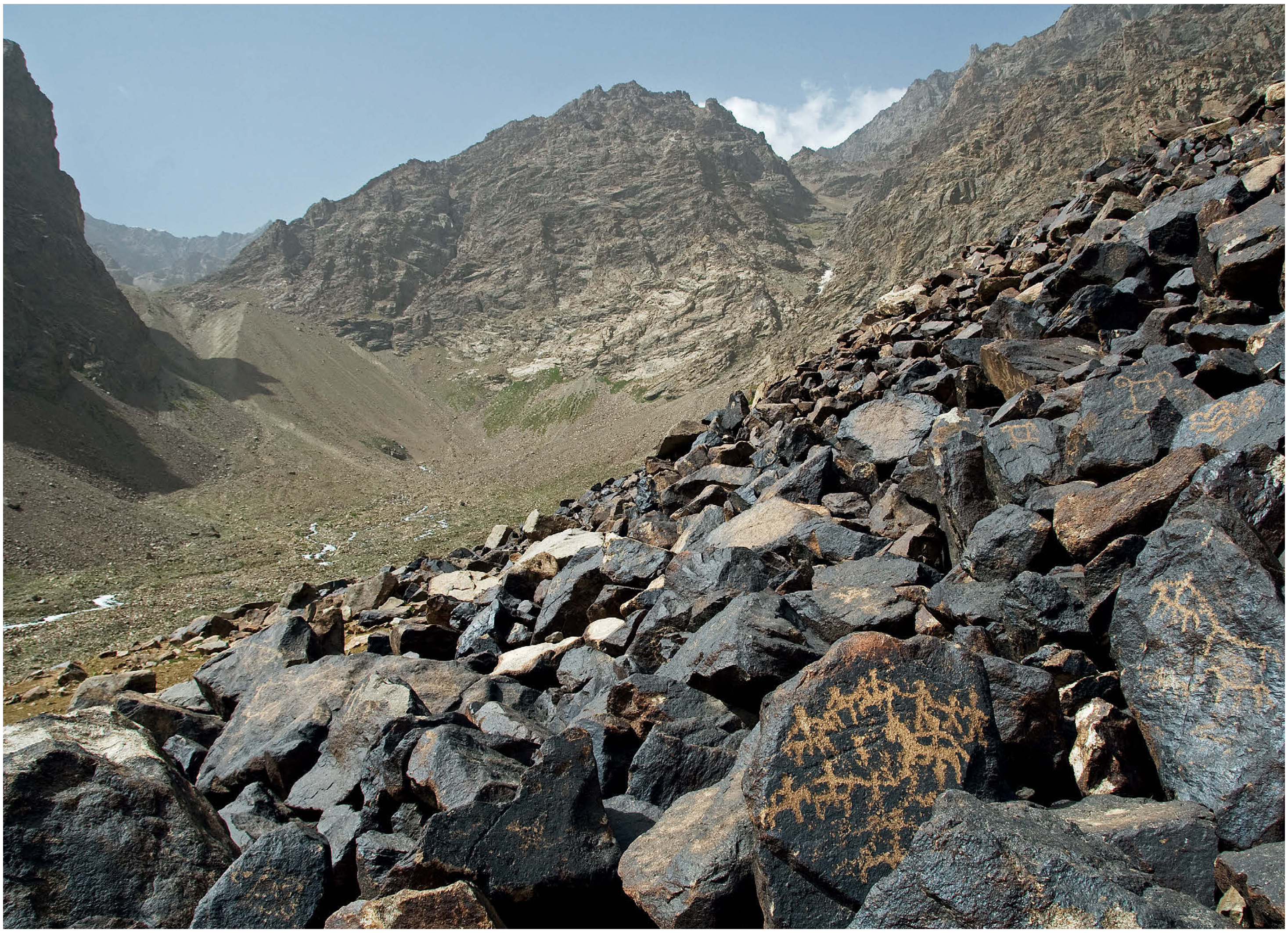
The city of **Jarkutan**, founded around 1500 BC and located north of the Oxus River was, in comparison to Dashli and Sapalli, a metropolis, with about 20,000 inhabitants. It lay 60 km north of the modern city of Termez. Jarkutan was made up of residential and workshop quarters, a fire temple, and a palace that stood within the citadel. While the citadel was surrounded by a wall reinforced with 13 square towers, the city did not have a defensive wall. In contrast to Sapalli, where each household had a kiln, the residential quarters in Jarkutan were divided up according to type of handcraft.[64]

The fire temple of Jarkutan, surrounded by a thick wall, dates from the mid-fourteenth century BC and is one of the oldest of its kind, centuries older than the earliest fire temple of Iran. The temple had no fewer than seven fire altars called *atashgah* and basins to collect the sacred ashes, but also three cultic fountains.[65] In this temple the two opposing elements of fire and water were worshipped together. This cult of two contrary elements recalls a myth of the Rig Veda that says that the fire god Agni was born in water in the form of Apam Napat.[66] The pre-Zoroastrian combined fire and water temple of Jarkutan anticipates two developments: first, its architecture looks forward to the early fire temples of Iran, such as those of Bard-i Nishanda and Masjid-Suleiman in Khusistan[67] or of Mele Hairam at Sarakhs[68] on the border of Iran and Turkmenistan, where fire was worshipped as a symbol of vitality and purity. Secondly, it foreshadows the Oxus Temple, dating to 1,000 years later, which was dedicated to both the cult of fire and the river god Oxus.[69] Both cults must have been active in Jarkutan until the abandonment of the temple toward the end of the Molali/Bustan period in the tenth century BC. This is apparent because the sacred fountains were filled up and the entire complex was 'buried' under a 20-cm-thick layer of clay. Soon thereafter the city was plundered and destroyed.[70]

In the graves and necropolises of Dashli, Sapalli, and especially Jarkutan a notable development in burial practices and the corresponding religious ideas can be seen. In the first period of Sapalli the dead were buried intra muros, under the thresholds, walls, and floors of houses, continuing the custom of the early Bronze Age Kopet Dag-Tejen oasis culture. In contrast to Altyn Tepe, where only infants found their last resting place inside houses, in the first period of Sapalli all people were buried intra muros. They then existed no longer as living people but rather as guardian ancestors within the home. With the second period of Jarkutan the burial rites began to change. The dead were now buried in cemeteries outside the city, or cenotaphs were erected and anthropomorphic clay figurines and sacrificed sheep were placed in them. In Jarkutan a river separated the city from the necropolis, a symbolic boundary between the world of the living and that of the dead.

With the construction of the fire–water temple at the start of the third period of Kuzali the rituals developed further. Production and sale of anthropomorphic clay figurines and the newly appearing votive gifts in the form of miniature bronze weapons and tools became monopolies of the new temple, which presumably also had a herd of sheep exclusively for sacrifice. In this regard the temple of Jarkutan also anticipated the one on the Oxus. At the same time the construction of cenotaphs with accompanying sheep sacrifices and anthropomorphic statuettes increased, though it is unclear if this increase is attributable to wars and the lack of remains from fallen soldiers or to the beginning of cremation. Presumably both were factors because, on the one hand, at the start of the Kuzali period Jarkutan experienced serious attacks, as can be seen in the traces of conflagrations, and, on the other hand, several graves show marks of fire, indicating ritual burning. In the fourth period of Molali/Bustan cremation emerged, as did burial after maceration, the removal of the corpse's soft tissue. Another innovation was the placing in cenotaphs of cylindrical ceramic vessels with roof-like covers, which recall yurts and anticipate later Zoroastrian ossuaries.[71] Burying the dead with dogs, intermediaries between the worlds of the living and the dead, was also a new phenomenon.[72]

Towards the end of the second millennium BC an expansion of the late Bronze Age form of the BMAC Culture of Bactria spread to Tajikistan, where the local culture of **Beshkent-Vakhsh** (1100–900 BC) arose, showing characteristics of both sedentary farmers and nomadic herders. Their pottery consisted of crude, handmade wares, and their dead were buried in so-called catacomb graves, in which the dead lay side-by-side in niches and the main chamber held the grave goods. The treatment of the dead was not uniform, however, because cremation was practised as well as burial. Clear testimonials of the urbanisation process triggered by the BMAC Culture in south-western Tajikistan were found in the necropolis of Gelot near the present city of Kuljab.[73]



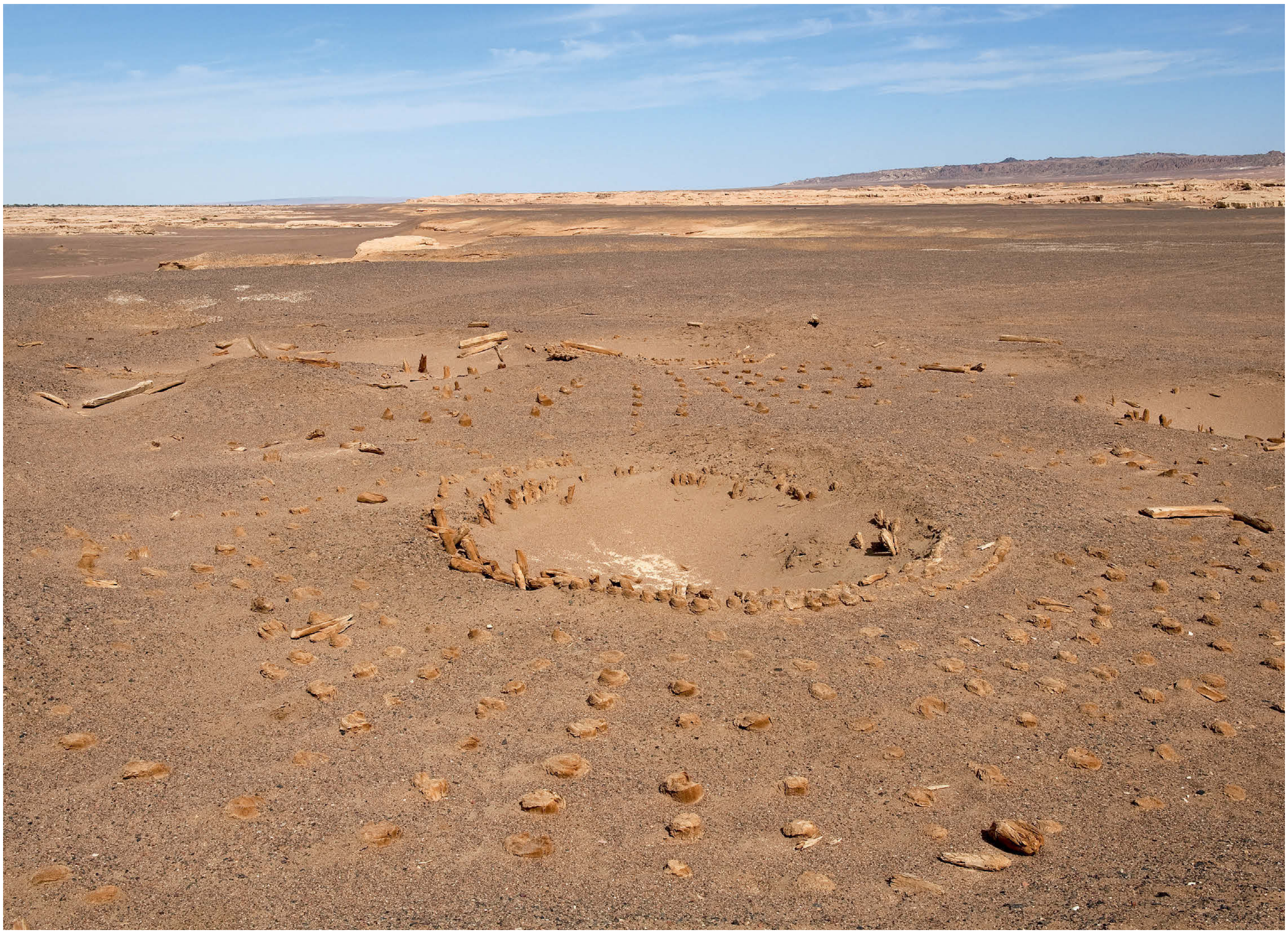
Petroglyphs of horsemen at Vibist in the Pamirs, Gorno-Badakhshan, south-eastern Tajikistan, late Bronze Age and Iron Age.

Certain burials of the Beshkent-Vakhsh Culture also included standardised fire rituals, as the burial chambers had small fireplaces, as well as charcoal and ashes that came from a pyre burned outside the chamber or from a fire ring. At the necropolis of Tigrovaia Balka in southern Tajikistan signs of burning were found under the largest kurgans, which are surrounded by stone circles. During the funeral a circular fire was lit above the burial chamber and then earth was thrown on it to put the fire out.[74] A similar ritual was also performed from the early Iron Age at the Scythian burial and cultic site of Arzhan-2 in Tuva. The kurgan was surrounded by a huge fourfold ring made up of a total of 336, 352 or 368 small stone rings. Calcined animal bones and ashes were found beneath each one, indicating a corresponding burnt offering. It is not known whether all these sacrifices were performed at the same time or stepwise.[75] Another variation of this widespread fire ritual is found in the contemporaneous or slightly later kurgans of Tagisken South and Ujgarak east of the Aral Sea, Barsučij Log in the Minusinsk Basin, and Kostromskaja in northern Caucasian Kuban, where, at the conclusion of the burial ceremony, the wooden structure built over the dead person was ritually set on fire.[76] This custom, widespread among the Saka and Scythians, was also found among the Sarmatians, as can be seen at the Nogajčik kurgan in the Crimea. At the burial of a prominent Sarmatian from the first century AD the 6-m-tall kurgan was covered with petroleum (naturally occurring crude oil) and set ablaze.[77] Presumably this ritual was thought to anticipate the universal fire that would purify all things at the end of time.

The so-called 'Beauty of Loulan', a naturally mummified Europid woman from the early Bronze Age, Töwän, Lop Nor Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 2000–1800 BC. Xinjiang Uyghurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi.

In summary, the radically changed burial rituals of Jarkutan reflect several significant innovations in the religious thought of Bactria, which can serve as a herald of Zoroastrianism. Among these proto-Zoroastrian aspects are the worship of fire and the construction of fire temples, maceration and the subsequent interment of the bones and the placement of these bones in ossuaries. Finally, dogs played an important role in Zoroastrian burial rites and served as guardians of the dead in the afterlife.[78] The practice of giving the deceased a dog as a companion can be seen not only in the late phase of the Sapalli Culture but also about a millennium later among the Sarmatians, nomadic horsemen who spoke an Iranian dialect. Zoroastrianism forbade cremation, however, as the practice contaminated the fire.

This change of belief in Bactria, which, like eastern Iran and Sistan, is associated with Zarathustra's earliest alleged areas of activity, could be related in part to the migration of Indo–Iranian stockbreeding tribes from the Andronovo Culture. In this regard one of the sources of Zoroastrianism would lie in the synthesis of the Indo–Iranian steppe culture of Andronovo and the agro-urban Sapalli–Jarkutan Culture of Bactria, which had intensive contact with Mesopotamia and, to a lesser degree, the Indus Valley. Further evidence of the advance of steppe nomads from the north is provided by changes in the material culture of Bactria, such as the decline of cultivation of the land in favour of increased stockbreeding, the ebbing of international trade, and the replacement of fine pottery crafted on the potter's wheel by crude, handmade wares. In the eighth century BC, however, the trend reversed, as trade and agricultural production began to increase rapidly. At the

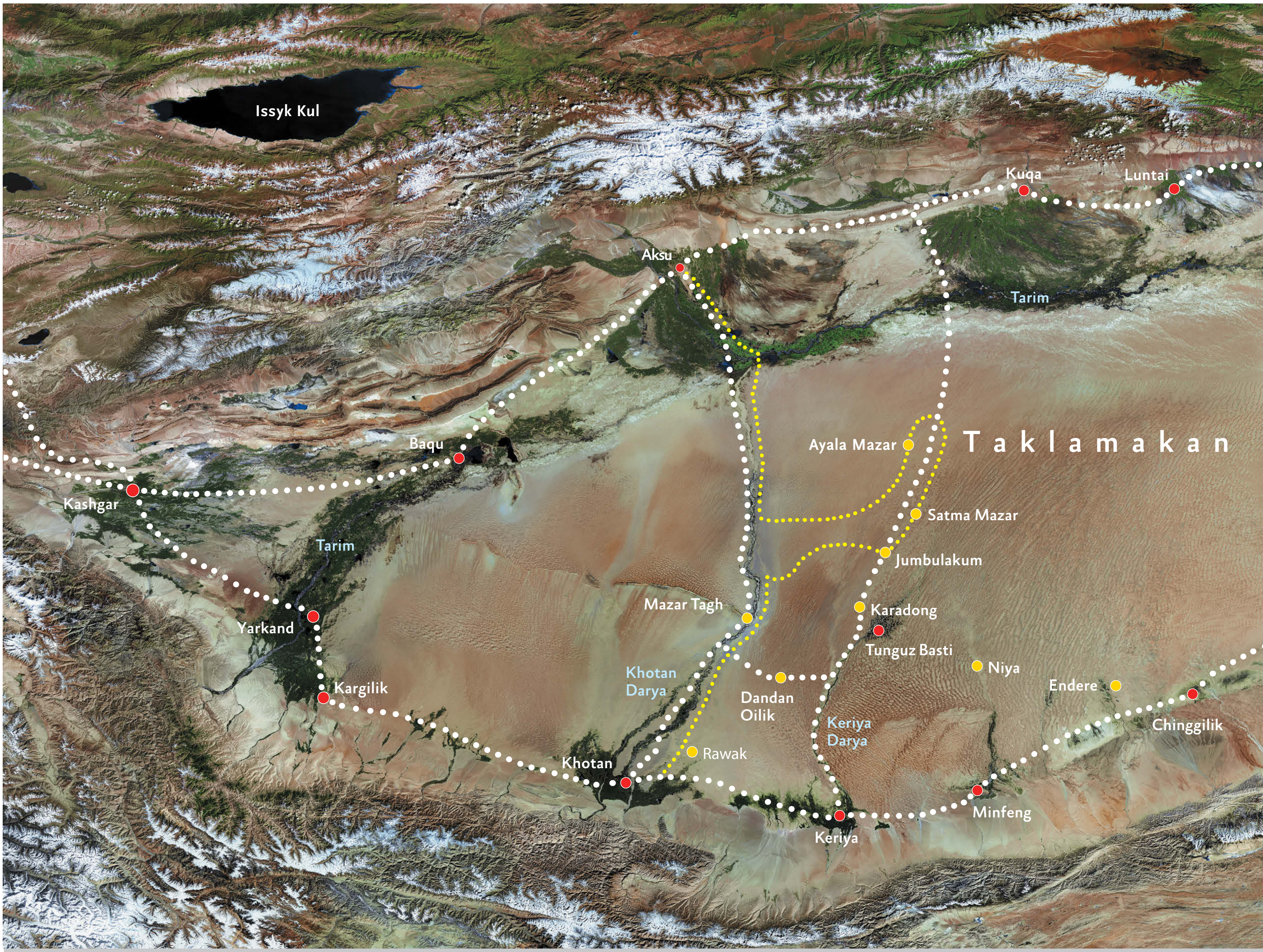


One of the six graves laid out in a sun shape at Qäwrighul (Gumugou), Lop Nor Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, eighteenth century BC.

start of the period of Jaz III brisk construction work began with the erection or founding of cities guarded by strong defensive walls reinforced with towers.[79]

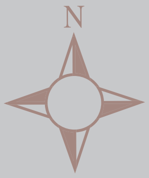
Margiana offers a similar picture to that of Bactria. With the start of the first period of **Jaz** around 1500/1400 BC the large cities were depopulated; cultivation of the land declined in favour of the raising of cattle and, in a new development, horses; international trade ground to a halt; and crude pottery replaced sophisticated ceramics, with the first weapons and tools made of iron emerging soon thereafter. This change is the result of the expansion of a steppe culture from the north to the south. It first reached Choresmia, north of the Kara Kum Desert, where it encountered the late phase of the **Zamanbaba Culture** (2400–1500 BC), which had expanded along the lower Zerafshan River west of Buchara. Their ceramics were 90 percent handmade and undecorated.[80] Forms of the Andronovo Culture then moved in a second step into Margiana.[81] From here they spread the production of iron to the east into the Fergana Valley, where they absorbed the settled, late Bronze Age culture of **Chust** (1400–900 BC), which was characterised by the production of thin ceramic tableware. Influences of this culture spread rapidly farther east into the Tarim Basin, as can be seen in new forms of bronze and the start of iron production.[82]

As in Bactria, starting in the third Jaz period the people began constructing strongly fortified settlements with well-defended citadels, such as Jaz Tepe, Ulug Tepe and Elken Tepe. There was also a rebirth of agriculture.[83] Burial rituals also changed radically in the transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age. It was no longer corpses that were buried, but instead containers holding macerated bones. Sometimes the dead were exposed to corpse-eating animals. Both these new rituals foreshadow later Zoroastrian commandments, according to which the elements of earth, fire and water must not be defiled by impure corpses.


Issyk Kul
Kuqa
Luntai
Aksu
Tarim
Baqu
Ayala Mazar
Taklamakan
Kashgar
Satma Mazar
Tarim
Jumbulakum
Mazar Tagh
Karadong
Yarkand
Tunguz Basti
Niya
Khotan Darya
Kargilik
Endere
Dandan Oilik
Keriya Darya
Chinggilik
Rawak
Khotan
Minfeng
Keriya

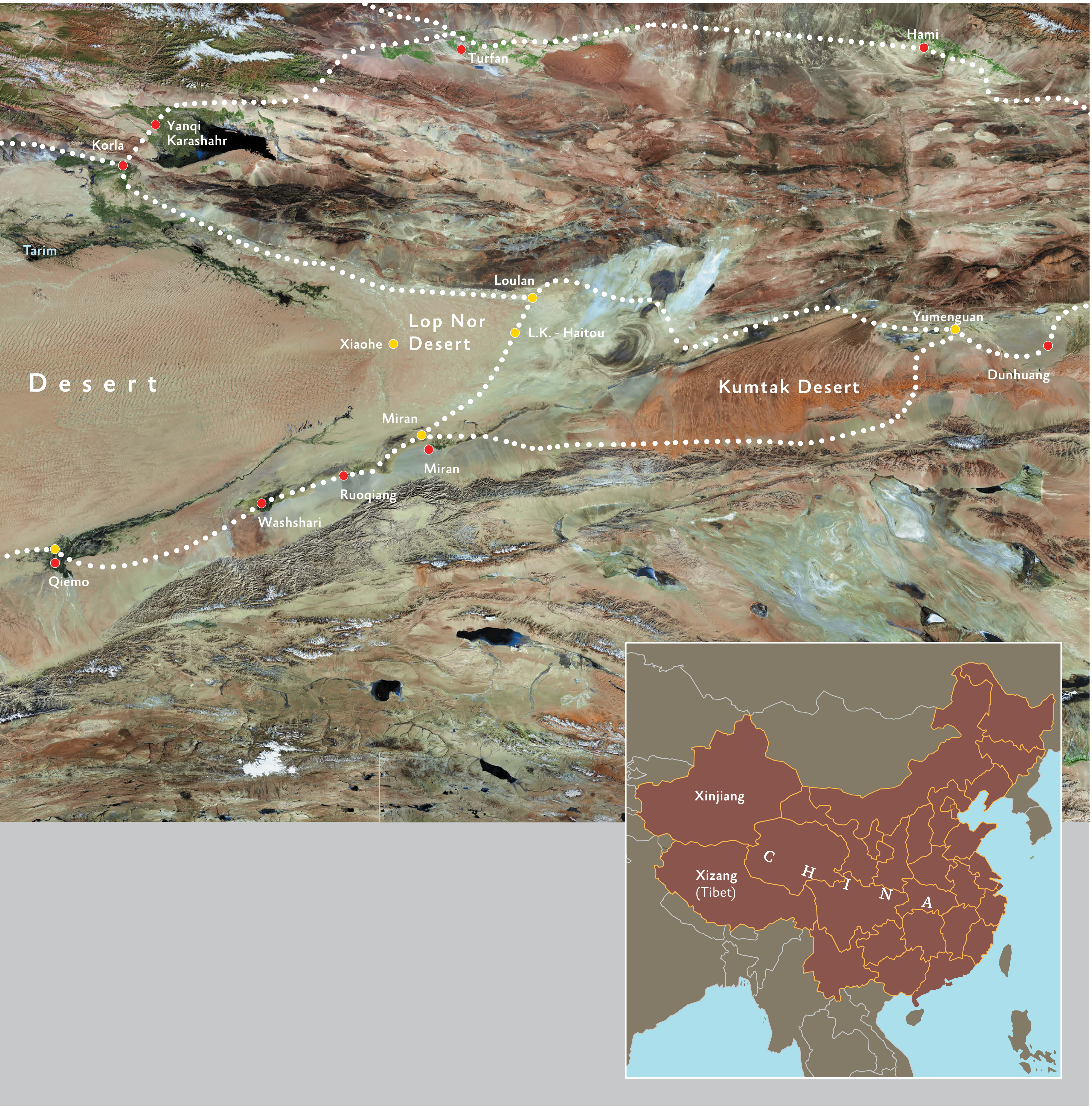
The most important archaeological sites in the Taklamakan and Lop Nor Deserts

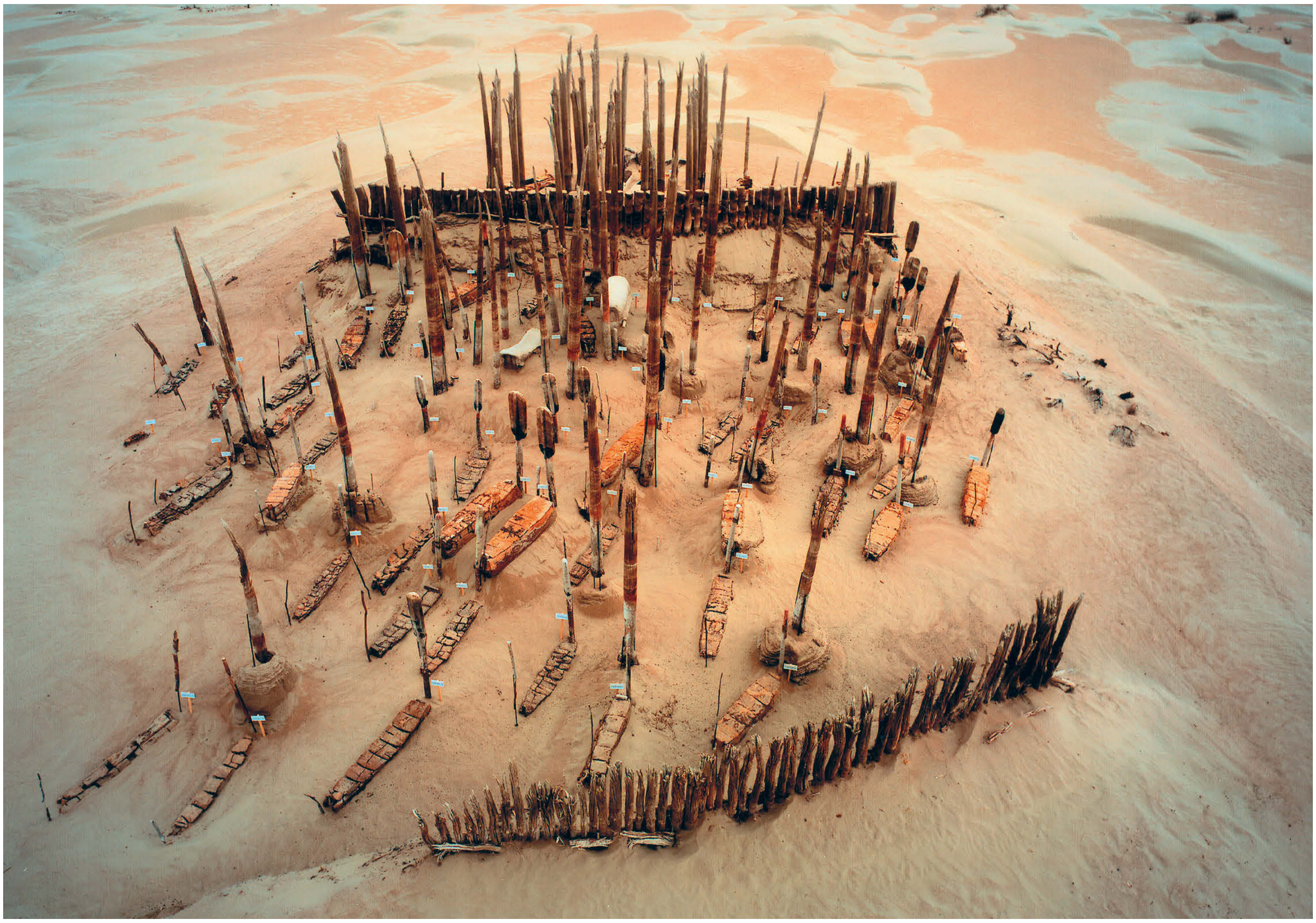
China, Xinjiang | Uyghur Autonomous Region



- 🟡 Ruins | ancient sites
- 🔴 Modern cities and villages
- ● ● ● ● Silkroad | Ancient trading routes *ca.* 500 BC – 900 AD
- ● ● ● ● Archaeological expedition route 2009

0 km 50 100 150 200 250


Turfan
Hami
Yanqi
Karashahr
Korla
Tarim
Loulan
Lop Nor
Desert
Xiaohe
L.K. - Haitou
Yumenguan
Dunhuang
Desert
Kumtak Desert
Miran
Miran
Ruoqiang
Washshari
Qiemo
Xinjiang
Xizang
(Tibet)
C H I N A



The conclusion must finally be made that the infiltration of stockbreeding steppe nomads from the cultural sphere of Andronovo brought an end to the material agro-urban BMAC Culture, but the immigrants gave up their own burial rites, which included building a kurgan over a wooden pit-tomb. The absence of earth burials in Margiana and Bactria from the end of the Bronze Age to the invasion of the Greeks some 1,000 years later supports this conclusion.[84] The proto-Zoroastrian innovations can be explained not only by the infiltration of the steppe nomads; they also arose out of changes in belief within Bactria and Margiana. Thus the mixed economic zones of a mostly settled population in Bactria and Margiana mark the boundary with the world of the steppe nomads in the north, with their bodily burials, until the invasion of Saka, Yuezhi and Alans into Afghanistan in the late second century BC.[85]

In this context, one should note that the migrations from the north were not movements of entire tribes, carrying their material culture with them en bloc, but were rather presumably an incursion of young warriors, who succeeded thanks to superior weapons and mobility. After seizing power they mixed with the local populace, analogous to the founding of the kingdom of Mitanni in northern Syria around 1500 BC, when immigrants or mercenaries, who spoke the ancient Indic language of the Rig Veda, seized power over the non-Indo–European Hurrians.[86]

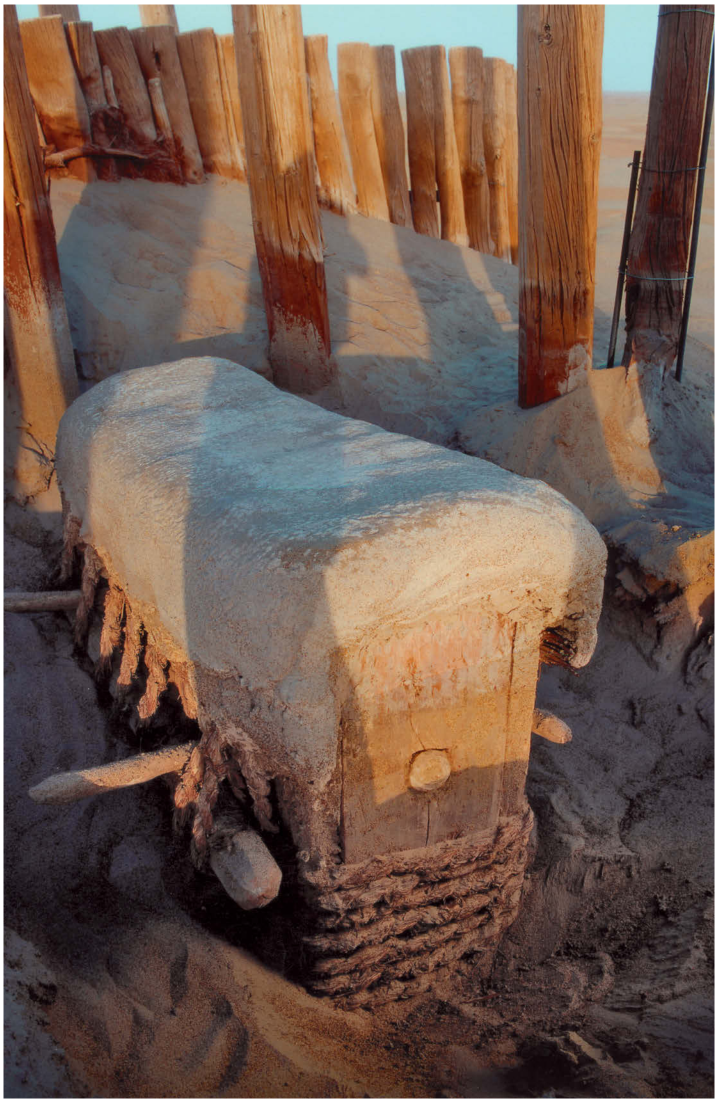
▲ Aerial photograph of the graveyard of Xiaohe during excavations. The torpedo- and paddle-shaped wooden stakes standing before the canoe-shaped coffins can be clearly seen. Top layer of graves, *ca.* 1650–1450 BC. Lop Nor Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China.

◀ Centre of the early Bronze Age necropolis of Xiaohe, before the start of the excavations, Lop Nor Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, 2000–1450 BC. The mummy stretched out in the sand and the mummified head behind it were presumably left behind by grave robbers. The wooden palisade to the left divides the graveyard into two halves.

2. Indo–European mummies in north-western China

For more than a century China has been a rich source of sensational archaeological finds. Among these are not only *Sinanthropus pekinensis* and the royal graves of Anyang, but also the Indo–European mummies of Xinjiang. The question of the origin of metallurgy in China was long debated. Chinese scholars believe that there was an autochthonous development of metallurgy in central China. This view does not take into account the fact that the forging and casting of metal began in the fifth millennium BC in south-eastern Europe and the Caucasus, spreading on the one hand via the Circumpontic Metallurgical Province and on the other across the Near East and southern Turkmenistan to the east. In China, however, metallurgy began immediately in the form of alloying on the north-western edge of the region, in the late phase of the culture of **Qijia** in Gansu (2500–1900 BC). Here horses and wheat also appeared for the first time in China, just before the rise of the Bronze Age culture of **Erlitou** (2000/1900–1600 BC), widespread in northern central China. In 1927 the highly developed Bronze Age culture of **Shang-Anyang** (thirteenth–eleventh century BC) was discovered in Anyang, Henan. This culture saw the emergence of several fully developed technological innovations, but the question of its origin remained open.[87]

In 1979–80 Chinese archaeologists around Wang Binghua made important discoveries in the Lop Nor Desert, Xinjiang, which were also political dynamite: they uncovered dozens of well-preserved mummies, about 4,000 years old, of obviously Europid people! Since these Europids must have come from the west or north-west, hypotheses emerged that the bronze discoveries of Anyang could be related to these mysterious people, their predecessors or their descendants.



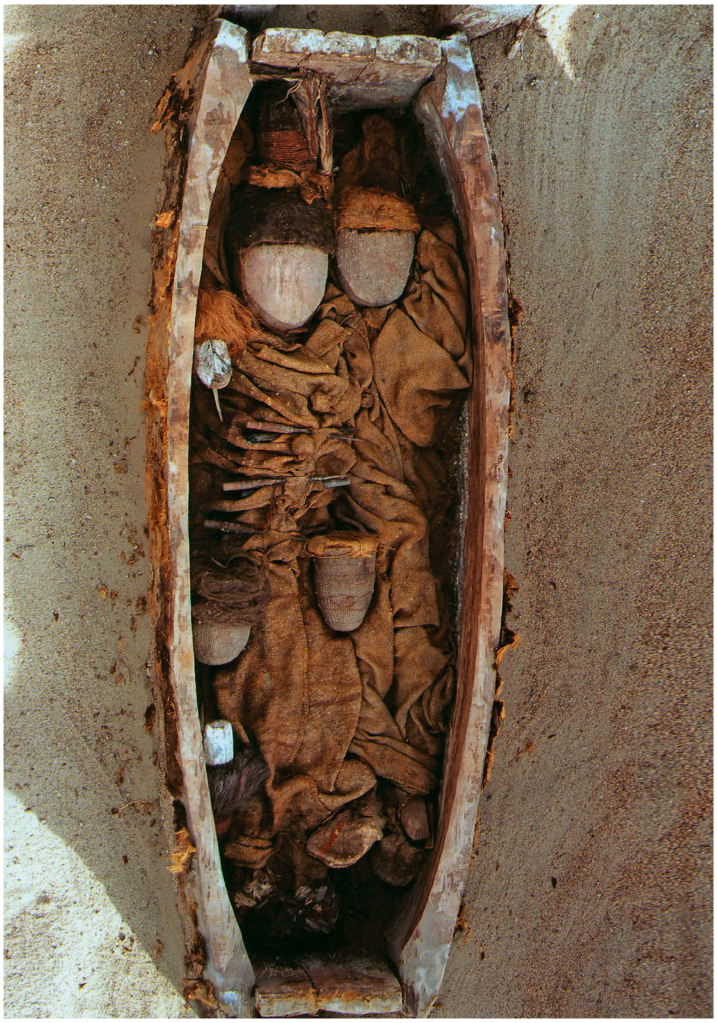
Clay capsule grave of a woman, covered with an ox hide from the top layer of graves at Xiaohe, *ca.* 1650–1450 BC. Lop Nor Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China.

2.1 The origins of metallurgy in China

The excavation of the royal graves of Anyang brought to light single-axle light chariots with horses in harness and their charioteer, as well as sophisticated bronze objects, which show that northern central China suddenly mastered innovations in metallurgy, horse husbandry, the use of draught animals, wagons and carts in a highly developed form, which undoubtedly accelerated the cultural-technological development of China at that time.[88] Since these technologies appeared in northern and north-western China without any preceding developmental steps, it may be assumed that they were provided by neighbouring steppe peoples, most likely from the sphere of the late Afanasievo and early Andronovo cultures. Interfaces for this cultural transfer may have been the Bronze Age cultures of Xinjiang and Gansu or the steppe peoples of Inner Mongolia. The simultaneous arrival in central China of wheat and barley, horses and sheep, which could not have been domesticated within China due to a lack of wild ancestors, supports the hypothesis of a mediating role for Afanasievo and Andronovo.

In fact, bronze objects in Xinjiang appeared at the same time as in the neighbouring culture of Qijia in Gansu and at least a century before Erlitou.[89] Evidence that the royal dynasty of Shang-Anyang had trade contact with Xinjiang at that time is provided by the grave of the military leader and royal wife Fu Hao (d. *ca.* 1200 BC), discovered unplundered in 1976, since all 755 jade objects found in her grave were verified to have come from the region of Khotan, south of Xinjiang and over 3,000 km away.[90] Further evidence for contact between Shang-Anyang and Xinjiang is offered by the fact that many ancient Chinese words relating to the wheel, the chariot and the horse have their etymological roots in Tocharian, whose early form, proto-Tocharian, was probably the language of the Europid mummies of Xinjiang.[91] All indications suggest that in the thirteenth century BC central China adopted from the proto-Tocharian-speaking Indo–Europeans – who had been in close contact with the Central Asian Andronovo cultures – not only the technological cluster of horse, wheel and chariot but also the corresponding terminology.

Iron was also adopted toward the end of the sixth century BC from Xinjiang or Gansu, where it had spread as early as the end of the tenth century BC.[92] About two centuries after the introduction of iron King Wuling of Zhao (r. 325–299 BC) adopted from the horse riding tribes on the northern border the concept of mounted archery, including riding apparel, which initiated two millennia of active trade with Mongolia and Tibet for the acquisition of horses.[93] Thanks not least to the introduction of cavalry, the Early Han Dynasty (202 BC–9 AD) was able to force the powerful tribal confederation of Xiongnu back to the north and to wrest from them control of the Silk Roads through Gansu and Xinjiang.[94]



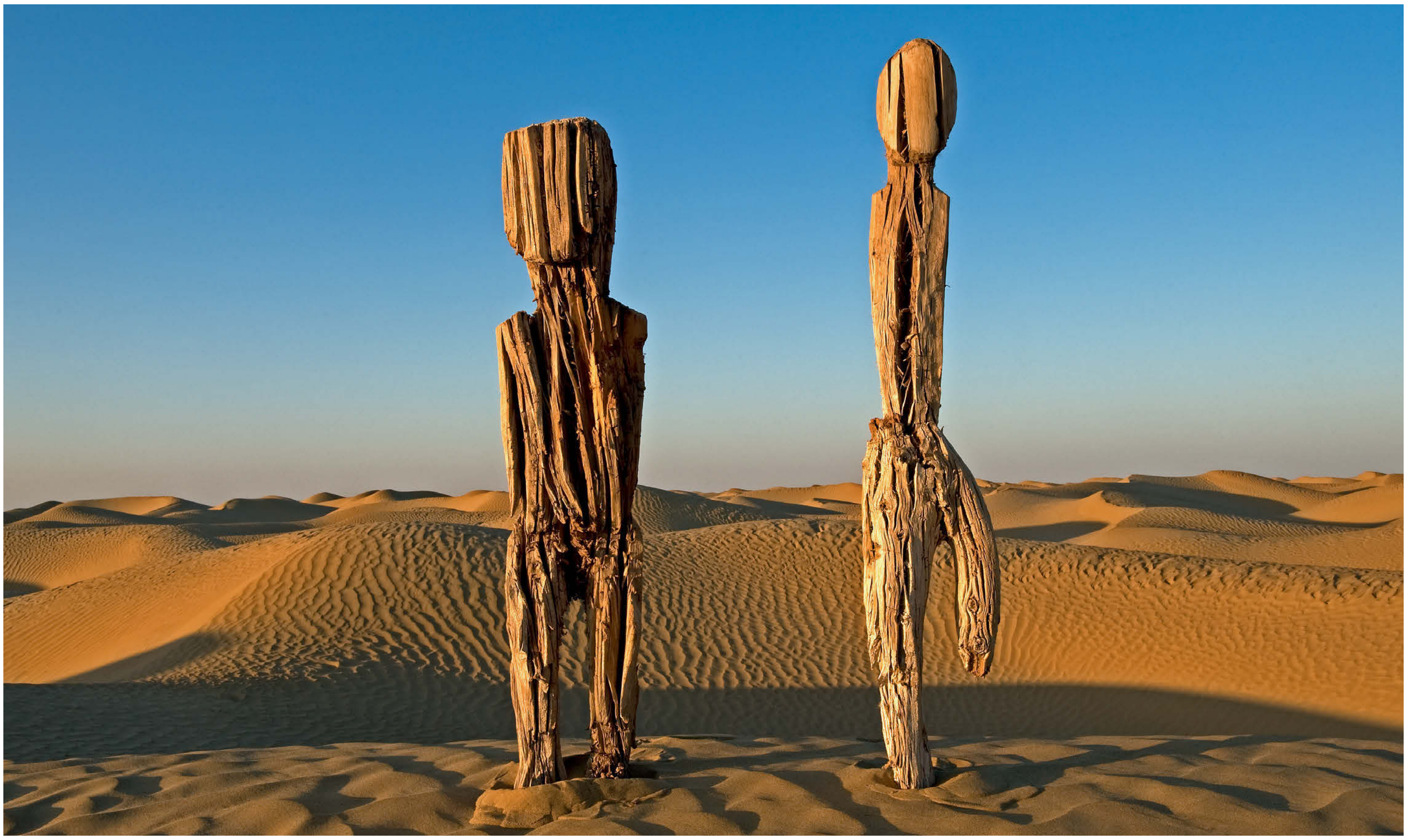
Two wooden dolls buried with all the traditional grave goods, Xiaohe, Lop Nor Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 1650–1450 BC. In the centre lies a small vessel plaited out of tiny willowy branches, fine roots and stems of grasses; it was filled with grains of millet and wheat.

In summary, the Bronze and Iron Age cultures in eastern Central Asia contributed to the cultures of central China bronze and iron metallurgy, wheat and millet, the use of sheep for wool, the light chariot, the composite bow, the horse and its use as a draught animal and the light cavalry.

2.2 The Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture

As early as 1914 the British archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) was struck during excavations in the northern Lop Nor Desert by the non-Chinese but rather Europid appearance of the perfectly preserved, naturally mummified man from grave L.F.1, especially his dolichocephalic face, the deep eye sockets, the prominent nose, the moustache and the thick beard. He therefore classified him as the Europid 'Homo Alpinus'. A year later he discovered farther west, at the graveyard L.S., less well-preserved mummies of the 'local herding and hunting populace'.[95] The adjacent deserts of Lop Nor and Taklamakan offer the ideal conditions for natural mummification of buried corpses. First the climate, with annual precipitation of 16.8 mm and a 170 times greater potential evaporation of 2,885 mm, is hyper-arid,[96] and, second, the saline ground absorbs all moisture, which deprives bacteria of nourishment. Third, the wooden caskets were not completely sealed, which would have preserved the moisture in the corpses, and they had no bottoms, so the dead, wrapped in woollen cloths, lay directly on the saline ground. Fourth, during winter burials the extreme cold temperatures, as low as -45 °C, contributed to the killing off of decomposing bacteria.

In the last 30 years archaeologists have discovered about 500 more or less well preserved mummies in the two deserts.[97] The craniological and genetic investigations of Han Kangxin have yielded surprising results. In an extensive study of 302 skulls from nine different cemeteries of southern Xinjiang, dating from 1850 BC to 300 AD, 89 percent displayed a clearly Europid morphology and only 11 percent Sino–Mongolid features, and the 18 skulls from the oldest cemetery, Gumugou, are exclusively Europid.[98] Later studies have confirmed Han Kangxin's results, in particular that the older the mummies and skulls are, the more likely that they are



Two of the eight wooden figures found at Ayala Mazar, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca*. 1890–1660 BC. China.

Europid and, conversely, the more recent the sample, the more likely they are of Sino–Mongolid heritage. From this it can be inferred that Europids settled in Xinjiang around 2000 BC at the latest, that Mongolids first appeared in small numbers in eastern Xinjiang around 1300 BC, and that a mass migration of Mongol and Chinese people occurred shortly before the start of the Common Era.[99] Since the necropolises of Tianshan Beilu, Wupu and Yanbulake in Hami in eastern Xinjiang revealed the Europid mummies found farthest east, and no Europids were found in the adjacent province of Gansu, eastern Xinjiang marked the boundary of the spread of Europid people to the east in pre-Christian times.[100] To summarise, there was 'a fault-line between Western Eurasian and East Asian population groups that runs from the territory around the Baikal lake through the Altai region in Western Mongolia, down to the [Xinjiang]-Gansu region' in China.[101] The present inhabitants of Xinjiang, the Uyghurs, first settled in the region in large numbers after 840 AD.[102] Whether the Tarim Basin had been settled by another group before the Europids is not known.[103]

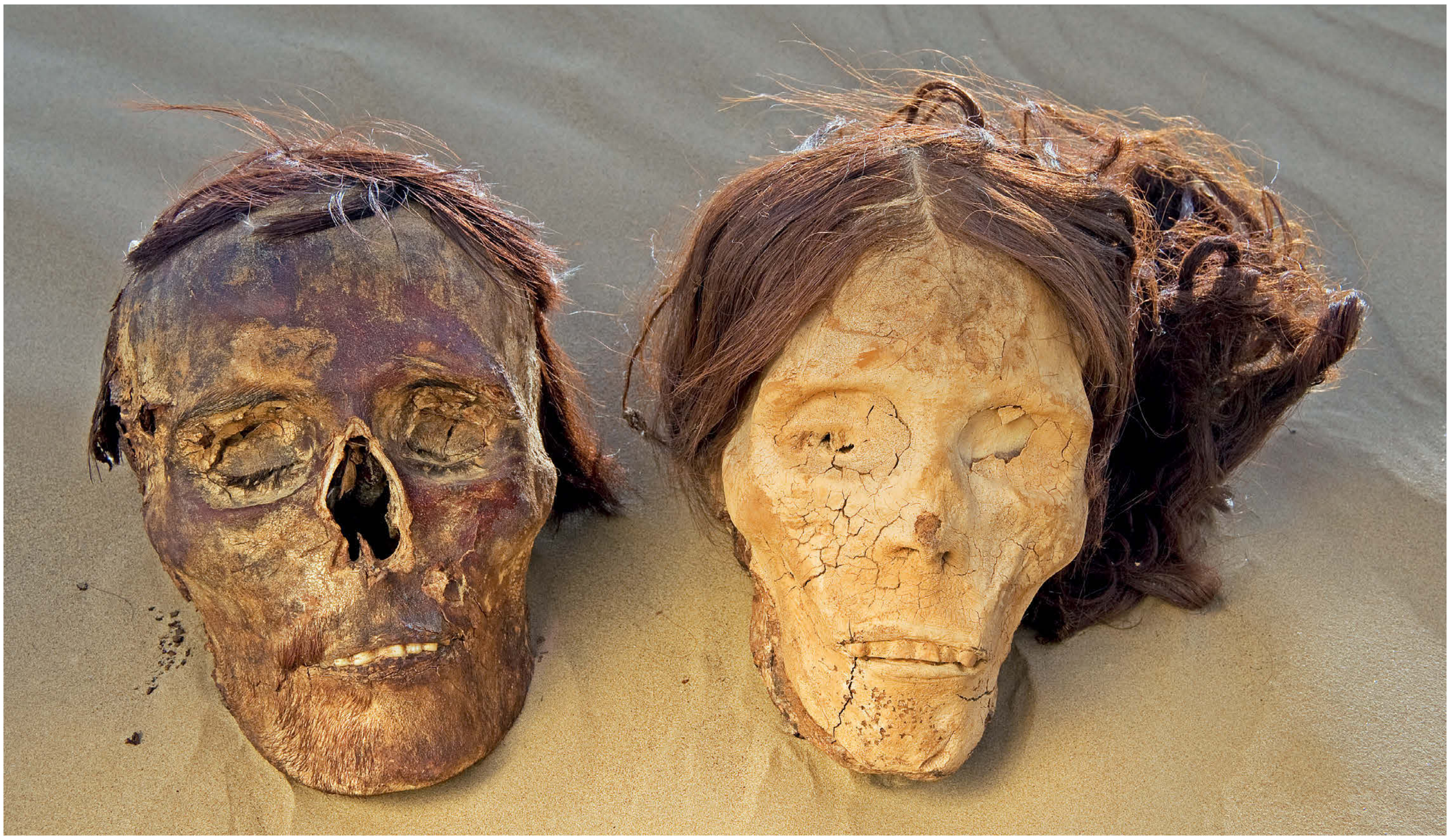
Assuming the ancestors of the mummies from the necropolises of Gumugou, Töwän, Xiaohe and Ayala Mazar came from a neighbouring cultural sphere of Afanasievo, it may be posited that they spoke proto-Tocharian, part of the PIE family. In the second half of the third millennium BC these forerunners presumably yielded to the pressure from the bearers of the Mongol culture of Okunev by advancing to the south-east into the Tarim Basin. The initial, earlier migration of the proto-Tocharians to southern Siberia had isolated them linguistically from the rest of the PIE-speakers, so they did not practise the linguistic innovations of their distant Indo–Iranian relatives. Tocharian is most closely related to Celtic and Italic.[104] The later Europid immigrants of the first millennium BC, however, spoke Iranian dialects. The proto-Tocharian language is extinct but can be reconstructed from the three Tocharian languages of the Tarim Basin, which are known from written documents of the sixth to ninth centuries AD. Tocharian A, also called Turfanian, was used at that time primarily for religious purposes; Tocharian B, Kuchean, was a local vernacular; and Tocharian C, Krorainan, was an older language in Lop Nor that died out around the fourth century AD.[105]

The most important necropolises of the Bronze Age in southern Xinjiang are Qäwrighul and Töwän, Xiaohe, Ayala Mazar and Wupu/Hami.[106]

Töwän (Chinese **Tieban**): One of the oldest Europid mummies of Xinjiang is the 'Beauty of Loulan', discovered in 1980 on the lower reaches of the one-time river Konqi He near Töwän on the northern edge of the Lop Nor desert. The mummy, which has been dated to between 2000 and 1800 BC, is of a 45-year-old woman. She had light brown hair, wore short boots made of leather, and a pointed felt cap made of sheep's wool with a feather stuck in it, and was wrapped in a woven wool blanket. Beside her lay a carefully braided basket made of grass and tamarisk twigs, filled with grains of wheat. On her breast lay ephedra twigs, whose alkaloid ephedrine has both anti-inflammatory and stimulant effects. This discovery shows not only that nearly 4,000 years ago Europid people lived along the river but also that they raised livestock, including sheep for wool, had mastered the weaving of wool and felt, practised agriculture, and knew of the pharmaceutical properties of ephedrine.[107]

Qäwrighul (Chinese **Gumugou**): The necropolis of Gumugou, discovered in 1979 on the northern bank of the 'peacock river', Konqi He, dates from the same time as Töwän. Its Chinese name means old (gu) grave (mu) [in the] small valley (gou). The excavations revealed 42 graves, which could be divided into two groups. The first group consists of 36 shaft graves sunk into the sand, with the graves marked by pillars rising out of the sand to the east by the head and to the west by the feet. The caskets, shaped like canoes, consisted of two slightly concave poplar planks, facing each other on their long sides. Slats placed crosswise closed the casket, which was open on the bottom, and sheep- or goatskins were laid over them. As these dried, they shrank and sealed the top of the casket. The dead lay in the position typical of the Yamnaya-Afanasievo Culture, on their backs with knees drawn up. They were bedded in a wool blanket closed by wooden or bone needles and dressed only in leather boots and a felt cap. Grave goods were braided baskets with ephedra twigs and wheat, jewellery made of bones and deer antlers, jade beads, unidentified bronze objects, wooden vessels and anthropomorphic figurines made of wood and stone, but no pottery.

The interior of the graves of the second group was identical to that of the others, but the six men's graves are distinguished by their sophisticated construction. Over the chamber stood as many as seven very narrowly laid out circles of pillars made of poplar wood, which were surrounded by seven to nine ray-like and more widely arranged rings of pillars. Stein had noticed a similar construction in 1915 east of Gumugou at grave L.S. 1: 'Of these



Naturally mummified skulls of a Europid man and a Europid woman in Ayala Mazar, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China. Presumably the two were not originally buried together. Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) carbon 14 dating of the woman's hair gave a calibrated date of 1890–1660 BC, with a 95.4% probability.

The author’s camel caravan on the way to Ayala Mazar, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, October 2009.

Wooden mask, 10 cm tall, with an apotropaic function, Ayala Mazar, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China.

Wooden phalli, 9–10 cm long, placed in the graves of women, Ayala Mazar, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China.

[half a dozen graves] the central grave [L.S. 1] attracted special attention by its sevenfold stockade of wooden posts neatly fixed in the ground to form an oval, 14 feet long from east to west and 10 feet across.'[108] The spectacular arrangement at Gumugou, with a diameter of up to 15 m, recalls the stone cromlechs encircling kurgans or flat graves in the steppe of Afanasievo and Andronovo. Most likely such stone and wooden cromlechs had solar symbolism, like the sun symbol painted with ochre on the mounted mummy of Zaghunluq, which is why the cemetery of Gumugou is also called Täyamu, 'sun grave'. For each of these graves, some 600 trees had to be felled, which strained the already fragile ecological conditions.

While Han Kangxin's analysis of 18 skulls from Gumugou resulted in their classification in the group of Nordic proto-Europids, on the basis of their 'definitely Western racial characteristics,'[109] carbon-14 measurements led to a dating of Group I to 1880 (+/-95) BC and of Group II to about 100 years later. Thus Wang Binghua associated the older graves with Afanasievo and the second with the 'sun graves' of Andronovo.'[110]

Xiaohe: Near the 'Little River' of Xiaohe, a feeder of the Konqi He in the north-western part of the Lop Nor Desert, Folke Bergman first briefly explored the necropolis, which lies 50 km south-west of Gumugou, in 1934. It quickly returned to obscurity, however, and was rediscovered only in 2000 and excavated between 2002 and 2005, although it was unfortunately beset by grave robbers in 2003. The necropolis, which stands on a 7-m rise, consists of 330 graves, placed over one another in as many as five layers, of which 167 have been excavated from the two upper layers, bringing to light more than 30 well-preserved mummies of Europids. Carbon-14 analyses of all five layers yielded dates between 2000 and 1450 BC, with the two upper layers, the most recent, dating to between 1650 and 1450 BC.[111]

The excavations revealed the fertility cult of a society of herders, who also practised some farming. In front of the women's graves stood polygonal, torpedo-shaped wooden posts, painted red on top, presumably phallic symbols, and in front of men's graves were paddle-shaped pillars, interpreted as vulva symbols. As at Gumugou, the dead wore red-painted leather boots and a felt cap; they were wrapped in wool blankets and laid in canoe-shaped caskets, which were covered with the skins of cattle and sheep, presumably sacrificed at the site. Since Xiaohe and Gumugou lay close to rivers, which were used for transportation, the 'ship burials' could also symbolise crossing a river into the afterlife. In the four largest clay capsule graves women lay with the richest grave goods of the necropolis, which could indicate preferential treatment for women.

The various types of wooden statues are striking. The five nearly life-size statues, once painted red, originally stood before a grave and may have represented a guardian deity or an ancestor.[112] They are distinctly different from the six simpler and crudely carved male figures, made of wood and wearing leather boots and felt caps, which were buried in Xiaohe with a full set of grave goods, presumably as stand-ins for absent corpses. As in Gumugou the dead were given small portions of wheat and *Ephedra sinica*, whether in braided baskets or in small pouches, which were tucked into corners and edges of the shroud. Very surprising for archaeologists were two additional discoveries, as in almost all the burial

Comparison of finds at the Bronze Age graveyards of Xiaohe (Lop Nor) and Ayala Mazar (Lower Keriya Delta)[113]

ITEM	CHARACTERISTIC	XIAOHE	AYALA MAZAR	COMMENTS REFERRING TO AYALA MAZAR
1	Coffins stacked on top of each other	x	x	
2*	Canoe-shaped coffins	x	x	
3*	Coffins covered by ox-hides	x	x	
4	Mud-covered outer coffins	x	Not found	Destroyed by looters?
5	Sacrificial altars	x	Not found	Destroyed by looters?
6	Paddle-shaped wooden posts standing in front of male burials	x	x	Paddles lying on the ground
7	Torpedo-shaped wooden poles standing in front of female burials	x	x	Poles lying on the ground
8*	Small wooden figurines	x	Not found	
9*	Standing wooden figures	x	x	Lying on the ground
10	Wooden figures as mock-corpses	x	x	Differentiation between both types difficult
11*	Indo–European looking mummies	x	x	
12*	Faces painted red	x	x	
13	Ox skull with red paint	x	Not found	Only isolated ox horns
14*	Felt caps with red strings and feathers	x	x	
15	Short leather boots with red painting and feathers	x	x	
16*	Wooden phalli in female burials	x	x	
17	Wooden masks with huge noses	x	x	
18*	Miniature bows and arrows decorated with triangular shaped incisions on the shafts	x	x	
19*	Ephedra twigs placed in coffin	x	x	
20*	Small bags tied in shrouds	x	x	
21*	Straw vessels	x	x	
22*	Amulet made from white-grey soapstone	x	x	
23	Wooden staff with an inlaid design of a human face	x	?	
24*	String of small jade beads	x	x	
25*	No pottery in burials	x	x	

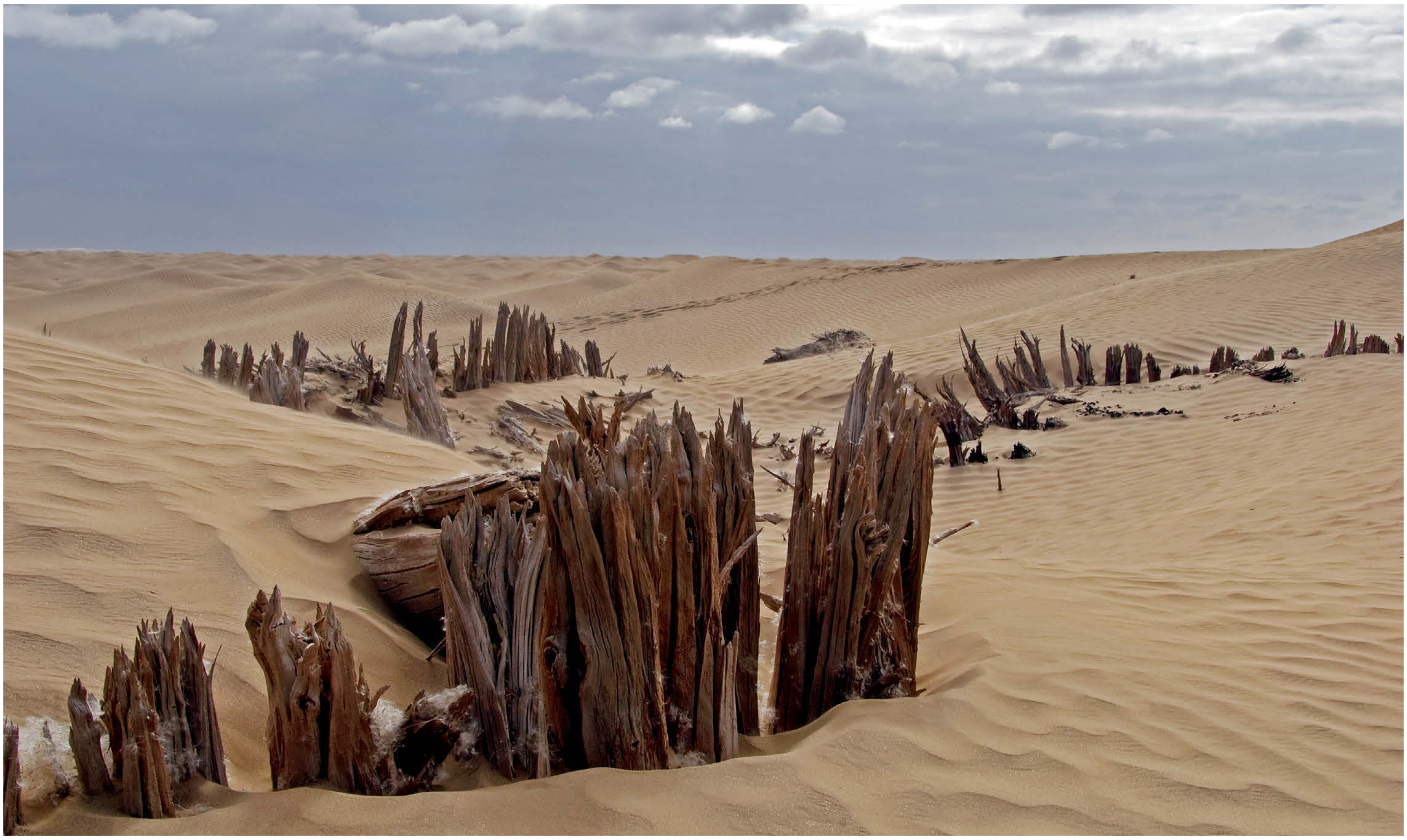
Characteristics marked with an asterisk (*) are occasionally also shared with other Bronze Age burials of northern Lop Nor such as Gumugou, Töwän or single sites on the Konqi He.

sites they found small wooden masks with over-sized noses,[114] which presumably served as protection from evil spirits, and many women's graves also held small wooden phalli, consisting of two halves bound together with red-brown wool. Some of the male corpses had been given miniature bows and arrows, and women wore bracelets with one to three jade beads. A few skulls had been painted with red stripes, as had a few cattle skulls.[115]

A study published in 2010 of mitochondrial and Y-chromosome DNA from 20 mummies from the lowest layer at Xiaohe, which date, according to carbon-14 analysis, to 1980 (+/-40) BC, yielded results largely supporting current hypotheses. All the male genetic lines came from a genetically European population; the females were mixtures of European and Asiatic, most likely southern Siberian, populations. The results were interpreted by the authors to mean that early Europids migrated to southern Siberia long before 2000 BC and interbred with local women there. Toward the end of the Afanasievo Culture they left their homeland and settled in the Tarim Basin.[116] Until 2009, however, Xiaohe was puzzling in two regards. First, the search for neighbouring settlements remained fruitless, and second, Xiaohe appeared to represent a culturally isolated case in that it was only here that a prominent cult of human reproduction was discovered.

Ayala Mazar: Until late 2009 it was believed that there were virtually no signs of the Bronze Age (*ca.* 2000–900 BC) in the interior of the Taklamakan Desert, as the oldest finds dated to the Iron Age (900–202 BC). These came from the fortified city of Jumbulakum (Yuan Sha), on the one-time lower reaches of the Keriya Darya River.[117] But in autumn of 2009, 80 km north of Jumbulakum, the author discovered the Bronze Age necropolis of Ayala Mazar, located on a 5-m rise west of the former riverbed of the Keriya Darya.[118] Although the necropolis had been plundered once or twice and badly damaged before the author's visit, discoveries on the surface revealed clear evidence that it was very similar to that of Xiaohe, 594 km farther east. The graveyard, 1,200 m^2 in size, was half as large as Xiaohe and originally held 80 to 100 coffins. Of the 45 skulls lying on the ground, two-thirds were presumably female, which is why the site was named Ayala Mazar, 'cemetery of women'. An AMS (accelerator mass spectrometry) ^{14}C measurement of human hair sampled at the cemetery confirmed a calibrated date between 1890 BC and 1660 BC at a 95.4% probability.[119]

A direct comparison of the objects found shows that of the 25 archaeological characteristics of Xiaohe, at least 20 are attested to in Ayala Mazar. As in Xiaohe, the dead wore only red-painted, short leather boots and a felt cap. They were wrapped in a wool blanket and buried in canoe-shaped coffins, which were placed



Interior side of the eastern wall of the Bronze Age settlement of Sebier, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 1500–1200 BC.

on top of one another in at least two layers and covered with cowhides and sheepskins. There were also torpedo- and paddle-shaped wooden posts, eight standing wooden statues, at least one wooden mock-corpse, tiny wooden masks with over-proportioned noses,[120] and red-painted, two-part wooden phalli. The objects included miniature bows and arrows with a notched triangular pattern, cattle horns, braided baskets holding wheat and ephedra twigs, amulets made of white-grey soapstone, as well as jade beads. Finally, all the completely preserved skulls of adults displayed dolichocephalic facial features, and one man and six women still had their hair.

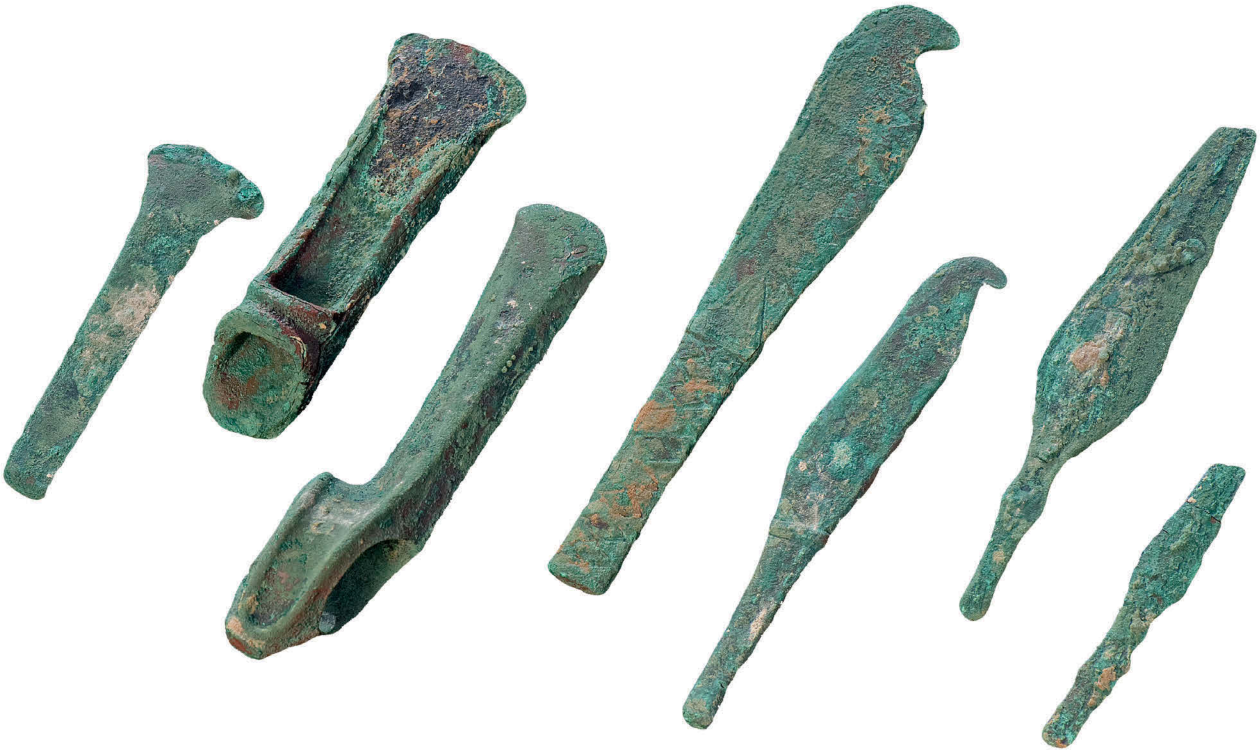
The apparent celebration of human reproduction was presumably a reaction to the difficult living conditions and high infant mortality rate – several mummified infant skulls were found, as well as 60- to 80-cm coffin planks – so that the community of that time was aware that they needed to maintain a stable population by means of frequent births.

◀ **Four re-erected wooden figures and coffin planks placed atop one another at the early Bronze Age necropolis of Ayala Mazar, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China.**

In contrast to Xiaohe, near Ayala Mazar at least two Bronze Age settlements, were found.[121] '**House 18**' stood 14 km north-east of Ayala Mazar and consisted of a complex of living spaces and stables that was wilfully destroyed in very recent times. The other settlement lay 14 km south-east of the necropolis and was a fortified community at least 3,350 m^2 in extent called **Sebier**. Its defensive wall, originally 4 m high, consisted of seven layers of crude mud bricks, reinforced with horizontally laid tamarisk branches, over which stood dense rows of clay-plastered poplar posts. South-west of the settlement ran a 90-cm-wide irrigation channel. Red cylindrical or spherical ceramic vessels with flat bottoms and carved fishbone patterns show characteristics of the pottery of the Xintala Culture (1700–1300 BC), a complex near Kuqa on the northern edge of the desert, which was influenced by the Andronovo Culture and produced bronze objects.[122] A few kilometres south of Sebier a small hoard of bronze objects was found on the surface. The hoard consists of two tanged flat small lance- or spearheads, two possibly ritual knives or knot openers, a shaft-hole axe-head, a flanged adze and a chisel. It indicates connections to both Andronovo and Aga'ersen in north-western Xinjiang, as well as Tianshan Beilu near Hami.[123]

With the finds at Ayala Mazar it is evident that in the first half of the second millennium BC a unified cultural sphere extended over a distance of more than 600 km; we call this the **Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture** (*ca.* 2000–1400 BC), and it stretched from Ayala Mazar in the west to Xiaohe and farther east to as far as Gumugou, L.S., and Töwän.[124] The respective ^{14}C measurements at Ayala Mazar and Xiaohe suggest that this culture started in the Keriya Delta around Ayala Mazar and subsequently spread eastward to Xiaohe in Lop Nor. Their representatives were Europids who practised a fertility cult and had a mixed economy of artificially irrigated farming and the raising of cattle, sheep, and goats. They were in contact with both the jade-producing centres in the south and with Andronovo-affiliated cultures in the north. When the Keriya Darya began to carry less water towards the end of the second millennium, however, the Bronze Age settlements were abandoned in favour of oases farther south. The change from red to grey pottery, from bilobite bronze arrowheads to socketed trilobite arrowheads with barbs, as well as the appearance of iron objects and slag, supports a geographic transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age at between 39° and 39° 15' northern latitude. A millennium later the Iron Age settlements like Gäze and Jumbulakum – the latter of which had a clever system of irrigation channels – also had to be abandoned on account of water shortages, and life moved about 40 km further south to the fortified caravanserai of Karadong (*ca.* first century BC–fourth century AD).

Assuming that 3,000 to 4,000 years ago in the terminal inland delta of the Keriya, along creeks and in small oases like Sebier, a subsistence economy flourished, practising artificially irrigated farming and raising livestock, we can speak of a Bronze Age oasis culture. Withered tree trunks recall the lowland forests that once grew here, providing the settlements with necessary wood. Since the most important elements of this economy, such as wheat, barley, wool sheep, goats and metallurgy, came from the west, the question of their origin arises. The notable similarities in the ecological conditions and the corresponding economic forms between the oases of Bactria and Margiana and those of the Tarim Basin allow us to presume that the origin of this economy was the BMAC Culture.[125] In light of the results of the craniological and genetic research mentioned above, we can proceed from the hypothesis of a first social stratum of Europid, livestock-raising immigrants, who soon came into contact with representatives of the BMAC Culture and adopted from them irrigated farming. Thanks to sustained relations with steppe peoples of Andronovo, their advanced bronze metallurgy, the horse and the wagon soon spread throughout the Tarim Basin, as did gorgeous weavings in the tenth century BC and iron, presumably via Fergana's Chust Culture (1400–900 BC).



Chance discovery south of Sebier, from left to right, a bronze chisel, an adze, a shaft hole axe, two (ceremonial?) knives or joint openers decorated with rhombic patterns and two small lance heads with shafts. Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 1500–1200 BC.

The petroglyphs of Kangjia Shimenzi near Quergou, dating largely from the late Bronze Age, are found at the foot of a 100-m-high rock wall, Xinjiang, north-western China.

2.3 The wheel, the horse and fertility rites

Toward the end of the Bronze Age the influence of the steppe on the Tarim Basin increased, as can be seen in the introduction of the wagon and horse riding. At the same time, a unique fertility cult flourished at the northern foot of the Tian Shan Mountains.

Wupu: In the cemetery of Wupu, 60 km south-west of Hami in eastern Xinjiang, archaeologists discovered more than 100 shaft-pit graves from the late Bronze Age (1300–900 BC), in which the majority of the dead were Europids with tattoos on their arms and hands. Notable among the discoveries were textiles with diagonal weave and embroidery made of wool, trousers like those worn by riders, and a three-part disc wheel from a wagon burial dating to about 1200 BC. Trousers, the wheel and the wagon burial, as well as the tattoos, which are known from later graves of the Altai, indicate a close connection to the northern steppe cultures.[126] The discovery in Zaghunluq near Qiemo of a man wearing riding trousers with a gusset, along with his saddle, shows that in the ninth century BC horse riding had spread as far as the southern rim of the Tarim Basin.[127]

Quergou: The petroglyphs of Kangjia Shimenzi near Quergou, Hutubi District, are found 150 km south-west of Urumqi on the northern side of the Tian Shan, the celestial mountains. The little-studied petroglyphs are unique in Central Asia in both design and content, since they celebrate an obvious fertility cult that recalls the older cult of the Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture. Some 300 almost exclusively anthropomorphic figures are spread over a 14-m-long shelf 5 m above the ground that nestles against a natural protrusion in a 100-m-high rock wall. The figures range in size from a few centimetres to more than 2 m, and they come from different periods. The foot of the rock face, beneath the shelf, is decorated with archaic hunting scenes, ibexes and wave patterns from the late Neolithic.

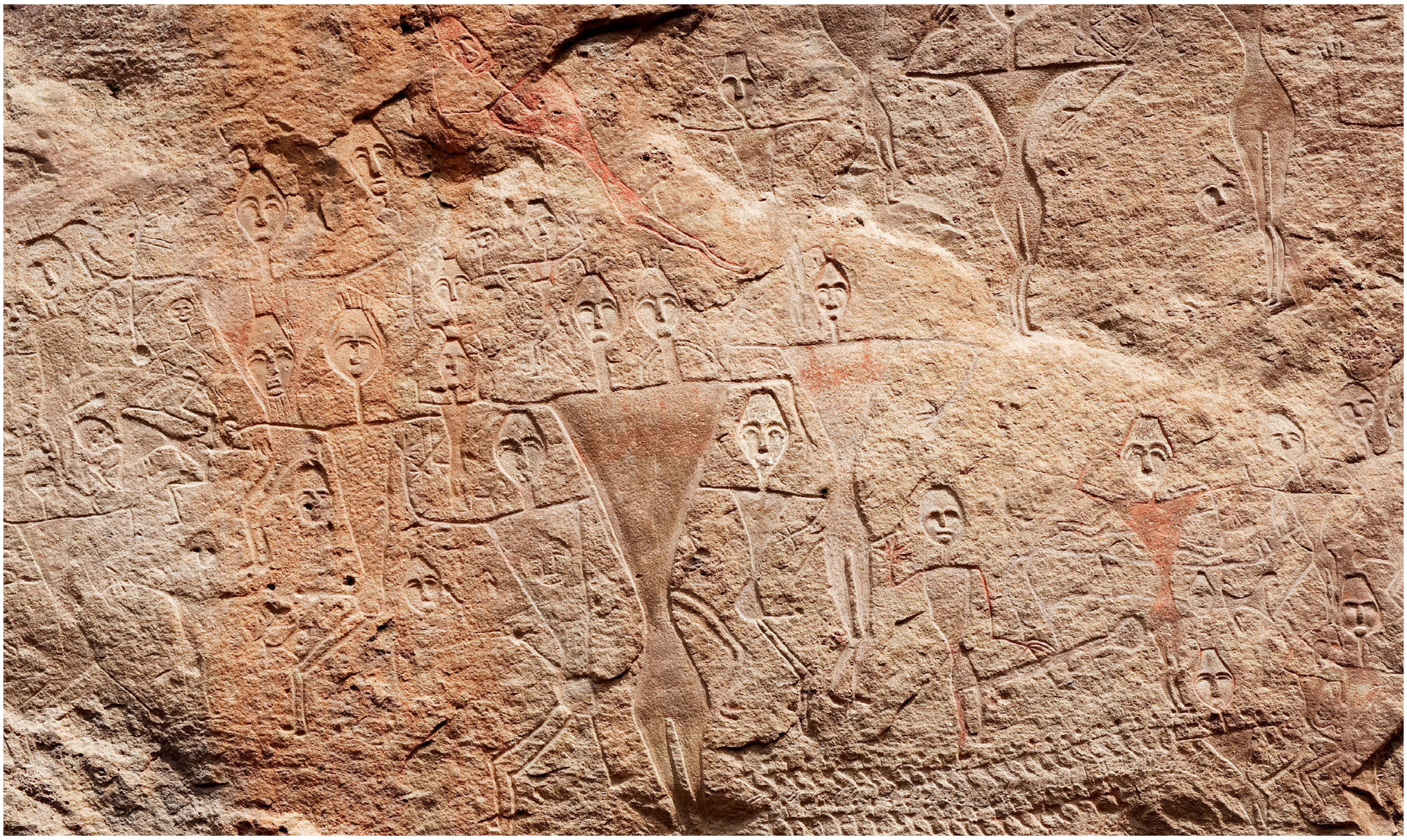
The large composition, stylistically unified and consisting of seven or eight scenes, exudes a palpable vitality and eroticism. Dance scenes predominate, sprinkled with depictions of sex acts, men with giant erect penises, masks, and two-headed women or hermaphrodites. Most of the figures have a triangular upper body with broad shoulders and a narrow waist, and oval heads; a few of them wear a kind of mask with two antenna-like attachments.

The narrow, small faces with prominent noses and brow ridges suggest Europid people. Between the figures are engraved dozens of masks, a few even on the upper bodies of the dancers. In the uppermost scene only women dance beside a prone ithyphallic man; in two lower registers small figures, each a few centimetres tall, dance in front of a standing ithyphallic man. The large figures are deeply chiselled and polished to a shine; a few retain traces of their paint. The sight of this composition, originally painted red and white, must have made an overwhelming impression; perhaps corresponding fertility rites once took place here.

Without comparable examples, these petroglyphs are hard to date, but a few later chiselled pairs of figures provide clues. There are two pairs of horses, presumably heraldic, standing on their hind legs across from each other, from the middle of the first millennium BC, as well as two tigers, depicted in the Scythian animal-style, from the sixth–seventh century BC. Thus we can date the large composition, which was produced in at least two or three layers, one over the other, presumably over the course of centuries, toward the end of the Bronze Age in the last quarter of the second millennium BC. The latest petroglyphs of a few riders and camels come from the thirteenth century AD.[128]

3. The steppes of Central Asia: 'origin' of the Indo–European languages?

The history and development of at least three large language families are closely tied to the steppes of Eurasia. The first is the Altaic family with the Turkic, Mongol, and Tungusic subfamilies, with 160 million native speakers. The second group is the Uralic with the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic subfamilies, which count 25 million native speakers. The third is the Indo–European, and, with more than 3 billion native speakers worldwide, it is the most widespread. The British official Sir William Jones was the first to hypothesise a common birthplace for different languages such as Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Germanic and Celtic – which was later shown to be correct – though he also added Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese and Peruvian, which was clearly wrong.[129] The term 'Indo–European', which is supposed to encompass the geographic expanse of this language family, was coined by Thomas Young in 1813, and outside of Germany it replaced the description 'Indo–Germanic', introduced by Conrad Malte-Brun in 1810.[130] Since Tocharian was deciphered in 1908, the term 'Tocharo–Celtic language family'



Erotic dance scene in the petroglyphs of Kangjia Shimenzi, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca*. 1250–1000 BC. The central figure has two heads.

might really be more appropriate, because the languages farthest apart geographically are no longer Germanic and Indic but rather Celtic and Tocharian.

Otto Schrader (1855–1919) was the first to state the hypothesis in 1890 that the original homeland of Indo–European should be sought among the steppe nomads between the Black Sea and the Aral Sea.[131] Since the oldest well-documented languages, such as Hittite, Mycenaean Greek or Old Indic, represent independent languages, the hypothetical Indo–European ur-language, called Proto-Indo–European, PIE, had to be reconstructed. In a second step linguists attempted to reconstruct a corresponding proto-lexicon. This revealed that PIE-speakers used the wheel and wagons, raised horses, cattle and sheep, planted corn, wove wool fabrics, collected honey, and sacrificed horses, sheep and cattle to the gods. They lived as farmers who practised stockbreeding and planting. On the basis of the common vocabulary of the descendant languages, supporters of the 'steppe theory' were able to locate PIE chronologically by means of dating the skills listed above. Since the wheel and the weaving of wool were introduced around 3500 BC and are thus the most recent innovations, no descendant languages could have branched off before this time. Soon after 3500 BC proto-Anatolian split off from PIE, followed by proto-Tocharian, then proto-Italic and proto-Celtic some time before 2500 BC, proto-Greek after 2500 BC, and proto-Indo–Iranian around 2200 BC. Proto-Indo–European, which emerged around 4500 BC, had disappeared by shortly after 3000 BC. It is assumed that the Indo–Iranian language family, which appeared around 2200 BC, was related to the cultural complex of Andronovo in eastern Central Asia. Around 1800 BC or earlier it began to split into three subgroups: Iranian, Indo–Aryan and Nuristani.[132]

In any case, the linguistic similarities between the Vedic Sanskrit, the language of the oldest part of the Rig Veda, which appeared around 1500 BC, and the older Avestan of the Gathas, the language of the earliest sections of the Zoroastrian Avesta, composed around 1200 BC, are so striking that a few scholars claim that 'Avestan looks less like an Iranian language than like a phonologically Iranised Indic language'.[133] The two language groups, the Iranian and the Indo–Aryan, separated around 1800 BC, presumably as individual groups from the Andronovo cultural complex began to leave their homeland between the Volga and the Yenisei. The factors that provoked the emigration of small groups of young men remain unknown. Probably not only overpopulation and overgrazing, as well as regional drought, but also the superior weapons of the emigrants played a role. One group set out to the south, toward Bactria and the Pamir Mountains, where the mythical homeland of the Aryans, called Aryana Vaeja, is presumed to have been;[134] the other headed south-west to the Iranian high plateau. In the second half of the second millennium BC in north-western Iran the sudden appearance of innovations like polished grey ceramics and horse burials, as in Hasanlu and Marlik, has been associated with the arrival of Indo–Europeans from regions east of the Caspian Sea such as Gorgan. These distant ancestors of the Medes and the Persians, who are mentioned for the first time in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC), may have settled

Monumental stele of the Okunev Culture with an anthropomorphic face, Khakassia, southern Russia, 2400–1750 BC. Photograph from the early twentieth century.

in Hasanlu, south-west of Lake Urmia, where most of the grey pottery was found. Around 800 BC Assyrians or Urartians burned the city to the ground, and towards the end of the eighth century BC the Persians moved south-east.[135]

The sacred books of the Hindus and the Zoroastrians present a rural world of primarily stockbreeders and secondarily farmers, not an urban world.[136] How close the two language groups were to each other at the time their scriptures were composed is shown by two shared terms with opposite meanings. The Indo–Iranian word *daiva* maintained in the Vedas as *deva* its original sense of 'deity'; in the Avesta, however, *daeva* are demons, false gods. In the Vedas the term *asura* describes sinister and even demonic beings; they are the adversaries of devas.[137] In Zoroastrianism, by contrast, *Ahura Mazda* is the one true god.[138]

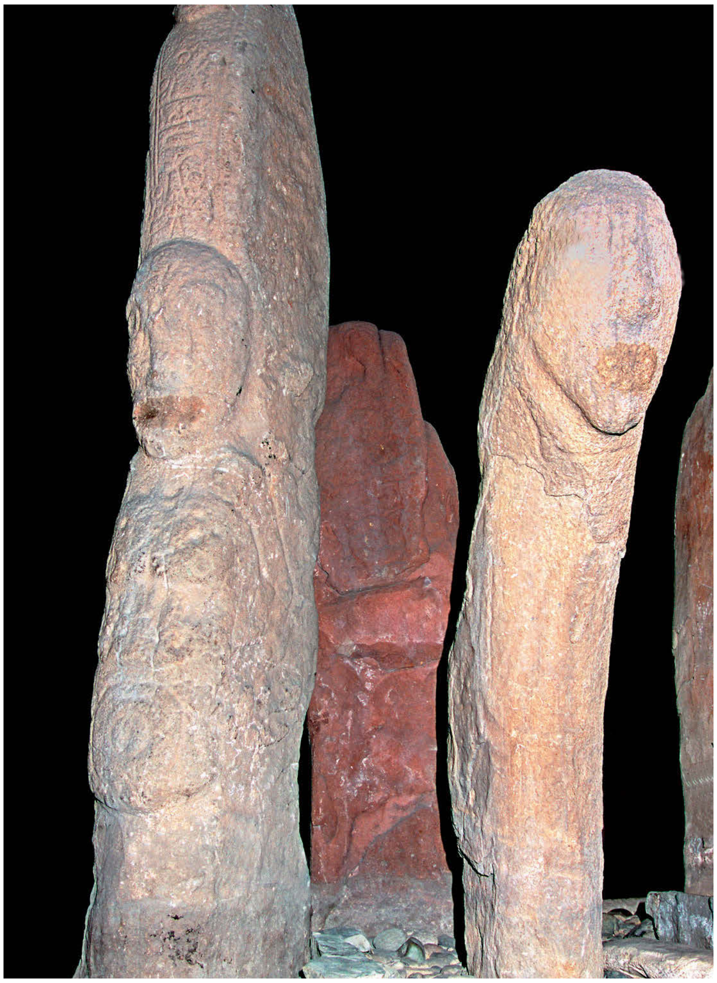
Regarding the question of the geographical homeland of the PIE speakers, two contrary views exist: the 'Anatolia hypothesis' of Colin Renfrew[139] and the 'steppe hypothesis', outlined above, of James P. Mallory[140] and E. Kuzmina.[141] For Renfrew Indo–European, or Indo–Hittite, emerged around 7000 BC among the Neolithic farmers and stockbreeders of Anatolia. In around 6700–6500 BC, when they began to spread the technologies of planting and husbandry to Greece and farther west and north, Proto-Indo–European branched off from Indo–Hittite.

The Indo–Hittite hypothesis elegantly combines the spread of Indo–European with that of the Neolithic revolution, but also reveals an indissoluble problem: how can the vocabulary of the wagon and woven wool have emerged within Proto-Indo–Hittite as early as 6500 BC, 3,000 years before their invention? Is derivation of the Chalcolithic steppe cultures from agrarian cultures conceivable? Is it imaginable that settled farmers spread their language over the entire Eurasian continent? The appearance of proto-Greek within Greece as early as the seventh millennium BC is improbable. Why did Anatolian adopt in its original homeland so many non-Indo–European loan words? Most linguists believe speakers of proto-Hittite were immigrants into an agriculturally advanced but non-Indo–European environment of Hattic, Hurrian and Semitic languages.[142]

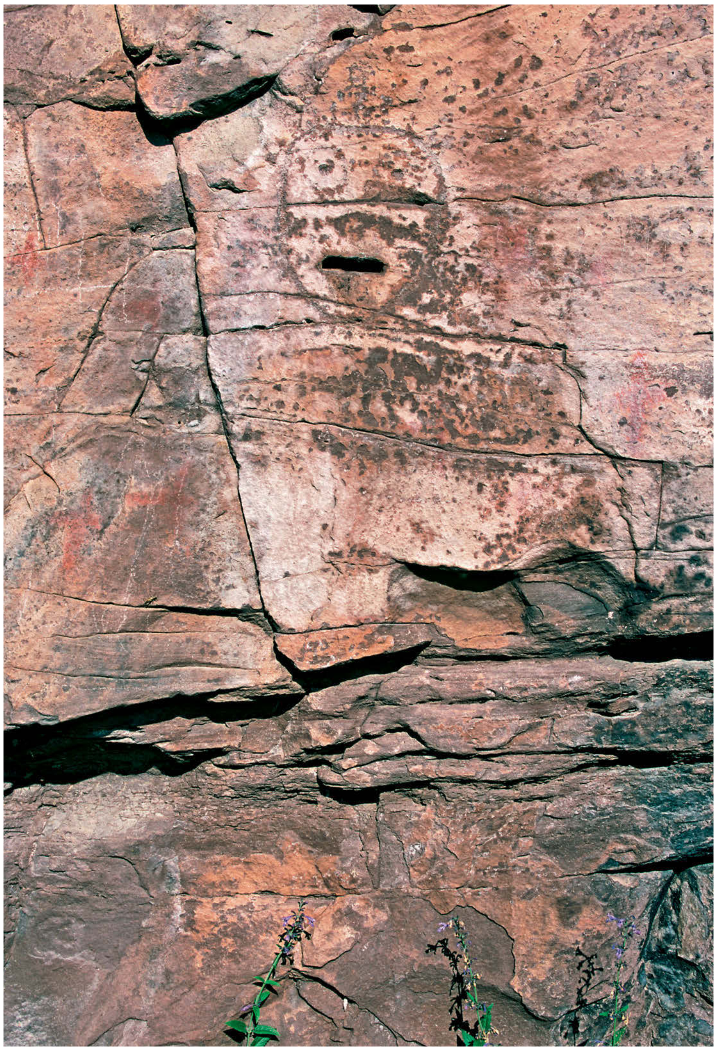
The steppe theory, which proceeds from a combination of linguistic palaeontology and archaeology, locates the nucleus of a common linguistic and cultural sphere, i.e., the homeland of PIE, in the eastern Ukrainian and Russian steppes between the Dnieper, northern Caucasus and the Urals. In tandem with the largely peaceful migration of groups of stockbreeders and farmers who also practised some agriculture, individual language families began, in about 3500 BC, to spread to the east and to the west. Although the steppe hypothesis is coherent and does not conflict with archaeological dating, it remains unclear *why* the older populations, who spoke non-Indo–European languages, adopted the languages of these immigrants. Was it because of the greater prestige of the bearers of new technologies, as well as their more significant economic power and more effective social organisation?[143]

4. Mysterious stone steles of the Okunev Culture in Khakassia

Around 2400 BC an ethnic and cultural rupture took place between the Irtysh and Ob rivers in the west and Khakassia and the Altai in the east. For the first time Mongolids of the Siberian type began to spread west and curb the expansion of the Europids, resulting in the emergence of an ethnically heterogeneous population. At the



Monumental steles of the Okunev Culture with an anthropomorphic face, Khakassia, southern Russia, 2400–1750 BC. Museum of local History, Abakan.

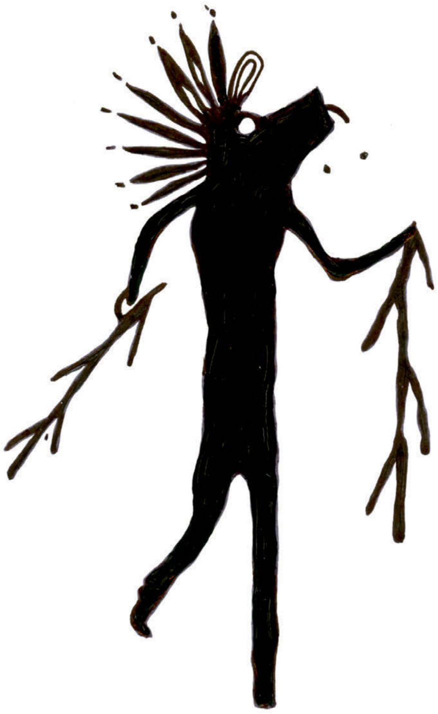


Rock figure of Chortcha Kho near Kazanovka, Okunev Culture, Khakassia, southern Russia, 2400–1750 BC. The figure is brought offerings of food and drink to this day.

same time new burial practices appeared in the **Okunev Culture** (2400–1750 BC) of Khakassia, the Minusinsk Basin and northern Tuva. Rectangular and square stone enclosures made of upright slabs, 100 to 200 m^2 in size and sunk into the ground, replaced the stone circles of the earlier Afanasievo Culture. Inside the Okunev stone fences there were as many as two dozen small stone casket graves, used several times over an extended period, with the bones of those buried earlier pushed into a corner to make room for a new burial. Although the economy of the Okunev Culture was simple and based on hunting and fishing, supplemented by the raising of sheep, cattle and horses, they made notable advances in the development of metallurgy. Metal objects not only appeared much more often than during the Afanasievo Culture; simple copper objects were also superseded by tin alloys. Thus the Okunev Culture and the neighbouring, contemporaneous **Samus Culture** on the Ob and the Irtysh produced the first tin bronze in north-eastern Central Asia. The type of settlement found in the Okunev Culture is unknown, however, except for traces of a few high fortresses.[144] Their economy was complex, as the people practised not only stock-breeding and hunting but also some farming, which suggests a settled lifestyle for at least part of the society.[145]

In contrast to the simple decoration of the pottery, the Okunev and Samus cultures left behind three groups of extraordinary, canonical examples of representative art: small amulets, stone steles up to 4 m tall, and petroglyphs. Among the amulets are 3- to 7-cm-long, schematic human figurines made of white-yellow soapstone, bone or horn, that were laid in graves with the dead; presumably they had an apotropaic function.[146] The bear figurines of the Samus culture, which were of about the same size, had a similar purpose; they were either worn as bronze pendants or placed in graves in the form of clay statuettes.[147]

The impressive stone steles of the Okunev Culture were originally erected at gravesites and were subsequently reused more than a millennium later in the Scythian-era kurgans of the Tagar Culture.[148] Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic faces or masks with geometric patterns are carved into these monumental steles, often many on the same stele. Such abstract masks also adorn ceramic vessels of the Samus Culture. Some Okunev steles end in a human



Indian ink drawing of a hybrid creature with an anthropomorphic body and the head of a bear, surrounded by a wreath of feathers or sunrays, petroglyph of Karakol, Altai, southern Siberia, *ca.* 2400 BC.

head, bent slightly forward; others have a ram's head. In other stone statues breasts and a swollen belly indicate the portrayal of a pregnant woman. On other steles the lowest face wears a conical head covering that extends the length of the stele, in which other masks are engraved. On still other steles, sun-headed faces are carved, which are very similar to the painted grave slabs of the contemporaneous **Karakol Culture** (2400–1750 BC) in the neighbouring Altai. Solar symbols are also discernible on the front and both sides, as are bears with their teeth bared. All the steles were oriented to the east-southeast and often stood immediately beside a cultic site where animal sacrifices were performed, allowing one to presume that they were related to cyclically celebrated rituals of a fertility and sun cult. Finally, the same motifs as on the steles are found in petroglyphs and on stone slabs: sun people and solar symbols; figures with very tall, conical headdresses; ithyphallic men; open-mouthed bears pursuing elk; masks; two-axle wagons pulled by oxen; horses; ibexes; snakes; cattle; elk and red deer.[149]

On the stone slabs of Karakol, which were originally freestanding steles with animal carvings and were repurposed as grave slabs, the standing anthropomorphic and theriomorphic figures are striking; their heads are encircled by sunrays or a wreath of feathers or they wear horned masks or take the form of a snare. These are joined by hybrid creatures with human bodies and bears' heads adorned with feathers, holding a branch in each hand, or a human figure with elk antlers or a bird's head.[150] Perhaps the numerous depictions from Okunev and Karakol of a bear pursuing an elk are related to the ancient myth in which an elk carries the sun through the heavens on his antlers. The bear chases the elk and abducts the sun into the underworld, so that day is followed by dark night.[151]

The approximately 300 Okunev steles are connected to particular rituals and were created with standard requirements for content and form, yet their religious significance eludes us. In any case, they anticipate both the later Scytho–Siberian animal style and the deer stones found in Mongolia, Tuva and the Altai.[152]

5. From the Volga to the Yenisei: homeland of the Indo–Iranians?

The broad region between the Volga and the Yenisei serves as the nucleus of the early Indo–Iranians before the language family split into Iranian and Indo–Aryan. Although most representatives of this culture lived east of the Urals and are included in the general term of the cultural complex of Andronovo, the Urals were not an insurmountable barrier, since isolated cultures west of the

Cultures of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age in the Minusinsk Basin

Thanks to the systematic excavation of the multi-period graveyards of Suchanicha near Minusinsk between 1995 and 2003 and the subsequent carbon-14 dating of the discoveries, calibrated to their corresponding layers, archaeology has a new dating scheme, supported by modern methods, for a nearly 4,000-year-old epoch.[153] Although the dating presented here refers to the Minusinsk Basin only, it provides important clues about chronological divisions outside of the basin as well.

CULTURE	TIME SPAN	NOTES
Afanasievo	3300–2350 BC	Related to Yamnaya and Botai
Okunev	2400–1750 BC	
Andronovo	1750–1400 BC	In a narrower sense, since Okunev is not counted as part of it
Karasuk	1450–1000 BC	Coincides with the culture of Kamennyi Log
Tagar	1000–200 BC	
Bainov	1000–800 BC	Start of the Iron Age
Podgornovo	800–450 BC	Transitional stage
Saragash	450–200 BC	
Tes'	200 BC–50 AD	Migration of the Huns
Tashtyk	50–500 AD	

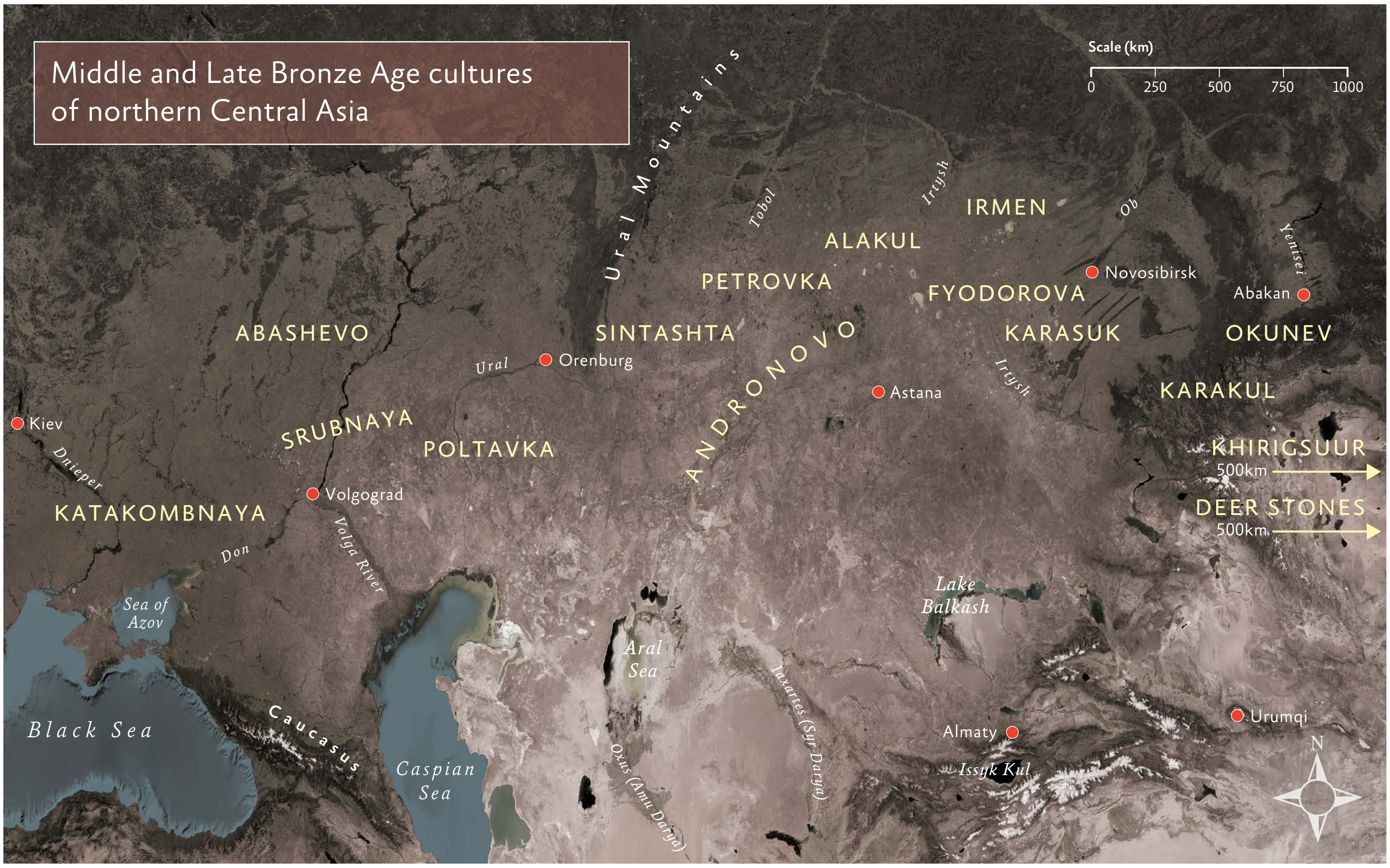
mountain range appear also to have belonged to the homeland of the Indo–Iranians. They stood in the tradition of the Yamnaya Culture and shared a few essential hallmarks of the cultures east of the Urals.

5.1 Cultures west of the Urals

The **Abashevo Culture** (2200–1900 BC) extended west of the Urals as far as the Don in a forest steppe zone.[154] It continued the burial customs of the Yamnaya Culture; most of the cemeteries consisted of about a dozen small kurgans with individual interments, a few animal sacrifices and comparatively poor grave gifts, including shaft-hole axes made of arsenic bronze. An exception is found in the kurgan of Peplino, which contained 28 young men, who probably fell in combat: 18 had been beheaded and the remainder bore severe injuries caused by the blows of an axe.[155] Representatives of this culture raised cattle, sheep and pigs, but few horses, which suggests a semi-sedentary lifestyle.

Like the Abashevo Culture, the Katakombnaya Culture in the south-west and the Poltavka Culture to the south-east stood in the tradition of Yamnaya. The distinctive feature of the **Katakombnaya Culture** (2450–1950 BC), which extended from the Dnieper to the Volga, was that they placed the dead in niches or catacombs.[156] Grave goods included bronze weapons and tools, ceramic vessels with funnel-shaped or cylindrical necks and sometimes decorated with spiral patterns, smoking bowls and, for members of the elite, animal sacrifices and one- or two-axle wagons.[157] Another hallmark of the elite was the shaping of a clay mask over the skull of the deceased.[158] Such masks appear again in the much later culture of Tashtyk (first–fifth centuries AD) in the Minusinsk Basin. In the second half of the third millennium BC the drying of the climate between the Dnieper and the Don gathered pace and the forests in the river valleys receded further. For this reason the economy of the Katakombnaya Culture was based primarily on semi-nomadic herding and secondarily on the raising of pigs, as well as cultivation of the land surrounding the permanent settlements, which also served as winter camps and were partially fortified.

The culture of **Poltavka** (*ca.* 2700–2100 BC) was likewise a successor culture to Yamnaya and extended from the Volga to



Middle and Late Bronze Age cultures of northern Central Asia

Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000
Ural Mountains
Tobol
Irtysh
IRMEN
Ob
Yenisei
ALAKUL
PETROVKA
Novosibirsk
FYODOROVA
Abakan
ABASHEVO
SINTASHTA
KARASUK
OKUNEV
ANDRONOVO
Ural
Orenburg
Irtysh
Astana
KARAKUL
Kiev
SRUBNAYA
POLTAVKA
KHIRIGSUUR
500km
Dnieper
Volgograd
DEER STONES
500km
KATAKOMBNAYA
Don
Volga River
Sea of Azov
Lake Balkash
Aral Sea
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
Black Sea
Caucasus
Almaty
Urumqi
Caspian Sea
Oxus (Amu Darya)
Issyk Kul
N

north-western Kazakhstan.[159] Its pottery was differentiated from that of Yamnaya in that its vessels were no longer pointed at the bottom but rather flat. Wooden arbours covered some of the gravesites, so in this regard it anticipated the timber-grave culture of Srubnaya. Like the culture of Sintashta, that of Poltavka belonged to the circle of early Indo–Iranian cultures.

The **Srubnaya Culture** (*ca.* 1950–1200 BC)[160] was a successor culture of Poltavka, Abashevo and Katakombnaya, and is closely related to the neighbouring complex of Andronovo, with the Ural River, which flows into the Caspian Sea, forming the border between the two cultures. Offshoots of each culture were found on each riverbank, however. It extended from the Urals across the Volga as far as central Ukraine, and its name, Timber-Grave Culture, refers to its log-cabin-like grave structures, found under kurgans; in Russian *srub* means essentially 'timber framework'. These wooden burial chambers resembled underground replicas of the above-ground winter quarters. Such timber graves, which were presumably thought of as subterranean houses of the dead, were the exception, however, since they appear in fewer than 5 percent of all Srubnaya graves.[161] Most of the dead lay in ordinary earthen graves, sometimes covered by horizontal wooden poles. In one regard the Urals formed a clear boundary, since in the Andronovo tombs grave goods made of tin bronze predominate, while in those of Srubnaya arsenic bronze ones do. The subsistence economy of the Timber-Grave Culture was based primarily on settled stockbreeding and, in the regions west of the Don, it used the moister climate to practise modest farming.

5.2 Cultures east of the Urals: The Andronovo complex

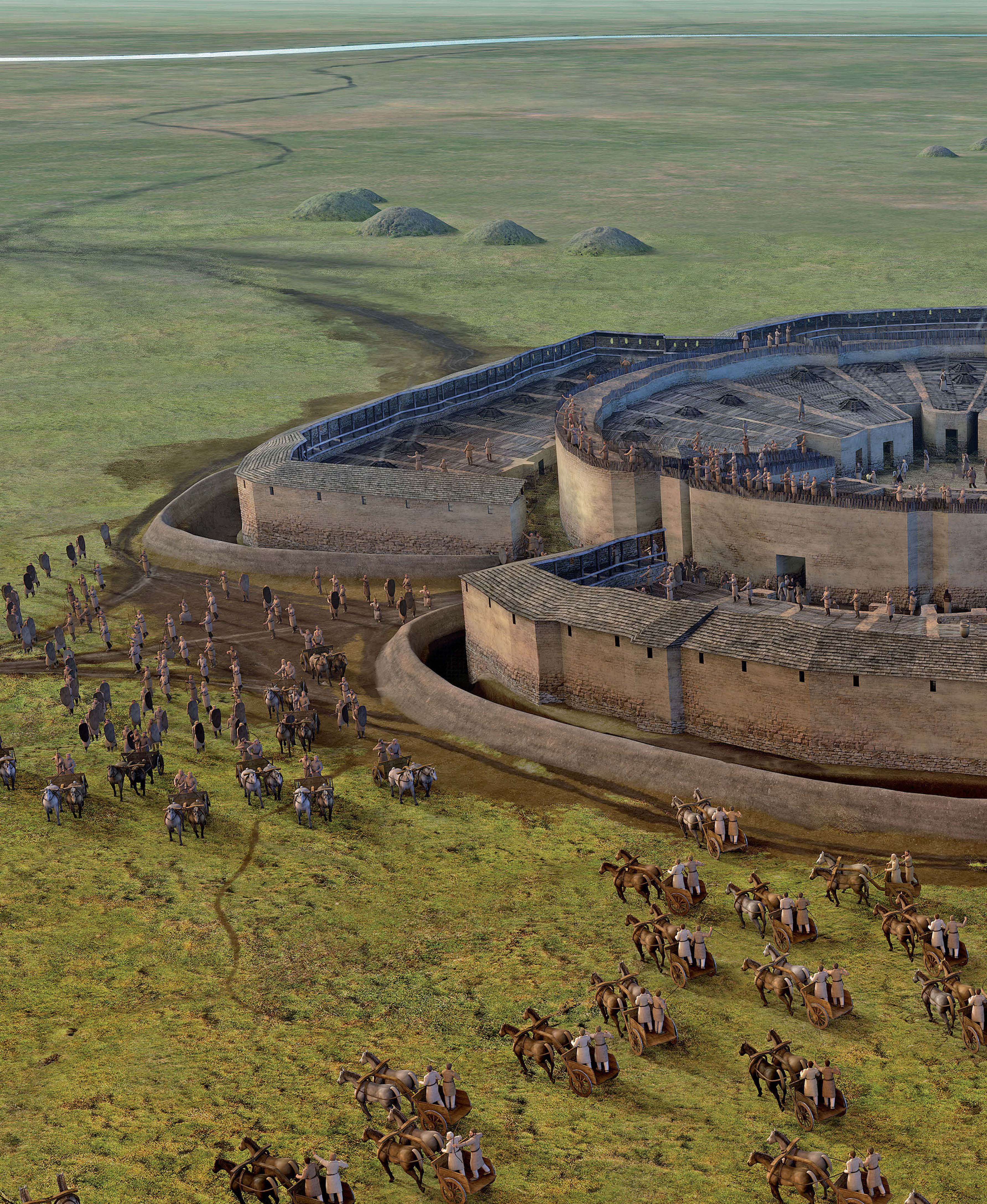
The term **Andronovo** (*ca.* 2200–1250 BC) refers in general to an enormously widespread archaeological complex of the Bronze Age. It extended from the Urals in the West to the Yenisei in the east and from Margiana in the south-west to the Tian Shan of Xinjiang in the south-east. Despite the variety of elements of material culture, essential common features are identifiable: whether as bodies or cremated remains, the dead were buried in timber chambers covered with a low kurgan; the economy was oriented toward semi-nomadic herding and limited farming; and people lived in sunken log cabin dwellings. Representatives of the Andronovo Culture are classified as members of the early Indo–Iranian language family, and they serve as inventors of the light chariot with spoked wheels and further refiners of tin bronze east of the Urals. At burials of the warrior elite horses and cattle were sacrificed and a chariot was sometimes placed beside the deceased in the grave. Early forms of the Andronovo Culture include the cultures of **Sintashta** and **Petrovka** (2200–1700 BC) between the Urals and northern Kazakhstan. The cultures of **Alakul** (2100–1400 BC), which stretched from the Tobol River almost as far as the Ob, and **Fyodorovo** (1850–1250 BC), which extended from the Irtysh to beyond the Yenisei, belonged to its heyday.[162] Later representatives of Andronovo included cultures south of the 47th parallel, such as Tazabagyab (mid-second millennium BC)[163] south of the Aral Sea, and the post-BMAC cultures.

5.2.1 The culture of Sintashta – fortified circular settlements and chariot burials

Shielded by the Urals from the moist air masses from the west, the distinctive continental climate between the Urals and northern Kazakhstan experienced a period of increasing drying beginning around 2300 BC. The southern forest line shifted northwards and the steppe expanded correspondingly, creating ideal conditions for the raising of livestock. Semi-nomadic herders from the region between the Volga and the Urals took advantage of this opportunity towards the end of the Yamnaya Culture, which was likewise exposed to an increased climatic drying.[164] They turned to the east, went around the southern foothills of the Urals, and founded the culture of **Sintashta** (*ca.* 2200–1700 BC) in the region south-east of the modern Russian city of Magnitogorsk between the Ural, Tobol and Ishim rivers.[165] The wealth of copper ore and gold increased the attraction of the region. The Sintashta Culture is characterised by two spectacular features: light chariots, with spoked wheels and very compact wooden settlements, built according to a master plan, with double protective walls, which could reach a size of 35,000 m^2. The 21 known fortified settlements were distributed over an area of 30,000 km^2 and surrounded by numerous unfortified villages. They lay along rivers and were each constructed in a short time according to a previously defined plan. Six of them have a circular layout; six more an oval one; and the remainder, a rectangular layout. During the annual snowmelt in early summer they emerged like islands out of the flooded landscape.

The approximately 4,000-year-old settlement of Arkaim, first discovered in 1987, is similar to that of Sintashta, in whose cemetery the first light chariots dated 2100 BC, were excavated,

▶ Illustration according to archaeological data of the circular settlement of Arkaim, south-eastern Ural steppe, southern Russia, *ca.* 2000–1700 BC. The defenders of the city face hostile charioteers with their own light war chariots and foot soldiers armed with bows and spears. The chariots carry two men; a driver and an archer having also javelins.



Traditional turning over of cut grass near Issyk, Almaty Oblast, southern Kazakhstan.

but it is considerably better preserved. The circular settlement with a diameter of 145 m is enclosed by an outer stone wall, 2.5 m high, which included an open walkway, as well as an equally deep moat 4 to 6.5 m wide. Beyond this was a 5- to 6-m-thick defensive wall, up to 6 m high, which was topped by a walkway covered by a roof sloping outward. The wall was built from large mud bricks, in parts reinforced by stones stacked on top of each other. The interior side of the compact outer wall was attached to the first, outer ring of buildings, which consisted of 39 narrow, trapezoidal houses, built against one another along the long sides. The rear, short sides of the houses, about 7.5 m wide and without entrances, formed the exterior of the settlement, reinforced by the defensive wall. The single-storey houses had common long sides 19 to 22 m long. The front short sides of the houses were up to 6 m wide and their entrances faced the 4-m wide circular street in the interior of the settlement. After this circular street came a second ring of buildings, consisting of about 23 somewhat smaller houses 16 to 18 m long with shared long sides. The entrances of these houses also stood on the inward-facing short side and opened onto a plaza with a diameter of 30 m. The rear side of this inner ring of buildings was, at over 7 m high, taller than the outer ring. The houses were built out of mud bricks, the roofs out of wood. No building displayed a size or shape that departed from the norm.[166]

The settlement, which once numbered about 1,200 to 1,600 inhabitants, had an approximately 12 m-wide main entrance to the south-west and three small, labyrinthine side entrances. Since the only entrance to the inner circle of houses was also found on the south-west side but was a few degrees farther to the south and separated from the main entrance by a wall, anyone who wanted to reach the interior of the settlement had to walk clockwise along the ring street, which was paved with timber. From above the settlement looked like a giant wheel with two concentric spoked rings.

The houses, sunk about 30 cm into the ground, displayed standardised interior arrangements and furnishings. Each consisted of a living and a working area, as well as an antechamber, and had a hearth in the centre or the back. Each house also had its own well with a domed oven beside it, as well as a covered drain that carried wastewater to the sewer that ran beneath the ring street. Such sewerage systems became widespread in Europe only at the beginning of the nineteenth century AD. Dross that still remains in the ovens indicates the production of copper and arsenic copper objects.[167] The necessary ore was found in the many nearby copper mines, such as that of Vorovskaïa, 40 km north of Arkaim.[168]

The rectangular cities, such as Olginskoe, also featured standardised structures. The settlement had a ring of fortifications with two gates strengthened by towers, which protected four rows of 20-m-long buildings, compactly arranged against one another along their long sides. Each of the two middle rows numbered seven buildings and each outer row had six. As in Arkaim each house had a well, an oven and a wastewater drain. Just under half of the area remained unbuilt, and here archaeologists discovered not only slag from copper smelting but also a small mine with gold ore. This indicates that Olginskoe was a small centre of metallurgy, where gold and copper ore were processed.[169] The economy of Sintashta was based on metalworking, the export of copper objects and bars to the BMAC cultural sphere,[170] stockbreeding, and some farming of millet and barley.

Such reinforced settlements were an innovation in this steppe region of Central Asia and suggest a need for security in a conflict-ridden environment.[171] The many weapons found in graves of the elite support the impression of an age marked by raids and skirmishes. In graves of the Sintashta Culture there are not only many more weapons than in earlier periods but also new types of weapons, which were particularly suited for battles with light chariots, such as light spears with long flint blades and spears with heavy copper or bronze spearheads. Added to these were traditional weapons such as daggers, battle axes and arrowheads as well as tools like adzes, barbed harpoon heads and fishing hooks. The discovery of numerous bone reinforcements for bows suggests that forerunners of the composite bow were also developed here.[172]

The burials of the Sintashta culture are concentrated in 12 necropolises, which correspond to the lifestyle of settled populations. The importance of stockbreeding is reflected in the elaborate

Kirghiz nomads build their yurts beside Karakul Lake, 3,610 m above sea level; in the background stands Muztagata, a mountain rising 7,546 m above sea level, Xinjiang, north-western China.

animal sacrifices, and the importance of readiness for combat in the rich grave goods of weapons, harnesses and even light chariots along with entire horses. The graves also reflect the social stratification of the society of Sintashta. Only a third of the dead were posthumously honoured with the construction of a kurgan and only 14 percent of the men's graves were distinguished by the privilege of a chariot buried in them. These were presumably the graves of the warrior elite. With the exception of daggers and knives, which also served as tools, only men had weapons laid in their graves; women received jewellery as grave goods. These were bracelets and frontlets, from the side of which a light chain made of bronze discs and glass beads hung to the chin, framing the entire face. From the back of the frontlet hung a long leather band, covering the neck and back and decorated with bronze ornaments and glass beads. The average life expectancy at the time of the Sintashta Culture was, at 28 years, quite low.[173]

Animal sacrifices also accorded with social considerations: horses were sacrificed only at the burials of men; sheep and goats mostly at those of women. A kurgan at Arkaim, where 115 animals – among them 22 horses, 29 cattle, 48 sheep and 11 goats – were sacrificed for the burial of 24 or 28 dead, was unusual.[174] With the exception of horses killed right beside the chariots, the meat from the sacrificed animals was used to feed the many mourners. In Sintashta animal sacrifices were an indispensable part of a burial, since more than 90 percent of Sintashta graves show evidence of animal sacrifices. In comparison, only 15 percent of Yamnaya graves of the lower Volga indicate animal sacrifices, 16 percent in the Timber-Grave Culture, and 17 percent at Alakul in the region of Chelyabinsk.[175]

A few graves of the military aristocracy were arranged like a three-storied house. In the lowest wooden chamber was the chariot with its harness and its charioteer. In the middle, somewhat smaller wooden chamber, the clothed corpse lay on his back with knees bent beside his weapons and with containers filled with symbolic food for the afterlife. In the upper chamber sacrificed horses, cattle, sheep and dogs lay beside a small hearth. After the sealing of the upper chamber a ritual fire was lit and an earthen tumulus mounded up.[176] In light of the complexity of the burial rites and the organisation necessary for the construction of the large settlements, one can posit the existence of hierarchical social structures; presumably large settlements were a kind of chiefdom.

The distinctive features of the burial rituals and grave goods in Sintashta suggest distant resonances with the world of the Rig Veda. Archaeological investigations have brought to light that members of the warrior elite were honoured with lavish burials,

The motorcycle fits seamlessly into the traditional life of Mongolian nomads.

which included the sacrifice of horses, cattle, sheep and dogs, as well as light chariots with eight, ten or 12 spokes, weapons and horse harnesses as grave goods. Towards the end of the ceremony a ritual fire was lit over the grave, and the kurgan was erected. In the Rig Veda warriors were praised as charioteers[177] who proved themselves in chariot battles[178] and races.[179] The lordly chariot also serves as the vehicle of the gods[180] and the sun.[181] The hierarchy of sacrifices of horse, ox, and ram/sheep[182] also corresponds to the findings in Sintashta. Although in the Rig Veda the dog is not a special kind of sacrificial animal, in a funeral oration the deceased is called upon as Yama, 'And those two dogs of thine, Yama, the watchers, four-eyed, who look on men and guard the pathway ...'[183] The dog is a guardian of the deceased and shows him the way. Then the fire god Agni is invoked to purify the deceased with fire but not to burn him up or consume him.[184] After this the earth is called upon to create a tumulus for the deceased as a final resting place: 'Heave thyself, Earth, nor press thee downward heavily: afford him easy access, gently tending him. Cover him, as a mother wraps her skirt about her child, O Earth. Now let the heaving earth be free from motion: yea, – let a thousand clods remain above him. Be they to him a home distilling fatness [richly furnished], here let them ever be his place of refuge.'[185]

The six towns of Sintashta with a circular plan show some similarities to the triple-walled circular complex of Dashli-3, dating to a millennium later, and Kutlug Tepe in northern Afghanistan, as well as the doubly fortified cultic site of Koi Krylgan Kala in western Uzbekistan on the one hand and the mythical circular city of Var from the Avesta on the other.[186] Although composed later, both the Rig Veda and the Avesta are rooted in an originally shared tradition some 3,800 to 3,900 years old.[187] The first ruler of the world and livestock, Yima, built the mythical, circular city of Var at the behest of Ahura Mazda to protect the healthy and pure living beings from the deadly winter Ahura Mazda will conjure.[188] The radial architecture of the circular settlements of Sintashta could also be a distant forerunner of kurgan 1 at Anchil Chon from the Karasuk period (1450–1000 BC), the Tuvan kurgan of Ulug Chorum, and the radial wooden construction of the early Scythian royal kurgan of Arzhan 1 in Tuva.[189] In this last case the radial tomb architecture could symbolise an underground form of the mythical city of Var and the interred prince would be symbolically associated with Yima, who saved pure beings from death.

The factors that led to the end of the Sintashta Culture are debated. A drying climate and increasing deforestation may have led to renewed migration, with the departing people ritually burning down their towns, such as Sintashta, which bears traces of fire, analogous to the settlements of Tripolye, 2,000 years older.[190] The unfortified and circular hamlets on the Tobol River of the forest-steppe **Tashkovo** Culture, which lay about 200 km farther north-east and existed contemporaneously with Sintashta, were also ritually burned down without being affected by conflict.[191]

Nomad woman in front of the wooden door of her yurt, central Mongolia.

East of the Sintashta Culture the culture of **Petrovka** (2200–1700 BC) flourished at the same time in northern Kazakhstan. It is so similar to Sintashta that a common Sintashta–Petrovka Culture is also spoken of.[192] Certain differences can be seen, however. The compact settlements of Petrovka were smaller and less strongly fortified. They did not have a circular or oval layout but were always rectangular. Although the houses also had a well and an oven for metalworking, the discovery of infant burials beneath the floors was surprising.[193] As the Petrovka Culture expanded over time toward western and central Kazakhstan, the burials became less complex; the number of animal sacrifices and weapons provided as grave goods decreased and wagon burials ceased. These changes indicate less social stratification and a decline in the militarisation of society.

While the forges of Sintashta almost exclusively produced copper, arsenic bronze and slightly ferrous arsenic copper,[194] around 2000 BC in the forest steppes between the western foreland of the Urals and the Altai, as well as in the Sayan Mountains, high-quality weapons made of tin bronze appeared. In the absence of common burial rituals,[195] settlement types and pottery, these discoveries do not provide the basis for a culture, but they are described as the phenomenon of **Seima Turbino**, named for two of the five most important discovery sites.[196] The term really defines a group of outstanding weapons crafted of tin bronze in a certain style. In particular, the tin bronze spear points with a cast, closed socket, daggers, axes and arrowheads with sockets were, thanks to their superior hardness and better quality, superior to similar weapons made of arsenic bronze. The numerically small warrior elite who used such weapons also increased their advantage in close combat by wearing breastplates made of long discs of horn, sewn together in an overlapping pattern.[197] The weapon-makers of the Seima Turbino bronze industry were also artists, as they produced single-edged knives and double-edged daggers whose hilts end in an animal protome, or where an animal standing on the flat end replaces the knob.[198] These skilfully produced knives anticipate not only similar bronze knives of the Karasuk Culture but also to a certain degree the animal style that spread throughout Central Asia in the first millennium BC.[199]

This advanced production of bronze weapons was presumably developed by blacksmiths in the area around the Altai, who made use of the rich local sources of tin and supplied the warrior

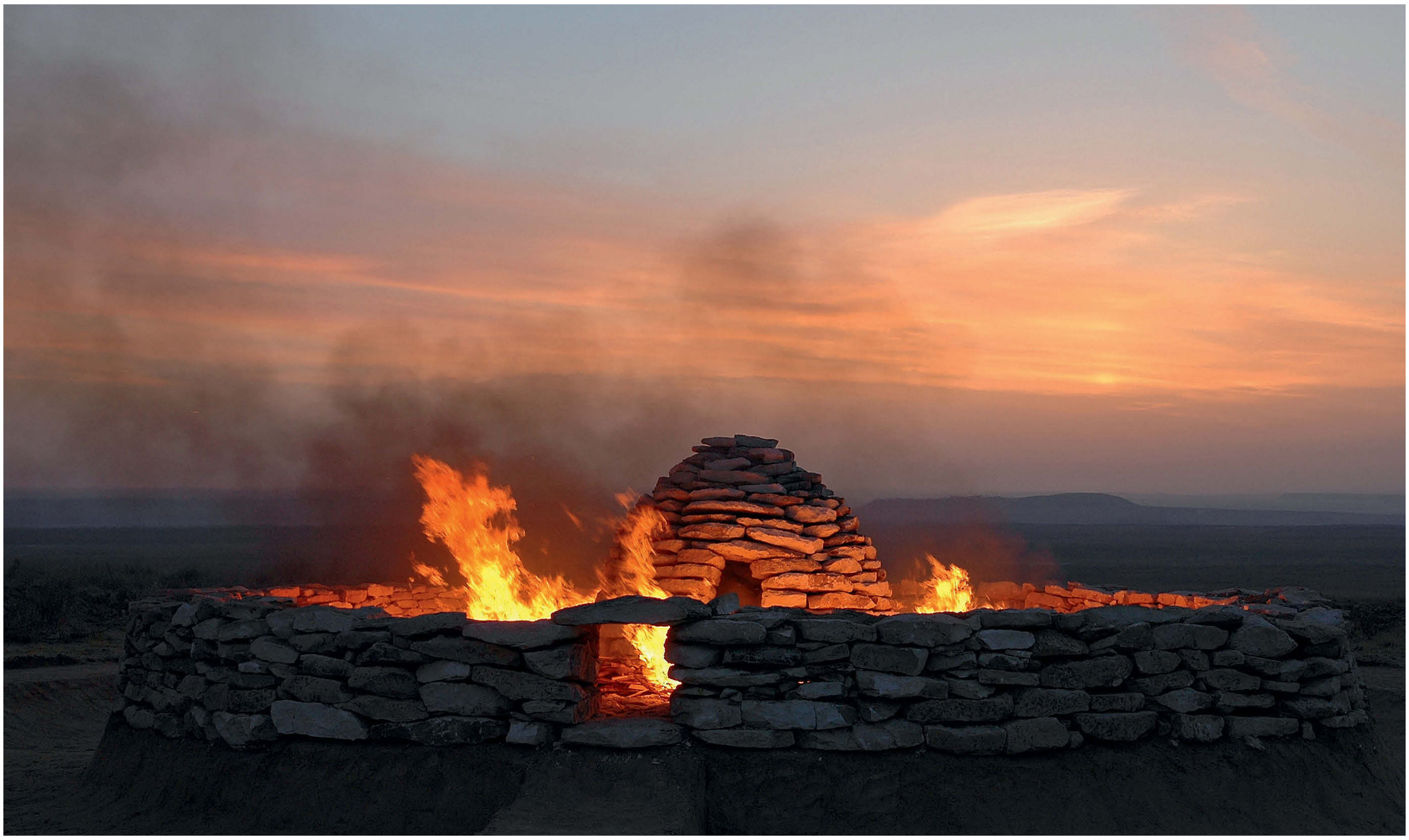
Single-axle ox carts with heavy wooden wheels at a nomad camp near Khanuy Gol River, Arkhangai Aimag, central Mongolia.

elite with superior weapons. Koryakova argues that the blacksmiths of Seima Turbino were organised as clans and spread to the north-west, following the flow of their goods, so to speak.[200] The technology of Seima Turbino, which bore fruit in the emergent cultural complex of Andronovo, changed trading patterns as the earlier export of Caucasian arsenic bronze from west to east was superseded by the export of tin bronze from the Urals in the opposite direction.

5.2.2 Alakul and Fyodorovo

Around the turn of the third to the second millennium BC four related and partially overlapping cultures belonging to the Andronovo cultural complex flourished or arose east of the Urals. They were, from west to east: Sintashta and Petrovka (2200–1700 BC) between the Urals and the Irtysh, **Alakul** (2100–1400 BC) between the Tobol and nearly to the Ob, and **Fyodorovo** (1850–1250 BC) from the Ob to beyond the Yenisei.[201] Seeing that the earliest culture lay in the west and the most recent in the east, one can assume not only further development of the local cultures but also a migration out of the region between the Volga and the Urals. Together with the cultures west of the Urals, there arose a chain of similar steppe cultures that stretched over an expanse of 4,000 km from the Dnieper to beyond the Yenisei and was in contact with settled civilisations at both ends. Not only were goods exchanged along this steppe corridor; innovations were also spread, as can be seen in the appearance of battle chariots simultaneously in central China and Greek Mycenae.

The bearers of the Andronovo Culture were Europids and belonged to the Indo–Iranian language family.[202] Thanks to a more humid climate the pastures between the Ob and the Yenisei



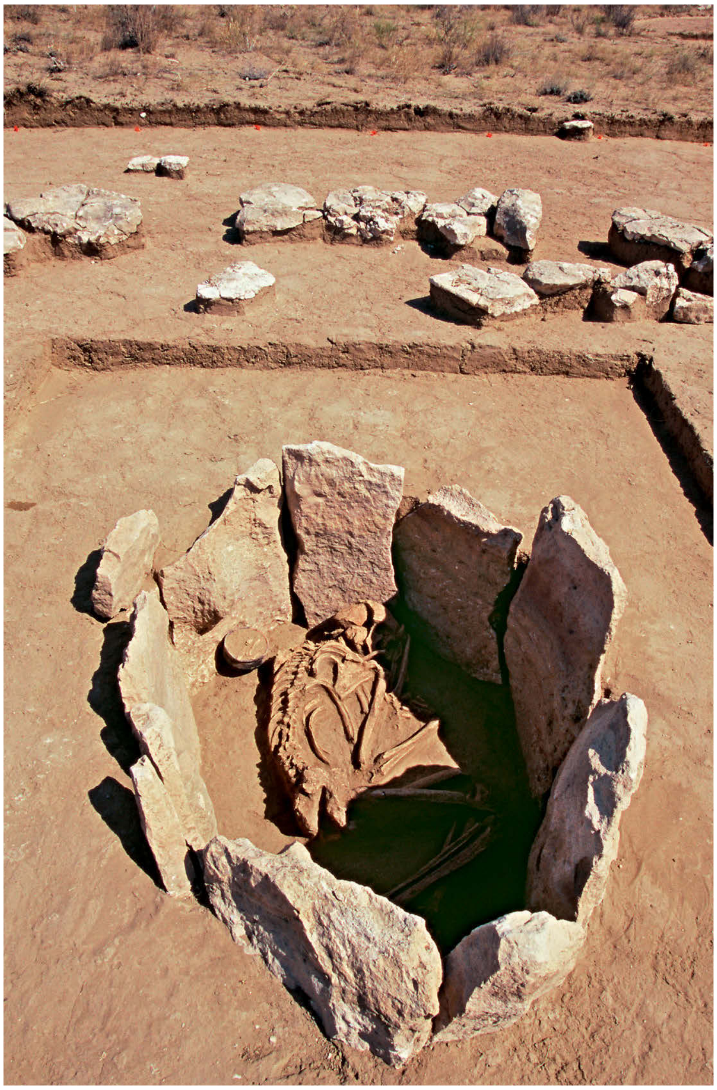
Staging of the fire ritual at the conclusion of a late Bronze Age burial near Ulken Kuduk, Mangyshlak Peninsula, western Kazakhstan, *ca*. 1350–1250 BC. The egg-shaped stone dome over the grave corresponds to the contours of the egg-shaped cist grave beneath.

were lush, and the people of Alakul and Fyodorovo lived as settled stockbreeders. They had smaller, permanently inhabited settlements along the riverbanks, which also served as winter camps for the herders who moved around over short distances during the summer, and their livestock. Discoveries of bronze sickles and corn grinders suggest that farming was probable. The small villages included grazing lands and a necropolis. Each village had one or two dozen sunken houses, initially with an area of 25 to 100 m^2 and later up to 300 m^2 in extent. Presumably extended families lived in the houses and the village consisted of a single clan. As the fields were soon consumed and trampled by the larger herds, the inhabitants of the settlement had to change its location every 20 years or so.

In the first half of the second millennium BC walls and moats protected many settlements, but from about 1500 BC unfortified settlements became more common. This suggests either peaceful times or, more probably, increasing mobility.[203] At that time many herding families lived in an early type of yurt, which they either dismantled when changing camps and transported on pack animals such as camels or kept them mounted on a two-axle wagon pulled by camels or oxen. In this way emerged the new style of settlement that marked the steppes for more than three millennia: mobile yurt cities and villages. The fact that in the last quarter of the second millennium BC the unfortified settlements were also depopulated provides clear evidence for the transition of a largely settled stock-breeding economy to a semi-mobile and soon thereafter nomadic one. Petroglyphs of quadrigas, two-axle chariots drawn by four horses, from the epoch of Karasuk (1450–1000 BC) show that the people of that time possessed the necessary draught power.[204]

Graves and kurgans were grouped into cemeteries near rivers, unlike the later Iron Age kurgans that stood on elevated sites visible from afar and a certain distance from rivers. The graves were surrounded by either a circular or a rectangular fence made of stone and they were covered by a usually low mound of earth or stones, of which the outer edge was held in place by a ring of stones. The fence marked the physical boundary of the grave complex – the transition from profane to sacred space. Such a boundary fence was meant to protect the dead from hostile people or spirits and also to prevent the dead from infiltrating and troubling the land of the living. This symbolic function of the kurgan is expressed in the Rig Veda: 'Here I erect this rampart for the living; let none of these, none other, reach this limit. May they survive a hundred lengthened autumns, and may they bury Death beneath this mountain [kurgan].'[205] In the eastern part of the Andronovo cultural realm, the graves consisted of a cist made of large slabs; in the west, they were timber chambers.[206]

Regarding the handling of dead bodies, a significant innovation arose in the Fyodorovo Culture. While the Alakul Culture carried out only bodily burials and placed entire grave complexes under a single kurgan, in the southern Siberian regions Fyodorovo practised mostly cremation and individual graves. Cremation took place outside the graves, and, in a second step, urns containing the ashes and remains of bones were laid in the grave. In some cases entire kurgans were set on fire.[207] In northern Kazakhstan, however, the burial of corpses remained the norm even at the time of Fyodorovo, but on the Mangyshlak Peninsula in western Kazakhstan cremation was also practised and the barrows were often put on fire.[208] Only certain tribes introduced the innovation of cremation; the others maintained traditional burial rites. A distinctive feature of the Alakul Culture was the occasional burial of infants within the settlements, surely a continuation of an archaic custom from the Petrovka Culture. Finally, one other innovation appeared in the Fyodorovo Culture, which later spread to the elite graves of the Scythians, since in a quarter of the graves in the Minusinsk Basin two corpses, a man and a woman, lie in the cist. In some cases, the woman, who died a natural death, had been buried a few years later than the man; in others, however, both were laid in the grave at the same time. This means that at the burial of the man the chief wife or one of his other wives was killed in order to follow the man into the grave.[209]



Burial of an approximately 45-year-old woman in the foetal position in an egg-shaped cist grave, near Ulken Kuduk, Mangyshlak Peninsula, western Kazakhstan, *ca.* 1350–1250 BC.

As in the other Andronovo cultures, at burials a funeral feast was held and animal sacrifices were performed. The sacrifice of dogs increasing rapidly from about 1500 BC, while the sacrifice of horses and the use of horse gear for grave gifts declined just as rapidly. This probably attests to the disappearance of the chariot.[210] Practically all the dead were given pottery, but of two different qualities. More than 90 percent was of a crude type with simple forms and ornaments; the remainder was elegantly shaped and decorated with complex geometric patterns such as bands of zigzag lines, fishbone patterns, hatched rows of triangles, meanders and swastikas.

6. Karasuk and the cultures of Khirigsuurs and Slab Graves during the transition to the Iron Age

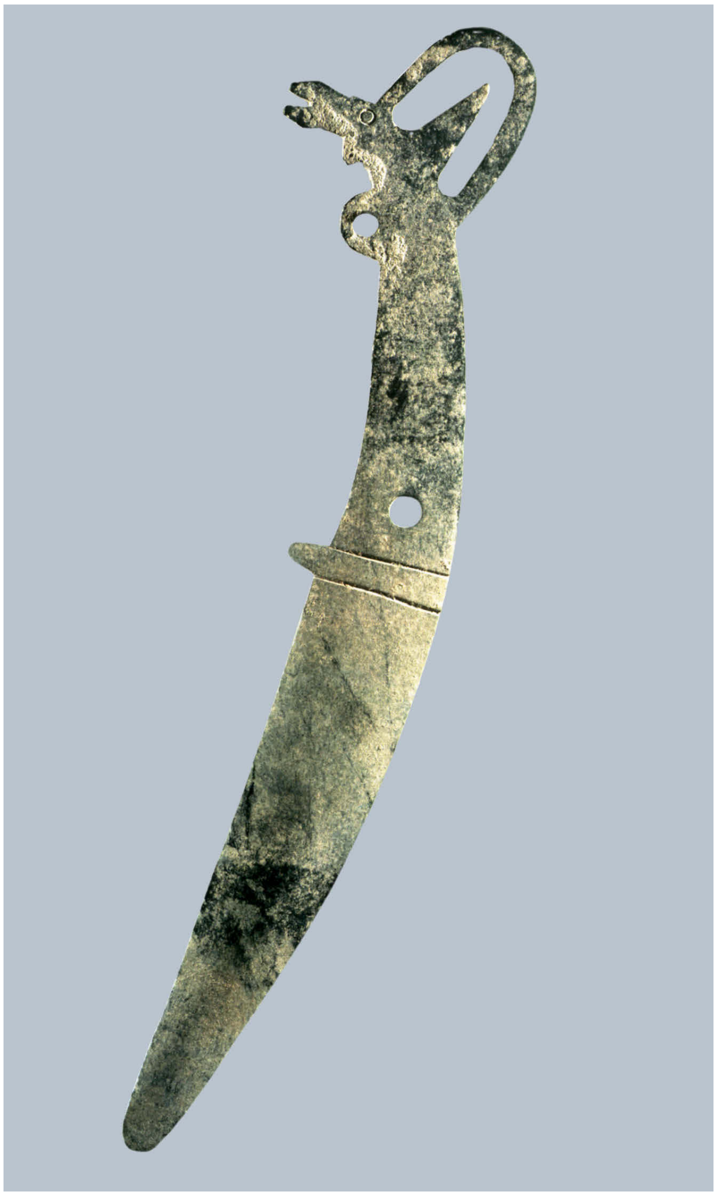
In the late Bronze Age, after 1400 BC, the culture complex of Andronovo began to collapse and regional cultures[211] emerged again, of which the most important in the northern steppe were that of Karasuk in the Minusinsk Basin and the Khirigsuur and the Slab Grave cultures farther east. North of the Andronovo cultural realm, in the forest steppe belt between the Irtysh and the Ob, the **Irmen Culture** (1450–800 BC) followed, with its people living in small settlements of pit-houses and practising stockbreeding.[212] The previously mentioned regional cultures of Jaz, Tazabagyab and Beshkent-Vakhsh emerged south of Andronovo.

In the northern steppe climatic and economic factors brought about the end of the settled or moderately mobile Bronze Age and led to the Iron Age of nomadic steppe horsemen. In southern Siberia the transition period shaped the culture of **Karasuk** (1450–1000 BC). Migration out of Mongolia and northern China, as well as mixing with the local Fyodorovo population, played a role.[213] The representatives of the Karasuk Culture practised nomadic herding, concentrating on sheep, goats and some cattle. A few groups maintained permanent winter settlements, such as that of Kamennyi Log on the Yenisei, which consisted of spacious sunken houses. 'The houses in these winter settlements looked from the outside like earthen mounds; but under the mounds were spacious rectangular structures with an area of 100 or 200 square m, sunk into the ground to a depth of 1½ metres or so.' A 'ladder in the form of a tree trunk with notches cut into it' allowed the chimney, 'an aperture to admit light and let out smoke from the fire', to be used as an entrance.[214]

The metallurgy of Karasuk was distinguished by its outstanding quality, which continued the tradition of Seima Turbino, and by special forms of knives and daggers. The bronze ring-pommel knives were either slightly concave or flexed at the transition point between hilt and blade; they may have been the inspiration for the knife coins with ring hilts that were widespread in China in the first millennium BC.[215] Other Karasuk knives and daggers either had animal protomes as the knob or a standing animal on the flat end. These daggers enjoyed great popularity and were found from the Urals over the Ordos as far as northern and central China; it is conceivable that they may for a time have served as a form of currency. The graves of the Anyang Dynasty, such as the one of Fu Hao, have yielded not only such bronze daggers with animal protomes, but also some daggers made of jade. The question of where this special type of dagger originated is unknown. This point is significant because these daggers and knives are among the forerunners of the Scythian animal style. The Minusinsk Basin, Anyang, the Ordos, or even Iran have been named as their birthplace.[216] The last two may be ruled out, and China is improbable for two reasons. The finds in the grave of Fu Hao (d. *ca.* 1200 BC) are later than the earliest exemplars from Khakassia, and the zoomorphic dagger knobs appear foreign to the Chinese aesthetic tradition of the time, which usually decorated bronze vessels with dragons, tigers and snakes. Thus the culture of Karasuk is not only the origin of the daggers with animal protomes but also an essential source for the animal style that spread to all the steppe peoples of the Scythian period. Discoveries of cowry shells in Karasuk graves suggest that it engaged in trade with China.

In contrast to the smaller cemeteries of Andronovo, in Karasuk the burials were concentrated in huge necropolises with thousands of graves. The dead lay in narrow cists, which were sometimes sealed by one or two stone slabs. Rectangular or circular stone enclosures surrounded the graves. As food for the afterlife they placed one or two jars containing beverages by the head and pieces of mutton, from the shoulder, breast and both haunches, beside the feet.[217]

One of the most interesting kurgans of Karasuk is the above-mentioned kurgan 1 of Anchil Chon near Kazanovka, Khakassia. The central cist is surrounded by a circular enclosure made of standing slabs, which were themselves surrounded by ten radially arranged stone settings. Not only was the neighbouring kurgan 5 also laid out 'like sunrays' but both kurgans were oriented to the

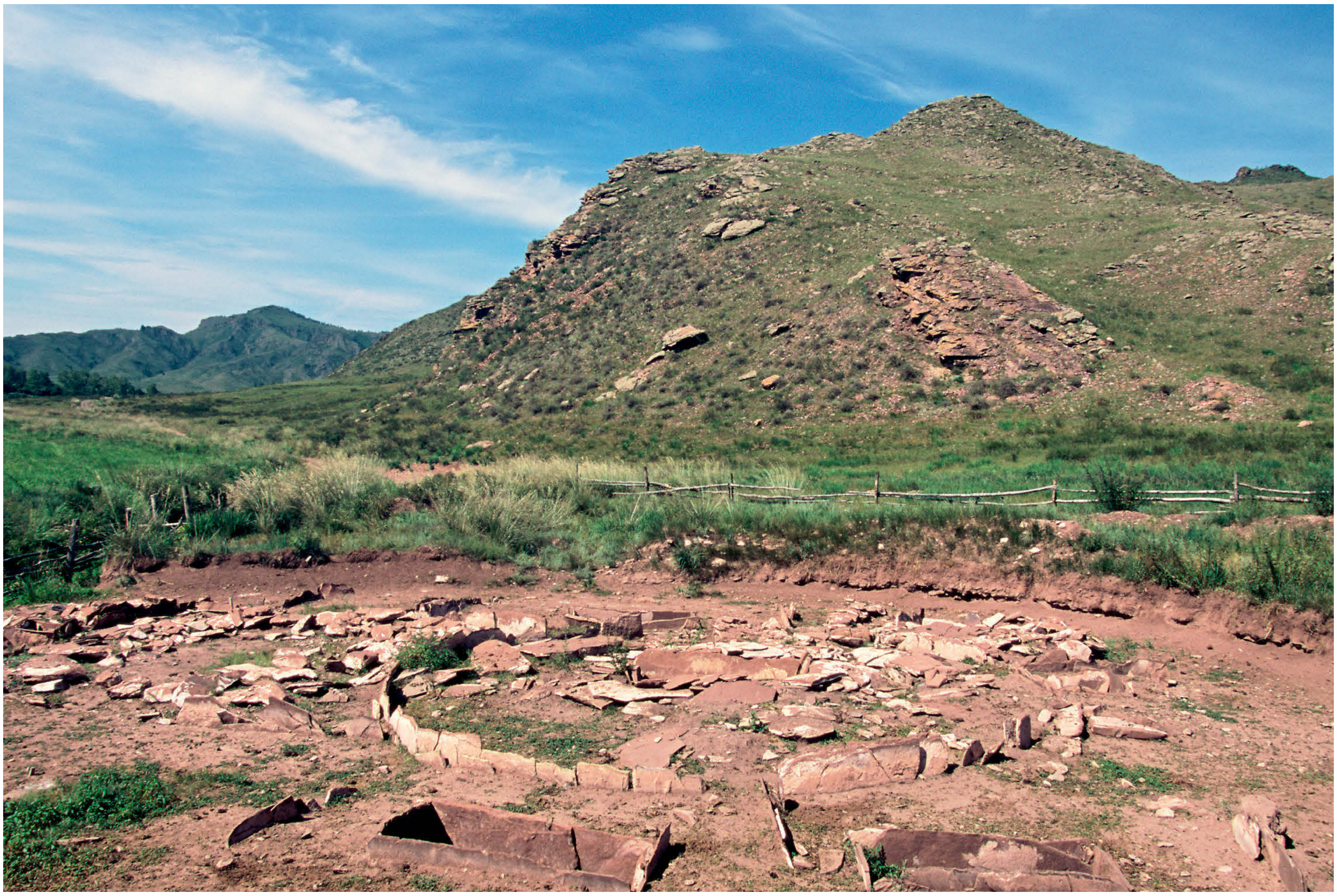


Chinese jade pendant, 35.6 cm in length, in the form of a dagger with an animal protome in the style of Karasuk, central China, late Shang to early Western Zhou Dynasties, *ca.* 1300–1000 BC. Throckmorton Fine Art, New York.

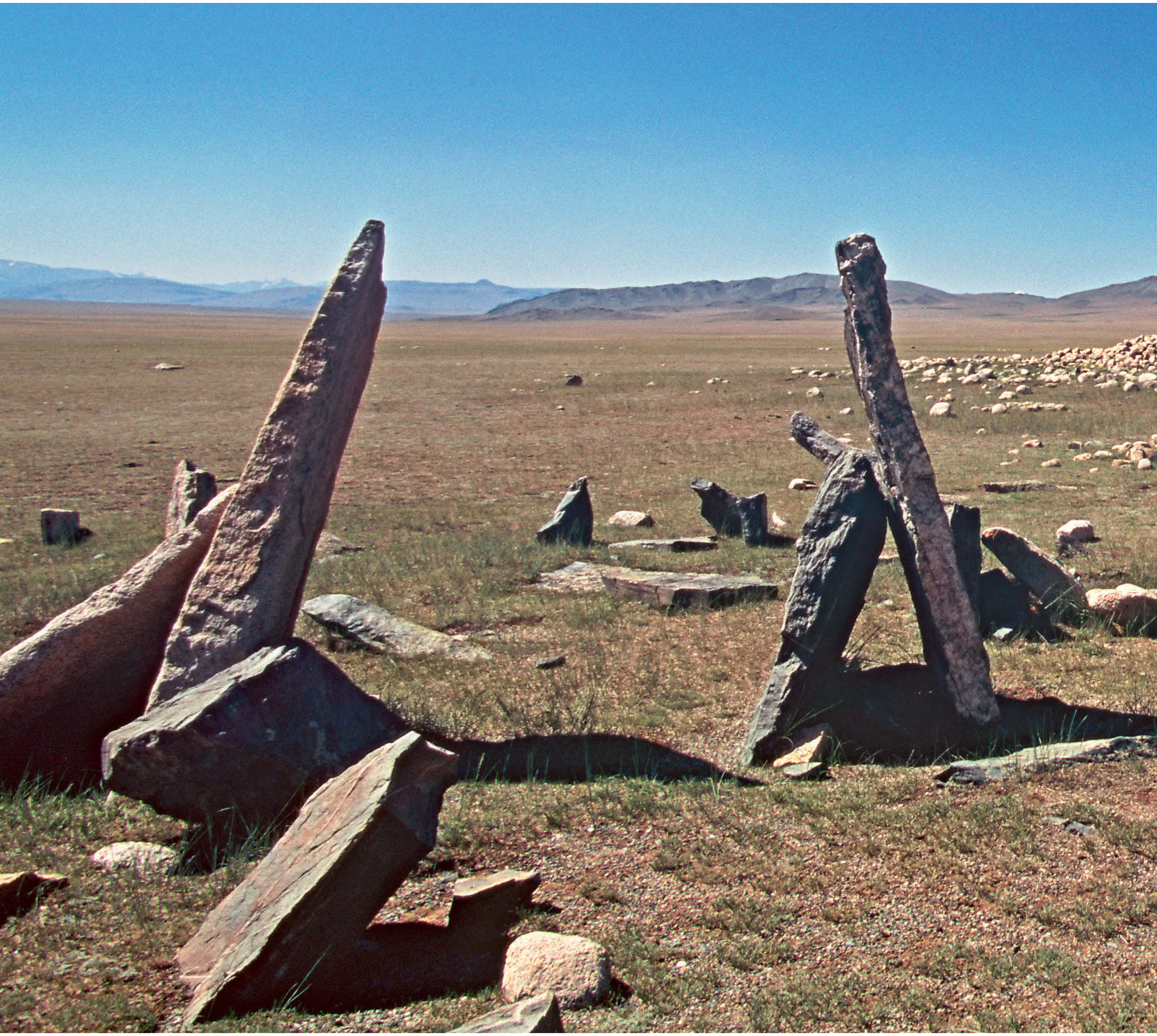
rising and setting sun, as well as to the North Star. 'Graves 1, 2 and 6 of kurgan 1 lie in a line. On the day of the autumnal equinox (September 22/23), the final rays of light before the sun disappears behind the mountains strike the centre of these graves.'[218] Since the graves are laid out according to astronomical criteria it is conceivable that they also had an astronomical function, provided they remained marked after the sealing of the kurgan. Kurgans 1 and 5 of Anchil Chon share their architectonic principle of a ring-shaped central structure around which other enclosures or structures are arranged radially with not only the 'sun graves' of Gumugou, the circular cities of the Sintashta Culture, and the fortress of Dashli 3, but also the 'sunray-like' layout of the great kurgans of Arzhan 1 and Ulug Chorum. Thus Nikolaj Bokovenko classifies the two kurgans of Anchil Chon as 'an important link between Arkaim and Arzhan'.[219]

In Khakassia the graves of **Lugavskoe** from the tenth/ninth century BC mark the transition from the late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, which is characterised by a different burial topography. The people of Lugavskoe belonged to the early warrior horsemen of southern Siberia, who, as a consequence of their increased mobility, no longer constructed large necropolises but rather erected considerably smaller and isolated kurgans. The numerous discoveries of weapons and horse gear underscore the martial character of this new culture of nomadic horsemen.[220]

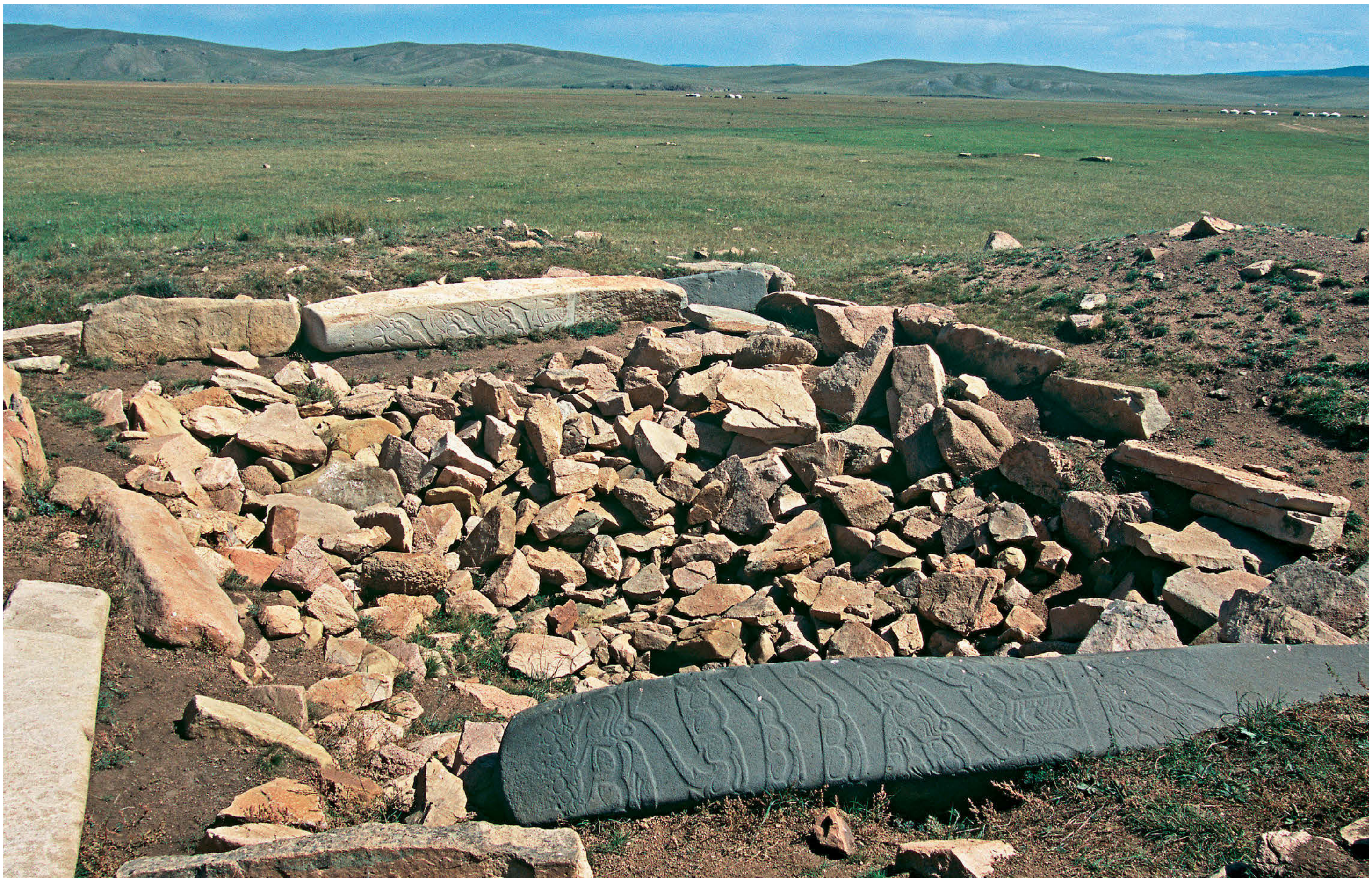
During the transition period from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age two cultures emerged east and south-east of the Minusinsk Basin that were characterised not only by different types of burial but also by differing ethnic affiliations. The shared geographic borders divided two ethno-cultural complexes from each other. They had in common, however, the integration of the so-called deer stones into their gravesites. In the region of Baikal east of Khakassia and in the eastern half of Mongolia the **Slab Grave Culture** (*ca.* 1250–100 BC) predominated. The gravesites consisted generally of rectangular, sometimes square or oval enclosures made of large, flat or cigar-shaped stone slabs sunk into the ground; occasionally steles marked the corners of the enclosures. Sometimes older deer stones, which originally fulfilled other purposes, were



Kurgan 1 of Anchil Chon near Kazanovka, Khakassia, southern Russia, Karasuk Period, 1450–1000 BC.



Deer stones and one of the Khirigsuurs of the burial and sacrifice site of Tsagaan Asgat, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, Khirigsuur Culture, 1400–300 BC.

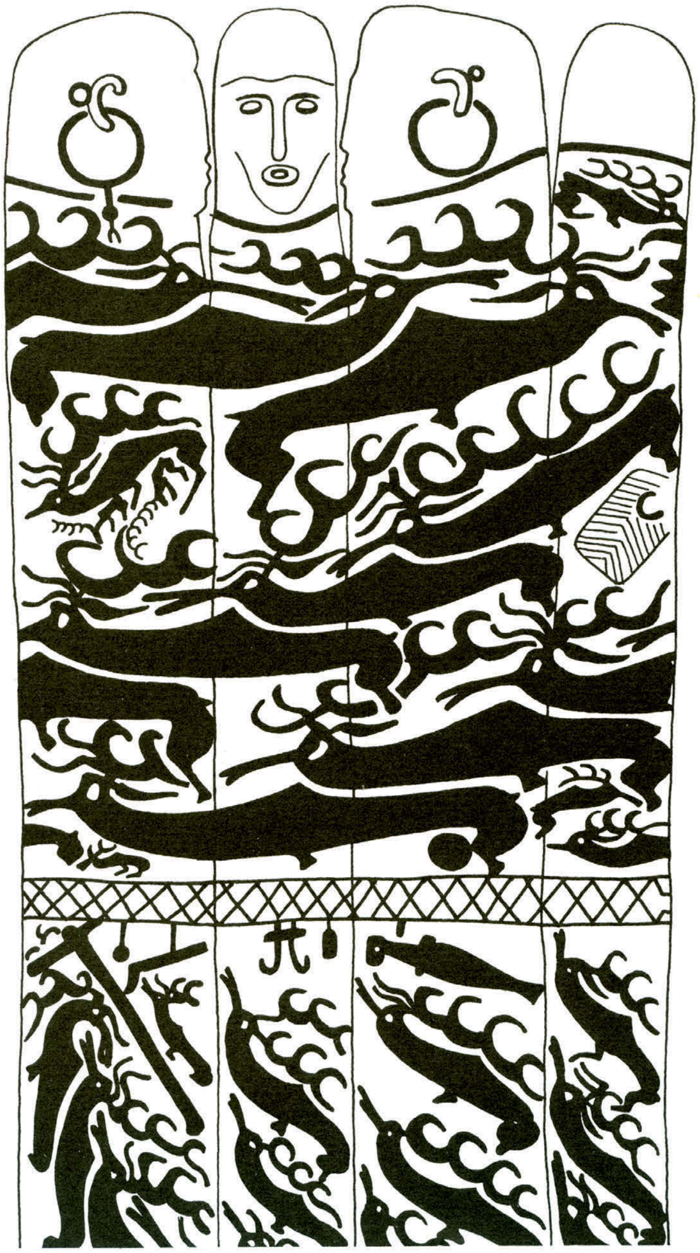


At the burial and sacrifice complex of Jargalant (*ca.* 1250–100 BC), older deer stones were repurposed to create an enclosure for Slab Graves, Arkhangai Aimag, central Mongolia.

reused, whether standing as corner steles or lying down as part of the enclosure fence. The interior of the enclosure was filled with stone paving, under which the deceased was laid on his back in a cist or a simple pit, with his head always oriented toward the east. On the one hand the dead were given as grave goods animal skulls, especially horse skulls, a custom continued by the Xiongnu, and on the other, bronze objects in the Karasuk style such as ring hilt knives, daggers with animal-shaped knobs, and small decorative platters with pictures of animals.[221] Two discoveries of heavy bronze helmets, like those used in China at the time of the Western Zhou (*ca.* eleventh century–771 BC), indicate contact with their southern neighbours.[222] Examination of the skeletons suggests that they came from a Mongolid population.[223] These people lived mostly by herding; signs of settlement have not been found.

South-west of the Slab Grave Culture, in western Mongolia and the Altai, Slab Graves are very rarely found; there are instead stone kurgans, called Khirigsuurs. Both types of burial are found in central Mongolia and Khirigsuurs are occasionally found in eastern Mongolia, too. In the **Khirigsuur Culture** (*ca.* 1400–300 BC) the dead lay in shallow pits or stone caskets or in a wooden chamber, always with the head oriented toward the west. A stone tumulus stood over them, and it was surrounded by a round, square, or rectangular stone enclosure with a diameter of 25–30 m. The kurgan and the circular fence were sometimes connected by four or eight ray-like rows of stones, oriented to the four cardinal directions and the intermediate directions, which gave the site a sun symbolism and strongly recalls the radial wooden architecture of Arzhan 1.[224] The Khirigsuurs, which lay along rivers, did not contain Mongolids, as the Slab Graves did, but rather Europids.[225] One such burial ground was that of Ulangom (second half of the first millennium BC) on the border with Tuva. In the 22 timber graves and 20 stone casket graves a total of 143 people of the Europid type were buried, with 17 percent of the men having died a violent death.[226]

There are also many Khirigsuurs, however, that were not gravesites but rather places of sacrifice. During the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age there were in Mongolia two realms, differentiated along ethno-cultural lines: in the east the world of Mongolids and Slab Graves, and in the west the world of Europids and Khirigsuurs. Central Mongolia formed a contact zone where the two spheres intermingled. Despite these clear differences, the deer stones were a common denominator, as they are found by both Slab Graves and Khirigsuurs, so one can almost speak of a '**deer stone culture**' (*ca.* 1400–500 BC), with representatives among both Europids and Mongolids.



Rubbing traced with Indian ink of the anthropomorphic deer stone of Ushkin Uver, Khövsgöl Aimag, northern Mongolia, *ca.* 1400–850 BC. (The lowest part is not in the picture.) Twenty-seven images of deer cavort on the stele; late Bronze Age weapons hang from the belt that divides the middle part of the stele from the lower. The statue has a five-pointed shield on its back.

6.1 Deer stones: flying deer as companions in the afterlife?

Western and central Mongolia is a land not only of petroglyphs but also of deer stones. The latter are free-standing stone steles, up to 4 m tall, with low relief carvings, in which deer and weapons are the dominant motifs, followed by horses, big cats and boars. Of the approximately 700 known deer stones, 90 percent are found in Mongolia, with the remainder in the Altai, Tuva and Xinjiang.[227] They continue the tradition of cultic stone steles of earlier steppe cultures, such as those of the Usatovo Culture (3300–2800 BC) in the northern Pontic region and the Okunev Culture (2400–1750) in the Minusinsk Basin and Khakassia. This tradition was further developed in the second half of the first millennium BC in the anthropomorphic stone sculptures of the northern Pontic Scythians[228] and the Sarmatians on the Mangyshlak Peninsula.[229] A few centuries later the stone statues of the Turkish khanate[230] began to appear in the regions to which the deer stones had spread. Later came the stone portrayals of both warriors and women by the Polovtsi (Cuman) people,[231] who ruled over a band of steppe stretching from the Ukraine to central Kazakhstan from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Such statues still enjoy veneration today from Mongolians and Tuvinians; they tie blue bands around their necks, rub fat into their hands and bellies, and bring them flasks of vodka as offerings, after which they ask for the blessing of their ancestors. This veneration impressed the German explorer of Siberia Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735) in the Minusinsk Basin. In 1722 he wrote, 'The heathen Tatars [of Abakan] showed much reverence for these [statues] and rode three times around each one, after which ceremonies they offered them some of their own provisions or placed these on the pedestal under the grass so they [the statues] could eat from it according to their appetite.'[232]

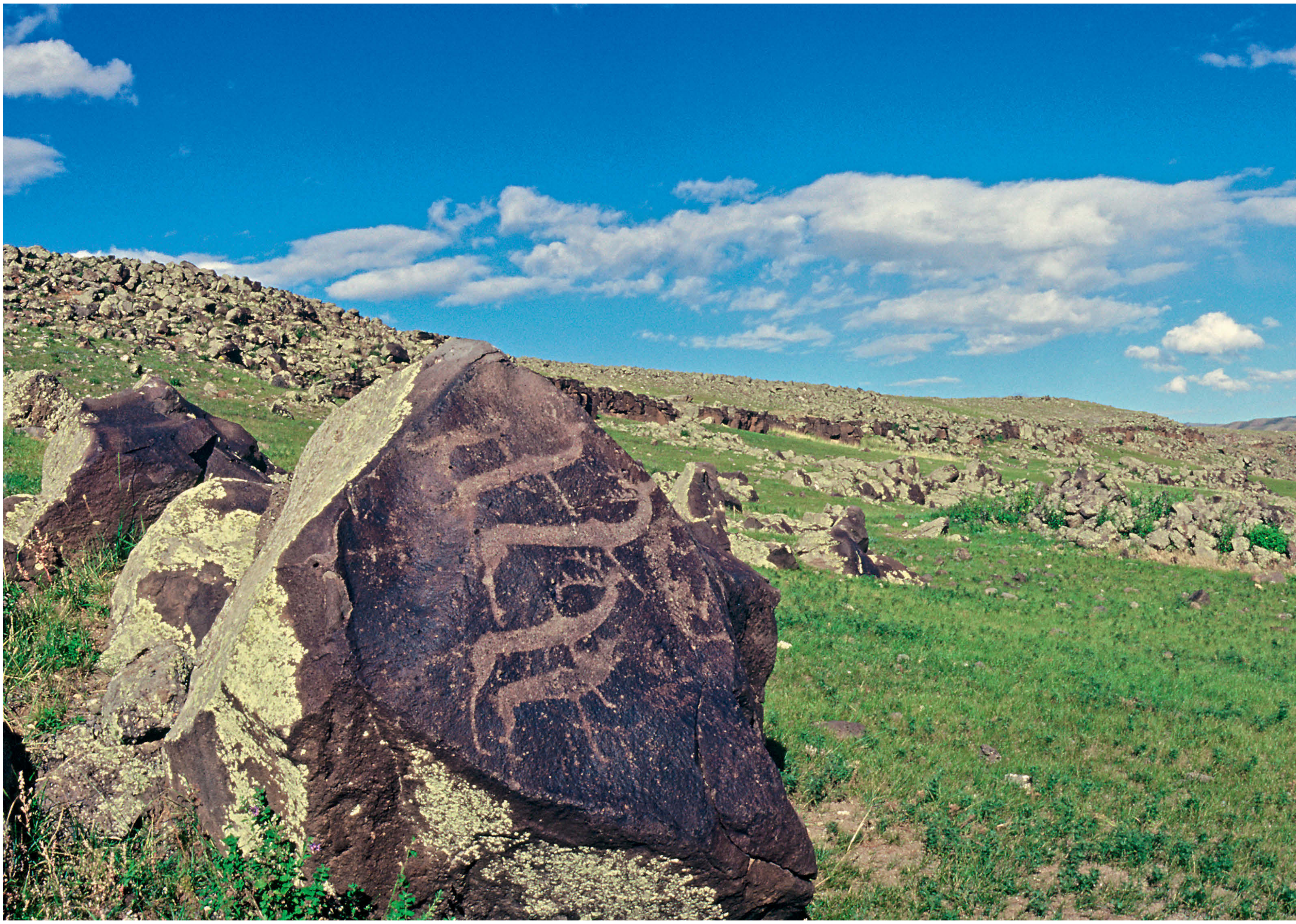
A long block of granite or, more rarely, sandstone or marble, served as material for the deer stones. The artists first carefully polished the surface, before they carved figures on all four or at least on both wide sides, according to a defined iconographic canon. All the stones were divided into three parts. The top represented the head, which was portrayed three-dimensionally only in very rare cases[233] and was usually represented simply by a necklace, a pair of curved lines, and earrings. The 318-cm-tall, well-preserved stele 14 from the cultic site of Ushkin Uver in northern Mongolia makes clear with its human face, oriented

---

▶ **The 318-cm tall anthropomorphic deer stone at the burial and sacrifice site of Ushkin Uver, Khövsgöl Aimag, northern Mongolia, *ca.* 1400–850 BC. The rubbing with mulberry paper makes the engraved figures stand out.**

toward the east, that the deer stones were anthropomorphic representations, even though, unlike the Old Turkic statues, they have no arms. The weapon belt that divides the upper from the lower section supports this interpretation. On this belt are found the typical weaponry of steppe horsemen of the time, such as a sheathed bow, an axe, a decorated dagger, a knife and a whetstone, so that the deer stone may be seen as a codified portrayal of an armed warrior from the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age. In addition to the weapons, five-pointed shields, which were also widespread in China, adorned the lower third, as did small deer. In the centre section stylised deer frolic, some bearing disproportionately large, broadly branching and upright-standing antlers. Others have a long, bird-like snout and antlers that cover their entire backs, and are flying heavenward at full gallop. On a few cigar-shaped steles, the deer circle around all sides, moving dynamically upward. On other steles are carved horses, gazelles, boars or hunting scenes, in which predatory cats eat a horse or a kulan. Sometimes on the narrow sides obvious sun symbols replace the earrings, and a sun symbol occasionally tops the upper section of the front side. That the deer stones were anthropomorphic representations of a warrior is further suggested by the fact that the elongated trunks of the stylised deer have exactly the same shape as a typical Karasuk dagger, as highlighted recently by Anatoli Nagler.[234]

The deer stones may be divided into three chronologically sequential groups:[235]



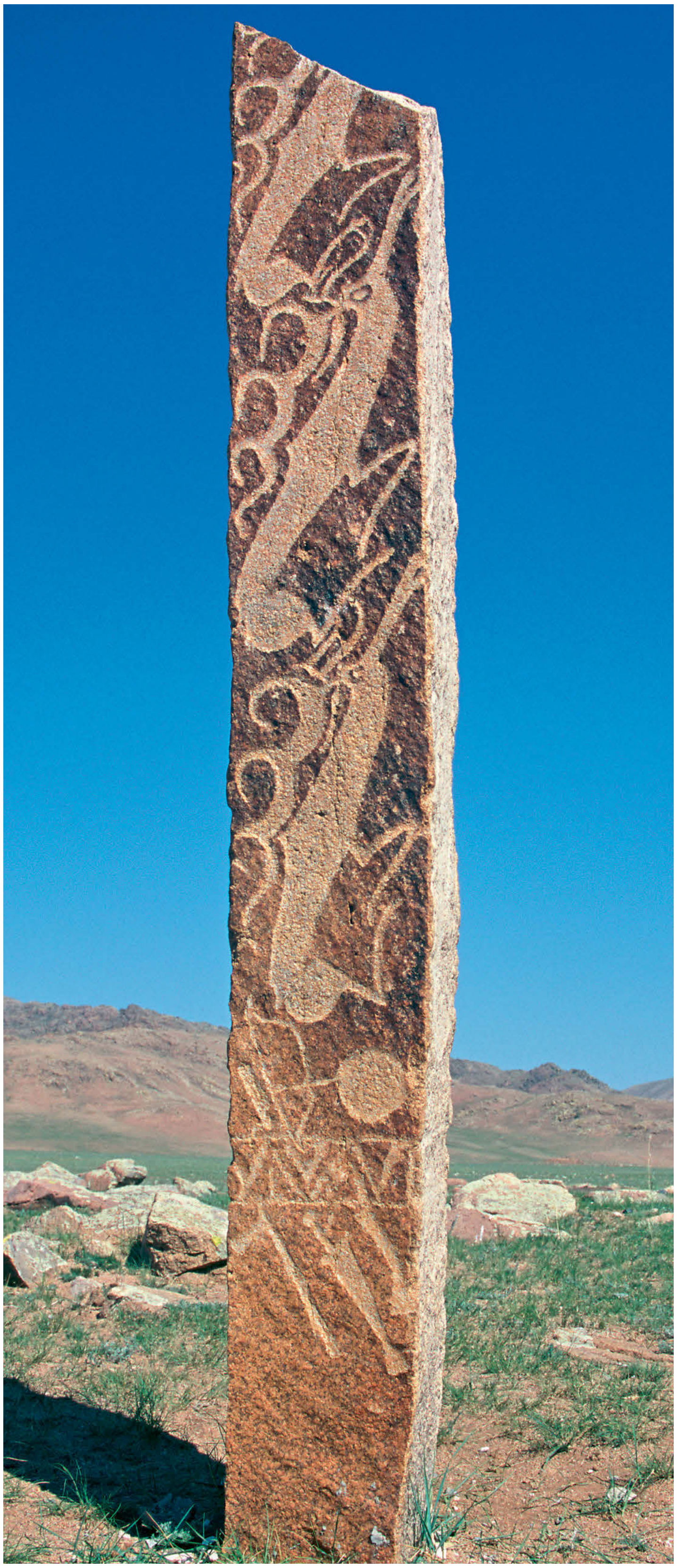
Petroglyphs of stylised deer at Eltsin Bulak, *ca.* 900–700 BC, Arkhangai Aimag, central Mongolia.

First group (1400–850 BC): In the earliest group stylised deer and knives and daggers with animal protomes, typical of the Karasuk Culture, predominate, suggesting a dating in the late Bronze Age. The 15 steles of the cultic site at Ushkin Uver come from this early time, as typical Karasuk weapons are engraved on several of them. The motif of deer flying heavenward is also found on contemporaneous petroglyphs and on later tattoos of Scythian warriors of the Altai.[236] Together with the Okunev stone steles, Seima Turbino bronze objects, and the decoration on the knobs of Karasuk daggers, this first group of deer stones represents the most important element of the Scytho-Siberian animal style of the Iron Age.

Second group (900–700 BC): In this group both the dynamism of movement and the stylised deer have disappeared and the weapons lack any decoration. Now deer standing on tiptoe, boars, leopards, horses and kulans are depicted realistically, and they are joined by coiled up predatory cats. Petroglyphs of deer and boars standing on tiptoe are also widespread in Tuva, in north-eastern Xinjiang and in southern Kazakhstan, for example at Usek, Ur-Maral and Arpa Uzen.[237]

Third group (700–500 BC): On the stones of this final, numerically small group the tendency toward simplification reached its austere highpoint. Animals have practically disappeared, while simply sketched weapons in the lower section and slashes and circles in the upper remain.

The primary function of the deer stones is not easy to determine. While it appears that they were later reused as building



Deer stone at the sacrifice and burial site of Ushkin Uver, Khövsgöl Aimag, northern Mongolia, *ca.* 1400–850 BC. In the upper section stylised deer with bird-like noses and oversized antlers 'fly' heavenward; below are engraved weapons such as a bow and a quiver, a battle axe and daggers.

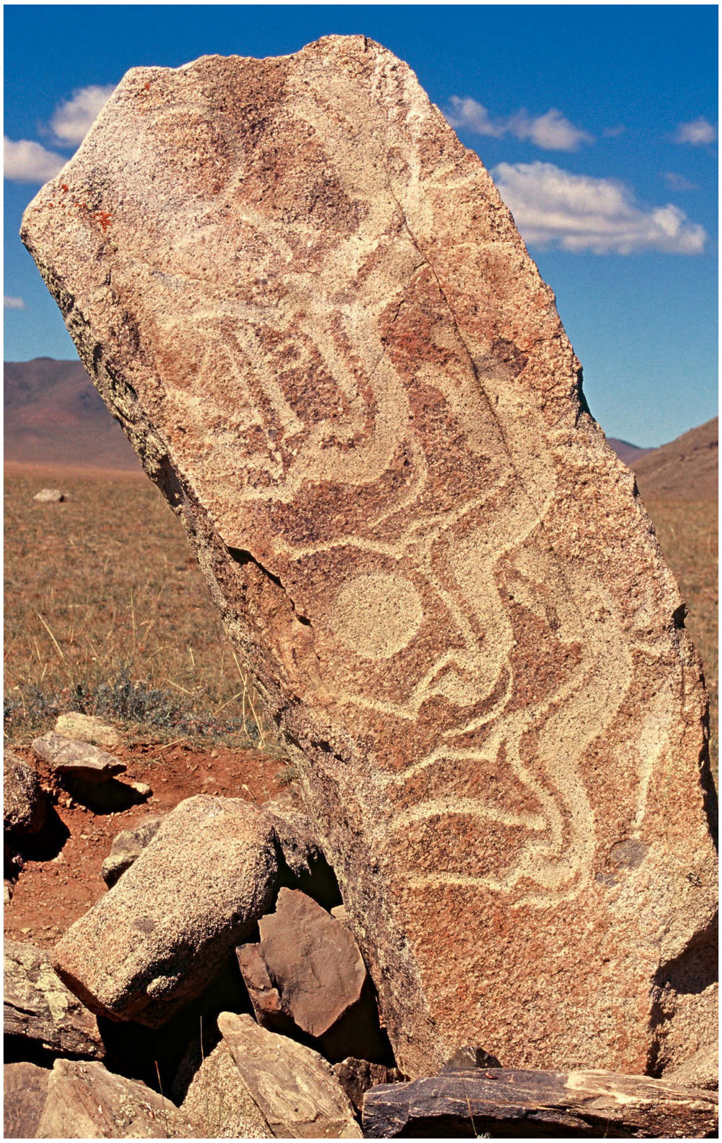
material in the Slab Graves and Scythian graves such as Arzhan 1 (late ninth century BC) and Arzhan 2 (last quarter of the seventh century BC), they are also part of large khirigsuur complexes, as in Ushkin Uver, and of slab grave sites, as in Jargalant and Altan Sandal, both found in Arkhangai Aimag (province). The complex of Ushkin Uver lies in Hövsköl Aimag, central Mongolia, on the Delger Saikhan River, and measures about 950 x 400 m. It is part of an approximately 25-km^2 sacred site with more than 200 stone structures. In the northern half of the complex a slab grave, a stone platform and 15 Khirigsuurs are found in an enclosure, alongside small piles of gravel. In the southern half 15 deer stones made of granite are arranged in two rows and oriented with their front sides facing east.[238] Small stone circles lie between the steles. Since many of the steles, which are mostly carved on all four sides, lay beneath the ground until the 1970s, they are very well preserved. Stele 14, with its peak shaped into a human face of uncertain gender, is especially outstanding.[239] In the centre and lower sections at least 27 deer romp, crowding against one another. On the front of the weapon belt is a yoke-shaped fastener; on the right side, an axe and a whetstone; and on the left a dagger with an animal knob in the classical style of Karasuk. The figure has a pentagonal shield on the back at shoulder height.

Partial excavations carried out in 2003 brought to light human burials in only two of the 15 Khirigsuurs, although five horse burials were found at each group of the Khirigsuurs and the deer stones. The sacrificed horses were buried in the same way in both places: the skulls were laid with noses pointed east and accompanied by neck vertebrae and hooves.[240] This common burial practice suggests that the Khirigsuurs and deer stones were erected at the same time. Ushkin Uver was primarily a sacrifice site, where horse sacrifices were performed in the context of an ancestor cult. It is conceivable, however, that Khirigsuurs with empty cists beneath them served as cenotaphs.

Similar sacrifice sites were originally also found at the slab grave complexes of Jargalant and Altan Sandal in the Arkhangai Aimag in central Mongolia, where most of the deer stones were repurposed for the construction of slab grave enclosures. Similar to Altan Sandal, at Jargalant 1, on the Khanuy Gol River, one deer stone of the first type stands in the eastern part of the site; two others have been overturned. A field 50 x 250 m in extent lies just to the west of the three steles. It contains more than 100 round gravel mounds and three large Slab Graves. In these graves nine, eight and five earlier deer stones respectively are reused. Bones of horses, rams, sheep and goats are found beneath the miniature kurgans.[241] An analogous arrangement is found at Altan Sandal, where three horses are carved into one of the two steles still standing. Near the Slab Graves at Altan Sandal, also built of deer stones, there are also two ancient Turkic stone men from the mid-first millennium AD, giving evidence of over a thousand years of use for the site. Like Ushkin Uver, Jargalant I and Altan Sandal served primarily as cultic places for ancestor worship and were later used as cemeteries.

In attempting to divine the deeper meaning of the stylised deer, comparisons to petroglyphs, animal-style objects and Iron Age burials of the Altai are worth considering. The motif of a standing, unmoving deer with tall, many-branched antlers is first found in petroglyphs, such as those of Tsagaan Salaa in western Mongolia, Tamgaly in southern Kazakhstan[242] and Kara Oy in northern Kyrgyzstan. The motif was also popular for gold grave goods, such as the 26 50-cm-tall wooden statues overlaid with gold foil from the Sarmatian grave of Filippovka in the southern Urals (fifth/fourth century BC),[243] the gold decorative plaque with two small deer figures shown in mirror image with their antlers growing together at the tips from Zhalauly and Čilikty in southern Kazakhstan (fifth–third centuries BC),[244] and on a gold plaque from Arzhan 2 (end of the seventh century BC).[245] Since antlers, which are shed after mating season in late autumn, grow back annually, deer antlers serve as a symbol of fertility and cyclical renewal, analogous to the tree of life. Thus an archaic myth of the Evenks, who lived in Siberia and northern Mongolia, said that the tree of life grew out of the head of a deer lying on the ground.[246] Perhaps the fusion of deer and raptor, in which the heads of the birds grow from the antlers, symbolises the same idea of a spring-like burst of new life.[247]

Excavations also provide evidence that deer, together with the ibex, accompanied the dead into the afterlife. Among these were discoveries from the graves of Pazyryk and Tuekta in the Russian Altai and from Berel in the Kazakh Altai from the sixth–fourth century BC. Here archaeologists discovered sacrificed horses wearing masks made of felt, leather and wood and depicting deer, elk or ibexes. In some cases gold leaf covered the antlers and horns.[248] The small winged horse figurines, covered in gold leaf and bearing ibex horns or deer antlers, which adorned the felt caps of the dead, belong in the same context.[249] Thanks to these grave gifts, the horse acquired the attributes of the deer and its regenerative power, or that of the ibex, which was venerated as an 'inhabitant of heaven'[250] and a symbol of fertility. It appears that the horse, symbolically transformed into a deer or ibex, served as guide and mount for the deceased in entering the afterlife. This idea was present in south-western Eurasia in the Caucasus earlier as well. In 1941 Soviet archaeologists discovered near Hanlar in Azerbaijan a grave from the fifteenth/fourteenth century BC, in which the mortal remains of the deceased had been placed on a sled to which two deer were harnessed; a horse had also been sacrificed.[251] This burial recalls a petroglyph from Baga Oigor in western Mongolia, in which a deer is harnessed to a chariot. It is thus conceivable that on the deer stones the deer with bird-like noses galloping toward heaven are symbolically accompanying into the afterlife the deceased person to whom the stele is dedicated.



Deer Stele at Altan Sandal with three engraved horses, *ca.* 900–700 BC, Arkhangai Aimag, central Mongolia.

▶ Thracian silver vessel with images of deer, which have raptors' heads growing out of the tips of their antlers, lower Danube plain, fourth century BC. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

VII

The Iron Age

The horseman lives day and night on his horse, which is not only his seat but also his dining table, his divan and his bed, and such a horse herdsman has the remarkable ability to carry out all activities, for which we need all kinds of equipment, upon his horse, from whose four legs he may be no more easily separated that a centaur from his.

JOHANNES GEORG KOHL, *TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA*, 1841[1]

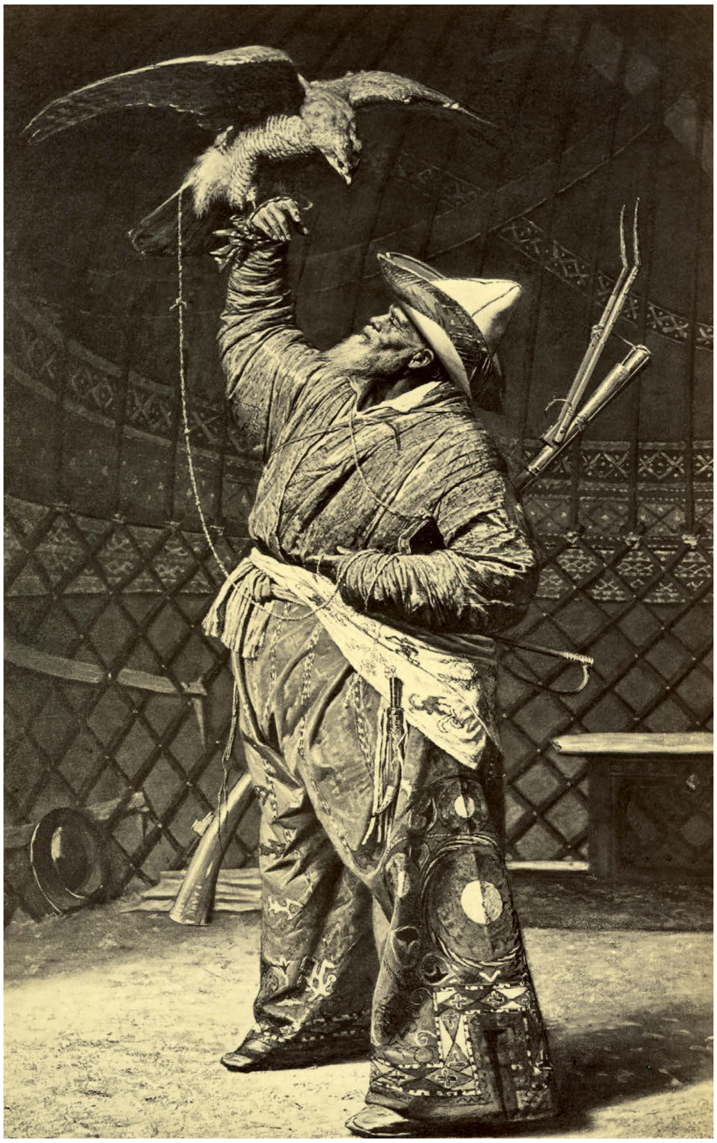
Canyon of Sharyn, south-eastern Kazakhstan.

The end of the culture of Karasuk around 1000 BC marked the start both of the Iron Age and of genuine nomadism. Iron was already known but until then had been used only for ritual purposes. A drastic shortage of tin around the mid-second millennium BC led first to a significant reduction in bronze production and then, in the region between the Don and the Urals, a return to archaic stone and bone tools. Iron soon offered an alternative. The Greek historian Hellanikos of Lesbos (490/480–*ca.* 400 BC), a contemporary of Herodotus, attributed the invention of iron to the Scythians, who came from Central Asia.[2] Whatever the truth of this, in the early centuries of the first millennium BC, with the development of early types of smelting furnaces, blacksmiths west and east of the Urals began to produce iron with low carbon content, which was suitable for the manufacture of weapons and heavy tools.[3]

At the same time climatic changes in the north-eastern part of the steppes of Central Asia encouraged the transition from a largely settled grazing economy to one based on nomadic stockbreeding. In a few regions, such as the Minusinsk Basin and, beginning in the ninth century BC, in Tuva, reduced solar activity produced a more humid climate, so that steppe-like landscapes blossomed into lush grazing lands. This led to a rise in population.[4] Indications are that the subsequent expansion of the moister climate to the west and the corresponding spread of rich pastureland encouraged the migration of Scythian and later Sarmatian nomadic horsemen westward to the Dnieper and Crimea.[5] The Iron Age in the northern half of Central Asia shows that stockbreeding practised by nomadic horsemen was not an archaic economic form but rather an appropriate and intelligent adaptation to new ecological conditions.

Their skills as horsemen and possession of the horse-drawn wagon facilitated the transition of these people to the nomadic lifestyle. Increased mobility meant they could move on more quickly to new grazing lands and maintain larger herds. Despite this increased mobility, the nomadic horsemen of the Iron Age had fixed sacred points in the arrangement of their royal necropolises. In 513/512 BC the Achaemenid ‘king of kings’ Darius I accused the northern Pontic Scythian king Idanthyrsos of avoiding a decisive battle out of fear and pursuing a strategy of scorched earth and poisoned wells. Idanthyrsos angrily responded: ‘In our country there are no towns and no cultivated land; fear of losing which, or seeing it ravaged, might indeed provoke us to hasty battle. If, however, you are determined about bloodshed with the

Kurgan at Kuten Buluq, Khakassia, southern Russia, fourth century BC.



Kyrgyz eagle hunter. 1874 photograph of a painting by W.W. Wereshhagin (1842–1904).

least possible delay, one thing there is for which we will fight – the tombs of our forefathers. Find those tombs, and try to wreck them, and you will soon know whether or not we are willing to stand up to you.'[6] The guerrilla strategy of the Scythians was successful and Darius was able to save himself and his decimated army only because the Scythians had failed to destroy his pontoon bridge over the Istros (Danube) River.[7]

With the growth of herds and their increasing mobility the nomadic societies also became more militarised, as water sources, grazing lands and winter camp sites had to be defended against both other stockbreeding groups and settled tribes. Winter pastures in particular had to be guarded throughout the year and defended by force when necessary, to ensure that the herds returning in late autumn would not find their pastures had been devoured by foreign herds. The remaining farmers, who represented tempting targets for plunder, had to either subordinate themselves or adopt the nomadic lifestyle of their belligerent neighbours. Only centrally controlled states such as the Achaemenids or the kingdoms of northern China were able to defend their borders by making massive investments in defensive measures. In the steppes the militarisation of society led to the creation of clear hierarchies, which were reflected in burial rituals. As Michail Grjaznov notes, 'War now became, therefore, almost a permanent occupation. Military leaders at different levels gained enhanced importance in the social structure and grew rich on the spoils of war. It became necessary to evolve a new and more efficient organization of the whole life of the community on a military footing.'[8]

1. Nomadic horsemen in north-eastern Central Asia

1.1 The kurgan steppe of Minusinsk

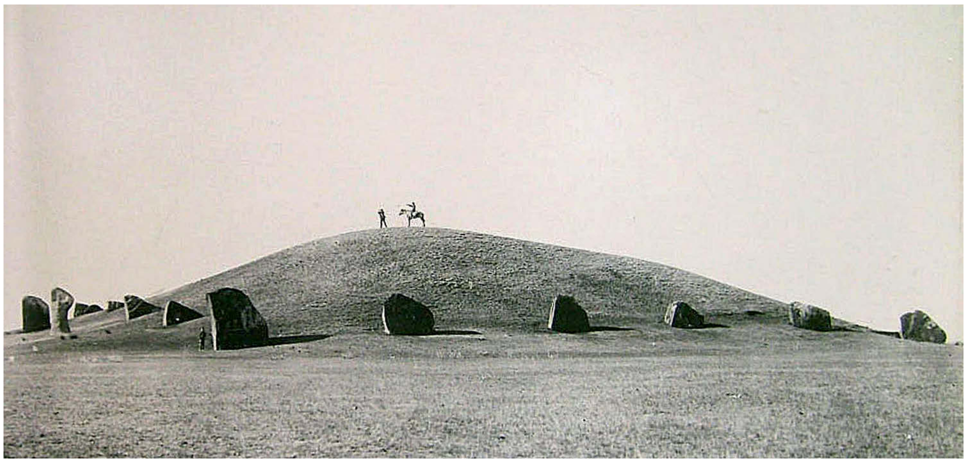
During the Iron Age the southern Siberian Minusinsk Basin in the modern Russian republic of Khakassia had lush grazing lands and rich ore sources, which drew nomadic stockbreeders like a magnet. Today an impressive concentration of grave markers testifies to the population at that time: Khakassia has more than 30,000 kurgans and cist tombs! The burial sites, marked by earthen mounds, stone slabs or pillars, soon attracted grave robbers. They usually melted down the objects made from precious metals, especially gold, or, beginning in the early eighteenth century, sold them to European collectors. Thus the first scientific excavation in Russia, undertaken in 1722 by the German physician and scientist D.G. Messerschmidt (1685–1735) a few kilometres west of the city of Abakan, discovered only an empty tomb. Equally fruitless were the excavations of kurgans in the Minusinsk Basin made by the pioneers J.G. Gmelin (1739), P.S. Pallas (1772) and V.V. Radlov (1865).[9]

In the Minusinsk Basin the Iron Age may be divided into two cultures, Tagar (1000–200 BC) and Tashtyk (50–500 AD), between which lies the transition period of the Tes' phase (200 BC–50 AD).[10] The common hallmark of all kurgan graves of the **Tagar Culture** is their four-cornered enclosures made of thick stone slabs and the four elevated cornerstones that act as steles. Today the slabs are often missing and only the stone pillars remain. The division of the nearly thousand-year culture was developed by the archaeologist Grjaznov.[11] In the **Bainov phase** (1000–800 BC) small enclosures, of an area of *ca*. 4 x 5 m and made of stone slabs, with cornerstones standing up to 2 m high, were built over cists with individual burials, while in the **Podgornovo phase** (800–450 BC) timber graves often replaced the stone cists, the cornerstones usually rose just 20–30 cm above the ground and the enclosure surrounded one to four burials. Flat earthen mounds now also appeared over the graves. Clay vessels adorned with simple linear patterns, objects decorated in the early animal style and bronze weapons predominated as grave goods. Iron weapons were either too valuable to be buried or they still played a lesser role. Decorations included sword chapes in the form of coiled animals, buckles in the shape of recumbent deer with tucked in legs and stylised birds' beaks on the sockets of knives.[12]

During the **Saragash phase** (450–200 BC) the individual graves were replaced by collective graves, family and clan crypts with as many as 100 corpses. Among the grave goods, symbolic miniature weapons stand out. At the same time individual cornerstone kurgans grew to monumental, indeed Cyclopean dimensions, such as in the necropolis of Salbyk with its 14 great kurgans. The largest kurgan, from the fourth century BC, was originally 11 m tall and covered an area of 70 x 70 m. It was encircled by 23 gigantic dressed stones up to 5.4 m in height and 40 metric tons in weight, which must have been transported from a quarry 60 km away. As revealed by the excavations of 1954 to 1956, adult and child burials were found under the cornerstones, attesting to building sacrifices. Unfortunately in the excavated central timber grave the archaeologist S.V. Kiselev found only the Europid skeletons of a man and a woman, as well as three additional male skeletons in the dromos; the dead were presumably a tribal royal couple with selected servants.[13]

Thirty kilometres north-east of Salbyk is the kurgan of Barsučij Log, dating from the early Saragash-phase towards the end of the fifth century BC. In the kurgan, which was originally 11 to 12 m tall, archaeologists discovered traces of a fire ritual. As in the kurgans of the Saka in Tagisken South and in Ujgarak, the dead were buried in a 7 x 7 m grave, over which was erected a wooden chamber covered in birch bark. After a certain length of time the whole wooden structure was set on fire and destroyed. The grave was then filled in and the kurgan built of thickly layered sod. To ensure the stability of the kurgan, clay mortar bound together the individual layers of sod. An elaborate, 54 x 54 m enclosure wall surrounded the kurgan and prevented the mound from sliding. This wall was made of layered stone slabs, reinforced with orthostats and upright steles. Twenty-eight of these orthostats and steles featured petroglyphs. Some of these were obviously older than the kurgan and had been deliberately taken from older sacral monuments. Among them figure Bronze Age hunters wearing mushroom-shaped hats and animals standing on tiptoes in the early Scythian style.[14] It seems that the builders of Barsučij Log wanted to sanctify the burial with venerated relics from bygone cultures.

Finally the kurgan got its unique pyramidal shape, with the gently sloping southern side and the three other steep sides covered with orange-red clay blocks and a flat top.[15] Glowing like a fiery crystal, the kurgan must have been a spectacular landmark in the grass-green steppe. Like other great kurgans of the Iron Age, Barsučij Log was not only a huge mound of earth over a grave but also a planned work of architecture, which was embedded in particular rituals. At the beginning of the following phase of Tes' (200 BC–50 AD) the burial chamber was not only plundered but also wantonly vandalised and the four skeletons of the main burial 1 widely scattered. The intruders left the head of a dog in the tomb. The leading excavator of Barsučij Log, Anatoli Nagler, believes, that representatives of the new rulers of Tes' desecrated this und other princely burials form the previous Saragash rulers in order to end a

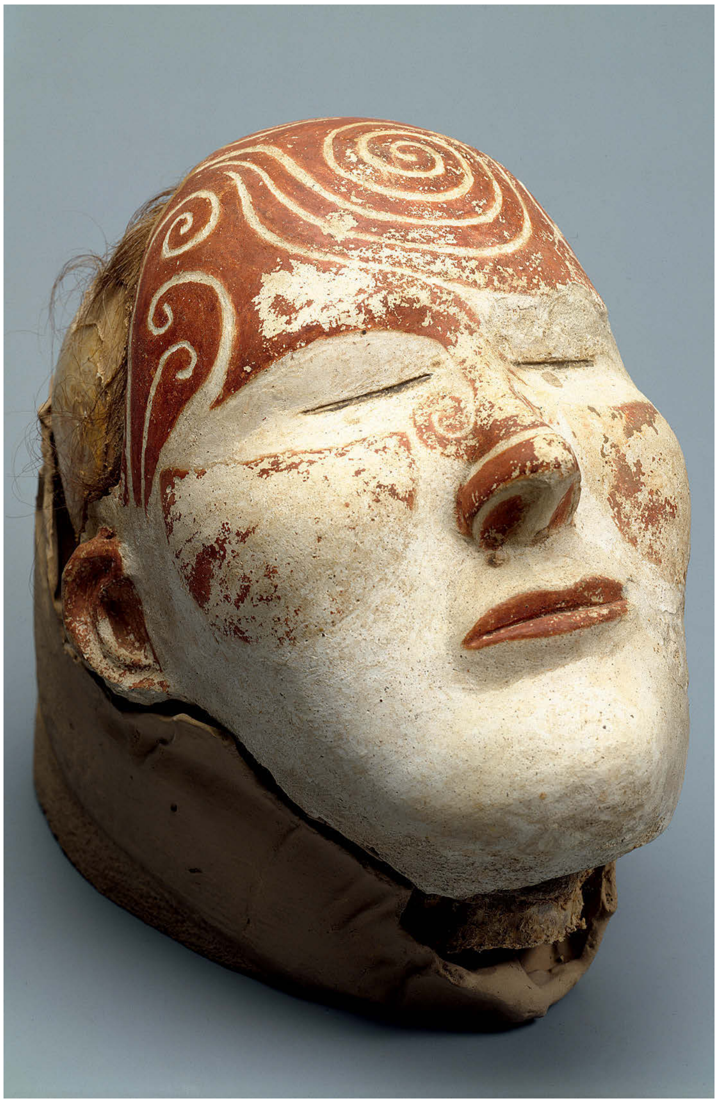


Great kurgan of Salbyk, Khakassia, southern Russia, fourth century BC. Photograph from 1910, M.W. Fjodorowa.

likely ancestor cult and to erase the glory of the former sovereigns from memory, a kind of 'damnatio memoriae'.[16]

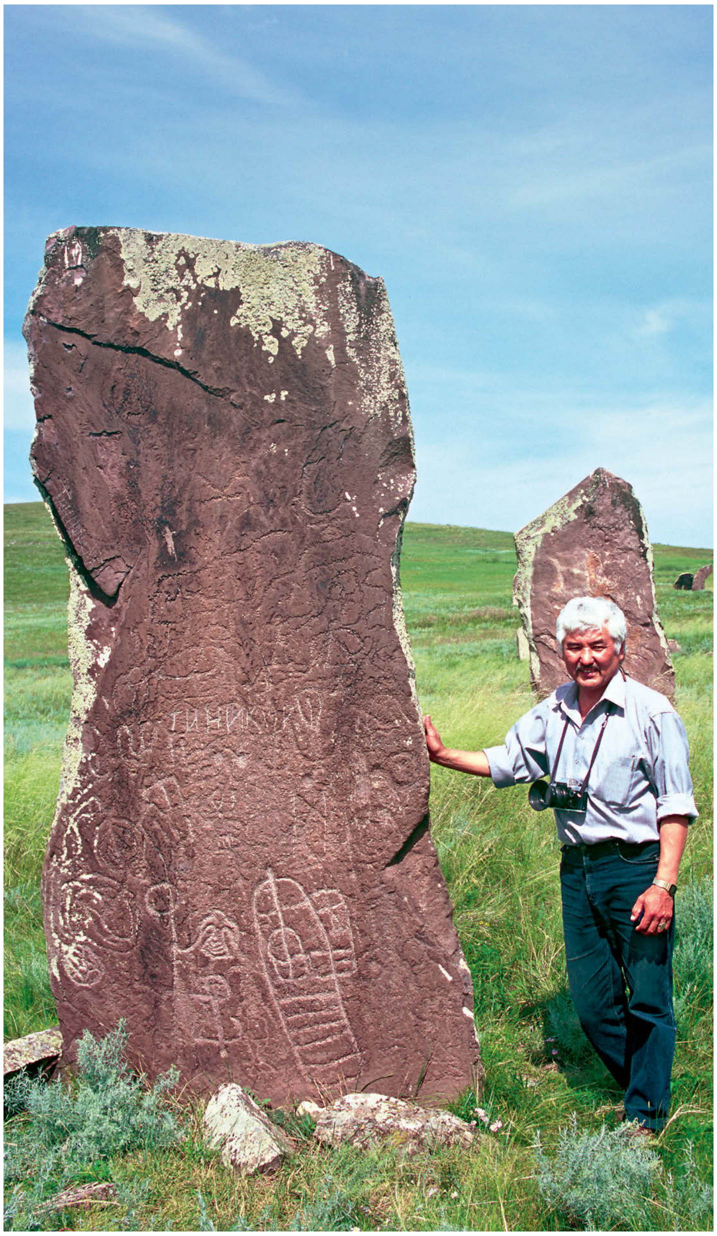
The representatives of the Tagar Culture were Europids, who presumably spoke an Iranian dialect and were related to the Scythians of the northern Pontic region. They were semi-nomadic stockbreeders, and it is not known what form their shelters took. Although a few spur fortresses have been discovered, their purpose remains unknown; were they refuges, protected cultic sites or places used over a long period? In the subsequent transition phase of **Tes'** (200 BC–50 AD) the people lived in tomb-like block houses and in yurt-like residences, consisting of a round wooden frame covered with felt, as can be seen in the petroglyphs of Bojarskie pisanicy.[17] In forested regions birch bark may also have covered the yurts. At this time weapons made of iron, as used by the Xiongnu of the Transbaikal region, prevailed; only miniature weapons without practical value used as grave goods were made of bronze. At the same time Hunnic bands began migrating to Khakassia, so the proportion of Mongolid people in the total population grew rapidly. Dating from this time are branding irons for cattle, evidence of the need to recognise private property in the relatively densely populated Minusinsk Basin. The Tes' Culture continued the practice of collective burials in monumental kurgans but also had cemeteries with stone cist graves laid close together without earthen tumuli.

In the Tes' phase and the subsequent **Tashtyk Culture** (50–500 AD) a new burial custom arose. Skulls were trepanned and the brain and soft tissue removed, after which a silk cloth was laid over the face and covered with a clay mask, which usually had Mongolid, rarely Europid, features. These clay heads were partially covered with a thin layer of plaster and painted red. Although there is no reason to believe they have a cultural connection, they resemble the famous mummy of Yingpan from the fourth/fifth century AD, discovered in 1995 in the north-western Lop Nor Desert. The face of the dead person was covered by a mask made of hemp, and fine black lines on a white background indicate a Europid face. The deceased was presumably a Sogdian merchant.[18] In the Tashtyk epoch other new tribes migrated from the east, presumably ancestors of Yenisei Kirghiz, who spoke a Turkic language. At the same time other innovations appeared in burial rituals, since now corpses were mummified and embalmed or cremated. In the latter case they buried a clothed leather figure stuffed with grass, with a painted face sculpted out of clay, in whose belly were placed pouches containing the burnt bones of the deceased. The dolls wore silk clothing or fur coats, trousers, lined boots and mittens.[19] As part of the cult of the dead, animal and human sacrifices were performed at neighbouring stone steles.[20]



Ochre-painted plaster death mask over the trepanned and mummified head of a woman. Tashtyk Culture (50–500 AD), Minusinsk steppe, southern Russia. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The complex burial rituals of the Tes' phases and the Tashtyk Culture show us how widespread was the fundamental need to ensure a more or less symbolic but still physically perceptible afterlife. Such desires found consummate expression not only in pharaonic Egypt but also in the steppes of the Urals. During the Catacomb Culture (2450–1950 BC) the head was sometimes separated from the body of the deceased and trepanned, with the brain and soft tissues removed, after which it was covered with clay and the facial features sculpted and painted in colour. The prepared head was then returned to the body in the grave. More rarely, the entire body was stripped of soft tissue and the skeleton served as the basis for the creation of a doll.[21] That this desire lives on in the twenty-first century is shown in the costly attempts to cryogenically preserve corpses for the future.

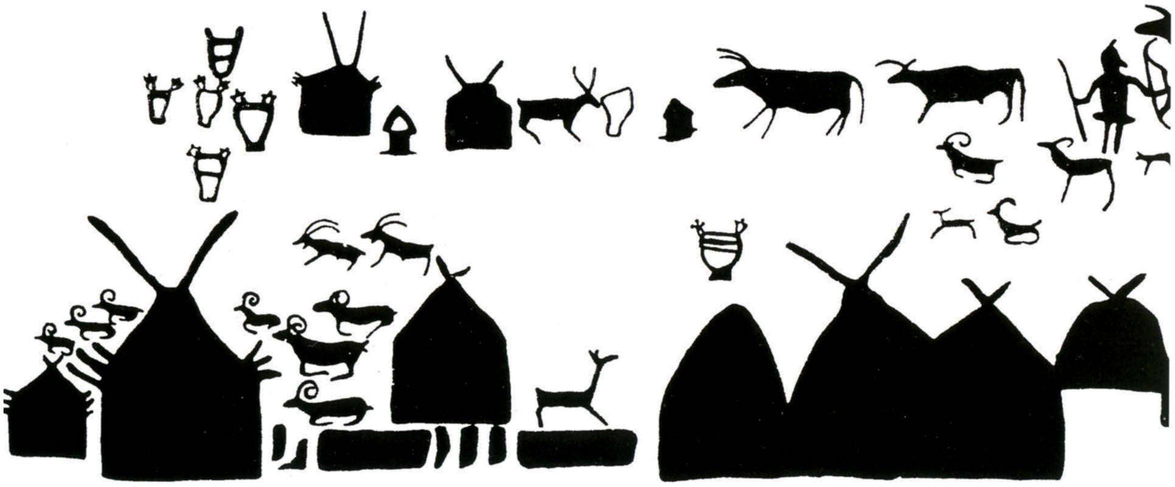


1.2 Herodotus's geography of Central Asian peoples

'The nomadic tribes of Scythians [...] lived in Asia',[22] reported the Greek historian and geographer Herodotus of Halicarnassus (490/480–*ca*. 424/420 BC). Thanks to him, we have access for the first time to a written source for the cultural history of Central Asia.[23] He devotes sections of the first and fourth books of his *Histories* to the nomadic horsemen of Central Asia. The value of Herodotus's nine-part history consists in his extensive travels, which led him from southern Italy to Babylon and from Egypt to the northern coast of the Black Sea. Here he stayed in the Miletian colony and trading city of Olbia, in the delta of the Dnieper (Greek Borysthenes) and the Bug (Hypanis), east of the present-day city of Odessa. There Herodotus is said to have spoken before 460 BC with the agent (epitropos) of the Scythian king Ariapeithes, Thymnes.[24] Regarding the Scythians of the northern Black Sea region, Herodotus concentrated on their wars against the Persians, their geography and their myths and customs. Since the nineteenth century Herodotus's history has served as a source not only for historians but also for archaeologists. Three significant questions come to the fore: Where was the nucleus of the Scythians? Where was the royal necropolis of Gerrhos? Did the descriptions of spectacular burial rituals correspond to reality? Despite doubts, archaeology has confirmed the third question practically in its entirety, revealed a kernel of truth in the partially fantastical geographic descriptions and developed a plausible hypothesis in response to the second question.[25]

Herodotus refers to four traditions about the origins of the Scythians, who lived in the northern Pontic region between the Dnieper (Borysthenes) and the Don (Tanaïs) and who called themselves the Scolotoi.[26] The Scolotoi believed they were a native

The archaeologist Dr. Valery Balachtchin, Abakan, beside an engraved megalithic stone belonging to one of the 13 kurgans of Safronovo near Poltakovo, Tes' Phase of the Tagar Culture (200 BC–50 AD), Khakassia, southern Russia.

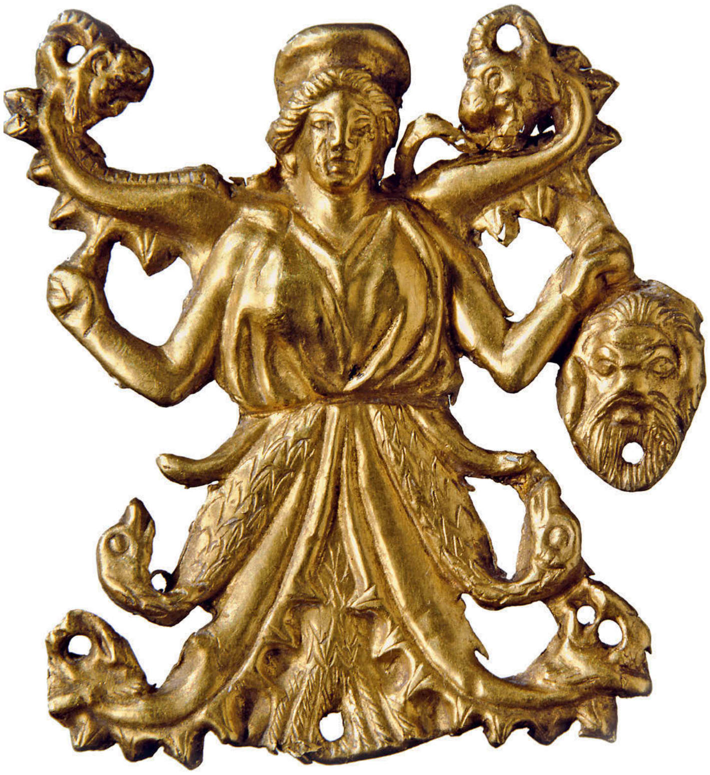


The petroglyphs of 'Bojarskie pisanicy' on the Yenisei River show that the Khakassian stockbreeders of the Tes' Phase (200 BC–50 AD) lived in yurt-like dwellings. Indian ink drawing, Khakassia, southern Russia.

people and were descended from Targitaos, a son of Zeus (Papaios) and a daughter of the river god Borysthenes. In this mythical system three spheres are represented: as son of the sky god Zeus, Targitaos represents the upper world; the daughter of the river god, the underworld; and the ancestors of the Scythians, the earthly middle world. Targitaos had three sons, each of whom presided over a tribe: Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs and the youngest, Scolaxaïs.[27] When they were grown, 'there fell from the sky a golden plough, a golden yoke, a golden battleaxe, and a golden cup.' The two older brothers both tried to pick up the objects, but 'the gold caught fire' as they approached them. The youngest, however, picked them up and carried them home and was declared king of all the Scythians.[28] From then on the various Scythian tribes called themselves 'Scolotoi' after the name of their first ruler. Scolaxaïs established three lordships for his sons.[29] From this myth a few conclusions may be drawn about the governing structure. Succession passed from the father to the youngest son, but the son could only receive his inheritance after passing a test. His position as king of all Scythians was not absolute, however, since he could be deposed on account of dishonourable behaviour and replaced by one of his brothers, as illustrated by the example of the unfortunate King Scylas. When Scylas began around 440 BC to adopt Hellenistic customs, worshipping Greek gods and participating in Dionysian mysteries, the assembly of the people and the army deposed him. They named as king his half-brother Octamasadas, who wasted no time in beheading Scylas with his own hand.[30]

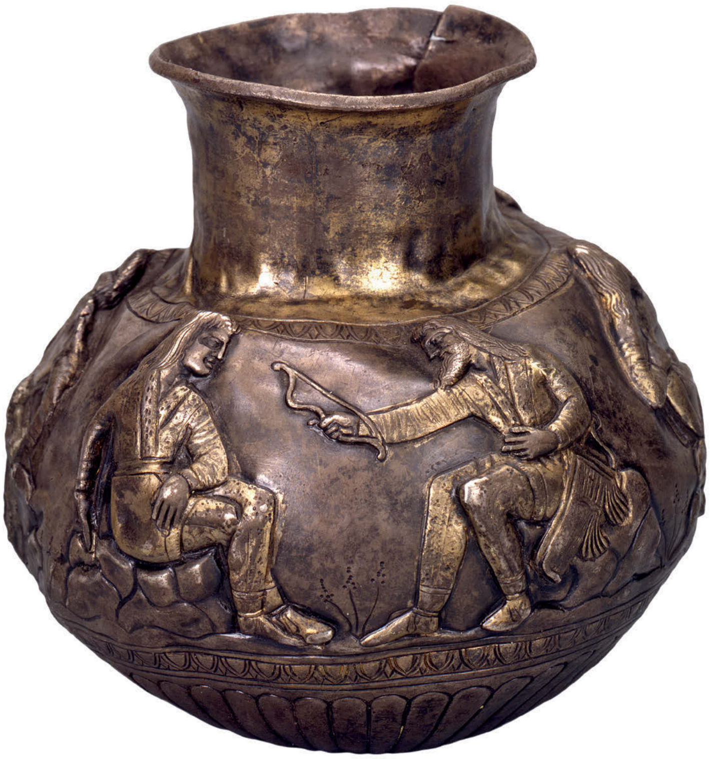
The myth also suggests a tripartite division of power, which Herodotus confirmed in another place. When the Persian kings of kings Darius attacked the northern Pontic Scythians in 513/12 BC, the Scythian supreme king and commander of the Scythian Idanthyrsos determined the defensive strategy and gave his subordinate rulers Scopasis and Taxakis corresponding tactical instructions.[31] On account of the nomadic lifestyle, during peacetime there was no need for a strong central government, but one was certainly required in times of war. Thanks to the existing political structure of the Pontic Scythians of a chief king, two lower kings, and a number of subordinate nomarchs (prefects), the Scythians could very quickly mount a large army, which the chief king commanded as general.[32] The Xiongnu later adopted a similar three-part power structure with a central chief king, the *shanyu*, and two viceroys, one on each flank.[33] In contrast to the Xiongnu, the Scythian kings who ruled in the northern Pontic region appear not to have created a stable state structure.

The Greeks who lived on the Black Sea believed, however, that the ancestor of the Scythians was Scythes, whose parents were Hercules and a creature that was half woman, half snake. This tradition is similar to the first insofar as the youngest of the three brothers was made the first king of the Scythians after proving himself in a test. When Hercules rested his horses and fell asleep in Scythia, a snake-woman stole them. She agreed to return the horses only after Hercules had fathered three sons with her. In order later to select the most capable of his three sons, Hercules left behind his second bow and his war belt. Only the youngest, Scythes, was able to put on the belt and bend the bow of his father, and thus he bested his older brothers.[34] The test of bending the bow recalls the story of Odysseus's bow. When Odysseus returned to Ithaca tests of strength were being held for the suitors of his wife Penelope. However, the great man's bow could be bent by no one other than himself.[35] A gilded silver vessel from the necropolis of Častye near Voronezh in southern Russia illustrates a transfer of power in which an older warrior hands a drawn recurve bow to a young man.[36]



Gold clothing plaque, Kul Oba Kurgan, eastern Crimea, Ukraine, *ca.* 350 BC. The plaque shows a female creature with snake-like legs, who holds in her left hand the decapitated head of a bearded man. Two horned birds of prey grow from her shoulders and two more raptors' heads emerge from her waist. The figure is ambiguous and could represent both the ancestress of the Scythians who was impregnated by Hercules and a mistress of animals. She also displays characteristics of the tendril-limbed woman popular among the Scythians and in the Mediterranean region, whose limbs took on plant-like forms and who symbolised fertility and the annual rebirth of nature. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

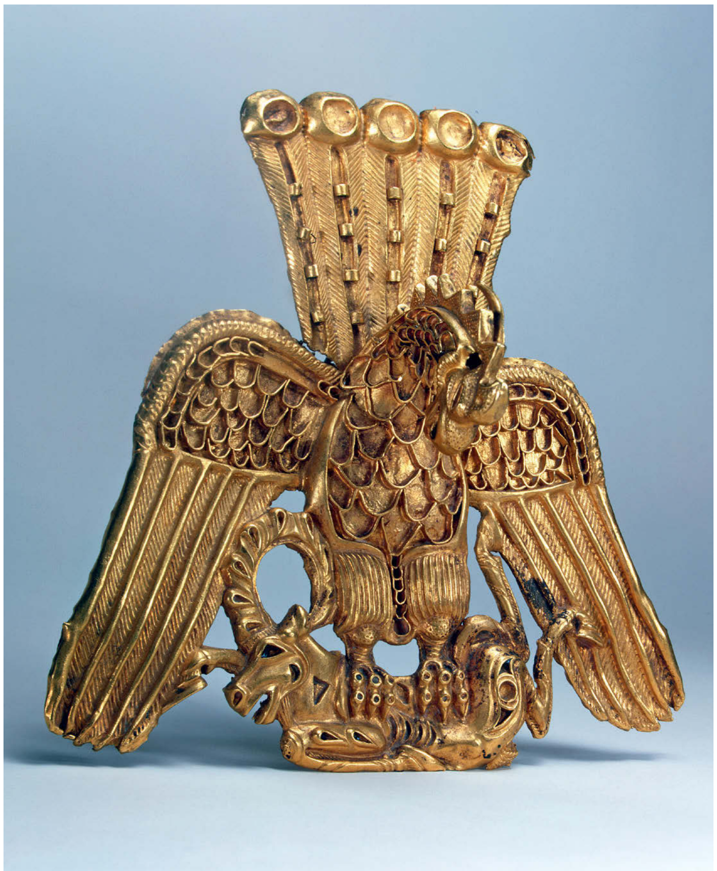
Herodotus himself described a third tradition, according to which Scythians living east of the Caspian Sea were driven out of Central Asia, after which they chased the Cimmerians out of the Black Sea region.[37] From a geographic standpoint, however, the fourth version, which reports a domino-like migration of peoples from north-eastern Central Asia, is the most interesting. To elucidate the tradition, known to both 'Hellenes and non-Hellenes', Herodotus turned for help to the fantastic-sounding geography of the Greek poet Aristeas of Prokonnesos from the seventh century BC. According to him, east of the northern Pontic Royal and Nomadic Scythians lived the related Sauromatians; south-east of the Sauromatians were the warlike Massagetae; and east of them the Issedonians. At the burials of patriarchs, the Issedonians are said to have mixed the flesh of the corpse with that of slaughtered cattle and eaten it at a funeral meal. They were also reputed to gild the skulls of the highly regarded dead and to venerate them. North-east of the Sauromatians lived the bald-headed and snub-nosed Argippaoi in white felt yurts, to whom Scythian and Greek merchants travelled. North-east of the Issedonians lived the 'one-eyed' Arimaspians, and still farther north-east their enemies the 'gold protecting griffins', as well as the Hyperboreans, whose land bordered on the hyperborean ocean, the Arctic Sea. The Arimaspians once forced the Issedonians from their homeland, after which the Issedonians drove out their western neighbours, the Scythians, who subsequently chased the Cimmerians from the northern Caucasus and the Black Sea region.[38]



Partially gilded silver cultic vessel from kurgan 3 of the necropolis of Častye, Voronez Oblast, central Russia, fourth century BC. The vessel shows three scenes from Scythian mythology; shown here, the ancestor of the Scythians, Hercules, gives his youngest son, Scythes, his bow as a sign of handing power over to him, since only he was able to bend it. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The story describes how a single migration can lead to further migrations, much like falling dominoes. The background is formed by the historical military campaigns of the Cimmerian and Scythian tribes from Central Asia, which advanced as far as the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and on to Egypt. Such interconnected waves of migration are also found historically in later migrations of peoples, such as those of the Sarmatians, Alans and Huns. With regard to the peoples described by Herodotus and Aristeas, the historical peoples of the Cimmerians were originally found in the Pontic region and the northern Caucasus; the Sauromatians between the lower reaches of the Don and the Volga or the Ural; and the Massagetae between the Caspian Sea, the Aral Sea and the Syr Darya. The snub-nosed Argippaoi were probably of Mongolid heritage and had migrated from the east; they also spoke a non-Iranian language, since Herodotus says that the Scythians visiting them needed interpreters to understand them.[39] Presumably these nomadic horsemen lived in the central or eastern Kazakh steppe.[40] Their elusive Issedonian neighbours may have lived on their southern border on the Syr Darya, north of the Saka, relatives of the Scythians, who also lived as cattle-raising nomadic horsemen.[41] The Arimaspians were probably found in north-eastern Kazakhstan or south-western Siberia. Herodotus was, however, misleading in stating that their ostensibly Scythian name refers to one-eyed people, because *arima* means 'one' and *spu* means 'eye'.[42] In fact, the Iranian name contains the word *aspa*, meaning 'horse', so the name may be understood to mean 'owner' or 'friend of horses', implying nomadic horsemen.[43]

The homeland of the gold protecting griffins may have been in the Altai, whose Turkish name means roughly 'golden mountain' and which has rich deposits of gold. Their conflicts over gold with the neighbouring Arimaspians are alluded to on the famous Kelermes mirror, in which two men who are either very hairy or wearing animal skins attack a griffin.[44] The assumption that gold-prospecting tribes who took as their totem the griffin, a mythical animal with the head of a bird of prey, lived in the Altai, is supported by the fact that griffins played a prominent role in the Scytho-Siberian animal style in general and in the Altai in particular. As the northern Pontic Scythians had no sources of gold themselves, they had to import it, presumably from the north-western Caucasus, as well as from Kazakhstan and the Altai.



Gold aigrette from the Siberian collection of Tsar Peter I (unknown provenance), fifth–fourth centuries BC, depicting a bird of prey attacking an ibex with its talons. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

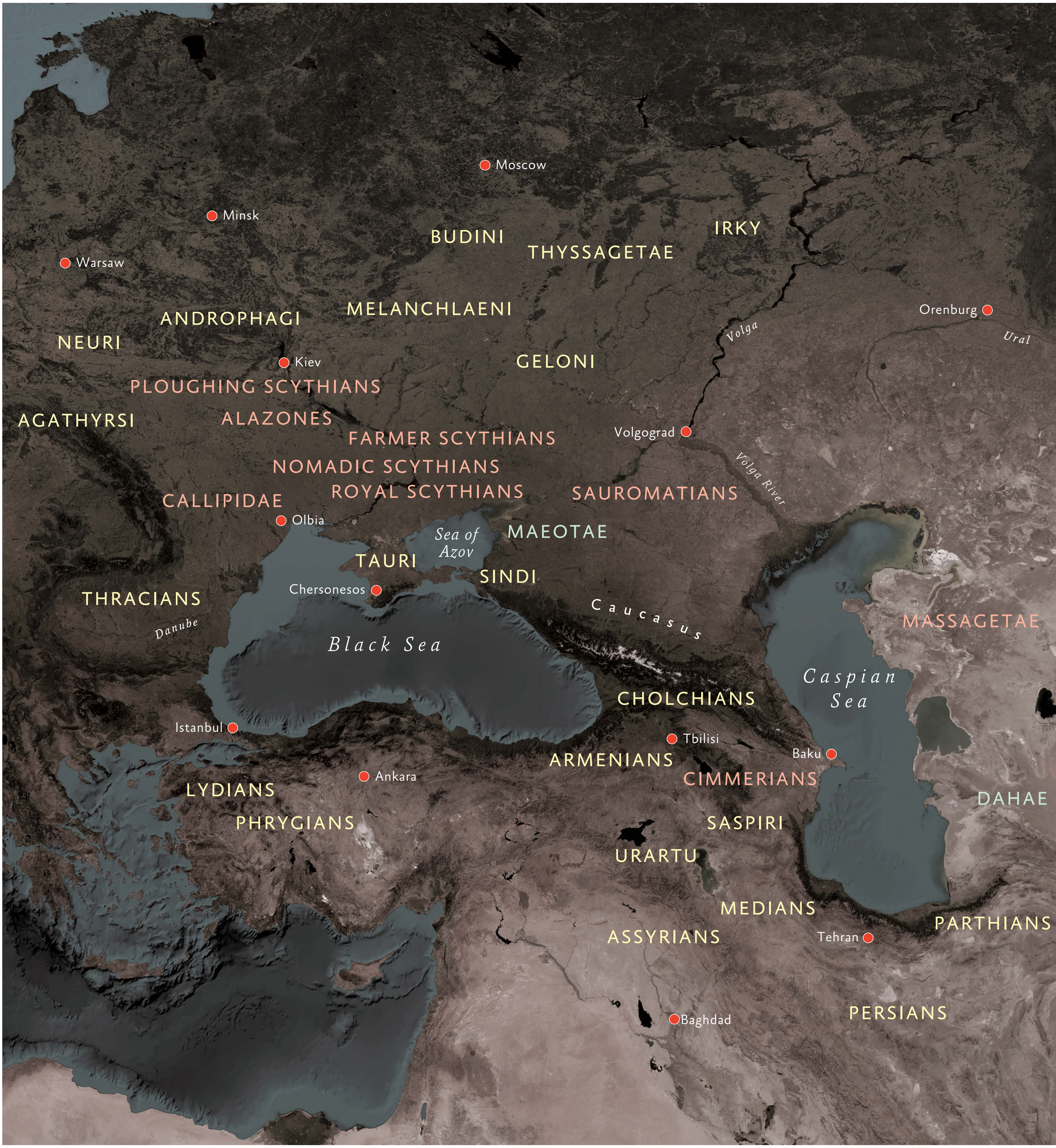
The trade contact between the Scythians and the Argippaoi, referred to by Herodotus, suggests the existence of a trade route for gold between the southern Ukraine and the Altai. This is all the more likely as toreutics made in the Scytho–Siberian animal style, whose roots lay in the southern Siberian of Tuva bordering the Altai, developed works of art similar in content and style throughout the Scytho–Eurasian steppe.

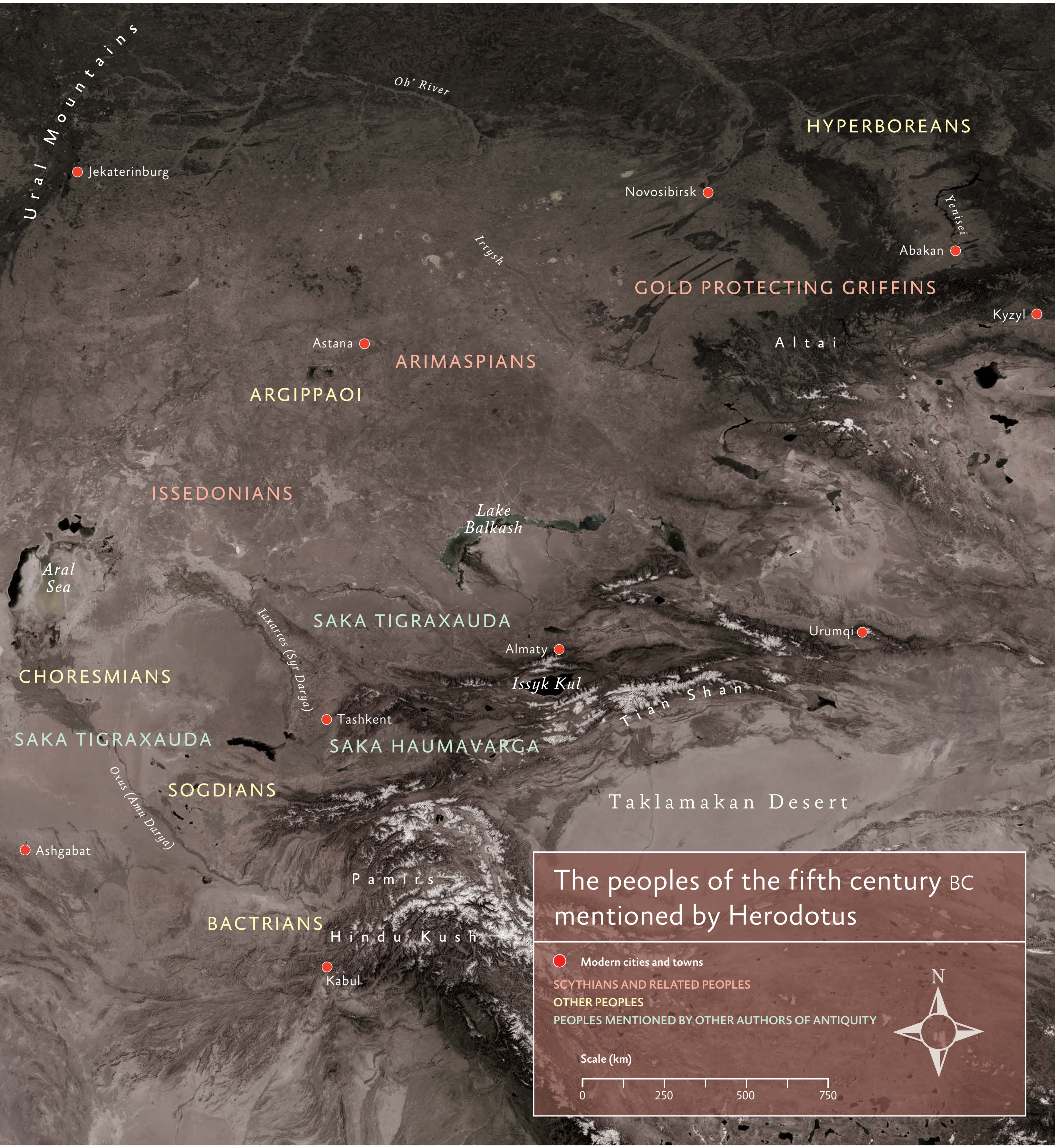
1.3 Tuva, nucleus of the Scythian peoples and the Scytho–Siberian animal style

Was Herodotus correct when he located the kernel of the Scythian homeland in distant north-eastern Central Asia? Or were the Scythians the descendants of representatives of the Srubnaya Culture between the Volga and the Urals?[45] And where did the Scytho–Siberian animal style, characterised by a very lively depiction of individual features of certain animals, arise? In Central Asia under possible northern Chinese influence or in the Pontic–Caucasus region under strong Near Eastern influence?

The Russian Republic of Tuva is separated from the Minusinsk Basin by the Sayan Mountains, where the popular general and governor of Krasnoyarsk, Alexander Lebed, died in a helicopter crash on 28 April 2002. The valley of Ujuk on the south-western edge of the Sayans has lush, green pastures, and at Arzhan there is a necropolis stretching over kilometres with hundreds of Iron Age and Old Turkish kurgans, including monumental great kurgans. These give this part of the valley the Russian name *dolina zarej*, 'valley of the kings'. During the second millennium BC the climate in Tuva was quite arid and led to a depopulating of the region during the Andronovo period. At the start of the first millennium, however, it became considerably more humid, allowing for the development of fertile grazing lands and the arrival of nomadic herders from the surrounding area. The proximity to the immeasurable ore deposits in the Minusinsk Basin further increased the attractiveness of the Ujuk valley. Even today strong winds prevent snow from accumulating in the winter on the hills around the Ujuk valley, making the area an ideal winter camp.[46] It thus appeared that the ruling families of Tuva chose the valley as their dynastic necropolis, a kind of Tuvan Gerrhos.

It was here in 1971–74 that Michail Grjaznov set his spade on the largest kurgan, called Arzhan 1, which was no earthen tumulus made of sod but rather a 3–4-m-high stone platform with a diameter of over 100 m, which was surrounded by another stone wall, a krepis, 2.5 m in height. A deer stone once stood on the kurgan, and on it were engraved deer and wild pigs standing on tiptoe and a belt with weapons hanging off it.[47] In the kurgan, which had unfortunately been completely robbed of its contents, Grjaznov discovered a wooden structure that remains unique to this day. Over 70 rectangular and slightly trapezoidal wooden chambers made of century-old larch surrounded in the shape of six concentric circular rings the almost square central wooden chamber, forming a wheel- or sunray-like design. In the plundered central chamber lay the mortal remains of a once magnificently buried royal couple, surrounded by six sacrificed horses and eight trough-shaped wooden caskets. These were the coffins of eight sacrificed henchmen. In 13 of the over 70 trapezoidal chambers lay seven additional men and more than 160 bridled, saddled and decorated horses. Thus a total of 15 attendants had to accompany the royal couple into the afterlife; all 17 of the dead were dolichocephalic Europids.[48] As the sacrificed horses were adult stallions and geldings, they did not represent a herd but had rather been selected from various herds of the tribes subjugated by the defunct chieftain and sacrificed as a final tribute to him. A typological study of the horse-gear showed that not only were neighbouring tribes from

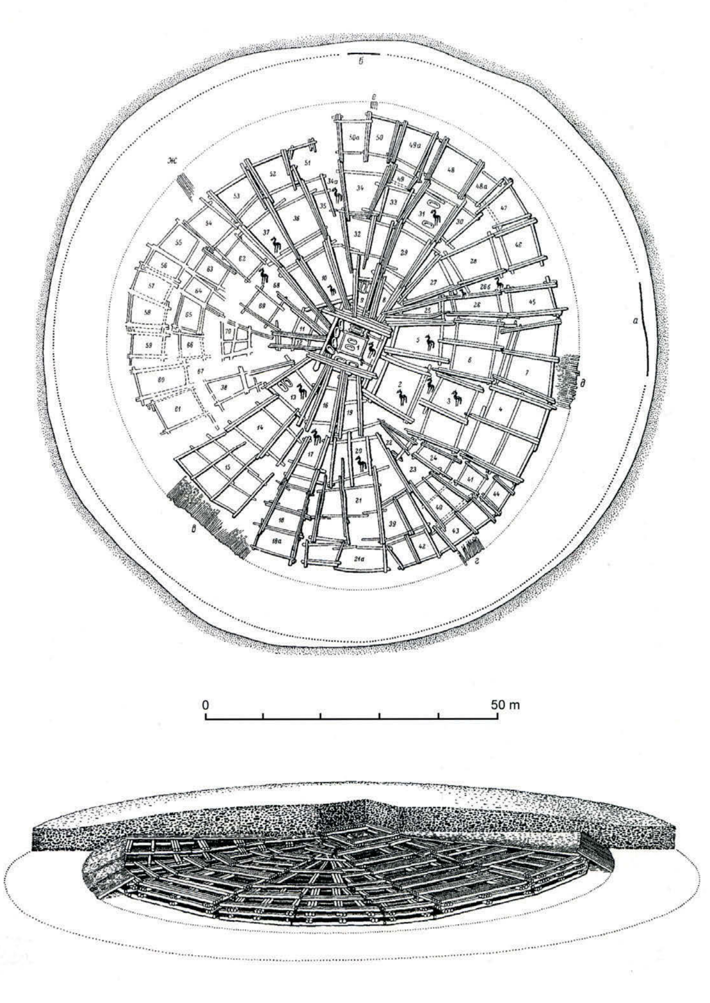

Moscow
Minsk
Warsaw
BUDINI
THYSSAGETAE
IRKY
ANDROPHAGI
MELANCHLAENI
Orenburg
Volga
Ural
NEURI
Kiev
GELONI
PLOUGHING SCYTHIANS
AGATHYRSI
ALAZONES
FARMER SCYTHIANS
Volgograd
NOMADIC SCYTHIANS
Volga River
CALLIPIDAE
ROYAL SCYTHIANS
SAUROMATIANS
Olbia
Sea of Azov
MAEOTAE
TAURI
SINDI
THRACIANS
Chersonesos
Caucasus
MASSAGETAE
Danube
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
CHOLCHIANS
Istanbul
Tbilisi
Baku
ARMENIANS
Ankara
CIMMERIANS
DAHAE
LYDIANS
PHRYGIANS
SASPIRI
URARTU
MEDIANS
PARTHIANS
ASSYRIANS
Tehran
Baghdad
PERSIANS


The peoples of the fifth century BC mentioned by Herodotus

Ural Mountains
Jekaterinburg
Ob' River
HYPERBOREANS
Novosibirsk
Yenisei
Irtysh
Abakan
GOLD PROTECTING GRIFFINS
Kyzyl
Altai
Astana
ARIMASPIANS
ARGIPPAOI
ISSEDONIANS
Lake Balkash
Aral Sea
Iaxartes (Syr Darya)
SAKA TIGRAXAUDA
Urumqi
Almaty
CHORESMIANS
Issyk Kul
Tian Shan
Tashkent
SAKA TIGRAXAUDA
SAKA HAUMAVARGA
Oxus (Amu Darya)
SOGDIANS
Taklamakan Desert
Ashgabat
Pamirs
BACTRIANS
Hindu Kush
Kabul
● Modern cities and towns
SCYTHIANS AND RELATED PEOPLES
OTHER PEOPLES
PEOPLES MENTIONED BY OTHER AUTHORS OF ANTIQUITY
N
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750

Tuva, the Minusinsk Basin and the Altai represented at the burial but also more distant tribes from Kazakhstan and Mongolia.[49] At the foot of the kurgan about 300 stone mounds, 2–3 m in diameter, were laid in a semicircle, under which lay the remains of an enormous funeral feast, such as choice bones of cattle, sheep, goats and especially horses. The skins of the slaughtered animals were ceremoniously hung. Grjaznov estimated that around 300 horses were slaughtered on the occasion of this commemoration.[50] It is unknown how long such memorial ceremonies lasted. Within the bounds of the funeral events a total of approximately 460 horses were killed.[51]

Despite the grave robbing, the picture emerges of a magnificent burial. There were remains of splendid sable robes, gold beads and appliqués, gold earrings with turquoise inlays, a gold choker, gold clothing plaques and many turquoise inlays. The last were typical inlays for large gold objects, as are familiar from Tsar Peter I's Siberian collection in the Hermitage. The comparable gold objects stolen from Arzhan 1 were most likely completely melted down. To these were added discoveries of early Scythian bronze daggers, a battle pick, bilobite bronze arrowheads and a dagger with a boar on tiptoe at the end of the hilt. Other early Scythian objects included the harness with its complete bronze bridle, decorated with stirrup-shaped cheek pieces (psalia), three-holed knobs and pendants made of pierced boar's teeth. There was also a bronze plate with a diameter of 25 cm in the form of a coiled big cat, presumably from the breastplate of a horse. Such coiled animals belonged to the code of the early Scytho–Siberian animal style; the wide-open mouth with bared teeth in the coiled panther from Arzhan 1 recalls portrayals from the late Bronze Age.[52]

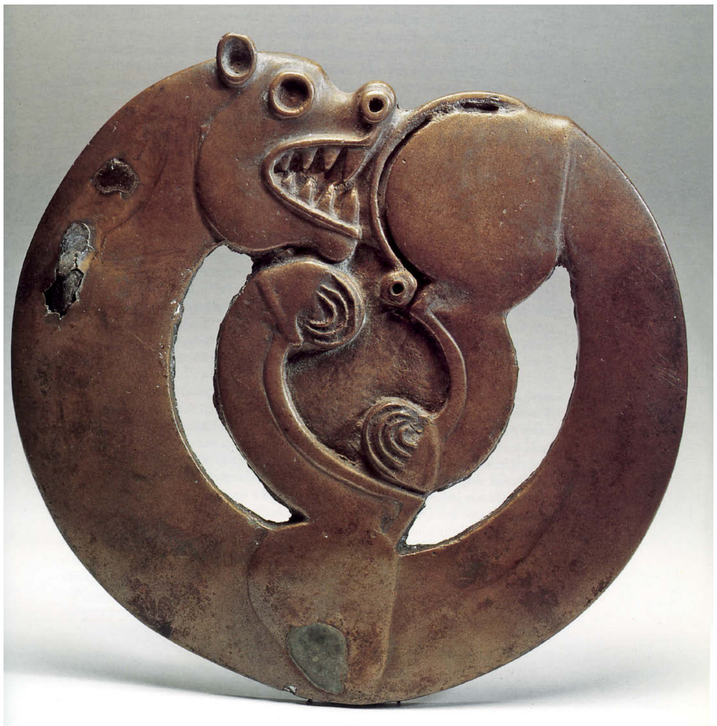


Elevation and plan of the kurgan of Arzhan 1, Tuva, southern Russia, around 800 BC. The kurgan has more than 70 compartments, and the drawings of a horse indicate those compartments with horse burials. According to Michail Grjaznov, *Der Großkurgan von Arzhan in Tuva, Südsibirien*, 1984, p. 18.

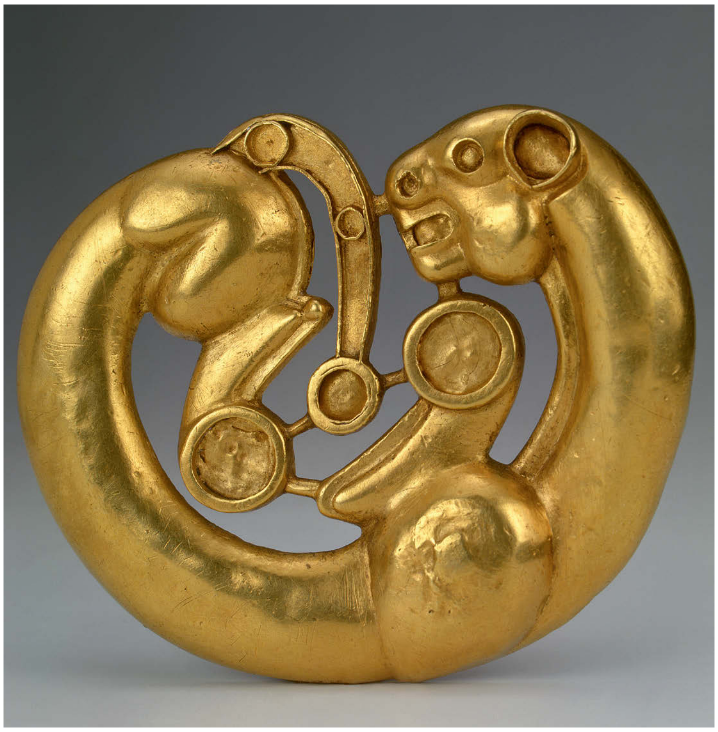
A pair of bronze finials topped with figures of mountain rams also belongs to the early Scytho–Siberian animal style.[53] The first known pole-tops were found in the great kurgan of Maikop (3700–3400 BC), where rods held up the baldachin over the deceased prince. Such bronze supports with depictions of animals and deities were also widespread in the Pontic region.[54] As Schiltz surmises, the rods topped with animals served not only to support the baldachin above the dead but also to mark off a sacred space.[55] While sedentary peoples enclosed 'sacred' cultic sites with walls, steppe nomads indicated their cultic places with portable standards topped with animal figures; the symbolic appearance of animals or a deity like Papaios, founder of the Scythian royal dynasty, defined the cultic space. Just how magnificent the royal tomb of Arzhan 1 must have been can be seen in the stunning discoveries made at the nearby undisturbed kurgan of Arzhan 2 from the late seventh century BC.

On the basis of dendrologically calibrated radiocarbon dating, **Arzhan 1** has been dated to the late ninth/early eighth centuries BC and is the oldest known kurgan of the Scythians.[56] This **Arzhan 1 phase** of Tuva (850–700 BC) can be synchronised with the Tagar-Bainov phase in the Minusinsk Basin. From this dating and the discoveries made, despite the extensive plundering, highly significant conclusions can be drawn regarding the early Iron Age of Central Asia:

1. The kurgan of Arzhan 1 reveals a mature form of nomadic Scythian culture more than a century before the earliest Scythian kurgans of the Eastern European Black Sea region, such as the kurgans of Kelermes in the Kuban region from the mid-seventh century BC.[57] Herodotus was right: the Scythians and their culture originated in Central Asia.
2. Both the Scythians and the Saka belonged mainly to Europid peoples, descendants of representatives of the cultures of Andronovo and Karasuk. Neither the Scythians nor the Saka



Bronze bridle decoration in the form of a coiled carnivore, Arzhan 1, Tuva, southern Russia, around 800 BC. National Museum of Tuva, Kyzyl.



Gold bridle decoration in the form of a coiled panther, unknown provenance, Siberian collection of Tsar Peter I, sixth–seventh centuries BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

were homogeneous peoples, however, but rather a cultural community of mostly Europid nomadic horsemen who spoke Iranian dialects. From the perspective of the Pontic Scythians, one may concur with Parzinger that 'farther to the east of the Eurasian steppe belt there lived similarly structured bands of nomadic horsemen, who were progressively less ethnically related to the Scythians of the northern Black Sea region but remained culturally connected to them'.[58]

3. The early Iron Age horse-based nomadism of the steppe belt of Central Asia arose in Tuva in the tenth/ninth centuries BC. In the following centuries, the early Scythian material culture as well as their customs and rituals, spread through migrations from the Tuvan epicentre westward as far as Crimea.[59] In the Pontic region Scythian material culture was influenced by the Near East and Greece.
4. Between the Altai and the Pontic region there was intense trade contact, something like a transcontinental steppe road for gold.
5. The common thread that drew together all the Scythian groups of the Central Asian steppe belt, the so-called 'Scythian triad', had its start in Tuva, as can already be seen in Arzhan 1. This encompassed a particular composition of grave goods, consisting of three elements: first, Scythian weapons such as double-edged, straight daggers, arrowheads and a gorytos (a combined case for a bow and arrows); second, parts of the horse-gear such as bronze bits with stirrup-shaped psalias and pierced bid rods, and third, animal-style artwork.[60]
6. The unique motif of a coiled predatory animal, first a panther and later, during the Sarmatian period, a wolf, arose in north-eastern Central Asia, with the earliest influences perhaps originating in northern and north-eastern China. There, depictions of coiled animals were common not only during the contemporaneous epoch of the Western Zhou (*ca.* eleventh century–771 BC) on cheek pieces for draught horses but also in the C-shaped jade dragons of the Neolithic Hongshan Culture (fourth millennium BC).[61]
7. The third element of the Scythian triad, the Scytho–Siberian animal style, also began in north-eastern Central Asia. These animal images, portrayed according to a strict code, emphasise certain features of the animal that had particular symbolic content in the Scythians' hierarchy of values. In the animal style there is the representation in animal form of elements of a worldview that is difficult for us to decipher today.[62] The animal-style discoveries at Arzhan 1 refute hypotheses that the animal style developed first out of decisive influences from Assyria and Urartu, Anatolia or the Maeotian Kuban region.[63] The inspirations for the animal style should be sought in the

east; in southern Siberia, in the petroglyphs and deer stones of Mongolia and, as the Russian historian Rostovtzeff (1870–1952) surmised as long ago as 1929,[64] in northern China, especially in the hunting and stockbreeding cultures in north-eastern Inner Mongolia.[65] Even before Rostovtzeff, in 1913, the archaeologist Ellis Minns (1874–1953) had emphasised the tight relations between the Scytho-Pontic animal style and the Siberian animal style and spoken of 'Scytho-Siberian art'.[66] Beginning in the seventh century BC the Scythian animal style began to adopt iconographic elements from Urartu, Assyria and later Iran.

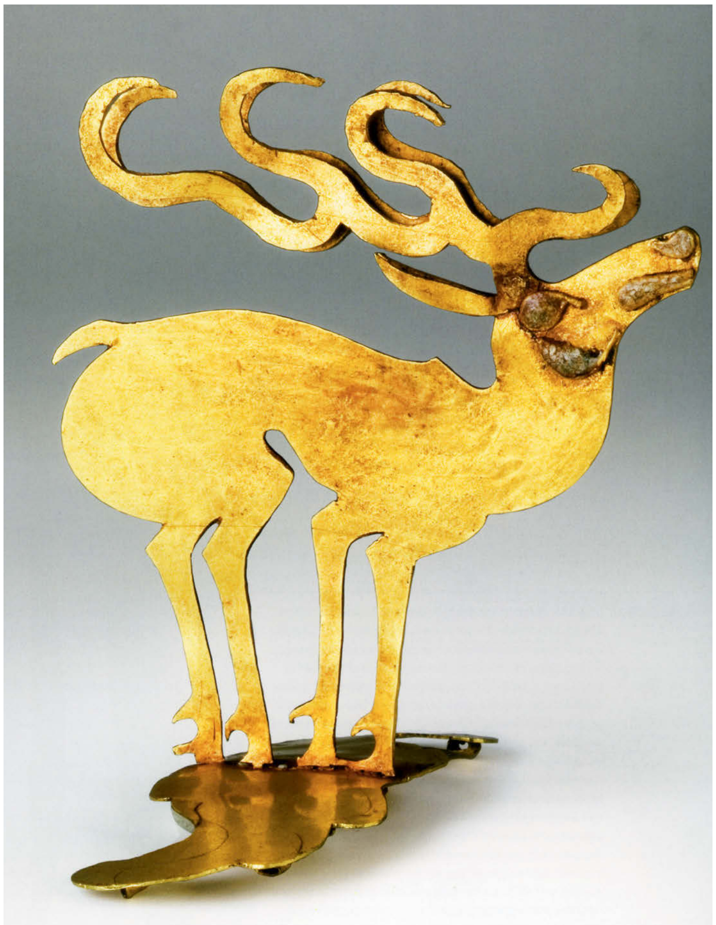
8. A few of the most striking burial rituals described by Herodotus are confirmed by Arzhan 1. After the deceased ruler assumed his final resting place in the grave, 'various members of the king's household are buried beside him: one of his concubines, his butler, his cook, his groom, his steward and his chamberlain [messenger] – all of them strangled. Horses are buried too and gold cups. [...] This ceremony over, everybody with great enthusiasm sets about raising a mound of earth.'[67] The younger woman buried at Arzhan 1, the eight attendants in the central chamber and the approximately 160 sacrificed, uneaten horses correspond with Herodotus's account. By comparison, the 38 largest kurgans of the fourth century BC in the northern Pontic region contained between three and ten additional corpses.[68] In the Kuban region the contemporaneous Elisavetinskaja Kurgan held 200 sacrificed horses and kurgan 1 at Ul'skji contained 360 horses.[69]

The discovery in 2001 by a German–Russian archaeological team of the undisturbed tomb of a Scythian prince in the kurgan of **Arzhan 2** marked a breakthrough in the archaeology of Siberia.[70] For the first time it could be shown that the Siberian Scythian kurgans were not only as magnificently appointed as those of the Pontic region but also that they predated the latter. Like Arzhan 1, Arzhan 2 consisted not of an earthen tumulus but rather of a 2- to 2.5-m-high stone platform, in the centre of which stood a deer stone. Inside the kurgan there were two additional deer stones, as well as pre-Scythian and Scythian stone slabs with engravings of deer, elk and boars walking on tiptoe in the then-common style. Arzhan 2 had no interior wooden structure, however. The excavations, which took place from 2002 to 2004, showed that the complex had been built over an older settlement layer from the Okunev period. The main grave resisted multiple attempts at plunder thanks to a ruse, as the two central pits were mock graves and a peripheral side grave was the main burial. The archaeologists

The Siberian collection of Tsar Peter the Great

The first scientific collection of Scytho–Siberian objects was initiated by Tsar Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725), who met the scholar and mayor of Amsterdam N.K. Witsen (1641–1717) during his stay in Amsterdam in 1697/98, where he studied shipbuilding in the dockyards. Witsen came from a family who engaged in trade with the Moscow principality and spent 1664/65 in Moscow. There he saw Scytho–Siberian gold and bronze objects that had come from grave robbing. At that time the governors of Tomsk and Krasnojarsk – the latter government also included the Minusinsk Basin, Tuva and the Altai – organised expeditions to find natural deposits of gold and plunder Scythian kurgans, called 'Tatar graves'. The gold objects were usually melted down or sold to collectors like Witsen. Presumably Witsen made his illustrious Russian guest aware of the gold artefacts. The core of Tsar Peter's collection was made up of shipments from Prince Gagarin, the first governor of Siberia, who between 1711 and 1719 sent the tsar many objects from the burial mounds of Siberia. Peter ordered the collection of objects made not only of gold but also of other metals and especially 'everything that appears very old and unusual'.[71] A few of the most spectacular pieces in the collection were donated to the tsar and his wife, Katharina, by the industrialist Akinfiy Demidov (1678–1745) in 1715 on the occasion of the birth of their son Peter. After Witsen's death the tsar tried in vain to acquire his collection. It was sold at auction in 1728 and the art objects vanished without a trace; only Witsen's book *Noord en Oost Tartarije*, which appeared in 1705, bears witness to them.[72]

Tsar Peter collected gold objects not to melt them down but rather because of their scientific value in explaining ancient history. For this reason he ordered that all discoveries be documented by sketches. His second decree, that apprehended grave robbers be put to death, yielded the opposite result from that intended, since now illegal finds of gold were melted down immediately, in order to destroy all possible evidence. D.G. Messerschmidt believed that even in the 1720s the richest burial mounds had long since been plundered.[73] In fact archaeologists succeeded in discovering in southern Siberia an undisturbed Scythian kurgan with rich gold finds only in 2001 at Arzhan 2. Stylistic similarities between the collection of Tsar Peter, numbering 240 gold objects, which can be admired in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, and the discoveries in controlled excavations suggest that the Siberian collection comes largely from the steppe region between the Ob and Irtysch rivers but also from the forest steppes east of the Urals.[74]



A golden deer figure crowned the headdress of the prince of Arzhan 2, Tuva, southern Russia, last quarter of the seventh century BC. National Museum of Tuva, Kyzyl.

Fourteen sacrificed horses were buried in grave 16 of Arzhan 2, Tuva, southern Russia, last quarter of the seventh century BC.

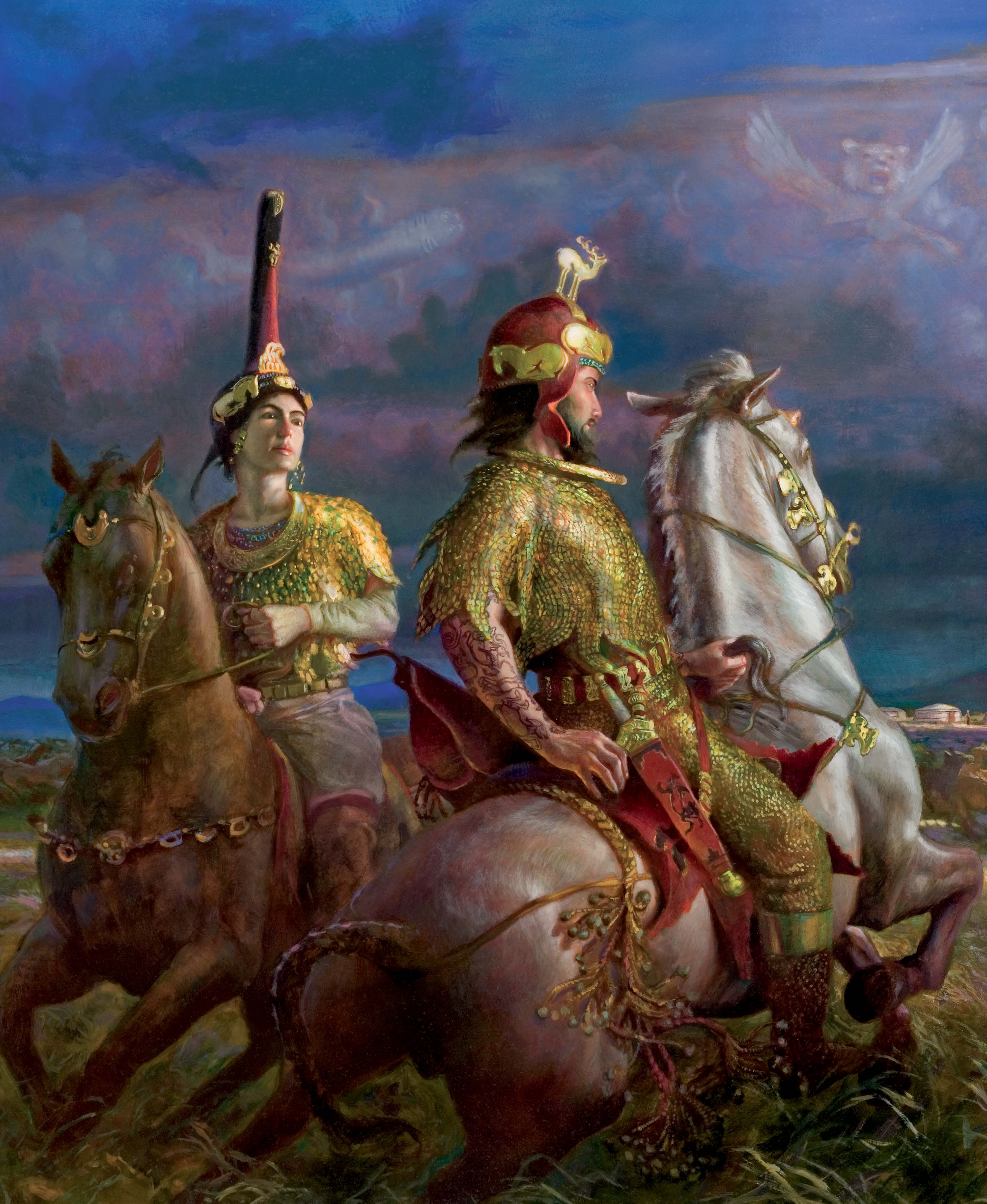
discovered a total of 41 human skeletons, including the royal couple, a retinue of 16 violently killed men and women, as well as 23 later burials, with the most recent dating from the Mongol period. To these were added a grave laid shortly after the main burial with the skeletons of 14 sacrificed horses in harness, a ritual complex that archaeologists call a 'symbolic horse grave', as well as a few hoards of ornaments for horses.

As at Arzhan 1, the main tomb consists of two block structures made of larch and placed one inside the other, with the interior chamber having originally been covered with coloured felt. Here the archaeologists discovered the skeleton of a 50–55-year-old man, who had died of prostate cancer, and a woman, 20 years younger, as well as 9,300 objects, 5,700 of which were made of gold. The man wore a 1.8 kg gold torque with animals depicted all around it; a leather or felt cap with five disc-shaped animal ornaments; a red jacket decorated with more than 2,500 small panther figurines cast in gold; trousers adorned with thousands of tiny gold beads; and boots with gold cuffs. An iron dagger with gold encrustations and two knives with golden knobs, an iron battle pick with gold encrustations, a riding crop decorated with gold and a gorytos, whose long side was made of a thick sheet of gold with a fish scale pattern, hung from two belts decorated with gold ornaments. The remains of a composite bow and arrows with three-winged iron arrowheads were found in the gorytos, which protected the delicate weapon from the weather.

The straight, double-edged iron dagger represents one of the earliest forms of the *akinakes*, common among the Scythians, Saka, Medes and Persians. The akinakes was a hybrid of a dagger and a short sword with a straight, double-edged blade 30 to 35 cm in length. It was a thrusting weapon and, because of its light weight, an ideal secondary weapon for both fallen riders in close combat and spear bearers. The akinakes was often made from two metals and consisted of an iron blade and a bronze or gold-encrusted hilt,

---

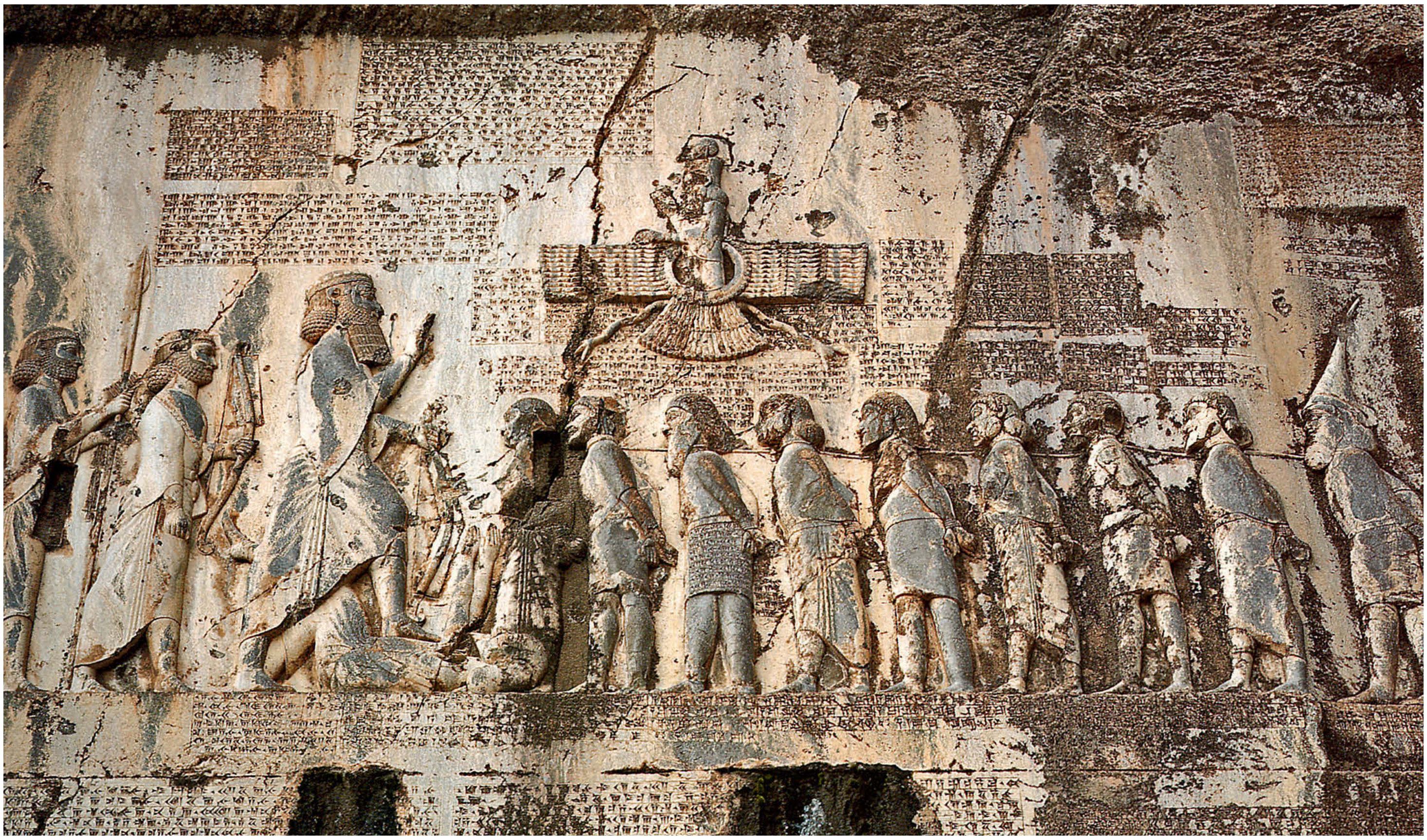
▶ Illustration after archaeological objects of the princely couple buried at Arzhan 2, Tuva, southern Russia.



which had a butterfly-like form or ended in two symmetrically arranged animal protomes. Among nobles the akinakes was carried in an elaborately decorated sheath made up of a wooden scabbard with a golden casing, which among the Saka and Sarmatians was sometimes adorned with colourful semiprecious gems. The sheath was fastened to a belt to the front or right side of a warrior. Whether the origin of the akinakes is to be found in the northern Caucasus or, as the author believes, among the daggers of the Karasuk Culture, remains uncertain.[75]

The woman was just as sumptuously clothed as the man. She wore a gold pectoral decorated in the animal style with gold and silver incrustations; a red cloak, on which were sewn 2,500 panther figurines made from sheets of gold; a knee-length dress; and boots decorated with miniature gold beads. She had an iron dagger with a gilded hilt; a miniature kettle decorated in the animal style; a gold comb; and a wooden ladle with a gold handle in the shape of a hoof. Her headdress was a tall, pointed cap, adorned with gold figures of two horses, a panther and the head of a bird of prey, as well as two long gold needles. This tall headdress shows similarities to those of Ak-Alacha[76] and Olon Kurin Gol[77] from the subsequent Pazyryk Culture (fifth–third centuries BC) and that of the 'Golden Warrior' of Issyk[78] in southern Kazakhstan. Similarly tall but undecorated conical headpieces were discovered in Subexi near Turfan, Xinjiang (fifth–third centuries BC);[79] they were also found on significantly older petroglyphs of the Okunev Culture.[80] Tall hats were also common among the Scythians who lived farther to the west, as can be seen in the Achaemenid inscription of Bisotun (also Behistun) from *ca.* 516 BC. In it Darius I (r. 522–486 BC) proclaims, among other things, the quelling of a revolt of the *Saka tigraxauda*, the 'pointed-cap Saka', and boasts of his victory over Skunkha, chief of the neighbouring Dahae. Beside the inscription a relief shows the captured Skunkha, wearing a tall, pointed hat.[81] The gold objects found in the kurgan were locally produced in Tuva, as the necessary tools were easy to transport; the high quality suggests a longer development of the Scytho–Tuvan gold-working art.

The 14 sacrificed horses were male animals belonging to ten different haplotypes or genetic variants. This large variability indicates that, as in the sacrifices at Arzhan 1, the sacrificed horses came from different herds. Surprisingly, additional analyses of the horses from both kurgans showed a considerable genetic distance



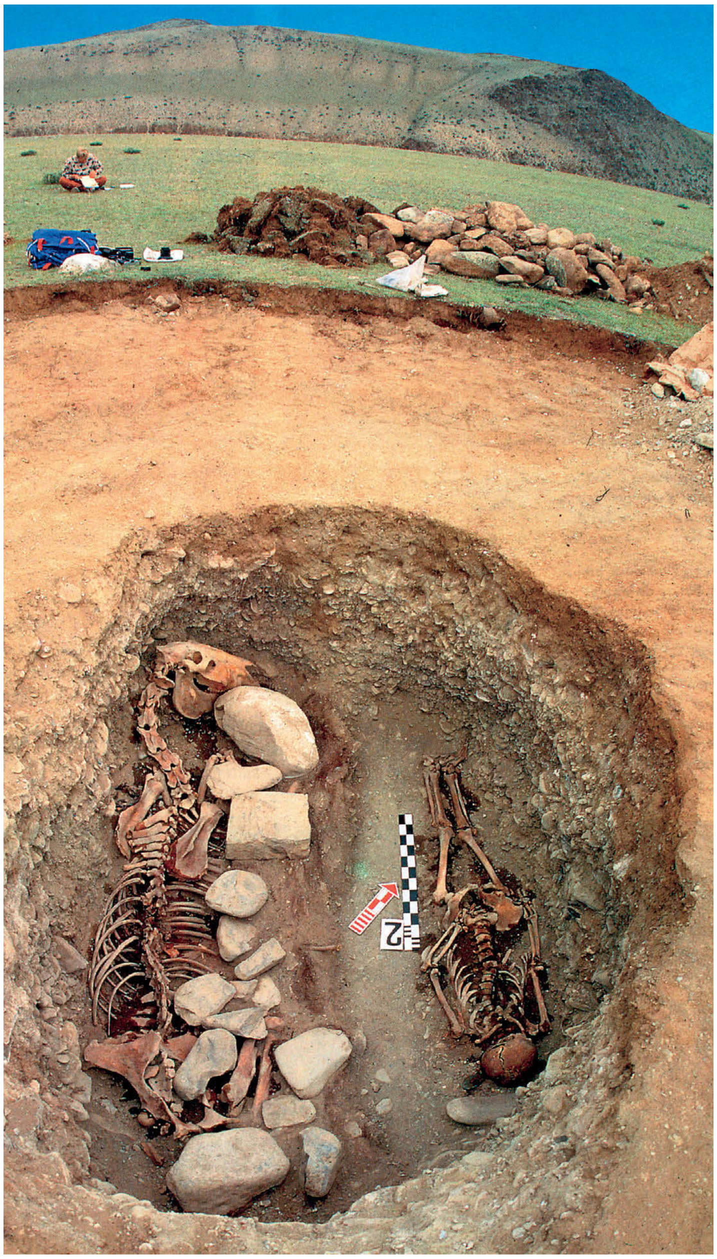
On the rock relief of Bisotun, carved around 516 BC, the king of kings Darius I (r. 522–486 BC) proclaims his victory over the nine rebellious kings, who appear before him with their hands bound behind their backs and chained together by the neck. The last king in the line, with the tall, pointed cap, to the right in the picture, is Skunkha, king of the Sakan Dahae.

between them and the Przewalski's horse, and thus that it was not part of the development of the Scythian horses. Likewise striking was the discovery of a small pile of human finger bones; a similar find of six fingers from a minimum of three or four individuals had previously been seen only in the great kurgan of Čertomlyk (fourth century BC) on the lower reaches of the Dnieper.[82] This evidence of presumable self-mutilation recalls Herodotus's description of mourning rituals at the death of a king: 'The Royal Scythians cut a piece from their ears, shave their hair, make circular incisions on their arms, gash their foreheads and noses, and thrust arrows through their left hands.'[83] Such self-mutilation at the death of the ruler was also common among Huns and Central Asian Turks.[84]

Like Arzhan 1, Arzhan 2 represented no mere tomb, but rather a sophisticated ritual complex with a planned layout. If one draws a line through the kurgan from the north-west to the south-east, it becomes apparent that all the burials of women lie to the west of this line and all burials of men and horses, as well as all four hoards of horse ornaments, lie to the east. This division into a female half, oriented toward the setting sun, and a male half, oriented toward the rising sun, is also found in the main tomb. The line runs through the grave, and the woman lies to the west, the chief to the east. To this day in their yurts Mongolian nomads follow a strict arrangement of rooms according to sex, although reversed. The entrance points to the south and the left, western side belongs to the men; the right, eastern side, to the women and young children. As mentioned above, four parallel circular and concentric rows of small stone rings border the outer edge of the kurgan, totalling 336, 352 or 368 stone settings, which served as sites for burnt offerings.[85] The cultural proximity to the great kurgans of Tagisken South (eighth–early fifth centuries BC) and Ujgarak (seventh–early fifth centuries BC) east of the Aral Sea is revealed not only in the analogous fire rituals but also in the practically identical horse-gear, which can also be found in part in the Central Kazakh Tasmola Culture. Thus Hermann Parzinger speaks of a 'Eurasian-Central Asian interaction zone'.[86]

Carbon-14 measurements and dendrological analyses date the main grave to the last quarter of the seventh century BC, so Arzhan 2 belonged to the **Aldy Bel' Culture** of Tuva (700–500 BC), which corresponded to the middle Podgornovo phase of the Tagar Culture. Arzhan 2 is roughly contemporaneous with the western Scythian kurgans in the Kuban region such as Kelermes. The royal couple and their sacrificed attendants were without exception Europids of the southern Eurasian type, who also had some Mongolid heritage. A century later Europid tribes advanced again from the south-west into Tuva, initiating the **Sagly Bazy cultural phase** (500–200 BC) and ending the use of the royal necropolis of Ujuk Valley. In summary it can be concluded that the kurgans of Arzhan 1 and Arzhan 2 illustrate the establishment of a new aristocracy of nomadic horsemen, in which the accumulation of wealth provided the basis from which to use rich gifts to help one's own clients appease foreign tribes and clans. The rider elite consolidated its power through the redistribution of levied tribute to loyal tribal chiefs. In a nomadic society no feudal rule could develop on the basis of the possession of real property, so the elite had to accumulate material possessions in the form of herds and precious metals. Thus burials provided the backdrop for demonstrating the wealth of a ruling family, entertaining followers at a funeral meal and, through the memorial cult, ensuring the legitimacy of the successor.

Petroglyphs of two 1-m-tall deer with upright antlers, Kara Oy near Ornok, northern shore of Lake Issyk Kul, Kyrgyzstan, fifth–third centuries BC.



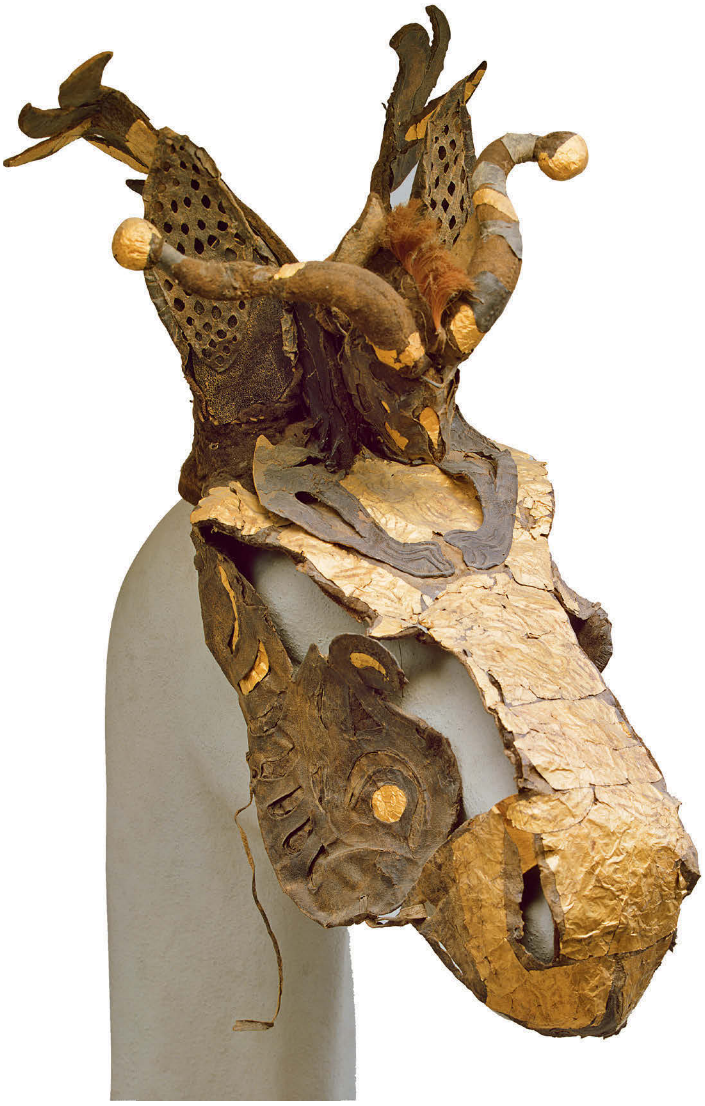
Open grave of a rider with a horse on the upper reaches of the Katun River, Altai, southern Russia, fifth–fourth centuries BC.

1.4 The ice kurgans of the Altai

In the very cold valleys of the Altai, between 1,600 and 2,500 m above sea level, the particular climatic conditions result in the natural conservation of mummified corpses with their tattoos, clothing and organic grave goods. When water flowed into the burial chamber after interment and froze to ice, it formed a compact lens of ice, which surrounded all the organic material and protected it from decay. The stone mound placed over the grave, through which the warmth of the sun barely penetrated, prevented the thawing of the ice lens until the moment the grave was opened. The current warming of the climate threatens the ice kurgans acutely, however. In 1865 Radlov was the first to explore ice kurgans, using brute force, near Berel in northern Kazakhstan. 'The earth was frozen solid. I gathered dry tinder, stacked it on the floor of the grave and lit it, then removed the upper, thawed layer of soil.'[87] The first, sensational discoveries were made by Michail Grjaznov in 1929 and Sergei Rudenko in 1947–49 at Pazyryk in the Russian Altai. The dating of the **Pazyryk Culture** proposed by Grjaznov and Rudenko to between the fifth and the early third centuries BC is still considered valid today. However, the most recent carbon-14 measurements, combined with dendrological analyses called 'wiggle matching', pinpoint the time frame of the five most important kurgans of Pazyryk more precisely. The earliest burial of kurgan 2 dates from 300 (+25/-28) BC; the most recent from kurgan 5 with the two famous carpets from 241 (+/-5) BC.[88]

As in Arzhan 1 and 2, the burial chambers of the largest kurgans of Pazyryk consisted of two log cabins made of larch, one inside the other, and the deceased rested in timber coffins.[89] This feature of a double wooden burial chamber decorated inside with felt or silk fabrics was later also applied at elite tombs of the Xiongnu (early first century AD) and of the Tashtyk Culture (50–500 AD).[90] The Europid or Europid–Mongolid corpses of Pazyryk were, in contrast to the mummies of the Tarim Basin, artificially mummified. The brain, viscera and muscles were removed from the deceased and the cavities filled with grass and shredded twigs, after which the openings were sewn shut with horsehair. Mercury was also used for embalming. The skull of a warrior who had been killed and scalped in battle was first covered with another piece of human skin. This discovery confirms Herodotus's accounts on two further points, since he reports that the Scythians removed the scalps from conquered enemies, tanned them and tied them to the reins of their horses as trophies.[91] Regarding the mummification of kings he stated, 'the corpse [...] has been prepared in the following way: the belly is slit open, cleaned out, and filled with various aromatic substances, crushed galingale, parsley-seed, and anise; it is then sewn up again and the whole body coated over with wax.'[92] The bodies of the dead men buried in the Pazyrk kurgans 2 and 5 were decorated with tattoos in the animal style of deer, ibexes, winged predatory animals and panthers; in some animals the haunches are turned 180 degrees relative to the head. A fish hanging downward adorned the right lower leg of the dead warrior in barrow 2.[93] In this regard the Siberian Scythians differentiated themselves from their Eastern European relatives, since the latter were not tattooed.

The men wore leather caps with earflaps, which were decorated with deer figures covered in gold foil; the women wore felt caps as tall as 90 cm (!) with built-in wooden rods, which were similar to the contemporaneous woollen headdresses of Subexi near Turfan. Another connection to the burials of Xinjiang is presented by two women's skirts, consisting of several colourful pieces of wool sewn together horizontally. At the time wrap-around skirts predominated in the Pazyryk Culture and stitched skirts, found in several necropolises of Xinjiang such as Satma Mazar and Shanpula, were exceptions. The nomadic riders of Pazyryk were thus in contact with the stockbreeders of the Tarim Basin. Other indications of trade relations to the south were a shirt made of Indian cotton and the handle of a mirror made of Indian ox horn. Bronze mirrors were given to both women and men, since they warded off evil spirits and also served as the seat of the soul. A few of these mirrors display Chinese decoration and were produced in China. They were often intentionally broken during burials, so that the soul would follow the dead person, or to prevent it from staying at the grave, close to the world of the living.[94]



Leather and felt mask covered with gold leaf with attached horns for a sacrificed horse, kurgan 1 of Pazyryk, Altai, southern Russia, around 300 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

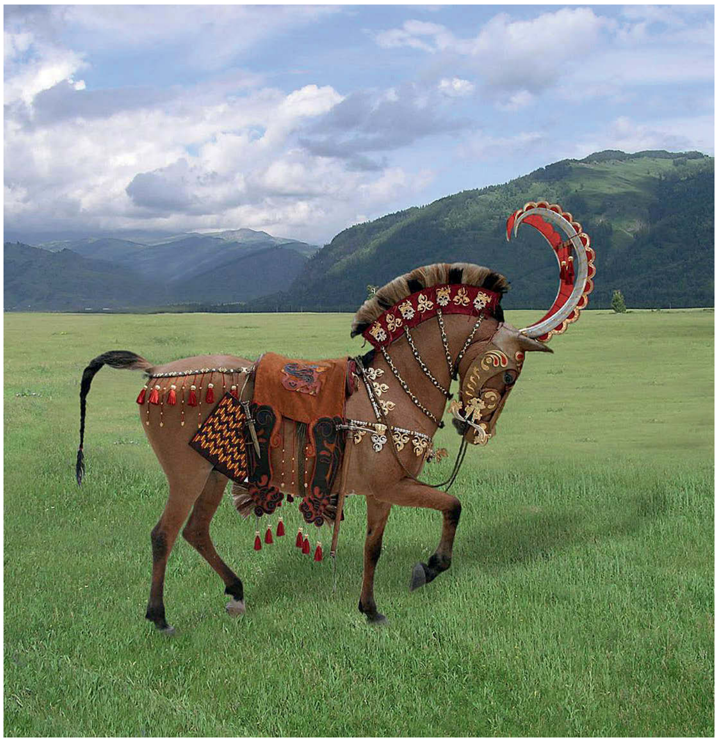


Illustration based on the excavation of a horse prepared for sacrifice. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

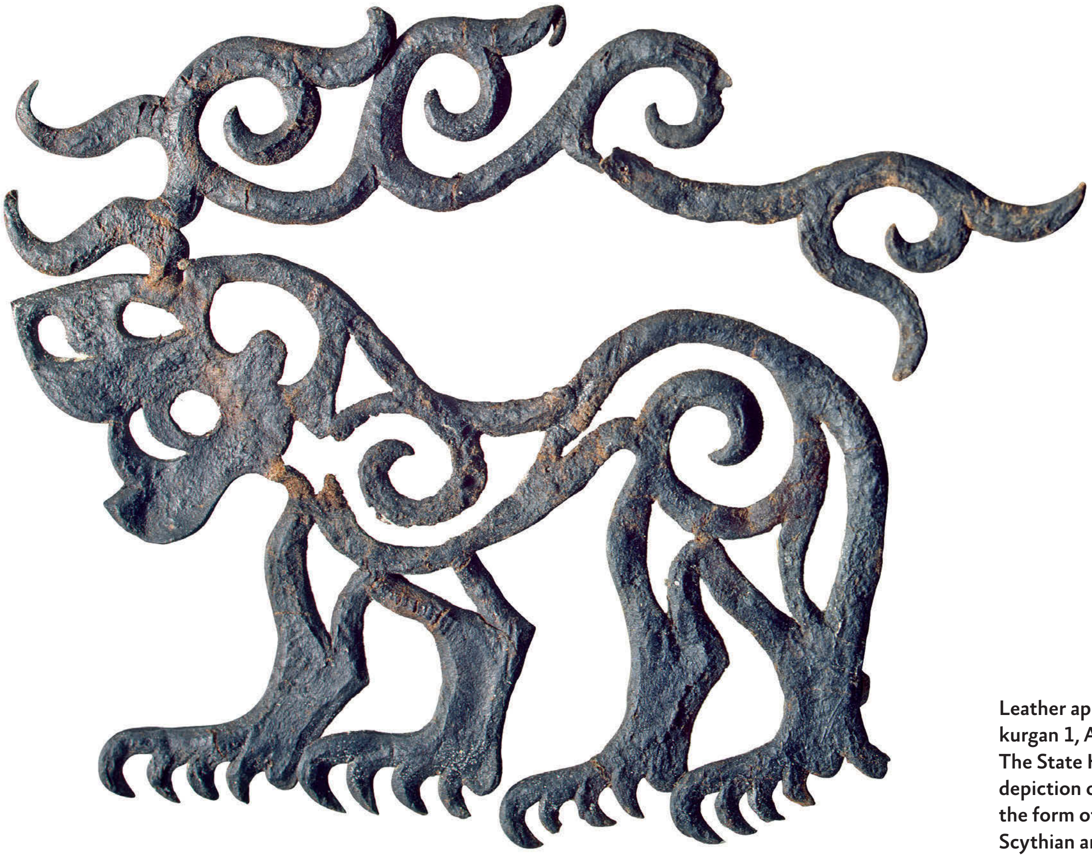
Unique to the Pazyryk Culture are the elaborate masks, made of leather, felt, cloth and wood and covered with gold leaf, which covered the heads of a few sacrificed horses. These masks had deer antlers or ibex horns, which were often gilded with gold leaf. In a few cases a tiny wooden figure of a bird of prey or a griffin sat between the ears of the mask. On other masks a griffin fought with a tiger, or a griffin with the head of a devoured deer in its sharp beak wore leather deer antlers, whose tips ended in heads of birds. In a magical sense the horses that pulled the funeral cart also had the attributes of other animals, which played an important role in the theriomorphic – relating to the animal world – worldview of the Scythians.

Belief in the mutability of animals or the transferability of their characteristic qualities is also expressed in works of art, whether in bronze depictions of hybrid animals or the small wooden horse figurines covered in gold foil that decorated the felt caps of warriors and had gilded deer antlers or ibex horns. Such deer-horses and ibex-horses were found in the Pazyryk Culture graves of Pazyryk itself, of Tuekta[95] and Ak-Alacha[96] (Russian Altai), Olon-Kurin-Gol[97]

(Mongolian Altai) and Berel[98] (northern Kazakhstan). In Tuekta archaeologists even discovered a depiction of a tiger with deer antlers.[99] As already indicated at the petroglyphs of Tamgaly and the deer stones, the horse accompanying the deceased into the afterlife possessed the regenerative power of the deer, the ability of the ibex to advance to heaven and the conquering strength of the griffin. In the holistic thought of the Scythians these animal qualities were transferred to human beings through tattoos.[100] The most sacred animals of the Scythians of the Pazyryk Culture, such as the eagle that ruled the skies, the powerful leopard, the sure-footed ibex and the deer with its antlers that grew again each year, were all native to the Altai.

The horse harnesses in Pazyryk were adorned with gilded wooden figurines and protomes of griffins, ibexes, wolves and birds of prey, which held in their mouths or beaks the head of a deer or an ibex. To these were added leopards, horned predatory cats and bearded men's heads with ears positioned high.[101] The last images strongly recall the Egyptian patron deity Bes, who enjoyed great popularity in amulets in the Persian Achaemenid Empire (550–330 BC). In the contemporaneous necropolis of Berel, south of Pazyryk, statuettes of winged or horned griffins and sphinxes were also discovered; the latter indicate an Egyptian influence mediated by Iran. The griffins, ubiquitous in the art of the Pazyryk Culture, not only recall Herodotus's gold-protecting griffins, which may be identified with the Altai Scythians, but their figures awaken associations with the contemporaneous griffin protomes of the Achaemenid capitals of Persepolis, who for their part had forerunners in the Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian portrayals of griffins. The griffin motif was also prominent in Scythian jewellery, as in the griffin-shaped ends of torques (smooth and twisted neckrings) and rhytons (drinking horns), whose mouths took the form of animal heads.[102]

Related to the choker are the bracelets that ended in griffin protomes, the most spectacular example of which is the pair of massive golden bracelets from the Oxus treasure of the fifth/fourth centuries BC.[103] As can be seen in the relief of the tribute-bringers on the stairway of the Apadana audience hall of Persepolis, built by Xerxes (r. 486–465 BC), such bracelets served as tribute gifts for the king of kings. The relief shows not only Scythians but also Syrians, Medes, Sogdians or Lydians presenting bracelets as tribute.[104] Griffins were also prominent in the decoration of gold diadems,[105] pectorals,[106] scabbards[107] and brooches.[108] This mythical

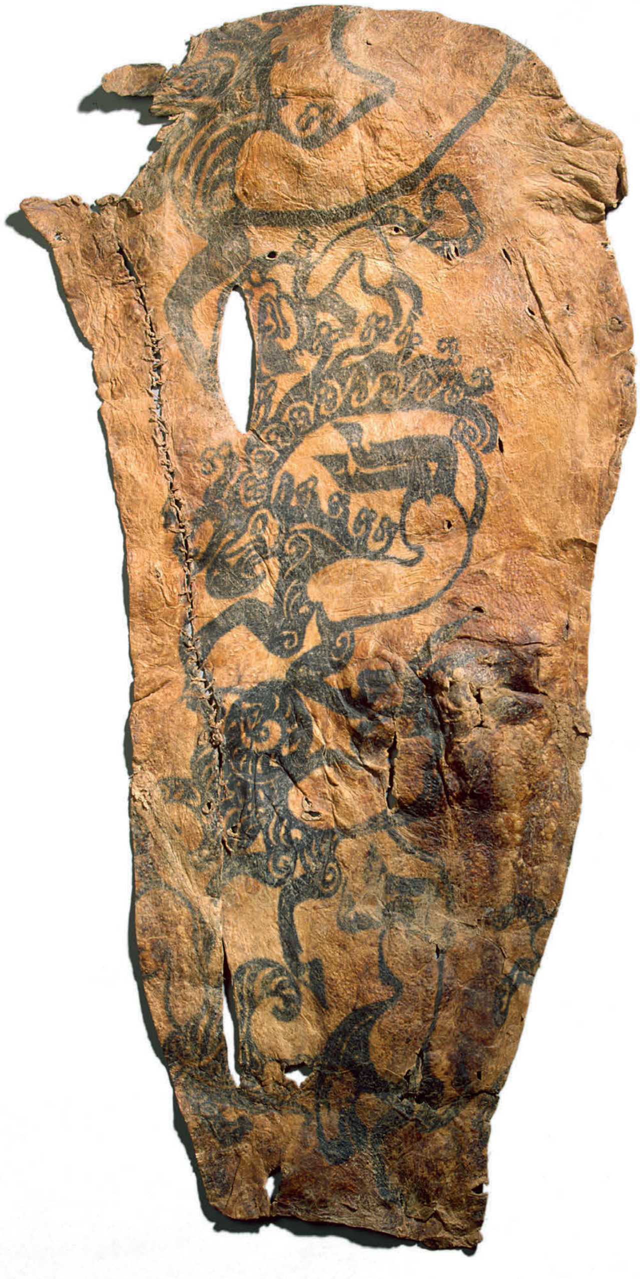


Leather appliqué of a tiger with deer antlers, Tuekta, kurgan 1, Altai, southern Russia, fifth century BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. The depiction of the tiger's shoulders and haunches in the form of a spiral belongs to the vocabulary of the Scythian animal style.

creature made up of a winged lion's body and the head of a bird of prey united the strongest and most dangerous animals of the earth and sky, so the griffin presumably symbolised rule over heaven and earth. At the same time it could have served as guardian not only of gold but also of the sun. Both the Persian capitals and the chokers and bracelets had an apotropaic function.[109]

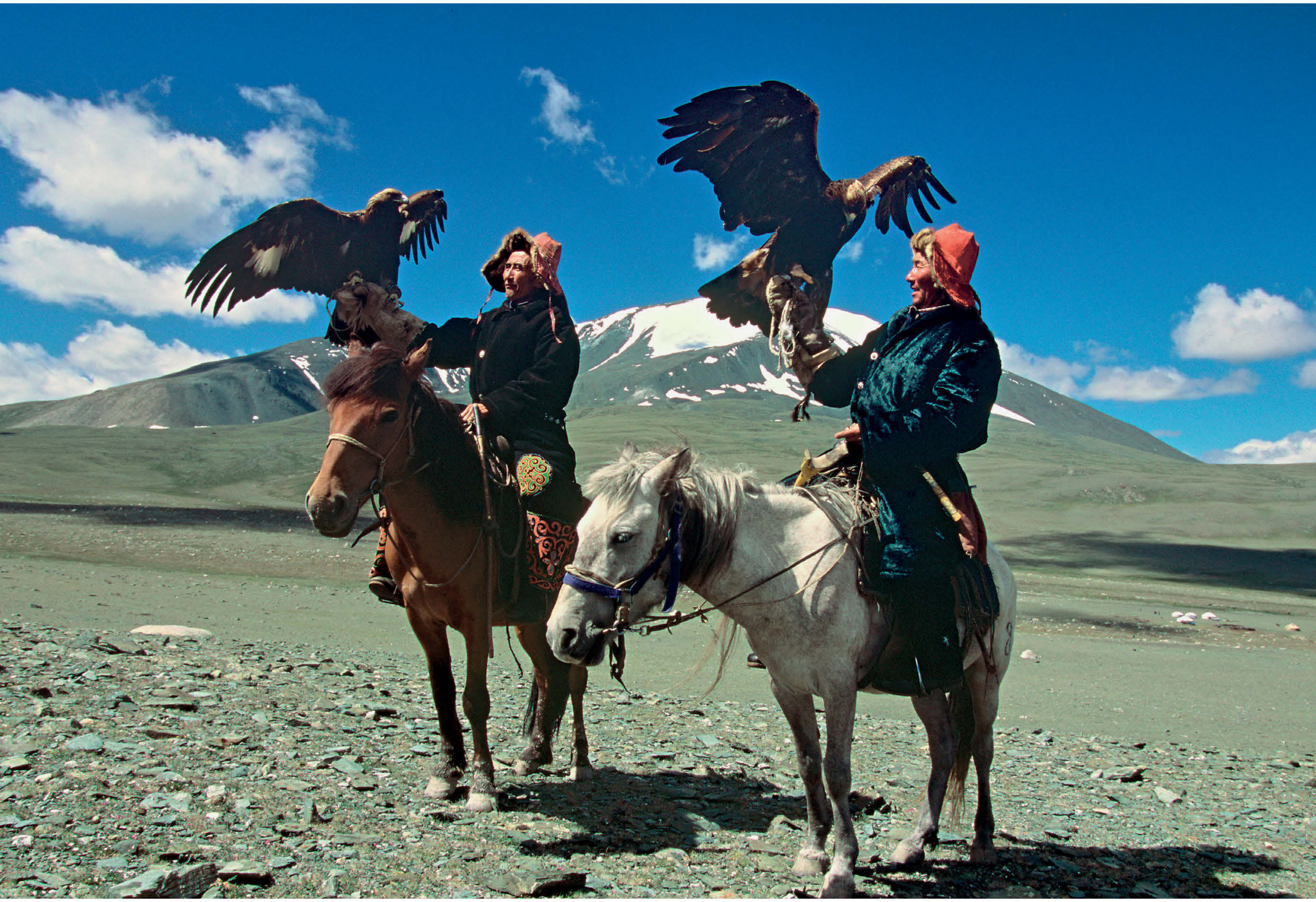
In kurgans 1 through 4 of Pazyryk there were simple carts for the dead with disc wheels, but kurgan 5 had an extraordinarily well-preserved wooden wagon with four spoked wheels. Since Rudenko also found Chinese silk in the same grave, he posed the question of whether this tall, two-axle ceremonial wagon could be a traditional dowry of a Chinese princess, of the type seen during the time of the Chinese Han Dynasties (202 BC–220 AD) when Chinese ruling families were related by marriage with the Xiongnu.[110] A baldachin decorated with colourful felt figures of swans and supported by thin wooden rods stood over the simpler carts. The grave also held modern-looking wooden tables. Their four wooden legs, carved in the shape of standing predatory beasts, could easily be removed and then reattached to the tabletop when required.[111]

Rudenko also came upon another confirmation of Herodotus's descriptions; he found copper kettles and stone vessels with charred hempseed (*Cannabis sativa*) and seeds from sweet clover (*Melilotus*), another intoxicant.[112] Next to them lay leather pouches filled with hempseed and wooden frames made up of six or seven wooden rods bound together that could be set up very quickly. Decorated felt or leather coverings were placed over the 120-cm-tall frames. Herodotus reported that after burials the Scythians take 'a framework of three sticks, meeting at the top, [on which] they stretch pieces of woollen cloth, taking care to get the joins as perfect as they can, and inside this little tent they put a dish with red-hot stones in it.' Then 'they take some hemp seed, creep into the tent, and throw the seed on to the hot stones. At once it begins to smoke, giving off a vapour unsurpassed by any vapour-bath one could find in Greece. The Scythians enjoy it so much that they howl with pleasure.'[113] Rudenko had undoubtedly found the equipment used to create intoxicating smoke, as described by Herodotus. Use of cannabis among the eastern Scythians was presumably not limited to burial rituals, as can be inferred from another proclamation of the Persian king of kings Darius. The inscription of Naqsh-e Rostam, found close to Persepolis, mentions the *Saka haumavarga* – 'the haoma (intoxicant drink)-worshiping Saka', which scholars have tentatively located in the Fergana valley or the Pamirs.[114]



Tattoed skin from the arm of the man buried in kurgan 2 of Pazyryk, Altai, southern Russia, around 300 BC. The tattoos show mythological animals. The warrior was tattooed on both arms and shoulders as well as on the lower right leg and looked like a living work of art. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Pazyryk was also known for its distinctive saddles with their decoratively carved wooden frames, over which fabrics were stretched. In the case of the kurgan of Bashadar in the Russian Altai[115] a powerful eagle adorned the frame. The saddleclothes used to cover the frames were often richly ornamented, perhaps with felt appliqués of attacking griffins and galloping elks, or blankets decorated with Chinese silk embroidery depicting pheasants or phoenixes. On another pelmet, made of Iranian fabric, women are portrayed praying before a fire altar. Two unique and exceptionally well-preserved carpets were found in kurgan 5. The first

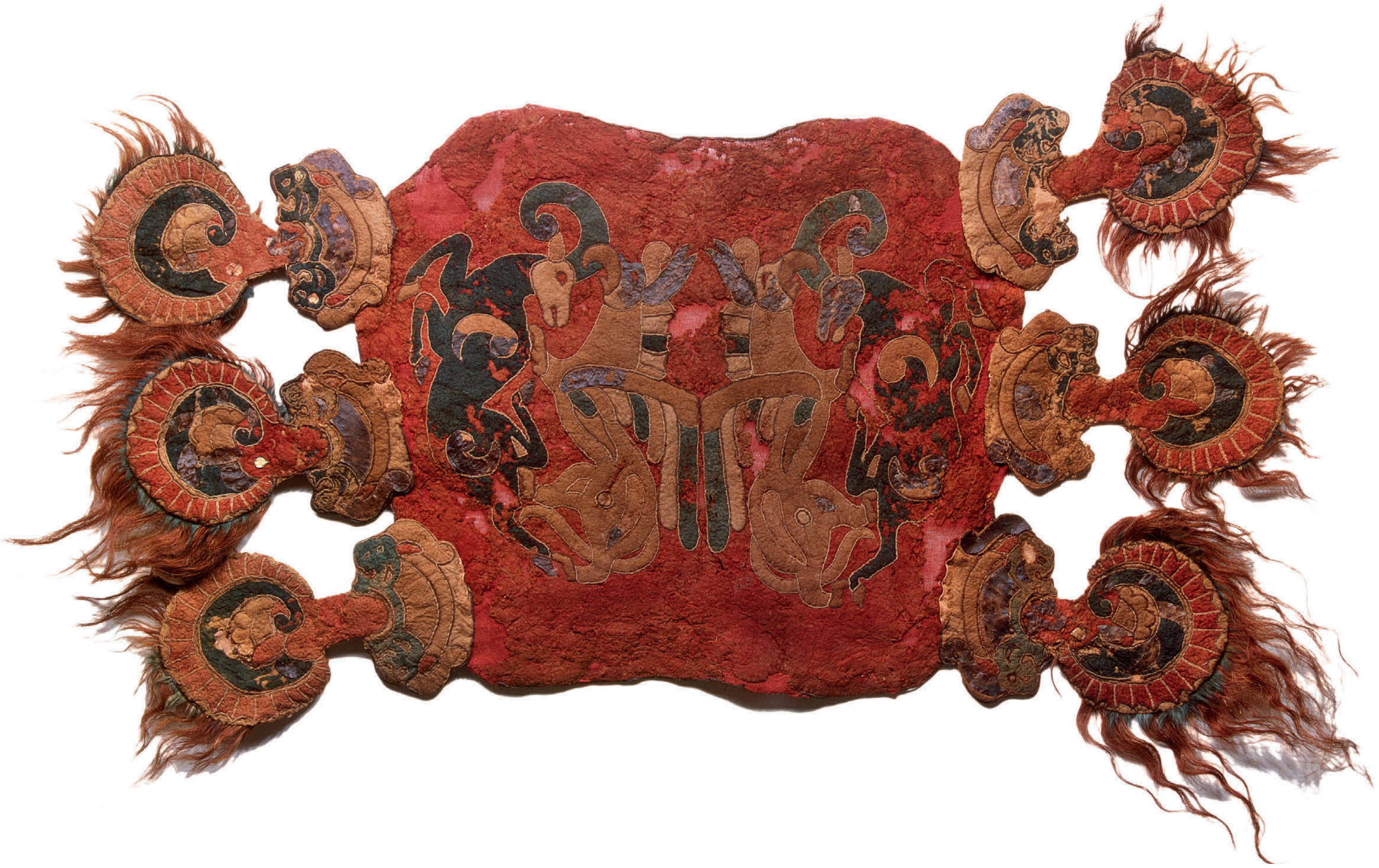


Two Kazakh eagle hunters at the foot of Tsengel Khairkhan, which rises 3,943 m above sea level, Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia. Golden eagles used for hunting are traditionally released into the wild between ages 15 and 18 and can live to be 30 years old.

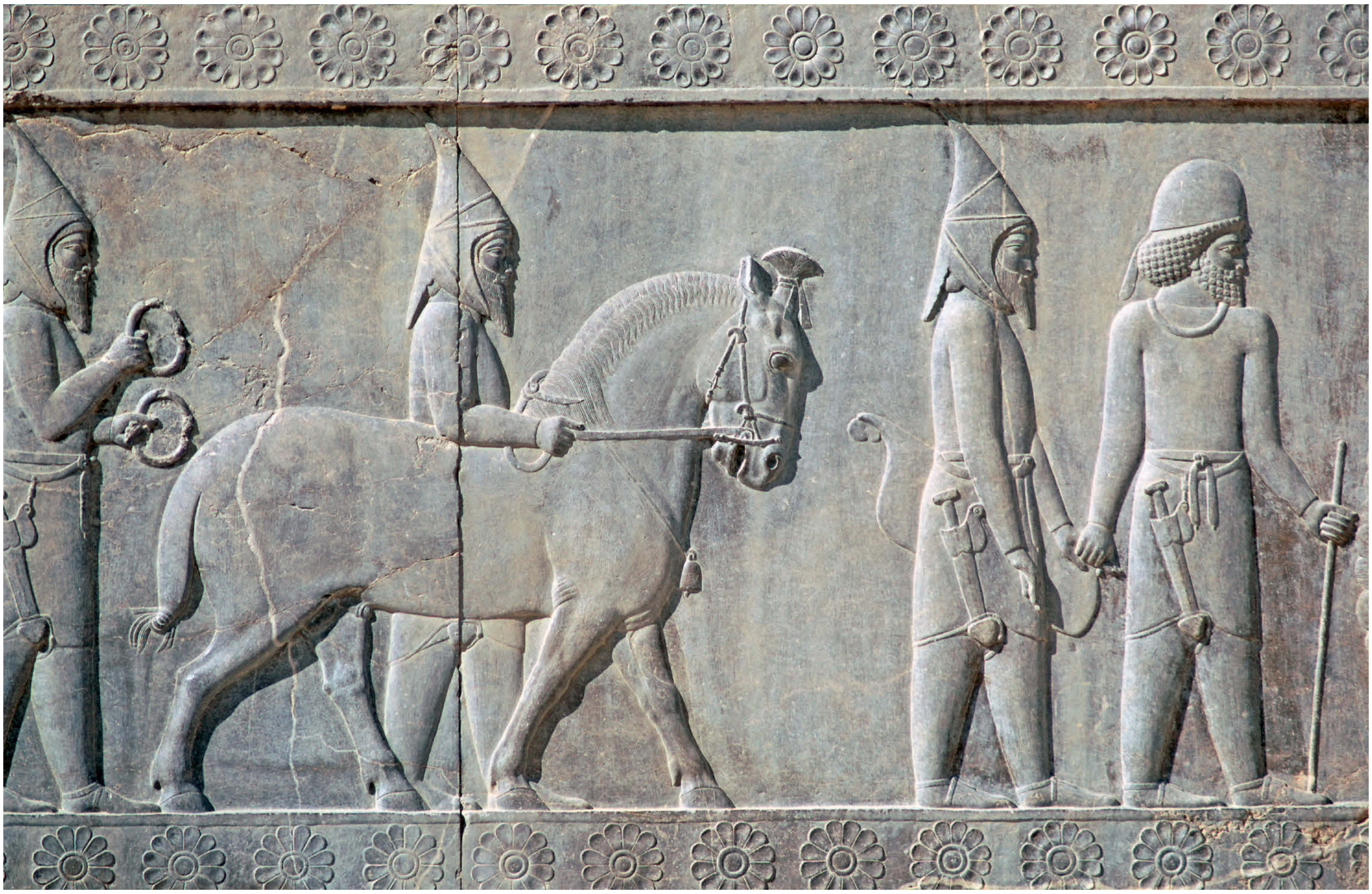
was a densely knotted wool carpet, 183 x 200 cm in size, with silk embroidery, one of the oldest examples of its kind in the world.[116] The borders depict griffins, pacing fallow deer and riders, in a procession recalling the parade of tribute-bringers in Persepolis. Presumably the carpet was made in an eastern Persian satrapy (a regional governing unit), using crimson pigments from the steppe.

The second carpet or wall-hanging, 29.3 m^2 in size, was made of felt with sewn-on appliqués. One motif shows a winged hybrid animal with a human upper body, a bearded head and deer antlers, as well as a winged lion's lower body and a long tail. The creature, which resembles Achaemenid monsters, does battle with a phoenix, which also has antlers.[117] The second, dominant motif, often repeated, shows a rider with a billowing cape and a gorytos, high on a horse, who rides proudly but respectfully toward a presumably female person sitting on a throne. She wears on her bald head a headpiece reminiscent of a Persian crown and, analogous to an enthroned Persian king who holds in his hand a lotus bud, an Egyptian symbol, she holds out a large plant to the rider.[118]

The symbolic content of this striking scene is unclear. Does the rider represent a chief approaching the highest deity of the western Scythians, Tabiti, goddess of the hearth and domestic life, who holds in her hand the tree of life and validates the ruler in his role? Is the goddess receiving a deceased person?[119] Or does the scene show the ritual marriage of the chief with Tabiti, who, according to Herodotus,[120] was venerated as 'queen of the Scythians'? Or perhaps the rider has come before the ancient Iranian judge Mithra to receive the drink of immortality, *haoma*?[121] Many golden decorative clothing or strap plaques have been found in the western Scythian territory depicting a man drinking from a rhyton and standing in front of a seated woman who is looking into a mirror. This scene may be interpreted as a symbolic transfer of power by Tabiti to the new ruler.[122] In this sense the picture on the felt wall-hanging of Pazyryk may symbolise the investiture of a deceased chief in the afterlife. However, in the world of the Pontic Scythians, influenced by Hellenism, the seated woman could also represent the goddess of destiny Tyche, who hands the chief a cornucopia or, as in the carpet,



Two griffins attack two ibexes on a saddle blanket made of felt, horsehair and leather, Pazyryk, kurgan 1, Altai, southern Russia, around 300 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



A Median ceremonial attendant with a ball-shaped felt hat leads the delegation of the Saka, which brings as tribute a stallion and heavy armlets, to the Achaemenid king of kings. Both the Median leader and the Saka carry akinakes short swords on their right sides, and the Saka leader carries a gorytos on his left. The tall, pointed cap of the Saka recalls the cap of the defeated ruler of the Dahae, Skunkha, on the Bisotun relief, so the delegation may be identified as Dahae or as the neighbouring Saka tigraxauda, the 'pointed-cap Saka'. Tribute procession on the Apadana steps to the hypostyle hall of Persepolis, first half of the fifth century BC.

a tree of life. The archetypal motif is also found on considerably older silver seals from Gonur Tepe in southern Turkmenistan,[123] among the Iron Age Thracians,[124] and also on anthropomorphic stone stelae of the Viking age from the eighth/ninth centuries.[125]

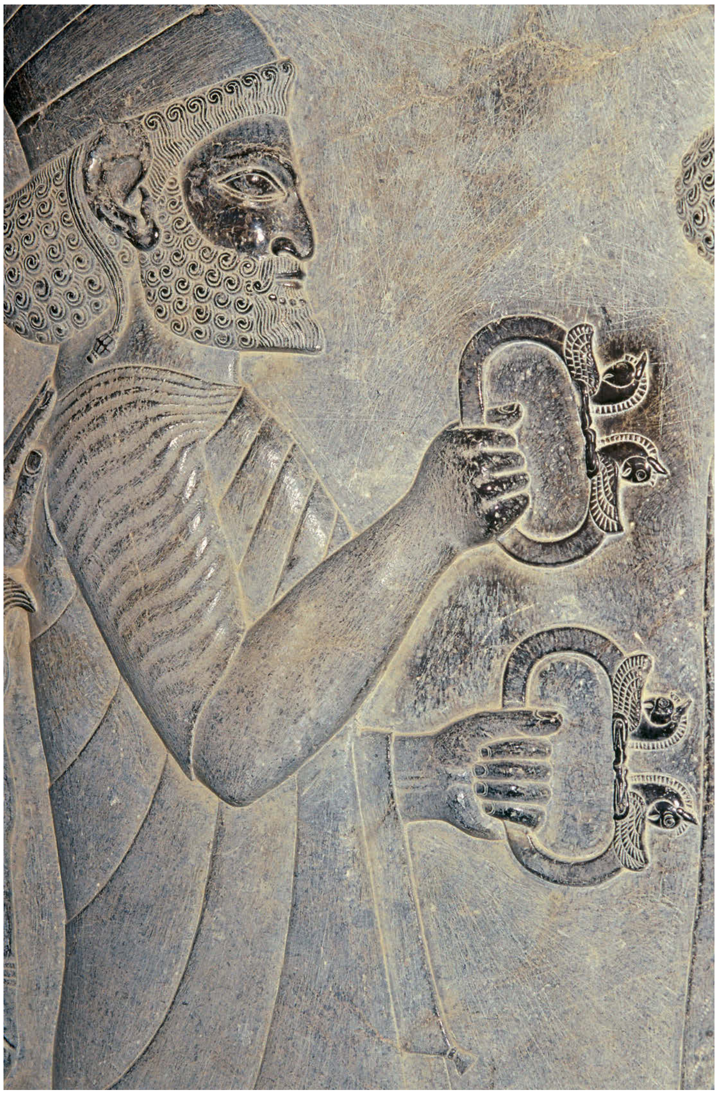
Compared with the Tuvan phase of Arzhan 1 and Aldy Bel', the animal style developed dramatically around the mid-first millennium BC as a consequence of trade contact with China and especially with Iran. In terms of content, new mythical creatures appeared, as well as fight scenes between a victorious carnivore and a defeated herbivore. Such scenes were adopted by the Xiongnu and the Saka of the southern Tarim Basin towards the end of the first millennium BC, as can be seen in the embroidery on the felt carpets of Noin Ula[126] in northern Mongolia and the wool tapestry bands of Shanpula[127] in southern Xinjiang.

Formal innovations also appeared in Pazyryk. Muscles and body parts that were to be emphasised were highlighted by special marks like commas and periods, whether through the use of colourful felt or leather appliqués or the implementation of a cloisonné gold working technique, in which first blue and green and later also red gemstones were incorporated into gold objects. The earliest gold inlaid objects had appeared in the seventh century BC, however, as discoveries from kurgan 5 of Čilikty show. Here green semiprecious gems accentuate the eyes, ears, mouths, beaks and hoofs of small gold animal statues. They are evidence that the toreutic technique of coloured inlays developed not in the Achaemenid Empire but rather among the Scythians of the Kazakh Altai.[128] Polychrome gold working developed several centuries later, however, and was perfected shortly before the start of the first millennium AD by the Saka of Bactria and the Sarmatians of the Black Sea region. As Ellis Minns determined in 1913 and Rostovtzeff in 1922, first the Sarmatians and then migrating tribal bands such as the Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Franks and Merovingians took the Sarmatian art of polychrome gold working to all of Western Europe as far as the British Isles.[129] Not only were products and raw materials transported on the Iron Age trade routes of the steppes but representatives of cultures with specific worldviews and corresponding practices travelled along them – an early and impressive example of transcontinental globalisation.[130]

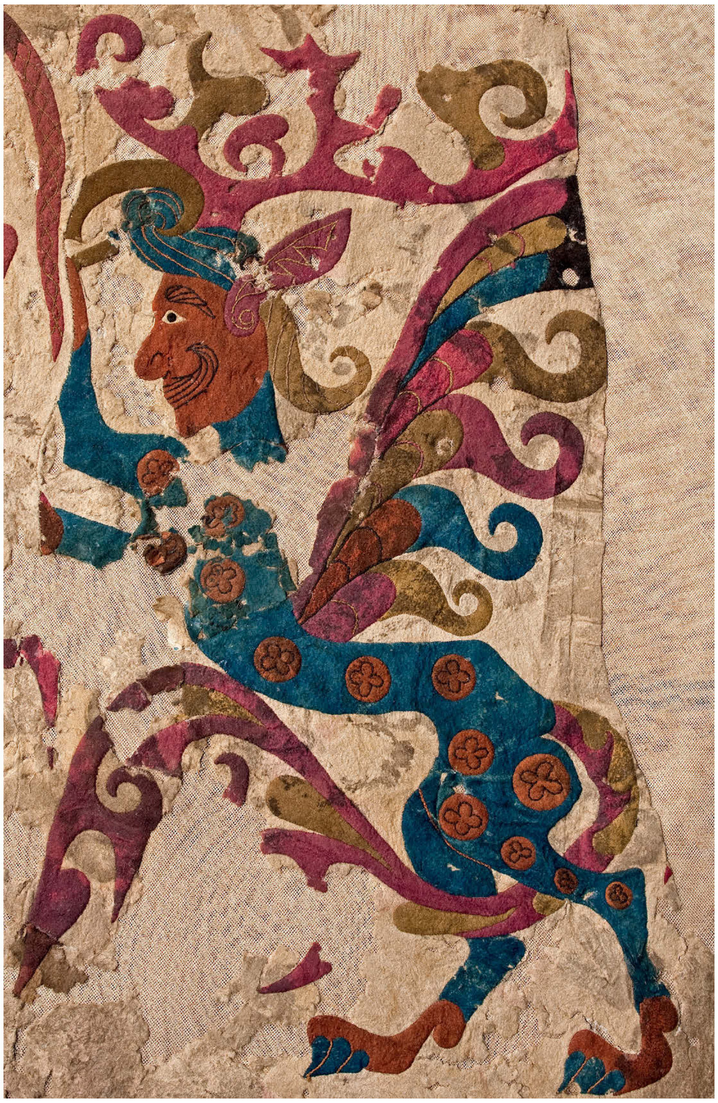
Around 200 km south of Pazyryk in 1990–1995 the Russian archaeologists Natalia Polos'mak and Vjačeslav Molodin discovered on the high plateau of Ukok, which has an elevation of up to 2,500 m, the graveyards of Ak-Alacha, Verch-Kaldžin and Bertek. At Bertek, petroglyphs from the early Bronze Age[131] show that the site served for a long time as a winter grazing area. Because of strong winds, the Ukok plateau stays free of snow in the winter, when lower valleys lie under a thick layer of snow. The winter grazing lands, to which the nomads returned annually, also served as gravesites for the deceased elite. Especially spectacular discoveries were made in the ice kurgans of Ak-Alacha, which lie in the Russian Altai right on the border with Kazakhstan and China.[132] The graves belong to the Pazyryk Culture, which here superseded the Majemir Culture (900–500 BC). In kurgan 1 of Ak-Alacha 3 an adult woman lay in a wooden casket with large, carved depictions of deer and next to her lay six sacrificed horses in harness. Wooden figurines of deer and ibexes covered with gold leaf adorned the headdress of the deceased. The discovery that the woman was tattooed on both arms with images of animals was unique. Carbon-14 wiggle matching measurements gave a date of around 274 BC for the death of the tattooed woman.[133]

Still more sensational were the discoveries in kurgan 1 of Ak-Alacha 1. In a side chamber of the grave, built from larch wood in a block structure, lay nine ornamented horses, three small wooden shields and three richly decorated felt pelmets. The horses' saddlecloths were each hung with two long predatory fishes called *nalim* cut from felt. These fish were in turn decorated with appliqués of griffins and layered eagle heads. They recall the fish-shaped gold sheets, also attached to saddles, of Arzhan 2 and the mysterious fish-shaped gold plaque found at Vettersfelde, Germany.[134] On the upper half of this fish, scenes of animals fighting are depicted in high relief; on the lower half, a hybrid creature with the body of a fish and the bearded head of a man leads six fishes. A bird of prey flies above the fish's fins, which end in rams' heads. According to two origin myths, the ancestress of the Scythians emerged from an aquatic environment, and such fishes may have served as an apotropaic amulet.

The main chamber of kurgan 1 contained a double burial. In the larger wooden casket lay an armed Europid man wearing a felt cap with earflaps and decorated with small wooden animal figurines. The shape of the cap is very similar to the pointed caps of the Sakan tribute delegation on the Apadana relief of Persepolis. The smaller wooden casket held the remains of a young Europid woman who wore not a skirt but rather trousers made of red woollen cloth. As grave goods she had not only jewellery, a ritual miniature mirror and cowry shells from China or India but also, like the man, a complete set of weapons, consisting of an iron battle axe, an iron akinakes, a quiver, a bow and arrows. Remarkably, these were not ritual weapons unsuitable for combat but actual battle weapons. Like the man, the woman wore a tall felt cap, which ended at the peak in a wooden bird's head covered with gold foil. The sides were



The delegation of the Syrians (or Lydians) also brings armlets with small animal heads, here winged griffins, as tribute gifts for the Achaemenid king of kings. Such gold armbands were rarely worn but rather were traditional honorary gifts of subjected peoples in the Achaemenid Empire. Tribute procession on the Apadana steps to the hypostyle hall of Persepolis, first half of the fifth century BC.



A hybrid creature consisting of a winged carnivore, deer and human being, standing on its hind legs, attacks a phoenix of the same size (not shown). Felt wall hanging, Pazyryk, kurgan 5, Altai, southern Russia, *ca.* 241 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

decorated with two gold-covered horse figurines, a deer statuette and three stylised birds cut from gold foil. Clothing and weapons were identical for both the deceased; the young woman was a warrior who died young. In the neighbouring kurgan 2 lay an eight-year-old boy, who was buried like an adult with a horse and a ritual battle axe. Finally, in kurgan 3 of Verch-Kaldžin 2 a young, tattooed warrior was buried, with clothing and armaments identical to those of the double burial of Ak-Alacha 1.

The double burial of Ak-Alacha, dated to the fourth/third centuries BC,[135] was sensational because it was the first time a female buried with battle weapons had been discovered in north-eastern Central Asia, although finds of weapons in female burials of the Pontic Sythians and Sarmatians from the same time were not unusual.[136] This woman's grave also recalls Herodotus's accounts of Sarmatian women 'taking part in war and wearing the same sort of clothes as men. [...] They have a marriage law which forbids a girl to marry until she has killed an enemy in battle.'[137] But this isolated discovery does not necessarily prove that among the eastern Scythians young women took part in war, as with the Sauromatians and Sarmatians. Presumably this was a unique case, in which the young woman had to take over the tasks of the older man, who was incapable of fighting since he suffered from chronic polyarthritis.

In 2006 explorations east of Ak-Alacha in the high plain of Olon Kurin Gol, at an altitude of 2,500 m in the Mongolian Altai, brought to light first a cenotaph, then a plundered grave and finally the undisturbed kurgan 1 of Olon Kurin Gol from the early third century BC.[138] In front of the kurgan stood a row of nine stone steles, oriented towards the south. In the wooden chamber lay a tattooed, fully clothed warrior, who wore wool trousers and a coat

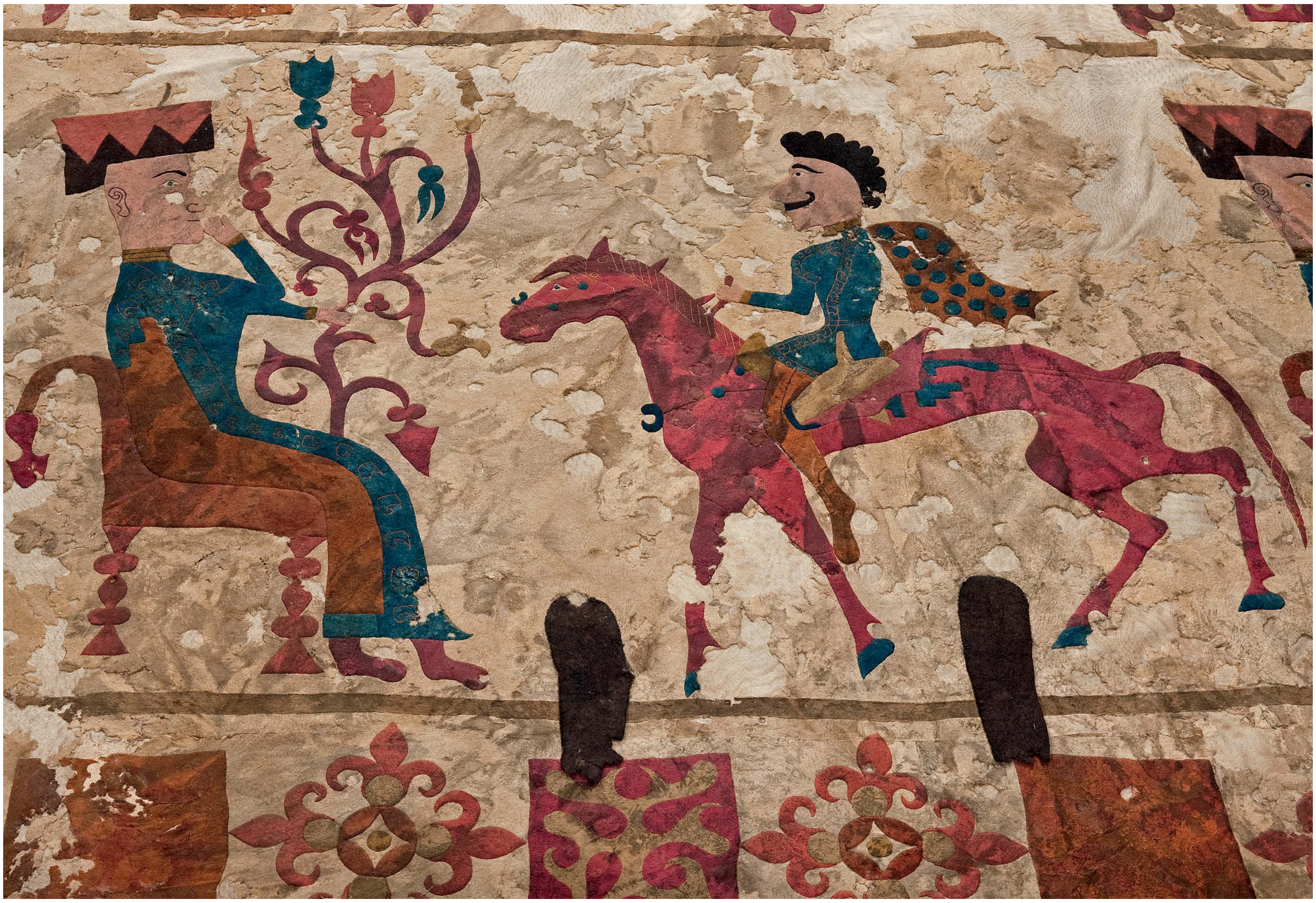
One of the four hay-stuffed felt figures of a swan that decorated the high-wheeled, collapsible wooden wagon in kurgan 5 of Pazyryk. Altai, southern Russia, around 241 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

made of marmot pelt and sheepskin. His tall felt cap ended, like those of Ak-Alacha, in a wooden bird's head. On the peak of the cap stood a gilded wooden horse figurine with ibex horns. A second horse figurine, this one with deer antlers, was found on the front above the forehead, and the sides were decorated with very realistic, somewhat larger horse figurines. Also particularly interesting was the completely preserved, 120-cm-long asymmetrical composite bow, whose different parts were covered with animal skin. Its length and shape anticipated the Hunnic bow.

In summary it may be concluded that the eastern Scythians in Tuva and the Altai responded to the changing climate by developing a new form of economy, ideally suited to the new conditions. At the same time a hierarchically structured and militarised society arose. The elite members of this society accumulated wealth and created independent forms of art, thanks to long-distance trade with China, the Tarim Basin and especially the Medes and Persians of Iran. North-eastern Central Asia soon became too confining for the nomadic horsemen and individual tribal bands struck out for the south and west.

1.5 Stockbreeding cultures of north-eastern Kazakhstan and the western Siberian forest steppe

The cultural phase of Arzhan 1 extended at least 750 km to the south, where in eastern Kazakhstan in the ninth–seventh centuries BC the early Iron Age cultural phase of the **Zebakino-Čilikta phase** flourished. After this followed the **Čilikta phase** (seventh–fifth centuries BC), which corresponds to the Aldy Bel' Phase of Arzhan 2. Simultaneous with the Pazyryk Culture developed the **Bukon phase** (fifth–third centuries BC).[139] In kurgan 5 of Čilikty (seventh century BC) articles of gold jewellery with colourful inlays of



Wall hanging made of thick felt with sewn-on fine felt appliques, Pazyryk, kurgan 5, Altai, southern Russia, *ca.* 241 BC. The mysterious scene, repeated several times, presumably portrays the Scythian goddess Tabiti holding a tree of life and conferring upon the rider the investiture as ruler. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Massive gold armlet with two winged griffins, Oxus Treasure, fifth–fourth centuries BC. Such magnificent armlets are also depicted in the tribute procession on the Apadana steps in Persepolis. The British Museum, London.

artificial gemstones made of glass-like coloured paste came to light. The kurgan also held figurines of boars on tiptoe, cut from thin gold sheets. Also striking is the pyramidal shape of a few kurgans with four steeply sloping sides, reminiscent of the kurgan of Barsučij Log.[140]

About 1,300 km north-west of Čilikty, near the Ishim River, lies the necropolis of **Bajkara**, dominated by the enormous kurgan 1.[141] The kurgan contained no royal tomb, however, but was rather a Scythian-era cenotaph with a shrine over it from the fifth/fourth centuries BC, which had been built in four stages. In a first stage a dromos (entrance corridor) was made from the eastern edge of the planned circular kurgan, leading to a never-used central burial chamber. Stairs led then to the exterior, where, in the western part of the plot, twelve wooden posts of unknown purpose stood. In a second stage the dromos and tomb were filled in, the posts removed, and the site covered with several layers of birch bark and encircled by a stone wall. Then the actual kurgan was constructed out of sod, thick layers of clay and finally a stone shell. The kurgan still contained a central chamber, to which three low corridors led. In the fourth stage the corridors were intentionally brought to collapse, and on the western part of the mound, where the side was steepest, a stone platform was built, on which was constructed a small pyramid, visible from afar, made of a reddish mixture of clay and sand, which recalls the kurgan of Barsučij Log. The entrance to the pyramid and thus to the purported shrine ran over the gently sloping eastern side of the kurgan.[142]

The leading archaeologist in the excavation of Bajkara, Anatoli Nagler, associated the kurgan with Herodotus's account of the Scythian cult of their god of war, whom he called Ares: 'In every district, at the seat of government, Ares has his temple [set up in the form of a mound]. On top, the heap is levelled off [to] a square, like a platform, accessible on one side but rising sheer on the other three. [...] On the top of it is planted an ancient iron sword which serves for the image of Ares. Annual sacrifices of horses and cattle are made to this sword [... also] prisoners of war, [...] one man is chosen out of every hundred.'[143] The kurgans of Bajkara and Barsučij Log, as well as other Scythian kurgans with flattened domes may well have been used as shrines dedicated to the god of war. This is illustrated by the seven Scythian–Maeotian kurgans of Uljap (fifth–fourth centuries BC) and two from Ul (sixth–fifth centuries BC) in the region of Kuban in the Russian northern Caucasus. Here human skeletons as well as piles of animal and human bones recall corresponding ritual sacrifices. In the centre of the dome of kurgan 5 of Uljap Alexander Leskov discovered a quadrangular platform with an ancient sword – clear evidence that 'this shrine was associated with the cult of the war god Ares, whose symbol was the sword'.[144] Similar shrines may be traced back in Kuban as far as the early Scythian period of Kelermes (seventh century BC). Over half a millennium after the construction of the shrines of Uljap the Sarmatian Alans, relatives of the Scythians, venerated a sword as the symbol of their god of war, according to the Roman officer and historian Ammianus Marcellinus (*ca.* 330–395 AD), who noted that 'a bare sword is stuck in the ground according to barbarian custom, and [the Alans] worship this believing it to be the god of war and guardian of the territory they inhabit'.[145]

The sword-worship of the Scythians and the Alans is also echoed in the Ossetian version of the Nart saga. This originally presented the code of honour of the warrior nobles of the Iranian-speaking Ossetians, who lived in the Caucasus and who were descended from the Sarmatian Alans.[146] In the saga the chief of the legendary warrior people of the Narts, the demigod hero Bartraz, whose life is existentially linked with a sword, is venerated. As a young warrior he pulled his sword out of a tree root and as an aged, mortally wounded warrior he can die only after a comrade throws his sword into the sea, where it is immediately taken up by a water deity. Parallels to the saga of King Arthur and his sword Excalibur ought not to be overlooked. Perhaps the 5,500 Sarmatian cavalrymen from the tribe of the Iazyges, whom Emperor Marcus Aurelius sent to the Roman province of Britannia after 175 AD to guard Hadrian's Wall, carried this mythological heritage to Great Britain.[147]

In the western Siberian forest steppe between the lower Tobol and the Irtysh the **Sargat Culture**, strongly influenced by the Scythians and Sarmatians, spread from the fifth century BC to the fourth century AD, following the late phases of **Irmen** (1450–800 BC) and **Baitovo** (850–500 BC). A notable witness to the late Bronze Age Irmen Culture was the fortified settlement of Čiča on the eastern edge of the Irmen cultural territory between Omsk and Novosibirsk. The settlement boasted a systematic arrangement of rows of over 100 houses with streets lying between them, which required overall planning.[148]

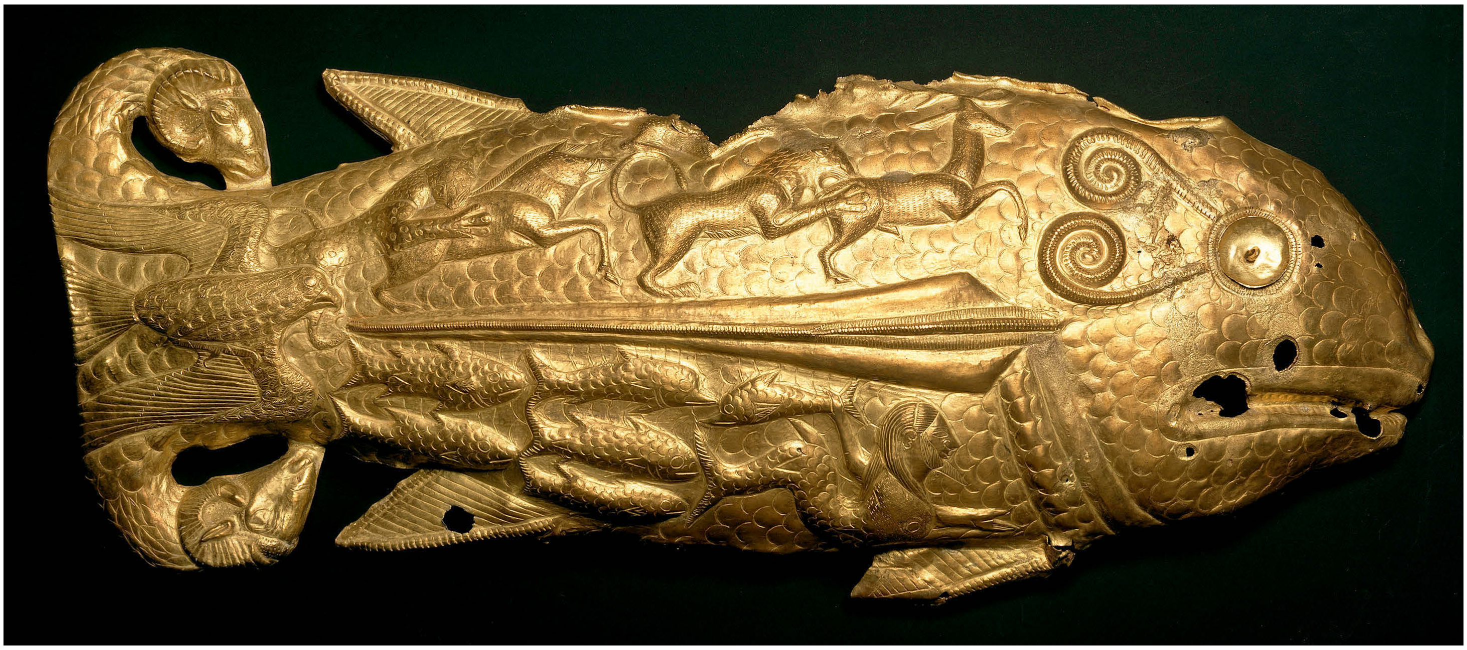
Gold belt buckle with a ram, unknown provenance, presumably southern Siberia, *ca.* fifth–third centuries BC. Private collection, USA.

Gold belt buckle with a scene of animal combat: a winged and horned leopard attacks a horse, with the croup of each animal turned 180 degrees, so the hind legs of the defeated horse point upwards and those of the cat are turned away from the head. Siberian collection of Tsar Peter I (unknown provenance), fifth–fourth centuries BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Scythian and Saka tribes had advanced in the direction of the Urals from the eighth century BC and around 500 BC there suddenly appeared, in addition to the small earthen tumuli of the forest steppe inhabitants, enormous kurgans.[149] The Sargat Culture had a mixed population, made up of a settled majority of native forest steppe people, who spoke a Finno-Ugric language, and a nomadic, Iranian-speaking upper class of heavily armed horsemen of Sakan heritage. Beginning in the sixth century BC two factors increased the migration of Saka nomadic horsemen from north-eastern Central Asia to southern Siberia. The first was a renewed drying of the climate, which led to a withering of grazing lands, and the second was pressure arising from the Achaemenid expansion to the north-east.[150]

Most representatives of the Sargat Culture were settled stockbreeders, who also practised hunting and fishing. They lived in mostly unfortified settlements on the banks of rivers and lakes, but also had ringforts. However, the grave goods from the kurgans suggest a heavily armoured horse-riding elite that wore iron scale armour and helmets with neck guards, and carried long iron swords and lances. The bow was no longer the short Scythian recurve bow but rather the superior so-called asymmetrical Hunnic composite bow, 120 cm or longer, which was also used by the Sarmatians.[151] The appearance of such armoured riders, called *kataphraktoi* by the Greeks, confirms the dominant position of the Sarmatians here. Many discoveries of polychrome gold jewellery from western and eastern Central Asia, Chinese mirrors, coins and silk fabrics, Roman coins and artefacts with Aramaic and Choresmian inscriptions attest to active long-distance trade, whose security was protected by the ringforts.[152]

On the western edge of the Sargat Culture the Iron Age culture of **Ananyino** (700–250 BC) flourished in the forest steppes between the Kama and Volga rivers. As a result of increasing pressure from the Sarmatian nomadic horsemen, who had successfully infiltrated and overthrown the neighbouring territory of the Sargat Culture, a high level of militarisation marked the society of Ananyino. This took the form of extensive production of weapons and numerous fortresses and defensive settlements, and led to the term the 'Age of Fortresses'.[153] The stockbreeders, hunters and fishermen adopted certain elements of the Irano–Sarmatian culture, as indicated by by both the burials – the dead were either stripped of their soft tissue or cremated – and the grave



Fish-shaped gold fitting from Vettersfelde, discovered in 1882 by chance in Lusatia 100 km south-east of Berlin. This fitting, likely used to decorate a shield, was part of a hoard deposited *ca.* 500 BC for unknown reasons. Portrayed on the sheet are animal scenes from air, land and water; presumably it had an apotropaic function. Workshops in the Hellenised north-western Pontic region may be assumed as the place of origin. Antiquities Collection, State Museum of Berlin.

goods made of animal bone and decorated in the Scytho–Siberian style. However, depictions of animals of the forest steppe such as bears, elk, wolves and boars replaced the usual steppe animals such as horses, deer and birds of prey.[154]

1.6 Achaemenid invasions in the territory of the Saka: The beginning of a 2,500-year-long conflict between nomadic horse-riding peoples and states of settled societies

While Herodotus maintained that 'the Persians call all Scythians Saka', Pliny the Elder (23–79 AD) stated more precisely that the Persians called only those Scythians who bordered their empire Saka.[155] For ancient historians all Saka belonged to the Scythians but not all Scythians were Saka. Both ethonyms are collective terms for the Iron Age, Iranian-speaking nomadic horsemen of the steppes of Eurasia. In modern scholarship the term Scythian refers to the Pontic group west of the Urals; the term Massagetae, to the nomadic horsemen around the Aral Sea; and the Saka, the remaining groups in eastern Central Asia.[156] Both the etymology and the localisation of individual Saka peoples are debated.

The words 'Scythians' and 'Scoloti' and the name of the first ruler 'Scolaxaïs' may have different roots from the word 'Saka'. The former words probably trace back to the northern Iranian term *skuða*, which means 'archer'.[157] The ethonym 'Saka' and the corresponding Chinese name 'Sai', in contrast, derive either from *skuða* or from the Iranian root *sag*, which means 'deer' in Ossetian, which could indicate that the deer was the totem of the Saka.[158]

Identifying the individual peoples of the Saka, as they are listed in six Achaemenid stone inscriptions, is difficult, as is the correlation with the ethonyms of Herodotus and with his tax register of Persian satrapies.[159] The most informative are the grave inscriptions of Darius I of Naqsh-i Rustam, which were made at the latest in 486 BC, and the so-called Daiva inscription of Xerxes I (r. 486–465 BC) from Persepolis. Both lists of the peoples belonging to the Persians name the *Saka haumavarga* (haoma-worshipping Saka), the *Saka tigraxauda* (pointed cap Saka) and the *Saka tayaiy paradraya* (Saka on the other side of the sea). The Daiva inscription also listed the *Daha*, the Dahae, whereby four Saka peoples were named (see table opposite).

The Achaemenid Empire, which at its height stretched from Egypt and Anatolia in the west as far as Central Asia and Pakistan in the east, arose from the alliance of the Indo–Iranian, originally Central Asian peoples of the Medes and the Persians. Around 672 BC the Medes, who lived in western Iran, managed with the help of bands of Cimmerian warriors to overthrow Assyrian rule. In 655 BC they also conquered the Persian tribes, but they came under the domination of the Scythians from *ca.* 644 BC till 616 BC (or 652 to 624 BC). As Herodotus reported, King Cyaxares II (r. *ca.* 624–584 BC) drove out the Scythians after he had their

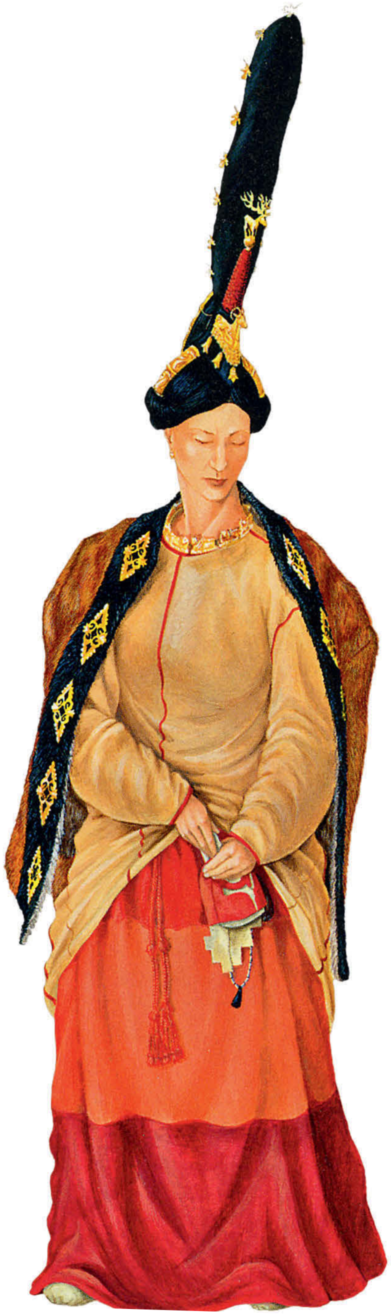


Illustration based on the excavation of the woman with a tall headdress buried in kurgan 1 of Ak-Alacha 3, Russian Altai.

military elite murdered at a banquet,[160] and in 612 BC, with his Babylonian allies and Scythian mercenaries he stormed the Assyrian capital, Nineveh. Afterwards the Medes undertook the first campaigns toward the east against Parthia and Hyrcania, both south-east of the Caspian Sea. In 553 BC, however, the Persian vassal prince Cyrus II (ruled as Achaemenid ruler 550–530/29 BC),[161] who had married a daughter of the Mede king Astygates, rebelled against his father-in-law, defeating him decisively three years later. With the uniting of the Persians and the Medes, Cyrus founded the empire of the Achaemenids.[162] In light of the lack of Achaemenid chronicles the only sources of information on the Achaemenid regime in Central Asia, besides archaeological finds, are the few royal proclamations and the Greek historians, above all Herodotus. However, even Herodotus tended to mention the Persians only when their history involved Greeks or Scythians.

After Cyrus II had conquered Elam, Lydia and its king Croesus, as well as the Ionian cities, he divided his army: 'While Harpagus was turning upside-down the western part of Asia, Cyrus was engaged with the north and east, bringing into subjection every nation without exception.'[163] The details of Cyrus's campaign to consolidate and expand Persian power in eastern Central Asia are unknown. The chronological reference points are the fall of the Lydian capital of Sardis and the Ionian cities in 547–546 BC, as well as the conquest of Babylon in 539 BC by Cyrus himself, so the first Central Asian campaign took place *ca.* 545–540 BC. The most important geographical evidence is provided by the Bisotun inscription, since it lists the 23 lands and peoples that Ahura Mazda bequeathed to Darius I as the legitimate heir of his predecessors Cyrus II and Cambyses I (r. 530/29–522 BC). It remains unclear, however, which regions Cyrus had already defeated and which Darius I conquered later. If one follows the inscription, Cyrus incorporated the following regions from the east into the empire: *Parthava* (Parthia and Hyrcania), *Margush* (Margiana), *Uvarazmish*

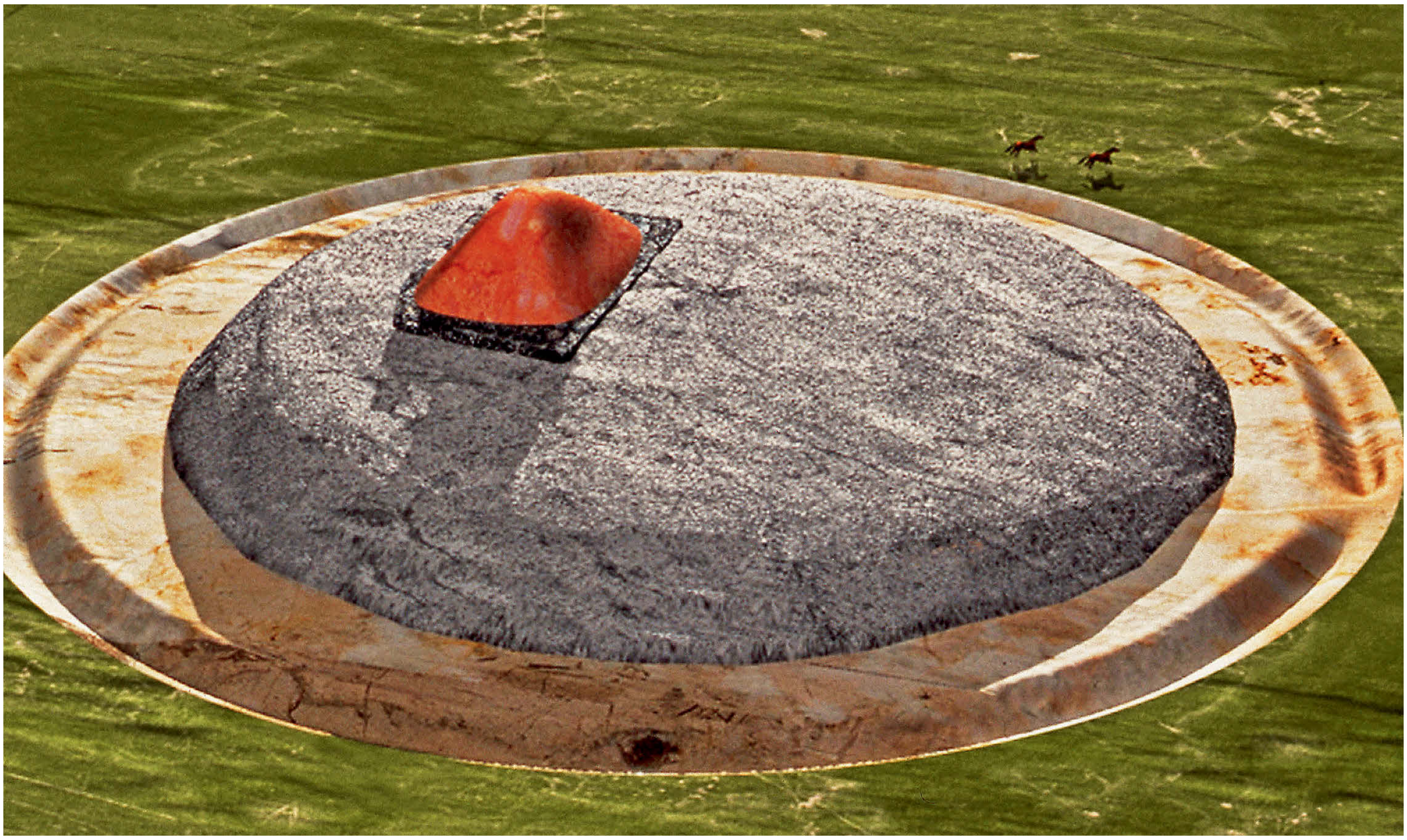
Identification of the Saka peoples mentioned in the Achaemenid inscriptions[164]

	TERRITORY	NOTES
Saka tayaiy paradraya	Pontic region (southern Ukraine)	Identical to Herodotus's Scythians
Saka tigraxauda	East of the Caspian Sea as far as Semirechie (western to south-eastern Kazakhstan including Choresmia)	Herodotus's Massagetae belonged to the *Saka tigraxauda*
Saka haumavarga	Fergana, Alai, Pamirs (Tajikistan, eastern Uzbekistan)	Identical to Herodotus's Amyrgians
Dahae	Syr Darya delta (east of the Aral Sea)	A sub-tribe of the Dahae, the Parni, conquered Parthia *ca.* 239/38 BC and later Iran

(Choresmia), *Saka* (Saka), *Suguda* (Sogdia) and *Baxtrish* (Bactria), where he built a chain of fortresses to defend the border. One of these fortresses was Kyrshkata (Cyropolis) near the modern city of Istaravshan in north-western Tajikistan, which Alexander the Great captured in 329 BC.[165] Whether there existed in Bactria a pre-Achaemenid empire that was connected to a king called Vistaspa, the purported patron of Zarathustra, is debatable. The archaeologists A. Askarov and V. Masson have argued in favour of a pre-Achaemenid Empire; however G. Gnoli, M. Dandamayev and the majority of scholars remain sceptical.[166] The inscription of Bisotun also listed the following south-eastern regions: *Haraiva* (Latin Aria, the province of Herat in western Afghanistan), *Zraka* (Sistan in south-eastern Iran and south-western Afghanistan), *Harauvatish* (Arachosia in the province of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan), *Gadara* (Gandhara in south-eastern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan) and *Tathagush* (Sattagydia, Punjab in central and eastern Pakistan?).[167]

After the conquest of Babylon Cyrus decided to secure the north-eastern border by means of a second Central Asian campaign against the Massagetae, who belonged to the Scythians. Herodotus reported this campaign in detail.[168] As mentioned above, the Massagetae had an armoured cavalry, worshipped the sun and sacrificed horses to it. At that time their king had died and his wife Tomyris served as regent for her son Spargapises. In 530 or 529 BC. Cyrus, with the help of a pontoon bridge, crossed a river called Araxes by Herodotus – presumably the Uzboy – and, on the advice of Croesus, set a trap for the Massagetae. He retreated with his army and left behind abundant baggage, guarded by only a few soldiers. When a third of the Massagetaean army plundered the baggage and became drunk from the wine contained there, Cyrus returned and killed many of his enemies or took them prisoner, among these Tomyris's son. After this Tomyris gave Cyrus an ultimatum: 'Give me back my son and get out of my country with your forces intact, and be content with your triumph over a third part of the Massagetae. If you refuse, I swear by the sun our master to give you more blood than you can drink, for all your gluttony.'[169] But Cyrus had no thought of return and Spargapises took his own life out of shame. In the subsequent battle Cyrus fell and Tomyris made good on her terrible oath by placing his severed head in a wineskin filled with human blood.

Even if details of Herodotus's accounts are mythological, the fact remains that the founder of the Achaemenid Empire, Cyrus, fell in battle with a Scytho–Sakan people. The two Central Asian



Computer reconstruction of the final building phase of cenotaph 1 of Bajkara, northern Kazakhstan, fifth/fourth centuries BC.

As described by Herodotus (IV, 62), the Scythians worshipped their war god in the form of an iron sword, which they placed on an artificially built mound. Shown here as representatives are the three monumental swords of the Vikings at Hafrsfjord, Stavanger, Norway.

campaigns of Cyrus marked the start of a more than millennium-long conflict between nomadic and settled societies of Indo–Iranian peoples who were related to one another. This struggle is reflected in the Avesta and celebrated in the *Shahname* of Firdausi (940–1020 AD). There it is reported that the ancestor of the Iranian peoples, King Fereydun, bequeathed the Arian Empire to his three sons as follows: to the eldest, Salm, intent on security, he gave Asia Minor; to the middle, reckless son, Tur, Central Asian Turan; and to the youngest, the noble Iraj, the homeland of Iran. The two older brothers were so envious that they murdered their younger brother. One of Fereydun's grandsons avenged Iraj and confirmed the dominion of Iran but the rivalry between the settled urban civilisation of Iran and the nomadic Turanians, those 'with the swift horses', continued for centuries. In the end the *Shahname* epic is about a fratricidal war between two related peoples, one of whom lived sedentarily and the other nomadically.[170]

Cyrus II was followed by Cambyses I, who conquered Egypt. He died in 522 BC during the return to Ektabana, today's Hamadan, where a revolution was in progress. In the subsequent chaos a distant relative of Cyrus and Cambyses, named Darius, prevailed and put down one revolt after another. On the Bisotun inscription Darius I (r. 522–486 BC) proclaimed his victory over the usurper Gautama and the nine rebellious 'kings of lies', among them Frada from Margiana and Skunkha, chief of the Saka tigraxauda. While the loyal satrap (civil governor) of Bactria defeated the insurgent Frada at the end of 522 BC, Darius personally led the campaign against the rebellious Saka in 519 BC: 'I marched with my army to the land of Saka [...] who wore pointed caps. [...] I smote part of the Saka exceedingly, and the other part was captured. [...] Their leader, by the name of Skunkha, was taken prisoner and led to me. Then I appointed another leader and the land became mine.'[171]

But as Alexander the Macedonian must also have experienced later, the Saka horsemen did not allow themselves to be easily subdued; again and again they made raids into the Achaemenid Empire. Thus Darius decided in 513/12 BC to attack the Saka from the west and close in on them. As Herodotus reported, the king failed spectacularly in the face of Scythian stalling tactics and a strategy of 'scorched earth.' The Pontic Scythians under King Idanthyrsos denied the attackers an open battle and retreated far into the territory of disloyal tribes. They 'retired in the direction of those nations who had refused to join the alliance, with the idea of involving them in the war against their will, if they would not fight on their own initiative. [...] The wagons which served as houses for the women and children, and all the cattle [...] were ordered to move northward at once, in advance of their future line of retreat.'[172]

Darius crossed the Bosporus at Byzantion and went on to conquer Thrace. He then advanced across the Danube and encountered the land of the Scythians, now empty. The Scythians had filled in their wells, burned their food stores and trampled down their pastures; their army retreated in lockstep with the advancing Persians, at a day's remove. Like the Russians who, more than two millennia later, led Napoleon into empty lands, the Scythians knew how to make optimal use of the barren steppe. They lured the Persians to the Don (Greek Tanaïs) and then turned northwards into the forest steppe of the neighbouring Budini. There stood here the large, fortified city of Gelonos, built entirely of wood, whose inhabitants were a Greek–Budini mix who spoke a Scythian–Greek

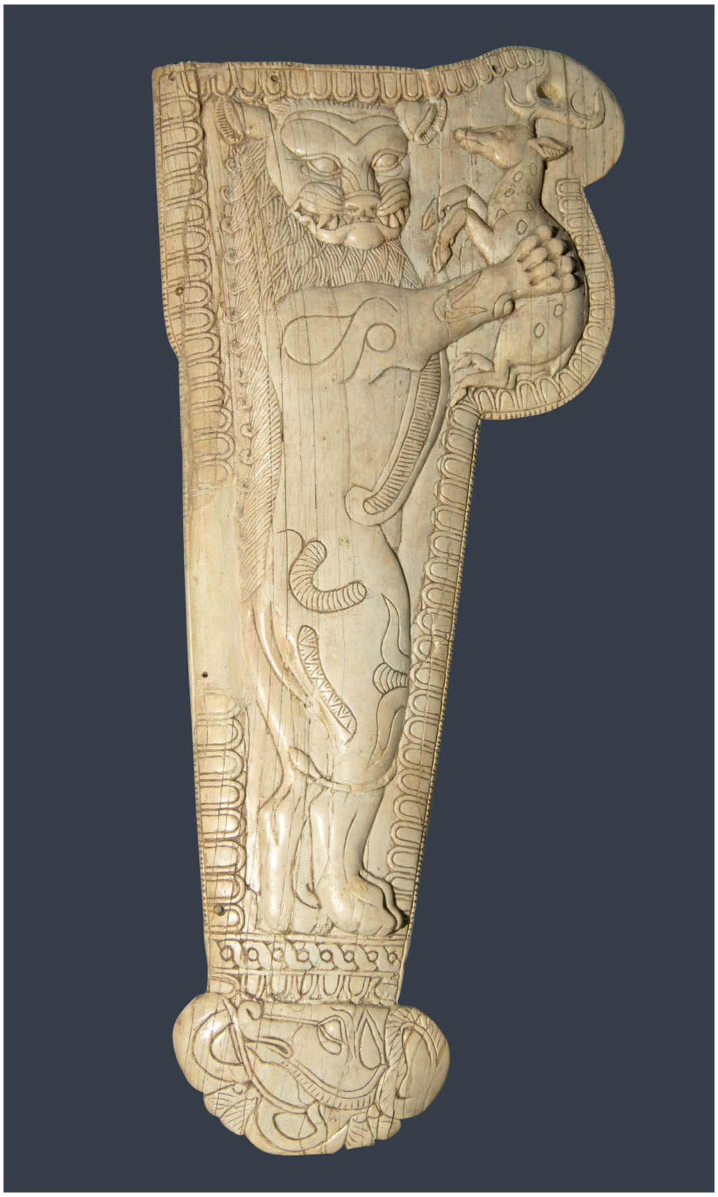
View from the ancient citadel of Cyropolis at the modern city of Istaravshan, north-western Tajikistan. The citadel was founded by the Achaemenid king Cyrus II between 545 and 540 BC; it was destroyed in 329 BC by Alexander the Great and in 1220 by Genghis Khan's troops. Excavations of the citadel confirm an early Achaemenid cultural layer.

language. When the Persians reached 'the wooden fortified town of Gelonos, abandoned and empty of defenders, [they] burnt it'.[173] Gelonos is identified today with the one-time fortified city of Bel'sk on the Vorskla, a tributary of the Dnieper, whose extensive 33-km system of walls surrounded an area of 4,000 ha and linked together three fortresses. Archaeological investigations have revealed that the site, founded in the mid-seventh century BC, was completely burned down at the end of the sixth century BC – that is, at the time of the Persian invasion. Gelonos was one of the most powerful of over 100 ringforts that stood on the waterways and roads of the forest steppe. They served Greek and Scythian traders, as well as local farmers, as places to conduct business and store goods.[174]

Darius was unable to subjugate the aggressive Scythians. On the contrary, they mocked him several times and adopted a guerrilla campaign in which they 'attacked [the Persians] whenever they found them foraging'.[175] Only with great effort were Darius and his exhausted army able to withdraw from the Scythians' lands. They escaped thanks only to a strategic error by the Scythians, who had failed to destroy the Persian pontoon bridge across the Danube.

In 518 BC Darius undertook a series of far-reaching reforms. He divided the empire into 20 satrapies, on which he imposed rigid taxes.[176] Each satrapy had a two-part leadership: a satrap with far-ranging civil functions and a military commander under the direct authority of the king. All central power remained in the hands of the king, however, so the Persian government cannot be compared to medieval feudalism. The most important administrative units of Central Asia were the twelfth satrapy of Bactria and Margiana, the fifteenth satrapy with the Saka and the Caspians, and the huge sixteenth satrapy with Parthia, Choresmia, Sogdia and Aria. For the first time Central Asia was anchored in a political structure that was also active in the direction of Europe.

In order to strengthen the unity of the enormous, multi-ethnic empire, Darius implemented use of the Aramaic language and script as the official language of government, which made Aramaic the lingua franca throughout the empire. Aramaic was not only the first script of Central Asia but also, after Latin, the second most productive script in the world, with 250 derivative systems of writing.[177] Over the course of the subsequent centuries the Aramaic alphabet served the development of writing for widely varied languages of Central Asia. Among these were the Parthian, Choresmian, Sogdian and Bactrian scripts; the last of which was first written with the help of Greek, and then the Manichaean, Nestorian, Uyghur, Mongolian and Manchurian scripts. The Old Turkish rune writing was also derived from the Aramaic alphabet. In addition, Indic languages and Indic-influenced dialects of south-eastern Central Asia, such as Gandhari of the Bamyan type, were put in writing by means of derivatives from Aramaic, out of which developed important scripts such as Brahmi and Kharoshthi.



Ivory fitting on a dagger sheath, on which a lion standing upright holds a small deer in its paws, Oxus Temple Takht-i Sangin, southern Tajikistan, sixth–fifth centuries BC. National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan, Dushanbe.

Darius then constructed a network of roads and founded a state postal service that had its own relay stations and was protected by watchtowers in strategic locations. He introduced a unified coinage with standardised coins in gold and silver, which brought coins to Central Asia for the first time. In the Central Asian satrapies, however, silver bars predominated. To encourage trade in his empire, Darius not only built caravan routes but also ordered the seafarer Skylax to open a sea lane that called at the ports along the southern border of the empire. Skylax sailed the Indus and reached the Indian Ocean, whereupon he followed the Iranian coast and then sailed around the Arabian Peninsula until he came to the Red Sea.[178] In order to foster commerce, Darius provided funds for the construction of an irrigation system and the building or expansion of important cities such as Cyropolis, Maracanda (Samarkand) and the neighbouring Kök Tepe, Merv (the site of Erk Kala), Bactra (Balkh, also called Zariaspa),[179] Herat, Kabura (Kabul), Taxila, etc. Finally, Darius created a standing army, which consisted primarily of Persian, Median, Sogdian and Bactrian units. In the event of war the additional bands of horsemen from Bactria, Sogdia and the Saka formed fearsome units and the composite bow of the Central Asian nomadic riders became one of the most important weapons of the entire army.

Darius's greatness lay not only in his military successes – apart from the failed campaign against the Pontic Scythians – but also in his creation of a governmental structure that encompassed the most varied peoples and economies and established both widespread internal peace and relative prosperity for almost two centuries. In comparison, the empire of Alexander, which largely corresponded to the conquered Achaemenid Empire, collapsed a few years after his death and led to the bloody war of the Diadochi. The Achaemenids also set new standards in the area of art. In their monumental architecture they adopted influences from Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece, and in relief sculpture they perfected Elamite and Assyrian forerunners. Since in Central Asia there were rapidly decaying clay rather than stone buildings, corresponding examples, aside from exceptions such as the Oxus temple Takht-i Sangin, are difficult to retrace. In the area of sculpture, toreutics and painting, by contrast, Achaemenid influences marked the art of Bactria and Sogdia, which reached its zenith in the early Buddhist cave paintings of the northern Tarim Basin and the pre-Islamic murals of Sogdia from the sixth to eighth centuries AD. The Achaemenid Empire enabled easier East–West contact. It also anchored south-eastern Central Asia into the Iranian cultural realm and later the Iranian–Muslim cultural realm. This remained the case until the invasion of the region by tsarist Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

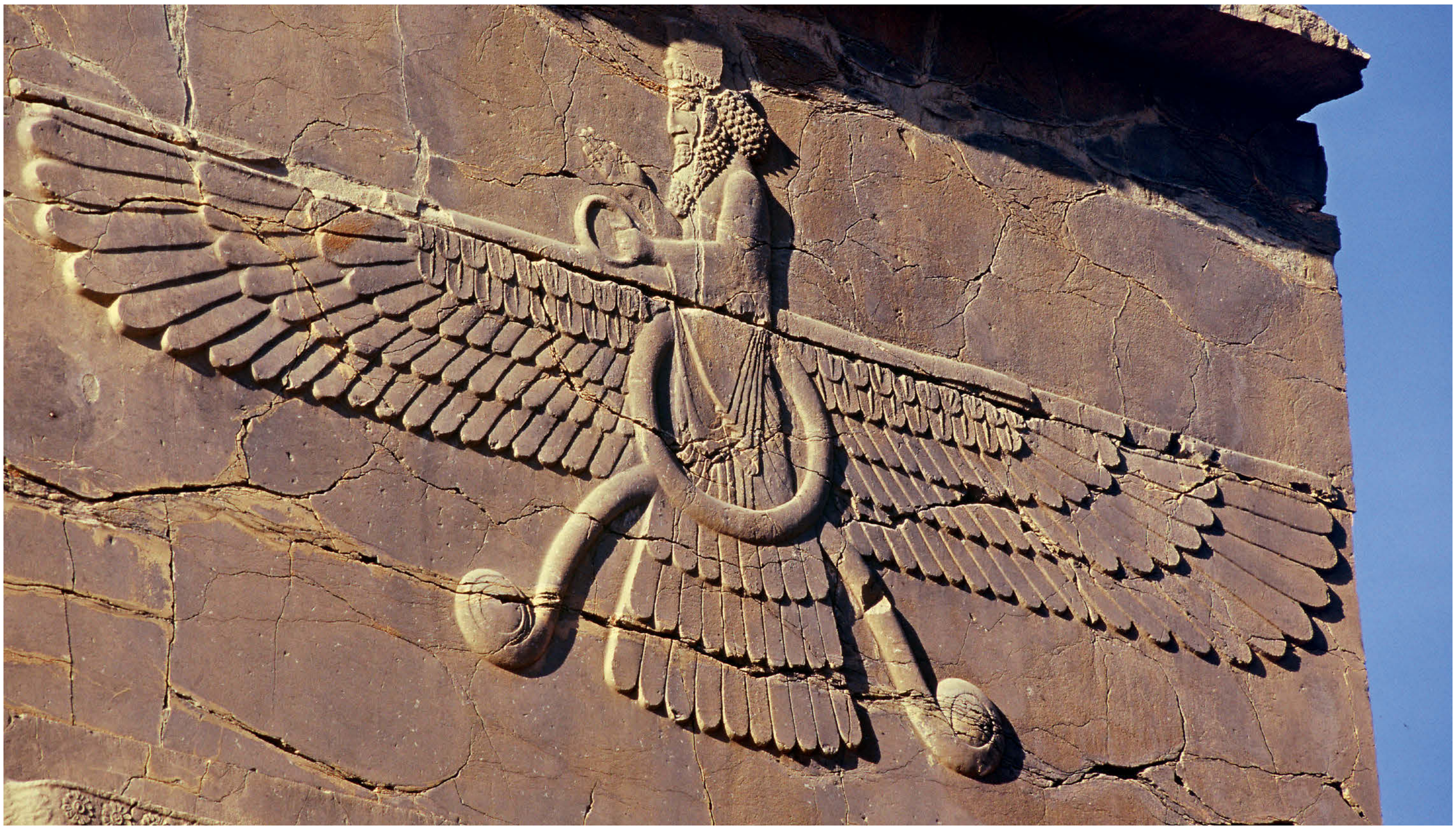
Zoroastrianism and its symbol, Faravahar

In the Bisotun inscription Darius used for the first time the symbol of Zoroastrianism and its spirit, called Faravahar. We know almost nothing about the personal beliefs of Darius; presumably he chose faith in the one true god Ahura Mazda for political reasons, in order to give the multi-ethnic empire a unifying state religion. In this way Darius pursued a tolerant religious policy, since as long as people recognised Ahura Mazda as the highest imperial god, they were free to privately worship their own gods. Darius borrowed a symbol from Neo-Assyrian iconography, which had been influenced by Egypt – namely, the image of a man standing in a winged ring, which in the Neo-Assyrian context symbolised the god of the sun and justice Shamash.[180]

In the Faravahar the human figure represents the connection to the Spirit and the three layers of feathers on each wing, the three ethical principles of 'correct thought', 'correct speech' and 'correct action'. By contrast, the lower part of the Faravahar symbolises the 'incorrect thought', 'incorrect speech' and 'incorrect action' that lead to destruction. The loop that falls forward from the ring stands for the good to which we should orient ourselves, and the loop behind the ring represents the evil on which we should turn our backs. The circle in the centre of the Faravahar symbolises the eternity of the Spirit. Finally, the hand gesturing upwards shows the path to true knowledge, while the ring in the other hand refers to loyalty to Zoroastrian principles.[181]

Zarathustra was a priest of an ancient Aryan religion, but it is not known when he lived and where he came from. Presumably he lived at some time between the twelfth and eighth centuries BC and came from south-eastern Central Asia, more precisely Bactria, where, according to tradition, he is said to have preached and died in Balkh.[182] He was a reformer who elevated Ahura Mazda, the 'wise lord', to the only god, and understood all other, functional deities, to whom were assigned particular phenomena such as rain, wind, sun or war, as abstract aspects of Zarathustra's omnipotence and declared the erstwhile gods, the 'daevas', as false gods. Tribal deities and angels also became superfluous. The principle of light and goodness, Ahura Mazda, symbolised by all-purifying fire, was, however, opposed by the opposite principle of darkness and evil, Ahriman. Ahura Mazda's omnipotence is only temporally limited by Ahriman, but he needs the help of humanity to regain it. Zoroastrian dualism is not absolute but rather of a temporal and ethical nature.

In order to defeat Ahriman, Ahura Mazda created the universe as the battlefield for a titanic 'war of the gods'. Thus the human



Faravahar symbol, eastern door of the tripylon (central building) of Persepolis, fifth century BC.

being, who has free will, must decide within the context of the cosmic struggle whether to support good or evil. The human being, as a microcosmic image of the macrocosmic universe, is both stage and actor in the battle of good against evil. As an aid to orientation, the human being is served by the three fundamental principles of 'correct thought', 'correct speech' and 'correct action'. Zarathustra's teaching demands from believers ethical conduct, coupled with a conscious sense of responsibility, but neither hollow rituals nor animal sacrifices. Zarathustra argued vehemently against senseless animal sacrifice, especially the sacrifice of cattle in honour of Mithra. It would be better to use the cattle to plough the fields than to slaughter them in a wild fury. Thus he represented a religious doctrine that contradicted the traditional beliefs and burial rituals of the Indo–Iranian nomadic horsemen in northern Central Asia such as the Scythians, Saka and Massagetae.

Insofar as all human beings, regardless of their status or birth, could participate in the cosmic struggle of good against evil and thus were fundamentally equal before Ahura Mazda, Zarathustra's teaching was revolutionary and diametrically opposed to the caste system emerging under the Aryans of India. In addition, Zoroastrian anthropology, like its cosmology, is fundamentally optimistic, as it teaches the perfection of creation and the triumph of the good at the end of the eschatological process. But because the living are considered pure and the dead impure, the natural elements of earth, water and fire must not be contaminated by corpses. For this reason all soft tissue and flesh had to be removed by natural means by predatory animals or birds before the bones were placed in an ossuary, a custom that had appeared in Sogdia and Bactria even before Zarathustra. Zoroaster's radical ideas regarding the sole reign of Ahura Mazda did not prevail, however, and Artaxerxes (r. 404–358 BC) officially reintroduced the cult of the god of justice Mithra and the goddess of water, love and war, Anahita.[183] The cult of the intoxicant drink *haoma*, banned by Zarathustra, also soon returned to cultic practice, as did animal sacrifices in honour of Mithra, although to a limited extent.

This heterogeneous character of Zoroastrianism was also reflected in the Avesta, its collection of sacred scripture. The oldest extant fragment of the Avesta contains the prayer *Ashem Vohu* in the Sogdian language from the ninth/tenth centuries AD. It was acquired by the British archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein in 1907 in Dunhuang in north-western China.[184] The oldest complete manuscript comes from the thirteenth century AD, so it is not surprising that the existing Avesta consists of texts from different epochs. The earliest collection of the Avesta, as it had been transmitted orally, may have been commissioned by the Parthian ruler Vologases IV (r. 147–191 AD),[185] and others followed under the Sassanids (224–651 AD). The 17 *gathas* (songs), which are part of the 72-chapter *Yasna* (worship), may have come from Zarathustra himself. The *Yasna* represents only one of the five books of the Avesta, however, which makes it clear how small the part of the text ascribed to Zarathustra actually is. The *Visparad*, which forms a kind of appendix to the Yasna, consists of a collection of 24 prayers. The *Vendidad* (also *Videvdad*), the 'law against the demons', is very heterogeneous and contains both a late creation saga and the archaic myth of Yima, the first ruler of the golden age. In the *Yashts* (songs of praise) 21 gods, nature deities and archangels, banished by Zarathustra from his teachings, reappear, with Mithra prominent among them. The Yashts are associated with the Indian Rig Veda and include much pre-Zoroastrian content. In them it becomes clear how strongly the Zoroastrian doctrine was merged with ancient Iranian ideas. The *Khordeh* (small) *Avesta,* finally, consists of excerpts from the Avesta for the daily use of the laity.[186]

The heterogeneous character of the sacred scripture of Zoroastrianism is unsurprising in view of its long history: no less than 3,000 years passed between the first oral tradition of the Indo–Iranians of the second millennium BC and the oldest extant written text.

1.7 Nomadic and settled cultures between the 'Land of Seven Rivers' and Choresmia

In the 'Land of Seven Rivers' in south-eastern Kazakhstan, called *Semirechie* in Russian and *Zhetysu* in Kazakh, the Saka continued to pursue their nomadic lifestyle, even though the Persian advances as far as the Syr Darya and in Choresmia led to the establishment of urban forms of culture in those places. The grass steppes of the Land of Seven Rivers, named for seven rivers that flow out of the mountains of the Dzungarian Alatau and the north-western Tian Shan, were a preferred territory for the Iron Age nomadic horsemen of the Saka, who left behind thousands of kurgans. One of the most important kurgan necropolises lies on the northern bank of the Ili River about 130 km north-east of Almaty. The cemetery of Besschatyr, which means 'five tents', consists of 31 kurgans, up to 17 m in height, of which 21 are made of stone and the remainder of earth and crushed rock. In individual kurgans an aboveground blockhouse-like wooden chamber was built over the tomb, yet it remained covered by the stone barrow.[187] The largest kurgan, 106 m in diameter, was surrounded by 94 stone megaliths arranged in a spiral. Remains of fire and calcined bones found near the stones indicate animal sacrifices and fire rituals. Unfortunately, the graves, dated to the fifth–third centuries BC, have been plundered.[188]

The necropolis of Issyk, 50 km east of Almaty, which numbers 67 kurgans, comes from the same cultural phase of **Issyk-Besschatyr** (fifth–third centuries BC). A side chamber of one of the large kurgans contained the undisturbed burial of a young, 17- or 18-year-old

On the Bisotun inscription, carved around 516 BC, Darius I announces his victory not only over the Saka rebel Skunkha but also over the rebellious ruler of Margiana named Frada, after which he expanded the important city of Margush (Merv). Here, a fortified gate of Merv in the south-western corner of Gyaur Kala displays three different construction layers: at left Seleucid (3rd century BC), in the centre Parthian (*ca.* 2nd/1st century BC) and on top Sassanian (3rd–4th centuries AD).

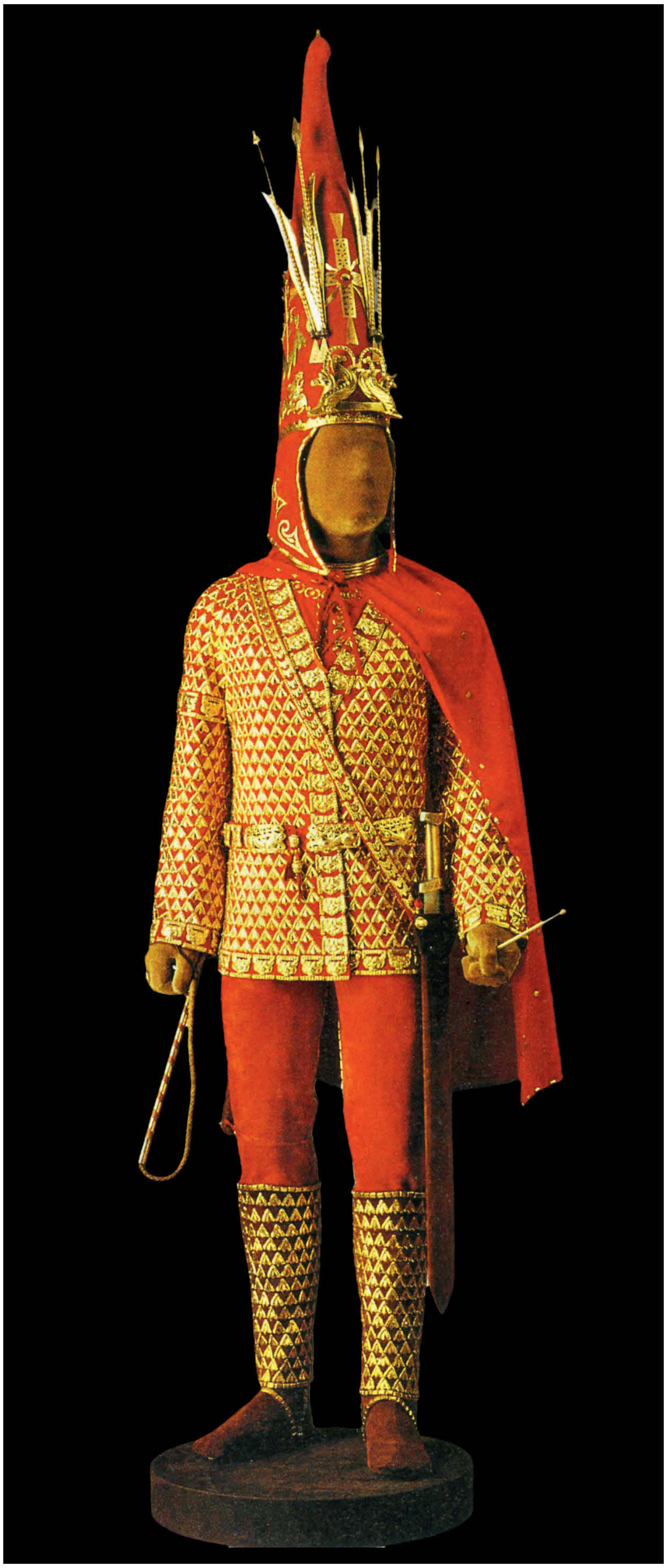
Saka chief in full parade armour from the fifth century BC. This 'Golden Man of Issyk', discovered in 1969, wore a red jacket and red boots, which were decorated with thousands of small gold discs, as well as an iron sword and dagger in sheaths covered in gold leaf. On one of the two finger rings was engraved a male face with a ray-like headdress. Most notable was the pointed headpiece, about 60 cm tall. At the top stood a golden figurine of an ibex, and beneath it were gilded statuettes of horned or winged horses, birds sitting in trees, snow leopards on a background of craggy mountain peaks, ibexes and 30-cm-long gold-covered arrows. The arrangement of trees with the birds in mountain valleys and the predatory cats against jagged peaks lend the composition a realistic, three-dimensional appearance.[189] The young chief wore on his head the most important elements of the mythical universe of the Saka. Just as unique was the discovery of a silver dish with a rune-like inscription in two lines. The oldest known Saka inscription, this has not been deciphered to this day; the symbols show a certain similarity to the Old Turkish inscriptions of Mongolia and southern Siberia, derived from Aramaic but much later. Some 30 inscriptions with comparable symbols have been identified to date.[190] The Saka also built a great necropolis north of Besschatyr in the valley of the Koksu near the Bronze Age petroglyphs of Eshki Olmes.[191] In contrast to the Bronze Age cist graves placed close beside one another, the large kurgans here stood far removed from one another, as though they wanted to take possession of the landscape.[192]

At the necropolises of **Tagisken South** and **Ujgarak**, north-west of Semirechie, a pronounced fire cult characterised the burial rites and shaped the culture.[193] These necropolises were abandoned in the middle of the first millennium BC, when an arm of the Syr Darya river, and with it the settlements and encampments that lay along it, shifted to the west. Here the **Čirikrabat Culture** (500–200 BC) developed.[194] After this shift of the river's course no more Saka memorials appeared in the broad delta of the Syr Darya. Presumably one group of the Saka migrated to another region and another adapted to the Persian-influenced culture of Čirikrabat, as the region around the mouth of the Syr Darya belonged to the fifteenth Achaemenid satrapy. Among the most striking witnesses to the sudden Persian influence are widely placed irrigation systems and fortified smaller urban centres such as Čirikrabat. They display the typical Central Asian city plan, consisting of a strong surrounding wall guarded by towers, the residential quarters called in the Middle Ages *shahristan* and the fortified citadel called *Kala* with its monumental buildings.[195]

A similar development can be seen in Iron Age Choresmia, where a settled population of farmers and traders lived alongside semi-nomadic stockbreeders. Their only remaining traces are the kurgans of the **Kujusaj Culture** (seventh–second centuries BC), an Iranian-speaking culture related to the early Saka.[196] Parallel to this nomadic culture the urban **Old Choresmian Culture** flourished from the seventh/sixth century BC to the first century AD. The archaeologist Sergei Tolstov (1907–1976) explored here from 1938 to 1964. The pioneer Tolstov was, with Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943), one of the first archaeologists to use aerial reconnaissance to systematically investigate unfamiliar territory. In this manner he discovered dozens of unknown cities and fortresses in Choresmia.[197] The Old Choresmian culture had Achaemenid influences and belonged to the sixteenth satrapy. However, the local political authorities were able as early as 400 BC to liberate themselves from the Achaemenid Empire and found an independent state. Thus in the winter of 329/28 BC the Choresmian king Pharasmanes provided troops and logistical support to Alexander the Great in anticipation of a campaign against his northern enemies, the Massagetae and the Scythians on the Black Sea.[198] Although Alexander concluded the alliance, the campaign did not come to pass.

Presumably there were three decisive reasons why Alexander did not pursue the terms of the alliance: first, he had to secure his south-eastern flank in Bactria and, second, he dreamed of an advance – in Cyrus's footsteps, so to speak – into the Indus Valley. Third, he must have taken seriously the warnings of two delegations of Pontic Scythians in autumn of 329 BC and spring of 328 BC.[199] In 331 BC the Pontic Scythians had completely destroyed the attacking Macedonian army of Alexander's governor, General Zopyrion, at Olbia and had killed him. Zopyrion's failed offensive had presumably been part of a strategic plan that foresaw first the overthrow of the Pontic Scythians and then a union with Alexander's troops in northern Bactria.[200] According to reports

One of the 31 Sakan kurgans of Besschatyr, south-eastern Kazakhstan, fifth–third centuries BC.

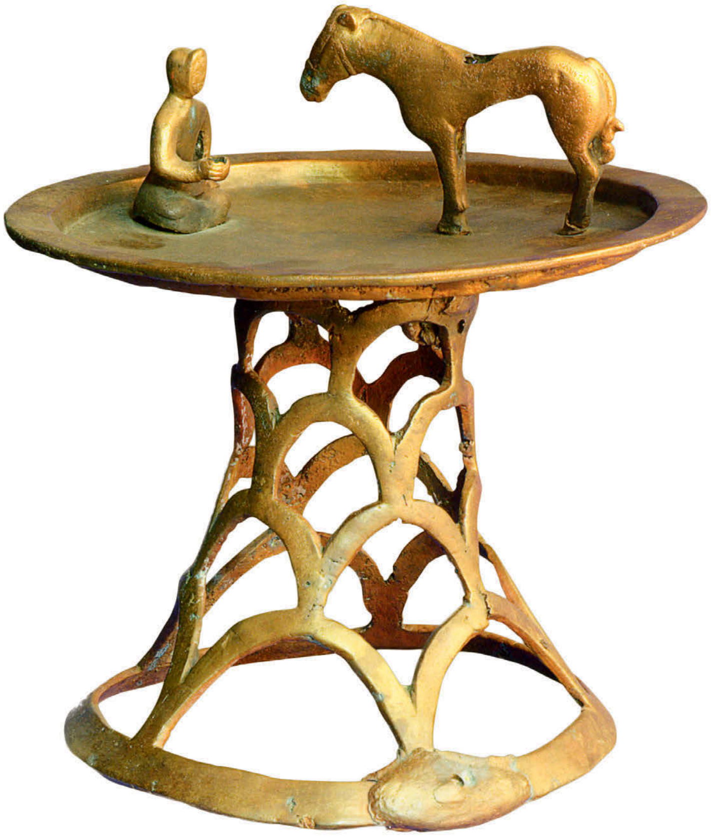


Model according to archaeological data of the 'golden man of Issyk', from the fifth century BC. Southern Kazakhstan. Margulan Archaeological Institute of Kazakhstan, Almaty.

by the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus (first century AD) the second Scythian delegation presented Alexander with an outright threat: 'You proudly claim that you have come in pursuit of bandits, but to all the people you have visited *you* are the bandit. [...] We guard both Asia and Europe. We border on Bactria [where Alexander had troubles quelling Bactrian and Sogdian revolts] except that the Tanaïs [here: the Syr Darya] separates us. We inhabit territory beyond the Tanaïs and all the way to [the Macedonian province of] Thrace and they say Macedonia stands next to Thrace. We are neighbours to both your empires. Consider whether you want us to be your enemies or your friends.' Alluding to the routs of Cyrus II and Darius I, the Scythian added boldly, 'Just cross the Tanaïs and you will discover the extent of Scythian territory – but you will never catch the Scythians. [...] When you think we are far away, you will see us inside your camp. We pursue and retreat at equal speed.'[201] The Scythian threat was twofold: if Alexander were to attack, the Scythians would lure him into the emptiness of their steppes and at the same time mount a campaign against his homeland Macedonia. Alexander abandoned the idea of advancing to the north and contented himself with a victorious skirmish against the Saka north-east of Khujand.

The ancient Choresmian culture had been preceded by the **Amirabad Culture** (*ca.* 1400–750 BC). The settlements of the time consisted of both small, sunken 'single-family houses' of a standard size and longhouses 70 m in length. These were divided into small residential units, each with its own hearth. The tradition of the longhouses was further developed in the Old Choresmian Culture into 'settlements within ramparts' as they were placed together in rectangular or circular complexes. These settlements were surrounded by strong walls made of clay bricks and fortified with towers, and in the interior of these walls narrow, vaulted and corridor-like rooms were concealed. The city of Kjuzeligyr, built in the early Old Choresmian **Kjuzeligyr phase** (seventh/sixth–fourth centuries BC) and located 80 km south-west of today's city of Nukuz, had within its defensive walls three parallel residential corridors, and the neighbouring city of Kalaligyr, 7,000 x 1,000 m in extent, had two.[202] Thousands of people lived in such settlements and the unbuilt sections of the cities offered shelter for herds of cattle in the event of war. In the first half of the fourth century BC a building boom began in Choresmia and many fortified cities arose for protection against the raids of nomadic horsemen in the north. Among these were Ajaz Kala and Gyaur Kala north of the Amu Darya, Gyaur Kala near Mizdajkan, Janbas Kala, the large and the small Qirq Qiz Kala, Qurgashin Kala and Zamakhsha.[203] Vadim Masson very aptly described Old Choresmia as 'a small island of urban culture in an endless sea of nomadic tribes'.[204] At the start of the **Kangju phase** (fourth century BC–first century AD) there appeared within the cities fortified citadels with separate palaces for the rulers and fire shrines, such as Toprak Kala. Towards the end of the Kangju phase and in the subsequent Kushan phase (second–third centuries AD) the social unity of the settlements collapsed, as rulers and nobles remained in the well-fortified cities, while merchants and farmers lived in separated fortified villages, such as Kyzyl Kala.[205]

A unique structure of Old Choresmia was the circular, or, more precisely, 18-sided site of Koi Krylgan Kala (fourth century BC–fourth century AD), which had two concentric ring walls, respectively 87 and 44 m in diameter. The outer defensive wall, 7 m thick and reinforced by nine towers, contained nine connected rooms. The inner wall protected the two-storey central structure, originally about 10 m tall and vaulted with clay. The complex served first as a royal gravesite where rituals associated with an ancestor and sun cult, and perhaps also an astral cult, were performed. Near the complex archaeologists discovered numerous ossuaries filled with charred bones. As mentioned above, this circular gravesite recalls both older gravesites of the Central Asian steppe, such as Anchil Chon or Arzhan 1, and the mythical city of Var.[206] Perhaps the cylindrical central structure represents a forerunner of the future Zoroastrian 'towers of silence', *dakhma*. In any case, Choresmia in the Kjuzeligyr phase was familiar with the burial of mortal remains in ossuaries after the corpse was burned or had decayed. A few ceramic ossuaries from Koi Krylgan Kala took the form of a life-size seated man, with the individually crafted heads presumably reproducing the facial features of the deceased.[207] Another ossuary had the shape of a camel, possibly a symbol of the Iranian god of victory Verethraghna.[208] Around the first century BC radially laid out houses filled the space between the two walls and the gravesite became a fortified settlement, surrounded by an intensively cultivated agricultural zone.[209]



Portable incense altar with openwork base made of copper, Issyk, southern Kazakhstan, fifth–third centuries BC. Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty.

1.8 Mountain, steppe and desert stockbreeders between the Pamirs and Altyn Tagh

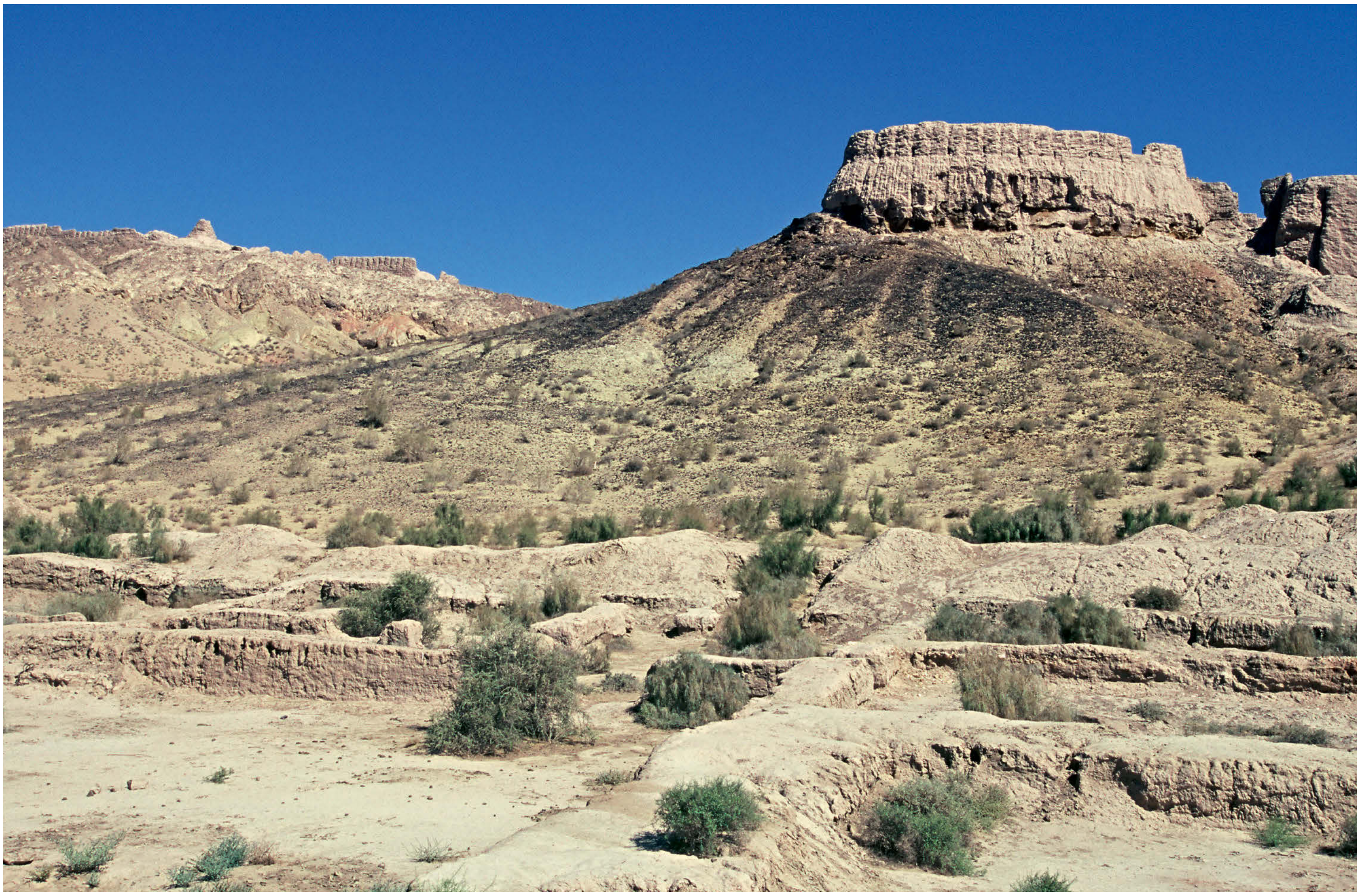
1.8.1 Fergana and the Pamirs

The Fergana valley in south-eastern Uzbekistan and south-western Kyrgyzstan, as well as the eastern Pamir Mountains in eastern Tajikistan, were home to the Saka haumavarga from about the seventh century BC. Although these people are listed in Achaemenid inscriptions as belonging to the Empire, this is highly unlikely. In Fergana the Saka abandoned the oases and city-like settlements of the settled populace and moved into the higher elevations as nomads. They maintained their cult of the dead and their burial rituals, as can be seen in the kurgans.[210] The Saka also settled the valleys and high plateaus of the Pamirs on Fergana's southern border. They left behind hundreds of kurgans at an elevation of up to 4,000 m, such as those in the valleys of Alichur, Aksu, Jalang and Shurali and on the southern banks of Karakul Lake, 4,040 m above sea level. In the last three of these places, the Saka created spectacular geoglyphs beside and between their kurgans.

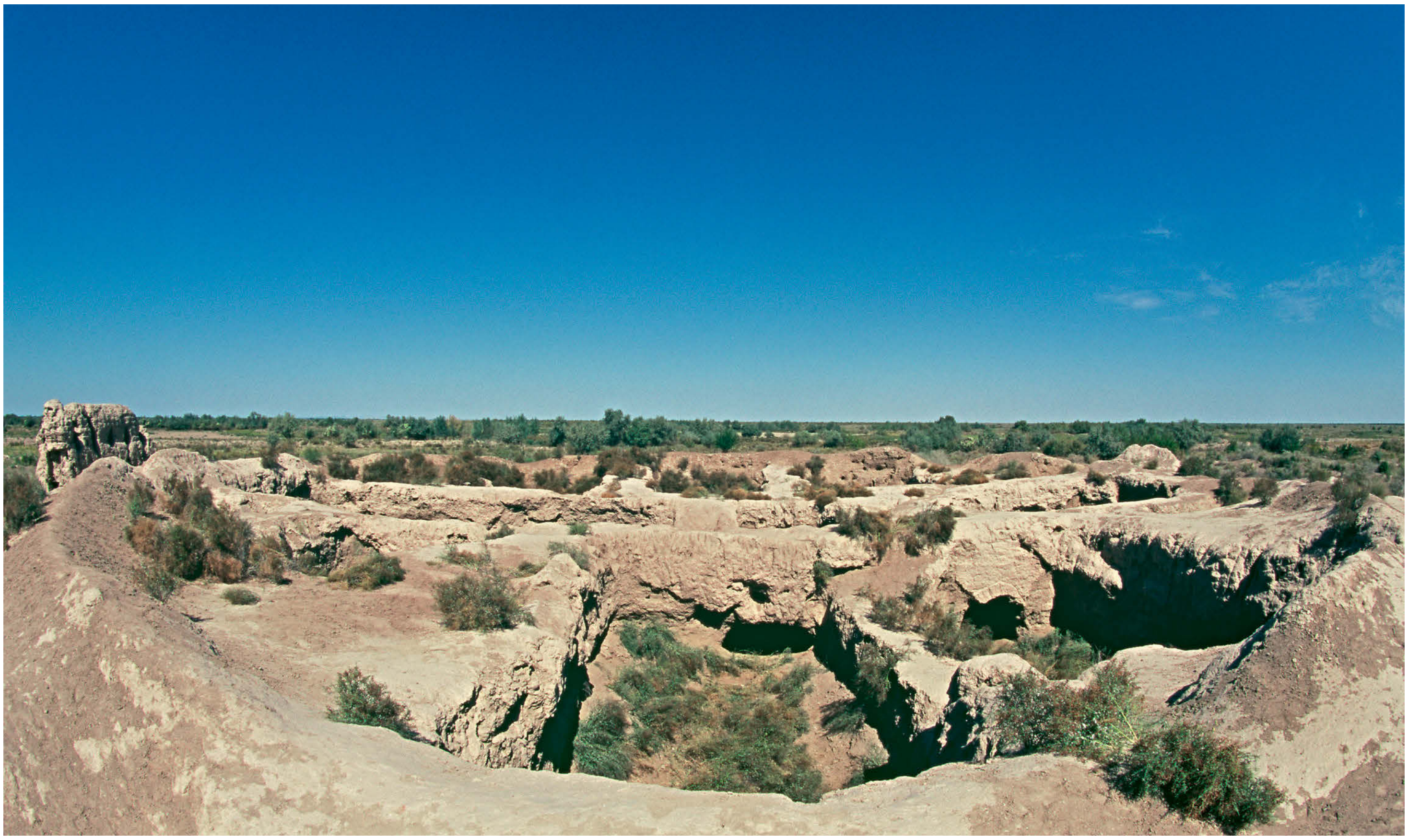
The geoglyphs of the Pamirs are geometric figures on the surface of the earth, which consist of light and dark stones placed over a large area and against a contrasting background. The graveyard of Kara Art on the bank of Karakul Lake, not far from the Chinese border, has 25 kurgans and 19 geoglyphs from the seventh to the second centuries BC, and that of Shurali, seven kurgans and 26 geoglyphs. At both sites nearly all the geoglyphs are oriented toward the south-east; two geoglyphs mark the summer and winter solstices and another the spring and fall equinoxes.[211] Like the kurgans of southern Siberia, the necropolises in the Pamirs were both gravesites and cultic places.

Saka tribes also lived in the eastern foothills of the Pamirs, in what is now the Chinese mountain region of Tashkurgan, as can be seen in the necropolises of the **Xiangbaobao Culture** in Xiangbabei, Xiangbaobao and Mingtiegai from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC.[212] Of the 40 graves of Xiangbabei, 21 were burials of corpses and 19 were cremations.[213] Probably even at that time groups of Saka were advancing farther east into the southern Tarim Basin, where the Sakan oasis culture of Khotan developed later in the second century BC. At that time large groups of Saka fled the attacking Yuezhi to the southern Tarim Basin.[214]

The Saka haumavarga continued the territorial advance begun by their forerunners and, together with tribes of the Saka tigraxauda, attacked Bactria and Margiana around 293–292 BC. They overran garrisons of the Seleucids and plundered several cities, such as Merv, which went up in flames. After that King Seleucus (r. 305–281 BC) sent General Demodamas from Milet to the north-eastern satrapies, who drove out the Saka and advanced to the Jaxartes River (Syr Darya). In view of the threat posed by the restive Saka, Seleukos appointed his son Antiochus, the future Antiochus I (r. 281–261 BC), as viceroy of the eastern satrapies, with the strategically important regions of Margiana and Bactria coming under his rule. Antiochus lived for a time in Bactria, presumably in Bactra, and led the reconstruction of the cities from there. Among these cities were Alexandria Eschate (Khujand), which he renamed Antiochia-in-Scythia, Maracanda (Samarkand) and Merv, which from then on was called Antiochia-in-Margiana. The older, Achaemenid settlement was turned into a citadel and the city now covered an area of 4 km^2.[215] In order to protect the agricultural zones around Merv from plundering nomads, Antiochus surrounded them with a 278-km-long defensive wall.[216] In the mid-third century BC Merv fell to the Greco–Bactrian Kingdom, and, a century later, to the Parthians.[217]



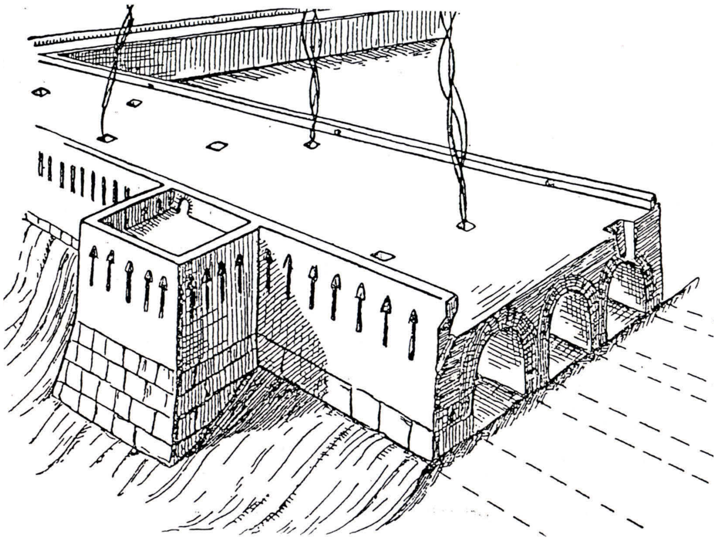
The Choresmian fortress and settlement complex of Ayaz Kala in central Uzbekistan traces back to the late Kjuzeligyr Phase of the Old Choresmian Culture (seventh/sixth–fourth centuries BC). Shown here: in the foreground, ruins of a palace from the fourth century AD; to the rear left, the fortified city of Ayaz Kala I, founded in the fourth century BC; and to the right, the ruler's residence Ayaz Kala II (sixth–eighth centuries AD).



The two-storey Old Choresmian graveyard and later fortified settlement of Koi Krylgan Kala, south-western Uzbekistan, fourth century BC–fourth century AD.

1.8.2 The Chinese Altai and regions north of the Tian Shan Mountains

The area between the mountains of the Altai and the Dzungarian Desert in northern Xinjiang, with its lush pastures, offered ideal living conditions for stockbreeding nomads. Stone engravings on the southern edge of the Altai Mountains attest to their presence from the Bronze Age on. Three types of gravesites from pre-Christian times may be found: large khirigsuurs with deer stones of the second type (900–700 BC), decorated with boars, horses and deer on tiptoe, as well as tomahawks, beside them; simple pit graves, all belonging to the **Dalongku Culture** (*ca*. 800–200 BC). Quite different are the mysterious graves of the **Ke'ermuqi** cultural group (*ca*. second half of the second millennium BC).[218] These consist of one or more cist graves, which are surrounded by a stone enclosure made of upright stone slabs. These enclosures are usually rectangular but occasionally circular. Next to the majority of these graves or grave groups stand anthropomorphic stone steles of heights from 60 to over 150 cm. The steles are almost rectangular or oval in cross-section and from the shoulders the neck moves seamlessly into the broad head. The slightly sculpted, schematically portrayed



Sketch of the defensive walls with three parallel corridors of the Old Choresmian city of Kjuzeligyr, western Uzbekistan. According to Sergei Tolstov *Drevniy Choresm*, 1948, p. 81.

Mt. Shurali Mozkol, standing 5,119 m above sea level, Gorno-Badakhshan, north-eastern Tajikistan.

face is often surrounded by a torus; sometimes the statue wears a neckring and sometimes sculpted triangular patterns mark the cheeks, as at the complex of Kayina'er about 40 km west of the district town Altay.[219]

The burials and especially the stone steles have been assigned widely varying dates, from the late Afanasievo Culture (second half of the third millennium BC) to the Old Turkish period (fifth–eighth centuries AD).[220] Individual characteristics of the steles rule out a dating to the Old Turkish epoch, since they lack the typical Turkish weapons of that time, the pointed moustache and, in particular, the vessel held in the hand of the warrior portrayed. An analysis of the grave goods shows that in several complexes the graves come from different cultures, ranging from the Okunev to the time of the Saka. We date the Ke'ermuqi cultural group provisionally to the late second millennium BC, hence to the late Bronze Age. Finally, the very slender, 26-cm-tall stone figure from grave 21 is notable, since it is very similar to the almost equally slender stone statues of Kan'ergou in the district of Hutubi.[221] Perhaps the creators of the nearby petroglyphs of Quergou belonged to a cultural circle related to Ke'ermuqi.

The kurgans of the **Tiemulike Culture** (sixth–third centuries BC), which lie on the upper valley of the Ili and its tributaries the Künäs He and the Terek He, recall the Saka nomadic horsemen. After the Saka other nomadic peoples such as the Indo–European Wusun and Yuezhi, the Xiongnu, Xianbei, Rouran and Ashina, which made up the leading clans of the Gök Turks ('blue Turks'), used the lush grazing lands. The Ili was rich not only in pastures that could be used almost year-round but also in sources of ore, such as the copper mines of Nileke near the Nulasai Mountains, where ore was smelted right on site.[222] In the early 1980s a 21-kg ball-shaped copper cauldron with three feet was found on the southern bank of the Künäs He in the district of Xinyuan. This

▶ One of the 26 geoglyphs of Shurali in the Pamirs, Gorno-Badakhshan, north-eastern Tajikistan, seventh–second centuries BC. Saka horsemen created the geoglyphs next to their kurgans.

Yaks enjoy a cooling bath in Lake Karakul at the foot of Muztagata, rising 7,546 m above sea level. Xinjiang, north-western China.

cauldron resembled the kettles of the Land of Seven Rivers. The three-footed cauldron of the Saka should however be distinguished from the cauldron of the Scythians, the so-called Hunnic cauldrons, which stood on a conical foot. The cauldrons not only had a cultic function but also served in daily life as vessels for cooking meat. For the nomads the cooking pot and shared mealtimes were a unifying activity within the extended family or clan. The square bronze table, by contrast, served purely cultic purposes involving burnt offerings. Two bronze neckrings with two winged griffin figurines on the front reveal the close connection to the Russian Altai.[223] The most spectacular discovery from Xinyuan, however, is a bronze statue of a kneeling warrior, wearing a short skirt, who originally held in his hands a sword, lance or banner. His face has Europid features and he wears a helmet with a point bent forward, a so-called 'Phrygian cap', common among the Scythians. This statue, from the fourth–third centuries BC, could portray a Saka tigraxauda, a 'pointed cap Saka', although with his bare upper body and short skirt, the warrior looks more like a Greek than a Saka. Perhaps the artist had been inspired by a Bactrian statue.[224]

In the second half of the first millennium BC the cultural territory of the Saka extended over Semirechie, Kyrgyzstan, the Pamirs and the Chinese watershed of the Ili as far east as the north-eastern foothills of the Tian Shan and perhaps even the Turfan Depression. Archaeological finds indicate that at the time the boundary between Iranian-speaking Saka and Tocharian-speaking Tocharians ran along a line extending from Niya on the southern edge of the Tarim Basin to the Turfan Depression, where the two ethnicities converged. About 100 km south of Urumqi and west of Turfan lies the necropolis of Alwighul (Chin. Alagou) with two types of Iron Age graves. Burials referred to as Alagou I are pebble graves, so called because the walls of the shaft-like graves are covered with pebbles. The grave goods in these multiple-person graves from the sixth/fifth–third centuries BC display a connection to the necropolis of Jiaohe Gou near Turfan, as well as to the

◀ Anthropomorphic stone steles at the grave complex of Kayina'er in the Chinese Altai, Xinjiang, north-western China. The complex belongs to the Ke'ermuqi cultural group from the second half of the second millennium BC.

Three Tajik women in traditional garb in front of the fortress of Tashkurgan, last restored in 1895, Xinjiang, north-western China. In the second half of the first millennium BC Saka lived here, controlling the trade route to the Indus Valley and migrating from here into the eastern Tarim Basin.

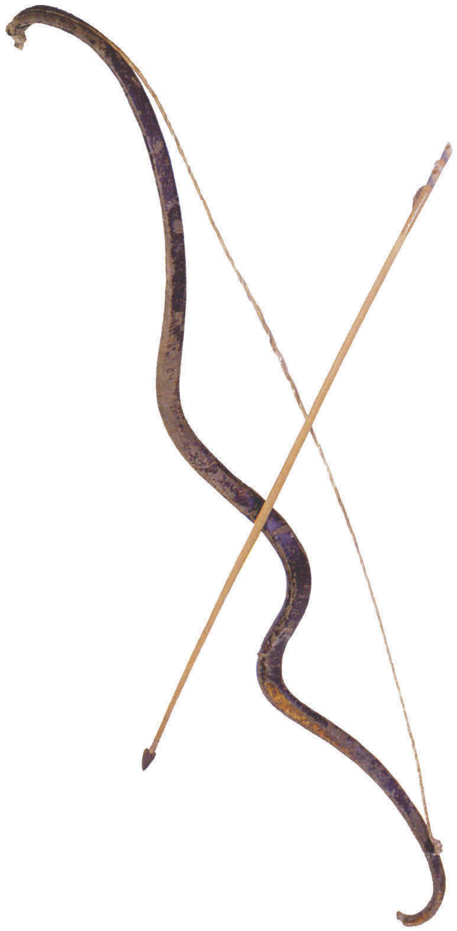
cemeteries of Subexi and Yanghai in the south-eastern part of the Turfan Depression. Together these formed the settled **Aidinghou Culture**, which obviously had contacts with the culture of Pazyryk. The slightly later wooden chamber graves of Alagou II (fourth–second centuries BC) were covered with piles of stones, and the skulls of the dead, buried singly or in pairs, were covered with red ochre. The gold jewellery and a bronze table on a square base with a standing pair of winged lions, buried with them, as well as the gold jewellery of Jiaohe Gou, indicate affiliation with the cultural circle of the Saka and the early Wusun of the Künäs valley and Semirechie.[225] Several Europids were buried in the shaft and catacomb graves of Subexi (fifth–third centuries BC); these people presumably belonged to the Tocharians. Among the discoveries was a well-preserved, 121-cm asymmetrical recurve bow, an intact wooden saddle with harness and three women's wool caps, about 50 cm tall, with broad brims and tapered points, which recall the still taller headdresses of Pazyryk.[226]

1.8.3 Oasis cultures south of the Tian Shan Mountains

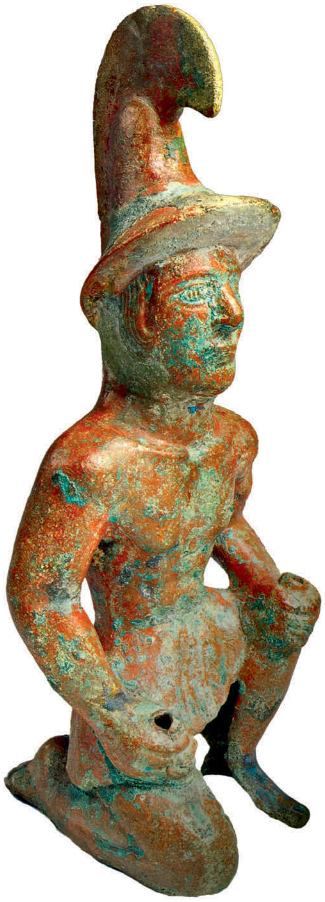
North of the city of Korla lies the **Charwighul Group** (*ca.* 1000–400 BC) which consists of five necropolises and over 2,000 graves, where stockbreeding, largely sedentary Europids were buried.[227] Horse bits and cheek pieces found in the graves, as well as jewellery decorated in animal style with depictions of coiled animals, show that representatives of this culture were riders who had contact with the Scythian world of southern Siberia. Related to Charwighul is the group of **Qunbake** (800–250 BC) west of Korla. Wooden beams and grass mats were laid over the burial chambers, and these were ritually set on fire before the construction of round or oval kurgans. In isolated cases a wooden house-like construction stood above the grave, similar to the burials of Besschatyr in the Land of Seven Rivers and of Satma Mazar on the lower reaches of the Keriya River. Among the grave goods of the deceased were also the heads of sacrificed horses, camels, sheep, goats and dogs.[228]

At the beginning of the Iron Age the extensive cultural complex of **Zaghunluq-Jumbulakum/Satma Mazar** (tenth–third centuries BC) arose in the southern half of the Tarim Basin. On the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert near Qiemo lay the necropolis of Zaghunluq, numbering over 1,000 shaft graves, which had its heyday from the tenth to the sixth centuries BC.[229] Unfortunately, even before the start of excavations it had been 90 percent plundered. In one of the undisturbed graves a man and three women were buried. The 2,800-year-old Europid man lay on his back with bent knees, dressed in a burgundy wool robe, shirt and trousers, colourful striped knee socks and knee-high leather boots. He had light brown hair and his face had been painted after death with yellow and red ochre. The painting covered the forehead, temples and upper halves of the cheeks down to the beard like a half-mask; it took the form of rays on each side, like a sun. Two of the female mummies were poorly preserved; the third had spiral-like sun symbols on her cheeks and nose like the man. In an adjacent grave lay an infant wrapped in a crimson woollen cloth, who wore an indigo-coloured blue felt cap and whose eyes were covered with two bluish stones. Of note among the grave goods of this man were a leather saddle, a horse skull, a front hoof and a horsehide.

That he was a rider is also suggested by his trousers – an invention of Central Asian horse-riding peoples – which featured a gusset in the waistband, making it easier to straddle a horse.[230] Representatives of the culture of Zaghunluq were in contact with the steppe peoples of today's Mongolia, eastern Kazakhstan and the Altai, as can be seen in a variety of wooden vessels in which animal figures in the Scytho–Siberian animal style are engraved. Comparable objects in the Tarim Basin are known from Yanghai east of Turfan, Jumbulakum and Satma Mazar in the ancient delta of the Keriya River.[231] Four mummies also lay in another grave. The main person was an older woman, whose left hand was tattooed. She wore short boots made of bearskin and was wrapped in a blue blanket. The excavators interpreted the other corpses, a baby, a



Asymmetrical recurve bow from Subexi I, grave M 27, Turfan district, Xinjiang, north-western China, fifth–third centuries BC. Xinjiang Uyghurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi.



Bronze statue of a warrior with European facial features, who, with his naked upper body and short skirt appears, despite his Sakan pointed cap tipped forward, more Greek than Saka. Xinyuan in the region of the upper Ili, Xinjiang, north-western China, fourth–third centuries BC. Xinjiang Uyghurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi.

Female Europid mummy from the necropolis of Subexi III, grave M 6; Turfan district, Xinjiang, north-western China, fifth–third centuries BC. Museum of the Archaeological Institute of Xinjiang, Urumqi.

one-year-old boy and a 20-year-old woman with amputated legs and arms, as human sacrifices.[232] Whether the earlier burials of Zaghunluq were those of proto-Tocharians is an open question.

Three hundred and fifty kilometres north-west of Zaghunluq stand the ruins of the city of Jumbulakum (Chin. Yuan Sha) on an ancient delta of the Keriya River. About 4,000 years ago, the Keriya Darya, which originated in the Kun Lun Mountains, flowed northward across the Taklamakan Desert, 670 km as the crow flies, until it reached the Tarim River. It formed a broadly branching, meandering delta about 200 km south of the Tarim. The Bronze Age settlement of Sebier and the necropolis of Ayala Mazar lay on such arms of the river.[233] Towards the end of the second millennium BC climatic changes caused a drop in the river's volume, which led to the disappearance of the Bronze Age settlements. Life shifted to the south, and the 7-ha fortified city of Jumubulakum arose around the sixth century BC about 73 km south-west of Sebier. The name of the settlement, first discovered in 1994, means 'round sand' and refers to the layout, in the shape of an irregular hexagon. The city wall, 995 m long, 4 m high and 5 m thick at the base, had entrance gates on the south and east sides. On the exterior the wall was made up of crude clay bricks, 66 x 40 x 11 cm in size, which corresponded to standard Achaemenid bricks and indicates an influence from the Persian satrapies. On the interior of the wall, by contrast, local construction methods were used, since the wall consists of several layers of irregular clay bricks, which were reinforced horizontally by tamarisk branches and vertically by poplar posts. The many traces of burning on the walls bear witness to troubled times.[234]

The settled inhabitants had a mixed economy. They raised sheep, goats, dogs, cattle and camels and, thanks to artificial irrigation, cultivated millet, barley and wheat. They mastered ironworking, produced both crude ceramic and wooden vessels and engaged in trade with central China, as can be seen in the copper cowry shells which served as a medium of exchange there. They also undertook trade with India, from where they obtained carnelian jewellery and dyes, and with Persian satrapies, which supplied glass beads, as well as with the steppe cultures of the north. In the six small cemeteries that surrounded the city a total of 43 dead rested in timber graves or in narrow buried cist-shaped wooden structures. The style of burial and the grave goods display parallels to both Zaghunluq and the Scythian-era sites of the Altai. Among the grave goods were textiles, copper decorations on pointed caps, and round copper adornments, in the form of coiled animals, used on horse gear.[235] The grave MC, close to the city, in which two men lay head-to-toe, their heads shot through

Mummy of an approximately 10-month-old infant, wrapped in a red cloth, with red wool stuffed in its nose and two blue stones placed on its eyes. Side grave M 1 next to grave M 2 in the necropolis of Zaghunluq, where the rider with sun symbols painted on his temples as well as three women were buried. Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 800 BC. Xinjiang Uyghurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi.

with several arrows fired at close range, remains mysterious. Was it a blood sacrifice or an execution? Jumbulakum was abandoned around the third or second century BC because of a water shortage.

Anthropological studies of the naturally mummified corpses reveal that they belonged to a dolichocephalous Europid population. Since the dead of Jumbulakum are assigned culturally to the community of the early Saka and Scythians of the Altai, it may be assumed that they were more or less distant relatives of the Saka. These migrants gave up their earlier, nomadic lifestyle in favour of settled stockbreeding and farming, which they adopted from their presumably proto-Tocharian forerunners. In the last quarter of the first millennium BC additional Saka immigrants practised a settled hybrid culture in the oasis of Khotan, as can be seen in the discoveries at the necropolis of Shanpula.[236]

In autumn 2009, 12 km north-east of Jumbulakum, the author discovered the cemetery of Satma Mazar, which offered further evidence of the cultural connection of the Iron Age population of the Keriya Darya to the steppe world of the Saka. While the northern half of the graveyard, which numbered at least 21 burials, had been plundered, the southern half remained undisturbed. Its layout is trapezoidal with two 630-cm long sides and breadths of 460 cm and 320 cm. Walls up to 2 m in height and made of still-standing poplar posts, which were covered on the exterior with a meshwork of tamarisk branches and rough clay plaster, surrounded the southern section.[237] A 110-cm-high and 120-cm-wide entrance stood there, with a gate made of parallel, V-shaped tamarisk meshwork. The structure, unique for this region and reminiscent of the above-ground wooden chambers of Besschatyr in Semirechie, earned it the Uyghur name *Satma Mazar*, meaning 'house grave'.

Here three corpses lay under a mat made of a meshwork of parallel, diagonally arranged, thin tamarisk branches. There were two juvenile females, whose dolichocephalous skulls showed no signs of violence, and a man, over 190 cm tall, lying on his back. Near the heads of the two women lay grey ceramic jugs with wave-shaped, red-white striped decoration and broad, protruding, beak-shaped spouts, resembling the ceramics of Charwighul,[238] as well as nine flat wooden vessels. The man was laid in a dark red wool blanket, fragments of which still surround his leg bones.

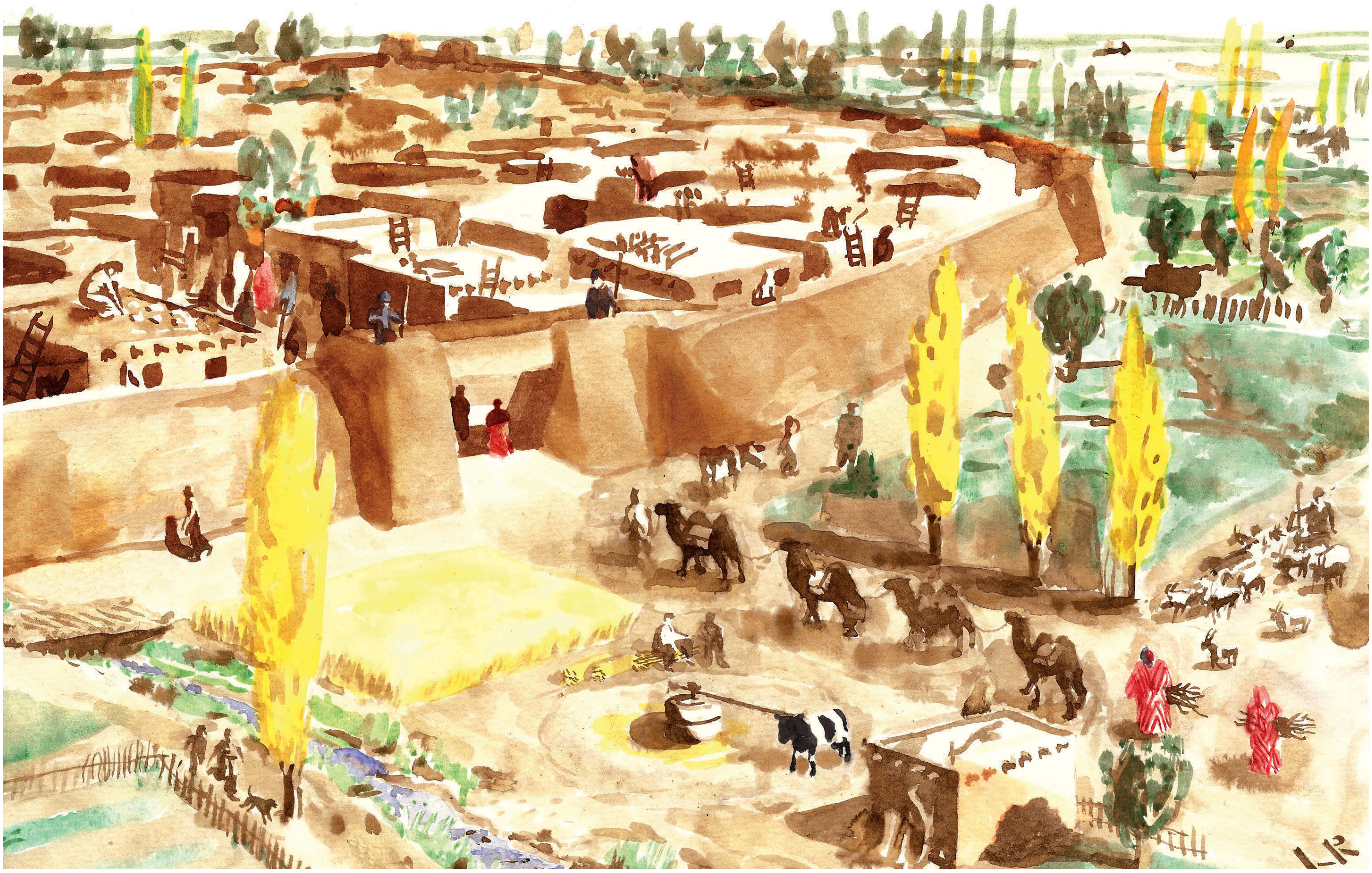
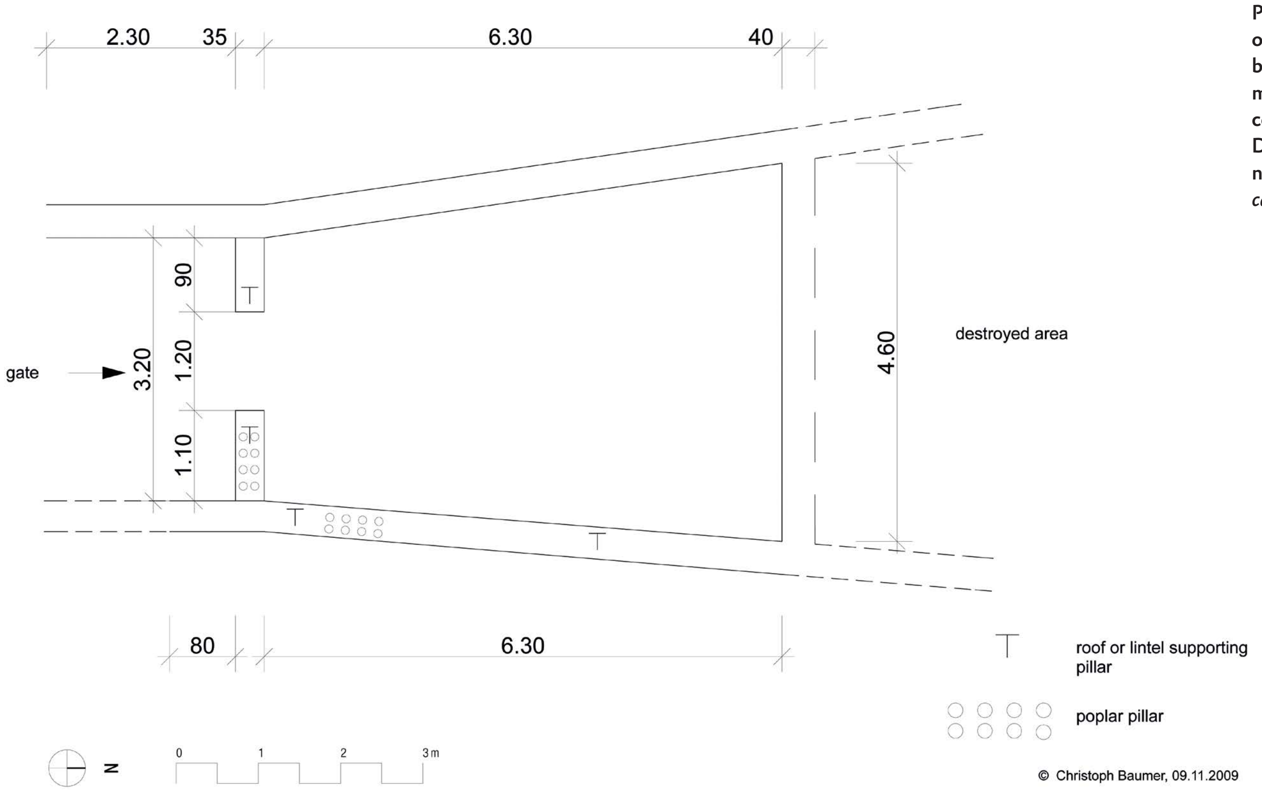


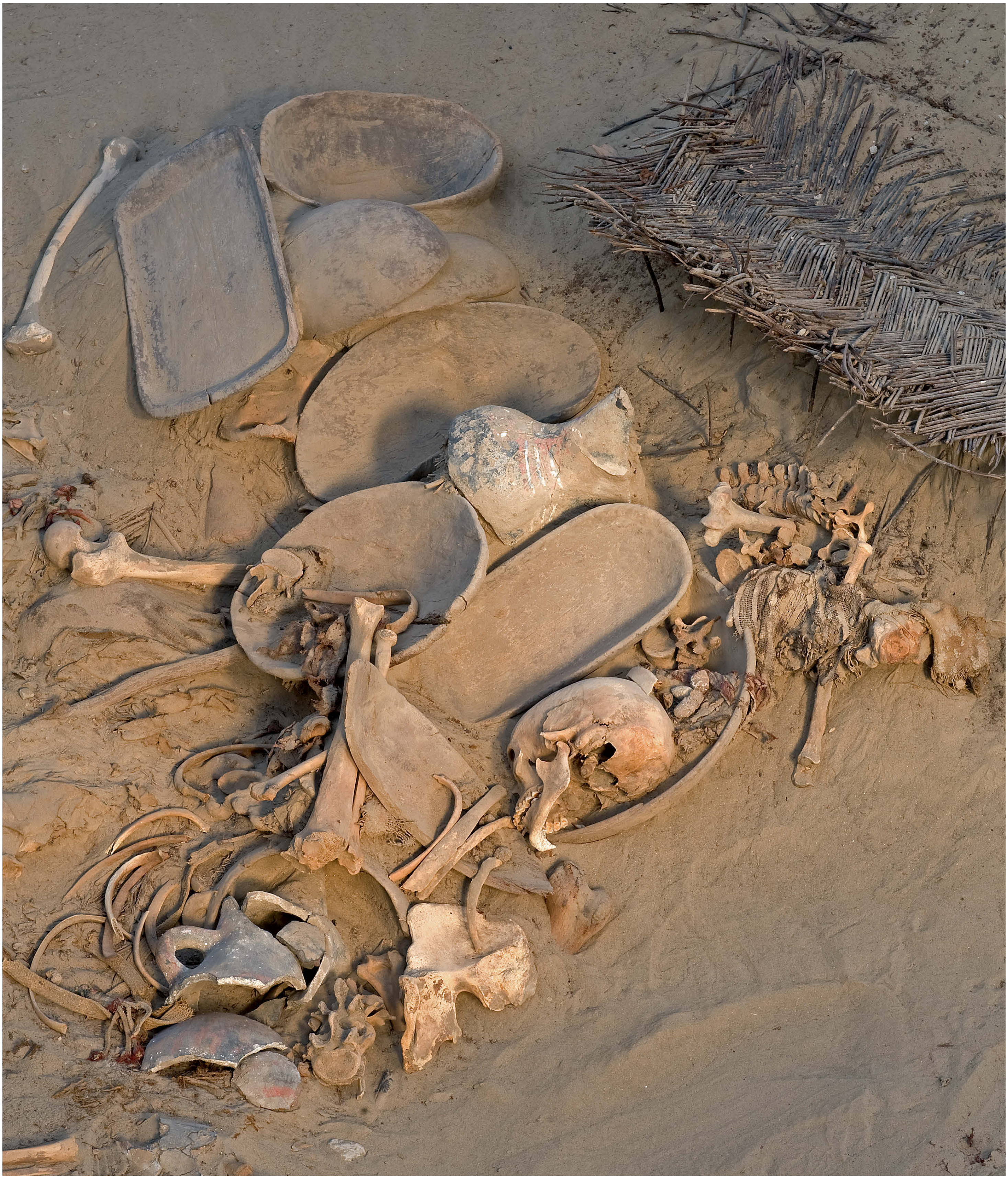
Illustration based on archaeological excavations of the Iron Age city of Jumbulakum (Yuan Sha) on the former middle section of the River Keriya, central Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China.

The women were wrapped in brown wool blankets with a striped pattern, which were presumably woven on a flat loom. The lower legs of one woman were covered with a fine, carmine red wool cloth, presumably a skirt. Analysis of an identical piece from Jumbulakum revealed the use of the animal dye of cochineal coccid (Porphyrophora),[239] so it may have been an import. Beside it lay fragments of a long, tricoloured wool weft faced twill tapestry, presumably part of a decorative band on a skirt. The pattern, which resembles a stylised animal, is made up of two rows of alternating colours arranged so that one is blue-red and the opposing row is blue-yellow. Similar pieces of tapestry of the same age were found at kurgan 2 of Pazyryk[240] and slightly later bands from the last quarter of the first millennium BC were discovered in the necropolis of Shanpula.[241] Next to these fragments lay an 18-cm-long strip made up of a variety of animal fibres. One end of the strip is wrapped in blue and red thread, and at the other end the strip is split into five cords trimmed with red and blue tassels. Similar pieces have been found not only in Jumbulakum but also in Ak-Alacha in the Russian Altai.[242]

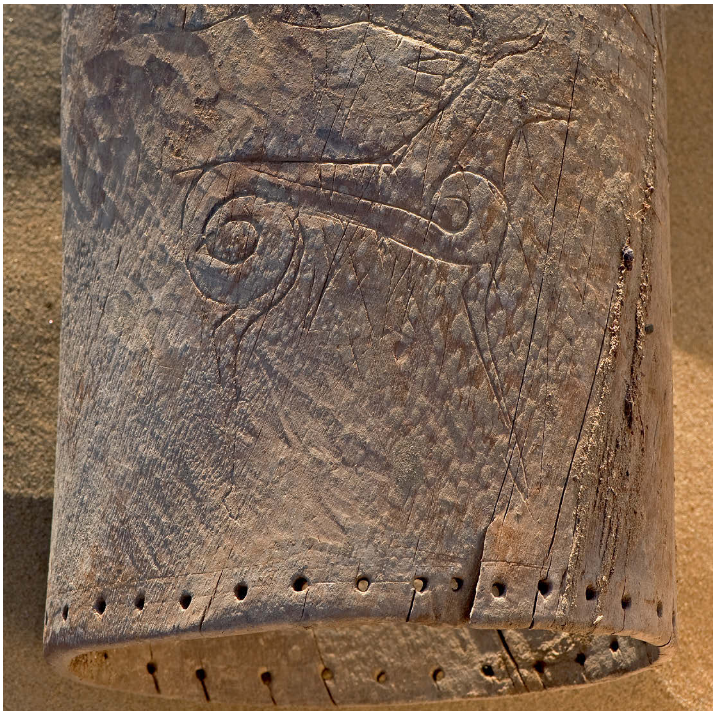
Further evidence of contact with nomadic steppe cultures north of the Tian Shan Mountains is provided by a fragment of a bronze buckle in the form of a small horse head, 3 x 3 cm, and a wooden barrel 50 cm high and 20 cm wide. A deer on tiptoe is engraved on two opposite sides of the barrel. In both animals a volute design forms the transition from the body to the forelegs and back legs. In the Iron Age culture of the steppe, such volute designs on animal figures belonged to the syntax of the animal style, and the tiptoe gait had been common in eastern Scythian art since Arzhan 1.[243] Depictions of animals carved into wooden vessels are also known in Xinjiang from Jumbulakum,[244] Zaghunluq[245] and Yanghai[246] east of Turfan. This dynamic representation of cervids in petroglyphs with volute designs and the tiptoe gait of Scythian steppe art spread even further south, to the Changtang (byang thang) high-altitude steppe plateau in north-western Tibet, especially to the Ruthog county, to neighbouring Ladakh and to the Upper Indus Valley in northern Pakistan.[247] The pieces of plaited hairpieces placed near the corpses at Satma Mazar call to mind similar habits among the Saka of the Altai,[248] a ritual symbolising the mourning for the deceased later also adopted by the Xiongnu.[249] In this context of Scythian steppe cultures the discovery of three 6- to 12-cm-long phallic symbols made of wood and stone was surprising and recalls the fertility cult of the Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture, more than a millennium older. An AMS ^{14}C measurement of human hair sampled from the southern section of the cemetery confirmed a calibrated date between 390 BC and 200 BC at a 95.4% probability.[250]



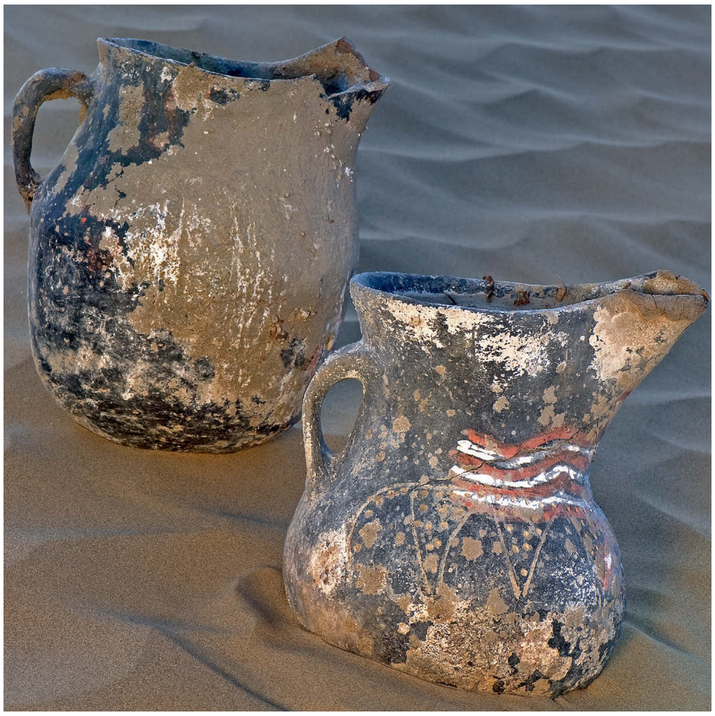
Plan of the necropolis of Satma Mazar, whose boundaries were marked by poplar posts, central Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 390–200 BC.



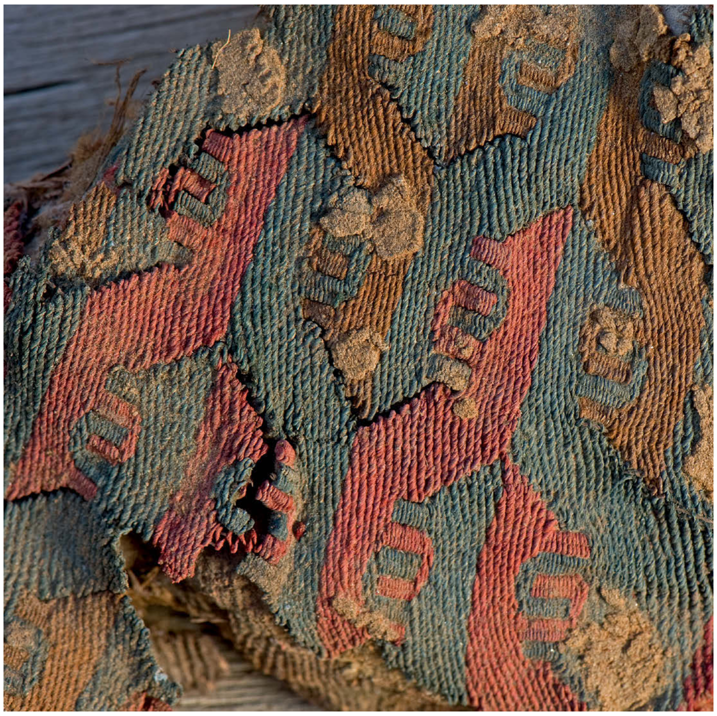
Southern half of Satma Mazar during the excavation; to the upper right, a protective mat made of tamarisk wickerwork divided the lower burial area from the upper; in the centre, flat wooden vessels and a grey ceramic vessel painted with red and white stripes, central Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 390–200 BC.



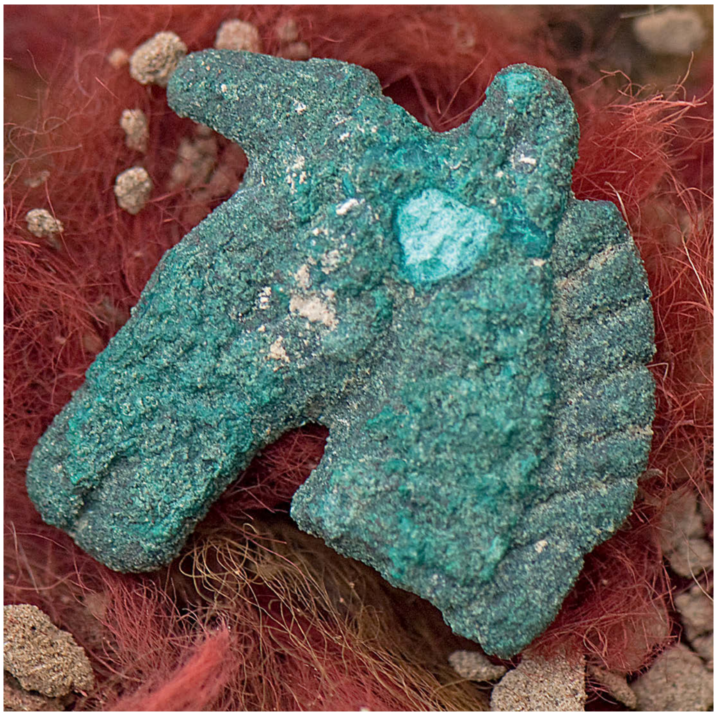
The just under 50-cm-tall wooden tub had a leather or wooden bottom, which was sewn onto the base of the vessel. The deer on tiptoe and the spiral-shaped depiction of thighs and shoulders carved into both sides are formal elements of the Scytho-Siberian animal style. Cemetery of Satma Mazar, central Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 390–200 BC.



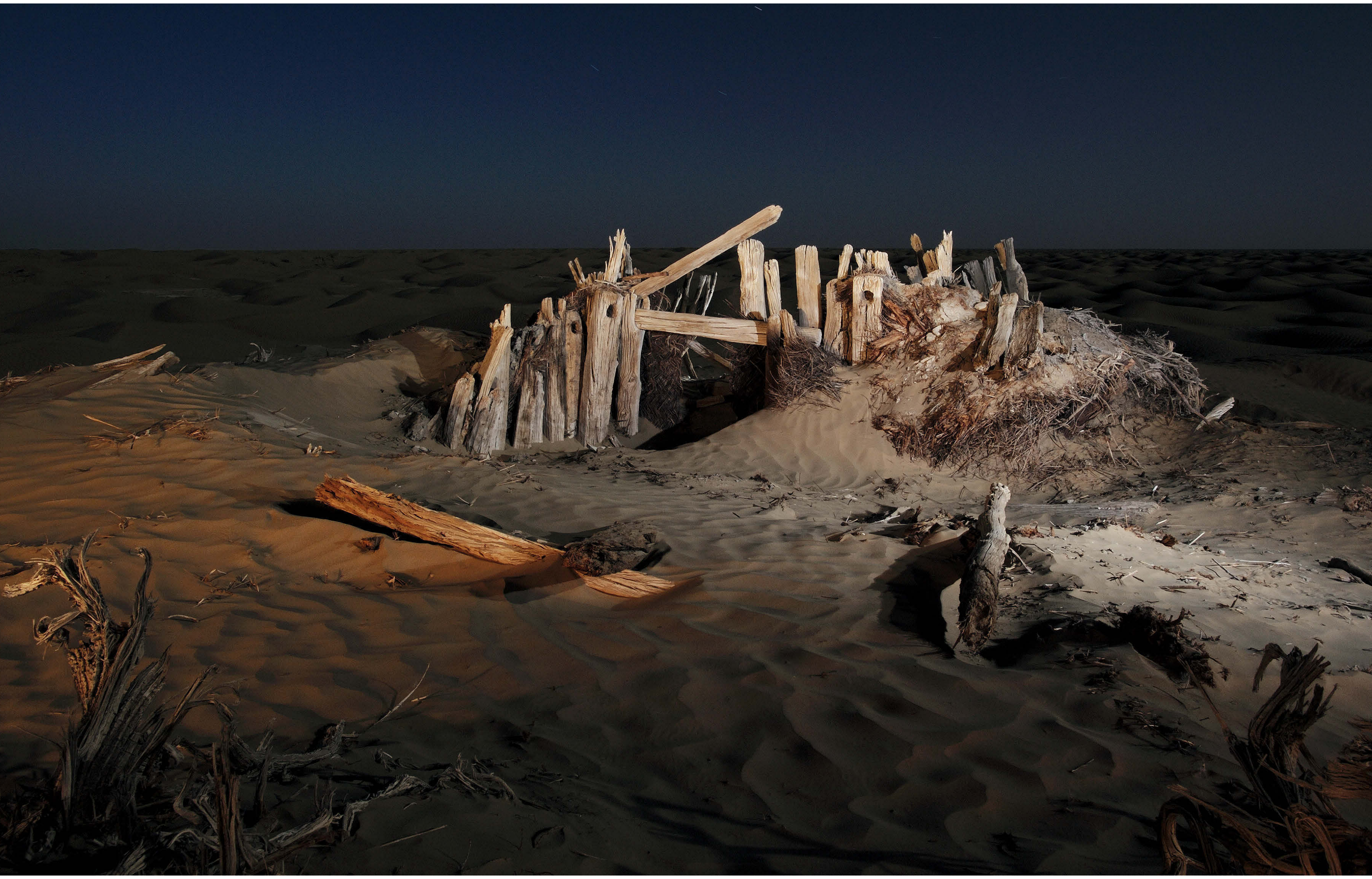
Grey jugs with beak-shaped spout. The jugs are decorated with incised triangles dotted inside with tiny points, and painted at the neck with wave-shaped red and white stripes. Cemetery of Satma Mazar, central Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 390–200 BC. Similar jugs were found at Jumbulakum and in the northern section of the Charwighul graveyard north of Korla and dating from the Iron Age.



Tricoloured wool weft faced twill tapestry, whose pattern suggests stylised animals; presumably it was part of a decorative band on a skirt. Cemetery of Satma Mazar, central Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 390–200 BC.



Fragment of a bronze belt buckle in the Scytho-Siberian animal style. House 4 at Gäze near Satma Mazar, central Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* fifth–third centuries BC.



Southern entrance to the Iron Age cemetery of Satma Mazar, central Taklamakan Desert Xinjiang, north-western China, *ca.* 390–200 BC. The wooden structure over the grave is very similar to corresponding grave structures of the Saka at Besschatyr in south-eastern Kazakhstan and suggests cultural connections.

Satma Mazar was used parallel to the heyday of Jumbulakum, perhaps not by inhabitants of that city but by the sprawling village of Gäze, 13 km farther north. This agricultural settlement extended over 13 km along both banks of an approximately 300-m-wide winding riverbed, and most of its 11 identified residential complexes included stables. Stone mills, piles of ceramics and bronze and iron objects lying between the individual complexes indicate that the region was once more densely populated than the ruins suggest.

Another reference to early eastern Scythian culture is found 300 km south of Jumbulakum at a height of 2,850 m above sea level in the northern Kun Lun Mountains. The necropolis of Liushui, discovered in 2002, lies at the confluence of the Keriya and Liushui rivers and contains 52 graves with multiple burials. It was used from the late tenth to the early eighth centuries BC, contemporaneously with the earliest burials of Zaghunluq. A mound of river stones was plac ed over 13 of the grave chambers; the rest of them had stone circles arranged on the ground. Unusual features on the femurs of a few of the skeletons and healed fractures attest to intensive riding. Both the grave types and the discovery of bronze horse-gear, knives and two-winged arrowheads with sockets show connections to the Kamennyi Log Culture on the Yenisei and early Scythian cultural forms. It remains surprising that the earliest burials in the Kun Lun Mountains belonged to a presumably semi-nomadic rider community that had close contact with distant steppe cultures.[251]

2. Nomadic riding peoples on the north-western periphery of Central Asia

> At the sound of horsemen and archers every town takes to flight. [...] 'People of Israel,' declares the LORD, 'I am bringing a distant nation against you – an ancient and enduring nation, a people whose language you do not know, whose speech you do not understand. Their quivers are like an open grave. [...] Look, an army is coming from the land of the north. [...] They are armed with bow and spear; they are cruel and show no mercy. They sound like the roaring sea as they ride on their horses.'
>
> **Prophet Jeremiah** about the attacking, most likely Scythian warrior horsemen[252]

Thanks to Assyrian and Greek sources we are relatively well informed about the early nomadic horsemen of Eastern Europe, even if the various timelines cannot always be reconciled. The history of the pre-Christian cultures of Iranian-speaking riding peoples may be divided into three periods:

I. **Cimmerians and early Scythians:** Toward the end of the eighth century BC the Cimmerians from the north arrived in the Near East. Presumably a drying of the climate of the northern Pontic region, which began in the eleventh/tenth centuries BC, forced the Cimmerians to leave their homeland there, cross the Caucasus and descend upon the Near East.[253] Three or four decades later bands of Scythian riders invaded the Near East, while the Cimmerians advanced into Anatolia. The economic foundation of the nomadic horsemen active in the Near East consisted of war, raids and the imposition of tribute. The 'means of production', or rather of destruction, of the nomadic warrior were his horse and weapons.

II. **Pontic Scythians:** In the first half of the sixth century BC the Scythians of the Near East returned to other Scythian groups in the region of Kuban and began soon thereafter to occupy the northern Pontic steppe. At the same time new waves of Scythian nomadic horsemen advanced from the east into what is now Ukraine. Here they subjected the farming population of the forest steppes and controlled trade with the Bosporan Kingdom and Greece.

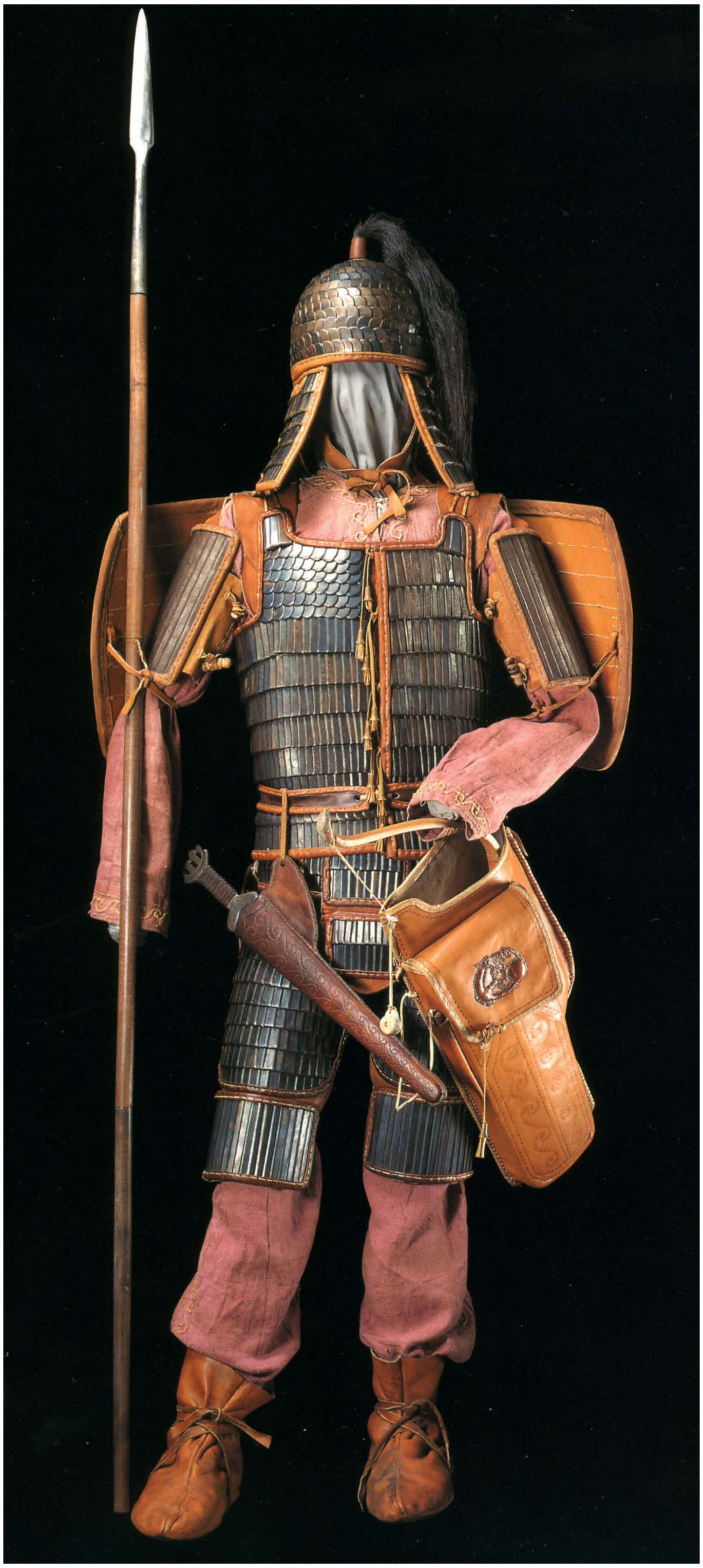
III. **Sarmatians**: While the Sauromatians, presumably ancestors of the Sarmatians, supported the Scythians in the war against the Persian king of kings Darius, towards the beginning of the third century BC Sarmatian tribes began to pressure the Scythians on their eastern border. The advance to the west brought the Sarmatian tribes into a centuries-long conflict with the Bosporan Kingdom and with Rome, during the course of which individual tribes of Sarmatians reached England and North Africa. In this way peoples and cultures originating in Central Asia extended as far as the Atlantic.

2.1 Cimmerians and early Scythians

Akkadian sources from the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–612 BC) about the archaeologically elusive Cimmerians and early Scythians are especially valuable since they were produced during the time of Assyria's conflicts with the Cimmerians, in contrast to the Greek sources, which were composed at a later time. Additionally, the Akkadian texts were current espionage reports, administrative documents and questions for soothsayers, all of which concerned concrete military problems. The Assyrian texts also consistently distinguish the Cimmerians from the Scythians, although the lifestyle and material culture of the two Iranian-speaking peoples were very similar. The Cimmerians' name in Akkadian was *Gimmirai*, while the Scythians called themselves *Ašguzâi, Iškuzâi*.[254]

The background for the emergence of the Cimmerian people was the climatic fluctuation in the northern Pontic region between the Dnieper and the Volga towards the end of the second millennium BC and the extensive land utilisation of the Srubnaya Culture. The rapidly decreasing productivity of the pastures and fields led to both an out-migration of the population and a transition to nomadic herding. At the same time, the successor culture to Srubnaya, the culture of **Belozerka** (1200–950 BC), came to an end and with it disappeared most of the settlements on the Black Sea steppes. Ukrainian archaeologists propose that around the tenth–ninth centuries BC pre-Scythian, Iranian-speaking nomadic horsemen advanced from Kazakhstan and Siberia into the Pontic steppes, which sped the development of an economy based on nomadic stockbreeding, in which horses played a prominent role. The bimetallic battle pick, common among the Cimmerians, which had its origin in the early Tagar Culture of the Minusinsk Basin, provides one piece of evidence for a hypothetical migration from the east.[255]

The Cimmerians appear in the Assyrian texts for the first time in the year 714 BC, when the Assyrian crown prince Sanherib informed his father, Sargon II (r. 721–705 BC), that the king of Urartu, Rusa I (r. 735–*ca.* 714 BC), whose army was based on war chariots, had attacked the land of the Gimmirai and suffered a devastating defeat. The Cimmerian base Gamir lay in the southern Caucasus, which means that these first nomadic horsemen on the south-western edge of Central Asia must have left their northern Pontic homeland, at least in part, by the last quarter of the eighth century BC at the latest. Since Sargon attacked and destroyed the arch-enemy of Urartu in the same year, coordinated action between the Cimmerians and Assyrians is probable.[256] If there was an alliance against Urartu, it was short-lived, because Sargon fell in a battle 'in the land of the Cimmerians'.[257] After Sargon's death the Cimmerians disappeared from Assyrian texts for a quarter-century and emerged again only around 679 BC, simultaneously with the Scythians, who appear for the first time. According to the 'Annals of Asarhaddon' and the stele of Tell Ahmar, Asarhaddon (r. 680–669 BC) defeated Cimmerians led by King Teušpa in eastern Anatolia in 679/78 BC. A few graves on the upper Euphrates with stone bases and horse sacrifices may be connected to Cimmerian nomads who were active in the area.[258]



Equipment of a Scythian warrior of the fifth–fourth centuries BC, reproduced according to archaeological finds. For defence, the warrior wore, over a linen garment, a scale helmet with cheek and neck guards, armour for breast and thigh, and a rectangular lamellar shield. His offensive weapons were his lance, a bow and an iron sword. This equipment weighed a total of 23 kg. Reconstruction by O.I. Minzhulin.

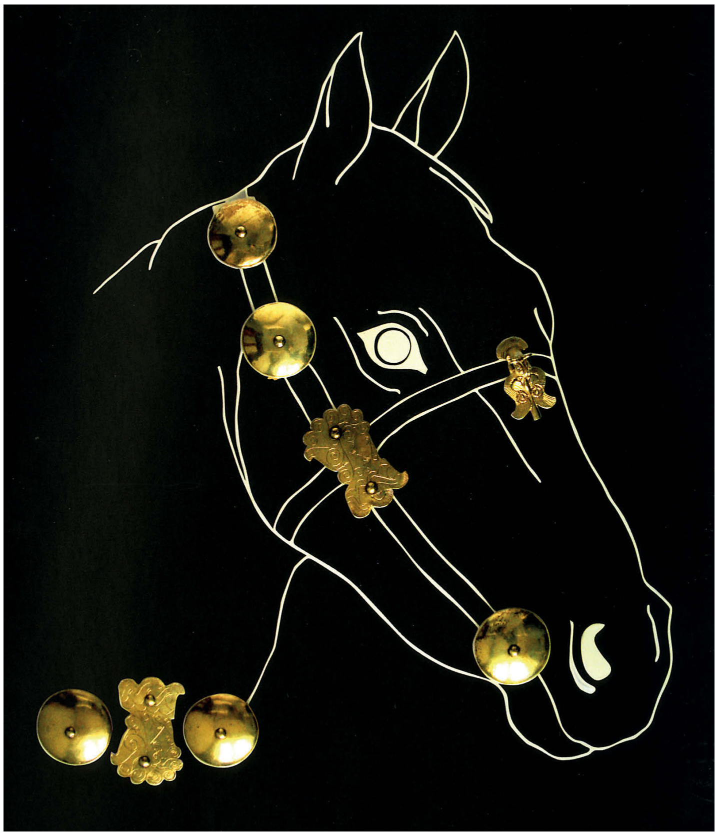
The Cimmerian defeat in no way dampened their desire to attack, however, as the Greek historian Strabo reported that in 676–675 BC the Cimmerians assailed the kingdom of Phrygia in central and western Anatolia, their erstwhile ally against Assyria. When the Phrygian capital of Gordion stood on the brink of collapse, King Midas II is said to have chosen suicide by drinking bull's blood.[259] After their victory the Cimmerians extended their military campaigns farther west and attacked the kingdom of Lydia. Here the sources differ: Herodotus speaks of a single Cimmerian raid against Lydia and its capital, Sardes, at the end of the reign of the Lydian king Ardys II (d. *ca.* 629 BC) around the years 633–629 BC. Strabo, however, mentions two Cimmerian campaigns against Sardes, the first of which took place shortly before 660 BC.[260] Since Strabo's accounts accord more closely with Assyrian reports, these two sources are favoured in this case. Assyrian texts report that the Lydian king Gûgu (Gyges) submitted to the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (r. 669–631/627 BC) around 660 BC and asked him for military aid against the Cimmerians who were destroying his land. Thanks to Assyrian help Gyges was able to expel the Cimmerians and sent two captured Cimmerian leaders to Assyria. In revenge the Cimmerians plundered and occupied the regions of Amurru in Syria and Palestine, which belonged to Assyria.

When Pharaoh Psammetichus I (r. 664–610 BC) threw off the Assyrian yoke after 658 BC, however, Gyges changed fronts and supported the rebellious pharaoh with troops against Assurbanipal.

The pharaoh was able to defend the regained sovereignty of Egypt; Gyges paid for his treachery with death. The Cimmerians attacked Sardes under their king Lygdamis in 652 BC at the latest, conquered the city and killed Gyges. A text of Assurbanipal states: 'When he [Gûgu] sent his troops to support Tušamilki [Psammetichus], who had thrown off the yoke of my rule, I implored Assur and Ishtar, "May his corpse be thrown down before my enemy." [...] And so it came to pass. His corpse was thrown before his enemy and his remains were dragged away. The Gimmirai, which he had subjugated through my name [help], rose up and subdued this whole land. After him his son [Ardys II] assumed the throne.'[261] After this victory the Cimmerian king Lygdamis [Dugdammê], whom the Assyrians called 'spawn of hell',[262] undertook an unsuccessful attack on Ephesus on the Ionian coast, where he had the temple of Artemis set on fire. Then he turned to Cilicia in south-eastern Anatolia, where he was twice subjugated by Assyrian troops and met his death. His son and successor Šandakšatru continued the war without success and from this point on the Cimmerians disappear from Assyrian texts. The Cimmerians who remained in Asia Minor were finally destroyed by the Lydian king Alyattes (r. 619/05–560 BC) with the help of Scythian mercenaries.[263]

One of the few archaeological traces of the Cimmerians may be found in the city of Sardes, where a massive layer of burnt remains may date to the time of King Gyges's death.[264] But no Cimmerian settlements have been found in the Near East, the Caucasus or the northern Pontic region, and it appears that the Cimmerians usually buried their dead rulers and warriors in older kurgans from the Bronze Age. Among the kurgans dating from the pre-Scythian period were those of Vysokaja Mogila (graves 2 and 5: 1000–800 BC) and Steblev 15 (late eighth century BC), dated using ^{14}C analysis.[265] The grave gifts of weapons and horse-gear found in the northern Caucasus and the Ukraine were decorated with geometric patterns of spirals, coving, rhombi, squares and crosses, but not with animal-style motifs. The Cimmerian burial culture continued the practice of erecting rudimentarily anthropomorphic stone steles that were decorated with belts of armour and weapons, but again these show no elements of animal style.[266]

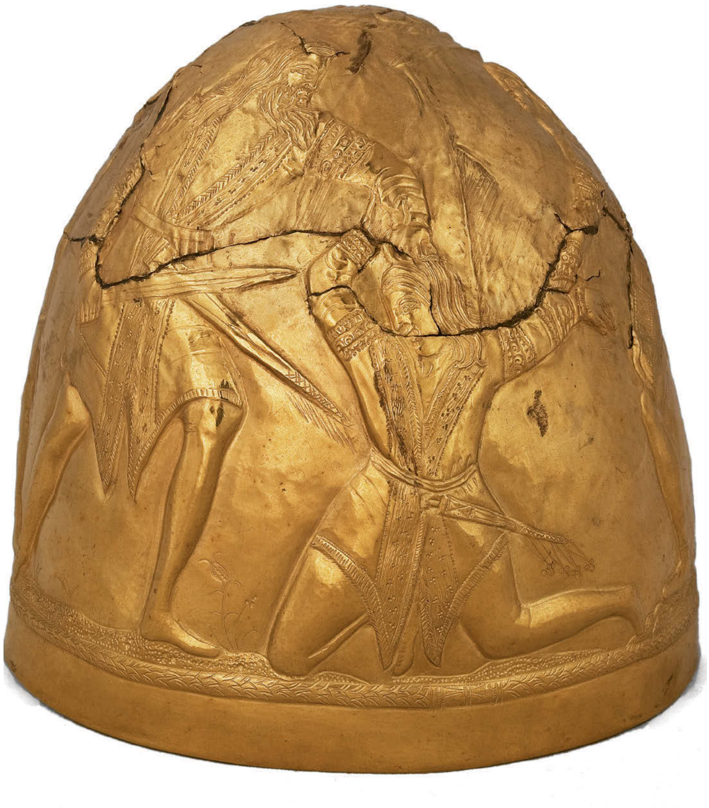
Towards the end of the eighth century BC Europid and Iranian-speaking proto-Scythians from eastern Central Asia crossed the Urals and the Volga and advanced into the northern Caucasus, where they subjugated the remaining Cimmerians and the native Maeotae.[267] A few groups of these nomadic horsemen settled in the Kuban and the northern Caucasus, which they chose as their heartland and the base for their campaigns in the Near East. Other groups of Scythian warriors crossed the Caucasus, referred to by the Greek poet Aeschylus as the 'Scythian road',[268] and, on the trail of the Cimmerians, advanced toward the northern border of Assyria. At first the Scythians, called the Iškuzâi, under the leadership of their king Išpakaia formed an alliance with the Mannaeans. The Mannaeans lived east of Lake Urmia, bordering Assyria, which was also at war with the Cimmerians. The leader of the Assyrians, Asarhaddon, succeeded not only in defeating the Iškuzâi of King Išpakaia but also in establishing an alliance with his successor, Bartatua. It is known from a question Asarhaddon asked an oracle that he considered giving the Scythian king an Assyrian princess as a wife. Whether the Scytho–Assyrian alliance by marriage occurred is unknown, but from then on the Scythians pursued a pro-Assyrian policy and in 673 BC supported Asarhaddon in a war against the Medes. Presumably after this a few Scythians bearing rich spoils of war returned to the Caucasus. Evidence for this is seen in the gold objects made in the Assyrian–Median style from the first royal kurgans of Kelermes (660–640 BC).[269]



Adornment of a horse bridle, Oghuz Kurgan, southern Ukraine, last quarter of the fourth century BC.

This first appearance of the Scythians in the Near East around 679 BC; that is, 35 years after the first Cimmerian attack of 714 BC, does not match up with Herodotus's account of events at the time. He says that the Cimmerians fled their northern Pontic homeland without a fight in advance of the invading Scythians, and that the Cimmerian elite committed mass suicide.[270]

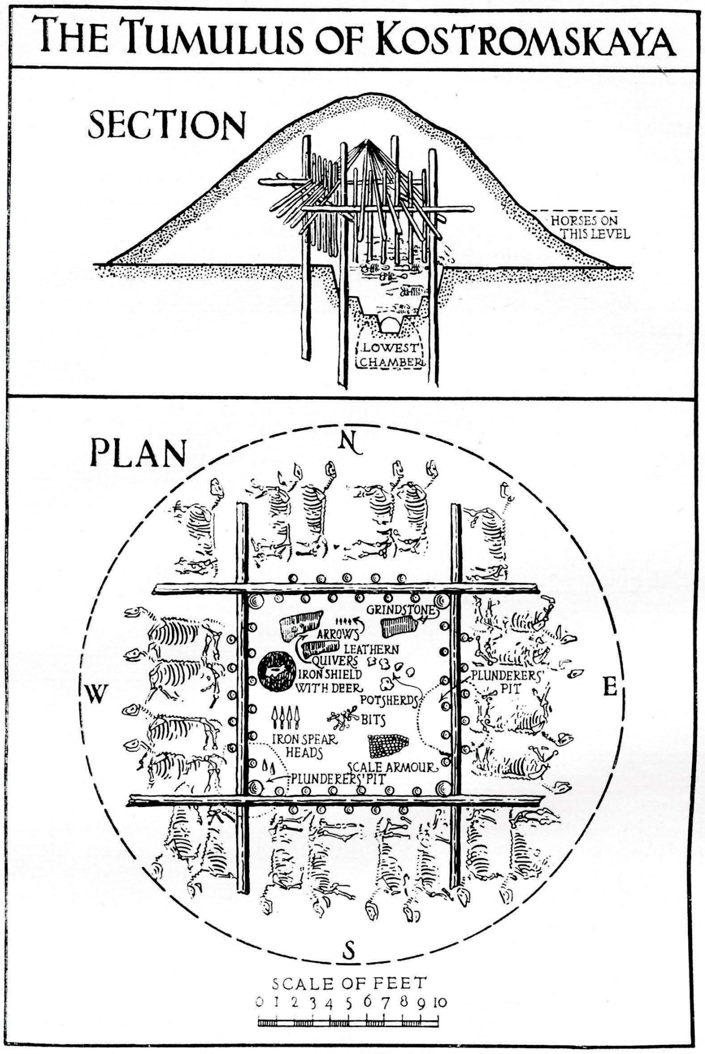
If we believe another account by Herodotus, the Scythian–Assyrian alliance came into effect again at the time of Assurbanipal.[271] Around 644 BC the Medes, who had become independent from Assyria, advanced deep into the Assyrian Empire and besieged its capital, Nineveh. The Median king 'fought a successful battle against the Assyrians, but while he was besieging the town he was attacked by a large Scythian army under the command of King Madyas, son of Protothyes [Bartatua].' Perhaps Madyas was in fact a nephew of Assurbanipal and rushed to aid his embattled uncle, or he took advantage of the invasion to extend his rule over a large part of the Near East. Herodotus continues: 'The Medes were defeated and lost their power in Asia, which was taken over in its entirety by the Scythians. The Scythians next turned their attention to Egypt, but were met in Palestine by Psammetichus, the Egyptian king, who by earnest entreaties supported by bribery managed to prevent their further advance.'[272]



A battle of four young Scythians against two older warriors is portrayed on the 'gold helmet' of Perederijewa Mogila. In the picture, an older warrior has seized the hair of a younger fighter, who has fallen to his knees, in order to finish him off with his sword. Perederijewa Mogila, kurgan 2, Donetsk region, eastern Ukraine, fourth century BC. Ukrainian Museum of Historical Treasures, Kiev.

According to Herodotus Madyas's victory in 644 BC heralded a 28-year rule by the Scythian nomadic riders in the Near East.[273] During their three decades of dominance the Scythian warrior horsemen didn't create a structured empire. Instead, they profited from the collapse of the first Median kingdom, which they subjected to a kind of tribute-granting vassal state, and from their alliance with the still militarily strong Assyrians. The contact with the Assyrians fostered further development of the Scythian military. For one, they adopted the scale armour, which consisted of a leather underlay covered with rows of small iron discs, which provided a fish scale-like outer layer that was both strong and flexible. This innovation was necessary because the introduction of new arrowheads with greater penetrating power required warriors to be better protected. While the Assyrians limited use of the metal discs to armour for the upper body, the Scythians began to fit out weapon belts, thigh coverings, leg pieces and shields using this technology. In a few cases they also protected their horses with breast armour. Somewhat later the scale helmet with protection for the cheeks and neck replaced the heavy, cast bronze helmet. The rectangular, oval or half-moon-shaped lamellar shield, which likewise developed later, was attached to the back and both underarms of the rider. In this way the hands remained free and, by turning his arm and shoulder, the rider could change the position of the shield.

The Scythians also divided their army, following the example of the Medes and Assyrians, into specialised weapon types. While poor Scythians and auxiliaries made up the infantry, the cavalry represented the key formation of the army. This was divided into a light cavalry outfitted with bows, which showered the enemy with a heavy barrage of arrows at the start of a battle, but avoided close combat. After the enemy lines were in disarray, the heavy cavalry followed, consisting of professional warriors. First they assailed the enemy once more with arrows – a practiced archer could shoot up to 12 arrows a minute, and his quiver held 200 to 300 arrows. Then they attacked their opponents with thrown spears and finally engaged in close combat with lances. As soon as the order of the enemy was broken and they began to flee, the light cavalry pursued them in flight. The Scythian cavalry was no wild mob; it maintained its cohesion, so that it could also separate itself from the enemy during a battle, regroup and attack a second enemy unit from another direction. The Scythians began to create the complex system of differently armed, highly mobile and yet very disciplined cavalry units, which first the Avars and then the Mongols would perfect two millennia later. This disciplined behaviour required intensive and ongoing training. The maxim of the Roman historian Flavius Josephus that



Elevation and plan of the kurgan of Kostromskaya, Kuban region, southern Russia, *ca.* 600 BC. The elevation illustrates the tent-like wooden structure erected over the grave; the plan shows the 22 sacrificed horses, laid out symmetrically. According to: M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 1922, p. 46.

the drills of Roman soldiers were bloodless battles and their battles were bloody drills also applies to the Scythian cavalry.[274]

Around the year 616 (or 624) BC the Median king Cyaxares II (r. 624–584 BC) succeeded in shaking off the Scythian yoke. According to Herodotus he did this by getting the Scythian elite drunk at a banquet and then murdering them.[275] In this way the Scythian army was deprived of leadership and Assyria lost its allies. Soon thereafter Cyaxares made a pact with Babylonia and attacked Assyria with the help of Scythian mercenaries. The fall of Nineveh in 612 BC dealt the Assyrian Empire a deathblow.[276] Although the Scythian army presumably split into several groups after the murder of its leaders, they continued to cause unrest in the Near East and, according to Herodotus, provoked a war between Media and Lydia. Cyaxares is said to have insulted a group of Scythians, to whom he had entrusted the military education of his sons, when they returned from a hunt without any prey. In revenge the Scythians 'decided to kill one of their young pupils, chop him up, dress the pieces in the ordinary way like meat [and] serve them to Cyaxares as a dish of game. [...] Cyaxares and the guests at his table ate some of the meat'.[277] The Scythians fled to the Lydian king Alyattes (r. 619/05–560 BC), who refused to surrender his guests. The five-year-long Median-Lydian war ended on 28 May 585 BC at the eastern Anatolian river Halys, when a solar eclipse interrupted the battle, whereupon the opponents made peace and deemed the Halys their shared border.

The majority of the Scythians who had remained in the Near East returned to their homeland in the northern Caucasus after 585 BC. In this way the first wave of nomadic horsemen from Central Asia, who had attacked the settled cultures on their south-western edge and spread to them Central Asian forms of culture and economy, came to an end. The Scythian adventure in the Near East finally foundered on the inability of the nomadic horsemen to create their own stable, state-like structure that could also withstand blows to personnel, such as the massacre of their military leaders by Cyaxares, as well as on the lack of political unity among the tribes. In addition, the Scythians encountered in the Medes a militarily equal opponent, with a tradition of nomadic riders and a strong cavalry armed with bows. Like other nomadic horsemen, the Median riders wore close-fitting clothing and carried half-moon-shaped shields, and they preferred to fight with bows and lances. Presumably the Scythians were vastly outnumbered by their Near Eastern enemies.

In the following centuries battle-tested nomadic riding peoples surged on the heels of the Scythians into the settled cultures of western Central Asia. These peoples included the Sarmatians, Alans, Huns, Magyars, Seljuks and other Turkic peoples, as well as the Mongols, who also attacked China. Only the convergence of several factors in Western Europe in the fifteenth century brought an end to the Central Asian expansion and slowly turned the tide. These factors were material inventions such as gunpowder, the development of centrally governed states, economic interests and the search for resources like spices and precious metals. Most important, however, was a new intellectual attitude in the west marked by curiosity and a thirst for scientific knowledge increasingly freed from religious dogma. At the same time, the Central Asian states largely failed to modernise accordingly. This technological and political stagnation culminated in the nineteenth century in the extensive conquest of Central Asia by tsarist Russia.

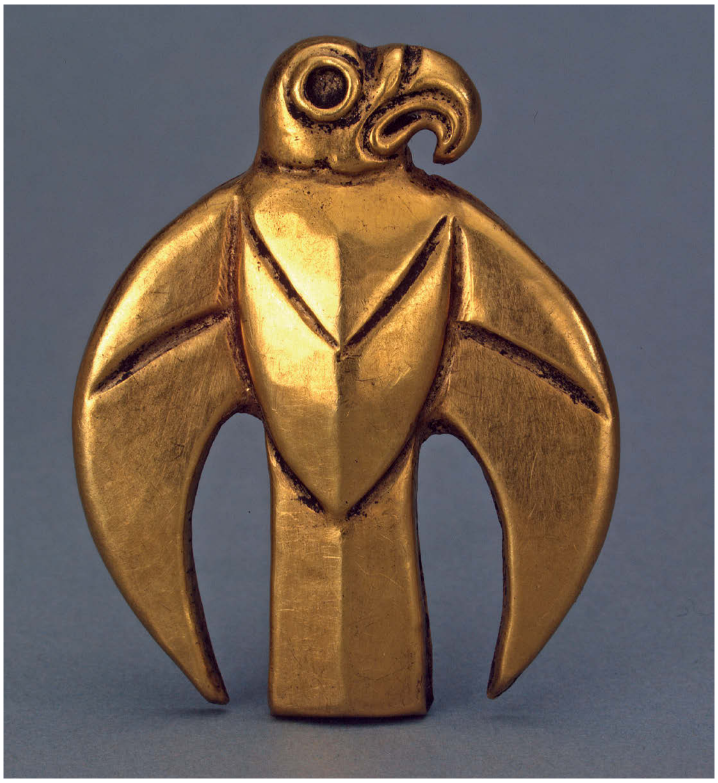
2.2 Scythians in the Kuban region

The Scythian veterans returning from the Near East encountered unexpected resistance. Herodotus's florid report says that the returning Scythians 'found trouble waiting for them hardly less serious than their struggle with the Medes. This was in the shape of a large hostile army, which opposed their entrance; for the Scythian women, wearied with their husbands' protracted absence, had intermarried with the slaves', and their sons now set themselves against the returning soldiers.[278] After a few engagements the veterans resorted to deceit and, armed only with riding crops, ripped into the young warriors, at which point they noticed 'that they are slaves'. The trick worked and the young fighters surrendered. This story was popular among Scythians, as can be seen in the so-called 'golden helmet' of Perederieva Mogila in the Ukrainian Donetsk region. This helmet depicts an older, bearded warrior grabbing the hair of a younger, beardless warrior in order to run him through with his sword. The tradition indicates that the Scythians were not a homogeneous people but rather made up a heterogeneous federation of nomads. Presumably Herodotus's tribe of Royal Scythians, who ruled over the other Scythian tribes, descended from the victorious Near East veterans.

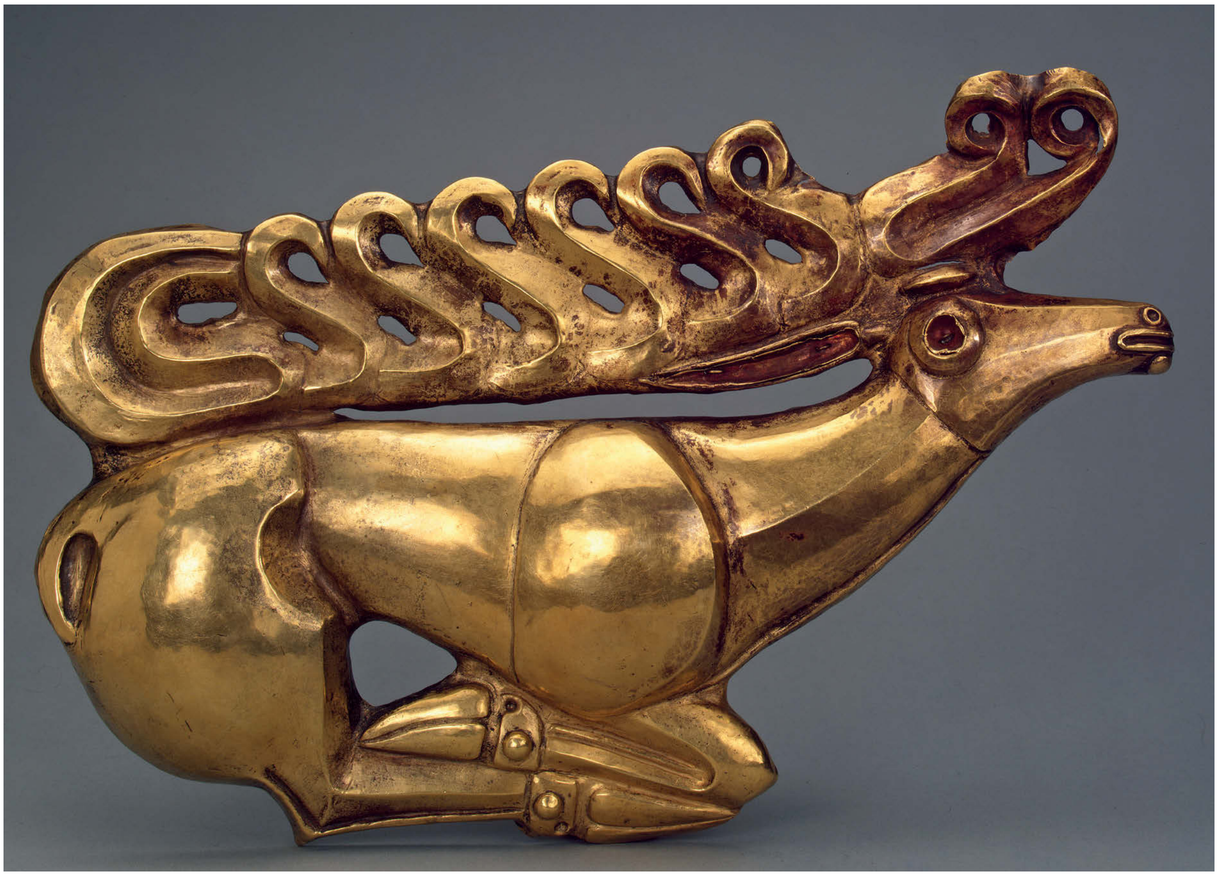
The Scythians left behind few material traces in the Near East, apart from the many finds of Scythian arrowheads and pieces of horse harnesses. The famous golden hoard of Ziwiyeh from the region of the Mannaeans, which displays Assyrian, Urartian and Scythian influences and which has been associated with the grave of a Scythian military commander, is unfortunately mute and scientifically worthless. The objects, purchased by museums from the antiquities market, come from illicit or commercial excavations, so that neither their provenance nor their relationship as a group are documented; furthermore, the authenticity of several objects is doubtful.[279]

The two most significant early Scythian necropolises in Kuban, Kostromskaya and Kelermes do, however, show obvious influences from the Near East. At Kostromskaya the Scythians removed the topmost part of the dome of a Bronze Age kurgan and put in the now flat platform a wooden pit, which was covered by a tent-like timber structure. As at the kurgans of Barsučij Log, Tagisken South and Ujgarak in eastern Central Asia, the wooden tent was ritually set on fire before the earthen mound above the tomb was built. In the kurgan archaeologists discovered the skeletons of 22 sacrificed horses outside the tomb and, within the tomb, 13 human skeletons, intentionally broken weapons and ceramic vessels, and a 700 g gold emblem of a deer, which once adorned a gorytos or a shield.[280] The deer, which has huge antlers covering its back, appears to flee from a predator, such as a large cat. This calls to mind the equally large golden panther found in kurgan 1 of the neighbouring Kelermes necropolis, which seems to be catching a scent with its flared nostrils. Ten small, coiled panthers form the paws and the tail of the cat. The third representative of the animal triad of the Scythians of Tuva and the Altai, the bird of prey, was found in the likewise early Scythian kurgan of Melgunov–Litoi west of the Dnieper in the form of golden discs of a bird with symmetrically spread wings. With deer, big cat and bird of prey, the three most prominent animals of the art of the Central Asia steppe appeared in north-eastern Europe in complete form as early as the seventh century BC. This underscores the close contact between the Tuvinian homeland of the animal style and the northern Pontic and northern Caucasian regions.

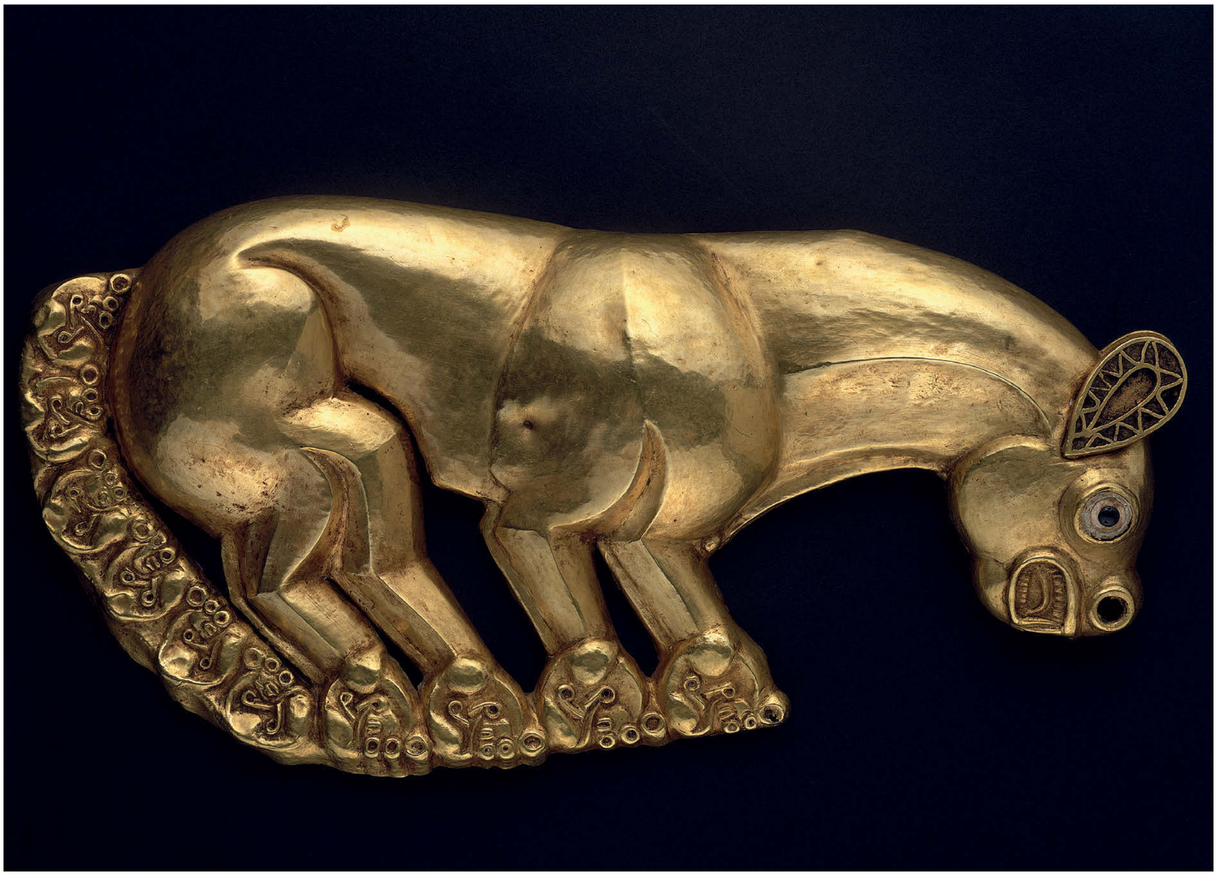
At the necropolis of Kelermes two different grave types met, reflecting the community of two peoples with their own customs. Members of the upper class of the native, agrarian populace of the Maeotae were buried in flat graves; the neighbouring kurgans held the remains of representatives of the ruling Scythian military elite.[281] The most important princely kurgans of Kelermes, and with them their contents, date from the second and third quarters of the seventh century BC, and thus are somewhat older than Arzhan 2 in Tuva.[282] Many of these objects display Near Eastern characteristics. Among them are the aforementioned bimetallic mirror



Gold clothing plaque of a bird of prey. Melgunov-Litoi Kurgan, central Ukraine, second half of the seventh century BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Gold plaque of a recumbent deer. This 31.7-cm-long plaque originally adorned a gorytos or a shield. Kurgan of Kostromskaya, Kuban region, southern Russia, *ca.* 600 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Gold plaque of a panther whose paws and tail are formed from coiled panther kittens. The 32.6-cm-long plaque presumably decorated a shield. Kurgan 1 of Kelermes, Kuban region, southern Russia, *ca.* 675–625 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

from kurgan 4, whose eight triangular electrum segments show both Ionian–Lydian and Assyrian influences.[283] And then the gold diadem with a griffin's head from kurgan 3; this headdress, common among pre-Scythian warriors, was not adopted by male Scythians but was used later by Sarmatian women.

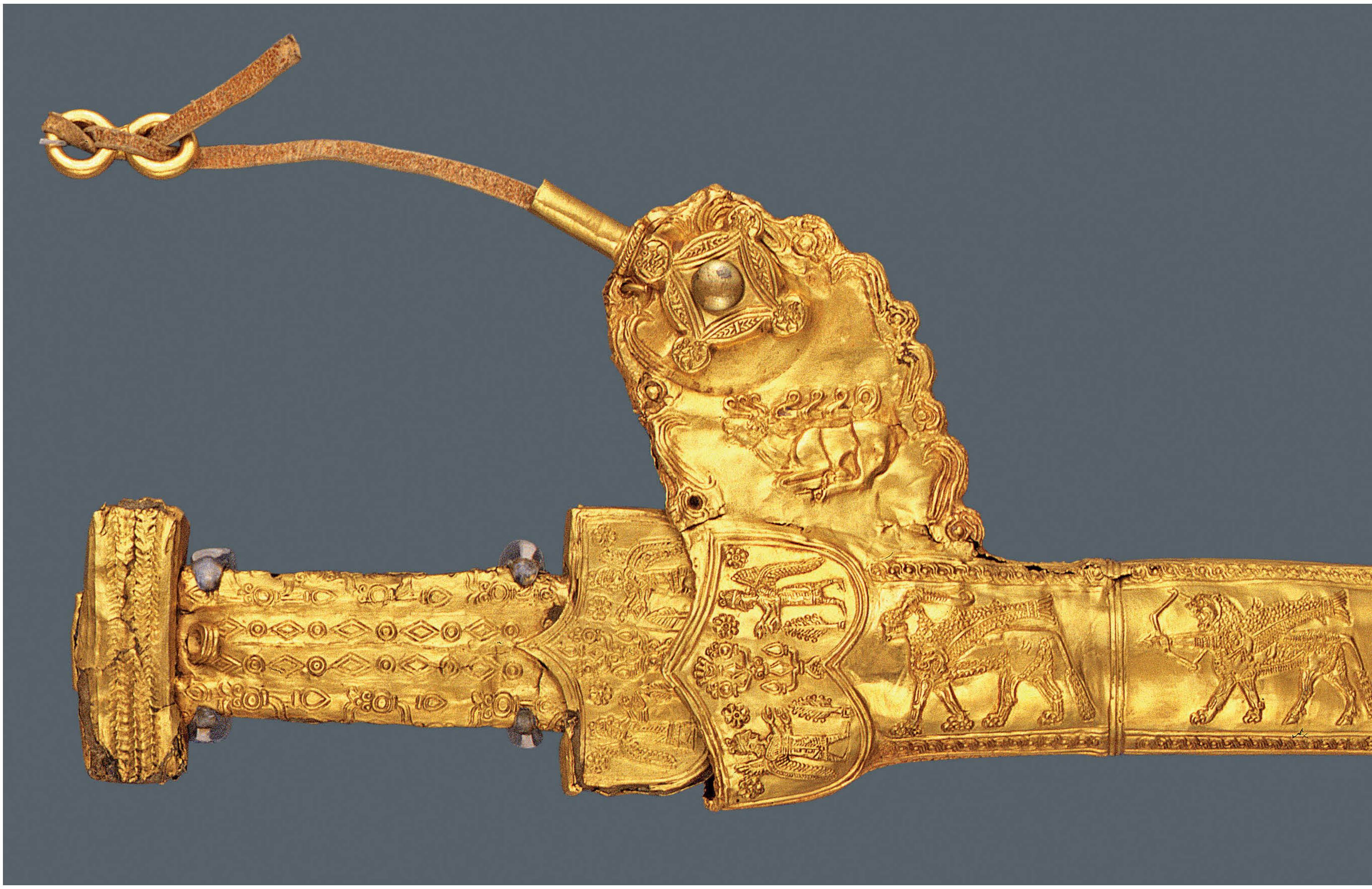
Other influences from the Near East strongly shaped Scythian art. They are found on the sumptuous gold ceremonial weapons of chiefs and army commanders who had fought in the Near East and were buried in the Kuban. Among them was a gold-covered battle axe from kurgan 1 of Kelermes with a portrayal of two ibexes, standing on their hind legs on either side of a tree of life. One splendid akinakes, also from kurgan 1, has a gold sheath showing winged deities standing before the tree of life – both Assyrian motifs. Additional decorations on this sword sheath also come from the Assyrian–Urartian visual world: they are bow-wielding, four-legged hybrid creatures with lion or raptor heads and pacing predators with the heads of goats or ibexes. All these creatures are being bitten on their front legs by fish. In these fantastical hybrids all three realms of life – air, earth and water – are united in a single being; their idea was most likely the inspiration for the depictions of hybrid creatures among the northern Pontic Scythians and Saka.

With the adoption of Near Eastern elements in Scythian toreutics, there began the second of the five periods of Scythian art:

I. **Archaic period** (ninth–eighth centuries BC): It encompasses the beginnings of the Scytho–Siberian animal style, as it manifested itself in perfected form at Arzhan 1 and developed out of petroglyphs and deer stones of the Minusinsk Basin and western Mongolia.
II. **Kuban period** (seventh–first half of the sixth century BC): The portrayal of the 'holy' animal triad of bird of prey, deer and predatory cat was enriched by elements from Assyria and Urartu, and novel hybrid creatures emerged, such as winged bulls and lions as well as S-shaped wings bent upward. Other Near Eastern motifs, such as the tree of life flanked by two winged deities, were not adopted into the repertoire of Scythian art.
III. **Classical period** (second half of the sixth century–fifth century BC): The Near Eastern elements were developed into a mature, self-contained syntax, which concentrated on the portrayal of the ur-Scythian animals: the bird of prey, the predatory cat and the deer, as well as corresponding hybrids like griffins; other animals, such as wolves and boars, receded into the background. While scenes of animals fighting and coiled animals were popular, depictions of human beings were almost nonexistent and Greek borrowings such as the owl remained rare. The stronger adherence to original Scythian themes resulted from the new waves of Iranian-speaking nomads from eastern Central Asia.
IV. **Greco–Scythian period** (fourth–third centuries BC): Beginning around 400 BC Scytho–Greek artistic contacts developed into a symbiosis. In this regard it is hardly relevant whether Greek goldsmiths living in the Bosporan Kingdom crafted ceremonial objects for their Scythian customers or Scythian artisans living in the steppe created the objects after an apprenticeship with Greek masters. Now human beings, such as Scythian and Greek warriors, Amazons, Greek heroes like Achilles, and Scythian deities appeared beside the animals in toreutics. In a few cases warriors were shown not in battle but rather in scenes from everyday life. At the same time the animal style experienced a softening as the animals were portrayed more naturalistically and domestic animals like cattle and sheep were also depicted.
V. **Late Scythian Crimean period** (second century BC–third century AD): In their last historical phase the Scythians sought refuge from the Sarmatians and Alans on the Crimean peninsula. During this time traditional Scythian mythological content as well as animals largely disappeared from their art.

As Ludmilla Galanina emphasises, Kelermes had a very large number of horse burials: there were 24 horses in kurgan 1, 21 in kurgan 3 and 16 in kurgan 2. The number of horses present is comparable only with the 22 horses at Kostromskaya.[284] These ritual horse sacrifices are not only consistent with the horse burials of Arzhan but they also recall Herodotus's description of a dreadful ritual. One year after the burial of a king, 50 young men were strangled and, as macabre sentries, placed on 50 killed, stuffed and harnessed horses, which were impaled on lances set at an angle in the ground.[285] The 50 horse skeletons found at kurgan 1 at Ul'skji Aul (fourth century BC) on a platform over the central grave correspond to Herodotus's account and show that this ritual continued to be practised after Herodotus.[286] The collections of human and horse bones found at regularly spaced intervals and the at least 50 horse harnesses in the mound at the foot of the royal kurgan of Čertomlyk confirm the pervasiveness of this ritual.[287]

In light of the size and wealth of ceremonial objects in these early Scythian royal kurgans the question arises of whether the royal necropolis of Gerrhos referred to by Herodotus should be sought in the Kuban instead of, as Herodotus states, at the rapids of the Dnieper.[288] Although large royal kurgans with rich gold grave goods lie within a 100-km radius of the rapids, they date to either around or after 400 BC; that is, after Herodotus's death in 424 BC.



Akinakes with gold hilt and gold-plated sheath from kurgan 1 of Kelermes, Kuban region, southern Russia, *ca*. 675–625 BC. The figures, from the Assyrian–Urartian imaginative world, represent two winged deities in front of a tree of life as well as four-legged hybrid creatures, some shooting with bows, which are being bitten by flying fish. The recumbent deer depicted in the upper indentation looks typically early Scythian. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The huge kurgans along the Dnieper tributary of the Sula, however, come from the seventh–sixth centuries BC and may also be identified with the Scythian 'valley of the kings'.[289]

In the seventh and sixth centuries BC the Kuban represented the military and cultural heart of the European Scythians. As a consequence of the violent seizure of the northern Caucasian homeland by the veterans from the Near East, however, an extended conflict presumably smouldered. This led in the second half of the sixth century BC to an emigration of the Scythian warrior elite and a majority of the tribes to the west, to the lower and middle reaches of the Dnieper. This migration and takeover of the land in the northern Pontic steppe must have occurred before Darius's invasion of 513/12 BC, since King Idanthyrsos's centre of power was found there. Two factors encouraged the geographic shift of the Scythian centre of power and economy: for one, the climate in the northern Black Sea region became wetter,[290] giving rise to rich pastureland, and, for another, the trade of the northern Pontic farming societies with the emerging Bosporan Kingdom and with Greece – Athens was at the time dependent on the Ukraine for imports of grain[291] – could be conveniently controlled from there. The heyday of the western Scythians ran parallel to this optimal climate and the zenith of the Greek–Ionian economy, before it fell victim to the advancing Sarmatians. The Royal Scythians had rich grazing lands for their herds and subjugated the farmers of the forest steppes, from whom they extracted tribute. They also dominated the trade with the Greek and Bosporan cities. In the Kuban, however, Scythian influence receded, even as large kurgans, such as that of Uljap, were being built according to Scythian custom.

2.3 The Pontic Scythians

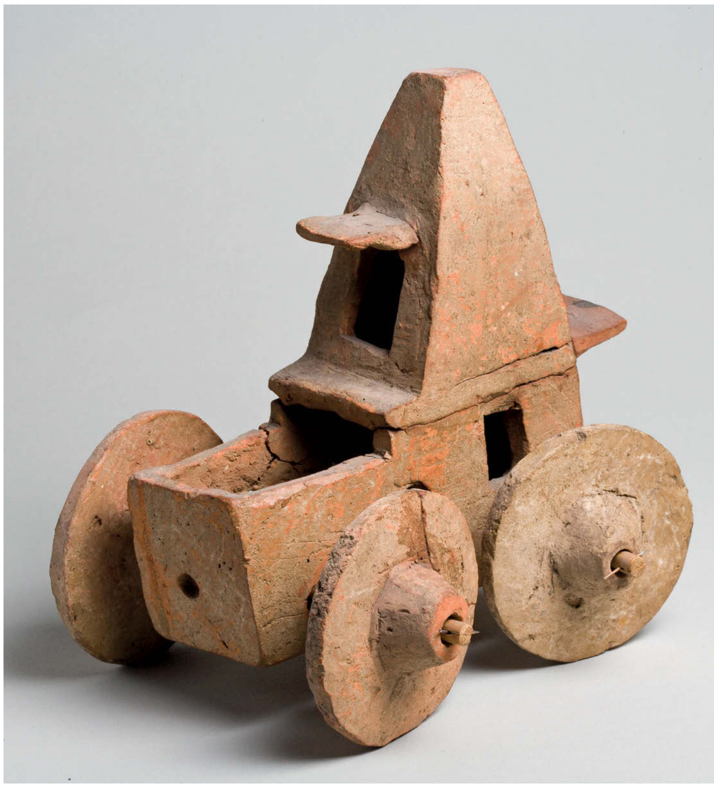
Two of the legends of the origins of the Scythians transmitted by Herodotus place their homeland in a region near the Dnieper. According to one, the foremother of all Scythians is the daughter of the river god Borysthenes (Dnieper), and according to the other, Hercules fathered the three ancestors of the Scythian tribes with the snake woman in Hylaia, a forested area on the eastern bank of the Dnieper. Two of the six Scythian peoples mentioned by Herodotus lived here, the 'Royal Scythians', who ruled over all of Scythia and whose forefathers lived in Kuban and had probably fought in the Near East, and the stockbreeding 'Nomadic Scythians'.[292] Both groups were most likely Iranian-speaking. The explosive increase in large kurgans north of the Black Sea beginning at the end of the sixth century BC attests to this migration. The Royal Scythians did not establish a fixed governing structure, however; Scythia remained an unstable federation of tribes under the leadership of the royal tribe. That Scythian mounted warriors had advanced into the forest steppes west of the Dnieper long before the end of the sixth century BC is suggested by the 11-m-high Perepiat'ycha kurgan south of Kiev, from the end of the seventh century BC. A chief was buried in the since-plundered kurgan with a 14-member entourage and horses, strongly recalling the contemporaneous kurgan of Arzhan 2 in Tuva.[293]

From the end of the sixth to the end of the fourth century BC, Scythia extended from the Danube to the Don and from the northern Black Sea coast and the Kuban to about as far as Kiev. The sedentary 'Farmer Scythians' settled west of the Nomadic Scythians, and, to the west of the former, the Callipidae and Alazones, two Hellenised Scythian tribes, and the corn growing 'Ploughing Scythians', who provided grain to the trading settlements of the

Bosporan Kingdom.[294] Presumably these four ‘Scythian tribes’ were barely related to the Iranian-speaking Scythians and ought to be considered instead proto-Slavs who adopted particular ‘Scythian’ customs under the influence of the Royal Scythians.[295] The Sauromatians, relatives of the Scythians, lived east of the Don, and the Maeotae lived in the Kuban.

When the Kuban Scythians reached the northern Pontic region, they encountered prosperous Greek–Ionic trading settlements and colonies, such as the cities of Borystenes and Olbia, founded in the delta of the Bug River in 645/44 and 633 respectively, the two most important ports for the export of wheat to Athens.[296] The subjugation of the farmers made it possible for the Scythians to base their economy less on war and raids and much more on trade. They exported wheat, cattle, leather, animal hides, wax, honey and prisoners of war, and imported gold objects, ceramics and wine. In a few cases Scythians also served as mercenaries, notably in Athens as mounted police.[297]

In order to secure both their rule and their trade routes, the Scythians built over 100 fortified settlements and fortresses, many of them along navigable rivers. Among the largest of the walled settlements were Bol’šhoe Chodosovskoe gorodišče near Kiev (2,000 ha), Karatul’skoe gorodišče (6,000 ha) and Bel’sk gorodišče (4,000 ha).[298] The last is probably identical to Herodotus’s Gelonos, which Darius I burned down. The Scytho–Greek city stood on a northern tributary of the Dnieper and was more than 400 km distant from Olbia as the crow flies. It served as a reloading point for both Scythians and Greek merchants and its 33-km-long and up to 10-m-high walls not only connected three fortresses but also protected many workshops and cultic sites.[299] Still more important was the city of Kamenskoje gorodišče, fortified with strong walls, which lay immediately south of the rapids of the Dnieper which blocked ship traffic at the time. The port was a first-class unloading point for Scythian trade with Olbia and Borystenes and had several weapon-makers, who worked with top-quality iron ore from the nearby mines. On an elevated spot stood an especially well-fortified stronghold, which may have served as the seat of a Scythian chieftain or even king. In any case, the heyday of Kamenskoje gorodišče coincided with the rule of the Scythian king Atheas (r. *ca*. 390–339 BC), when the population also increased significantly. Necropolises lay near Kamenskoje gorodišče on both sides of the Dnieper, containing the royal kurgans of Solocha and Čertomlyk. These sites underscore the importance of this trading city, which was also a significant crossroads.[300] These strong walled sites were not built by local people to protect themselves from belligerent nomadic horsemen. Quite the opposite: they served the Scythian elite as the cornerstone of the consolidation of their power and the channelling of the profitable flow of trade.



Clay model of a two-axle wagon with a yurt-like dwelling erected on top. Kerch, Crimea, Ukraine, first–second centuries AD. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Another key region for trade between Scythia, the Greek–Ionian trading settlements on the northern Black Sea coast and north-eastern Central Asia was the Sea of Azov, in particular the broadly branching delta of the Don. As early as the third quarter of the seventh century BC Greek merchants founded the port of Taganrog west of the mouth of the Don, which was replaced a century later by the inland port of Elizavetovka in the delta of the Don, used by both Scythians and Greeks. The originally Scythian settlement soon served as a Greek emporium and was also a centre for Greek artisans. The nearby kurgan complex of Piat’ Brat’ev (‘Five Brothers’) underscores the importance of Elizavetovka for the Scythians. At the time of the Bosporan king Eumelos I (r. 310/09–305/04 BC) Elizavetovka was built up into a strongly fortified city. This did not, however, not prevent its destruction around 270 BC by the Sarmatians advancing from the east.[301]

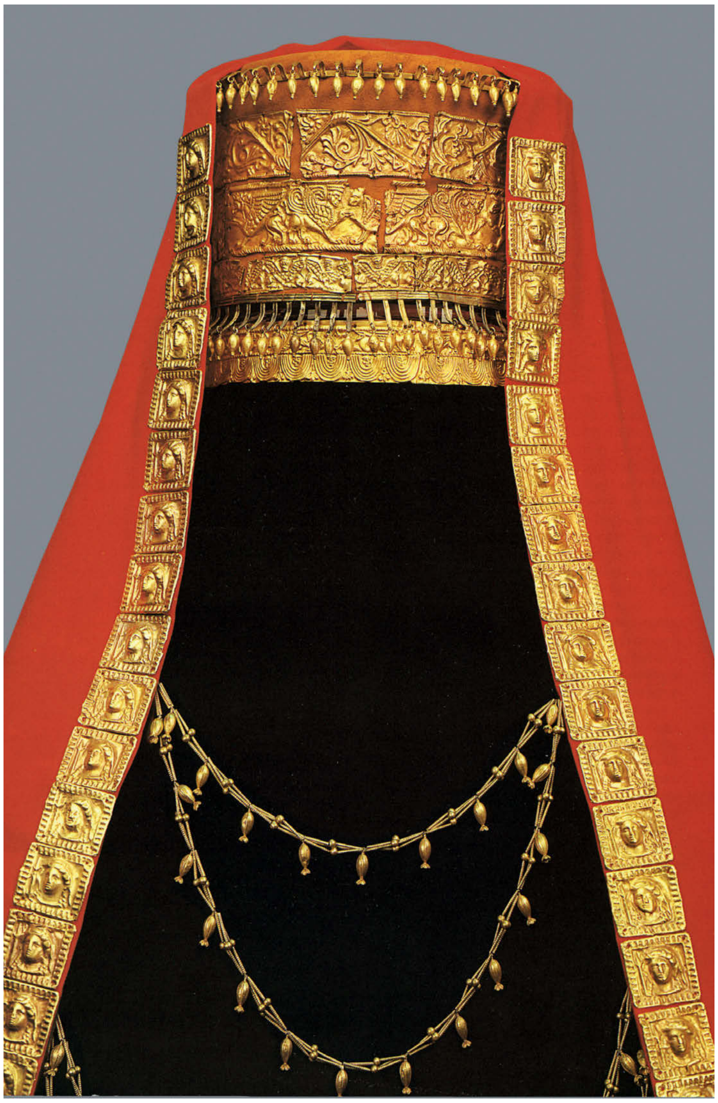
A few years before the burning of Elizavetovka the Bosporan king Pairisades II (r. 280–275 BC) founded the city of Tanaïs north-west of it. The Sarmatian Bosporan king Sauromates I (r. 93/4–123/4 AD) had the city rebuilt in magnificent style after its destruction in 8 AD. Then Tanaïs grew into an important crossroads, where

Bosporan and Roman sailors encountered traders from the Iranian-speaking Aorsi, a Sarmatian group. Strabo reported that the camel caravans of the Aorsi were in trade contact with eastern Central Asia, the Kushans in northern India, Mesopotamia, Armenia and Media.[302] One of the most important transcontinental trade routes of the time ran through the southern Russian steppe, not least because Rome's arch-enemy Iran either levied high taxes on trade between East Asia with Rome or aspired to cut it off.

2.3.1 The Scythian pantheon

Apart from epigrams and inscriptions on coins the Scythians left behind no written sources, so we must rely on Herodotus to reconstruct their religious beliefs.[303] He lists the following eight deities:

- **Tabiti** (Greek Hestia). Herodotus presents the deity of the hearth Tabiti as the highest deity, whom King Idanthyrsos called 'Queen of the Scythians'. Presumably Tabiti symbolised not so much the domestic hearth as the sacred element of fire, which also played a prominent role in the burial rituals of the Scythians.
- **Papaios** (Zeus) and **Api** (Gaïa). After Tabiti followed the primordial parents of all life, the sky god Papaios and the earth and water goddess Api. Papaios and Api were also the primal ancestors of the Scolotoi, since Targitaos was Papaios's son, and the daughter of the river god Borysthenes is to be understood as an aspect of Api.[304] Related to her is the snake woman, who had a human upper body and snake-like legs and was impregnated by Hercules. In some depictions the snake-like legs become plant motifs, turning her into a tendril-limbed semi-human female related to the tree of life. Plants and snakes have a few similarities, as they both live under as well as above the ground and both renew themselves annually, so they symbolise cyclical polarities of death and rebirth. The motif of the snake- and tendril-limbed woman presumably had its origin among the early northern Pontic Scythians and spread quickly both among the Celts and in the Greco–Roman Mediterranean region.[305]
- **Goitosyros** (Apollo). Goitosyros was presumably associated with Mithra; he served as sun god and divine archer, soothsayer and guardian of the herds.
- **Argimpasa** (Aphrodite). Like Goitosyros, Argimpasa had Oriental features and is comparable to both the fertility and war goddess Ishtar and the 'mistress of animals', as she is depicted on the mirror of Kelermes. It is conceivable that the Scythians became familiar with this goddess during their Near Eastern campaigns, even if the idea of a mistress of animals was already known in eastern Central Asia.[306]

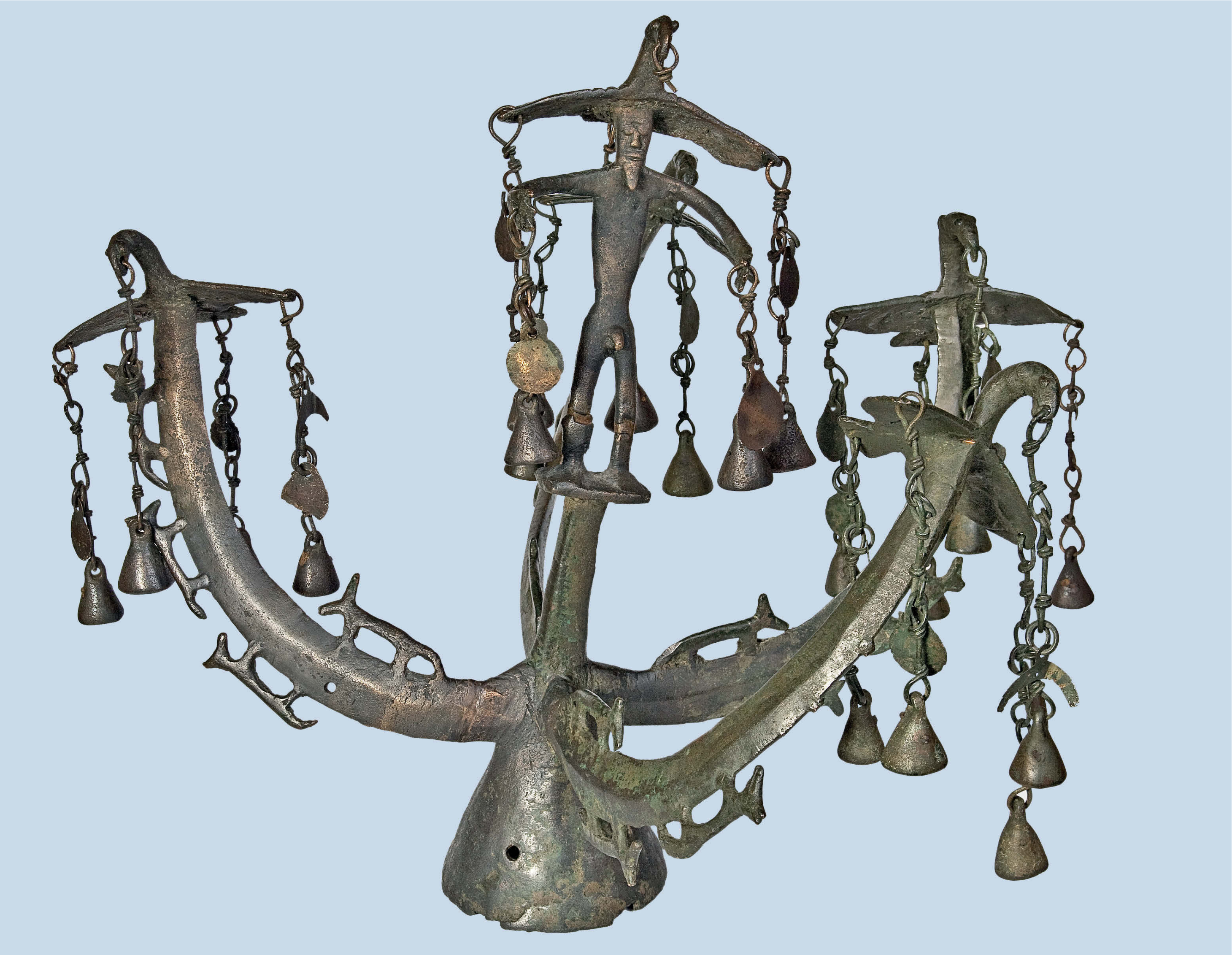


Woman's headdress from kurgan 8 of Piat' Brat'ev, Don River delta, southern Russia, second half of the fourth century BC. On the tiny clothing discs the female face may represent for Greeks Demeter or her daughter Persephone, for Scythians Tabiti or Api. Regional museum of Rostov.

- **Thagimasadas** (Poseidon). Only the Royal Scythians worshipped this god, presumably as the personification of the life-giving rivers of Scythia and as the guardian of horses.
- **Hercules.** This god, whose Scythian name is not given by Herodotus, also served the Scythians as primordial ancestor, since he had fathered with the snake woman who lived in the forest steppes Scythes, the mythical ancestor of the Scythian kings, and two other tribal forefathers named by Herodotus as Agathyrsos and Gelonos.[307]
- **Ares.** The Scythians must have had a special devotion to the war god, to whom Herodotus devoted more space than all other Scythian deities combined. He was the only god with a shrine

dedicated to him alone in every district, in which an upright iron sword symbolised his presence. He was also the only god who had people as well as animals killed in his honour – every hundredth prisoner of war was sacrificed to Ares. Archaeological discoveries in kurgan 5 of Uljap and in Bajkara have confirmed Herodotus's account.[308] While Herodotus clearly identifies Ares as the god of war, the role of Hercules, apart from his function as ancestor, is unclear. For an explanation Lebedynsky draws on the Indo–Iranian pantheon, in which male, militaristic contents are assigned to two gods: Verethraghna, or Indra, was a god of thunder and embodied victory in war, so Ares would be comparable to him. Vayu, by contrast, symbolised immense strength, which Hercules could represent.[309]

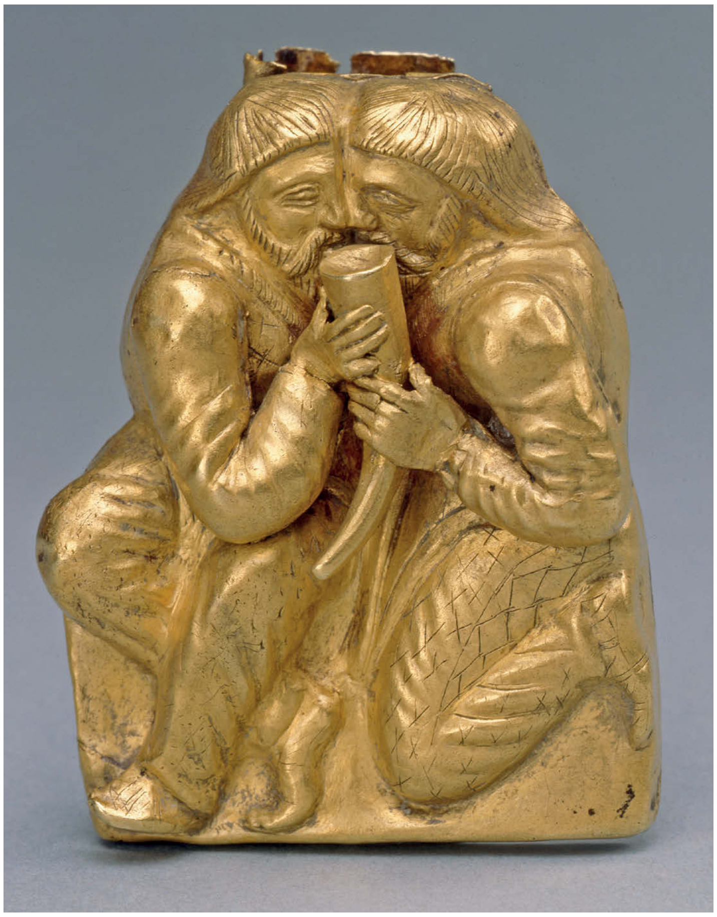
Although the Scythians had no permanent temples with images of their gods and goddesses, they portrayed their deities in toreutics on gold sewn-on discs and vessels. Perhaps occasional depictions of animals symbolised deities in a coded way, so that we can no longer recognise them. Despite considerable speculations to the contrary, there is no evidence of shamanism or nature religion among the Scythians. Neither the Scythians of Tuva or the Saka nor the Scythians of Eastern Europe seem to have been familiar with the role of a shaman, who would move into invisible worlds and spheres inhabited by spirits to resolve a conflict between humans and powerful spirits or to ensure a successful hunt. The Scythians were equally unfamiliar with an organised clergy intermediating between humans and gods, as rituals and sacrifices were performed



Bronze pole top with the highest god of the Scythians, Papaios, crowned by a bird of prey, in the centre and four more raptors on the ends of the branches arranged in the shape of a cross. Chance discovery at Lysaja gora, Dnepropetrovsk, central Ukraine, fifth–fourth centuries BC. National Museum of the History of the Ukraine, Kiev.

by the leaders of the time.[310] As a 'religious' profession the Scythians had only soothsayers, who, if one believes Herodotus, led dangerous lives. If they were incorrect in their attempt to diagnose an ill king, both they and their sons were executed.[311]

The Scythians also seem to have been remorseless when it comes to enforcing religious conformity. Herodotus told of two prominent Scythians of royal blood who suffered the death penalty on account of dissenting beliefs. One was the legendary philosopher Anacharsis, who ostensibly lived in Athens in the second half of the sixth century and was numbered among the 'Seven Sages' there. When he was seen rendering homage to Cybele on his return to Scythia, his brother, King Saulius, killed him with an arrow shot.[312] The second Scythian chief who died as a consequence of worshipping Greek gods was the mid-fifth-century BC king Scylas. He repudiated his royal duties in three ways, as he sacrificed to Greek gods, participated in the Dionysian mysteries and preferred a settled life in the city to a nomadic one on the steppe. The military court deposed him and appointed his half-brother Octamasadas as his successor, after which the latter executed Scylas.[313] Perhaps the Scythian warrior elite feared that the comforts of urban life might weaken their king and make him unfit for military command. By taking up such a lifestyle, Scylas forfeited his authority.

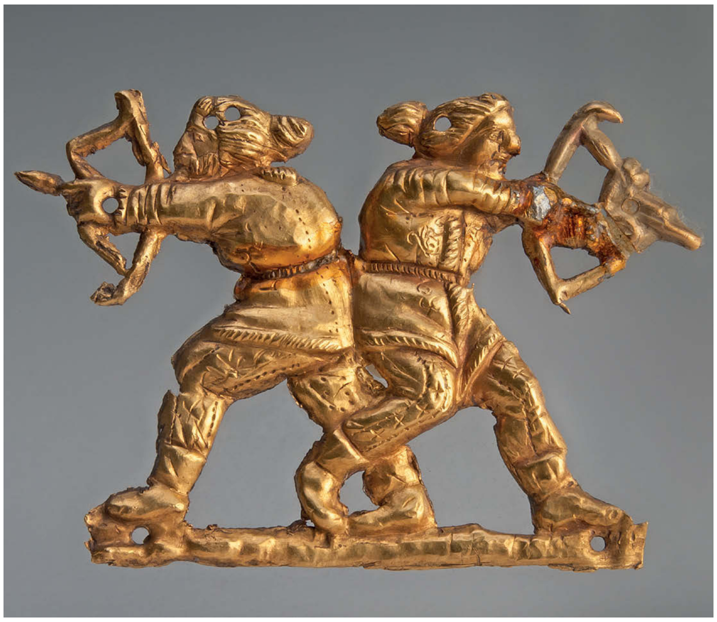


As described by Herodotus (IV, 70), the Scythians swore blood brotherhood with the shared drinking of a mixture of their own blood and wine. Gold plaque from Kul Oba Kurgan, Crimea, Ukraine, *ca.* 350 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

2.3.2 War and burial customs

It is not surprising that a people as militaristic as the Scythians had special war rituals. In order to strengthen cohesion, pairs of warriors would swear blood brotherhood. They mixed their blood with wine in a cup, dipped their weapons in it and drank it in the presence of witnesses.[314] On the battlefield young warriors also drank the blood of the first enemy killed, in order to incorporate his strength. Since a warrior's share of the spoils was determined by the number of heads of decapitated enemies, they collected these and brought them to their king or chieftain. The collecting of heads on the battlefield brought not only spoils but also honour, since the district rulers gathered all the warriors annually and each warrior who had killed at least one enemy was honoured with a cup of wine. The unsuccessful, however, 'have to sit by themselves in disgrace'.[315] The Scythians further 'made use' of fallen enemies by making drinking vessels out of their skulls and clothing out of their tanned scalps or tying the scalps on the reins of their horses.

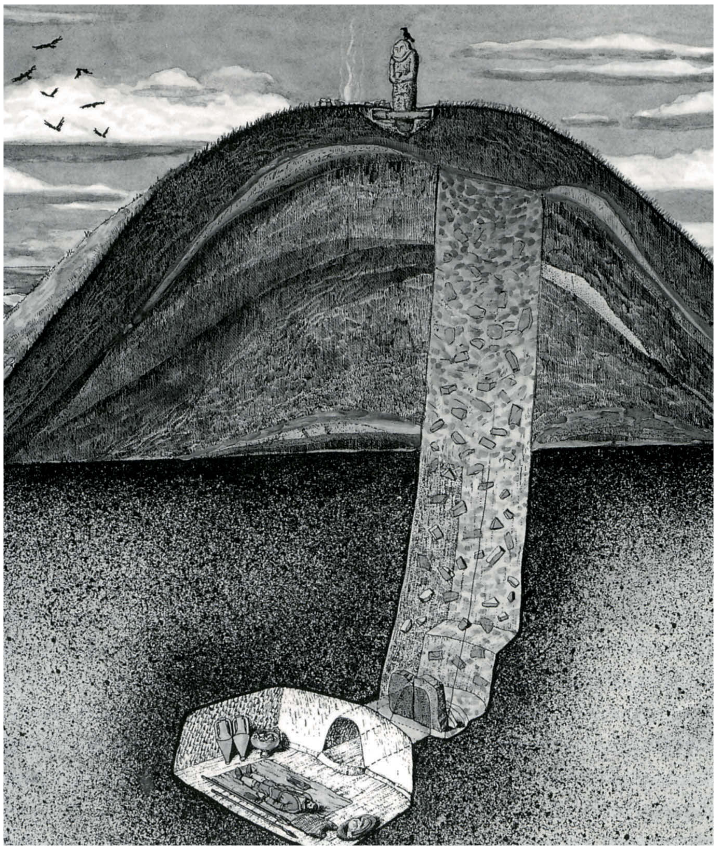
As reported by Herodotus and largely confirmed by archaeology, the burial of kings followed a precisely defined, multi-step ritual which lasted more than a year.[316] This ensured that the



Two Scythians fight back to back, presumably a symbol for a blood brotherhood. Gold clothing plaque from Kul Oba Kurgan, Crimea, Ukraine, *ca.* 350 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

king's attendants were able to bid farewell to their ruler and that he was ensured a secure transition into the afterlife. At the same time the ritual legitimised the chosen successor. First the deceased was mummified, placed on a wagon and led in solemn procession through the districts of his realm for 40 days. During these 40 days his soul remained by his corpse and his attendants hosted banquets, mourned him and mutilated their heads and hands as signs of grief. On the fortieth day the funeral procession returned to the royal necropolis, after which the corpse was laid in the prepared grave, together with selected companions. These strangled people were 'a concubine, his butler, his cook, his groom, his steward and his chamberlain' [messenger], as well as horses and cattle.[317] To complete the royal household, gold and bronze vessels, weapons and wine amphorae were also placed with the dead. The kurgan was then erected over the grave. The dead were not cremated but rather buried as corpses, with the tent-like wooden structure over the grave sometimes set on fire before the final burial.

Members of the warrior elite enjoyed similar burials, although on a more modest scale and usually without human sacrifice. With regard to grave goods, horses were included in normal burials of deceased chieftains and mounted warriors, and wagons in the case of aristocratic women. It appears that in the Scythian imagination 'warriors rode horses into the afterlife, and women rode there on a wagon'.[318] This gender-specific distinction occurred practically independently of the function of the buried women, since in the more than one hundred excavated graves of female warriors in Scythia weapons are in fact only found in a single case, from the seventh/sixth century BC, where there was a horse buried as well.[319]



Sketch of a kurgan with an anthropomorphic stone statue standing on its top, near the village of Pervomaievka, eastern Ukraine. Sketch after Kornjienko.

While the early northern Pontic graves were quite simple, beginning in the sixth century BC the so-called catacomb graves represented complex arrangements, which differed from the much earlier catacomb graves of the Bronze Age. In the Scythian kurgans a steep shaft ran 10 to 15 m into the ground, from which corridors up to 30 m long led to various grave chambers containing the bodies of the 'grave inhabitant', his attendants and sacrificed horses. Although the subterranean chamber system of the catacomb graves was complex many kurgans were plundered as early as the Scythian and subsequent Sarmatian periods. Sometimes the tunnels collapsed on the grave robbers and archaeologists found their skeletons two millennia later.[320] Among the grave chambers, the enormous Oguz royal kurgan (second half of the fourth century BC), originally 21 m high, in the northern Pontic region, is an exception, since there was no wooden structure over the grave but rather the floor, walls and a corbelled vault consisted of worked limestone plates layered over one another. Such stone chambers are otherwise known only from the Bosporan Kingdom, where they developed under Greek influence.[321]

The kurgan was topped by an anthropomorphic stone statue of an armed and armoured Scythian warrior. More than 100 such stone warriors, produced between the seventh and fourth centuries BC, have been found. They carry a long sword on the right side and an akinakes on the front. On the left thigh hangs a gorytos with a bow and arrows.[322] The stone men, in some cases more than 2 m tall, were often interpreted as ancestors, yet the hand putting a drinking horn to the mouth strongly recalls the scene on the felt hanging of Pazyryk and the gold discs on which a standing or mounted warrior receives a rython from a seated deity, so the figure more likely symbolises the acceptance of the deceased into the pantheon of heroes. The custom of placing a Scythian stone warrior on the dome of the kurgan was later continued by the Crimean Scythians, the Sarmatians and the Old Turks. The Turkic Polovtsy, by contrast, who dominated the northern Pontic steppes from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries AD, erected both male and female stone statues.

After a year the soul of the deceased had reached the afterlife and the final sacrificial ritual took place. Fifty young men were

The ruins of Pantikapaion, the ancient capital of the Bosporan Kingdom in the foreground; in the background the modern city of Kerch, eastern Crimea.

Olbia and the Bosporan Kingdom

The Bosporan Kingdom and the port city of Olbia were neighbours and the most important trading partners of the Scythians. While the city-state of Olbia, founded by the Ionian city of Miletus and located at the mouth of the Bug, emphasised its Greek identity and tried to keep its autonomy, around 480 BC several Greek cities that lay on both sides of the Strait of Kerch in the east of the Crimean peninsula and in the west on the opposite peninsula of Taman, began to unite to form a centrally governed defence alliance, from which the Bosporan Kingdom emerged. Presumably the withdrawal of the Scythians from the Kuban facilitated the establishment of Ionian cities in the second half of the sixth century BC on the bordering Taman peninsula. The Strait of Kerch, which at the time was called the Cimmerian Bosporus, was strategically important, since it controlled the trade routes to the north through the Sea of Azov. As Herodotus reported, in the winter Scythian bands from south-eastern Crimea sometimes advanced over the frozen Strait of Kerch against the Sindi in south-western Kuban.[323]

The cities on the Strait of Kerch that had been founded by Ionian Greeks in the sixth century BC at the latest came under pressure from the Scythians after their victory over Darius in 513/12 BC. The strengthened nomadic horsemen, who benefited from the influx of new immigrants from Central Asia, undertook raids not only against the likewise expansive Thracian empire of the Odrysians but also against the Greek colonies. Scythian tribes had already gained a foothold in the north-eastern Crimea as early as the seventh and sixth centuries BC, however, as can be seen in the corresponding burials.[324] While the Scythians spread into the steppes of the Crimea, in the foothills farther south and in the mountains lived native herdsmen, the Tauri. These people were feared by the Greeks because, as Herodotus relates, ‘It is the custom of the Tauri to sacrifice to the Maiden Goddess all shipwrecked sailors and such Greeks as they happen to capture upon their coast.’[325]

Around 480 BC three new alliances were formed. The Greek cities of the Cimmerian Bosporus formed a symmachy, a defensive alliance, analogous to the Delian League, from which the Bosporan Kingdom developed. The Scythian king Ariapeithes (r. *ca.* 490–460 BC) then made peace with the Odrysian king Teres, who gave him one of his daughters as a wife.[326] The marriage produced the future Scythian king Octamasadas. For its part, shortly after 480 BC Olbia placed itself under the protection of the Royal Scythians. This protected

The prytaneion of *Pantikapaion* in the lower Acropolis. The ancient seat of the city's government was abandoned and destroyed in the late fifth century BC. when a new ruler took power and concentrated all executive powers in the royal palace on the upper acropolis (Vladimir Tolstikov, *Pantikapaion*, 2002, p. 52).

status continued into the time of King Scylas (r. 460–440 BC), since Olbia was the favoured place of residence for this Scythian king.

At the time of Herodotus's visit around 460 BC, three different lifestyles coexisted in the city-state of Olbia: the urban and maritime culture of a classical Greek polis, the agrarian culture of native tribes and a steppe culture of nomadic horsemen. A century later in 331 BC the Scythians destroyed the Macedonian army of Alexander's governor of Thrace, Zopyrion, when he besieged the city of Olbia. Shortly thereafter Olbia slipped from the dominion of the flagging Scythians, whereupon their hinterland was battered by successive raids. In its distress Olbia turned in the third quarter of the second century BC to the king of Lesser Scythia, Skiluros, who ruled over the western part of the Crimean peninsula. Olbia became a vassal of Skiluros, as can be seen in the coins he had minted in Olbia. After a short period of prosperity under Mithridates VI of Pontus (r. 116/13–63 BC), Olbia was plundered by the king of the Getae, Burebista, around 55 BC and a century later came under the rule of the Sarmatians. In the third century AD first the Sarmatians (232–35 AD) and finally the Goths (269–70) destroyed the port city for good.[327] Notable in Olbia's history is the fact that Scythians, who were a superior power for a long time, never attacked and destroyed

ΙϹΙΩΝΙ ΠΑΠΙΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Bosporan tombstone with two mounted archers. The Greek epigram declares: 'Isiôn, son of Papios, farewell!' Regional Museum, Simferopol.

Olbia but rather left it as a Greek island inside their empire. The warrior horsemen understood that it was more rewarding to extract tribute from a wealthy city than to plunder and destroy it.

The Bosporan cities initially placed themselves under the leadership of the Milesian noble line of the Archaeanactidae. Four decades later the Scythians, the Thracians and the Bosporan Kingdom moved closer together when dynasties friendly to Thrace seized power among the Royal Scythians as well as in the Bosporan capital of Pantikapaion, the modern city of Kerch. In 438 BC the dynasty of the Spartocids, who were of Thracian descent, superseded the Archaeanactidae in Pantikapaion and among the Royal Scythians Octamasadas, who was related to the Thracian king Sitalces, supplanted as king the philhellenic Scylas around 440 BC. It was surely no coincidence that rulers friendly to Thrace came to power among the Scythians and in the Bosporan Kingdom practically simultaneously. The Scythian dynasty was from then on related by marriage to the Thracian dynasty, and the Istros River, the Danube, formed their common border.[328]

That the Scythians had good relations with the Bosporan Kingdom at least for a time can be seen in the dozens of kurgans on the edges of its capital Pantikapaion. These include the kurgans of Altyn Oba, whose name means 'golden hill', those at Kul Oba, the large group at Juz Oba, the Zarskij Kurgan and the Melek Chesmen Kurgan in the centre of modern Kerch, all of them dating from the fourth or early third century BC. Under the large earthen tumulus of Kul Oba kurgan lay the central grave with the burials of a man and a woman with rich gold grave goods, as well as a sacrificed stable boy and a horse. The woman rested in a wooden sarcophagus whose inner sides were decorated with paintings showing, among other things, a winged Nike driving a quadriga and a lioness attacking a bull.[329] As at the Oguz kurgan, a dromos led to the grave chamber which consisted of dressed stone blocks, held together by fasteners made of lead, over which stood a corbelled vault. While the structure shows some features of Thracian grave architecture, the grave goods correspond to a Hellenised Scythian style. The buried man was probably a Hellenised Scythian chief who was associated with the Bosporan court.[330]

Towards the end of the third century BC a change in the trading patterns of Greece toward Asia Minor and Egypt sent the Bosporan Kingdom into an economic crisis. At the same time the weakened Scythians surrendered their homeland between the Dnieper and the Don to the Sarmatians more or less without a fight and partly retreated to western Crimea. Why the Scythians collapsed militarily in the third century BC remains unclear. Perhaps the dominance

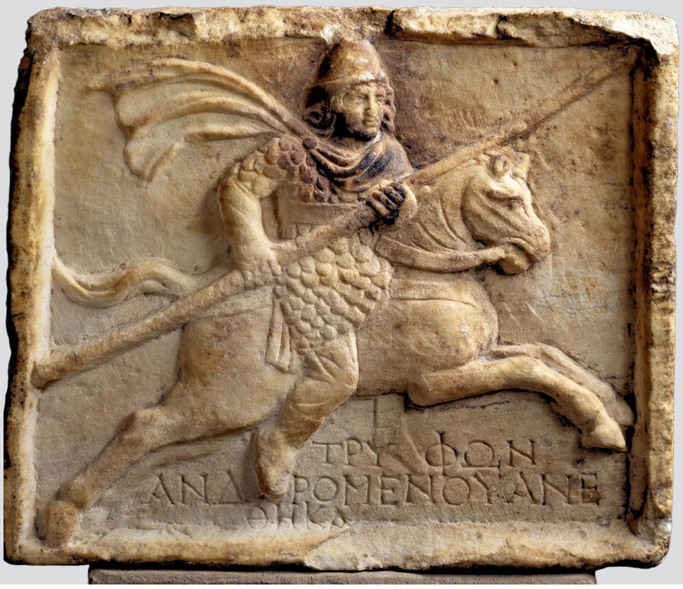
The kurgan of Kul Oba west of Pantikapaion dated *ca.* 350 BC. Soldiers had found the burial vault by chance in 1830 when searching for large stones for construction purposes. It was one of the first large Scythian barrows to be officially excavated in modern times, but was plundered during the excavations when the armed guards were bribed to leave the site during night. Some of the stolen pieces were later bought back by the Russian government on the local antiques market (Paul Du Brux, *Rackopi kurgana Kul-Oba*, 1830, p. 167).

▲ **Gold torque with coloured gold incrustations and two Scythian rider protomes. Kul Oba Kurgan, Crimea, Ukraine, *ca*. 350 BC. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.**

of the Royal Scythians broke down after the death of King Agaros around 300 BC, but such a fall would not explain the lack of resistance to the Sarmatians by the remaining Scythian groups. Perhaps the centuries-long relationship with the Greek cities and their material seductions had made the warrior horsemen soft.

In Crimea, King Skiluros (r. *ca*. 135–114/13 BC) initiated aggressive raids against Tauric Chersonesos and the Bosporan cities while entering an alliance with the Sarmatian Roxolani. Chersonesos, located near modern Sevastopol in the south-west of the peninsula, was founded by Doric Greeks in the fifth century BC and was a booming trading centre till the encroachments by the Scythians of Neapolis Scythica. The eastern part of the Bosporan Kingdom was also under threat, as the Sarmatian Siraces had formed a military alliance with the Maeotae.[331] Chersonesos then sought an alliance with the Bosporan Kingdom and its last Spartocid king, Pairisades V (r. *ca*. 140–109 BC), requested finally help from the Pontic king Mithridates VI. Mithridates's general, Diophantos, defeated the king of Lesser Scythia, Palakos (r. 113–*ca*. 111/110), and his allies, the Sarmatian Roxolani, in several battles.[332] The Bosporan Scythian Saumakos (r. 108–107 BC) then killed Pairisades V and seized power in the Bosporan Kingdom, but Diophantos quickly ended his rule.[333] The Pontic protectorate did not return the Bosporan cities to prosperity, however; quite the opposite, as Mithridates's wars against Rome had given rise to crushing taxes. When Mithridates fled Crimea in the face of Pompey in 63 BC the Bosporan cities rose up, and with them Mithridates's son Pharnaces. Mithridates, besieged in Pantikapaion, was driven to suicide. The new king, Pharnaces II (r. 63–47 BC), believed he could take advantage of the Roman civil war between Pompey and Caesar and attack Asia Minor, but Caesar completely defeated him and his Sarmatian cavalry in 47 BC at Zela, a victory recalled in the famous words, 'Veni, vidi, vici'.[334]

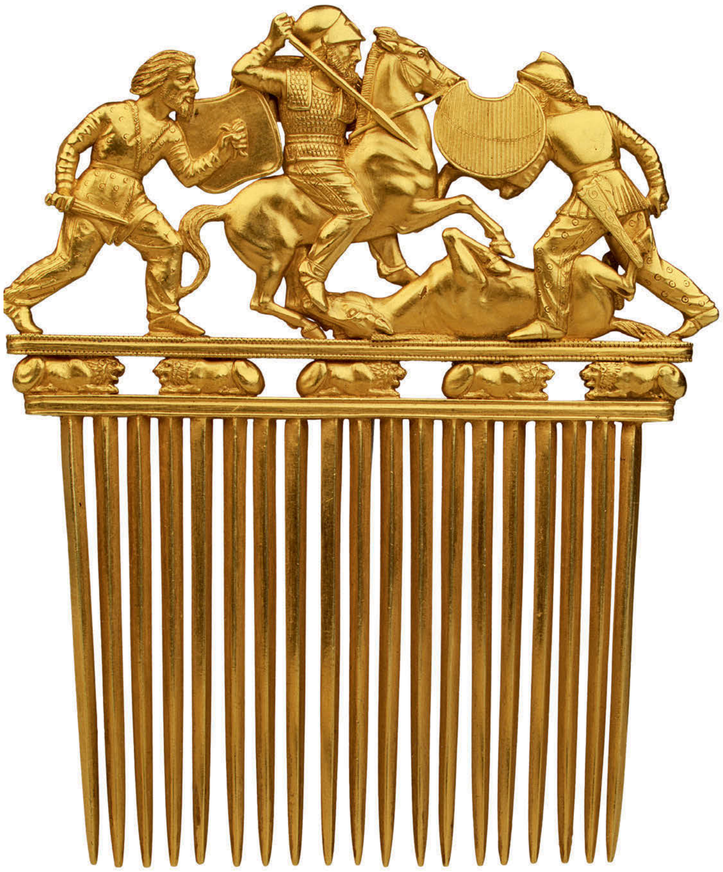
Shortly after the start of the Christian era, King Aspurgos (r. 14–38 AD) founded the Sarmatian dynasty of Bosporan rulers, who remained in power until the mid-fourth century. With this, two erstwhile nomadic riding peoples divided power in Crimea: in the west, called 'Lesser Scythia', the Scythians ruled, and in the east, their arch-enemies, in the form of a Sarmatian dynasty. The stability of the Bosporan Kingdom depended on Rome's military support, however, so it resembled a Roman protectorate. When the newly strengthened Crimean Scythians besieged Chersonesos, Emperor Nero sent Roman troops in 63 AD, who fought off the Scythian attackers. Now Roman garrisons were stationed in Crimea and a Roman fleet patrolled the Black Sea. Thanks to Roman backing, the power struggle between the Bosporans and the Crimean Scythians was decided in favour of the former under their kings Sauromates I (r. 93/4–123/4), Cotys II (r. 123/4–132/33), Sauromates II (r. 173/4–210/1) and Rhescuporis III (r. 210/1–226/7). The end of the Bosporan cities coincided with the start of the 'barbarian migration', when Goths and Alans after 240 and Huns around 375, left the cities, with the exception of Chersonesos, in ruins.[335]



▶ **Marble plaque of the Roman legate of Tanais called Tryphon as a Sarmatian armoured rider with long scale armour, cone-shaped helmet and lance. Tanais on the Don, Rostow region, southern Russia, second half of the second century AD. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.**

◀ **One of the two entrance gates in the western façade of a basilica founded in the sixth century and rebuilt in the tenth/eleventh century AD at Tauric Chersonesos, south-western Crimea.**

strangled and seated on 50 killed and stuffed horses, which were impaled on lances in a circle around the kurgan. They formed a gruesome vigil at the final resting place of the dead king. That the kurgan with all its grave goods represented a symbolic replica of the familiar world of the king can also be seen in the construction of the mound. Unlike Bronze Age mounds it was not made of the material dug out of the grave or earth from nearby but rather out of sod from special, black earth that was sometimes brought from a great distance. The earthen tumulus represented a heavenly pasture for the sacrificed horses and the cattle of the deceased, so that the king symbolically took his grazing lands into the afterlife with him.[336] A Scythian kurgan for kings and warriors represented a ritually planned cosmic world of the dead; the kurgan and the bodyguard protected the dead from the world of the living and, conversely, it from him.



The gold comb of Solocha, lower Dnieper region, southern Ukraine, *ca.* 390 BC. A scene of battle among three Scythian warriors is depicted. The rider is presumably the Scythian king Octamasadas; his opponent, fighting on foot after having been thrown, his philhellenic half-brother and predecessor Scylas; and the warrior following the rider on foot, Octamasadas's loyal half-brother Orikos. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

2.3.3 Chronology of the Scythian kings

Since the Scythians produced no chronicles, a reconstruction of their regime depends on foreign sources and interpretations of archaeological finds. Despite this limitation, three royal dynasties can be determined: the first was based in the Kuban at the time of the campaigns in the Near East; the second ruled over classical Scythia; and the third retreated to Crimea.[337]

I. **The dynasty in Kuban** (*ca.* 700–550 BC). The first Scythian king known by name was **Ishpaka** (Išpakaia), who was defeated by the Assyrian Asarhaddon shortly after 680 BC. Ishpaka's successor **Bartatua** changed sides and established a pro-Assyrian policy, which bore fruit in the Scytho–Assyrian victory over the Medes in 673 BC. Bartatua was succeeded by his son **Madyas**, who may have been a nephew of Assurbanipal on his mother's side. In any case, in 644 BC he defeated the Medes when they besieged the Assyrian capital of Nineveh. This victory gave the Scythians a free hand to demand tribute from various peoples of the Near East. Around 616 BC the Median king Cyaxares II had the Scythian leaders murdered. The veterans returning to their homeland had to establish their dominance in Kuban through armed warfare against the clans that had stayed behind.

II. **The dynasty between the Don and the Dnieper** (*ca.* 550–third century BC). The first Scythian king of the northern Pontic steppe mentioned by Herodotus was **Spargapeithes**, who was succeeded by his son **Lykos**, followed in turn by his own son **Gnuros**.[338] Regarding Gnuros's son and successor, King **Saulius**, Herodotus reported that he killed his brother, who was numbered among the 'seven sages' of Greece, when the latter paid homage to Greek gods after his return from Athens. All these kings ruled before 513/12 BC, when the Scythians were faced with the invasion of the Achaemenid king Darius I. The then Scythian king and commander of the Scythian tribes **Idanthyrsos** and his viceroys **Skopasis** and **Taxakis** succeeded in forcing the attackers into retreat by means of clever guerrilla tactics. A Scythian delegation tried in vain to form a military alliance with the king of Sparta, Cleomenes, against the Achaemenids.[339] When exactly King **Ariantas** ruled and whether he was a king or a viceroy is unknown. In any case, Herodotus refers to his census, for which he ordered that every Scythian had to personally deposit an arrowhead in a particular location.[340] **Ariapeithes** (r. *ca.* 490–460 BC), who concluded a peace treaty with the Thracian king Teres around 480 BC and took a daughter of Teres as his wife, ruled at the start of the fifth century BC. The marriage produced the future Scythian

The reconstructed mausoleum of the Scythian king Skiluros at Neapolis Scythica was originally built *ca.* 120 BC.

king Octamasadas. The Thracians and their culture developed as a blend of two different peoples and cultures, when in the mid-fourth century BC nomadic stockbreeders of Indo–European origin moved from the northern Pontic steppe into the agrarian region on the west coast of the Black Sea. Their descendants created a settled culture of aristocratic warrior horsemen and charioteers.[341]

Ariapeithes had at least two additional wives, the Scythian Opoia, who gave birth to Orikos, and a Greek from the Greek colony of Istria in the Danube delta, whose son was Scylas.[342] Ariapeithes's successor was **Scylas** (r. *ca.* 460–440 BC), who pursued a philhellenic policy and neglected his duties as king of a riding people. He was deposed and replaced by his half-brother **Octamasadas** (r. *ca.* 440–390 BC). When Scylas fled to the Thracian king Sitalces (r. 445–424 BC), whose brother had sought refuge with Octamasadas, the Scythian king marched to Thrace and met Sitalces at the Danube. There Sitalces had the following message delivered to Octamasadas: 'Give me back my brother, and I will do the same with Scylas; then neither of us need risk his army in an engagement.'[343] They exchanged the disliked brothers and Octamasadas promptly beheaded his half-brother. This rapprochement between Scythians and Thracians, as well as the coming to power of the Thracian Spartocids in the Bosporan Kingdom, led to a political stabilisation among these three regional powers and led to a period of economic prosperity.

The epic tragedy of Scylas also appeared in art, as can be seen in a gold comb from an intact side chamber of the kurgan of Solocha on the eastern bank of the Dnieper. The comb was discovered by the archaeologist Vesselovski in 1913.[344] It depicts three warriors fighting: one rider raises his lance against an enemy fighting on foot, whose mortally wounded horse lies on the ground. The warrior on foot wears a Thracian ridge helmet and holds an akinakes in his right hand and a half-moon-shaped shield in his left. The rider wears Scythian trousers, a breastplate and a Corinthian helmet; he is protected by a Scythian back shield. The rider is supported by an unarmoured second combatant on foot with an akinakes and shield. It is conceivable that the middle rider and the fighter following him on foot, who have both lost their bows, represent Octamasadas and Orikos, and the unseated rider the defeated Scylas.[345] In light of the fine grave goods in the side burial in the 19-m-high Solocha kurgan, it is undoubtedly a royal burial, as was the unfortunately plundered central grave chamber.[346] Today it is presumed that in the central chamber the loyal half-brother of Octamasadas, Orikos, who died around 410 BC, found his final resting place, and in the undisturbed side chamber lay Octamasadas, who died around 390 BC and next to whose head lay the golden comb.[347]

The presumed successor of Octamasadas was King **Atheas** (r. *ca*. 390–339 BC).[348] Atheas, whose capital may have been Kamenskoje gorodišče, oriented himself towards the south in a time of increasing pressure from the Sarmatians on the eastern flank of Scythia. It is unclear in this regard whether the Sarmatian threat moved him to expand Scythian holdings on the Danube or whether neglect of the eastern border first enabled the Sarmatian invasion. The king tried to provide modern structures for Scythia, as he minted coins bearing images of Hercules and Artemis on the obverse and himself on horseback on the reverse.[349] Atheas's advance to the south-west forced him into conflict with the powerful king of Macedonia, Philip II (r. 359–336 BC). Although the two kings invaded Thrace together in 346 BC, when Atheas later refused to appoint Philip as his successor as he had promised, Philip attacked the Scythian army stationed south of the Danube in 339 BC. The Macedonian won a surprising victory and the 90-year-old Atheas fell in the battle.[350] Atheas's unnamed successor ('**Anonymous I**') succeeded, however, in completely defeating the Macedonian army led by Zopyrion, Alexander's governor, before Olbia, after which he sent a first delegation to Alexander in Bactria. He died soon thereafter, in 328 BC, and may have had his final resting place in the Oguz kurgan.[351] His brother, another anonymous Scythian ruler ('**Anonymous II**'), apparently ruled only briefly, followed by '**Anonymous III**'[352] or King **Agaros** (d. *ca*. 300 BC). The latter suffered a serious defeat in 313 BC by the Macedonian warlord of Thrace, Lysimachus. Agaros then intervened in the fratricidal Bosporan war of 310/09 BC, when he provided Scythian troops to Satyros in the battle against the latter's younger brother Eumelos. Satyros won the battle but died from a wound.[353]

Stone relief found in 1830 at Neapolis Scythica with the presumed representation of the Scythian kings Skiluros (left) and Palakos (right). The original was lost in the 1890s, and only a gypsum copy remains.

III. **The late Scythian dynasty of Crimea** (*ca*. 170 BC–third century AD). The classical age of Scythia ended with Agaros. Beset in the east by the Sarmatians and in the west by the Thracians and the Galatians, Scythian territory shrank to the western part of Crimea and the Isthmus of Perekop in the north.[354] Those Scythians who were not absorbed by the Sarmatians retreated to Crimea, where they came into conflict with Chersonesos, which had expanded its territory into the north-west of the peninsula toward the end of the fourth century BC.[355] The Crimean Scythians represented a multicultural mixture and they had cities reinforced with strong walls, such as Neapolis Scythica, Chabeion and Palacium, practised farming and raised cattle. The Crimean Scythians no longer sought protection in the wide open steppes, like nomadic horsemen, but rather behind walls, as settled peoples. Their culture was shaped by a consistently increasing Hellenisation. Adaptation to new conditions could also be seen in royal burials. While horses and, in a few cases, servants were sacrificed as before, and stone stelae were put up, the mounding up of earth, which required much space, was now largely given up. The hybrid culture of Scythia Minor represented less the final stage of classic Scythian culture than an amalgamation of Scythian, Thracian and Greek elements.

The first known King of the Late Crimean Scythians was **Argotos**, son of Idanthemidos. He rose to power in the second quarter of the second century BC after having entered a matrimonial alliance with the Bosporan Kingdom by marrying Kamasarye, the widow of King Pairisades III (d. *ca*. 170 BC) and mother of Pairisades IV (r. *ca*. 170–150 BC). Argotos established his residence at Neapolis Scythica in south-western Crimea, close to the modern city of Simferopol. After Argotos, King **Skiluros** (r. *ca*. 135–114/13), who may have been of Sarmatian stock, initiated an aggressive policy. He obliged Olbia to pay tribute, conquered the western Crimean ports of Kerkinitis and Kalos Limen, attacked the hinterland of Chersonesos and forged

Inside the basilica reconstructed in the tenth/eleventh century AD at Tauric Chersonesos. When the city was under threat from the Scythian king Skiluros in 114 BC it sought military assistance from the Bosporan and Pontic Kingdoms.

Gold pectoral, 30.6 cm in diameter, from the kurgan of Tolstaya Mogila, lower Dnieper region, southern Ukraine, around 350 BC. The three sections between the four twisted bands show: in the outer space, scenes of animal combat; in the centre, vegetable ornament; and in the inner space scenes of daily life. Ukrainian Museum of Historical Treasures, Kiev.

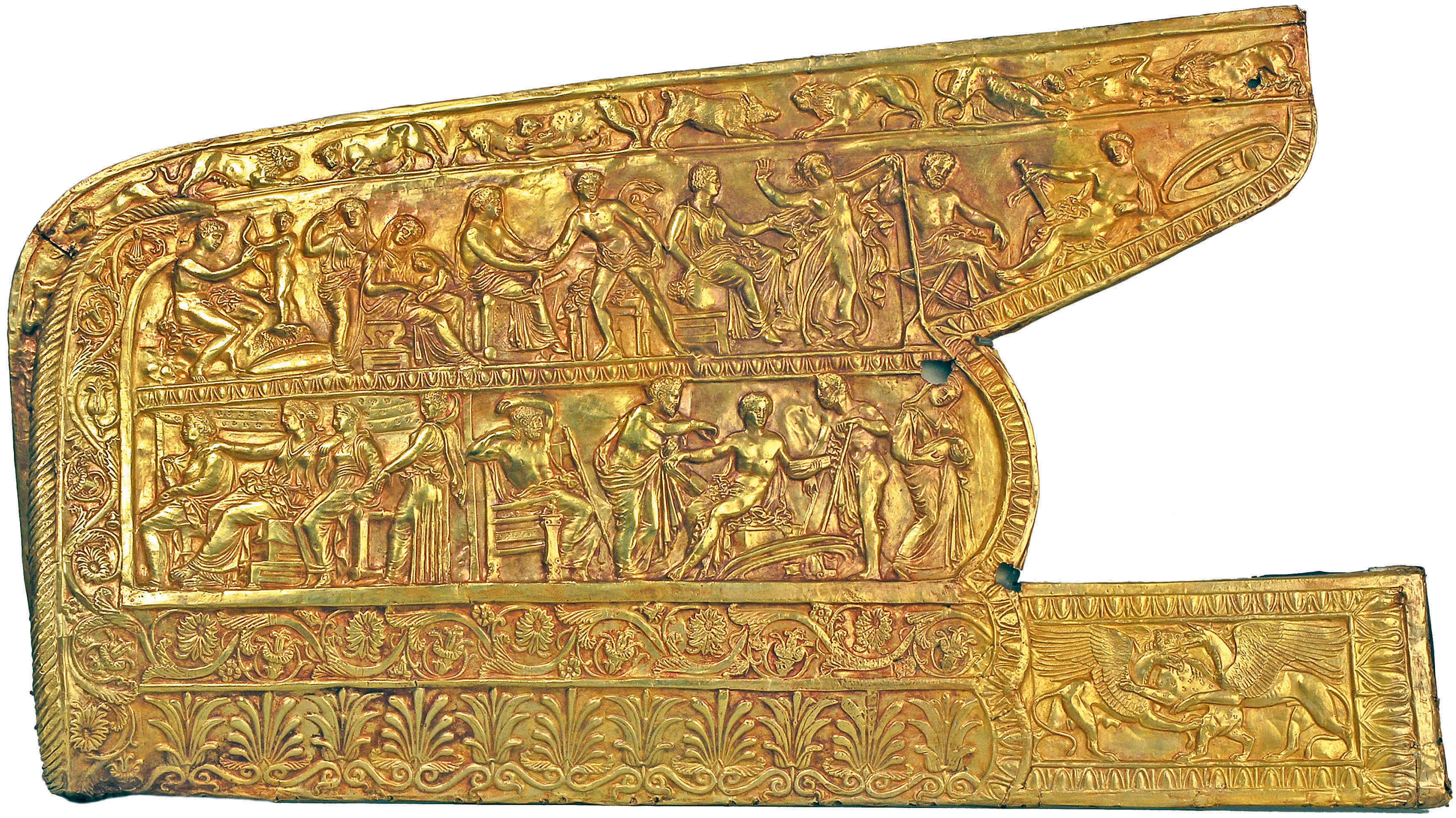
an alliance with the Sarmatian Roxolani against the Bosporan Kingdom. At the same time, Skiluros reconstructed Neapolis Scythica, which had been devastated by fire around 130 BC, probably in the wake of a Sarmatian attack. On the acropolis he built a heroon, a shrine in the shape of a Greek temple, in honour of his predecessor Argotos, a fortified palace and his own mausoleum which was later converted into a tower as part of the fortifications.[356] But both Chersonesos and the Bosporan Kingdom appealed to Mithridates VI of Pontus for help against Skiluros. Mithridates responded by sending an army under his general, Diophantos. Skiluros died before the onslaught in 114/13 and his son and successor **Palakos** (r. 113–111/110) was no match for the Pontic army. As Strabo reports,[357] he and his Roxolani allies suffered several crushing defeats by Diophantos who relieved Chersonesos, conquered Kerkinitis and Kalos Limen and utterly destroyed Neapolis Scythica.

By minting his own coins Skiluros had tried to give his unstable 'empire' more secure structures. It was also Skiluros who came up with the famous metaphor of an unbreakable sheaf of arrows or spears as a symbol of unity. As Plutarch reported, when Skiluros appointed Palakos as his designated successor, he called together his 80 sons or tribal leaders. He first asked them to break 80 arrows bundled together, a test they all failed. After this he effortlessly broke each arrow individually and told them that united, they would be invincible but individually they were easy to defeat.[358] Skiluros and possibly also Palakos were buried in the large mausoleum of Neapolis Scythica, where in 1946 72 other buried persons were found.[359] The final Scythian ruler known by name was **Saumakos**, who briefly took power in the Bosporan Kingdom in 108–107 BC, before Diophantos ousted him. After defeats against the Bosporan king Aspurgos (r. 10/11–37/8 AD), against the Roman legate Silvanus around 63 AD,[360] and against the Sarmatian kings of the Bosporan Kingdom, Lesser Scythia and the settled late Scythian culture vanished from history. It was previously believed that the Goths delivered Neapolis Scythica the final death blow in 255/56, but the archaeologist directing its excavation since 1999, Juri Zaytsev, attributes its final destruction to Alan groups in the year 218.[361]

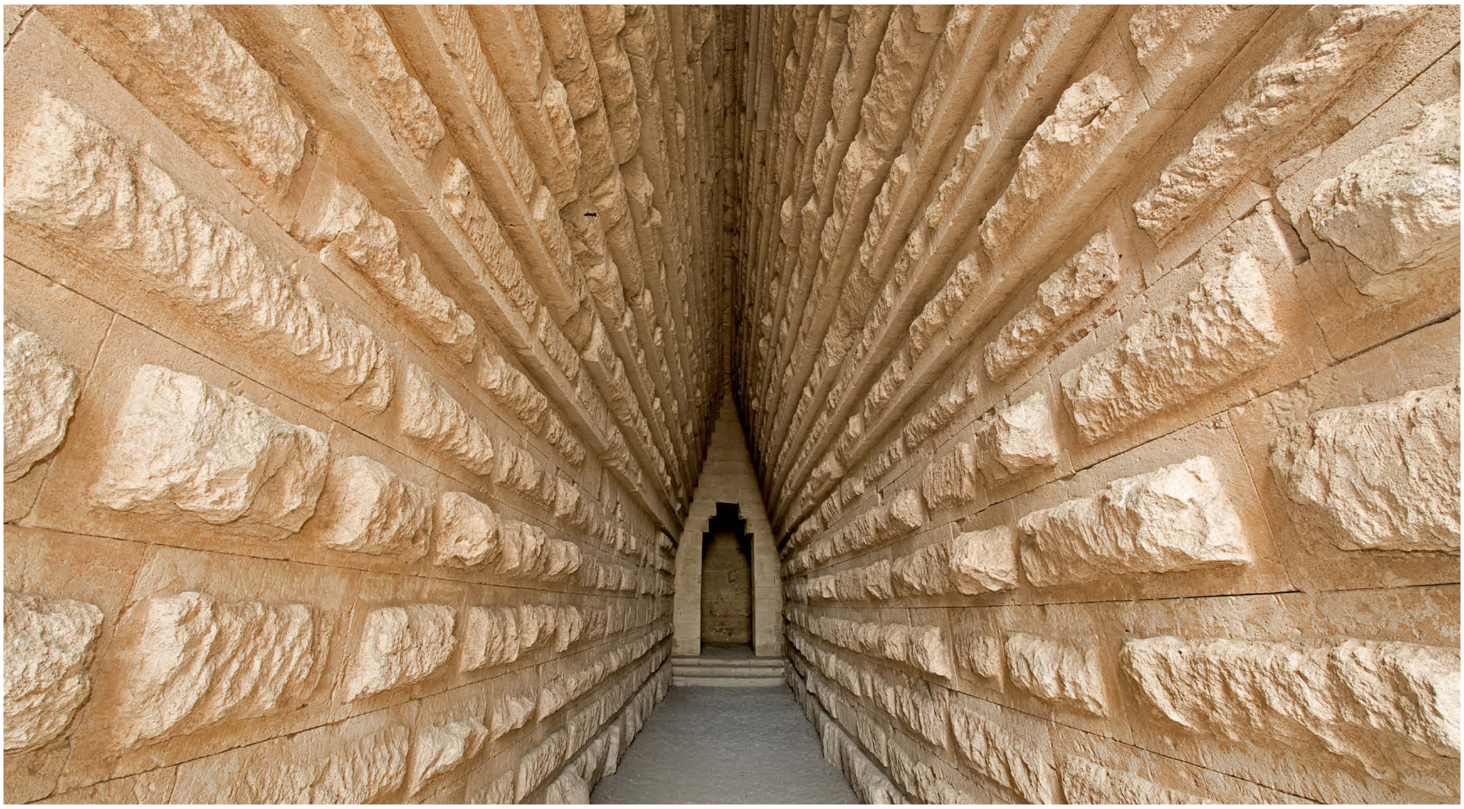
2.3.4 Greek influences on Scythian toreutics and grave architecture

The intensive contact between Scythians, later Sarmatians, and Greeks shaped the art of the nomadic horsemen, especially their goldsmithing. As a result a dazzling kaleidoscope of cultural artefacts developed in the region around the Bosporan Kingdom, which brought together Greek–Ionic, Thracian and Scytho–Sarmatian cultural elements. Under Greek influence Scythian depictions of animals became more naturalistic, not least through their representation in semi-profile; in this way they lost some of the earlier distinctiveness of the animal style with its ability to emphasise significant characteristics of the animal portrayed.

Additionally, the animal figures were supplemented with anthropomorphic motifs, which had been largely absent from the early Scytho–Siberian animal style. The Greco–Scythian depictions of humans showed a markedly authentic and detailed reproduction of facial features, which set them apart from the more idealised and elevated Greek portrayals. In terms of content, griffins and winged horses increasingly appeared in Greco–Scythian toreutics, as did newly domestic animals such as cows and dogs as part of scenes of daily life. An outstanding example of these innovations is the gold pectoral of Tolstaya Mogila. Between the four twisted coils of the pectoral are, in the outer space, scenes of animals fighting; in the middle, vegetable ornamental patterns; and in the inner space, peaceful scenes of daily life, such as milking cows and sheep and making clothes. Among the anthropomorphic images Scythian deities such as Tabiti, Papaios, Hercules or snake women predominate; to these are added elements from Greek mythology like gorgons, sphinxes, maenads, hippocamps and satyrs. Depictions of



Gold gorytos plate from the Melitopol Kurgan, southern Ukraine, second half of the fourth century BC. The gorytos plate is one of four plates made from the same wooden mould. The two centre friezes show episodes from the life of the Greek hero Achilles; they begin to the left in the upper frieze: The young Achilles is taught how to shoot with a bow; Achilles, dressed as a woman among the daughters of Lykomedes, is exposed by Odysseus as he grabs a sword at the sound of the trumpet; Deidameia, daughter of Lykomedes, in tears; Achilles and Lykomedes. Lower frieze: Deidameia's mother and sisters bid farewell to Achilles; Achilles with Odysseus, Diomedes and Agamemnon at Troy; Achilles's mother Thetis with the urn of her son, who fell at Troy. Ukrainian Museum of Historical Treasures, Kiev.



The 37 m long, 2.8 m wide and 7.14 m high dromos made from worked limestone plates leading to the central vault of Zarskij Kurgan near Kerch, eastern Crimea, first half of the fourth century BC.

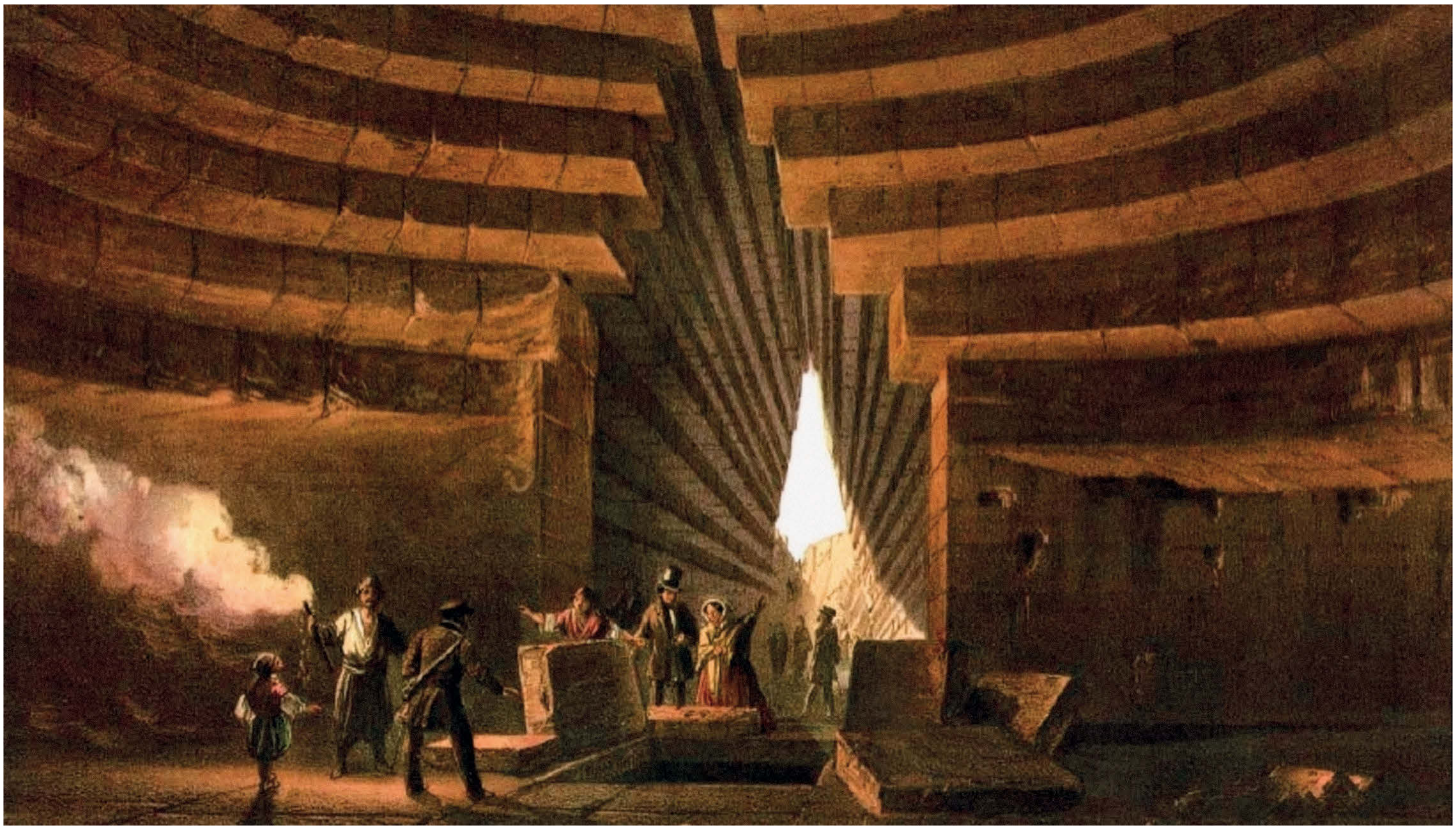


Illustration of the vault of the Zarskij Kurgan near Kerch looking outwards to the dromos; painted by Carlo Bossoli (1815–1884). Paul Du Brux, *Oeuvres* (2010) Vol. II, p. 289.

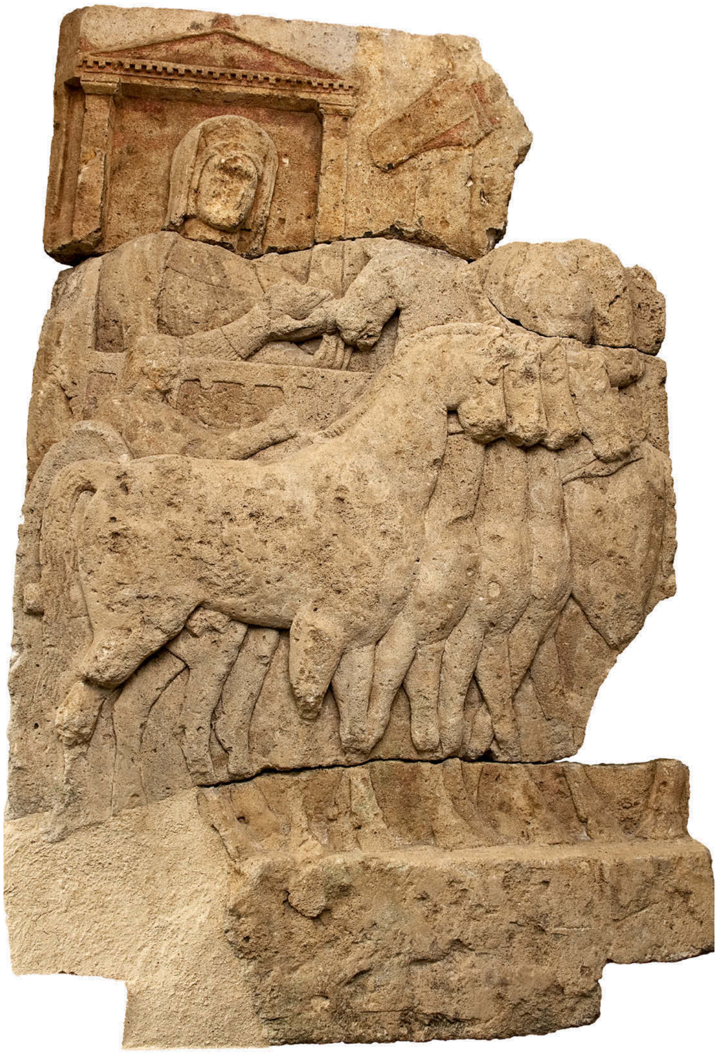
warriors were also very popular, whether in battle or in peaceful situations such as fraternising, conversing, tending to a wounded comrade or receiving dental treatment, as can be seen in the gold vase of Kul Oba.[362] The Scythians also occasionally adopted the common Greek depiction of naked or barely clothed warriors, as can be seen on the gold scabbard of Čertomlyk and the gold gorytos cover plates with scenes presumed to be from the life of Achilles, in particular his discovery by Odysseus on the island of Skyros.[363]

Both plates are striking not only because of the vitality of the depictions but also because of the fact they were made with identical moulds. The scabbard with a battle scene between Greeks and 'barbarians', perhaps Persians, was discovered in three versions, the gorytos cover plate in four, namely, in the royal kurgans of Ilintsy (south-west of Kiev), Čertomlyk (north-west of Kamenskoje gorodišče), Melitopol (south-west of Kamenskoje gorodišče) and in the eighth kurgan of Piat' Brat'ev ('Five Brothers,' near Rostow on the Don). These all date from 350–300 BC and were found far apart from one another. These four gorytoses were crafted in the same, presumably Greek, goldsmith shop, according to Scythian taste. A similar gorytos cover plate made of gold was found in the purported grave of Philip II of Macedonia near Vergina in northern Greece, and it is identical to the silver gorytos of Karagodeuashkh in the Kuban, preserved in fragmentary form.[364]

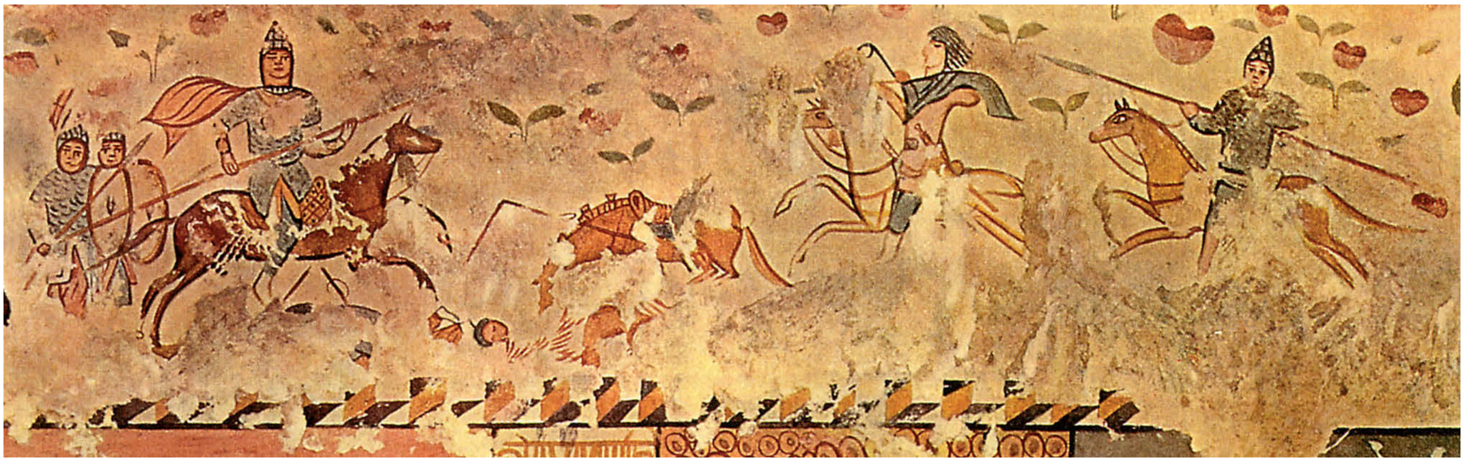
The question of why five different Scythian chiefs had virtually identical objects with a motif from Greek mythology placed in their graves remains unanswered. Were they diplomatic gifts of Bosporan kings or the ruler of Olbia to their powerful neighbours? Or did Scythian leaders identify with Achilles, whose final resting place was said to be on the island of Leuce near Olbia? As Arrian reported in his *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, a temple dedicated to Achilles stood on Leuce, so Olbia served as the last homeland of the greatest Greek hero.[365] In both cases the legend of the war hero Achilles was a shared link between Greeks and Scythians. Given that identical objects have been found in geographically distant but temporally comparable Scythian burials, the hypothesis of A. Shcheglov and V. Katz that the sheaths represent diplomatic gifts to various Scythian tribal chieftains seems plausible.[366]

Scythian grave architecture in Crimea also adopted Hellenistic influences, as had already been revealed in the Oguz kurgan on the Dnieper. At the kurgans from the fourth to third centuries BC within the chora of Pantikapaion a dromos made from smoothed limestone plates layered over one another led to a central crypt with a corbelled vault. Here the dead rested in a huge sarcophagus built of stone. Despite these innovations, the traditional grave goods of weapons and sacrificed horses were not abandoned and the earthen tumuli remained huge. The Zarskij Kurgan for example was 17 m high and had a diameter of 80 m. In a few graves of Neapolis Scythica the Scythians even adopted the Hellenistic and Thracian custom of decorating the walls with paintings. In the paintings, which have been poorly preserved if at all, hunting and sacrifice scenes predominate, as well as solemn depictions of mourners.[367]

A unique piece of Scytho–Greek cultural amalgamation was discovered in 1965 in the largest of the Kurgani Trëkh Bratev, the 'Three-Brothers-Kurgans', located west of Nymphaion which had been conquered by the Bosporan Kingdom in the late fifth century BC. In tomb 1 of kurgan 1 dating from *ca.* 300 BC a noble Scythian woman was buried, together with a sacrificed juvenile servant and a horse. Within the burial chamber made from limestone plates

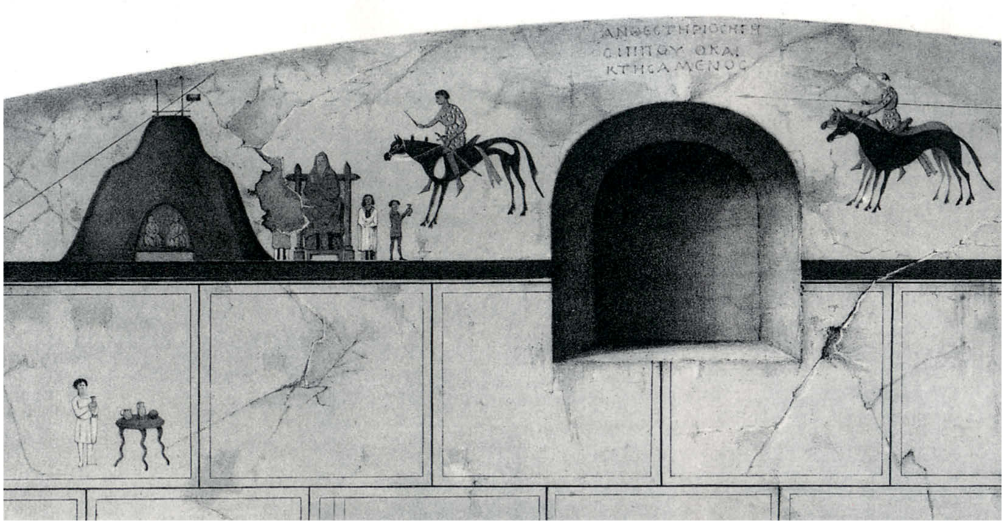


Stone stele from the 'Three-Brothers-Kurgan' in eastern Crimea, *ca.* 300 BC. The stele, 286 cm high, 165 cm wide and weighing 1.4 tons, was erected in honour of a noble Scythian woman and shows the presumed consecration of a dead warrior as hero by a female deity, possibly Demeter. Lapidarium, Kerch.



Sarmatian armoured rider with a long lance held with two hands, called a kontos, and two armoured warriors on foot (left) in combat against a likewise armoured and an unarmoured rider (right); in the centre a fallen attacker lies on the ground. Mural on the southern side of the grave chamber of the 'Kurgan of 1872', Kerch, Crimea, Ukraine, first century AD. Watercolour by M.V. Farmakovskij from 1909.

Mural on the eastern wall of the grave chamber of Anthesterios, Kerch, Crimea, Ukraine, first century AD. The murals, discovered on private property in 1877 and then sketched, were intentionally destroyed by the owner of the property and the vault of the grave chamber was deliberately brought to collapse. An armoured rider is portrayed approaching a tent with a long lance leaning against it. At the left a gorytos hangs from a tree branch. Two figures sit in the tent and a woman is enthroned beside it while two children bid the rider welcome. Further to the right a second armoured rider holds a lance and a spare horse. The scene may symbolise the return home of a fallen warrior. Tinted drawing by F.I. Groß from 1877. Archive of the Museum of Kerch.



she rested on a stone bed, a *klinai*. She wore a kalathos, the typical high headgear of Scytho–Sarmatian aristocratic women, and was adorned with rich golden jewellery. She was given offerings of meat and a Pantikapaian coin as obolos for Charon. To the east of the vault, on the lower slope of the tumulus about 2 m above the antique ground level, stood a stone altar and a huge limestone stele. The stele is 286 cm high (including the plug), 165 cm wide and weighs 1.4 tons.[368] It depicts a woman wearing a short kalathos and standing on a quadriga under a funeral *naiskos*, a Greek votive shrine ending in a triangular pediment with an eagle spreading its wings in the centre. Parts of the naiskos show remains of red and yellow painting. A groom leads the four horses drawing the quadriga. From the right side a mounted warrior approaches and the woman hands him a vessel, now lost. Behind the rider stands a column with goryt suspended from it. This is a symbol of the transition from this world to the nether world. The scene is reminiscent of similar representations on small gold plaques and, especially, on the famous felt carpet from Pazyryk. It may represent a chthonic deity such as Demeter welcoming a deceased chief into the afterlife and consecrating him as hero. One may surmise that the buried noblewoman was a priestess and that the wooden wagon that was usually part of an aristocratic female Scythian burial in the Pontic area, but absent here, was represented by the quadriga.

Conversely, cultural elements from the nomadic riders also entered Bosporan art, especially during the time of the Sarmatians. In several graves of Hellenistic design on both sides of the Cimmerian Bosporus from the era around the birth of Christ not only are there grave goods from the world of the Scythians such as sacrificed horses and dogs, harnesses, light wagons and weapons but murals painted in a late Hellenistic style showing, beside classical

Greek scenes such as the abduction of Persephone by Hades, many motifs from the worlds of the nomadic horsemen. Among these are duels of Sarmatian mounted warriors armed with long lances, combat between cavalry units, and mounted archers. They also depict the return of dead armoured riders to their tent, with a lance leaning against its top and a gorytos with a bow hanging from a nearby branch.[369]

Scythian cultural influences spread further to the west in the seventh to the fourth centuries BC, whether though contact in the region on the lower Danube inhabited by Thracians or through immigration into the Danube–Tisza region in what is now Hungary. Here the elements of the Scythian triad – horse harnesses, weapons and animal-style objects – are found in many kurgans of the elite of the warrior horsemen. In view of the nearby rich sources of gold, it may be presumed that local goldsmiths produced the gold objects following examples of steppe art. With the invasion of the Celts this distant offshoot of the steppe art of the nomadic riders disappeared.[370]

2.4 Sarmatians, Alans and Amazons

> The Sarmatians do not live in cities; they do not even have fixed residences. They are a warlike tribe, free, unconquered and so cruel and barbaric that even the women take part in war just as the men.
>
> **Pomponius Mela**, first century AD[371]

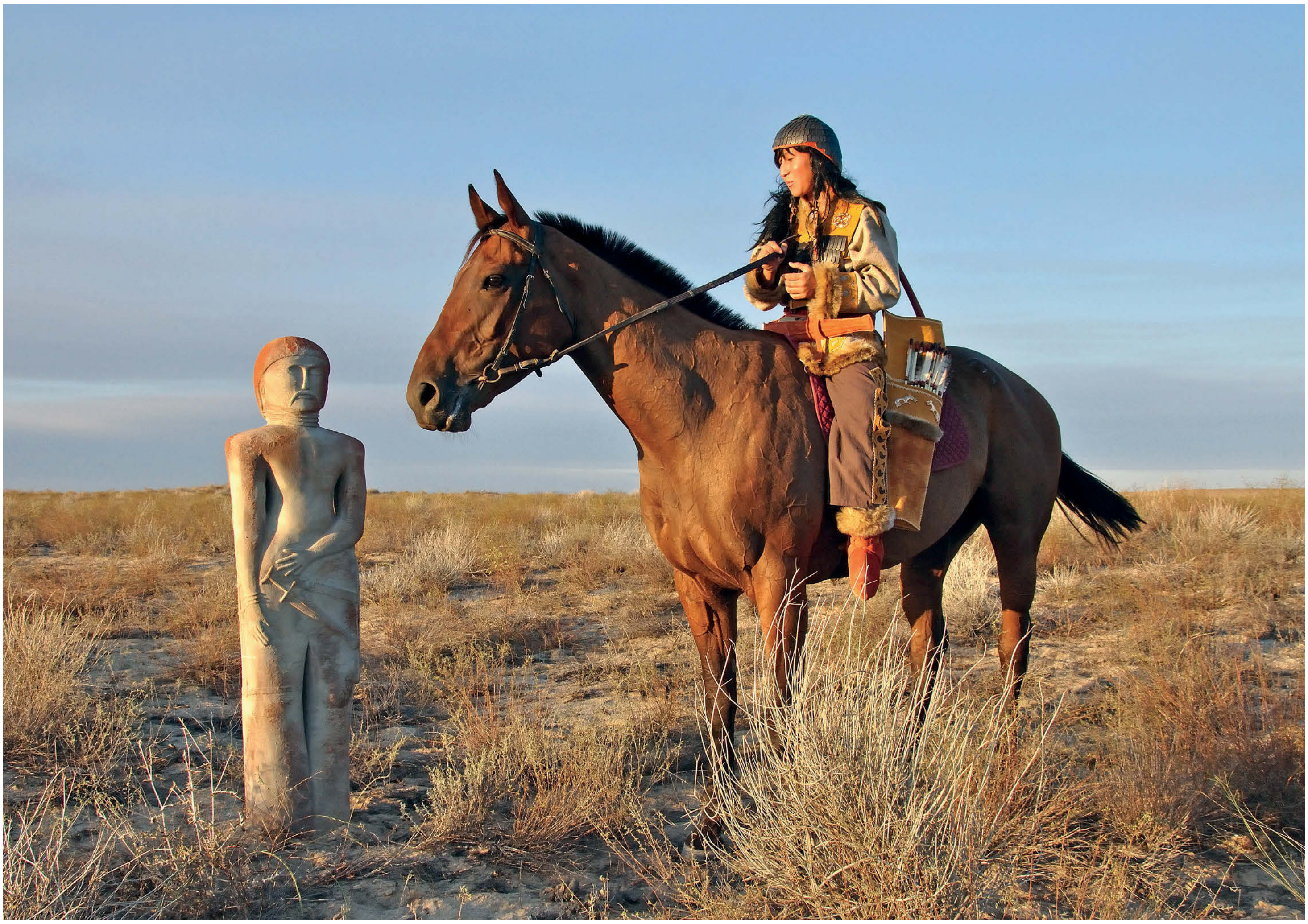
The presumable forerunners of the largely Indo-European Sarmatians, who were not a unified ethnic group or even a federation but rather a loose group of Iranian-speaking tribes, were the Sauromatians referred to by Herodotus, who lived east of the Don; that is, east of Scythia. At the time of the Persian invasion of Darius I they were allies of the Scythians and placed themselves under the command of the Scythian viceroy Skopasis.[372] In the seventh–fourth centuries BC the Sauromatians and early Saka who lived between the Don and the Ustyurt Plateau of western

Chalk formation called 'Tchink' at twilight, near Bozzhira on the Ustyurt Plateau, Mangyshlak Peninsula, western Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan formed the hinge between the Siberian Scythians and Saka on one side and the northern Pontic Scythians on the other. The militaristic character of the Sauromatians and their relation to the Scythians can be seen in the origin myth recounted by Herodotus. According to this myth, Greeks in Asia Minor defeated Amazons at the Thermodon River, 50 km east of the modern city of Samsun, taking many of them prisoner and carrying them off in ships. The Amazons broke free, however, and threw the Greeks into the sea, after which they landed on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov. There they stole horses and plundered the area. When the Scythians noticed that the armed invaders were women, they sent young men to seduce them. They joined together and occupied the steppe east of the Don. The women maintained their warrior lifestyle, however, and their masculine garb, and the Sauromatians emerged from their union with the Scythians.[373]

2.4.1 Sauromatians and early Sarmatians between the Volga and the Ustyurt Plateau

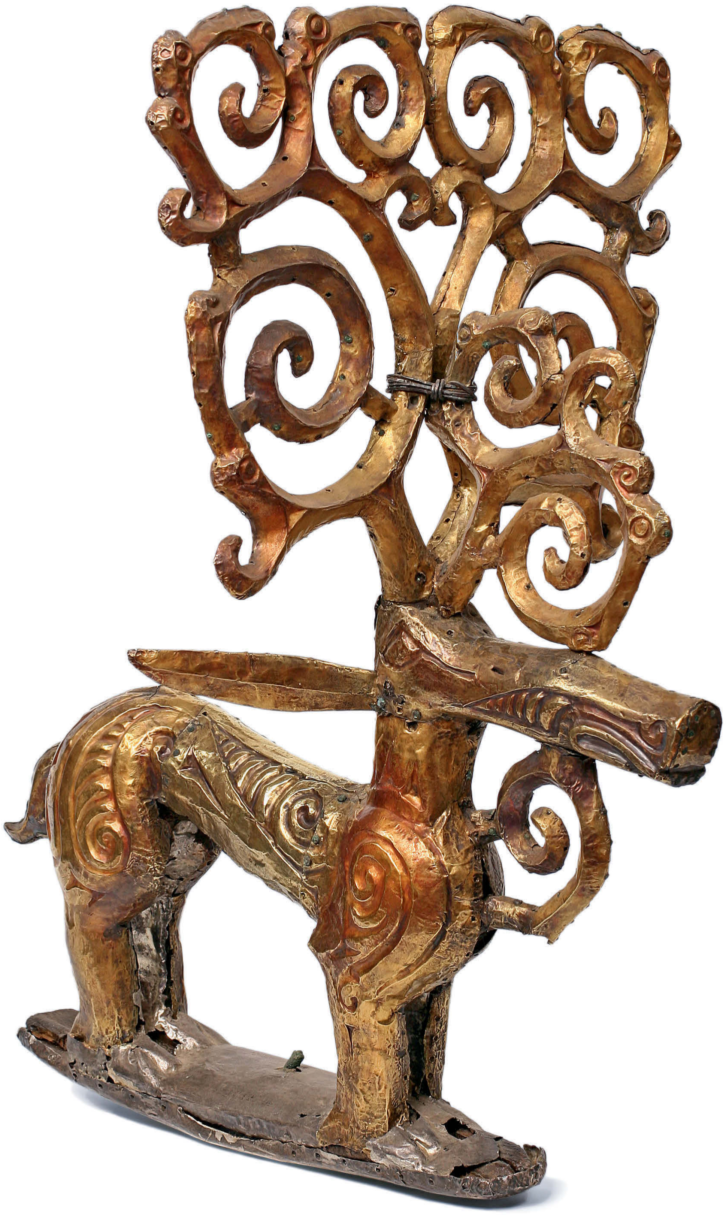
Like the Scythians, the Sauromatians and early Sarmatians had no written language, so we are dependent on Greek and Roman sources, as well as archaeological evidence. The group of early Sarmatians furthest to the east lived nomadically on the Mangyshlak Peninsula and the adjacent Ustyurt Plateau, where the landscape 2,500 years ago was less barren than today. At the time one of the trade routes that linked the Don and the Volga with Choresmia and Bactria ran through the corridor between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea. Presumably these early Sarmatians were related to Herodotus's Massagetae and the tribal federation of the Dahae. In the mid-third century BC the Parni, a member of the federation of the Dahae, moved south under the leadership of Arsaces and conquered Parthia, where they founded the dynasty of the Arsacids and later began the conquest of Iran.



Sarmatian stone statue with girded akinakes and a rider wearing a reproduction of Sarmatian equipment. Baite, Mangyshlak Peninsula, western Kazakhstan, fourth–third centuries BC.

The most visible traces of the early Sarmatians are over 100 large masculine stone statues. Some of these are life size, while others are up to 4 m tall. The stone figures stand in the steppe near a dozen circular stone shrines, either alone, paired or in groups of up to 32 statues. Presumably they represent honourable deceased people, who were venerated as ancestors and to whom sacrifices were brought. Two groups of statues may be distinguished. In the older type the figure is quite flat, the head is tilted slightly to the side and the bent arms frame the upper body; an akinakes hangs from the belt. The Kazakh archaeologists Samashev and Astafjev associate these stone warriors, which sometimes stood beside an altar of sacrifice within a kurgan-shaped stone shrine with a domed roof, as at Tubezik 2, with the Massagetae of the fifth–fourth centuries BC.[374] The stone men of the second type from the Sarmatian period, such as at Teren, Konaj, Kyzylujik and Baite, come from the fourth–third centuries BC and are strongly reminiscent of Scythian stone statues. They wear flat caps and have moustaches, and from their belts hang an akinakes in front, a double-edged, straight long sword on the right and a gorytos with a bow on the left.[375] A few of the stone statues are decorated with typical Sarmatian *tamgha*, the tribal sign or seal used by stockbreeders to brand cattle or lay claim to a pasture, spring or shrine.

The princely necropolis of Filippovka at the confluence of the Ilek and Ural rivers, about 150 km south-west of Orenburg, comes from the transition period between the Sauromatian and early Sarmatian cultural phases at the turn from the fifth to the fourth century BC.[376] Perhaps the representatives of the culture of Filippovka were also related to the mysterious Issedones of Herodotus.[377] The arrangements of the kurgans in the landscape was not coincidental; if one connects the 18 kurgans in the centre with a line, it forms the outline of a strung bow with an arrow aimed to the north. The largest kurgan 1 forms the notch at the end of the arrow and kurgan 17 its head.[378] The kurgans were family crypts, which were reopened as needed. Despite earlier grave robbing, archaeologists found spectacular gold objects in kurgan 1, including 26 deer-like hybrid creatures. The creatures, up to 52 cm tall, were made of sheets of gold covering a wooden core.[379] They consist of the body of a deer or a big cat and the head of a teeth-baring wolf and have large antlers with volute-like points that sometimes culminate in birds' heads. Spiral patterns form the transition from the body to the fore- and hind legs. In this way these fantastical, majestic hybrids unite the three most important animals of the Scythian Altai; namely, the deer, the predatory cat and the bird of prey, and they must have had a special symbolic significance. Even though these creatures recall similar hybrids from Pazyryk and Berel, they exude a uniqueness.



Deer-like hybrid animal with the body of a carnivore and a huge wolf's snout. Gold leaf applied over a wooden core. Filippovka, kurgan 1, eastern bank of the Ural River, central Russia, early fourth century BC. Archaeological Museum Ufa.

In burial 2 of kurgan 4 a fully armed warrior was found displaying the equipment of a heavily armed Early Sarmatian horseman. He wore iron scale armour and an iron helmet with nose and cheek protections. His offensive weapons consisted of a composite bow and a quiver filled with more than 200 arrows, an iron akinakes with a golden, butterfly-shaped crosspiece and a gilded handle decorated in the Animal Style featuring hunting and sacrifice scenes, an iron battleaxe and a 3.2 m long spear with a massive iron head.[380]

Gold leaf applied over a wooden core of a wild sheep. Filippovka, kurgan 1, eastern bank of the Ural River, central Russia, early fourth century BC. Archaeological Museum Ufa.

2.4.2 Sarmatians and Alans on the Black Sea and in the Roman Empire

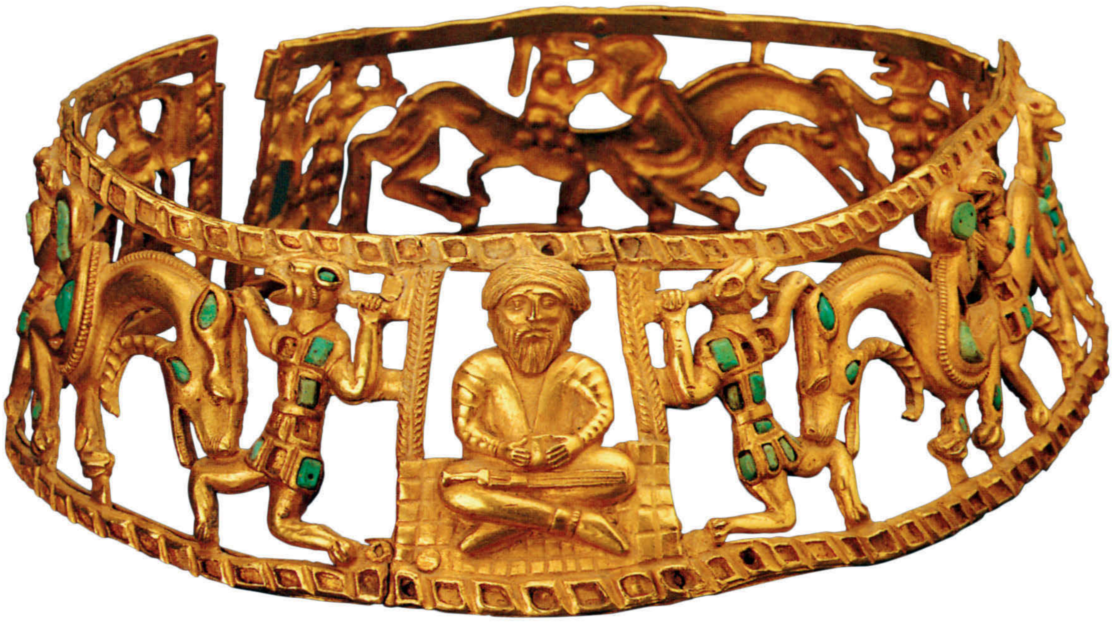
The fourth century BC saw the final wave of migration of Iranian-speaking Indo–European tribes from the east to the west. The migration lasted half a millennium and carried a few of them as far as England and North Africa. The collective term 'Sarmatian' does not characterise a specific ethnicity but rather numerous tribes of nomadic horsemen who spoke the same language and had comparable lifestyles, weapons and handicrafts, which differentiated them from the Scythians. The triggers for this migration, which expanded the territory of the originally Central Asian nomadic riders as far as the Atlantic, were many. Among the 'push factors' were the Central Asian expedition of Alexander, the spread of the Xiongnu mounted warriors to the west, a drying of the climate of the northern Caspian region and perhaps demographic pressure. The most important 'pull factor' was the power vacuum among the Pontic Scythians following the death of King Agaros. This westward movement became discernable when Sarmatian tribes of the Prokhorovo Culture west of the Urals crossed the Don and infiltrated the regions of the Kuban and the northern Pontic steppe.[381] In the Kuban the Sarmatians coexisted with the native Maeotae; in the northern Pontic region they assimilated the majority of the Scythian tribes that did not flee to Crimea.

Over the course of the centuries scanty Greek, Bosporan and Roman sources recorded some two dozen names of Sarmatian tribes. A snapshot from the mid-second century BC reveals the following picture:[382] The Siraces occupied the Kuban from the fourth century BC until about 200 AD.[383] North of the Siraces, between the Don and the middle Ural, lived the Aorsi, who, according to Strabo, could mobilise more than 200,000 mounted warriors. Around the time of the birth of Christ they were partially assimilated by the Alans, who were related to them and were advancing out of the Syr Darya region. West of the Aorsi, between the Don and the Dnieper, lived the Roxolani, whose name means 'bright Aryans' or 'bright Alans', and north-west of them, on the right bank of the middle Dnieper, the Urgi. The Saii and the 'Royal Sarmatians', who may have had a level of sovereignty over all Sarmatian tribes west of the Dnieper, settled south of the Urgi.

The Iazyges lived south-west of the Royal Sarmatians, in the delta of the Bug, and thus on the border of Lesser Scythia. In the first century BC the Iazyges began advancing towards the south-west and reached the Hungarian plain between the Tisza and the Danube in the mid-first century AD.

The Kuban region was populated by a mixture of people consisting of Greek immigrants, Sarmatian Siraces and the various native tribes of Maeotae, who were mostly settled and practised farming. A few of the Maeotae tribes, such as the Ixomates, were notorious for their bellicosity.[384] The story told by the Greek rhetorician Polyainos (second century AD) about Queen Tirgatao

The grave, discovered in 1987, of a princess of the Sarmatian Aorsi killed by an arrow. Kobiakovo near Rostov, southern Russia, end of the first/beginning of the second century AD.

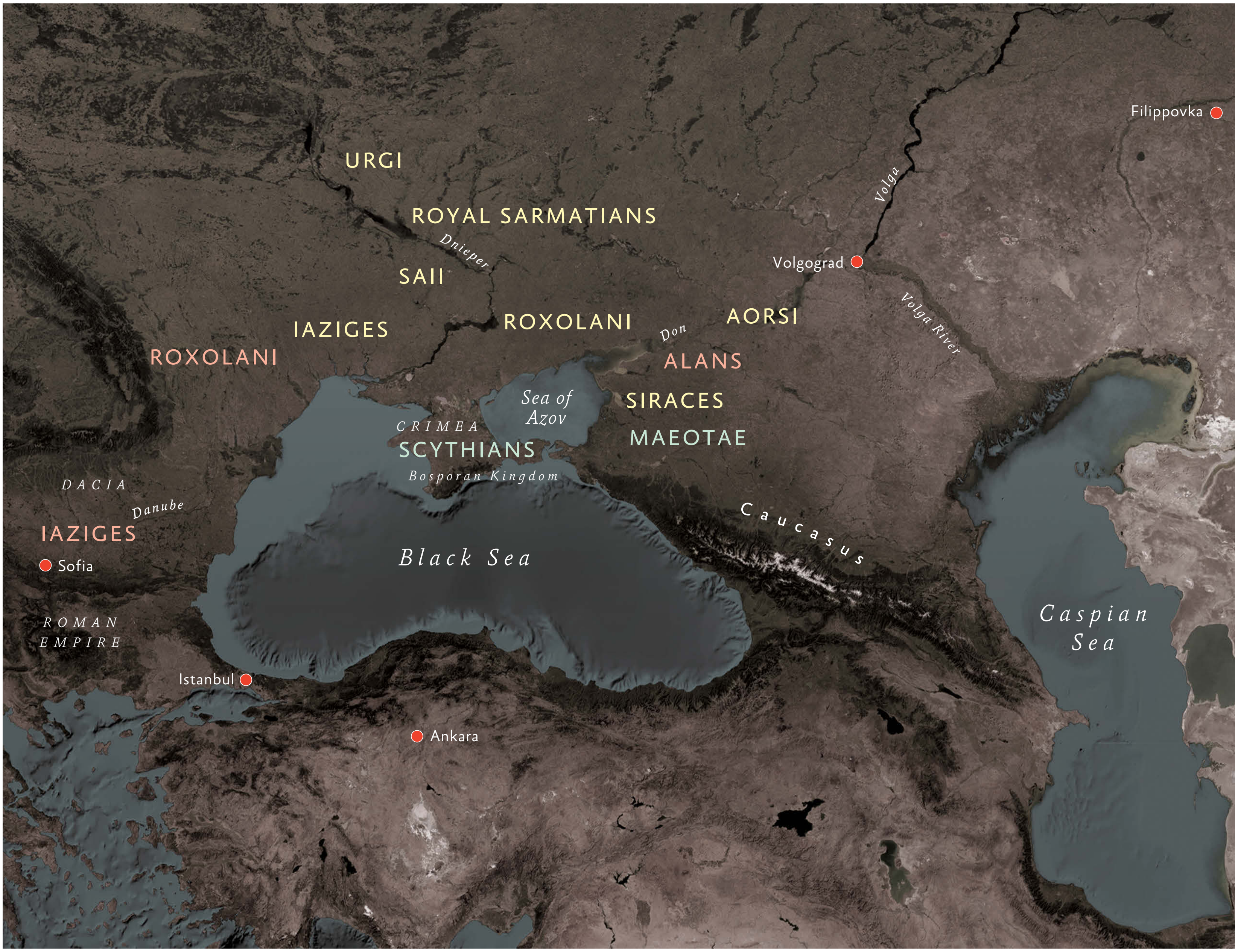


Gold torque of the princess of Kobiakovo near Rostov, southern Russia, end of the first/beginning of the second century AD. In the centre of the piece of jewellery, made in the polychrome animal style of the Sarmatians, a bearded man sits on a carpet with a chequerboard pattern; a sword rests on his thighs. On each side three anthropomorphic figures with monkey heads wrestle playfully with a winged dragon, which could indicate a Chinese influence. Regional museum of Rostov.

exemplifies their abilities in battle. After the Bosporan king Satyros I (r. 393/92–389/88 BC) had enabled the deposed king of the Sindi, another tribe of the Maeotae, called Hekataios, to return to the throne, he gave him one of his daughters as a wife. Satyros then ordered Hekataios to kill his first wife, Tirgatao. Tirgatao fled to her tribe, the Ixomates, and roused them to war. The Ixomates laid waste to the land of the Sindi and sacked the Bosporan city of Georgippia. Only when Satyros and Hekataios paid an enormous tribute did Tirgatao agree to make peace.[385]

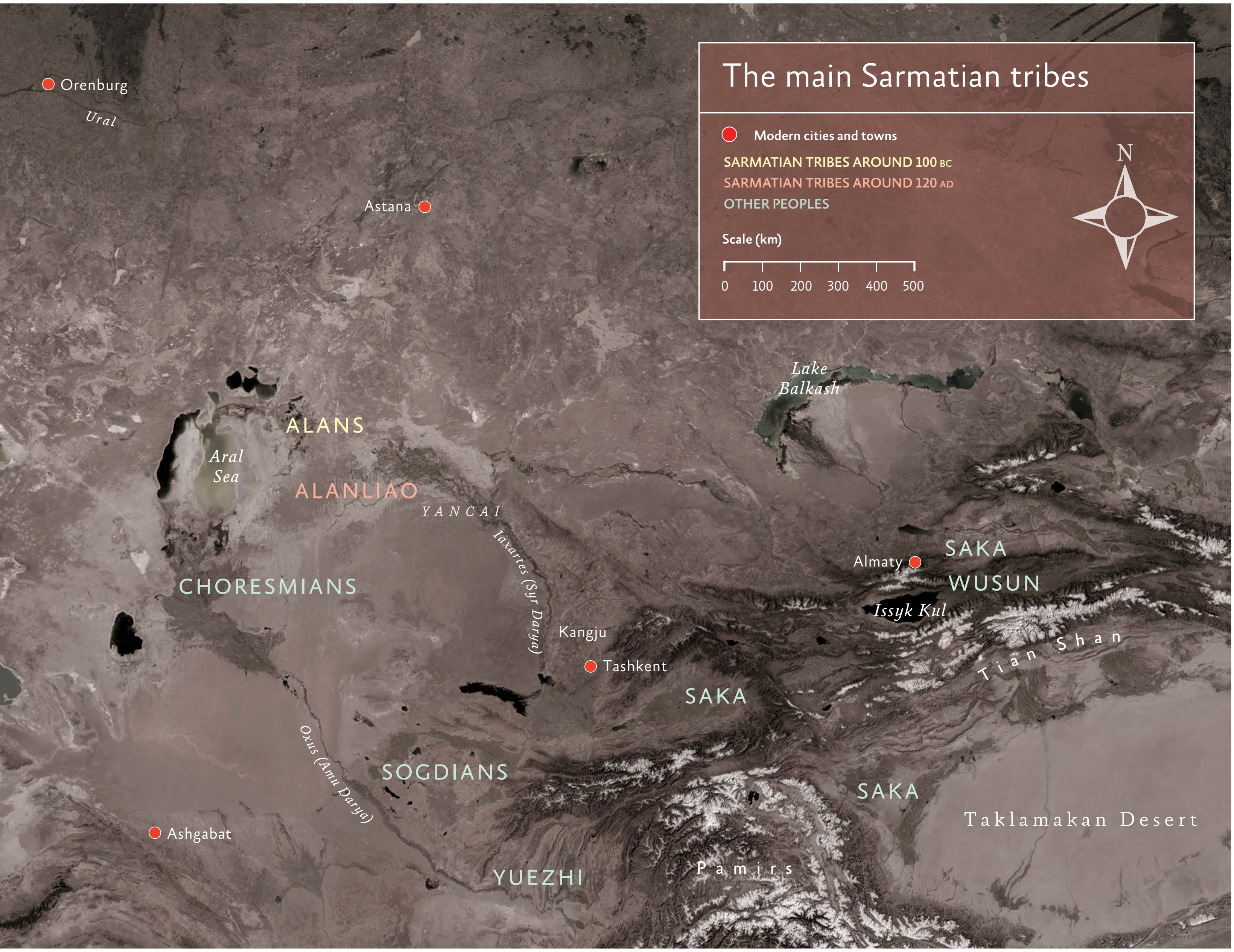
Siraces: The Siraces interfered with the politics of the Bosporan Kingdom several times, first in 310/09 in the above-mentioned fratricidal war between the legitimate crown prince Satyros and the rebel Eumelos. Although Eumelos, who had the support of the king of the Siraces, lost the battle against his older brother and his Scythian allies, Satyros died soon thereafter and Eumelos assumed the throne.[386] This war showed that the Bosporan Kingdom threatened to devolve into a pawn of Scythian and Sarmatian interests. The Siraces were the most Hellenised of the Sarmatian tribes; many of them were settled and carried out intensive trade with the Bosporan cities and, via the Armenians, with Mesopotamia and India. In the later wars the Siraces were often on the losing side, first in 47 BC at the battle of Zela, where their king Abeakos and his ally King Spadinos of the Aorsi fell to Caesar. Around the time of the birth of Christ the Siraces had to move southward hard pressed by the more numerous Aorsi, so they fought another intra-Bosporan war against their northern neighbours in 40 AD. In the brutal war they supported the Bosporan Mithridates VIII, who opposed Rome, against the alliance with Rome and the king of the Aorsi Eunones formed by the challenger Cotys I. In 45 AD the army of Rome and the Aorsi won an overwhelming victory and the Siraces quickly became insignificant.[387]

Aorsi: The victory of Rome and the Aorsi in 45 AD secured the supremacy of the Aorsi. They lived in the broad delta of the Don and the northern forest steppe, where in the early third century BC they had driven out the Scythians and destroyed their fortified settlements.[388] The Aorsi were the largest Sarmatian tribe and constituted their own federation. Archaeological discoveries suggest that the Iranian-speaking Aorsi advanced in more than one wave from the territory of the Massagetae, between the Caspian Sea and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, to the Don and thus spread their Central Asian culture, which included Chinese elements in the decoration of weapons, to Northern Europe. During the early seizures of land the Aorsi often buried their deceased leaders in existing Scythian kurgans,[389] but beginning in the mid-first century AD they built their own earthen tumuli over individual graves. The dead were placed diagonally in square grave chambers, whose corners were oriented to the four cardinal directions, with their heads pointing south. The Sarmatians, like the Scythians, worshipped the sword. Despite their clearly militaristic character, however, the Sarmations rejected human sacrifices at burials, and largely abandoned animal sacrifices as well.[390]


Filippovka
URGI
Volga
ROYAL SARMATIANS
Dnieper
Volgograd
SAII
Volga River
ROXOLANI
AORSI
IAZIGES
Don
ROXOLANI
ALANS
Sea of Azov
SIRACES
CRIMEA
MAEOTAE
SCYTHIANS
Bosporan Kingdom
DACIA
Danube
Caucasus
IAZIGES
Black Sea
Sofia
Caspian Sea
ROMAN EMPIRE
Istanbul
Ankara

Among the most famous of the kurgans of the later Aorsi are those of Datchi south of Azov, Kobiakovo near Rostow and Khokhlach north of Azov, all of which were erected from the end of the first to the start of the second centuries AD. Aristocratic women were buried in the latter two. In Kobiakovo the grave is that of a princess killed by an arrow, and a Chinese mirror was placed within it.[391] The grave in Khokhlach is that of a noblewoman who may have had a religious role.[392] These and other elaborate burials of women of the Aorsi underscore the high status of women in Sarmatian society.

As Rostovtzeff was the first to point out in the 1920s, the polychrome animal style of the Sarmatians, particularly that of the Aorsi and the Alans, should be distinguished from the classical animal style of the Scythians.[393] The polychrome gold work continued the technique, begun with the gold figurines of Čilikty and further developed with the appliqués of Pazyryk, of emphasising certain body parts such as eyes, ears, hooves, paws, shoulders and pelvic muscles with colourful inlays of garnet, carnelian, coral, turquoise and coloured glass. Added to these were hump-shaped depictions of animals as additional decorative elements, of which the dagger sheath from Datchi 1 is a fine example, as is the decoration of the knob of long cavalry swords with jade inlays. Other swords had a disc-shaped knob made of quartz or chalcedony. These innovative knob decorations were


The main Sarmatian tribes
● Modern cities and towns
SARMATIAN TRIBES AROUND 100 BC
SARMATIAN TRIBES AROUND 120 AD
OTHER PEOPLES
Scale (km)
0 100 200 300 400 500
N
Orenburg
Ural
Astana
Lake Balkash
ALANS
Aral Sea
ALANLIAO
YANCAI
Iaxartes (Syr Darya)
CHORESMIANS
Almaty
SAKA
WUSUN
Issyk Kul
Kangju
Tashkent
SAKA
Tian Shan
Oxus (Amu Darya)
SOGDIANS
SAKA
Taklamakan Desert
Ashgabat
YUEZHI
Pamirs

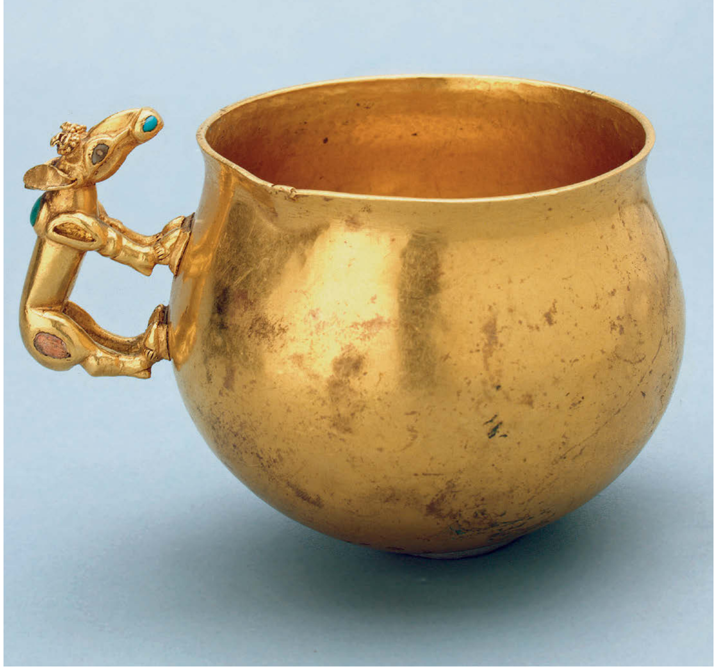
found more frequently among the Aorsi and Alans beginning in the second century AD and indicate influence from China.[394] The custom of intentionally deforming the skull by flattening the back and raising the forehead, seen at the same time among members of the upper class of the Aorsi, also had its origins in eastern Central Asia.[395]

Alans: The nomadic horsemen who immigrated in the first century AD were the Europid Alans. They assimilated the Aorsi settled on the Don and, drawn by new pastures and potential targets for pillaging, spread westwards together. The scenario is suggested not only by Ptolemy (*ca.* 100–175 AD), who wrote about Ἀλανορσοι, 'Alanorsoi', but also by Chinese sources. In the *Shiji* Sima Qian (*ca.* 145–*ca.* 87 BC) described the land of Yancai: 'Yancai lies some 2,000 li [832 km] north-west of Kangju [whose capital was near present Tashkent]. The people are nomads … and the country has over 100,000 archer warriors, and borders on a great shoreless lake.'[396] The delta of the Syr Darya River, which empties into the Aral Sea and where the homeland of the Massagetae lay, is exactly 830 km away from Tashkent. The chronicle called the *Hou Hanshu*, which records the events of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD), adds: 'The kingdom of Yancai has changed its name to the kingdom of Alanliao.'[397] Thanks to the Chinese chronicles it is clear that the Alans, who were originally called 'Yancai' and in the first half of the first century AD changed their name to 'Aryan' or 'Alan', came from Central Asia; their modern descendants are the Caucasian Ossetians. The relative geographic proximity of Alanliao to China and a joint Sino–Alanian military campaign against the Xiongnu conducted in 36 BC[398] explains why the Alans were aware that members of the Chinese elite decorated the knobs of their swords with jade inlays.

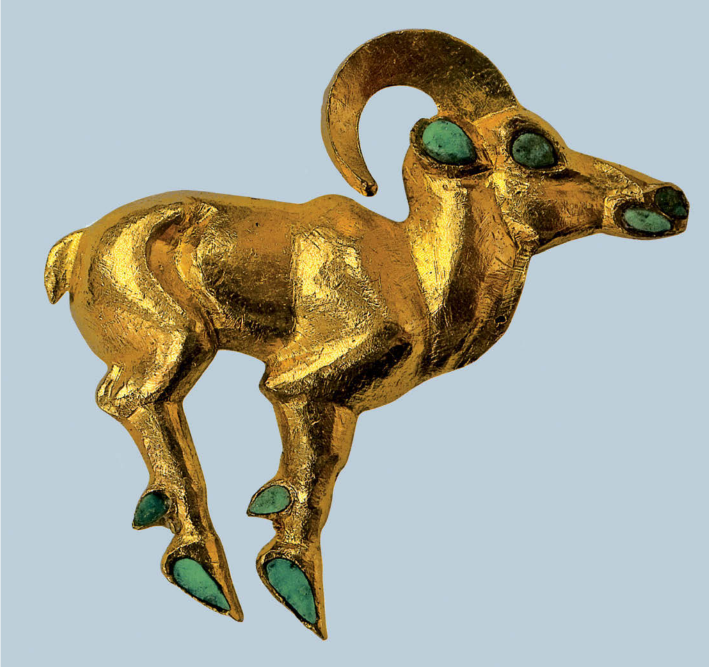
Early on, around 73 AD, the Alans laid waste to Media and Armenia. When they again plundered Armenia 60 years later and threatened Asia Minor, they were driven out in 135 AD by the historian and governor of Cappadocia Arrian. Arrian was helping Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–138) to expand the Roman army, which consisted almost exclusively of infantry, by adding units of heavy cavalry. The Alans must have been seen by the Romans as the most dangerous of mounted warriors, since Arrian wrote a work on strategy called *Acies contra Alanos*, the 'Order of Battle against the Alans'.[399] Thanks to their military power, the Alans controlled the trade routes of the steppes with the east. The Alans buried their dead in narrow grave chambers and laid them on benches with their heads oriented toward the north.[400]

Roxolani, Saii and Iazyges: The Roxolani, the 'bright Aryans', lived between the Don and the Dnieper, and west of them lived the Saii, the Royal Sarmatians and the Iazyges, who in the third and second centuries BC either assimilated the Scythians or drove them into Crimea. Like the eastern Sarmatian tribes they intervened with varying success in the fortunes of the Bosporan Kingdom. In 179 BC the king of the Saii, Gatalos, succeeded in demanding tribute from the city-state of Olbia, but the strengthened Scythians were soon able to return Olbia to their sphere of influence.[401] However, in 113–111/110 BC, the Siraces, the Roxolani and their Scythian ally Palakos suffered severe defeats from Diophantos. Under pressure first from the Aorsi and later from the Alans, the western Sarmatian tribes began at the end of the first century BC to cross the Danube and test the defences of the Roman Empire. The first invasions of the Iazyges took place in Macedonia in 18 BC, after which they drove the Dacians out of the Hungarian plain between the Danube and the Tisza and established themselves there as a Roman client state. With the Iazyges for the first time an originally Central Asian tribe settled in the Roman Empire; others soon followed. Rome hoped to be able to defend itself against other threatening barbarian invasions with the help of the Iazyges.

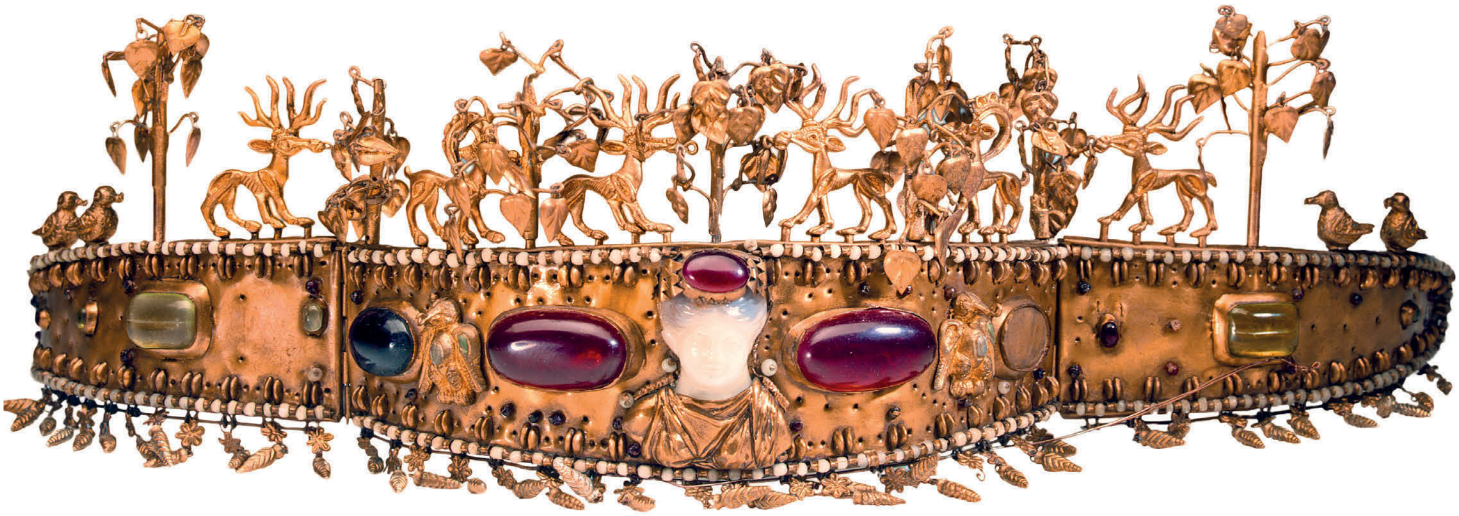
On the heels of the Iazyges followed the Roxolani, who were defeated by the Roman legate Silvanus in 60–63 AD, and 100,000 of whom settled north of the Danube. The Roxolani remained restless; in 69 they were defeated in Moesia south of the Danube, after which they supported the Dacians in the second Dacian war of 101–106. Iazygian units fought on both sides, with one group



Sarmatian gold vessel with a zoomorphic handle from the Khokhlach Kurgan of Novocherkassk, Rostov Oblast, southern Russia, end of the first/beginning of the second century AD. The elk turned toward the rim of the vessel had an apotropaic function and symbolically guarded the contents. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Small gold figure with inlaid turquoise of a wild sheep from the kurgan of Čilikty, eastern Kazakhstan, seventh–sixth centuries BC. Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty. The gold objects with incrustations of semiprecious stones show that the Sarmato-polychrome animal style developed in eastern Kazakhstan as early as the seventh–sixth centuries BC.



Complete copy after the original of the diadem, discovered in 1864, of Khokhlach Kurgan at Novocherkassk, Rostov Oblast, southern Russia, end of the first/ beginning of the second century AD. The diadem, made in the Sarmato-polychrome animal style for a noblewoman of the Aorsi, reveals an influence from the Alans, who had migrated from the delta of the Syr Darya. The diadem's band is decorated with garnets, turquoise, pearls and coloured glass; in the centre is an amethyst bust of a woman, while on the upper rim deer approach trees of life. The woman may have worn the diadem during religious rituals. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

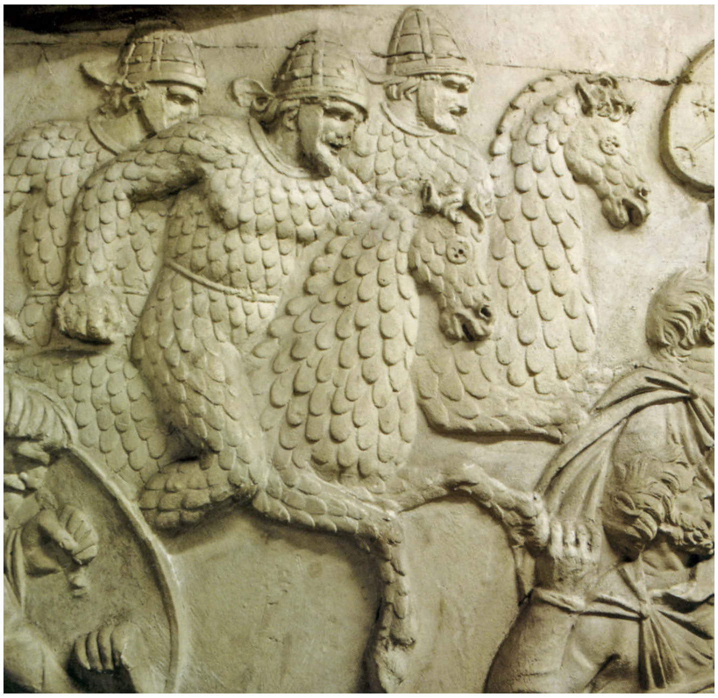
aiming to remove itself from the Roman sphere of influence and the other serving Rome as valued mercenaries. Emperor Trajan (r. 98–117) defeated both Sarmatian tribes, the Iazyges and the Roxolani, and celebrated his success on 'Trajan's column', erected in Rome in 113. In the first Marcomannic war (166–175) the Iazyges allied themselves with the Germanic Marcomanni, Quadi and Vandals against Rome. Emperor Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180) dealt them a severe defeat on the frozen Danube in 174, after which the Iazyges surrendered and deposed their king, Bana. From then on Marcus Aurelius called himself *Sarmaticus* and the new king of the Iazyges, Zanticus, had to provide 8,000 troops, 5,500 of whom Marcus Aurelius posted to Britain.[402]

About 60 years later the Roman Senate conferred the title *Sarmaticus* on Emperor Maximus Thrax (r. 235–238) as well, after a triumph over the rebellious Iazyges. In the subsequent 150 years groups of Iazyges and Roxolani repeatedly attacked the Roman Empire with varying success; other groups settled throughout the empire, obtained Roman citizenship and served as heavy cavalrymen in Rome's armies. At the end of the fourth century they lost their cultural identity but remained active as mercenary units.

At the start of the third century AD a new power appeared in the northern Black Sea region, the eastern Germanic Goths, who first destroyed the cities of Olbia, Gorgippia and Tanaïs and in 271 occupied the province of Dacia, which had been evacuated by Emperor Aurelian (r. 270–275). Thus they formed a wedge in the territory of the Iranian-speaking tribes and separated the Sarmatians living in the Hungarian plain from the Aorsi and Alans who remained on the Don. 300,000 Sarmatians are said to have fled from the Danube region to the Roman Empire in around 334, settling in several Roman provinces.[403] Less than 40 years later another warlike riding people emerged from Central Asia, the Huns.[404] They were, for the first time, not an Indo–European people advancing from Central Asia to the west but rather an Altaic one. The tribal group of the Huns displayed a marked Mongolid heritage and were presumably led by the elite of a Turkic tribe. The Alans were the final Iranian-speaking Europids to migrate from east to west; the Huns were the first Altai-speaking Turko–Mongolids doing this. Even before 375 they defeated the Alans on the Don, who fled to the northern Caucasus. The Huns, purportedly led by King Balamber, incorporated the remaining Alans into their army and advanced farther westwards. In the years 375–76 they defeated first Ermanaric, king of the Ostrogothic Greuthungi, and then his successor, Vithimir. The defeated Greuthungi moved into the territory of the Visigothic Thervingi, who fled to the Roman Empire. Rome's consent for the fleeing Thervingi to cross the imperial border proved to be a catastrophic mistake. The Roman administration was overstrained by the integration of the armed Thervingi, so the latter soon revolted. In 378 the Thervingi and the allied Alans dealt Rome a crushing defeat at the battle of Adrianople, at which Emperor Valens (r. 364–378) and all the high-ranking officers fell.[405]

Under pressure from the Huns advancing into the Hungarian plain, the Alans living there fled, simultaneously with the Vandals, farther west and on 31 December 406, under the leadership of their king, Respendial, they crossed the frozen Rhine at Mainz. The

Alans then pillaged and laid waste to Gaul for three years, after which they split into two groups. One remained in Gaul and in 451 fought on the side of the Roman general Flavius Aetius and the Visigoths at the important Battle of the Catalaunian Fields near Troyes. Together they defeated the Hun king Attila, who had to halt his campaign. Still today the place names such as *Alainville* and *Alaincourt* recall the originally Central Asian Alans, so the written traces of the Alans extend from the almost 2,000-year-old Chinese chronicles to the contemporaneous place-name signs of France.[406] The other Alans moved on in 409 to Spain, where between 416 and 418 they were annihilated by the Visigoths allied with the Western Roman Empire. After the death of their king Attaces the surviving Alans placed themselves under the protection of the Vandal king Gunderic, who from then on called himself *rex Vandalorum et Alanorum*. Ten years later the united Vandals and Alans advanced to North Africa, where they expelled the Romans and founded the North African Vandal state with Carthage as its capital, which stood from 429 to 534.[407] The Alans, who had originally come from the delta of the Syr Darya east of the Aral Sea, were indeed 'well-travelled' and had over the course of some 20 generations covered more than 9,000 km. They left behind a cultural legacy in the form of military innovations and the art of goldsmithing.



Armoured horsemen wearing a 'spangenhelm' on the victory column of Emperor Trajan in Rome, dedicated in the year 113 AD. The very close-fitting armour of riders and horse, as well as the armour on the horse's legs, are an artistic exaggeration.

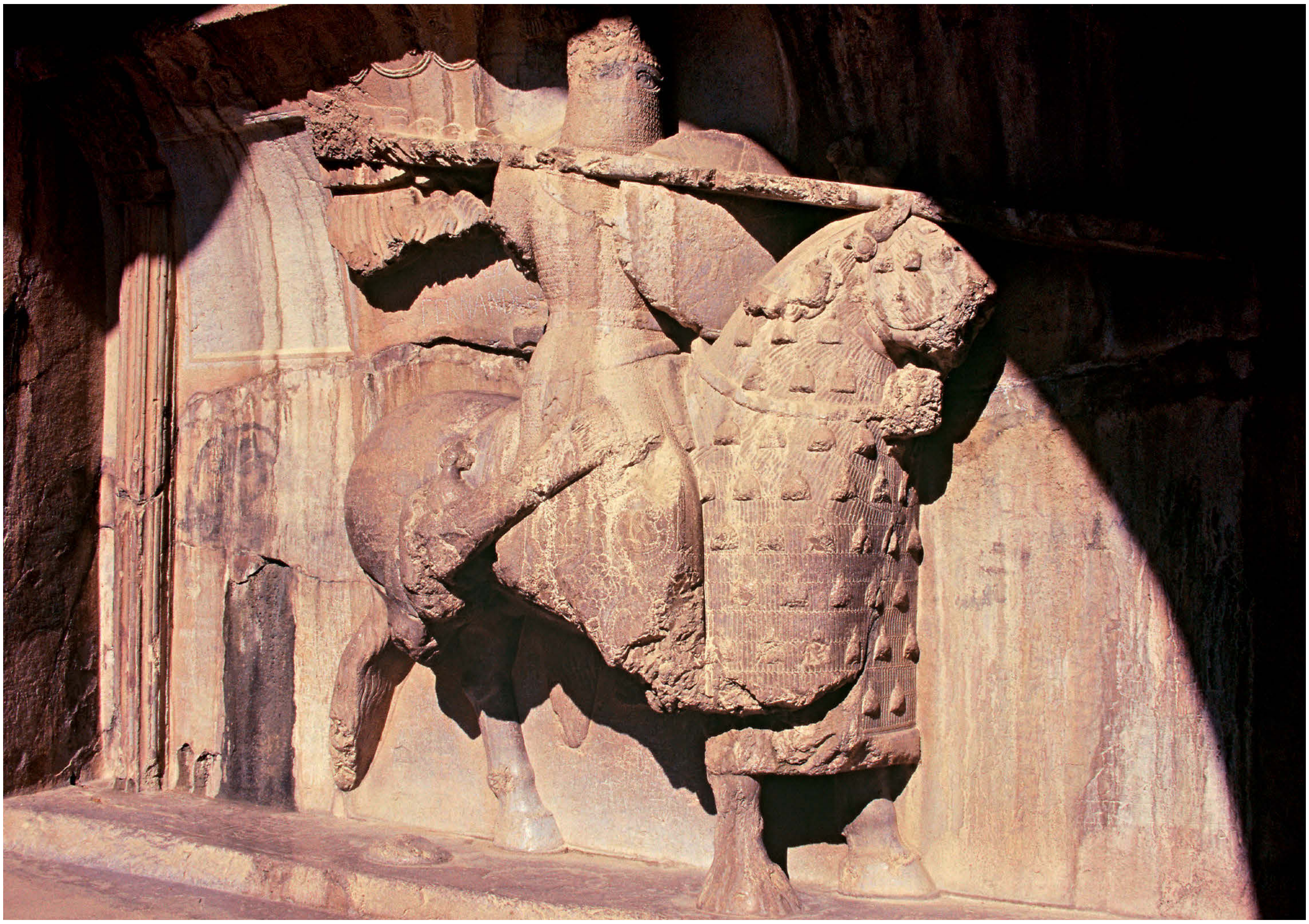
2.4.3 Military innovations

The military successes of the Sarmatians and the Alans were essentially grounded in their new offensive and defensive weaponry. Although the Scythians had already adopted the principle of scale armour from the Assyrians, it was the Sarmatian elite horsemen who extended this technology to create full-body armour. Members of the elite, who made up the heavy cavalry, protected their bodies with iron scale armour; those of the light cavalry, which consisted of common free warriors, used armour made of horn or hardened leather.[408] The Sarmatian riders protected not only themselves but also their horses with scale armour, which covered the horses' bodies and their heads. As Herodotus had already reported about the Massagetae, 'they give their horses bronze breastplates'.[409] The Greeks called them *Hippeis de kataphraktoi*, 'completely armoured horsemen'. Except for arrows shot at close range, iron scale armour protected against arrows shot from a short recurve bow.

This armour offered good protection but also had two significant disadvantages. First, it was enormously heavy, as a warrior's armour weighed up to 30 kg and that of a horse around 45 kg, which impeded the horse's mobility. For this reason armoured riders preferred larger horses than the small and very tough steppe horses.[410] Because of the great weight, horses threatened either to fall on slippery ground or to fall through the ice when crossing frozen bodies of water. As the Roman historian Tacitus (*ca.* 58–120) said on the occasion of a defeat of the Roxolani, the horses foundered on the thawing, swampy ground and the fallen riders could not get up again.[411] Secondly, heatstroke and dehydration threatened the armoured horses, especially in warmer latitudes, which is why the Romans called their fully armoured cavalry units *Clibanarii*, 'oven men'.[412]

Another innovation, the riveted plate helmet called the *Spangenhelm*, appeared among the Sarmatians around the time of the birth of Christ. It consisted of a thick metal band on which were affixed four to six metal strips, the *spangen*, between which were placed triangular metal plates. Metal cheek flaps and a neck-guard made from chain mail offered additional protection.[413] It remains unclear whether the Sarmatians were really the inventors of this type of helmet.

While the composite bow was the main weapon of the light cavalry, the heavy cavalry sported a cavalry sword, up to 130 cm in length, and a lance as long as 5 m, wielded with both hands, called the *kontos*. During a frontal attack the horsemen, riding close to one another, spurred their horses and held their lances level, with the tips far in front of the horses' heads and the ends of the shafts secured by loops to the horses' shanks. According to Plutarch (*ca.* 45–125), an attacking *Kontopharos* could impale two opponents, one behind the



Stone relief of a fully armoured Sassanian rider with helmet, shield and lance. The heavy cavalry of the *Kataphraktoi* were an important military branch not only among the Sarmatians and Romans beginning in the second century AD but also among the Iranian Sassanians (224–651 AD). The stone relief of Takht-i Bostan in the Iranian province of Kermanshah presumably portrays the king of kings Khosrau II (r. 590–628 AD).

other, with a single thrust of the lance. As the chief weapon of the heavy cavalry of the Sarmatians and the Alans was the lance, Arrian called them *Kontophoroi*, 'lance-bearers', rather than *Kataphraktoi*. The Greek light cavalry lance *xyston* or the heavy phalanx lance called the *sarissa* may have served as examples for the early Sarmatians.[414] The Sarmatian armoured horsemen abandoned the Scythian strategy of rapid attacks and retreats accompanied by hails of arrows, in favour of an attack carried out as quickly as possible in order to ensure the shortest possible exposure to enemy arrows. The Sarmatian cavalry units resembled a mounted phalanx. In this way they anticipated the military strategy of the medieval knights, as well as their fundamental weakness, in that a frontal attack could succeed only if the enemy remained in place and engaged them.

The mounted archers adopted three additional tools: the slingshot and the lasso, which Sarmatian female warriors and later the Huns also used, and the windsock, which showed the archers the direction of the wind. It consisted of a lance with a metallic dragon, snake or wolf head at its tip, from which hung a colourful windsock made of cloth. Like the Parthians and Sassanids, the Romans adopted the Sarmatian windsock as a battle standard; they called the bearer of this standard the *Draconarius*.[415] Although the Romans had been confronted with armoured enemy cavalry as early as 190 BC at the battle of Magnesia against the Seleucid king Antiochus III, it was more than two centuries before they formed their own cataphract units. While until Emperor Trajan the Romans had found Sarmatian mercenaries sufficient, Emperor Hadrian established cataphracts as an independent unit of the Roman army for the first time. Now the Roman army, which also adopted the Sarmatian long sword called the *spatha*, used the same weapon system as the menacing mounted warriors of the steppe

Roman marble sarcophagus with scenes of an Amazonomachy, origin unknown, around 200 AD, Harvard Art Museum, Boston.

The Amazons – myth and reality

The Sauromatians 'have a marriage law which forbids a girl to marry until she has killed an enemy in battle'.[416] With this description of young Sauromatian women, who were said to be maternally descended from the Amazons, Herodotus confirmed the myth that female warriors lived in foreign Scythia. The source of this legend goes back to around the end of the eighth century BC, the time of Homer's *Iliad*, in which the Amazons appears only as a footnote to the Trojan War. Only in the post-Homeric epic *Aithiopis* (*ca.* seventh century BC) do the Amazons become more clearly defined, in the form of their queen Penthesilea, a daughter of the god of war, Ares. She fights with her Amazon army on the side of the Trojans against the Greeks, but falls in a duel with Achilles. At that time their homeland was localised on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea near the Thermodon River.[417] Greek exploration of the Black Sea soon deprived the myth of its basis, so the 'man-killing'[418] Amazons were relocated to the distant Sauromatians even before Herodotus, and the Scythian Amazon myth replaced the Greek one. In Greek art, especially vase-painting, the warrior women were no longer portrayed in Greek clothing but rather in Scythian garb. Now they wore long, patterned trousers, long-sleeved jackets and tall felt caps and were armed with battle axes and bows.[419]

To what extent can archaeology confirm the myth of the Amazons? Did women fighters live in the Pontic region and is there evidence for bands of female warriors, who even formed their own communities that lived independently of men? The oldest evidence of a female warrior comes from the Caucasus, where in 1927 at Semo-Awtchala, Georgia, archaeologists discovered the grave of a 30- to 40-year-old woman, who had been given grave goods of a bronze sword, iron spearheads and a horse's head to accompany her into the afterlife. The woman, who had died at the end of the second millennium BC, had a serious skull wound that could not have resulted from post-mortem trepanning, since the injury had healed before her death. This reveals that she was a genuine warrior and that the weapons had not been laid in her grave in a purely ceremonial context.[420] This female warrior remains an anomaly in the Caucasus, however, like the above-mentioned warrior woman of Ak-Alacha in the Altai.

Discoveries from the Scytho–Sarmatian territory are more revealing. Between the lower Volga and the Ural about 20% of all burials with weapons and horse-gear from the Sauromatian period were of women. In these graves, such as those in the cemetery of Pokrovka 2 in the southern Urals, light weapons like akinakes and arrowheads predominate. Since the female skeletons show clear battle wounds only in isolated cases, it often cannot be determined whether the deceased were hunters or warriors. A greater percentage of armed women, as measured by all female burials, are found in Scythia, where some 130 graves of women from the fifth and fourth centuries BC included weapons as grave goods. About one quarter of the excavated female burials of Scythia contained weapons. Frequent signs of injuries such as serious blows or stabs to the skull or arrowheads stuck in bones show that these dead, who belonged to the tribal elite, were women warriors and often died in battle.[421] The Alans, for their part, did not have female fighters; only in the seventh–eighth centuries AD did weapons begin to appear in the graves of Alan women in the forest steppes along the Don.[422]

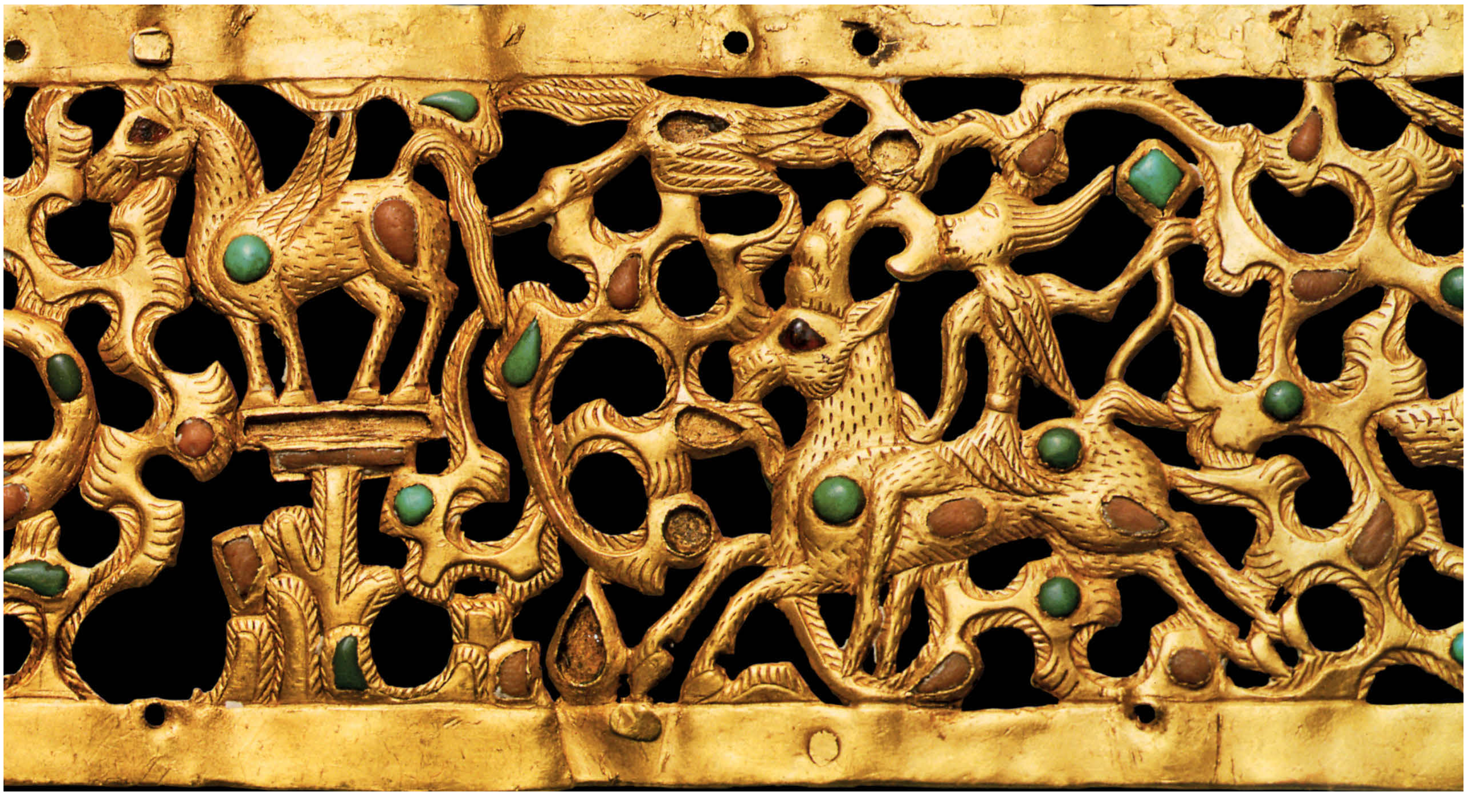
In contrast to the graves of Sauromatian female warriors and hunters, the burials of Scythian warrior women often contained, in addition to arrows and daggers, heavy weapons such as spears, lances and axes. Iron swords have been found in only three graves, however, as have iron scale belts. Two Scythian graves of female warriors are exceptions: in kurgan 5 of Zelenoje three young female warriors were buried, with the main person given a spear, a javelin, a helmet and scale armour with an iron lamellar shield. This is the only grave of a woman warrior with the complete equipment of heavy cavalry. In kurgan 35 of Bobrica from the seventh–sixth centuries BC, however, a sacrificed horse was placed in the grave of a female warrior.[423]

From these discoveries it may be concluded that although there were neither Amazon armies or Amazon communities in the northern Pontic region, there were indeed female warriors in the light cavalry, who participated in military engagements. The large percentage of female warriors who died young indirectly confirms Herodotus's assertion that Sauromatian women had to perform military service before marriage. But, in the absence of men, married women must also have taken up weapons to defend their herds and grazing lands. Two archaeological observations indicate that female warriors had no special status. Burials of women warriors did not include any splendid ceremonial weapons and no proper weapons were found in the elaborate single burials of women.[424] In Sarmatian and Scythian graves with an opulent female burial as the primary burial, weapons, much less opulent weapons, were hardly ever included as grave goods, but rather costly jewellery and symbols of prestige. Among the latter were the diadem with a tree of life from Khokhlach (first/second centuries AD) and, in particular, the iron ceremonial staff with four deer protomes from the grave of Pestchanyi (first century BC).[425] These women, who belonged to the nobility, may also have had a religious role. Additional evidence of a possible religious task for some aristocratic women is suggested by the portable stone tables whose three legs were decorated with mythical creatures. These tables, mostly found in Sauromatian female graves of the southern Urals, presumably served as altars of sacrifice.[426]

and the Parthians in the east. Although the infantry remained the strategic core of the Roman army, the heavy cavalry increased steadily in importance.[427]

The use of heavy armour was called into question as early as 100 AD, when a few Sarmatians and Alans began using the 120-cm-long, asymmetrical composite bow called the Hunnic bow with its bonded bone reinforcements, whose arrows, mounted with heavy iron arrowheads, could penetrate scale armour. Presumably it was this development that inspired some Sarmatians and Alans to trade the heavy scale armour for the lighter ring armour, the chain mail.[428] Ring armour offered less protection from arrows but was significantly lighter and allowed the rider sufficient mobility to use the powerful Hunnic bow. The clear superiority of the light-armoured Hunnic mounted warriors, who relied on their long composite bow and had mastered the tactic of attack, feigned retreat and renewed attack, over the lumbering Sarmatians could be seen in the ease with which they were able to drive the various Sarmatian tribes from the Don to the Rhine. In his famous military handbook *Strategikon*, the Byzantine emperor Maurice (r. 582–602) aptly described the battle style of the Avars, whom he compared to the Huns, as follows: 'They prefer battles fought at long range, ambushes, encircling their adversaries, simulated retreats and sudden returns, and wedge-shaped formations ... When they make their enemies take to flight, ... they are not content, as the Persians and the Romans, and other peoples, with pursuing them a reasonable distance and plundering their goods, but they do not let up at all until they have achieved the complete destruction of their enemies.'[429] The Huns fought in exactly the same way. Maurice warned further that Central Asian mounted warriors never give up in the face of a looming defeat: 'If the battle turns out well, do not be hasty in pursuing the enemy or behave carelessly. For this nation [the steppe nomads] does not, as others do, give up the struggle

Bronze phalera (decorative plaque on a horse bridle) with two fighting camels. Filippovka, kurgan 1, eastern bank of the Ural River, central Russia, early fourth century BC. Archaeological Museum of Ufa.



Part of the gold diadem of Kargaly near Almaty, southern Kazakhstan, second–first centuries BC. The diadem, placed in a woman's grave, represents a further development of Sarmato-polychrome goldworking by the Wusun; it does not illustrate a scene of animals fighting but rather a magical world of winged humans and animals, suggesting influences from China. Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty.

when worsened in the first battle. But until their strength gives out, they try all sorts of ways to assail their enemies.'[430] The renaissance of heavily armoured cavalry came with the Avars who introduced to western Central Asia and Europe the iron stirrups which formed part of the standard equipment of Roman cavalry by the end of the sixth century.[431]

With the downfall of the Sarmatians, the epoch of Iranian-speaking Europids spreading elements of Central Asian culture into Europe came to an end. Their nomadic riding successors were Altaic-speaking Turko–Mongols, whose advance ended only in 1683 at the gates of Vienna. The obvious wealth of the Scythian and Sarmatian elites, which endured for centuries, was not based only on war and raiding but probably to a greater extent on trade, whether the exchange of goods with the Bosporan Kingdom, Olbia and Rome or the taxing of goods that passed through their territory in transit along the trade routes between east and west.

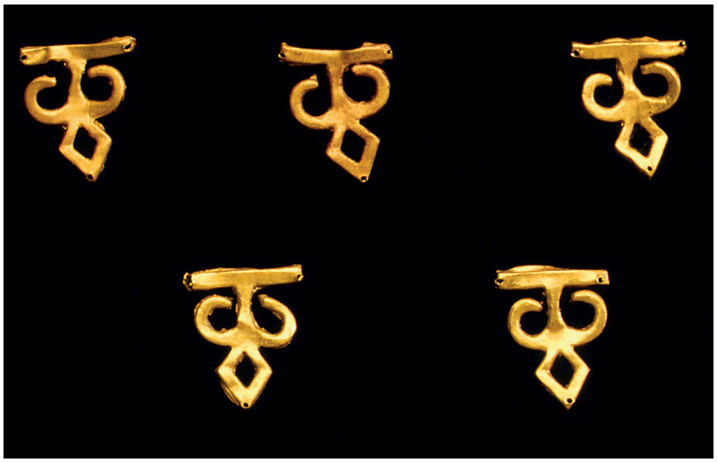
◀ Ceremonial dagger from Datchi, crafted in the Sarmato-Alan polychrome animal style, kurgan 1, Rostov Oblast, southern Russia, end of the first century AD. The knob and the sheath with the four indentations are made of gold and decorated with turquoise and carnelian. On the knob a Bactrian camel is portrayed, and beneath it a griffin lunges at a standing camel; on the sheath a griffin attacks a kneeling camel four times. The dagger, found in Datchi, displays great similarity to the dagger from grave 4 at Tillya Tepe, northern Afghanistan (40–70 AD) and is an import from the homeland of the Alans on the Syr Darya, Kazakhstan. Azov History, Archaeology and Palaeontology Museum.

2.4.4 The polychrome animal style

Like the Scytho–Siberian animal style, the Sarmatian polychrome animal style, with its coloured inlays, had its roots in Asia and appeared for the first time in the gold animal statuettes of Čilikty from the seventh century BC and, in rudimentary form, in the gold panther of Kelermes, which once had coloured stones in its ears and paws.[432] When enhancing metalwork with inlays of semiprecious stones and glass paste, artists at first found it sufficient to emphasise individual body parts on the head and extremities. In the Sarmatian period they started, as a first step, to draw attention to joints and muscles as well. In a true 'horror vacui', they began in a second step to cover the entire body with coloured glass or stone inlays and finally they added hump-shaped depictions of animals to flat dagger sheaths. Garnet, carnelian, coral, topaz, turquoise and coloured glass served as inlays. In contrast to Scythian toreutics the Sarmatians outside of the Bosporan Kingdom remained largely free of Greek influence, although the diadem of Khokhlach with the female bust made of amethyst represents a spectacular exception.

The Sarmatian polychrome animal style introduced to toreutics not only new techniques but also new contents. Among these were scenes of fierce animal combat, whose subjects were given a strong dynamism, and animals not previously known in the Scythian art of northern Europe such as camels and dragons. While in the southern Urals and in western Kazakhstan images of camels appeared in the animal style as early as the sixth century BC, in the northern Pontic region they emerged four centuries later. It was the Sarmatians who introduced the Bactrian camel into the northern Black Sea region. The numerous discoveries of camel bones, such as those found near the Sarmato–Bosporan trading city of Tanaïs, attest to their proliferation at that time.[433]

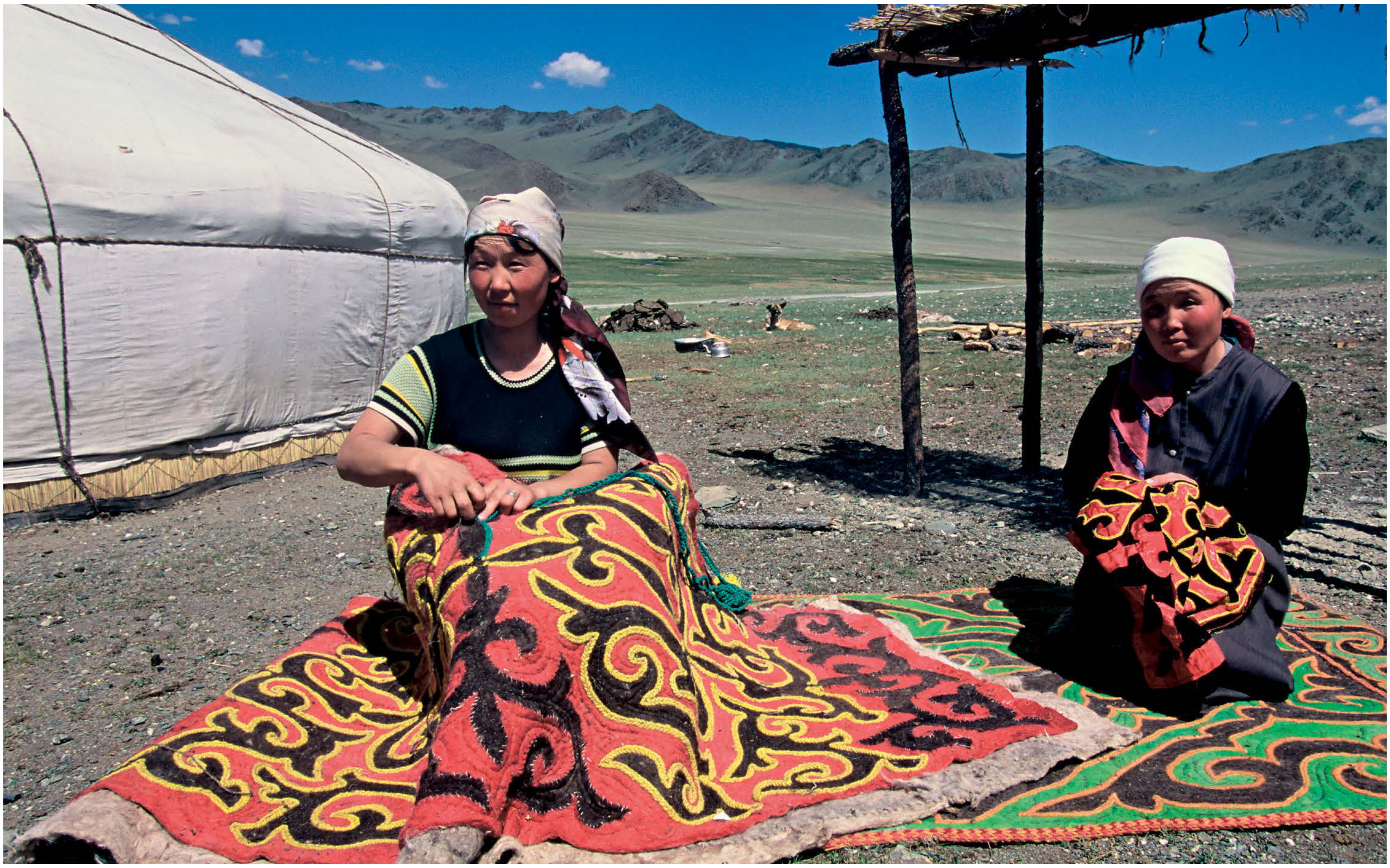
One of the most spectacular depictions of camels can be seen on the golden dagger of Datchi from the end of the first century AD, which was discovered in 1986 in kurgan 1 south of Azov. On the front of the rounded knob stands a battle-ready two-humped camel with an open mouth; on the hilt a griffin lunges at a standing camel and bites it between the humps. A plant motif decorates the reverse of the knob and hilt. On the sheath, in scenes repeated four times, a griffin attacks a buckled camel, which bites its attacker on the left wing. On the lower end of the sheath and in three other bulges, a griffin bites a cowering camel, while in the upper indentation to the left a griffin portrayed in profile watches in an attacking pose. All the animals are decorated with carnelians and turquoise.[434] Comparable in both form and content is one of the two golden daggers from grave 4 of Tillya Tepe in northern Afghanistan. In the small necropolis from the second to third quarter of the first century AD a chief of the Alans from Kangju was buried with at least five women.[435] The dagger, crafted in opulent Sarmato–Alanic polychrome style, likewise has a golden sheath with four side indentations. Although a standing bear rather than a camel adorns the knob and a procession of hybrid creatures, each stalking the one before it and biting it on the croup or hind leg, is portrayed on the sheath, an allegory of the cycle of life and death is depicted on both dagger sheaths. As Schiltz noted in her analysis of the dagger of Tillya Tepe, the animals on the knob symbolise life and those on the sheath remind us that without death renewal and life are not possible. On the reverse of both knobs, plant motifs suggesting a tree of life mediate between the antitheses of life and death.[436] The dagger of Tillya Tepe presumably came from an Alanic goldsmith on the Syr Darya and that of Datchi perhaps also from Alanliao (Kangju) or Kazakhstan.



Gold clothing plaques in the form of geometric bulls' heads, Khokhlach Kurgan of Novocherkassk, Rostov Oblast, southern Russia, end of the first/beginning of the second century AD. Such strongly schematised depictions of horned animals kept their original semantics. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Features of the finds from Tillya Tepe also appear on the neck ring from the grave of the princess of Kobiakovo, not far from Datchi, from the first/second centuries AD. However, there are also signs of influence from Kazakhstan and even China. In the centre of the neck ring sits a bearded man with his sword on his knees. On both sides two-legged, ape-like beings wrestle or play with winged dragons.[437] Depictions of dragons are also found in Tillya Tepe on a dagger sheath from grave 4 and on a pair of golden pendants with images of a lord of the animals taming two dragons from grave 2.[438] Dragons are also seen on the diadem of Kargaly in southern Kazakhstan. This diadem, found not far from Almaty, dates from the second/first centuries BC, a time when the nomadic herders of the Wusun lived in the Ili valley. A few decades earlier the Yuezhi had expelled the Saka from the Ili valley, after which they in turn were displaced by the Wusun, their former neighbour in Gansu, north-western China, whom they had destroyed *ca.* 173 BC. The gold diadem, adorned with carnelians, almandine and turquoise, displays a further development of the polychrome animal style, since neither animal fights nor normal humans are depicted but rather ethereal fantastical creatures in fleet-footed, playful movement. Clear influences from China can also be seen. The diadem shows a landscape with winged horses and winged, feathered men, who, with long flying hair, ride astride winged dragons, lions, buffalos and ibexes, passing other animals like bears, deer and birds. Presumably depicted here are Daoist immortals at play with fantastical hybrid creatures. In the Chinese context dragons are never menacing but rather animals well disposed to humans, which symbolise spring and life-giving water.[439]

Two Sarmatian women's graves from the southern Ukraine, which both show striking parallels to Tillya Tepe, more than



The tradition of portraying horned animals symbolically in extremely abstract forms remains alive today in the production of felt and wool carpets by nomads in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and western Mongolia. Nomads near Khar Noor Lake, Bayan Ölgyi Aimag, western Mongolia, make such felt carpets.

3,000 km away, illustrate how permeable the Eurasian steppe was at that time and how large the Saka–Sarmatian cultural territory. In both graves from the first century AD, one of Nogajčik (Crimea) and the other of Sokolova Mogila (southern Bug), the hands of the dead rested on silver bowls, a custom also encountered in Tillya Tepe, where two plates were golden and one silver. The woman buried at Nogajčik, whose kurgan was doused with petroleum and set on fire after the end of the funeral solemnities, had golden spiral bands around her ankles, as at Tillya Tepe.[440]

The Sarmatian animal style came up with still more innovations. Among them were forest scenes, such as two wrestlers in a forest, a boar hunt or a warrior resting in the lap of a woman beneath a tree.[441] In Sarmatian toreutics there was also a kind of counter-movement to the baroque opulence, as expressed in the diadem of Khokhlach, in the form of a geometrisation of the portrayal of animals. Horned animals in particular were portrayed on golden discs sewn onto clothing either in extremely stylised form or, in line with the principle of ‘pars pro toto’, reduced to antlers or horns. Such abstract and geometrical portrayals of animals can still be seen today on Kazakh, Kyrgyz and western Mongolian felt carpets.[442] Finally, the Sarmatian armoured horsemen introduced phalerae as a new decorative element in horse-gear. The hemispheric breast phalera and the round side phalerae had diameters of up to 15 cm, were made of gold or silver and often decorated with agates, turquoise or garnets.[443] In the late Sarmatian period of the second to fourth centuries AD the animal style gave way to a Greco–Roman polychrome style, but Sarmatian goldsmithing with inlays of semiprecious stones was adopted and further developed by Germanic peoples such as the Goths, Vandals and Franks.[444] It should be noted in conclusion that for a few centuries Saka–Sarmatian toreutics represented a transcontinental artistic style, which extended from western China to the Eastern Roman Empire.

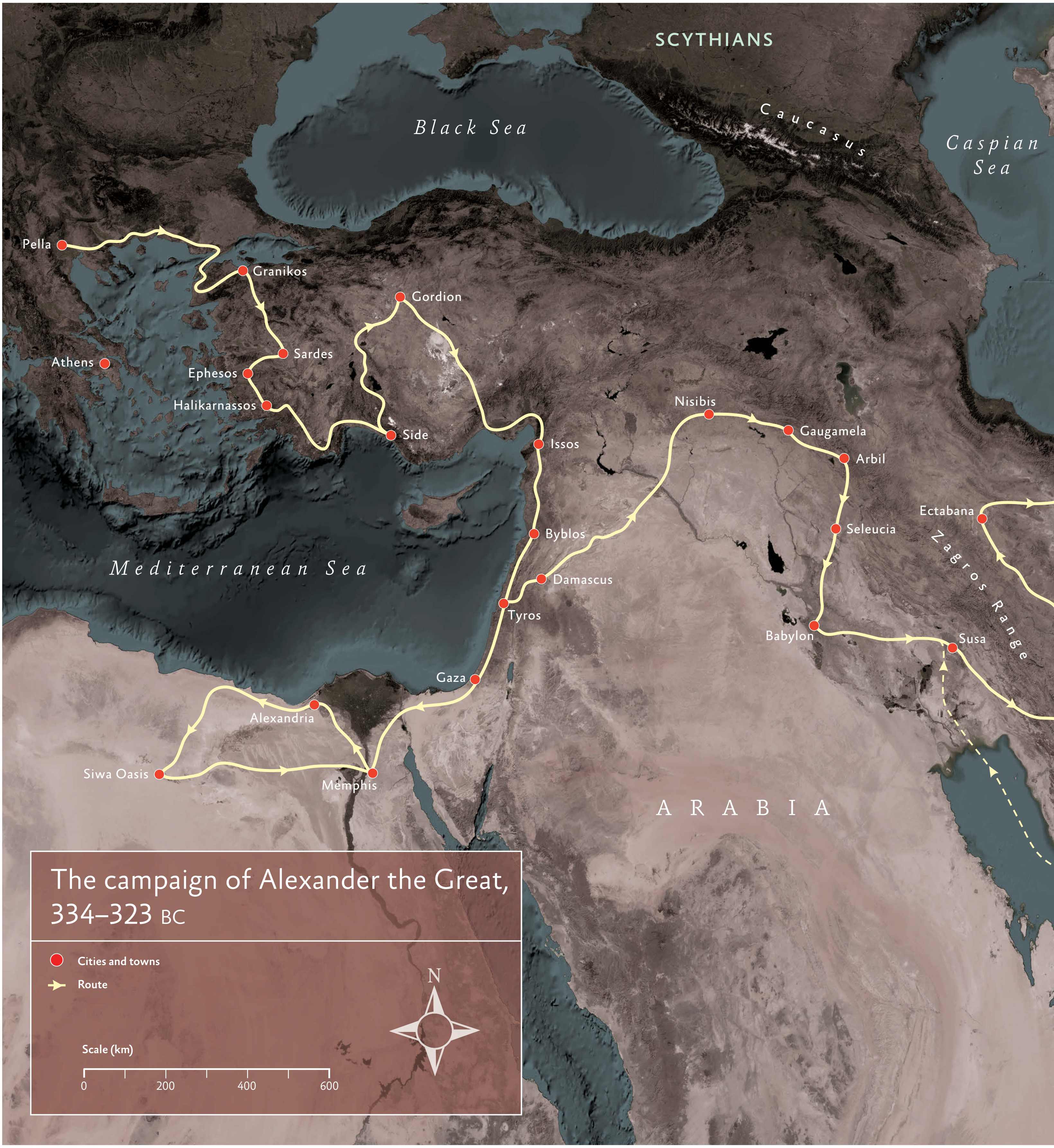
▶ Pair of phalerae from kurgan 1 of Datchi, Rostov Oblast, southern Russia, end of the first century AD. A gold setting decorated with garnets, turquoise and rose coral surrounds a veined agate. Azov History, Archaeology and Palaeontology Museum.

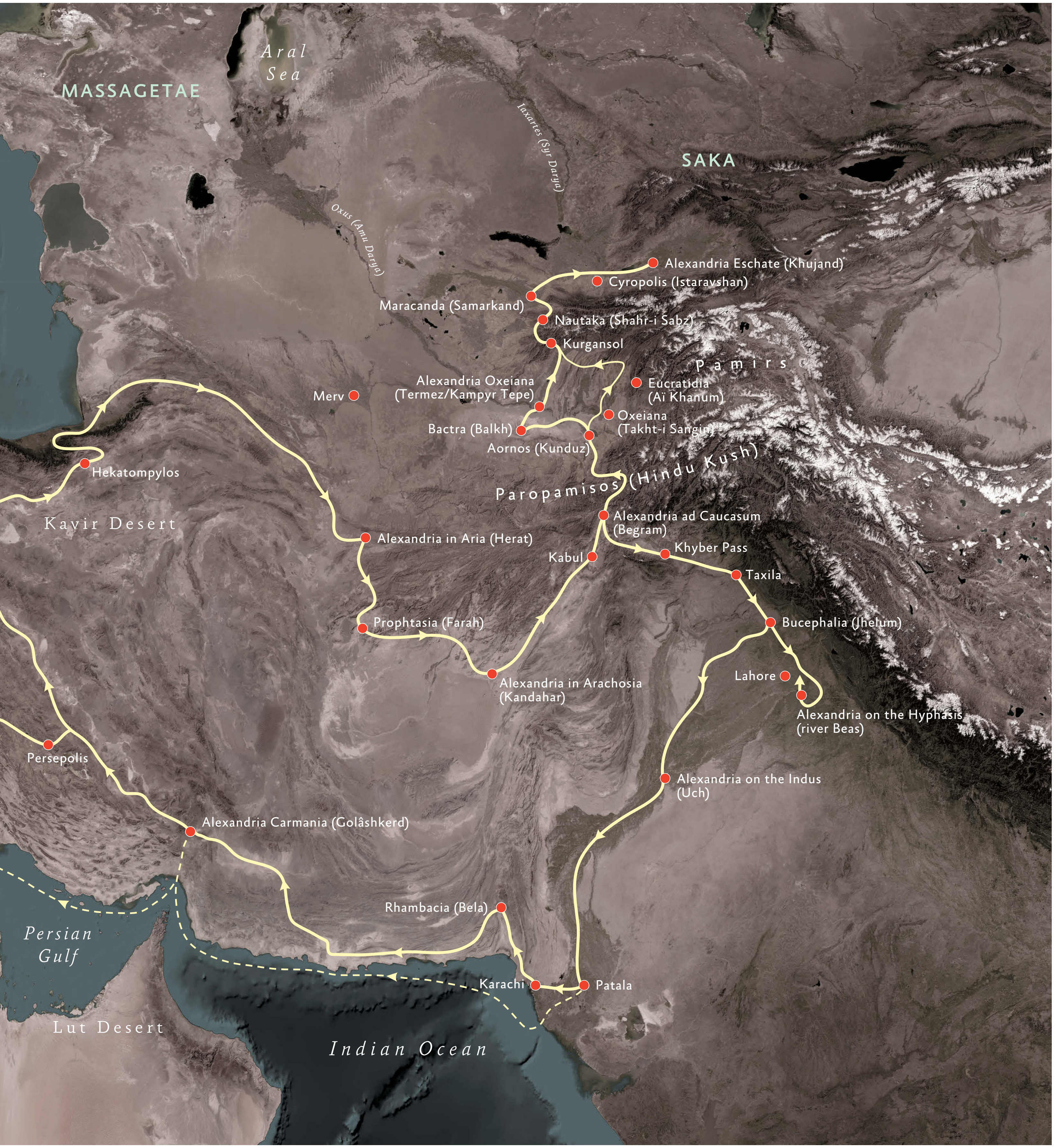
VIII

Greeks in Central Asia

Possession achieved by the sword is not of long duration, but gratitude for kindness is everlasting. If we wish to hold Asia and not merely pass through it, we must impart our clemency to these people [the conquered Bactrians and Sogdians] – it is their loyalty which will make our empire stable and enduring.

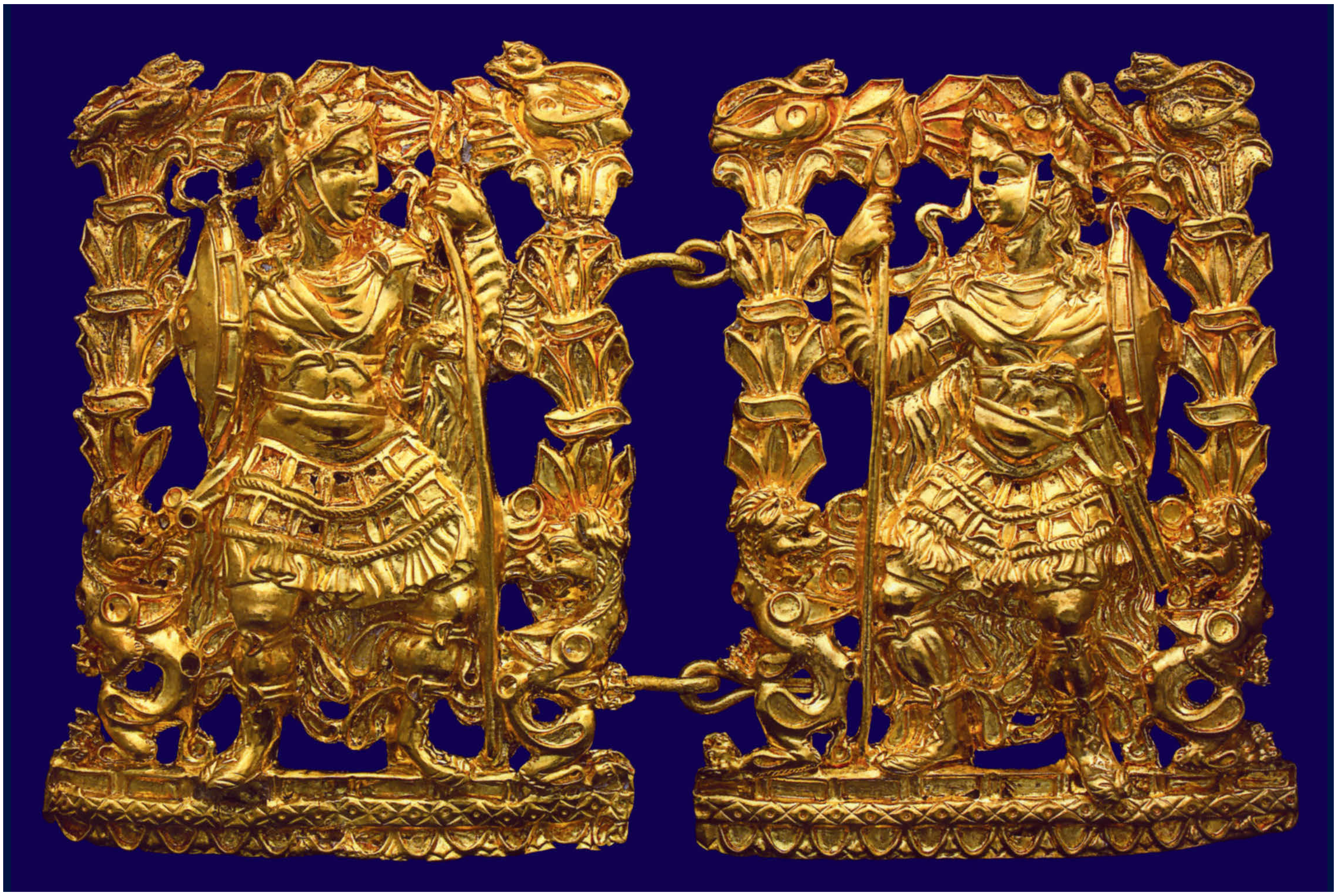
ALEXANDER THE GREAT in 327 BC. Quoted by Quintus Curtius Rufus[1]


SCYTHIANS
Black Sea
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
Pella
Granikos
Gordion
Athens
Sardes
Ephesos
Halikarnassos
Side
Issos
Nisibis
Gaugamela
Arbil
Ectabana
Seleucia
Zagros Range
Byblos
Mediterranean Sea
Damascus
Tyros
Babylon
Susa
Gaza
Alexandria
Siwa Oasis
Memphis
ARABIA
The campaign of Alexander the Great, 334–323 BC
● Cities and towns
Route
N
Scale (km)
0
200
400
600


Aral Sea
MASSAGETAE
Iaxartes (Syr Darya)
Oxus (Amu Darya)
SAKA
Alexandria Eschate (Khujand)
Cyropolis (Istaravshan)
Maracanda (Samarkand)
Nautaka (Shahr-i Sabz)
Kurgansol
Pamirs
Alexandria Oxeiana (Termez/Kampyr Tepe)
Merv
Eucratidia (Aï Khanum)
Oxeiana (Takht-i Sangin)
Bactra (Balkh)
Aornos (Kunduz)
Hekatompylos
Paropamisos (Hindu Kush)
Kavir Desert
Alexandria ad Caucasum (Begram)
Alexandria in Aria (Herat)
Khyber Pass
Kabul
Taxila
Prophtasia (Farah)
Bucephalia (Jhelum)
Alexandria in Arachosia (Kandahar)
Lahore
Alexandria on the Hyphasis (river Beas)
Persepolis
Alexandria on the Indus (Uch)
Alexandria Carmania (Golâshkerd)
Rhambacia (Bela)
Persian Gulf
Karachi
Patala
Lut Desert
Indian Ocean

The wise saying attributed to Alexander, which anticipates Talleyrand's admonition of Napoleon, 'the only thing you cannot do with a bayonet is sit on it', does not disguise the fact that the Macedonian was a brutal and ruthless commander, who left behind in Bactria and Sogdia a bloody trail of destruction. Although he attempted to repair the rift between the victorious Macedonians and the vanquished Persians as well as the combative Bactrians by means of symbolic gestures such as arranged mass weddings between Macedonian officers and Asian women, he also tended towards excessive violence. Examples included the murder of his close friend Cleitos in Maracanda (Samarkand) and a series of systematic massacres of the civilian populace in rebellious Sogdia and Bactria. The extraordinarily rich influences that Greek art imparted to Central Asian cultures had nothing to do with the campaigns of Alexander but were rather associated with the subsequent Seleucids, the Greco–Bactrian Kingdom and Buddhism.

The Hellenistic period of Central Asia north of the Hindu Kush[2] lasted in a political sense for two centuries, from 329 to 145/30 BC, but in terms of culture it endured for a thousand years, as evidenced in the use of the Greek script and Buddhist sculpture in the Gandhara style, which extended from Central Asia as far as Korea and Japan in the first millennium AD. As a consequence of the incorporation of parts of Central Asia into the empire of the Achaemenids, the first contact between Central Asia and the Hellenistic world took place long before Alexander. For one, Greek architects, politicians, generals and soldiers were in service to the Persian rulers, and, for another, a Greek community had lived in southern Uzbekistan between the cities of Termez and Samarkand since the beginning of the fifth century BC. The Branchidae, descendants of the priests of the Greek oracle of Apollo at Didyma of Miletus, lived in this city. When Xerxes I (r. 486–465 BC) destroyed the shrine in 479 BC, the priests voluntarily surrendered the temple's



Pair of golden clasps featuring two warriors, holding a lance and a shield. Each wears a Greco–Bactrian helmet with a tiny bull's ear, as is seen on coins featuring Alexander or Bactrian kings; the bull's ear symbolising Dionysos, the alleged conqueror of India. Both soldiers wear a breastplate and a Greek griffin-hilted sword, and are surrounded by a frame consisting of plants, birds and dragons, which places the Hellenistic warriors in a typical setting of the art of the steppes. The clasps date from the second century BC and probably stem from an older Bactrian site. Tillya Tepe, grave 3, 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

Although Alexander the Great did not reach the Wakhan Corridor in far north-eastern Afghanistan, in 329 BC he had to surmount similarly forbidding mountain chains in the Hindu Kush between Kabul and Bactra. Aerial view of the Afghan Pamir.

treasures to him. Fearing revenge from the Miletian Greeks, the Branchidae fled during the retreat of the Persian army and Xerxes resettled them on the Sogdian–Bactrian border. When Alexander reached the Branchidae city 150 years later, the inhabitants greeted him with joy, but his reaction was a harbinger of the coming massacre: 'The phalanx had been ordered to surround the city walls and, when the signal was given, to sack this city which had provided refuge for traitors, killing the inhabitants to a man. [...] Finally the Macedonians dug down to the foundations of the walls in order to demolish them and leave not a single trace of the city.' Curtius Rufus commented on this barbarity as follows: 'The guilt of their ancestors was being atoned for by descendants who had never seen Miletus and accordingly could not possibly have betrayed it to Xerxes.'[3]

The ruins of the round fort of Talashkan I, reinforced by 15 defensive towers, may be identical to the city of the Branchidae.[4] The fortress lay between the city of Termez on the Oxus and the so-called 'Iron Gates', a 10-km-long complex of two narrow mountain passes, which guarded the advance from Termez to Samarkand. Toward the end of the third century BC, when the Greco–Bactrian Kingdom lost Samarkand to the nomadic horsemen, the 'Iron Gates' were built up into a barrage as a defence against these dangerous neighbours.[5] The strongly fortified settlement of Talashkan I was built at the start of the fifth century BC and at the time of Alexander's campaign was set on fire and completely destroyed.

1. The campaign of Alexander the Great

Although Alexander (r. 336–323 BC) maintained that with his Asian campaign he was avenging the past Persian invasions of Greece from the fifth century BC, it was in fact a war of conquest, which his father, Philip II, had already begun with the deployment of General Parmenion to Asia Minor. At the same time the common military efforts of the Greek states, which had traditionally been at odds with one another, were united under the leadership of Alexander, who saw himself in the role of a second Achilles. In three great battles he defeated the Achaemenid army: namely on the river Granicus not far from Troy (334 BC), at Issus in Cilicia (333 BC) and at Gaugamela in the northern Iraqi plain of Arbil (331 BC). In all three battles Alexander started off defensively with his infantry phalanx, in order to tie up enemy power, then turned the tables with his heavy cavalry, which attacked in a wedge formation as soon as a gap appeared in the Persian line. Then, with his elite horsemen, he personally attacked the enemy commander; at Granicus half the Persian commanders fell; at Issus and Gaugamela the outclassed Achaemenid king Darius III (r. 336–330 BC) had to flee. Although outnumbered, the Macedonian army was superior, as it consisted of veterans and was divided into clear weapon divisions, which, thanks to their discipline, were able to carry out

During his pursuit of the Achaemenid usurper Bessus, Alexander the Great reached the plain of Kabul, where he wintered in 330/329 BC and founded the city of Alexandria ad Caucasum, today Bagram, north of Kabul. Fortress of Bela Hissar in Kabul, Afghanistan. Photo taken by John Burke in 1879. National Army Museum, London.

complicated manoeuvres in battle; in addition, they were led by a bold military genius. The Persian army, by contrast, was a mix of ethnicities of varying quality. Although Darius also had powerful units, such as the Sogdian and Bactrian cavalry led by the Bactrian satrap Bessus, as well as the mounted archers commanded by the Saka king Mauaces, the Persian army lacked coordination.[6]

Darius fled from the pursuing Alexander to the east, where he hoped to find safety and muster a new army. But he had lost all authority and during his flight, in July of 330 BC, the satraps of the Central Asian provinces took him prisoner. When Alexander came within range of the fleeing group, Bessus had Darius killed and declared himself the new king under the name Artaxerxes V.[7] Alexander, who had himself declared the legitimate successor to the defeated Darius and ordered his ceremonial burial, now pursued the murderer of the unfortunate ruler. This undertaking turned into one of the most spectacular chases in history and led Alexander into the heart of Central Asia. Bessus fled to the capital of his Bactrian satrapy, Zariaspa (Balkh in northern Afghanistan), where he believed himself to be protected from Alexander by the Hindu Kush – a mistake. Alexander wanted to capture Bessus before the latter could muster another army, as he had observed the military might of the Bactrian and Sogdian cavalry at Gaugamela. He continued his pursuit.

In order to stabilise the conquered empire, Alexander confirmed the satraps in their offices in several places, on condition that they surrendered and swore loyalty to him. In order to protect his back, during his advance through Central Asia he founded fortified cities and military bases, where he installed strong garrisons and Greek

settlers. These settlements, which often bore the name Alexandria, were arrayed along his route like a string of pearls; when Alexander left Bactria in 327 BC, he had covered Central Asia with a net of military installations manned by a total of about 23,000 soldiers and mercenaries. Thanks to the bematists, who measured distances with their steps, we are quite well informed about the distances covered and cities founded by Alexander's army.

After Alexander had Persepolis burned to the ground, he turned to the north-east, to Hyrcania, on the south-eastern rim of the Caspian Sea, and to Parthia (north-eastern Iran), and then to the south-east and across the satrapies of Aria (western Afghanistan), Drangiana (western Afghanistan and south-eastern Iran) and Arachosia (south-eastern Afghanistan and western Pakistan). On the way Alexander founded Alexandria in Aria (Herat); Prophtasia in Drangiana (Phrada, modern Farah), where Alexander had to put down the first conspiracy of some of his most trusted officers;[8] Alexandria in Arachosia (Kandahar); and Alexandria ad Caucasum (Bagram north of Kabul), where the army spent the winter in 330/329 BC.[9] Before them towered the Hindu Kush, reaching a height of up to 7,700 m, which the Greeks called Parapamisos. This name was derived from the Persian 'uparisana', which means roughly 'where the eagle does not fly'.[10] In the meantime, Bessus had not managed to assemble the hoped-for large army, as the odour of a regicide clung to him, so he adopted a 'scorched earth' strategy. As ancient historians mention neither Persian garrisons nor an Achaemenid government, it may be assumed that the satrap did not have his own troops but rather depended on the loyalty of Bactrian and Sogdian nobles.

In contrast to the Afghans, who were accustomed to the cold and high elevations, Alexander's soldiers suffered greatly under such conditions in the spring of 329 BC. A caravan of Afghan Kirghiz crosses from Afghanistan to Pakistan to reach the valley of Chapursan in northern Pakistan.

In order to avoid an enemy ambush in the mountains, in the spring of 329 BC Alexander crossed the snow-covered and icy Khawak Pass at an elevation of 3,540 m, where his soldiers suffered awful privations. The British lieutenant John Wood, who searched for the source of the Oxus in 1837/38, wrote about the Khawak Pass: 'Firm footing began to fail the horses. The depth of snow was about four feet; and most of the animals, after floundering till exhausted, sunk in up to their bellies.'[11] After the misery of the ice desert came that of the sand desert. Curtius Rufus describes northern Bactria between Bactra and the Oxus as follows: 'A large area of the country is engulfed by desert sands. [...] When the wind blows ... all traces of roads that existed before are obliterated. Consequently, people crossing the plains follow the practice of sailors, watching the stars at night and plotting their course by their movement. [...] The area is impossible to traverse by day, because one finds no track to follow and the light of the celestial bodies is hidden in a misty darkness.'[12]

The cities of Aornos (Kunduz) and Bactra (Balkh) fell to Alexander without a fight, as Bessus had fled in a panic to Nautaka (Shahr-i Sabz south of Samarkand) in Sogdia. Although Bessus had destroyed his pontoon bridge over the Oxus, the powerful river did not represent an insurmountable barrier for the Macedonian army. Alexander 'distributed to the men ... skins stuffed with straw. Lying on these the men swam the river. In this way Alexander deposited the entire army on the far bank in five days.'[13] On account of Bessus's weakness his allies let him fall, and the Sogdian noble Spitames, who would soon become a bitter enemy of Alexander, took him prisoner. While Alexander was waiting for Spitames to

bring him the naked and bound Bessus, he ordered the murder of the Branchidae. Bessus, however, was whipped and crucified after his ears and nose had been cut off.[14] After this Alexander marched to Maracanda (Samarkand), one of the most important cities in Sogdia, and further north-east to Cyropolis (Istaravshan in north-western Tajikistan). This march to the east was no blind drive for conquest; rather Alexander wanted to strengthen the north-eastern border of the empire, which was constantly threatened by the Saka. To help defend against them, he ordered the building of the fortified city of Alexandria Eschate, 'the most distant Alexandria' (present Khujand), north-east of Cyropolis. The city rapidly developed into a crossroads on the trade routes between Sogdia and China and Rome and, as Curtius Rufus reports, it maintained its Greek identity into the first century AD.[15]

While Alexander was pressing ahead with the building of Alexandria Eschate, news reached him of a widespread rebellion in Bactria and Sogdia. It marked the start of a brutal guerrilla war, which cost tens of thousands of civilian lives and left the region in ruins. Only decades later did the two Seleucid rulers Seleucus I (r. 305–281 BC) and Antiochus I (r. 281–261 BC) begin to reconstruct the cities and infrastructure there. Alexander responded to the rebellion with his usual speed. First he conquered the seven rebellious cities on the Syr Darya, which were not able to defend themselves against Greek catapults and mobile siege machines; the men were killed and the women sold into slavery. Then he sent a 4,000-man relief army under General Menedemus to break Spitames's siege of Maracanda. But Spitames lured Menedemus into an ambush and crushed his troops. In the meantime the first

Cotton harvest between Samarkand and Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Cotton was first cultivated in Pakistan during the Indus Valley Civilisation (*ca.* 2800–1800 BC) and spread slowly to Central Asia, where Greeks became familiar with it during the campaign of Alexander the Great.

of two Scythian delegations had reached Alexander's camp and warned him against mounting a campaign against Scythia, since the Scythians could quickly attack his homeland of Macedonia.[16] Nevertheless, Alexander crossed the Syr Darya and successfully attacked a division of Saka mounted warriors with his cavalry. Although Alexander retreated immediately to the southern riverbank, the Saka remained peaceful from then on and Choresmia offered him an alliance. The Macedonian then broke the siege ring around Maracanda and carried out a bloodbath in the valley of the Zerafshan River. 'Alexander divided his forces and ordered the burning of the countryside and the execution of men of military age', reported Curtius Rufus.[17] The army spent the winter in Balkh.[18]

In the spring of 328 BC Alexander continued his strategy of terror against supporters of Spitames and had inhabitants of rebellious cities between Bactra and Samarkand systematically killed. The cities were set on fire and razed to the ground, as is shown by the widespread archaeological traces of fire.[19] This strategy of making a terrible example of rebellious cities foreshadowed that of Genghis Khan. Alexander's brutality was possibly one of the reasons for the development of an early Sogdian diaspora in eastern Central Asia, first in the direction of the Tarim Basin and Gansu, much later throughout northern and central China as far as the capitals of Luoyang and Chang'an.[20] This Sogdian emigration created the necessary conditions for the later dominant position of the Sogdians as traders along the Silk Roads.

Alexander first marched north-east from Bactra to the Oxus (Amu Darya), which he reached east of the location of the future Oxus temple of Takht-i Sangin. The temple lies on the northern bank of the Oxus, about 6 km south-west of the confluence of the ancient Oxus (today's Vakhsh) with the Ochos (today's Panj).[21] Here he divided the army into five divisions: Hephaestion followed the Panj, which today forms the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan till Dzong, to about 60 km upstream from the future Greek city of Eucratidia (Aï Khanum). Ptolemy purged the valley of the Vakhsh, and Perdiccas that of the Kafirnigan, both in southern Tajikistan, while Coenos and Arzabazos pursued the rebels in the broadly branching valley of the Sukhan Darya. Finally, Alexander 'crossed the Ochus and Oxus rivers and came to the city of Margiana [or Marginia], in the vicinity of which sites for six towns were chosen'.[22]

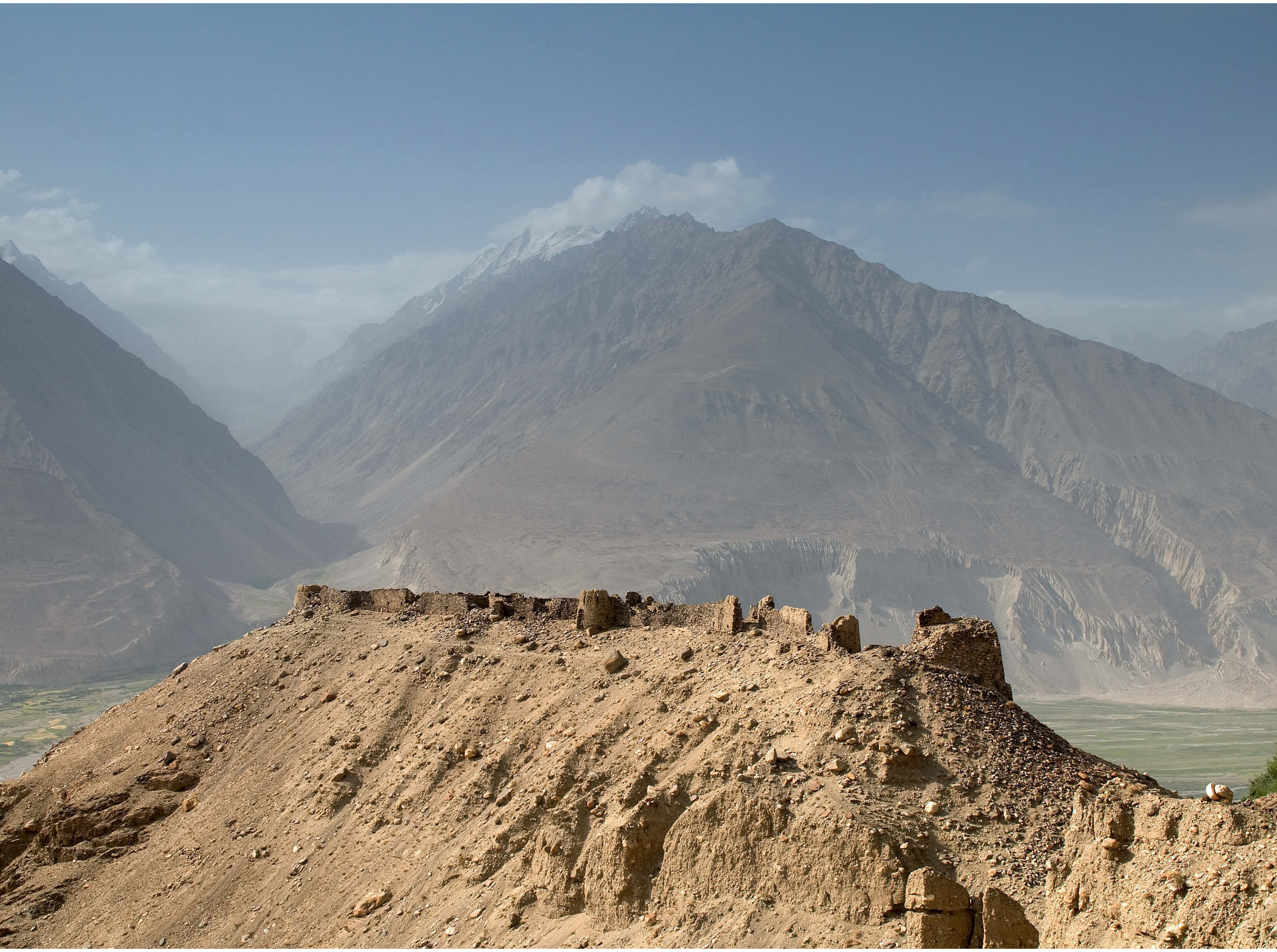
The city of Margiana that Curtius Rufus refers to is equated with either Termez[23] or with the smaller Kampyr Tepe, 30 km farther west, which could be identical with Alexandria Oxeiana.[24] Of the six military stations established by Alexander, one was discovered near Kurgansol in 2003/4. The fortress of Kurgansol stands about 100 km north of Termez high above an ancient route that linked the Oxus with Maracanda. The fortress, built at the time of Alexander's campaign, contained exclusively Hellenistic ceramics. It was fortified on its north-western and north-eastern sides with six strong, round towers, while on the southern and south-western side vertically sloping precipices ensured its security. The fortress withstood at least one severe attack, but it was abandoned at the start of the third century BC when the region had been sufficiently pacified.

While Alexander received the second Scythian delegation in Maracanda and, in frenzy, murdered his own friend Cleitos, Spitames, whose troops were bolstered by 800 mounted warriors of the Massagetae, succeeded in destroying a Greek division, but he suffered a bitter defeat against General Coenos. While Spitames prepared to flee, the Bactrians and Sogdians deserted him, after which the Massagetae took him prisoner. When they heard that Alexander was pursuing them, they decapitated Spitames and sent his head to the Macedonian as a peace offering. Thus Spitames suffered the same fate that he had inflicted upon Bessus. But a few nobles barricaded themselves in their mountain fortresses, so Alexander had to stay, and he made his winter camp in Nautaka (Shahr-i Sabz) in 328/27 BC.[25]

In the spring of 327 BC Alexander captured the last Bactrian mountain fortresses, including the 'Sogdian cliffs' of the noble Oxyartes.[26] After the surrender the wives and daughters of Oxyartes and other nobles fell into the conqueror's hands. One of these was Roxana, the 13-year-old daughter of Oxyartes, with whom Alexander fell in love. Instead of taking her as a concubine, he promised her a royal wedding. When the Macedonians grumbled that their king was marrying a woman of lower birth, he admonished them, saying that 'intermarriages of Persians and Macedonians would serve to consolidate the empire, that only thus could the conquered lose their shame and the conquerors their pride'.[27] Whether love was really involved is unknown, but the marriage was a politically brilliant move. The Bactrian nobles were impressed by Alexander's treatment of the prisoners and became steadfast allies of Oxyartes's son-in-law. 'Alexander was no longer viewed as a foreign invader, but instead became a Bactrian king.'[28] The resistance collapsed, and Alexander left the region via Kabul in the direction of the Indus, reinforced by Massagetae cavalry units. Presumably Alexander wanted to reach the end of the world, traditionally imagined as disc-shaped, which was surrounded by the world ocean Okéanos, although Greek scholars like Pythagoras (*ca.* 570–510 BC) or his teacher Aristotle (384–322 BC) knew the earth was a sphere. But Alexander must have noticed that the Okéanos was always on the horizon, no matter how far he marched.

For Alexander Central Asia was no sideshow but rather the place he stayed the longest and had to fight the most difficult battles. In the short term Alexander's campaign was a destructive episode for Central Asia; in the long term its consequences changed the political and cultural landscape of the region, and, with regard to art, the canon of Greek sculpture gave emergent

Near the confluence of the Rivers Pamir and Wakhan, which form at Dzong the River Panj, a feeder of the Oxus. Gorno-Badakhshan, southern Tajikistan.



During his Bactrian campaign Alexander's armies had to conquer several practically impregnable fortresses. The fortress of Zamr-i Atish Parast near the village of Yamchun in Gorno-Badakhshan, southern Tajikistan, founded at the end of the Kushan period (first–third centuries AD), protected the trade route that ran along the northern bank of the Oxus. In the background is the Hindu Kush Range.

Buddhism a visual face. The reconstruction of Bactria by the early Seleucids cleared the way for the splendid Greco–Bactrian culture, and when the nomadic horsemen of the Saka and Yuezhi threatened Bactria beginning in 145 BC, Hellenistic artists fled south into the region of Gandhara. Here, along with itinerant Roman artists and local sculptors, they founded the aesthetic style of Gandhara Buddhist sculpture.

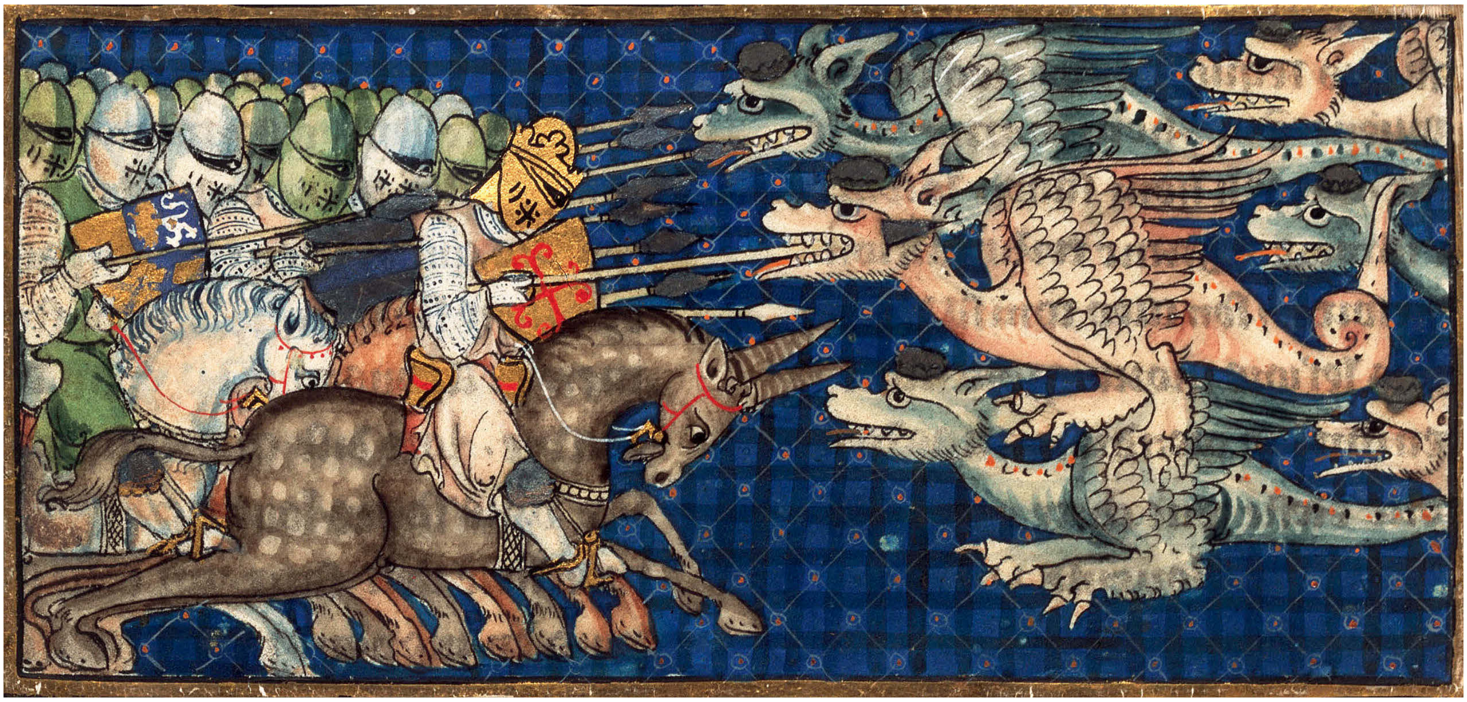
Just two years after Alexander's withdrawal there was a mutiny by the Greek mercenaries and veterans who had remained behind in Bactria but still longed for their homeland. Alexander either had them massacred by loyal Macedonian troops or removed them from the army.[29] This episode suggests that the chief threat to the young empire of Alexander came not from outside but rather from within. In fact, immediately after Alexander's death in 323 BC, the wars of the Diadochi broke out.

2. The Greco–Bactrian Kingdom

No sooner had news of Alexander's death reached the 23,000 forcibly settled Greek mercenaries and settlers in Central Asia than they rebelled again and planned the return to their homeland. But the imperial regent Perdiccas (d. 320 BC) sent General Peithon (*ca*. 355–315 BC), son of Crateus, to Bactria with Macedonian troops, who quickly quelled the revolt and accepted the surrender of the rebels. But the Macedonian army ignored Peithon's pact with the surrendered Greeks and massacred them ruthlessly.[30] In the western part of the empire the wars between Alexander's former commanders took their course; at times the five kings, Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus and Cassander claimed Alexander's legacy as their own. Conflict developed among the Diadochi, the 'successors', because Alexander's two heirs to the throne were minors: Alexander's half-brother Philip III was feeble-minded and his own son, the future Alexander IV, was not yet born. Cassander had Alexander IV and his mother Roxana poisoned in 310 BC. The war within the Macedonian elite came to an end only with the victory of Seleucus over Antigonus in 301 BC.

In Central Asia, Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, continued to rule as satrap of Paropamisadae and the other Greek satrapies were assigned to army officers: Arachosia to Sibyrtius, Aria and Drangiana to Stasanor and Bactria and Sogdiana to Philip, son of Balakros.[31] In 317 BC the satraps of Central Asia entered the Diadochi conflicts. First they repulsed Peithon, who was expanding to the east, and then supported Eumenes in the war against Antigonus. As a result of the betrayal of his two Macedonian generals, Eumenes could not take advantage of two victories. The Argyraspides, the so-called 'silver shield' that had constituted Alexander's personal guard, later handed Eumenes over to Antigonus. He left the satraps of Central Asia, who had fought against him, in their offices after subjugation.[32] Towards the end of the fourth century BC Antigonus (*ca*. 382–301 BC), who ruled in Asia Minor, and Seleucus I (b. *ca*. 358; r. 305–281 BC) remained as the chief rivals. Before Seleucus carried out the decisive attack on Antigonus, he wanted to secure his eastern flank, so in 307 BC he took off to Central Asia, which nominally belonged to his territory but whose satrapies had been virtually autonomous since Peithon's campaign. Seleucus succeeded without great effort in getting Bactria, Sogdia, Margiana and Aria to recognise his authority. The Macedonian Seleucus was well served not only by his military and diplomatic skills but also by the fact that he was married to

The southernmost tower of the citadel of Zamr-i Atish Parast near Yamchun in Gorno-Badakhshan, southern Tajikistan.



While for the Greeks and Macedonians of the time the campaigns of Alexander and the Seleucids represented adventurous but real undertakings in genuinely existing lands, a millennium later in medieval Europe, on account of a loss of geographic knowledge, they entered the realm of fantasy, inhabited by dragons, horse-headed people, giants and other monsters. The Alexander Romance declares that: 'King Alexander and his army battled against dragons with large emeralds on their foreheads.' Manuscript 78.C.1 from France in the 1290s. Kupferstichkabinett Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin.

Apama, the daughter of the Sogdian resistance fighter Spitames. Apama and their son, the future Antiochus I (b. 324; r. 281–261 BC), accompanied him, which contributed to the benevolent attitude of the Sogdian and Bactrians.

South of the Hindu Kush, where Greek authority had been eroding gradually since 316 BC, an entirely different opponent awaited Seleucus, namely Chandragupta (d. 297 BC), founder of the Maurya Empire. Instead of subjecting himself to a possible defeat by a numerically far superior foe, Seleucus chose the path of negotiation. He was also aware that in the event of a victory he would have been unable to hold on to the Indus Valley after his return to the Near East. Thus in 303 BC he recognised the de facto rule of Chandragupta over Gedrosia, Paropamisadae and Arachosia (southern Afghanistan and northern and central Pakistan). In return he gained 500 war elephants, which two years later contributed substantially to his decisive victory over Antigonus at Ipsus in Phrygia. About 80 percent of Alexander's empire now stood under Seleucus's control.[33]

With the peace treaty between Seleucus and Chandragupta the Greek colonies south of the Hindu Kush were under Indian foreign rule for a century, until the Greco–Bactrian king Demetrius I (r. *ca.* 195–171/70 BC) reconquered northern India. Thanks to the good relations between the Seleucids and the Maurya, which included the exchange of diplomatic missions, the Greek colonies and their culture flourished even under Indian suzerainty, as can be seen, for instance, in the edicts of Emperor Ashoka (r. 268–234/32), which were also written in Greek,[34] and in the Greek funerary epigram for a man called Sophytos from Kandahar.[35]

As mentioned above, around 293/92 BC Margiana, Bactria and Aria became targets of a powerful invasion of Saka horsemen, who belonged to the confederation of the Dahae; General Demodamas drove them back to the Jaxartes, however.[36] In order to secure Seleucid rule in Central Asia, Seleucus sent his half-Sogdian son Antiochus, whom he appointed viceroy of the eastern satrapies, to Bactria to oversee the reconstruction of the cities and the renovation and construction of irrigation projects. Antiochus promoted the immigration of Macedonian and Greek settlers and supported a rapprochement between Greeks and Bactrians. He replaced Aramaic with Greek as the official administrative language and opened a royal mint, the first in Central Asia, in the newly founded city of Aï Khanum. It produced a full range of gold, silver and bronze coins, in the name first of Seleucus, later of Seleucus and Antiochus and, beginning in 281 BC, of Antiochus alone. It is above all the bronze coins of low value, used in everyday transactions, which show the degree of monetisation of an economy. Central Asia, particularly Bactria, experienced under the first two Seleucids an unparalleled economic boom, founded on the three pillars of flourishing agriculture, lively intercontinental trade and increased urbanisation – not for nothing did ancient authors like Pompeius Trogus and Strabo call Bactria the 'land of a thousand cities'.[37] The navigability of the Oxus – along which, according to Strabo, 'Indian goods ... could easily be transported to Hyrcania [on the Caspian Sea]'[38] – also contributed to the economic upswing. When Seleucus was murdered in 281 BC, Antiochus returned to western Asia, where he immediately had to defend himself from attacks by the Egyptian Ptolemys and the Celtic Galatians.

In order to secure for himself the important resources of Central Asia in the struggle with his enemies in the west, Antiochus I (r. 281–261 BC) appointed his son Seleucus viceroy of the eastern satrapies around 279 BC. Antiochus's wars in the west led him to neglect the eastern satrapies, however, and moreover, his incessant demands for their economic resources weakened their military readiness against the omnipresent threat of the Saka nomads. While the north-eastern satrapies were able to stave off the invasion of 293/92 thanks to the help of the central government, ten years later they were not only forced to fight on their own but also had to provide the government with troops. At that time the region of Maracanda made an agreement with the encroaching nomads, who left the city undisturbed, and Maracanda became independent from the Seleucid Empire.[39] Presumably the viceroy Seleucus also planned the independence of the eastern satrapies, because in around 268/66 Antiochus had his son, who had begun to mint his own coins, executed for conspiracy.[40]

Head of a presumably Greco–Bactrian prince from the Oxus temple of Takht-i Sangin, southern Tajikistan, painted unfired clay, third–second centuries BC. National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan, Dushanbe.

Unfortunately only sparse and fragmentary written sources exist for the history of Greco–Bactria, since most relevant works of history have been lost, so the reconstruction of Greco–Bactrian history is based on numismatics and archaeological data.[41] Antiochus I's successor, Antiochus II (r. 261–246 BC) was constantly embroiled in wars in the Near East, which the Greek satraps of Bactria, Diodotus (*ca.* 285–235 BC), and Parthia, Andragoras (d. *ca.* 238 BC) took advantage of in order to gradually secede from the Seleucid Empire. In the turbulent time around Antiochus's death in 246 BC both satraps declared themselves independent and minted coins in their own names; presumably Diodotus opened a second mint in Bactra.[42] While **Diodotus I** (r. *ca.* 246–235 BC) founded the Greco–Bactrian Kingdom, which included the satrapies of Bactria, Sogdia, Margiana and perhaps eastern parts of Aria; that is, southern Uzbekistan, north-western Afghanistan and south-eastern Turkmenistan, his ally Andragoras was unable to assert himself. Around 239 or 238 BC Arsaces (d. 218 or 211 BC), a leader of the Sakan Parni, who belonged to the confederation of the Dahae, first attacked Diodotus in Bactria. Diodotus was, however, able to drive Arsaces out. Arsaces then descended upon Parthia, killed Andragoras and settled his Parni there. He founded the dynasty of the Parthians, which slowly advanced westwards after 190 BC or after 176 BC and in 141 BC captured the Seleucid capital of Seleucia, near the modern city of Baghdad.[43] Although Parthia lay between Bactria and Greece, Greco–Bactria was in no way isolated, as can be seen in the flow of trade by land and by water.

▶ From 208 to 206 BC the Seleucid king Antiochus III besieged the strongly fortified city of Zariaspa (Bactra) in vain, after which he made a compromise with the Greco–Bactrian king Euthydemos I: Antiochus recognised Euthydemos as king and received in return his war elephants. Shown here are Bactra's walls from the late medieval period, after both Genghis Khan (in 1220) and Tamerlane (in the fourteenth century) had destroyed the city.

Silver tetradrachm of the Greco–Bactrian king Eucratides (r. 171/70–145 BC) with a portrait of the king wearing a Greco–Bactrian helmet decorated with Alexander's tiny bull's ear. Private collection, USA.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

Silver tetradrachm of the Greco–Bactrian king Eucratides (r. 171/70–145 BC) with the Dioscuri on horseback and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, great king Eucratides. Private collection, USA.

King Diodotus I died around 235 BC, and was succeeded by his son **Diodotus II** (r. *ca.* 235–225 BC). When Seleucus II (r. *ca.* 246–225 BC) advanced into Central Asia before 227 BC, to reconquer the renegade satrapies, Diodotus II and Arsaces formed an alliance and staved off the attack.[44] Around 225 BC Diodotus became the victim of a bloody military putsch by his ostensible satrap of Sogdia, **Euthydemos I** (r. *ca.* 225–195 BC), who had the entire royal family murdered. Widespread traces of fire at Aï Khanum from the year 225 BC suggest that Euthydemos captured the city, which lay at the confluence of the Panj and the Kokcha, by violent means.[45] In 209 BC Parthia and Greco–Bactria found themselves again confronted by a Seleucid attempt at reconquest, as Antiochus III (r. 223–187 BC) had stabilised his empire in the west to the point that he could advance to the east with a powerful army. After the conquest of the Parthian capital of Hekatompylos south-east of the Caspian Sea and the subjugation of Arsaces II (r. 218 or 211–191 BC) Antiochus destroyed the Bactrian cavalry of Euthydemos, who sought refuge in his strongly fortified capital, Zariaspa, and withstood a two-year siege from 208 to 206 BC.[46]

Antiochus then sent an intermediary to Euthydemos, who informed the Seleucids of the nomadic threat in the north. He emphasised that a strong Greco–Bactria represented an ideal bulwark against the barbarians, and for this reason he was also protecting the eastern flank of the Seleucid Empire. Moreover, Euthydemos threatened to open the northern border, which would give the nomadic horsemen, who also ruled Maracanda, unimpeded access to the Seleucid Empire. In a peace treaty Antiochus confirmed Euthydemos as the Bactrian king and relinquished claims to tribute. In response Euthydemos handed his war elephants over to Antiochus, who then turned to the south. He crossed the Hindu Kush and occupied Paropamisadae, where the Indian king Sophagasenus, perhaps a descendant of the Maurya dynasty, subjugated himself without opposition. Antiochus confiscated his war elephants, demanded a large tribute and returned to Seleucia stronger than before.[47] Euthydemos and his son Demetrius surely noticed the lack of opposition among the northern Indians and understood that, in light of this power vacuum, a rich bounty awaited their conquest. If one believes a report by Strabo, who quotes Apollodoros, Euthydemos also exploited Antiochus's withdrawal to expand his territory to the north-east to Fergana as far as 'Seres' and the 'Phryni'. Presumably 'Seres' refers to the Tarim Basin and the Phryni may be equated with the Xiongnu, who subjugated the north-eastern part of the Tarim Basin at the start of the second century BC.[48] It is conceivable that General Demodamas had occupied parts of Fergana as early as around 290 BC and that Euthydemos's northern campaign advanced along one of the trade routes as far as Kashgar or Aksu.

Around 195 BC Euthydemos's son and hitherto co-regent **Demetrius I** (r. *ca.* 195–171/70 BC) became the sole ruler of Greco–Bactria and continued the conquests south of the Hindu Kush that had been begun by his father. Demetrius annexed the provinces of Gandhara with the valley of Kabul, Arachosia and Drangiana and thus reconquered the regions with Greek colonies that the Seleucids had lost between 316 and 303 BC. Demetrius advanced further south to Taxila, 35 km north-west of the modern Pakistani capital of Islamabad, where he founded the city of Sirkap. The successful expansion of the Greco–Bactrian Kingdom south of the Hindu Kush marked the start of the Indo–Greek calculation of time in the year 186/85 BC.[49] Demetrius was presumably the first and also the last Greco–Bactrian king who ruled unchallenged on both sides of the Hindu Kush. Numismatic studies from 189 to 171 BC provide the names of six different kings, however. Either they ruled in rapid succession, which seems unlikely, or Demetrius was the most powerful king and the others were regional viceroys. Among them were Pantaleon, Agathocles and Apollodoros I, who ruled in the newly conquered regions. A few of these rulers had bilingual coins minted in Greek/Brahmi and Greek/Kharoshthi.[50]

Pendant with the 'Lord of Animals' holding two dragons, whose rear legs are twisted 180 degrees, a typical motif of eastern steppe art. Gold decorated with turquoise, garnet, lapis lazuli, carnelian and pearls. Tillya Tepe, grave 2, *ca.* 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

Around the year 171 BC, when Demetrius was south of the Hindu Kush, **Eucratides I** (r. 171/70–145 BC), who may have been allied with the Seleucid ruling family,[51] staged a coup in the Bactrian heartland. It rapidly developed into a bloody civil war. The first victim was the ostensible viceroy of Bactria, Euthydemos II. Demetrius marched northwards and, after an initial success, fell in the second battle. After the victory over Demetrius Eucratides killed the viceroy Antimachos I and presumably captured the city of Aï Khanum, which he renamed Eucratideia.[52] Immediately after this Eucratides turned to the north, crossed the Oxus, marched through the 'Iron Gate' and reconquered Maracanda, which was under the control of the nomads of the Kangju federation, and had the city walls fortified.[53] Greco–Bactria was now split in two: Eucratides ruled north of the Hindu Kush, and three viceroys of the defeated Demetrius ruled to the south. In order to re-establish imperial unity, Eucratides crossed the Hindu Kush to the south, where he vanquished Pantaleon, Agathocles and Apollodoros I and presumably pressed on to Sirkap. Here he encountered the successor of Apollodoros, the Indo–Greek king Menandros I (r. *ca.* 165/155–130 BC), the future conqueror of northern India and great champion of Buddhism.[54] Far from his Bactrian power base, Eucratides had to recognise Menandros's domain and returned empty-handed to Bactria, where he fell victim to an attack in 145 BC. Shortly before his death the Parthian king Mithridates I (r. 171–138 BC) succeeded in seizing several areas in western Greco–Bactria, presumably including Margiana.[55]

The circumstances surrounding Eucratides's murder are mysterious. According to Justin, who cited the work of Pompeius Trogus, now lost, Eucratides 'was killed on his march [back to Bactria] by his son, with whom he had shared the throne, ... and who drove his chariot through his blood and ordered his body to be cast out unburied.'[56] Who was the alleged parricide? Several authors incriminate either Heliocles, the last Greco–Bactrian king north of the Hindu Kush, or his brother Plato, who is said to have ruled for only a short time, presumably as viceroy.[57] But Tarn proposed as long ago as 1938 that Eucratides was not killed by his own son but rather by Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, who had been defeated by Eucratides in 171/70 BC, with the help of the Parthians. Tarn's view is shared by Sidky.[58] Eucratides's son or brother **Heliocles** (r. *ca.* 145–130 BC), perhaps in alliance with **Eucratides II** (r. *ca.* 145–?) and the viceroy of southern Bactria **Plato I** (r. *ca.* 145–140 BC) overthrew **Demetrius II** (r. 145 BC–?), who may have been appointed by

Mithridates.[59] The disappearance of copper coins during the time of these four kings reveals a collapse of the monetisation of the Bactrian economy and the urban trade structures.[60]

Heliocles quickly began to lose control of the northern regions. The civil war provoked by Eucratides, the costly campaign to Gandhara, the loss of Margiana to the Parthians, and Eucratides's murder resulted in a tremendous weakening of the Greco–Bactrian Kingdom, with dramatic consequences. Nomadic riders from the north took advantage of the chaos following Eucratides's death and promptly attacked. In the next 15 years Greco–Bactria suffered an onslaught of nomadic riding peoples at least twice. Both attacks were the result of a domino-like migration of peoples, brought about the conflicts between the Chinese empire and the Xiongnu nomadic horsemen. After the Xiongnu had dealt three serious defeats to the nomadic horsemen of the Yuezhi, who lived in north-western China, in the years 207, 176, and 162 BC, the latter left their homeland for the west.[61] The majority settled in the fertile valley of the Ili, driving out the Saka who lived there. As the Han Shu records, the 'Sai [Saka] tribes split and separated'.[62] One group of Saka moved into the western Tarim Basin, in particular the oasis of Khotan, another to Sogdia and Bactria, and a third further south: 'The King of the Sai [Saka] moved south, crossed over the Suspended Crossing'[63] and 'established himself as master of Chipin.'[64] The frightening Suspended Crossing, called in Chinese *xuandu,* was located in the Upper Hunza Valley. The path was only 50 to 100 cm wide and consisted of flat stones placed upon sticks jammed into cracks in bare cliffs, often hanging dozens of metres over a stormy river. Having mastered the Suspended Crossing, these Saka established themselves in Kashmir.[65]

In 133 or 132 BC the Wusun nomads, who had once been oppressed by the Yuezhi, attacked the Yuezhi with the help of the Xiongnu and drove them out of the Ili valley.[66] Most of the Yuezhi fled to the south and crossed Fergana and Kangju unopposed, after which they forced the Saka out of the former Greco–Bactria.[67] The Saka then attacked the eastern part of the Parthian Empire, where they defeated and killed the two Parthian kings Phraates II (r. 138–128 BC) and Artabanos I (r. 128–123 BC). Mithridates II (r. 123–88/87) was finally able to resettle some of the Saka in Sakastan, today's Sistan, and force others into the Indus Valley.[68]

The second group of those Saka fleeing the Ili valley *ca.* 160 BC from the invading Yuezhi attacked first Maracanda and then Aï Khanum around the year 145 BC. The attackers systematically plundered the city and set the palace on fire, burning it to the ground. Around 130 BC the Yuezhi moved in and plundered the city again.[69] When the Chinese ambassador Zhang Qian (195–114 BC) visited northern Bactria and the city of Bactra in 128 or 127 BC, to recruit the Yuezhi for an alliance against the Xiongnu, he found them firmly established on the northern bank of the Oxus, while they also ruled the part of Bactria south of the river, although they did not occupy it. He reported: 'Daxia [Bactria] is situated over 2,000 li (*ca.* 800 km) southwest of Dayuan [Fergana], south of the Gui [Oxus] river. It has no great ruler but only a number of petty

Cupids riding a dolphin or catfish. A pair of golden clasps decorated with turquoise and mother of pearl. Tillya Tepe, grave 3, *ca.* 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

chiefs ruling the various cities. The people are poor in the use of arms and afraid of battle, but they are clever at commerce. After the Great Yuezhi moved west and attacked and conquered Daxia, the entire country came under their sway. The capital is Lanshi [Bactra] where all sorts of goods are bought and sold.'[70] It appears that the new nomadic rulers interfered with neither trade nor agriculture.[71]

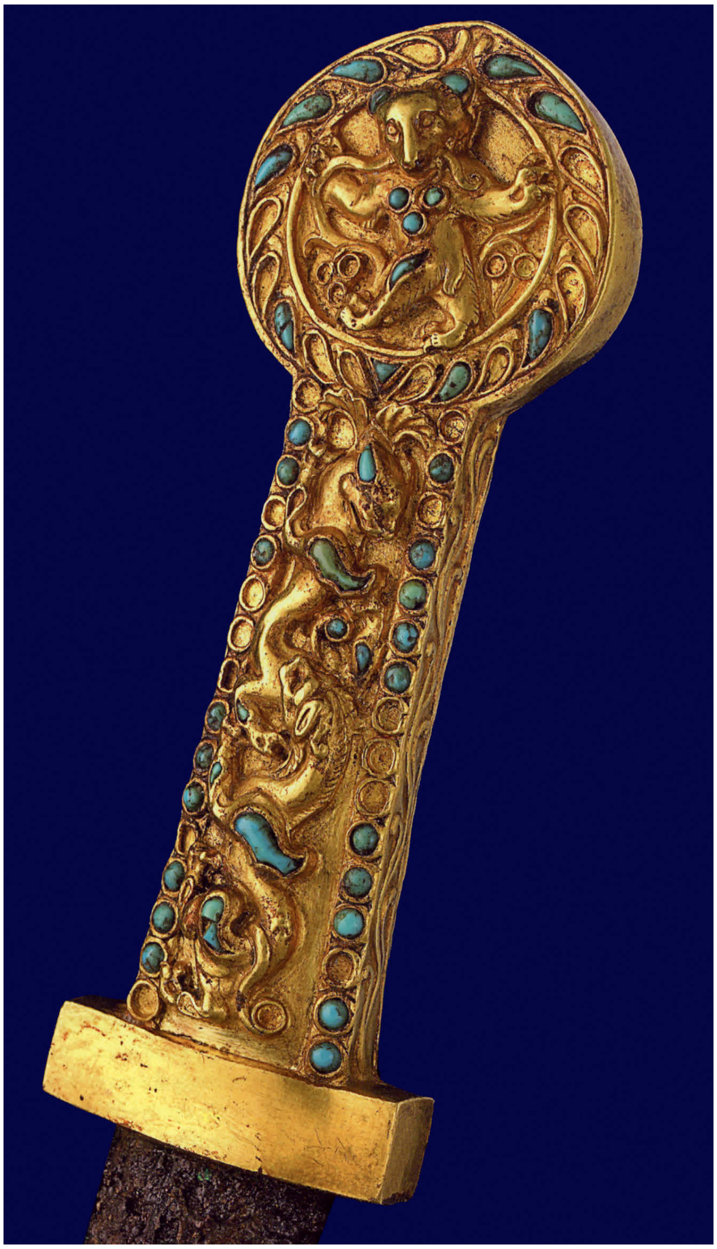
Zhang Qian's report makes no mention of a great king, an army or a unified government. The state structures established by the Greeks had evidently disappeared. Heliocles I, who died around 130 BC, was the last Greek ruler of Bactria; south of the Hindu Kush the last Greek, Hermaios, ruled until about 70 BC, and in the eastern Punjab Strato II, a distant descendant of Manandros I, ruled until about 10 AD.[72] The former territory of Greco–Bactria north of the Hindu Kush underwent a transition to an age of semi-settled stockbreeding of nomadic origin.

3. Bactrian art of the steppe, Hellenism and Zoroastrianism

The art of Greco–Bactria developed unique syntheses between nomadic art, Greek, Iranian and local stylistic elements, as well as between Hellenistic and Central Asian architectural principles.

3.1 The golden treasure of Tillya Tepe

One of the most spectacular archaeological discoveries of the twentieth century in Central Asia was left behind by nomadic horsemen of Bactria who had become settled. In 1969 an Afghan–Soviet expedition under the leadership of Viktor Sarianidi began work at Emshi Tepe in northern Afghanistan, about 100 km west of Bactra. Here they uncovered a 20-ha round city from the first century AD.[73] In 1978 Sarianidi set his spade to Tillya Tepe, the mound 500 m south of Emshi Tepe, where he first exposed a village from the third century BC and under that a fortified hall from the late second millennium BC, which he interpreted as a temple. On 15 November one of the Afghan workers made a completely unexpected discovery of gold, which came from the grave of a young woman, on the west side of the small fortress. Between then and 7 February 1979 the team revealed six extremely rich graves, the burials of a chief and five noblewomen. A seventh grave was resealed since Sarianidi had planned his return for autumn of 1979. He handed the find, including the 21,618 gold objects, over to the Afghan National Museum. Unfortunately, due to the worsening civil war and the Soviet invasion at the end of December 1979, the planned continuation of the excavation never took place.



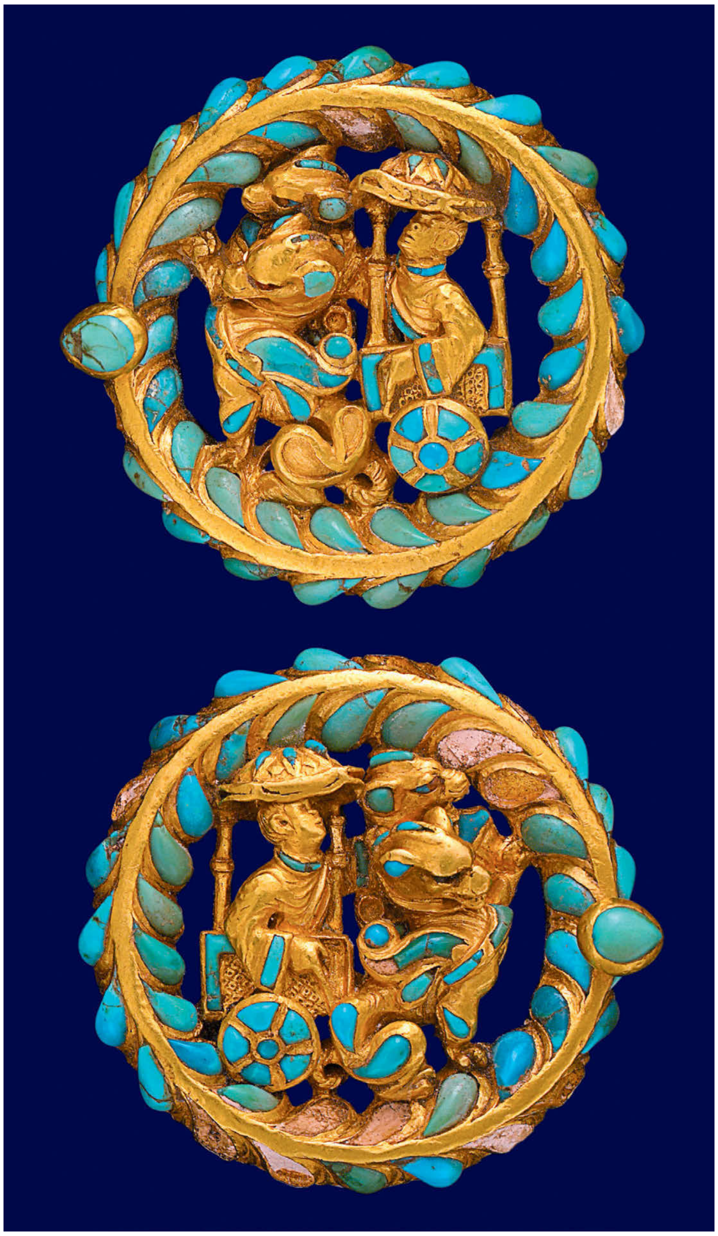
Golden handle of an iron akinakes decorated with turquoise. A dancing bear holding a vine branch in his mouth is shown on the pommel. Tillya Tepe, grave 4, *ca*. 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

Looking back, Sarianidi wrote, 'The seventh grave had not yet been examined, and the eighth emerged [in 1979] with the rains, as we sat in Moscow. Since then, darkness has again engulfed the treasures. Soldiers we had trusted apparently looted the two unexcavated graves left in the necropolis. The next spring [1980] there turned up in Kabul's shopping district gold ornaments highly reminiscent of those recovered from Tillya Tepe.' Prophetically he advised the reader: 'Look well on these pieces of the Bactrian masterpieces that follow. Who knows when they will be seen again?'[74] The treasures came within a hair's breadth of falling victim to the chaos of war and the destructive zeal of the Taliban. In 1981 the museums of Hadda and Jalalabad were completely plundered, as was the National Museum in Kabul in 1992, 1994 and 1996, after which the Taliban destroyed most of the statues there in 2001. Fortunately the treasure of Tillya Tepe had been placed securely in a safe in the national bank in 1988 and thus, thanks to the discretion of those few people who knew of it, eluded the grasp of the Taliban. In April 2004 the collection was again secured in the presence of Sarianidi.

According to Sarianidi's description,[75] a young woman lay in grave 1, holding in her hand a coin of the Kushan chief Heraios (r. *ca.* 0–30 AD), the presumed father of the dynastic founder Kujula Kadphises. Her clothing was decorated with seven gold appliqué plates, which show a male figure with snake-like legs, analogous to the primordial mother of all Scythians. This figure carries on his shoulders a huge fish, probably a catfish, and he most likely represents a water god.

In grave 2 lay a 30–40-year-old woman with a Chinese mirror, two daggers decorated in the animal-style and an iron battle axe. Whether the weapons represented a status symbol or identified the woman as a warrior remains unknown. She wore a caftan-like dress with more than 1,500 gold discs and a gold appliqué of a winged 'Aphrodite' or rather Psyche, a pair of gold bracelets ending in the heads of antelopes, which probably date to the third or second century BC,[76] a tall conical headdress decorated with gold discs and a pair of golden pendants in the Sarmato–Alanic style set with semiprecious stones and each showing a 'lord of animals' taming two dragons. To these were added two gold clasps, likewise set with semiprecious stones and depicting a cupid riding on a dolphin or catfish, and three rings, of which two intaglios portray the Greek goddess Athena. In the coffin there also lay tiny amulets made of semiprecious stones in the form of a hand, a foot or animal teeth. Similar amulets were placed in tombs 3, 5 and 6.

Grave 3 also contained the body of a young woman, her head resting on a golden plate. This grave was also rich in grave goods. Although it had not been disturbed by grave robbers, it had been damaged by rodents, who took small gold objects into their lairs and scattered them about the area around the necropolis, which led to the graveyard's local name 'Tillya Tepe', 'Hill of Gold'. Among the grave goods were a silver mirror with Chinese characters and a second mirror with a handle made of ivory, which had been imported from northern India, as well as an Indian ivory comb. There were also two large clasps, each with a warrior in Greco–Bactrian gear and two smaller clasps with cupids riding on dolphins or catfishes, a gold collar, two armbands and two hair pins, three fingerings and a pair of gold shoe soles. Finally, two coins were placed with the woman, a silver Parthian one of Mithridates II (r. 123–88/87 BC) and a gold coin of Emperor Tiberius (r. 14–37 AD). The latter is the oldest Roman coin found in Bactria and provides the terminus post quem, the earliest possible date, not only for the grave but also most likely for the entire necropolis, which is dated to between 40 and 70 AD.

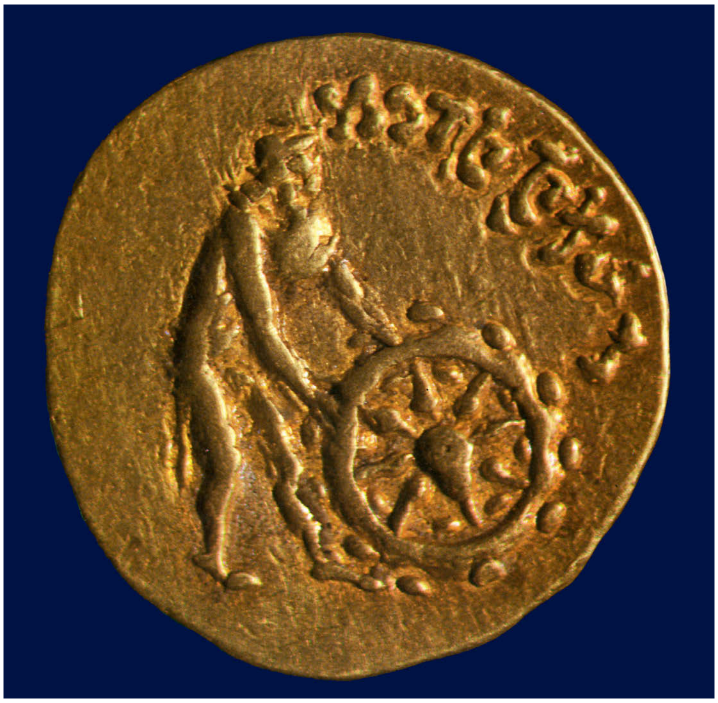


Golden shoe buckles with turquoise and carnelian. They show a man sitting in a chariot under a parasol and pulled by two winged lions. Tillya Tepe, grave 4, *ca.* 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

In the main grave 4 lay an adult man, 30 years old, whose head rested on a golden bowl. He was armed with a long iron sword, two daggers, two bows and two full quivers and who was followed into the grave by a sacrificed horse. He was clearly a chieftain, who had either led the life of a mounted warrior or at least been buried according to the traditional customs of nomadic horsemen. One dagger is the one described above,[77] made in the Sarmato–Alanic polychrome style, whose knob is decorated with a bear and whose gold sheath, adorned with turquoise, has one bottom and four side bulges in the form of a coiled, winged carnivore. It is very similar to the dagger of Datchi, as is the second ceremonial dagger from grave 4, on whose gold sheath a winged dragon attacks a predatory creature with a wolf's head and deer antlers. On the rim of this second sheath, 18 swastikas made of blue glass paste surround the scene of animal combat. This second iron dagger has an ivory knob; two small knives are stuck in the back of the sheath, a combination familiar from Tuva and the Altai. With the predator with deer antlers, the dragon and the swastikas, the dagger unites artistic elements from southern Siberia, China and India. Also crafted in opulent Sarmato–Alanic polychrome style were two shoe buckles with two winged lions pulling a chariot, on which sits an aristocratic man under a baldachin. The scene is framed by a double row of rotating turquoise droplets. This portrayal suggests associations with a silver platter from Aï Khanum, on which two lions pull Cybele's chariot,[78] and the type of light, covered chariot recalls one that was discovered in the grave T1 of a chief of the Xiongnu at Gol Mod in northern central Mongolia and that, analogous to Tillya Tepe, dates to the second quarter of the first century AD.[79] As Markus Mode hypothesises, adoption of the theme of the ascension of Alexander by means of griffins in flight is also conceivable.[80] Both buckles were most likely crafted by a local artisan.

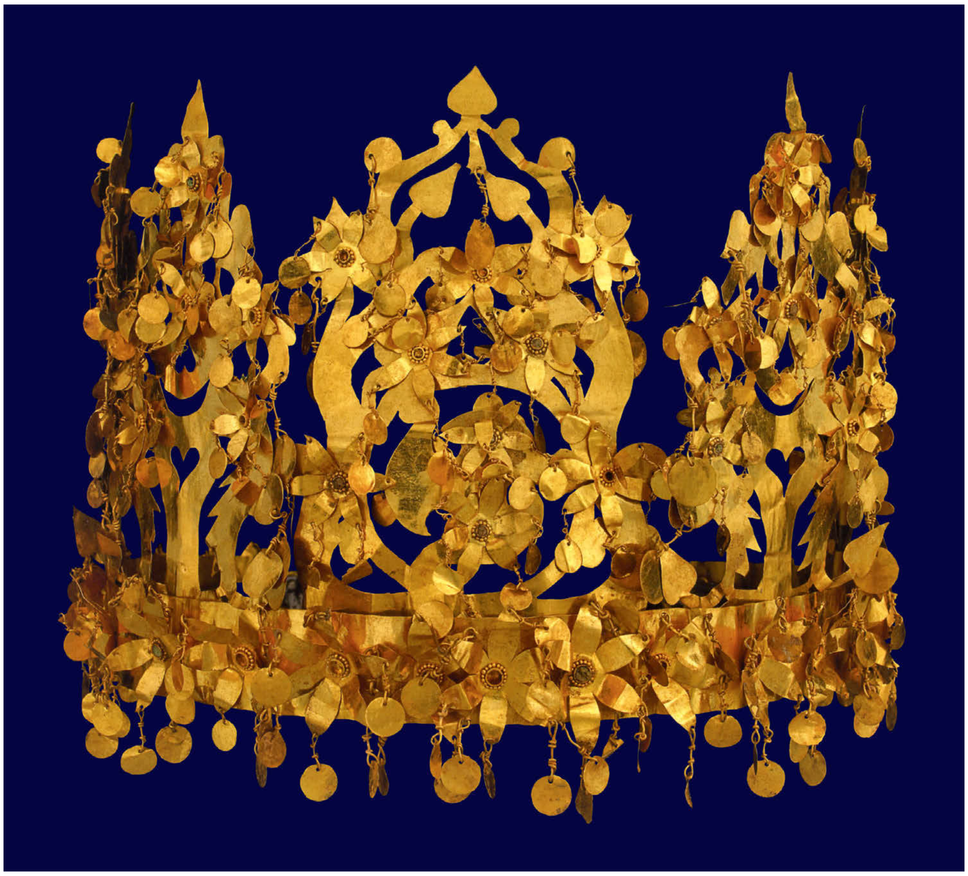
Equally spectacular is a golden belt, consisting of an eight-part flexible band and nine medallions, on which a fully sculpted female figure rides a panther. She holds in one hand a cup and with the other one of her breasts in the direction of the cup. The figure could represent the Bactrian goddess Nana, also worshipped by the Kushan people, on her lion, or Cybele who was also venerated in Greco-Bactria. The deceased wore a tall felt or leather cap decorated with a gold moufflon figurine, a headdress decoration similar to those from Arzhan 2 and from the Altai, and a small gold tree, recalling both the diadem of Khokhlach and Chinese money trees.

Also highly notable was a tiny gold medallion that shows on its front a pacing man, rolling an eight-spoked wheel before him; above it is written in Kharoshthi, 'He who puts in motion the Wheel of Law'. On the back stands a lion and a second Kharoshthi inscription: 'The lion has driven out fear'. Both sides show key scenes of Buddhism. The setting in motion of the Wheel of Law signifies the first sermon of the Buddha in Sarnath near Varanasi; the eight-spoked wheel, the eightfold path of enlightenment. The lion symbolises the spiritual power of the fearless Buddha and his roar awakens people to the call of the dharma. It appears that the front of the medallion represents one of the oldest, pre-canonical depictions of the Buddha.[81]


Golden Indian medallion of 1.6 cm diameter showing a man, most probably Buddha Shakyamuni in a yet non-canonical representation, pushing the eight-spoked Wheel of Law in front of him. Tillya Tepe, grave 4, *ca*. 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

In the less richly appointed grave 5 was buried a woman no older than 20, who was given as grave goods a gold collar set with semiprecious gems and two intaglios, one depicting a griffin and the other the Greek goddess of victory Nike. The intaglio with the griffin is the oldest piece found at Tillya Tepe and dates from the fifth to fourth century BC. She wore gold bands on her wrists and ankles and had a sceptre like the corpse in grave 6. To these were added a mirror with a handle, a lidded silver cosmetics box, a silver dish and a bronze bell.

In grave 6 the most distinguished of the five women found her final resting place. The skull of the woman, about 20 years old at death, had been artificially shaped after birth, as was the custom among the nobility of a few Sarmatian tribes, and it lay on a silver dish – two distinguishing features of the contemporaneous 'princess



Foldable golden crown featuring five stylised trees with two tiny birds perched on the upper branches of four of them. The five removable trees are secured with golden tubes to the headband. The lower band is decorated with 20 rosettes having six leaves each. Tillya Tepe, grave 6, *ca.* 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

of Kök Tepe', 30 km north of Samarkand, as well.[82] The woman in tomb 6 held in her left hand a gold coin, which was a Bactrian reproduction of a Parthian silver coin of Gotarzes I (r. *ca.* 90–81/80? BC) and in her mouth was a Parthian silver coin of Phraates IV (r. 37–2 BC) with a countermark of a Yuezhi chief. This is reminiscent of the Greek burial ritual of placing a coin under the tongue of the deceased so they can pay Charon, the ferryman of the underworld, to cross the Styx, the river of the dead.[83]

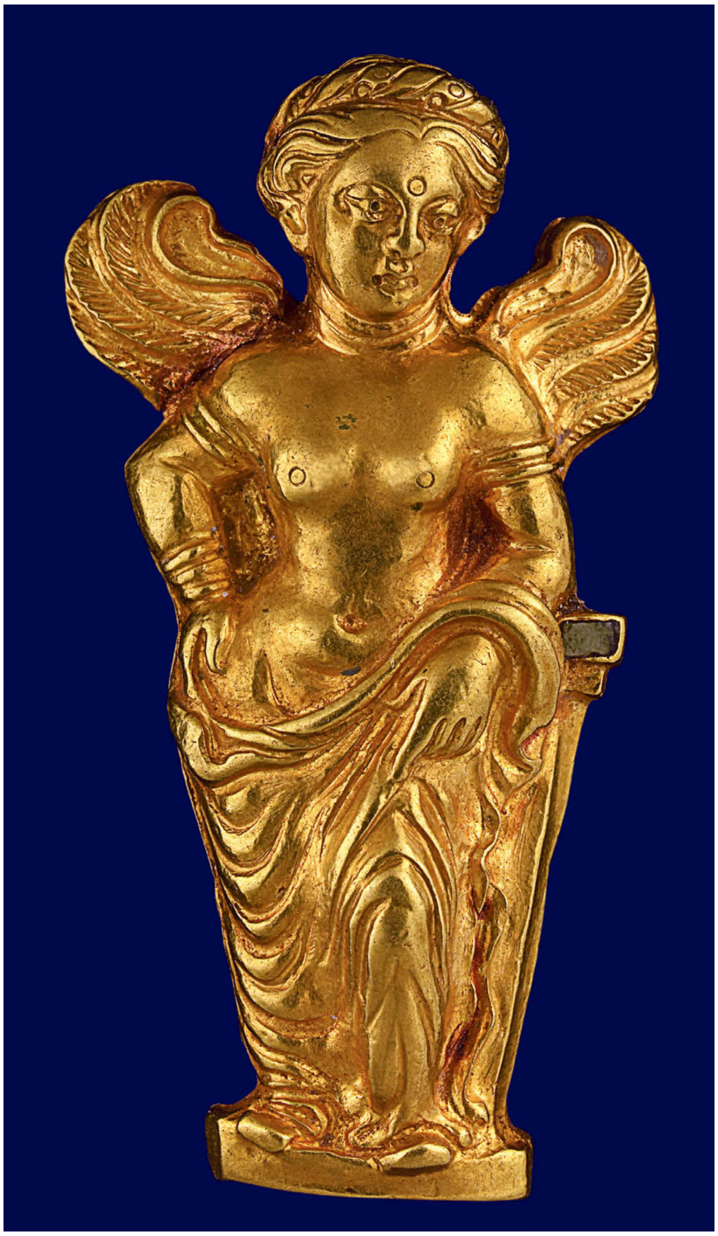
The head of the deceased was adorned with a golden, five-part crown that could easily be folded up and carried in a saddlebag. This crown is decorated with small, stylised trees, similar to those of grave 4, with tiny birds sitting in the upper branches. The branches and twigs of these trees are formed by twisted gold wires hung with thin, sequin-like gold leaves. The Saka and Sarmatians often decorated headdresses with birds and trees of life, as can be seen in the discoveries at Issyk, Khokhlach and Kobiakovo. This splendid crown suggests that the deceased was the main wife of the chieftain. Astonishingly, this crown is very similar to the Korean gold crowns of Silla, also made of sheets of gold and decorated with stylised trees, from the fifth–sixth centuries AD.[84] Presumably Xianbei nomadic horsemen of eastern Mongolia and Manchuria adopted the style and technique of such crowns from the Central Asian Sarmatians and Alans and passed them on to artisans of the northern Korean kingdom of Goguryeo, who in turn passed them on to Silla in the south.

The woman was further adorned with a pair of pendants set with turquoise, each showing a 'mistress of animals' holding a monstrous animal with a wolf's head and gaping jaws and a kind of fishtail, on top of which a raptor sits within the surrounding frame. Sarianidi interprets the figure as Anahita, the Zoroastrian goddess of water and fertility, who in the Avesta lent her name to the Oxus River.[85] The long, caftan-like dress of the deceased was decorated with a gold figurine of a winged 'Aphrodite' or Psyche with a nude upper body, and on the two gold clasps Dionysus and Ariadne ride a bearded griffin, typical of steppe art. In front of the griffin on the ground sits Silenus, associated with Dionysus, with his pointed, horse-like ears. He presents Dionysus with a rython, which the god fills with wine from his cup. Nike hovers behind the couple, holding a wreath above their heads. As Véronique Schiltz observed, 'this kind of explicit unity between man and woman is unknown in the iconography of both the Greeks and the settled Iranians, but seems to fit more naturally into the world of the nomads'. Perhaps this symbolises 'the woman's status as consort to the leader and her apotheosis in death'.[86] As in tomb 3, a silver mirror with Chinese characters lay on her breast and also a mirror with a ivory handle was found. Finally, the deceased wore a gold necklace, two bracelets ending in lions' heads from the third or second century BC, and two simple anklets made of gold. The necklace consisted of ten spherical and two elongated, 25-mm-thick gold beads, whose surface was divided into eight segments by rows of gold filigree, with every other segment decorated with a heart-shaped turquoise. These two goldsmithing techniques were also found in Silla, which is why the expert in Korean art of the Silla period, Young-sook Pak, stated, 'the Tillya Tepe jewelleries [look] as if they were the prototypes for Silla goldsmiths'.[87]

The man, buried in grave 4 in the centre of the small cemetery, may have been a chief of the neighbouring city of Emshi who had maintained the old customs of the nomads and whom five women had to follow into death. Since Bactria was part of a trade network at the time, the treasure of Tillya Tepe brought together objects from every direction: coins and glass from Rome and Parthia, ivory and an early Buddhist medallion from India, silver mirrors from China and motifs of hybrid creatures, weapons and the Sarmato–Alanic polychrome style from the northern steppes. Individual objects, such as the intaglios, came from the Greco–Bactrian period, but the great majority attest to the eclecticism of the local goldsmiths. At the same time the gold objects form a link between the Hellenistic art of Greco–Bactria and the early Buddhist art of the Kushan, as can be seen, for instance, in the clasps from grave 3, where the Macedonian warrior's clothing also appeared in Buddhist sculpture.[88]

To which nomadic group did the princely family of Tillya Tepe belong? Sarianidi proposed one of the five tribes of the Yuezhi, from which the Kushan descended; other scholars, a group of Saka.[89] The Sarmato–Alanic polychrome style of the toreutics, which is not found among the Saka or the Yuezhi, suggests that neither theory is correct. The obvious affinity of the goldwork of Tillya Tepe with the contemporaneous work of the late Sarmatians and Alans of the northern Pontic region, whose homeland lay in Alanliao/Yancai in the delta of the Syr Darya and who were at that time, as the Chinese annals *Hou Hanshu* report, a 'dependency of Kangju', leads to the hypothesis that a chieftain of the Alans, who belonged to the tribal group of Kangju, was buried here.[90]

Two ancient authors reported that, besides the Yuezhi and the Saka, at least one other nomadic tribe played an important role there.[91] Referring to the Scythians, Strabo wrote around the time of the birth of Christ: 'The best known nomads [east of the Massagetai and Sakai] are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks. I mean the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes River [Syr Darya] that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae.'[92] The Sacarauli, called 'Sacaraucae' by Pompeius Trogus,[93] may be identified with those Saka who attacked Maracanda and Aï Khanum around 145 BC and, under pressure from the Yuezhi, invaded the eastern Parthian Empire just after 130 BC. The Tochari are the same as the Yuezhi of Chinese sources, whom Zhang Qian encountered on the northern bank of the Oxus in 128 or 127 BC and who, after 200 years of migration through half of Central Asia, founded the Kushan Empire.[94] The



Golden figurine of a winged woman nicknamed 'Aphrodite', but rather representing Psyche. Based on a stylistic analysis it may be dated to the third to second century BC. Tillya Tepe, grave 6, 40–70 AD. National Museum Afghanistan.

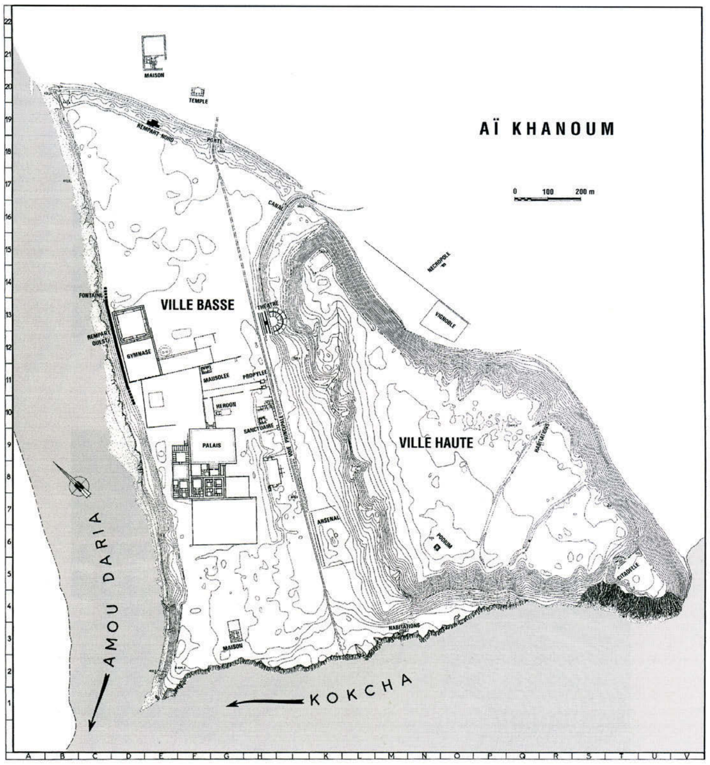
Asii and Pasiani are one and the same people, whom Pompeius Trogus called 'Asiani', and to whom he attributed the 'annihilation of the Sacaraucae'.[95] These Asii/Asiani cannot be equated with the Wusun, as Lebedynsky suggests,[96] because after the expulsion of the Yuezhi from the Ili valley, the Wusun settled there in 132 BC and did not pursue the fleeing Yuezhi. As proposed first by Vernadsky and Maenchen-Helfen and later by Grenet, de la Vaissière and Rapin, the Asii/Asiani may be identified with a later group of Alans.[97] In those days around the birth of Christ these Alans belonged to the federation of Kangju.

Since Pompeius Trogus also referred to a victory of the Asiani over the Tochari, the Alans of Kangju not only defeated those Saka who still lived in northern Bactria but also exerted strong pressure against the Yuezhi. The Alans' traces are found in Kök Tepe, and they are different from those of the Sacaraucae.[98] Around the time of Tillya Tepe or shortly thereafter the Kushan forced the nomads belonging to the Kangju northwards and re-established the 'Iron Gate' as border fortification.[99] The Kushan memorialised their triumph over the nomadic bands of Kangju in the great painted clay statues in the palace of Khalchayan north of Termez.[100] The contemporaneous elaborate Alanic graves of the northern Pontic region and of Tillya Tepe from the first century AD reflect the expansion of the Alans to the west and south.

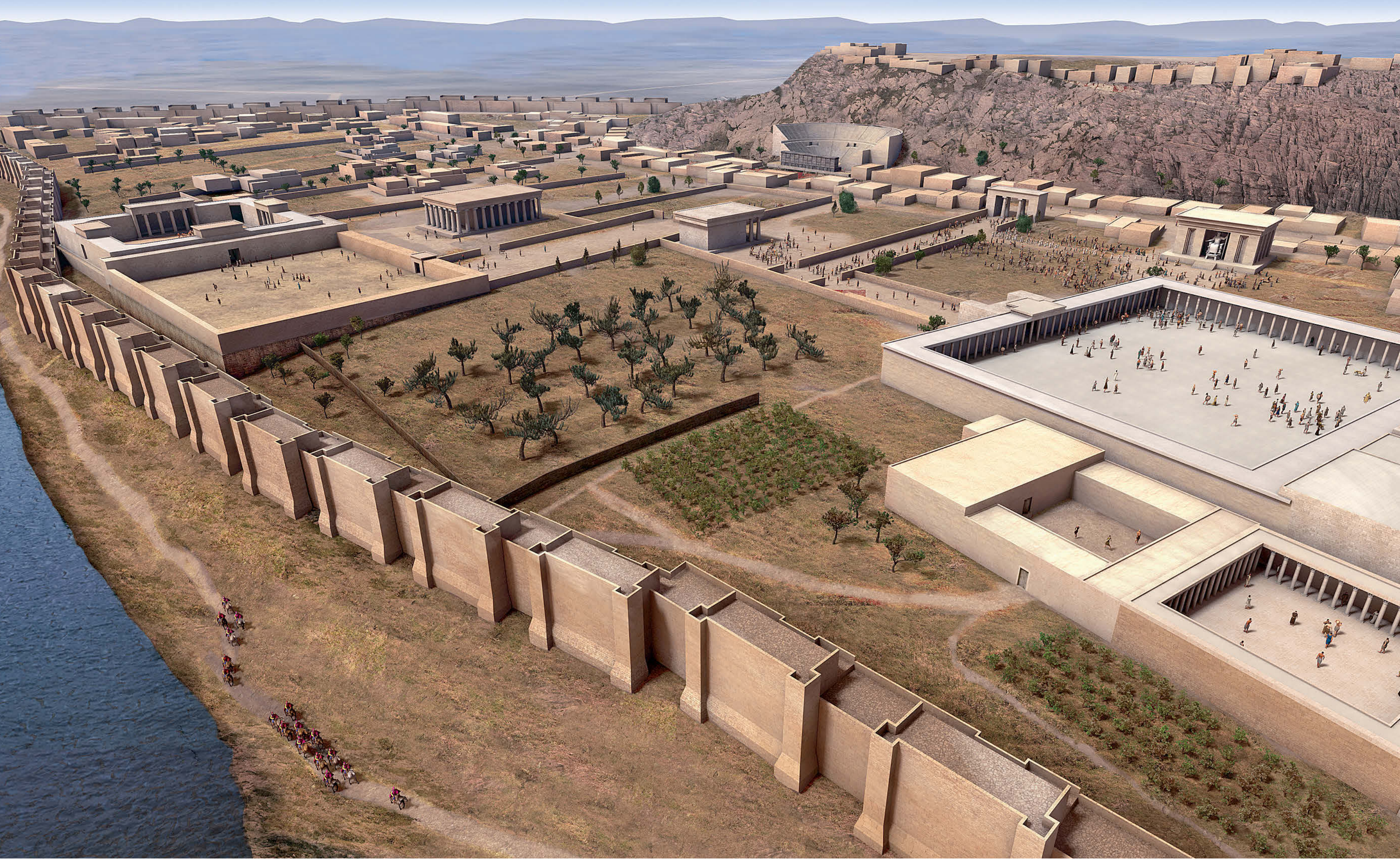
3.2 Aï Khanum – a Greek city in northern Afghanistan

On 18 March 1838 Lieutenant John Wood, who had also discovered one of the sources of the Oxus in the Pamirs, climbed a tall hill in the northern Afghan province of Kunduz. 'From the summit of I-khanam we had a glorious view of the surrounding country. At the foot of the hill was the junction of two rivers. From the point of confluence the Kokcha could be traced to its exit from the mountains on the south, while the eye followed the Oxus westward. [...] Here, we were informed, stood an ancient city. [...] The appearance of the place, however, does indicate the truth of their tradition that an ancient city once stood here.'[101] Wood was the first European to see the ruins of Aï Khanum, but its significance eluded him, as it did the French archaeologist Jules Berthoux when he visited the site in 1926.[102] The honour of recognising the outstanding importance of Aï Khanum is due to the Afghan king Muhammed Zahir Shah (r. 1933–73, d. 2007), when he coincidentally stopped there during a hunt in 1961, noticed the outline of a sunken city and spotted a Corinthian capital in a nearby house. He immediately asked the *Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA)*, which was working in Afghanistan, to investigate the site. Unfortunately the Soviet invasion in late 1979 brought an end to the excavations, which had uncovered only a quarter of the lower city.[103] In the 1990s Aï Khanum was systematically plundered, the excavated monuments were destroyed and the unexplored sections ravaged to such an extent that today the land looks like the surface of the moon. In 2002 a few Ionic and Corinthian capitals as well as columns appeared in neighbouring villages, in one case serving as roof beams in a tea house.[104]

The city, founded by Seleucus I[105] and renamed Eucratideia by Eucratides I around 170 BC, lay in a strategically significant location at the confluence of two rivers near mines for semiprecious gems and on a trade route linking Bactria with China and India. The importance of Aï Khanum as a trading city can be seen in the discovery of 676 Indian silver coins here.[106] An Achaemenid city once stood just 2 km away. Aï Khanum has a triangular plan. The sides along the banks of the Panj and the Kokcha measured 1.8 and 1.5 km respectively, and the third, landward side, 2.6 km, two-thirds of which was protected by tall hills, where the acropolis was located.[107] A strong defensive wall made of unfired clay, 7 m thick



Plan of the Hellenistic city of Aï Khanum in northern Afghanistan, which lay at the confluence of the rivers Panj and Kokcha. To the left is the lower city with the great palace and public buildings; to the right, the sparsely built upper city. According to B. Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, 1986, p. 162 (illustration J.-Cl. Liger).



Illustrations according to archaeological discoveries of the Hellenistic city of Aï Khanum in northern Afghanistan. From left to right and front to back: The River Ochus (Panj); a patrol of the prodromoi, the light cavalry; the city walls; the gymnasium complex; a mausoleum; the theatre; the palace complex; the temple dedicated to Zeus and the upper city.

in exposed sections and fortified with rectangular towers, surrounded the entire city. In contrast to the conventional defensive walls of Central Asia, such as those of Maracanda, which were caved to offer protection for people, those of Aï Khanum were solid in order to withstand the assaults of large siege machines.

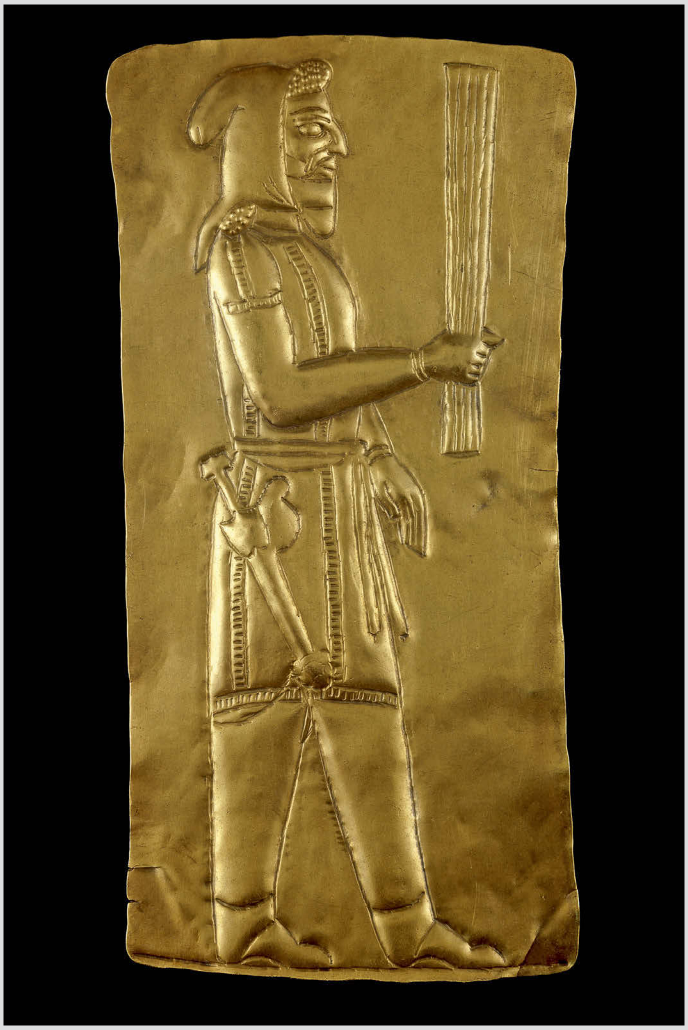
Most of the buildings stood in the lower city, which was less exposed to the wind than was the upper city; a long, straight street ran through the lower city. Among the most notable buildings were a spacious palace, a temple, a public gymnasium with an adjacent bath, a classical theatre that offered space for 5,000 spectators – the easternmost in Hellenistic Asia – an arsenal and two heroii (memorial monument) – all markers of a classical Greek polis. The palace, built at ground level out of fired bricks and above that of unfired clay bricks, reveals a fascinating synthesis of Greek and traditional Central Asian architectural principles. The floor plan of the great halls and the supporting columns corresponded to Greek models, as the latter consisted exclusively of stone, the shaft rested on an Attic base and it was topped by a Corinthian capital. The columns were constructed without mortar but secured by iron bolts – also a typically Greek practice. In the traditional architecture of the region, by contrast, shaft and capital were made of wood, which gave the structure greater flexibility in earthquake-prone Central Asia. On the other hand, the buildings did not have Greek pitched roofs but rather Central Asian flat roofs. They did, however, have two rows of Greek tiles on the edges for decoration, as did the roofs at Khalchayan. Roof tiles only make sense for pitched roofs; they are out of place on flat roofs, as they only add unnecessary weight.

The Oxus treasure

The history of the Oxus treasure, which includes about 180 objects and 500 coins and which can be seen in the British Museum, is just as spectacular as the objects themselves.[108] In the nineteenth century, near the ancient fortress of Takht-i Kuwad, at a ford through the Oxus in southern Tajikistan, local treasure-hunters were looking for gold and silver objects on the riverbank. Around 1877 a few of them made a discovery near the fortress, which is not far from the confluence of the Vakhsh and the Panj. In 1880 they sold a large portion of the hoard to three merchants from Bukhara, who intended to sell the goods in the metropolis of Rawalpindi.[109] At the Afghan border and at sentry points they had to give soldiers individual items, mostly gold and silver coins, as 'tolls', so their treasure slowly dwindled, but they reached Kabul safely. Between Kabul and Peshawar, however, they were set upon by local villagers, robbed and carried off to nearby caves. But one servant escaped and at nightfall alerted the British political officer F.C. Burton, who set out immediately with two orderlies. 'Towards midnight [he] made an unexpected appearance among the bandits, who had already been quarrelling over their plunder. Four of them were lying wounded on the floor.'[110] The thieves handed the officer their loot. Returning to his camp, Burton declared the start of a punitive operation, whereupon other villagers returned more of the goods. Thus the three merchants, who had been freed in the meantime, got back three-quarters of their possessions.

Soon the gold and silver objects in question were being traded by the merchants of Rawalpindi, where they were subject to further dangers. A few merchants supplemented their supply with additional objects of other provenance; others offered hastily produced copies and kept the originals. The odyssey of the Oxus treasure came to an end when Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham, director of the Archaeological Survey of India, bought up the objects and pressured them to sell him the originals, too. Later Sir A.W. Franks acquired Cunningham's collection and bequeathed it to the British Museum in 1897. The museum believes that the objects are authentic.[111] Among the most outstanding finds are a pair of golden armlets with horned griffin protomes,[112] a miniature golden chariot pulled by four horses with a charioteer and a passenger,[113] a silver statue of a naked youth,[114] a golden akinakes sheath with Assyrian-looking motifs,[115] a gold vessel in the shape of a fish and about 40 thin golden plaques, on which is embossed a standing man, in profile, holding either a barsom or a lotus blossom.[116] The barsom has a cultic connection to Zoroastrianism, as it is a consecrated bundle of twigs that priests hold during the reading of the Avesta. Other round gold plaques feature a bearded face similar to the Egyptian god Bes.

Immediately after the publication of Dalton's catalogue in 1905, a lively discussion began about the treasure, which focused on the following questions: Was the treasure a unified collection and was it discovered in a single location or did the discoverers assemble it between 1877 and 1880? Did objects and coins belong together? Were they real? How should the discoveries be dated and where did they come from? Did the hoard have a function? Today most scholars believe that the majority of the objects are genuine[117] and were discovered, and thus had been buried, in the same place, while many items had found their way into other collections or been melted down. The coins presumably belonged to the hoard, but only a third of the original number of about 1,500 made it to the British Museum. Except for some of the inexpertly produced local gold discs, a large number of the objects came from the Achaemenid period[118] and were probably of western Iranian provenance.[119] A few pieces, such as the silver statues of a naked youth, show Greek



Gold disc with a man in Median clothing armed with an akinakes and holding a barsom; presumably he is a priest or worshipper at a fire temple. Oxus Treasure, fifth–fourth centuries BC. The British Museum, London.

influence, and others were produced nearby in Greco–Bactria. A unique gold badge came from the steppe territory.[120]

Like the objects, the coins are of varied origin and period; they came from: Athens (fifth century BC), Macedonia (500–323 BC), Ionian Asia Minor (fifth–fourth centuries BC), Achaemenid royal mints (fifth–fourth centuries BC), Achaemenid satrapies of Asia Minor (400–332 BC), Central Asian satrapies under Greek rule (321–300 BC), Bactra (fourth century BC), Seleucids (312–246 BC), the rulers Andragoras and Wahshuwar (fourth–third centuries BC) and Taxiles (fourth century BC), Greco–Bactria (256–170 BC). The Seleucid and Greco–Bactrian coins made up by far the largest single group.[121] The coins and objects thus define a hypothetical time frame for the hoard from the early fifth to the beginning of the second century BC. The gold plaques, depictions of animals and miniature models of chariots were most likely votive gifts, which suggest a temple origin. Since 1976, with interruptions archaeologists have been excavating a fire temple 5 km upstream near Takht-i Sangin, also dedicated to the river god Oxus.[122] These factors led to the hypothesis that the Oxus collection was originally the treasure of the Oxus temple and had been buried at Takht-i Kuwad. Why and when the hoard was buried remains unknown; it is likely that the looming invasion of the Saka or, soon after, the Yuezhi was a factor.[123]

As in Greece the dead were buried outside the city in family crypts in a cemetery; the construction of a heroon within the city was permitted only in extraordinary cases. Two Greek inscriptions were engraved on one of the two memorial monuments of Aï Khanum. One names Kineas as one of the city fathers; the second comes from the philosopher Clearchus of Soli (*ca.* 340–250 BC), a student of Aristotle who visited Aï Khanum and had the 150 ‘maxims of Delphi’, attributed to the Seven Sages, engraved there. The extant fragment reads:

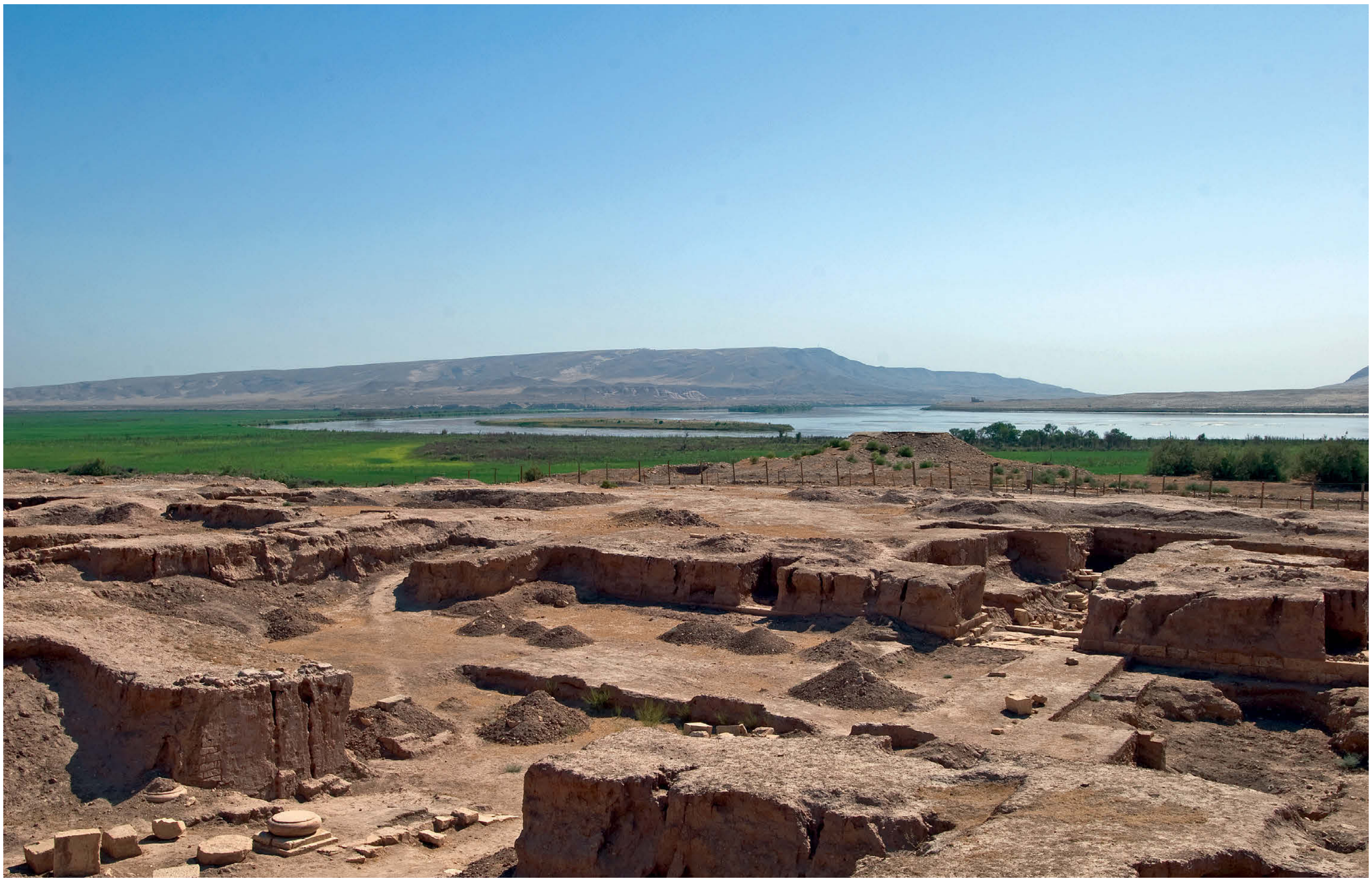
> *As a child, be well-behaved.*
> *As a youth, be self-controlled.*
> *As an adult, be just.*
> *As an elder, be wise.*
> *As dying, don’t regret.*[124]

The sojourn of a pupil of Aristotle in Aï Khanum shows that a lively intellectual exchange took place between the Greek homeland and this outpost of Greek culture in Central Asia.

Aï Khanum had three shrines, whose architecture featured few Greek elements. The main temple, with a square plan of 20 x 20 m, stood in the lower city and within it was a seated statue of Zeus, under whose guise presumably Ahura Mazda or Mithra was worshipped simultaneously.[125] The statue was an acrolith, and it consisted of a combination of materials: head, hands and feet were made of marble, and the torso was sculpted out of clay over a wooden frame.[126] In the temple, the above-mentioned silver plate featuring Cybele, dated to the third century BC, was found. The goddess of nature stands on a light chariot pulled by two lions. The winged goddess Nike is her charioteer, behind her a priest holds a parasol and a second priest makes an incense offering on a altar with high steps; in the sky Helios, the moon and a star observe the scene.[127] The plate is a typical example of hybrid Greco–Oriental art: while the two goddesses standing on a chariot drawn by lions and Helios are Hellenistic motifs, the priest holding a parasol above Cybele’s head and the shape of the altar are eastern.

Outside the city, not far from the city gate, stood a second temple and, on the acropolis, a monumental open-air altar. As reported by ancient authors, Iranians tended to worship their deities in such elevated places. While Greco–Bactria adopted many Central Asian elements into its architecture, in the minting of coins it remained faithful to the Greek models. On the coins it can be seen that the official pantheon consisted exclusively of Greek deities, predominantly Zeus, Apollo, Hercules, Poseidon, Athena, Artemis and the Dioscuri. However, the occasional appearance of non-Greek attributes, such as rays of light, indicates that Asiatic gods were being worshipped in the form of a Greek deity, such as Mithra in the form of Zeus or Hercules and Anahita in that of Artemis.[128]

The city of Saksanochur in what is today southern Tajikistan, built a few decades later than Aï Khanum and 40 km north of it, demonstrates that Aï Khanum was not an isolated case. Like Aï Khanum, the city, which still existed in the third century AD, had a palace and temple complex with stone columns and Corinthian capitals.[129] Similar, smaller Hellenistic towns flourished north of the Oxus near Dalverzin Tepe (valley of the Sukhan Darya), which was destroyed by the Saka at the same time as Aï Khanum and rebuilt at the start of the Kushan dynasty, as well as near Kalai Mir (valley of the Kafirnigan Darya).[130] Dilbergine Tepe stood south of the Oxus, 40 km north-west of Bactra. It was one of the many Achaemenid settlements intended to secure the trade routes, but it was destroyed by Alexander. Early Greco–Bactrian kings rebuilt it, fortifying it with strong defensive walls and building a temple dedicated to the Dioscuri, as can be concluded from a mural of the twins Castor and Pollux riding a white horse.[131]



The fire temple of Takht-i Sangin on the northern bank of the Oxus (Amu Darya) in southern Tajikistan was also dedicated to the river god Oxus. From back to front: propylon, temenos (temple plaza area), passageway to the aiwan, aiwan eight-columned room. The central four-columned room was reburied in 1990.

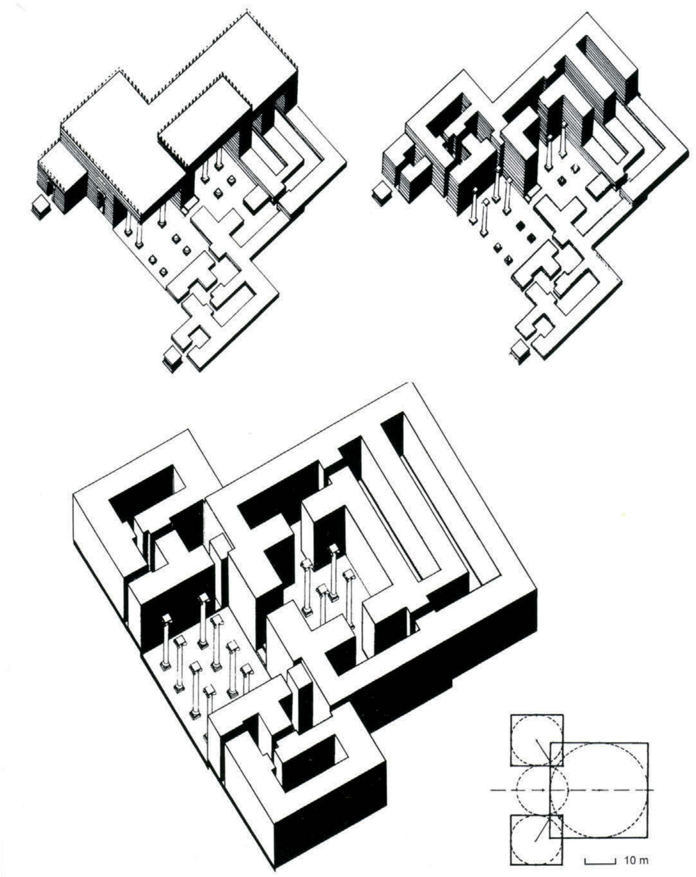
3.3 The Oxus temple

The Oxus temple, which today is called Takht-i Sangin, meaning 'stone throne', may correspond with the ancient settlement of Oxeiana, as it is recorded on the seventh Asian map of Ptolemy.[132] The large temple, 51 x 51 m in extent, and the city, which extended over 2 km south and north of it along the northern bank of the Oxus, were likely to have been built by the Seleucid Antiochus I at the start of the third century BC in his capacity as viceroy of the eastern satrapies.[133] Today the shrine stands in the centre of a citadel 238 x 167 m in extent, which was built toward the end of the Greco–Bactrian Kingdom when invasions threatened from the north.

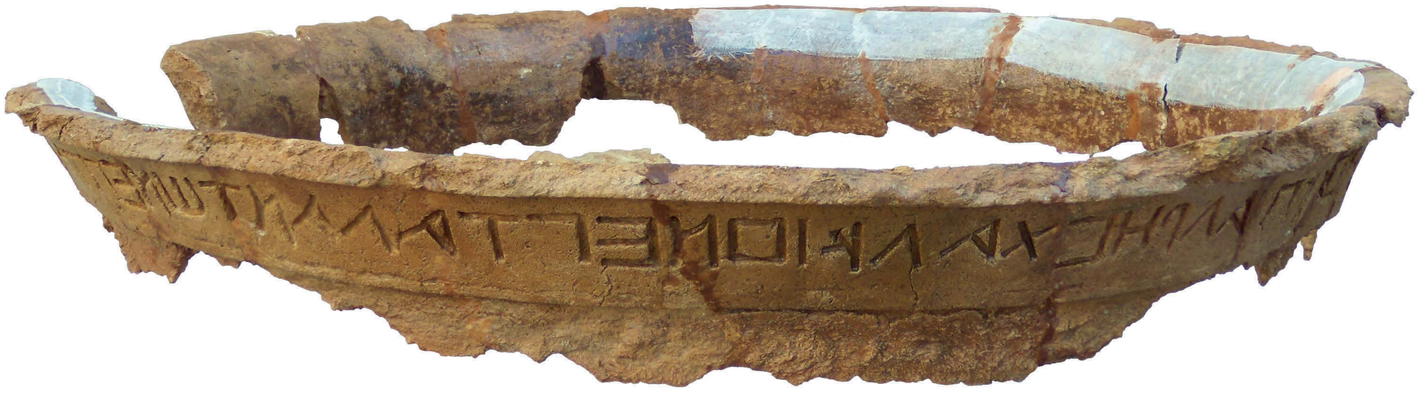
The temple, built of unfired clay bricks, displays an Iranian layout. One entered through a propylon (gate) into the temenos, the temple plaza, and proceeded through a passageway to a rectangular, covered courtyard, with two side structures connected to the short sides. The hall, enclosed on three sides, remained fully open to the front and formed an *aiwan*, a type of structure later very common in Central Asia and Iran. The flat roof was supported by eight columns, which rested on double plinths and culminated in Ionic capitals.[134] On one plinth nomads had drawn so-called *tamga* symbols, indicating use of the temple for profane purposes during the interruption in temple activity between the end of Greco-Bactria and the early Kushan.[135] In each of two symmetrically placed rooms north and south of the eight-columned hall there stood a fire altar and the sacred ashes were also kept in special pits here. The excavators Litvinsky and Pitschikjan assert that these small complexes, are 'the real hallmark of Iranian fire temples'.[136] For Pitschikjan the Oxus temple represents 'of all the known fire temples in both the territory of middle or Central Asia and Achaemenid Iran, the most complete and least damaged of this type of complex'.[137]

From this eight-columned hall a passage led to the central, square, four-columned room, which was surrounded by long corridors on three sides. This entire complex was again enclosed by long corridors, created when the later enclosure with strong defensive walls and corner towers was built. Under the floor of the central hall archaeologists found pits containing consecrated temple offerings. The bones of sacrificed animals and votive gifts, some ritually shattered, had also been placed in the long corridors surrounding the room.[138] Among the thousands of votive offerings were sculptures made of unfired clay and covered with colourfully painted plaster, of which two impressive portraits of Seleucid or Greco–Bactrian rulers and a third representation of a local chieftain are especially outstanding. To these were added a statue of a seated woman, ivory figurines and objects produced in Bactria, jewellery, coins and gold plaques similar to those found in the Oxus treasure. In the second period, during the time of the Kushan (first–third centuries AD), more weapons of all types appeared in the collection of temple offerings, among them spears, lances and arrowheads, miniature swords and replicas, which suggests a change in cultic activity or in the temple clientele and their concerns.

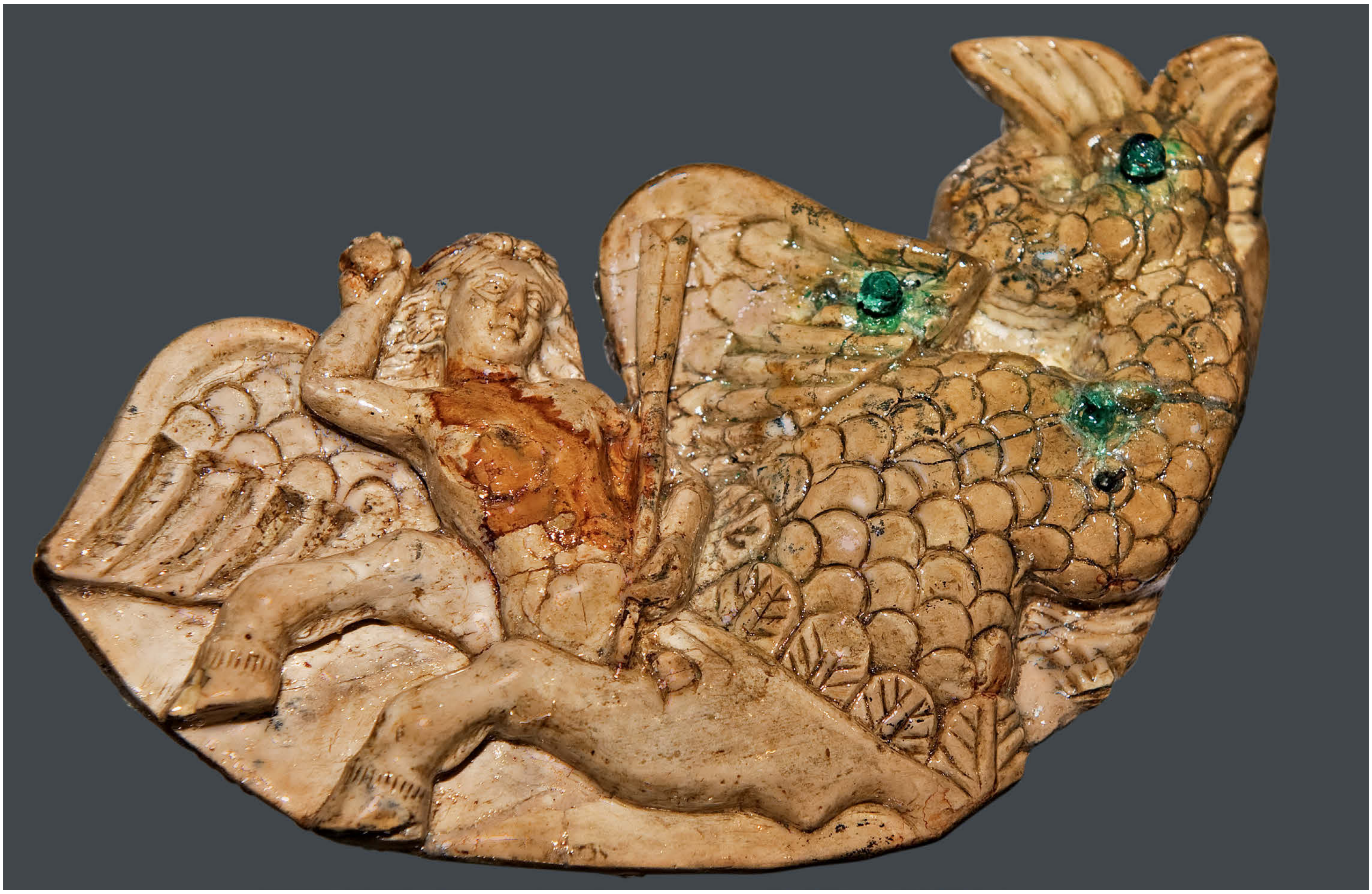
The most important discovery, however, is the 16-cm-tall bronze statue of Silenus playing an *aulos*, a Greek double flute, from the third/second century BC. Silenus stands on a limestone base with the Greek inscription, 'Following a vow, Atrosokes dedicated [this] to the Oxus'; that is, the river god of the same name.[139] From this inscription it can be concluded that the temple was also consecrated to the river god Oxus. With regard to the geographic location of the shrine, it stood at the 'birthplace' of the river, the confluence of the Vakhsh and the Panj. The small votive statue also illustrates a 'synthesis of Iranian–Bactrian and Greek traditions: the venerated



Elevation of the Oxus temple (Taxt-i Sangin), southern Tajikistan: the eight-column aiwan with two side-chapels and the central four-column hall with surrounding corridors. According to: B. Litvinskij, I. Picikjan, *Taxt-i Sangin*, 2002, p. 93, illustration. I. Picikjan, G. Arzumanov.



A Greek inscription on the edge of a mould for a bronze cauldron found in the temple plaza of Takht-i Sangin, southern Tajikistan, confirms that the temple was dedicated to the river god Oxus. Second century BC. National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan, Dushanbe.



A winged hippocamp with a female torso and forelegs of a horse holds an oar. Painted ivory with bronze inlays, Takht-i Sangin, southern Tajikistan. Second century BC. National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan, Dushanbe.

Oxus is local Bactrian, the name of the donor is of Iranian origin and the inscription and the iconography of the figurine are clearly Greek'.[140] A small ivory statuette of a female hippocamp in the shape of the upper body of a winged woman with the lower body of a fish and the forelegs of a horse was also appropriate for the environs of a river god.[141]

Two additional inscriptions from the first half of the second century BC confirm the interpretation of the shrine as an Oxus temple. One is on the rim of a fragment of a stone bowl and the other on the casting mould for a bronze cauldron found in 2007 in a pit in the temple plaza. The inscription, in mirror image in the mould, reads, 'Seiromios, son of Nemiskos of Molpalres, placed the bronze cauldron [of] seven talents [weight] (approx. 180–250 kg) as a votive gift in the temple of the newly arisen Oxus'.[142] It is likely that both Bactrians and Greeks visited the temple. As both fire and water were worshipped in this temple in the guise of the river god Oxus, it recalls the temple of Jarkutan, more than a millennium older.[143] The temple was destroyed at the same time as Aï Khanum after 145 or around 130 BC, rebuilt at the start of the Kushan period in the first century AD and remained in use into the third century.

Although 27 excavation campaigns have already been carried out at Takht-i Sangin, several questions remain unanswered, not least the one of who deposited the Seleucid votive gifts discovered in the temple. Litvinsky and Pitschikjan assume that there was an earlier, Achaemenid shrine, not yet found, from which the pre-Seleucid votive gifts were transferred to the Seleucid Oxus temple.[144]

IX

Outlook

For the first time the states of the north-[west, that is Central Asia] came into communication with Han-[China]. It was [Zhang] Qian who had pioneered the way between 139 and 115 BC.

SSU-MA CH'IEN (SIMA QIAN)[1]

A lone traveller in the Badain Jaran Desert, Inner Mongolia, northern China.

This volume, the first of four, has addressed the emergence of early Central Asian cultures, which were initially based for many millennia on a hunter-gatherer economy. The first Neolithic revolution made possible the first steps towards a transition to farming in southern and north-western Central Asia. This led to the establishment of larger settlements and proto-urban centres. Later on, metallurgy, horsemanship, the wheel and the wagon revolutionised life in the northern half of Central Asia – it was the moment of birth for an extensive stockbreeding economy, from which nomadic lifestyles later evolved. In these epochs animals played a leading role in religious thought and in forms of artistic expression.

About 5,000 years ago Indo–European languages started to crystallise and a spectacular expansion of Indo–European people began, until they had spread as far east as the border with China and south to the Indian subcontinent. Around 1000 BC the highly mobile nomadic riding peoples of the Scythians and the Saka, as well as related groups, appeared, shaping history and culture in Central Asia for a millennium. Superior weaponry, mastery of horsemanship and marked tactical skill ensured their political dominance.

In the second half of the last pre-Christian millennium on the periphery of Central Asia there appeared stable, centralised states of settled societies with professional armies or at least elite corps. In conflicts with Achaemenids, Macedonians and Romans the Central Asian riders were able to hold the invading forces in check, assimilate them or contribute to their defeat.

The second volume tells the thousand-year history of the age of the classical Silk Roads (*ca.* 200 BC–900 AD), from the establishment of the first nomadic empire by the Xiongnu to the kingdom of the Uyghurs in eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang). Around 200 BC the empire of the Xiongnu nomadic horsemen formed as a response to increasing pressure from the Chinese empire, united for the first time. The expansion of the Xiongnu led to successive waves of migrations of peoples towards the south-west and west, including the Yuezhi, Wusun and Ili-Saka, who advanced as far as Kashmir. These migrations also marked the start of almost 2,000 years of migratory movements of Turko–Mongolian peoples out of eastern Central Asia to China, Turkestan, Iran and Europe. The Huns were the prelude, followed by the Xianbei and the Turkic peoples, who founded two empires in eastern Central Asia and undertook diplomatic relations with Iran and the Eastern Roman Empire.

The beginning of the first millennium bore witness to the expansion of Buddhism in eastern Central Asia and from there to China and Mongolia. The trade routes of Central Asia were travelled not only by caravans laden with exotic goods but also by artistic ideas and further world religions. Among the former was the Buddhist style of Gandhara, a synthesis of elements from Indian, Iranian and Greco–Roman art, and among the latter were Manichaeism and ‘Nestorian’ Christianity. With the Sogdians, who originated in the region around Samarkand and conducted much of the trade that ran through Central Asia, Iranian cultural assets spread to Turkestan and China. The epoch of the Silk Roads was also the age of the Chinese pilgrim monks who crossed Central Asia in order to study at the Buddhist universities of India and bring Buddhist sutras back to their homeland. The travel diaries of Faxian and Xuanzang in particular provide valuable information about the cultural history of Central Asia which archaeology has confirmed countless times.

In Central Asia the first Christian millennium was shaped not only by a creative and enriching exchange of culture and ideas but also by clashes of great powers such as the two Turkic empires, China, Tibet, Iran and, beginning in the late seventh century, the Arabs. The Arabs distinguished themselves from all other conquerors in that they imposed their own beliefs on those they subjected. Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrianism were, with limitations, tolerated, but Buddhism was eradicated. Additionally, Islamic iconoclasm represented the first cultural earthquake that shook eastern Central Asia.

The millennium covered in the second volume was an age in which the states on the periphery of Central Asia decisively determined its fortunes. On the other hand, eastern Central Asia was a continuing source for the migration of Turko–Mongolian peoples to the south and west. They ruled northern China from the fourth to the sixth centuries AD; in Central Asia they founded several kingdoms and, towards the end of the first millennium, began to push back the Iranian dominance that had existed until then with regard to ethnicity and language. The expansion of Turkic peoples, which led to a Turkicisation of the previously Indo–European steppes, reached its first climax with the capture of Baghdad in 1055 and its most spectacular triumph in 1453 with the conquest of Constantinople; in 1683 they stood at the gates of Vienna.

An intriguing mixture of ethnicities developed in the Tarim Basin particularly, mostly Buddhist cultures, flourished in the oases. Thanks to itinerant artists from Gandhara, Bactria, Sogdia and China, there were fascinating and at the same time harmonious syntheses of corresponding styles, which reached their zenith in the cave paintings of Kizil and Kumtura on the northern rim of the Tarim Basin and in the neighbouring province of Gansu at the Mogao cave paintings of Dunhuang. The visual transmission of important Buddhist content contributed essentially to the spread of Buddha’s teaching and achieved in Central Asia pinnacles of expressiveness and spiritual power.

Appendix: The most important prehistoric and early historic cultures of Central Asia

	WEST OF THE URALS	EAST OF THE URALS	EASTERN KAZAKHSTAN	MINUSINSK
NEOLITHIC	**Elshanka** Volga, 7000–6000 BC			
	Bug–Dniester 6500–5200 BC	**Atbasar and Makhandzhar** northern Kazakhstan 5500–3000 BC		
	Dnieper–Donets I 5700–5200 BC	**Kitoi** West-Baikalia, 5500–4250 BC **Isakovo + Serov** 4250–3250 BC		
	Dnieper–Donets II 5200–4200 BC	**Glazkovo** West-Baikalia, 3250–2100 BC		
CHALCOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE	**Cucuteni-Tripolye** Ukraine + eastern Romania, 5200–2800 BC			
	Samara Volga, 5000–4500 BC			
	Khvalynsk Volga, 4700–3800 BC **Late Khvalinsk** 3800–3300 BC			
	Sredny Stog Dnieper, 4500–3500 BC			
	Maikop Kuban, 3750–3000 BC	**Botai** northern Kazakhstan, 3700–3000 BC		
	Repin Don, 3600–2900 BC			
	Usatovo 3300–2800 BC			
	Yamnaya 3300–2250 BC	**Afanasievo** 3300–2350 BC		**Afanasievo** 3300–2350 BC
MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE	**Poltavka** 2700–2100 BC	**Samus** 2400–1750 BC		**Okunev** 2400–1750 BC
	Katakombnaya 2450–1950 BC	**Andronovo complex** 2200–1250 BC **Sintashta*** 2200–1700 BC **Petrovka*** 2200–1700 BC **Tashkovo** 2200–1700 BC		**Andronovo** 1750–1400 BC (within Minusinsk only)
	Abashevo 2200–1900 BC	**Alakul*** 2100–1400 BC		
	Srubnaya 1950–1200 BC	**Fyodorovo*** 1850–1250 BC		**Karasuk** 1450–1000 BC
	Belozerka 1200–950 BC	**Irmen** 1450–800 BC **Baitovo** 850–500 BC		**Kamennyi Log** 1400–1000 BC?
IRON AGE	**Cimmerians** 714–600 BC **Kuban Scythians** 700–550 BC **Pontic Scythians** 550–250 BC **Crimean Scythians** 170 BC–218 AD **Sauromatians** 650–400 BC **Sarmatians** 400 BC–400 AD **Alans** 0–400 AD	**Ananyino** 700–250 BC **Sargat** 500 BC–350 AD	**Zebakino-Čilikta** 850–650 BC **Čilikta** 650–450 BC **Bukon** 450–200 BC **Issyk-Besschatyr** 450–200 BC	**Tagar** 1000–200 BC **Bainov** 1000–800 BC **Podgornovo** 800–450 BC **Saragash** 450–200 BC
				Tes 200 BC–50 AD
				Tashtyk 50–500 AD

* Part of the Andronovo Culture

TUVA	MONGOLIA, ALTAI	XINJIANG	SOUTH-EAST
			Hissar 6200–1200 BC
			Kelteminar Choresmia 5500–2400 BC
			Jeitun 6500–4500 BC
			Anau I A 4800–4000 BC
			Namazga I 4000–3500 BC
			Namazga II 3500–3100 BC
			Sarazm I 3500–3200 BC
			Namazga III 3100–2500 BC **Sarazm II** 3200–2900 BC **Sarazm III** 2900–2500 BC
			Zamanbaba Choresmia 2400–1500 BC
	Karakol 2400–1750 BC		**Namazga IV** 2500–2200 BC **Namazga V** 2300/2200–1900 BC **Sarazm IV** 2500–1500 BC **BMAC** 2300/2200–1500 BC
		Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe 2000–1400 BC	**Namazga VI** 2000/1900–1500 BC **Sapalli/Jarkutan** 1700–1350 BC
		Ke'ermuqi 1400–1000 BC	
	Khirigsuur 1400–300 BC		**Jaz I** 1500–1000 BC **Chust** 1400–900 BC
	Slab Grave 1250–100 BC **Deer Stone** 1400–500 BC	**Wupu** 1300–900 BC **Quergou** 1250–1000 BC	**Kuzali, Molali** 1350–900 BC **Beshkent–Vaksh** 1100–900 BC

Arzhan 1 850–700 BC
Aldy Bel' 700–500 BC
Sagly Bazy 500–200 BC
	Majemir 900–500 BC
	Pazyryk 400–200 BC
		Charwighul 1000–400 BC
		Dalongkou 800-200 BC
		Qunbake 800–250 BC
		Zaghunluk–Jumbulakum/Satma Mazar 900–200 BC
		Xiangbaobao 550–350 BC
		Tiemulike 550–200 BC
		Aidinghou 500–150 BC
			Jaz II 1000–800 BC
			Jaz III 800–329 BC
			Amirabad 1450–750 BC
			Tagisken South/Ujgarak 750–480 BC
			Čirikrabat 500–200 BC
			Kujusaj 650–100 BC
			Old Choresmia 600 BC–100 AD
			  Kjuzeligyr 600–350 BC
			  Kangju 350 BC–100 AD
			Kushan 100–300 AD

			Achaemenids 550–330 BC
			Macedonians 330–307 BC **Seleucids** 307–246 BC **Greco–Bactria** 246–130 BC **Saka/Yuezhi/Alanliao** 130 BC–100 AD

Notes

Introduction

1. We largely abstain from using the term ‘civilisation’, as in the past it has often been used, from a Eurocentric outlook, to imply a superiority over so-called ‘barbarians’ or ‘uncivilised’ ways of life.
2. The ‘Han Shu’ was begun around 36 AD by the historian Ban Biao, further developed by his son Ban Gu, and completed by the latter’s sister Ban Zhao around the year 110.
3. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia* (Unesco Publishing, Paris, 1992–2005).

I. Geography, Climate and Prehuman History of Central Asia

1. Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia* (Boston, 1907), pp. 15, 359.
2. Alexandre de Humboldt, *Asie Centrale. Recherches sur les chaînes des montagnes et la climatologie comparée* (Paris, 1843).
3. This book takes the view that the origin of the Proto-Indo–European language is to be found in the region north-east of the Black Sea. See p. 135.
4. Akiner Shirin, ‘Silk Roads, Great Games and Central Asia’, *Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs*, London, Vol. XLII, No. 3, November 2011, p. 392.
5. ‘Inner Asia’ is a purely geographical term and encompasses Xinjiang, Outer Mongolia, Tibet and Tuva in southern Siberia.
6. Roy Chapman Andrews, *Under a Lucky Star* (1943) 2009, p. 3.
7. Andrews, *Under a Lucky Star*, p. 9.
8. Elicio Colin, *L’oeuvre du P. Licent et la Mission paléontologique française en Chine du Nord* (Paris, 1926), p. 287.
9. Andrews, Roy Chapman, *The new conquest of Central* Asia (New York, 1932), p. 39.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid, p. 162.
12. Ibid, p. 208. A few shell fragments had already been found in 1859 and 1869 in France and tentatively identified as coming from dinosaurs, but Andrews’ expedition was the first to find complete eggs with dinosauric embryos inside.
13. Walther Heissig and Claudius Müller, *Die Mongolen* (Frankfurt, 1989), p. 11.
14. Andrews, *The new conquest of Central Asia*, pp. 255f, 268, 413.
15. Ibid, pp. 433ff.
16. Andrews, *Under a Lucky Star*, p. 251.
17. *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. I. (Paris, 1992), pp. 29–37.
18. Inner Mongolia refers to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in northern China, and Outer Mongolia to the independent Republic of Mongolia.
19. A striking exception were the early Xiongnu rulers, who valued control over strategic territories as essential. For example, when the founder of the Xiongnu Empire, Maodun Chanyu, was asked after 209 BC by his powerful eastern neighbours, the Dong Hu, to hand over his favourite horse and later his favourite consort, he immediately obliged. But when the Dong Hu asked for some eastern parts of the Gobi Desert, ‘Maodun flew into a rage [saying]: “Land is the basis of a nation”.’ Then he attacked and destroyed the Dong Hu (Ssu-ma Ch’ien. *Shih chi*. Translated by Burton Watson, 1971, Vol. II, p. 162). See also Vol. II of the present work.
20. Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der großen Tartarey in sich begreiffet* (Stockholm, 1730), pp. 91–112.
21. Ancient geographers and historians had already located the boundary between Europe and Asia along the Don; e.g., Arrian around 131/32 AD in his *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 19.1.
22. Ursula Markus and Ursula Eichenberger, *Augusto Gansser: Aus dem Leben eines Welt-Erkunders*, (Zurich, 2008), p. 44.
23. According to the modern cladistic classification, the dinosaurs include the ancestors of birds, which descended from small theropod dinosaurs.
24. Blount, Kitty, Maggie Crowley et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Dinosaurs & prehistoric life* (New York, 2001).
25. Rothe, Peter, *Die Erde* (Damstadt, 2008), supplement.
26. The Greek physician and founder of the science of medicine Hippocrates (*ca*. 460–370 BC) had already postulated a connection between climatic and geographical factors on the one hand and the human constitution and societal structures on the other (E. Kuzmina, *The Prehistory of the Silk Road* (Philadelphia, 2008), p. 8).
27. Robin Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 52, 325.
28. The Arctic Circle runs along 66° 34’ north latitude.
29. Although the larger share of rain occurs on the windward side, the orographic lift has also a significant effect on the leeward, northern edge of Kopet Dag.
30. Christoph Baumer, *The Ayala Mazar – Xiaohe Culture,* 2010; J.P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies* (London, 2000); Songqiao Zhao and Xuncheng Xia, ‘Evolution of the Lop Desert and the Lop Nor,’ The *Geographical Journal*, cl/3 (1984), p. 311. See here p. 123.
31. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 256–258, 464.
32. Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*.
33. Frank Sirocko, *Wetter, Klima, Menschheitsentwicklung* (Darmstadt, 2010), p. 83.
34. The following explication of climate-influencing factors is taken largely from Sirocko, *Wetter, Klima, Menschheitsentwicklung*, pp. 53–59.
35. Sami Solanki et al., ‘Unusual activity of the Sun during recent decades compared to the previous 11,000 years’, *Nature*, 28 October 2004, pp. 1084–1087.
36. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, p. 10.
37. Rothe, *Die Erde,* p. 77.
38. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Permian
39. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triassic
40. Gingerich, Philip D. *Environment and evolution through the Palaeocene–Eocene thermal maximum* (2006) pp. 246–253; *Mammalian faunal succession through the Palaeocene–Eocene thermal maximum (PRTM) in western North America* (Beijing 2010) pp. 308–327.
41. James Lee, *Climate Change and Armed Conflict* (Oxon, 2009), p. 49.
42. T.H. Barrett, ‘Climate Change and Religious Response: The Case of Early Medieval China’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd series, xvii/ part 2 (April 2007), p. 141.

II. The Settlement of Central Asia in the Palaeolithic

1. Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (London, 1871), Vol. I, p. 199.
2. Robin Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 438; Johannes Krause et al.,

'The complete mitochondrial DNA genome of an unknown hominin from southern Siberia', *Nature* 10:1038/08976 (advance publication) (2010).

3. Anatoli Derevyanko, for instance, postulated that the Mongolid race began to emerge 'several hundred thousand years ago' (Anatoly Derevyanko (ed.), *The Palaeolithic of Siberia* (Urbana and Chicago, 1998), pp. 333ff).
4. Donald Johanson, *Origins of Modern Humans: Multiregional or Out of Africa?* (Washington, 2001); Martin Kuckenberg, *Als der Mensch zum Schöpfer wurde* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 56–71, 188, 197. See also: Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 456f, 470 note 12.
5. The discoverer of the human fossils of Dmanisi, David Lordkipanidze, sees connections to the still older *Homo habilis*, which is why he introduced the taxon *Homo georgicus* – which is not recognised internationally – and positioned it between *Homo habilis* and *Homo ergaster*, the African *Homo erectus* (David Lordkipanidze and Jean Gagnepain, *La Géorgie, berceau des Européens* (Quinson, 2003), p. 4, 24ff; Paule Valois, 'Quand l'homme a peuplé la terre,' *Archéologia* no. 480 (2010), pp. 53ff). However, still older traces of *ca*. 2-million-year-old hominins are reported to have been discovered in central Syria near Hummal and Aïn al-Fil (Valois, *Quand l'homme a peuplé la terre,* p. 53).
6. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 128, 167–176, 183f. The fossils of the purportedly 2.0-million-year old 'Wushan Man' of Longgupo, central China, were from a non-human ape. See: Russell Ciochon, 'The mystery ape of Pleistocene Asia,' *Nature* 2009, pp. 910f. The meagre collection of pebble tools, alleged to be 1.9 million years old, discovered at Riwat, northern Pakistan, are disputed, in part because they were not found in their original context (Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 84, 123ff, 136ff, 321).
7. Henri de Lumley, 'Les premiers homes en Chine', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* no. 292 (2004), pp. 14f; Jean-Jacques Bahain, 'Les premiers homo erectus en Chine', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* no. 292 (2004), p. 37; 'Les gisements d l'Homme de Lantian', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* no. 292 (2004), pp. 45f.
8. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 98–113. *Homo erectus* presumably also invented the raft, in order to cross the Red Sea and to reach the island of Flores.
9. Lanpo Jia and Weiwen Huang, *The Story of Peking Man* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 17, 26, 48–50.
10. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 397–418, 444ff; Lanpo and Huang, *The Story of Peking Man*.
11. The pebble tools found by the Soviet palaeontologists Okladnikov and Dervyanko in the Altai and Mongolia, which are purportedly as old as two million years, are highly disputed. See: Derevyanko, *The Palaeolithic of Siberia*, pp. 338ff; V.A. Ranov et al., 'Lower Palaeolithic cultures', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* Vol. 1 (Paris 1992), p. 56f.
12. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 326–330; Vadim Ranov, 'Tout commence au paléolithique', *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*, Nr. 185 (1993), pp. 5f. Good surveys of the Palaeolithic sites of inner Central Asia as of 1979 and 1984, respectively, are offered by: Vadim Ranov, 'Toward a new outline of the Soviet Central Asian Palaeolithic', *Current Anthropology* xx/2 (1979), pp. 249–270, and Ranov, 'Zentralasien', in *Neue Forschungen zur Altsteinzeit* (Munich, 1984), pp. 299–343.
13. R. Masov et al. (eds), *National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan* (Dushanbe, 2005), pp. 47–55; Joachim Schäfer et al., 'Neue Untersuchungen zum Lösspaläolithikum am Obi-Mazar, Tadžikistan', in *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum*, Jg. 26, Heft 2 (1996), pp. 97–109; 'Das Altpaläolithikum aus dem 4. Paläobodenkomplex von Obi-Mazar (Tadschikistan),' in *Erkenntnisjäger. Kultur und Umwelt des frühen Menschen. Veröffentlichungen des Landesamtes für Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt 57* (Festschrift Dietrich Mania) (2003); Leonid Vishnyatsky, 'The Palaeolithic of Central Asia', *Journal of World Prehistory* xiii/1 (March 1999), p. 96f.
14. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 329f, 453; Ranov, 'Tout commence au paléolithique', pp. 6ff; Vishnyatsky, 'The Palaeolithic of Central Asia', p. 94.
15. Jiri Chlachula, 'Pleistocene climate change, natural environments and Palaeolithic occupation of East Kazakhstan', *Quaternary International Science Reviews*, ccxx/1–2 (June 2010), p. 83; Zainolla Samashev et al., *Treasures from the Ustyurt and Mangystau* (Almaty, 2007), pp. 34ff; Michael Shunkov, 'The characteristics of the Altai (Russia) Middle Palaeolithic in regional context', *Indo-Pacific Association Bulletin* 25 (2005), p. 72.
16. A good overview is provided by Vishnyatsky, 'The Palaeolithic of Central Asia', pp. 69–122. See also: Ranov et al., 'Lower Palaeolithic cultures', pp. 45–63.
17. Jiri Chlachula et al., 'Palaeolithic occupation in the Angara region, East Central Siberia, in the context of Pleistocene climate change', *Journal of Geological Sciences* no. 25 (2004), p. 35; Anatoly Derevyanko and Zun Lü Zun, 'Upper Palaeolithic cultures', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. 1 (Paris 1992), pp. 89–101; Vjačeslav Scelinskij and Vladimir Sirokov, *Höhlenmalerei im Ural* (Sigmaringen 1999), p. 8f; A.P. Okladnikow, 'Inner Asia at the dawn of history', in *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 44ff.
18. Yves Coppens et al., 'Discovery of an archaic Homo sapiens skullcap in Northeast Mongolia', *C.R. Palevol* vii (2008), pp. 51–60; Lionel Crooson, 'L'homme de Salkhit a parlé', *National Geographic*, French edition (November 2010), pp. 48–57.
19. Vishnyatsky, 'The Palaeolithic of Central Asia', p. 77.
20. Lumley, 'Les premiers hommes en Chine', pp. 15f.
21. Anatoly Derevyanko et al., 'The stratified cave site of Tsagaan Agui on the Gobi Altai (Mongolia)', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 1 (2000), pp. 23–36.
22. Gerd-Christian Weniger, 'Wie modern waren Neanderthaler?', *Eurasia Antiqua* xiv (2008), p. 1.
23. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, pp. 279–287, 453; Johanson, *Origins of Modern Humans*.
24. The approximately 800,000-year-old 'Ceprano Man', discovered south of Rome in 1994, remains to this day an isolated discovery; his name does not constitute a taxon. He is considered an early form of *Homo heidelbergensis* (Francesco Mallegni et al., 'Homo capranensis sp. nov. and the evolution of African-European Middle Pleistocene hominids,' *Comptes Rendus Palevol* ii/2 (2003), pp. 255–259).
25. *Homo antecessor*, at least 780,000 years old, is disputed as a taxon. Most palaeontologists consider it to belong to *Homo erectus* or as an early form of *Homo heidelbergensis* (Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, p. 458).
26. Kuckenberg, *Als der Mensch zum Schöpfer wurde*, pp. 67–72.
27. Katerina Harvati, '100 years of Homo heidelbergensis – life and times of a controversial taxon', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte* xvi (2007), pp. 85–91.
28. J. Desmond Clark et al., 'Stratigraphic, chronological and behavioural contexts of Pleistocene Homo sapiens from Middle Awash, Ethiopia', *Nature* cdxxiii (2003); Jamie Shreeve, 'Sur la route de l'évolution', *National Geographic* (2010); Tim White et al., 'Pleistocene Homo sapiens from Middle Awash, Ethiopia', *Nature* cdxxiii (2003).
29. Dennell, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*, p. 458; Richard Green et al., 'Analysis of one million base pairs of Neanderthal DNA', *Nature* 10:1038/05336, no. 444 (2006); David Reich et al., 'Genetic history of an archaic hominin group from Denisova Cave in Siberia', *Nature* 10:1038/09710 (December 2010), p. 1053.
30. Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) is located in organelles called mitochondria which convert chemical energy from food into a form adapted for the cell. mtDNA is maternally inherited. Non-mtDNA is mostly located in the cell nucleus.
31. Reich et al., 'Genetic history of an archaic hominin group', p. 1057.
32. Willerslev Eske, Rasmussen Morten et al., 'An Aboriginal Australian genome reveals separate human dispersals into Asia', *Science*, Vol. 333, pp. 1689ff, 23 September 2011.
33. Reich et al., 'Genetic history of an archaic hominin group', p. 1059.
34. Green Richard et al., 'A Draft Sequence of the Neanderthal Genome', *Science*, Vol. 328 (7 May 2010), p. 721.
35. Kuckenberg, *Als der Mensch zum Schöpfer wurde*, pp. 93–103.
36. David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia. Vol. I, Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Oxford, 1998), 30–33.
37. Frank Sirocko, *Wetter, Klima, Menschheitsentwicklung* (Damstadt, 2010), pp. 71f, 77ff.
38. James Lee, *Climate Change and Armed Conflict* (Oxford, 2009), p. 30.
39. Adrian Briggs et al., 'Targeted Retrieval and Analysis of Five Neandertal mtDNA Genomes', *Science* 325 (17 July 2009); Beat Müller, *Geburt war schon bei Neandertalern schwierig*, Informationsdienst Wissenschaft der Universität Zürich (2008).

40. Bridget Allchin, ‘Middle Palaeolithic culture’, in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* Vol. 1 (Paris 1992), pp. 65–88; Ranov et al., ‘Lower Palaeolithic cultures’, pp. 45–63; ‘Tout commence au paléolithique,’ p. 9.
41. Analyses of the lithic material from Obi-Rakhmat led a few researchers to posit a gradual development from Middle Palaeolithic to Upper Palaeolithic stone tools, from which they postulated a region inhabited simultaneously by Neanderthals and sapiens. See: Andrei Krivoshapkin and Jeffrey Brantingham, ‘The Lithic industry of Obi-Rakhmat Grotto, Uzbekistan’, *Actes du XIV Congres UISPP, 2–8 septembre 2001. BAR International Series 1240* (2001), pp. 203, 214; Vishnyatsky, ‘The Palaeolithic of Central Asia’, p. 98.
42. Vishnyatsky, ‘The Palaeolithic of Central Asia’, p. 112.
43. Hallam Movius, ‘Teshik-Tash: A Mousterian Cave Site in Central Asia’, in *Société Royale Belge d’Anthropologie et de Préhistoire, en l’honneur du Professeur Hamal-Nandrin* (Brussels, 1953), pp. 75, 79.
44. The oldest known burial sites in the world are those in the cave of Qafzeh near Nazareth in the Levant. Here modern humans of the species *Homo sapiens* were intentionally buried 115,000 (+/-15,000) years ago. Well documented by the stratigraphy are the double grave of a young woman with a young child and the grave of a youth whose hands held a deer antler (H.P. Schwarcz, ‘ESR dates for the hominid burial site of Qafzeh in Israel’, *Journal of Human Evolution* xvii (1988), pp. 733, 736); Bernard Vandermeersch, ‘The excavation of Qafzeh: Its contribution to knowledge of the Mousterian in the Levant’, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem* x (2002), pp. 66ff.
45. Vadim Masson and Victor Sarianidi, *Central Asia: Turkmenia before the Achaemenids* (London, 1972), p. 22.
46. Allchin, ‘Middle Palaeolithic culture’, p. 86.
47. Ralph S. Solecki, ‘Shanidar cave: a Palaeolithic site in northern Iraq’, *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (1954), pp.389–425; Ralph S. Solecki and P. Agelarakis Anagnostis, *The Proto-Neolithic Cemetery in Shanidar Cave* (Texas A&M University Press, 2004). A tenth Neanderthal, who died very young, was discovered by Melinda Zeder in 2006.
48. The thesis proposed by Steven Churchill in 2009 that Shanidar III was killed by a modern sapiens because the Neanderthals ostensibly were unfamiliar with the spear is unsustainable. Neanderthals certainly used spears and, secondly, no contemporaneous signs of sapiens have been found in Kurdistan (Steven Churchill and Robert Franciscus, ‘Shanidar 3 Neandertal Rib Puncture Wound and Palaeolithic Weaponry,’ *Journal of Human Evolution* lvii/2 (August 2009)).
49. Other researchers believe, however, that the flower pollen could have been brought into the cave by a rodent, such as a jerboa.
50. Based on the discovery of Palaeolithic tools which are supposed to have been manufactured by modern *Homo sapiens* at Jebel Faya, United Arabian Emirates, it has been claimed in January 2011 that *Homo sapiens* crossed the then almost dry straits of Bab al Mandeb already some 130,000 to 125,000 years ago. It remains so far unproven that these tools were made by modern humans (Armitage Simon J. et al., *The Southern Route ‘Out of Africa’: Evidence for an Early Expansion of Modern Humans into Arabia,* Science 2011).
51. Dennis Etler: ‘Based on the fact that modern human Upper cave remains from Zhoukoudian [China], dated to *ca.* 20,000 ya, cannot be identified as belonging to any particular living “racial” group, I would conclude that the differentiation of modern ethnicities in Asia is relatively recent, most likely only within the last 10–12,000 years.’ Letter of Professor Dennis Etler, Cabrillo College, Aptos, USA, to the author dated 8 April 2010; Nicole Maca-Meyer et al., ‘Major genomic mitochondrial lineages delineate early human expansions’, *BMC Genetics* ii/13 (2001); Stephen Oppenheimer, *The real Eve: Modern Man’s Journey Out of Africa* (London, 2003), pp. 195–242; E.D. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes. Nomad Peoples of the Steppes* (Thames & Hudson, 1965), p. 14.
52. Krause et al., ‘The complete mitochondrial DNA genome of an unknown hominin from southern Siberia’.
53. Sergei Vasil’ev et al., ‘Radiocarbon-based chronology of the Palaeolithic in Siberia and its relevance to the peopling of the New World’, *Radiocarbon* xliv/2 (2002), pp. 503, 511f. Dolitsky, by contrast, believes that an earlier migration over the Bering land bridge took place in the Kargin Interglacial, 30,000 to 33,000 years ago (Alexander Dolitsky, ‘Siberian Palaeolithic Archaeology’, *Anthropology* xxvi/3 (1985), p. 367).
54. Higham Thomas et al. Testing models for the beginnings of the Aurignacian and the advent of figurative art and music: The radiocarbon chronology of Geißenköcherle. In: *Journal of Human Evolution*, Vol. XXX, 2012, pp. 1–13. doi:19.1016/j.jhevol.2012.03.003.
55. The ostensible 230,000- to 280,000-year-old ‘Venus’ statues of Berekhat Ram (Golan Heights, Syria) and Tan-Tan (Morocco) are in author’s opinion most likely naturally occurring pseudo-artefacts. Paul Bahn, *Prehistoric Art* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 87; Kuckenberg, *Als der Mensch zum Schöpfer wurde*, pp. 125–142, 158f.
56. Nicholas Conrad et al. (eds), *Eiszeit, Kunst und Kultur* (Stuttgart, 2009), 228ff.
57. The paintings of the abri of Zaraut Kamar (Uzbekistan), once dated to the Upper Palaeolithic or Mesolithic, are of a much more recent date and are presumably just a few centuries old. The same holds for the ostensibly Upper Palaeolithic paintings of Shishkino and Tal’ma in Siberia. Robert Bednarik, ‘Pleistocene rock art in Central Europe?’ *International newsletter on rock art INORA*, No. 45 (2006), p. 29; Andrzej Rozwadowski, ‘The forgotten art of ancient Uzbekistan’, *The Times of Central Asia* iii/4 (26 January 2001).
58. Ranov, ‘Zentralasien’, pp. 316, 329.
59. Jacques, Jaubert, ‘The decorated cave of Hoït Tsenkher Agui’, *International newsletter on rock art INORA*, no. 17 (1997); Jaubert Jacques, Eleonora Novgorodva et al., *Ulangom. Ein skythenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Mongolei* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 38–51.
60. Vicomte Edmond de Poncins, *Chasses et Explorations dans la Région des Pamirs* (Paris, 1897), pp. 54f.
61. Observations of the author in 2008. See also: K. Tashbayeva et al., *Petroglyphs of Central Asia* (Samarkand, 2001), pp. 128f.
62. Vadim Ranov, ‘L’exploration archéologique du Pamir’, *Bulletin de l’Ecole française de d’Extrême Orient* lxxiii (1984), pp. 76f, 88, 94.
63. Tashbayeva et al., *Petroglyphs of Central Asia*, pp. 129ff. The dating by the Chinese scholar Wang Binghua of a few red ochre cave drawings in the Chinese Altai Mountains to the late Palaeolithic seems highly doubtful to us. Wang Binghua, ‘The Polychrome Rock Paintings in the Altay Mountains’, *The Silk Road Journal* iii/1 (2005).
64. Tashbayeva et al., *Petroglyphs of Central Asia*, pp. 18f.
65. Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, p. 30.
66. Scelinskij and Sirokov, *Höhlenmalerei im Ural*, p. 34.
67. Andreï Alexeev et al., *Trésors des Steppes* (Hauterive, 2006), pp. 19ff; Mikhail Gladkih et al., ‘Mammoth-Bone Dwellings on the Russian Plain’, *Scientific American* ccli/5 (November 1984), pp. 165–175. Lioudmilla Iakovleva, ‘Les habitats en os de mammouth des chasseurs paléolithiques d’Ukraine’, *Dossiers d’Archéologie no. 266, L’or des rois Scythes* (2001); Lioudmilla Iakovleva and François Djindjian, ‘New data on Mammoth bone settlements of Eastern Europe in the light of the new excavations of the Gontsy site Ukraine’, *International Science Reviews*, 126–128 (2005); I.H. Pidoplichko, *Upper Palaeolithic Dwellings of Mammoth Bones in the Ukraine: Kiev-Kirillovskii, Gontsy, Dobranichevka, Mezin and Mezhirich* (Oxford, 1998); Randall White, *Prehistoric Art: The symbolic journey of mankind* (New York, 2003), pp. 128, 147.
68. Iakovleva, ‘Les habitats en os de mammouth des chasseurs paléolithiques d’Ukraine’, p. 45.
69. Conrad, *Eiszeit, Kunst und Kultur*, pp. 192–195.
70. I.H. Pidoplichko, *Meziritchskie jilicha iz kosteï* (Kiev, 1976), pp. 162, 169, 174, 180, 183.
71. Pidoplichko, *Upper Palaeolithic dwellings of mammoth bones*, pp. 161, 164, 167.
72. Gladkih et al., ‘Mammoth-Bone Dwellings on the Russian Plain’, pp. 170, 175; Iakovleva, ‘Les habitats en os de mammouth des chasseurs paléolithiques d’Ukraine’, pp. 46ff; Pidoplichko, *Meziritchskie jilicha iz kosteï*, pp. 204, 206, 212; Pidoplichko, *Upper Palaeolithic Dwellings of Mammoth Bones in the Ukraine,* pp. 213f.
73. Scelinskij and Sirokov, *Höhlenmalerei im Ural*, pp. 94–132.
74. Ibid, pp. 136f.
75. White, *Prehistoric Art*, pp. 136–146.
76. Bahn, *Prehistoric Art,* pp. 89ff. A crude clay figure, about 16,000 years old and 9.6 centimetres tall, was also found in southern Siberia near the Maiyna settlement, on the western bank of the Yenisei River. http://vm.kemsu.ru/en/palaeolith/plastic/maina.html
77. Derevyanko, *The Palaeolithic of Siberia*, p. 8.

78. Alexeev et al., *Trésors des Steppes*, pp. 22ff; Derevyanko, *The Palaeolithic of Siberia*, pp. 8–12, 132–135; Jakov Sher, ‘Pétroglyphes de Russie’, *Archéologia* no. 395 (2002), p. 62; White, *Prehistoric Art,* pp. 145f. Astonishingly, the grave at Malt’a is one of a very few graves in Siberia from this epoch; perhaps the dead were left in forests or ‘buried’ high in trees, a custom still practised at the start of the twentieth century.
79. Sirocko, *Wetter, Klima, Menschheitsentwicklung*, pp. 86, 88; White, Randall, *Prehistoric Art*, 2003, p. 146.
80. Gaëlle Rosendahl et al., ‘Le plus vieil arc du monde?’, *L’Anthropologie* cx/3 (2006), pp. 371f, 375, 379f.
81. Volker, Alles (ed.), *Reflexbogen: Geschichte und Herstellung* (Ludwigshafen, 2009), pp. 13ff.
82. See p. 42.
83. Alles, *Reflexbogen: Geschichte und Herstellung*, pp. 13–17, 22.
84. Ibid, p. 23.
85. Renate Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen* (Lucerne, 1980), p. 73.
86. Maurice, Byzantine Emperor, *Strategikon*, 1984, VIII, 48 (p. 87).
87. David Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language: How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the modern world* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 223f; David Anthony and Dorcas Brown, *Harnessing Horsepower. Horses and Humans in Antiquity* (2007).
88. Konstantin ˇCugunov, Hermann Parzinger and Anatoli Nagler, ‘Der skythische Fürstengrabhügel von Arzhan 2 in Tuva, Vorbericht der russisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen’, *Eurasia Antiqua* ix (2003), pp. 135ff; *Der Goldschatz von Arzhan* (Munich, 2006), pp. 14, 122; *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva* (Mainz, 2010), pp. 216–231.
89. Vjačeslav Molodin, ‘Das skythenzeitliche Kriegergrab aus Olon-Kurin-Gol, Mongolischer Altaj’, *Eurasia Antiqua* xiii (2008), p. 261.
90. Chengyuan Ma, *Archaeological treasures of the Silk Road in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region* (Shanghai, 1998), pp. 104, 254; Alfred Wieczorek and Christoph Lind (eds), *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße* (Stuttgart, 2007), p. 177.
91. Zhao Feng and Yu Zhiyong (eds), *Legacy of the Desert King* (Hong Kong, 2000), p. 48.

III. A Global Climatic Warming Ushers in the Mesolithic

1. A.P. Okladnikow, *Der Hirsch mit dem goldenen Geweih* (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 7.
2. Frank Sirocko, *Wetter, Klima, Menschheitsentwicklung* (Darmstadt, 2010), pp. 93, 100–102.
3. We will not use the term ‘Epipalaeolithic’, sometimes equated with the Mesolithic, because the former term is defined differently, depending on the author. The epoch between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic is sometimes called the Epipalaeolithic for cultures of southern regions that were never affected by ice ages. In the archaeology of Russia and northern Europe, the term ‘Mesolithic’ predominates.
4. Vadim Ranov, ‘Toward a new outline of the Soviet Central Asian Palaeolithic’, *Current Anthropology* xx/2 (1979), p. 258; Georg Renner and Christa Selic, *Abseits der großen Minarette* (Leipzig, 1992), p. 29.
5. Esther Jacobson (ed.), *Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 6: Mongolie du Nord-Ouest, Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor,* Vol. I (Paris, 2001), pp. 9–11.
6. The first scholars to give attention to the stone engravings were two Chinese: the philosopher Han Fei (289–233 BC) and the geographer Li Daoyuan (fifth century AD) (Paul Bahn, *Prehistoric Art* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 1–3). An interpretation of Bronze Age petroglyphs as Shamanistic is problematic since we do not know if a Siberian type of Shamanism existed at that period. Also the alleged first millennium BC petroglyphs of men beating a drum along the Middle Yenissei River are not conclusive, since their dating is unsure and the representation of a drum does not in itself provide evidence of ‘Shamanism’. For pictures see: Ekaterina Devlet. *Rock Art and the material culture of Siberian and Central Asian Shamanism* (London, 2001) p. 47, Fig. 3.5.
7. Two exceptions may be the wagons shown in the top view, which could recall a view of an open grave with a wagon burial, as well as possible portrayals of a horse sacrifice. See photos pp. 85 and 92.
8. Jacobson, *Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 6,* p. 7; Esther Jacobson and James Meacham, *Archaeology and Landscape in the Mongolian Altai: An Atlas* (Redlands, CA, 2010), pp. 22f.
9. Esther Jacobson, ‘The Rock Art of Mongolia’, *The Silk Road Journal*, iv/1 (2006), p. 7.
10. Interpretations of the mushroom-shaped head coverings as bronze helmets decorated with feathers seem improbable, since such helmets, discovered in Mongolia, date to a later time, *ca.* eleventh–eighth century BC. In a few battle scenes from the late Bronze Age, this interpretation may be correct. See: D. Erdenebaatar, ‘Burial materials related to the history of the Bronze Age in the territory of Mongolia’, in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), p. 197.
11. Goryachev A.A., Mariyashev A.N. *Petroglyphs of Semirechye*. Fort inform 1999.
12. Skiing has been practised in northern Eurasia for millennia; 4,500-year-old skis made of ash wood have been discovered (Andreï Alexeev, *Trésors des steppes* (Hauterive, 2006), p. 27).
13. Baumer, *Traces in the Desert*, p. 69f.
14. Camels pulling wagons are not found in Tsagaan Salaa but are in Kazakhstan, as, for instance, in Arpa Uzen.
15. See p. 157.

15a. This table has been inspired by a table given in: Jacobson-Tepfer Esther, Meacham James E. *Archaeology and Landscape in the Mongolian Altai: An Atlas*. ESRI Press, Redlands CA 2010, pp. 20f.

16. Jakov Sher et al. (eds), *Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 1: Sibérie du Sud 1. Oglakhty I–III* (Paris, 1994).
17. Natalia Blednova et al. (eds), *Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 2: Sibérie du Sud 2. Tepsej I–III, Ust’-Tuba I–VI* (Paris, 1995).
18. N. Batbold (ed.), *Petroglyphs of Aral Tolgoi (Mongolia)* (Ulaan Baatar, 2007).
19. Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia* (London, 2008), pp. 69–72; Jacobson, *Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale*, *Fascicule 6*. For a good selection of photos, see also: http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/archaeology/mongolia/bagaoigor/bagaoigor.html
20. Baumer, *Traces in the Desert*, p. 59.
21. Eleonora Novgorodva, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei* (Leipzig, 1980), pp. 50–54.
22. Anatoly Derevyanko and D. Dorj, ‘Neolithic tribes in northern parts of Central Asia’, in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), pp. 170ff; John Maringer, *Contribution to the prehistory of Mongolia,* Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin (Stockholm, 1950), pp. 201–208.

IV. The Economic Revolution of the Neolithic

1. Nicholai Przhevalsky, *Mongolia: The Tangut county and the solitudes of Northern Tibet: Being a narrative of three years travel in Eastern High Asia* (London, 1876), p. 120.
2. While the camel was only domesticated around 2600 BCE, Przhevalsky’s statement applies to most animals domesticated in the Neolithic.
3. In Western scholarship the new methods of production are the prerequisite for designating a culture as Neolithic. In Soviet and Russian scholarship, however, knowledge of ceramics most often defines the start of the Neolithic, so that a hunter-gather society that produced ceramics and refined stone tools would be described as Neolithic, while in traditional Western accounts it would be considered Mesolithic. Since in the Eurasian steppe the people remained hunter-gatherers but had advanced stone tools and ceramics many centuries after sedentariness and food production had begun in Old Europe and the Near East, we follow Parzinger in adopting the Russian view. According to classic Western scholarship, these steppe cultures would have experienced no Neolithic phase and would have jumped from the Mesolithic directly to the Chalcolithic. David Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language: How Bronze Age riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the modern world* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 125f; Hermann Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens: Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006), pp. 41f.
4. Vadim Ranov, ‘Toward a new outline of the Soviet Central Asian Palaeolithic’, *Current Anthropology* xx/2 (1979), pp. 255, 259f.
5. Vadim Ranov, ‘Les énigmes de la culture de Hissar’, *Découverte des civilisations d’Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d’archéologie* no. 185 (1993), pp. 14–21.
6. Boroffka, Nikolaus. *Klima und Besiedlungsgeschichte am Aral-See, Kasachstan und Usbekistan*, in Boroffka, Nikolaus, Hansen Svend (eds). *Archäologische Forschungen in Kasachstan, Tadschikistan, Turkmenistan und Usbekistan*. Eurasien-Abteilung, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 2010, p. 39.
7. Sergei Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), p. 75.

8. René Létolle et al., 'Uzboy and the Aral regression', *International Science Reviews* 123–174 (2007). pp. 125–136; Vadim Masson, 'The Decline of the Bronze Age Civilization and Movements of the Tribes', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), p. 337.
9. Delmar Morgan and C. Coote, *Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and other Englishmen*, Vol. 1 (London, 1886), p. 70.
10. Vadim Masson and Victor Sarianidi, *Central Asia: Turkmenia before the Achaemenids* (London, 1972), p. 73f; Victor Sarianidi, 'Food-producing and other Neolithic communities in Khorasan and Transoxiana', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), p. 121ff; A.P. Okladnikow, 'Inner Asia at the dawn of history', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 64.
11. Sarianidi, 'Food-producing and other Neolithic communities', p. 115f.
12. Other origination sites for agriculture later arose independently in China, Central America, the Andes of South America, and central Africa.
13. Steven Mithen, *After the ice: A global human history 20.000–5000 BC* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 406–415; Sarianidi, 'Food-producing and other Neolithic communities', pp. 124f.
14. Sarianidi, 'Food-producing and other Neolithic communities', p. 118.
15. The covering of the dead with ochre presumably had not only a symbolic but also a functional component, since ochre possesses a certain anti-inflammatory and antiseptic effect. Perhaps the people believed they could stop the decomposition of the corpse by sprinkling it with ochre. Paul Bahn, *Prehistoric Art* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 72.
16. Grégoire Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden, 1970), p. 130; Frederik Talmage Hiebert et al., *A Central Asian Village at the Dawn of Civilization, excavations at Anau, Turkmenistan* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 15ff; Masson and Sarianidi, *Central Asia*, pp. 33–46; Sarianidi, 'Food-producing and other Neolithic communities', pp. 112–121.
17. Anatoly Derevyanko and D. Dorj, 'Neolithic tribes in northern parts of Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), pp. 169–181.
18. A kurgan is a burial mound, of varying size, made of earth or stone and having a circular shape, which is erected over one or more burial chambers. The Russian word курган comes from Old Turkic.
19. Walther Heissig and Claudius Müller (eds), *Die Mongolen* (Innsbruck, 1989), p. 15.
20. Whether the red ochre found for millennia in the burials of Central Asia was really understood as a symbol of the sources of life or the 'blood of the dead' remains unknown. Denis Sinor, *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 67.
21. Hermann Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens: Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006), pp. 79–89; Sinor, *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia,* pp. 67f.
22. Aleksandr Kislenko and Nataliya Tatarintseva, 'The Eastern Ural Steppe at the End of the Stone Age' in Marsha Levine et al., *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 185–197.
23. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 132, 138.
24. Ibid, pp. 138, 145–149.
25. The dating of the earliest Elshanka finds must perhaps be corrected to about 500 years later, to 6500 BC, which would shift the introduction of ceramics to 6200 BC (Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 149, 480, note 19).
26. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 148, 154. See p. 135.
27. Ibid, pp. 151, 159.
28. See here p. 78.
29. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 138–159; D. Telegin et al., 'Settlement and economy in Neolithic Ukraine: a new chronology', *Antiquity* lxxvii/297 (2003), pp. 457ff.
30. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 155–159, 174, 182.
31. Telegin et al., 'Settlement and economy in Neolithic Ukraine', pp. 459, 465.
32. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 160f, 181f, 185, 234f, 254.

V. The Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age

1. Herodotus, I, 216. The English translation is taken from: Herodotus, *The Histories* (London 2003).
2. David Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language. How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the modern world* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 123f.
3. The term 'Metal Age', sometimes used as an alternative, unnecessarily obscures important differences in the development of a culture and between contemporaneous cultures.
4. The Copper Stone Age is also called the Eneolithic. The frequently encountered term 'Copper Age' is actually wrong, since this period was characterised by the use of both copper and stone objects. In archaeology one speaks of the 'Chalcolithic' only when proper copper objects appear, not only copper sheets.
5. Evengy Chernykh, 'Ancient metallurgy in northeast Asia: From the Urals to the Saiano-Altai', in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), p. 16; Evengy Chernykh, 'The "Steppe Belt" of stockbreeding cultures in Eurasia during the Early Metal Age', *Trabajos de Prehistoria* lxvi/2 (2008), pp. 75ff; Philip Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 29ff.
6. The term 'circumpontic' derives from the Greek name for the Black Sea, *Póntos Euxeinos* (Πόντος Εὔξεινος), meaning 'hospitable sea'. At first, however, it was called *Póntos Áxeinos* (Πόντος Ἄξεινος), which means 'inhospitable sea'. The original name was presumably chosen by the Greeks on account of the often stormy swells and the fearsome coastal inhabitants. After the founding of colonies it became the 'hospitable' sea.
7. Chernykh, 'Ancient metallurgy in northeast Asia', pp. 16f, fig. 1.1; Ludmila Koryakova and Andrej Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 26–33.
8. Evengy Chernykh, 'Kargaly: The largest and most ancient metallurgical complex on the border of Europe and Asia', in Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia*, p. 224.
9. Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, pp. 57–83. On the Maikop Culture, see also here p. 92. Other scholars believe that the technology of bronze alloying arose in Mesopotamia (Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 287ff).
10. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, p. 125; Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, p. 32.
11. Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, pp. 85, 110, 144.
12. See here p. 148.
13. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 39f.
14. Georg Renner and Christa Selic, *Abseits der großen Minarette* (Leipzig, 1982), p. 73.
15. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 190–193.
16. Raphael Pumpelly (ed.), *Explorations in Turkestan: Expedition of 1904: Prehistoric civilizations of Anau* (Washington, 1908), pp. XXIII–XXXV, 15f.
17. Fredrik Hiebert, *A Central Asian Village at the Dawn of Civilization, excavations at Anau, Turkmenistan* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 125f, 162.
18. Pumpelly (ed.), *Explorations in Turkestan*, Vol. I; Hiebert, *A Central Asian Village at the Dawn of Civilization*, p. 172.
19. Hiebert, *A Central Asian Village at the Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 162–72.
20. L.B Kirtcho, 'The earliest wheeled transport in southwestern Central Asia: New finds from Altyn-Depe', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* xxxvii/1 (2009), pp. 25–32; Masson, *Altyn-Depe*, p. 99, pl. XIX.
21. Daniel Potts, 'Bactrian Camels and Bactrian-Dromedary Hybrids', *The Silk Road Journal* iii/1 (2005), p. 53.
22. Grégoire Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 132f; Hiebert, *A Central Asian Village at the Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 15–23; Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, pp. 201f, Vadim M. Masson, *Altyn-Depe* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 15; Hermann Müller-Karpe, *Neolithisch-kupferzeitliche Siedlungen in der Geoksjur-Oase, Süd-Turkmenistan* (Munich, 1984), p. 40; Viktor Sarianidi, 'Margiana in the Bronze Age', in Philip Kohl (ed.), *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia: Recent Soviet discoveries* (New York, 1981), pp. 188ff.
23. Daniel Potts, 'Bactrian Camels and Bactrian-Dromedary Hybrids', *The Silk Road Journal* iii/1 (2005), p. 53.
24. Kirtcho, 'The earliest wheeled transport in southwestern Central Asia', pp. 25, 32.
25. Vadim Masson and Victor Sarianidi, *Central Asia: Turkmenia before the Achaemenids* (London, 1972), p. 51; Vadim Masson, 'The Bronze Age in Khorasan and Transoxiana', *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), pp. 225ff.
26. Masson and Sarianidi, *Central Asia*, p. 59. Ulug Depe has the deepest prehistoric stratigraphy of all Central Asian settlements; Olivier Lecomte, 'Ulug Dépé: 4,000 ans d'évolution entre plaine et désert', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* no. 317 (2006), p. 17.
27. Masson and Sarianidi, *Central Asia*, 1972, p. 61.

28. Müller-Karpe, *Neolithisch-kupferzeitliche Siedlungen*, pp. 9f, 55, 85f.
29. See pp. 123ff.
30. Müller-Karpe, *Neolithisch-kupferzeitliche Siedlungen*, pp. 18, 42f.
31. Ibid, pp. 12, 74–84.
32. Vadim Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte: Die Wiederentdeckung der ältesten Kulturgebiete in Mittelasien* (Munich, 1982), pp. 69ff, 77, 92, 129.
33. S.G. Kljastornyj and T.I. Sultanov, *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens: Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 41f. See p. 72.
34. Masson, *Altyn-Depe*, pp. 55–80.
35. Stephen Bourke, *The Middle East: The cradle of civilization revealed* (London, 2008), pp. 96f; R. Ghirsman, *Fouilles de Sialk près de Kashan* (Paris, 1938).
36. Bruno Bioul, *Jiroft*, (2003), pp. 67, 74, 76, 92.
37. Joan Aruz, *Art of the first cities* (New York, 2003), p. 349; Maurizio Tosi et al., 'The Bronze Age in Iran and Afghanistan', *History of civilizations of Central Asia* Vol. I (Paris, 1992), pp. 199, 206f, 215; The SHAHR-I-SOKHTA ONLINE project. http://www.bradypus.net/sis-online/.
38. A. Dani and B. Thapar, 'The Indus Civilization', *History of civilizations of Central Asia* Vol. I (1992), p. 298; Gabriele Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis, III–II mill. BC* (Venice, 2007), p. 147. See here p. 78f.
39. Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, p. 357.
40. Gabriele Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis, III–II mill. BC* (Venice, 2007), p. 153.
41. Masson and Sarianidi, *Central Asia*, pp. 129–136; Masson, *Altyn-Depe*, pp. 86ff. See also Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, p. 164.
42. There is also evidence of a local snake cult in the delta of the Tejen River (Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, p. 149).
43. Toreutics are objects of artistic metalworking.
44. Bourke, *The Middle East*, p. 337.
45. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, pp. 34f; Masson, *Altyn-Depe*, pp. IV, 68–76, plate XXIII.
46. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, pp. 40, 45; *Altyn-Depe*, 1988, p. 89, plate XVII.
47. *Avesta,* yasna IX, 25–27 (2006, Vol. II. p. 71); J.P. Mallory and D.Q. Adams (eds), *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture* (London, 1997), p. 259.
48. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, p. 26; Masson, *Altyn-Depe*, pp. 40, 51, 105.
49. The influence of the proto-Elamite culture that may be observed in Altyn Tepe and other oasis cities of Kopet Dag can be traced back to this trade contact and not to a sometimes postulated mass emigration out of Mesopotamia or Iran. On this thesis see: Masson and Sarianidi, *Central Asia*, 1972, pp. 51, 81, 85, 89.
50. Masson, *Altyn-Depe*, p. 121; Colin Renfrew, 'Die Indoeuropäer aus archäologischer Sicht', in Richard Breuer (ed.), *Die Evolution der Sprachen: Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, Dossier 2 (Heidelberg, 2007), p. 48.
51. A.I. Isakov, 'Sarazm et la civilisation de l'Asie centrale', *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale: Les dossiers d'archéologie* no. 185 (1993), p. 26.
52. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 419f; Isakov, 'Sarazm et la civilisation de l'Asie centrale', pp. 28–35; A.I. Isakov, 'Sarazm: An Agricultural Center of Ancient Sogdiana', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* viii (1994), pp. 1–12; Rauf Razzakov, *Sarazm* (Dushanbe, 2006), pp. 22–28.
53. Isakov, 'Sarazm', p. 3; Razzakov, *Sarazm*, pp. 26, 36. figs. 136–138.
54. Isakov, 'Sarazm et la civilisation de l'Asie centrale', 1993, pp. 34f; Isakov, 'Sarazm', p. 6; Tatiana Kiatkina, 'Le population de l'Asie Moyenne ancienne', *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale: Les dossiers d'archéologie* no. 185 (1993), pp. 37f.
55. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, p. 420.
56. Pierre Amiet, *L' âge des échange inter-iraniens 3500–1700 avant J.-C. (Paris, 1986), pp. 182f ;* Masson, 'The Bronze Age in Khorasan and Transoxiana', pp. 232f; Tosi et al., *The Bronze Age in Iran and Afghanistan*, p. 208.
57. Henri-Paul Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortugaï*, Vol. I (Paris, 1989), pp. 76, 131–135, 144, 165–168.
58. Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortugaï*, Vol. I, pp. 283, 286ff. On the Bronze Age culture of Bactria, see p. 114.
59. Warwick Ball, *The Monuments of Afghanistan: History, archaeology and architecture* (London, 2008), p. 265.
60. Jonathan Kenoyer, *Ancient cities of the Indus Valley Civilization* (Oxford, 1998), p. 17.
61. Ibid, pp. 15–69.
62. Kenoyer. *Ancient cities*, pp. 69–80; Deo Prakash Sharma, *Indus Script on its way to decipherment* (Delhi, 2000).
63. Irene Good, J.M. Kenoyer and R.H. Meadow, 'New evidence for early silk in the Indus civilizations', Archaeometry l (2009), p. 1f.
64. Good, Kenoyer and Meadow, 'New evidence for early silk', pp. 3–8.
65. Nüzhet Dalfes, George Kukla and Harvey Weiss (eds), *Third Millennium BC Climate Change and Old World* Collapse (Berlin, 1997), p. 231.
66. James Lee, *Climate Change and Armed Conflict: Hot and Cold Wars* (Oxon, 2009), pp. 31ff; Holly Pittman, *Art of the Bronze Age: Southeastern Iran, Western Central Asia and the Indus Valley* (New York, 1984), pp. 81f.
67. Asif Raza Morio, *Moen Jo Daro: Mysterious City of Indus Valley Civilization* (Larkana, 2007), pp. 35, 92f.
68. Frank Sirocko, *Wetter, Klima, Menschheitsentwicklung* (Damstadt, 2010), pp. 119, 127f.
69. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, 1970, p. 141; Masson and Sarianidi, *Central Asia*, pp. 93f, 103.
70. The Cucuteni Culture of Romania and the Tripolye Culture of the Ukraine were originally treated as separate cultures; today they are considered as a single unit.
71. Vladimir Zbenovic, *Siedlungen der frühen Tripol'e-Kultur zwischen Dnestr und Südlichem Bug* (Espelkamp, 1996), pp. 35–38.
72. Krzystof Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine* (Toronto, 2008), pp. 27f, 58f, 145ff; Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, p. 44.
73. Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*, p. 60.
74. 'Apotropaic' means warding off evil.
75. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 170ff; Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*, p. 14.
76. Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*, pp. 19, 147, 167. See p. 90.
77. Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*, p. 64.
78. The hypothesis formulated by Marija Gimbutas in the 1970s of a brutal destruction of the peaceful, egalitarian, and matrilineally organised agrarian culture of 'Old Europe' by militaristic and patriarchal Indo–European rider hordes from the east has been laid to rest. There is also no evidence that Chalcolithic agrarian culture was matriarchal and egalitarian, nor that steppe peoples had an armed cavalry as far back as the fifth/fourth millennium BC. It is true, however, that the semi-nomadic herders had an armed elite and erected kurgans.
79. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 229f, 346. On the proto-Indo–European language family PIE and on the problem of associating a prehistoric culture that finally consists of a cluster of particular archaeological discoveries with specific languages and these then with ethnicities, see note 151 and p. 135.
80. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 268ff. 355f; Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*, pp. 12, 30f, 37, 45, 232.
81. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, p. 234.
82. Ibid, pp. 338f, 355; Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*, pp. 31, 37, 45, 138f; Iaroslav Lebedynsky. *Les Indo-Européens* (Errance, 2006), pp. 124f.
83. Renate Rolle et al., *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine* (Schleswig, 1991), pp. 44f; D. Telegin and J.P. Mallory, *The Anthropomorphic Stelae of the Ukraine: The Early Iconography of the Indo–Europeans* (Washington, 1994), pp. 10–14.
84. Telegin and Mallory, *The Anthropomorphic Stelae of the Ukraine*, pp. 29f, 55ff.
85. See p. 157.
86. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 360, 368, 380.
87. Ibid, p. 189.
88. Ibid, p. 182.
89. Ibid, pp. 185f, 235, 254.
90. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 182, 275, 299f, 317; David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia, Vol. I, Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Oxford, 1998), p. 100; Parzinger et al., 'Das mehrperiodige Gräberfeld von Suchanicha bei Minusinsk', *Eurasia Antiqua* xv (2009), p. 195.
91. Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, pp. 540f.
92. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 98ff, 245; Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, p. 86; J.P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo–Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (London, 1989), pp. 182, 241f, 264.
93. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 43–49, 57, 100, 251, 259, 262; Kristian Kristiansen, 'La diffusion préhistorique des langues indo-européennes', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* no. 338 (2008), p. 42.
94. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, p. 185; Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, p. 140; E. Kuzmina, *The Prehistory of the Silk Road* (Philadelphia, 2008), p. 25.
95. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 213–215.
96. Robert Drews, *Early Riders: The beginnings of mounted warfare in Asia and Europe* (New York, 2004), p. 13.

97. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 216–220; Anatoly Derevyanko and D. Dorj, 'Neolithic tribes in northern parts of Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), p. 185; Michael Frachetti, *Pastoralist landscapes and social interaction in Bronze Age Eurasia* (Berkeley, 2008), p. 46; Aleksandr Kislenko and Nataliya Tatarintseva, 'The Eastern Ural Steppe at the End of the Stone Age' in Marsha Levine et al., *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 203; Hermann Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens: Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006), pp. 219–230.
98. Whether representatives of the Botai Culture were in fact the first to ride horses remains debated. Levine believes that the horse bones came only from slaughtered wild horses, while Anthony and Christian are inclined to think that the art of riding was known west of the Urals even before the Botai Culture. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 221–223, 265; Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, pp. 82, 85; Levine et al., *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe,* p. 53.
99. Drews, *Early Riders*, pp. 32f.
100. Ibid, pp. 85, 88–91, 94, 97.
101. Ibid, pp. 66, 100.
102. Georges Roux and Johannes Renger, *Irak in der Antike* (Mainz, 2005), p. 194.
103. Five carbon-14 analyses gave a date of *ca.* 1000 BC for this grave, but aspects of the ceramic typology have led some scholars to propose a date of around 800 BC. Elizabeth Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi* (London, 1999), p. 37, plate I; Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road* (Bangkok, 2003), p. 31; Victor Mair (ed.), *Secrets of the Silk Road* (Santa Ana, CA, 2010), p. 36; Binghua Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang* (Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2001), pp. 79–94; Alfred Wieczorek and Christoph Lind (eds), *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße* (Stuttgart, 2007), pp. 183–187, 201.
104. Albert Dien, 'The stirrup and its effect on Chinese military history', *Ars Orientalia* xvi (1986); Philip de Souza (ed.), *The ancient world at war* (London, 1980), p. 260.
105. Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Europa 567–822 n.Chr.* (Munich, 2002), pp. 89, 171ff.
106. Herodotus I, 215; Renate Rolle (ed.), *Amazonen: Geheimnisvolle Kriegerinnen* (Speyer, 2010), pp. 153–157. Whether the Massagetae had leather stirrups is debated. E.D. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes: Nomad Peoples of the Steppes* (London, 1965), pp. 93, 107; Véronique Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker* (Munich, 1994), p.405.
107. R. Brzezinski and M. Mielczarek, *The Sarmatians 600 BC – AD 450* (London, 2002), pp. 16ff; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates* (Errance, 2002), pp. 163, 166. See here p. 262.
108. Ch'ien Ssu-ma, *Records of the grand historian of China*, Vol. II (New York, 1971), p. 155.
109. Drews, *Early Riders*, pp. 139–147.
110. Brian Todd Carey, *Warfare in the Ancient World* (Barnsley, 1988), pp. 64–77; Ruth Sheppard, *Alexander der Grosse und seine Feldzüge* (Stuttgart, 2009), pp. 77–184; Souza, *The ancient world at war*, pp. 119–126.
111. Joseph Maran, 'Die Badener Kultur und ihre Räderfahrzeuge', in Mamoun Fansa and Stefan Burmeister (eds), *Rad und Wagen* (Mainz, 2004), pp. 265–282; Joseph Maran, 'Kulturkontakte und Wege der Ausbreitung der Wagentechnologie im 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr.', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, p. 429.
112. Jan Albert Bakker, 'Die neolithischen Wagen im nördlichen Mitteleuropa', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, pp. 283, 288.
113. Helmut Schlichtherle, 'Wagenfunde aus den Seeufersiedlungen im zirkumalpinen Raum', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, pp. 295ff.
114. Stefan Burmeister, 'Neolithische und bronzezeitliche Moorfunde aus den Niederlanden, Nordwestdeutschland und Dänemark', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, pp. 329ff.
115. Ciuk (ed.), *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*, pp. 147, 167; Maran, 'Die Badener Kultur und ihre Räderfahrzeuge', pp. 275, 279; Maran, 'Kulturkontakte und Wege der Ausbreitung der Wagentechnologie', pp. 437ff.
116. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, p. 295; Viktor Trifonov, 'Die Majkop-Kultur und die ersten Wagen in der südrussischen Steppe', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, pp. 168ff.
117. Andrej Belinskij and Aleksej Kalmykov, 'Neue Wagenfunde aus der Katakombengrab-Kultur im Steppengebiet des zentralen Vorkauskasus', in Mamoun Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, p. 201; Aleksandr Gej, 'Die Wagen der Novotitarovskaja-Kultur', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, pp. 177, 188; Trifonov, 'Die Majkop-Kultur und die ersten Wagen', pp. 173f; Michail Tureckij, 'Wagengräber der grubengrabzeitlichen Kulturen im Steppengebiet Osteuropas', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, p. 192.
118. Shen Chen, *Anyang and Sanxingdui: Unveiling the Mysteries of Ancient Chinese Civilizations* (Toronto, 2002), p. 75.
119. J.P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies* (London, 2000), p. 325. See here p. 122.
120. Christopher Pare, 'Die Wagen der Bronzezeit in Mitteleuropa', in Fansa and Burmeister, *Rad und Wagen*, p. 358.
121. Tureckij, 'Wagengräber der grubengrabzeitlichen Kulturen', p. 196ff. Other scholars, such as Victor Trifonov, remain committed to the earlier hypothesis, according to which Maikop adopted the technology of wagon construction from Mesopotamia (Trifonov 'Die Majkop-Kultur und die ersten Wagen', pp. 171–174f).
122. Maran, 'Kulturkontakte und Wege der Ausbreitung der Wagentechnologie', pp. 437ff; M. Primas, 'Innovationstransfer vor 5000 Jahren: Knotenpunkte an Land- und Wasserwegen zwischen Vorderasien und Europa', *Eurasia Antiqua* xiii (2007), pp. 4ff.
123. This was during the Subboreal (3700–450 BC).
124. Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, p. 142; Kuzmina, *The Prehistory of the Silk Road*, p. 65.
125. Rolle (ed.), *Amazonen. Geheimnisvolle Kriegerinnen*, pp. 105f.
126. Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, p. 628.
127. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 397, 402; Kuzmina, *The Prehistory of the Silk Road*, pp. 44ff. A single-axle cart with a light body from the great kurgan of Ipatovskij in the region of Stavropol, south-western Russia, is about 100 years older than the earliest from Sintashta, but the type of wheel cannot be determined. Belinskij and Kalmykov, 'Neue Wagenfunde aus der Katakombengrab-Kultur', 2004, p. 215f.
128. On the Sintashta-Petrovka Culture see pp. 141ff.
129. Herodotus I, 216. See here p. 200.
130. See pp. 141ff.
131. *Rig Veda*, Book 2, II:3 (zweiter Liederkreis, 1. Gruppe, 2.2.3.) (English text is from http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/rv02002.htm.)
132. Herodotus, IV 71; Rostovtzeff, M., *La peinture décorative antique en Russie méridionale* (1913–1914) (Paris, 2004), pp. 80f.
133. A. Kantorovic A. and E. Maslov, 'Eine reiche Bestattung der Majkop-Kultur aus einem Kurgan der stanica Mar'inskaja, Kreis Stavropol, Nordkaukasien', *Eurasia Antiqua*, xiii (2008), p. 159.
134. Contrary to popular belief, not all lapis lazuli must stem from the famous Sar-i Sang-mine in Badakhshan, northern Afghanistan, although it is the largest and longest exploited mine; other lapis lazuli mines exist in the Pamirs, in the Chagai Hills in Baluchistan, Pakistan, and at the southern shore of Lake Baikal in southern Siberia. Furthermore, other feldspathoid such as sodalite and lazurite which can be found in several other sites in Central and Southeast Asia may be confused with true lapis lazuli. Hence caution is advised when deducing from the find of a lapis lazuli or related feldspathoid a trade connection with Badkhshan (Good, Irene, *When East met West: Interpretative Problems in Assessing East-West Contact and Exchange in Antiquity*, in Vth ICAANE Congress, Madrid. Edited by Allison Betts and Fiona Kidd (Louvain 2008) pp. 28–30).
135. Andreï Alexeev et al., *Nomades des Steppes* (Paris, 2001)*;* Andreï Alexeev et al., *Trésors des Steppes* (Hauterive, 2006), pp. 45–51; Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 287–289.
136. Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, pp. 94, 120; Jeremy Black and Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin, 2000), p. 104f; Richard Zettler and Lee Horne (eds), *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur* (Philadelphia, 1998), pp. 21–38, 48f.
137. Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, p. 74.
138. Ibid, pp. 165, 222f.
139. The classification of cultures by types of tombs was introduced by the Russian archaeologist Vasilij Gorodcov in 1905 (Leskovar Jutta, Zingerle Maria-Christina (eds), *Goldener Horizont* (2010), p. 22).
140. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 274f.
141. Ibid, pp. 254, 274f, 300ff; Jurij Rassamakin, 'The Eneolithic of the Black sea Steppe: Dynamics of Cultural and Economic Development 4500–2300 BC', in Marsha Levine et al., *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe* (Cambridge, 1999), pp, 151–54.
142. Since in both preceding and subsequent cultures graves were sprinkled with ochre, this term is unspecific and unhelpful.
143. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 317, 343f, 361.

144. Ibid, pp. 57f, 100f, 305, 344, 349.
145. See here pp. 264f.
146. Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, p. 101.
147. Frachetti, *Pastoralist landscapes and social interaction*, p. 45.
148. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 264f, 305, 308; Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, p. 101; Michael Frachetti, 'Bronze Age Exploitation and Political Dynamics of the Eastern Eurasian Steppe Zone', in Marsha Levine et al., *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 164. See also: N.A. Bokovenko, 'Malinovyj Log. Ein Gräberfeld der Afanas'evo-Kultur', *Eurasia Antiqua* vi (2000), p. 31.
149. Kislenko and Tatarintseva, 'The Eastern Ural Steppe', pp. 209f.
150. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo–Europeans*, pp. 223ff. Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, p. 4.
151. Brian Hemphill and J.P. Mallory, 'Horse-mounted invaders from the Russo-Kazakh Steppe or agricultural colonists from Western Central Asia? A craniometric investigation of the Bronze Age settlements of Xinjiang', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* cxxiv/ 3 (2004), p. 202; Keyser Christine et al. *Tracking back ancient south Siberian population history using mitochondrial and Y-chromosome SNPs*, 2008, pp. 343–345. We will use the term 'Europid' in an ethnic sense, which should be distinguished from the linguistic term 'Indo–European'. Not all Europids spoke Indo–European languages, and not all Indo–European-speakers were Europids. While the two terms can be congruent, they need not be. Regarding the historically loaded term 'Aryan', the Rig Veda, one of the four canonical scriptures of Hinduism, makes clear that Aryan is a cultural-linguistic category, not a racial one. Anyone who offers the proper rituals to the right gods and recites the appropriate hymns is an Aryan. The same holds true with regard to the Avesta, the most sacred book of Zoroastrianism. Here we add that blond hair and light skin are in no way inherent distinguishing features of Nordic Europids, but rather the result of depigmentation as a consequence of a colder climate and less UV-radiation. See: Lebedynsky, *Les Indo-Européens*, p. 91.
152. Douglas Adams, 'Mummies', in Victor H. Mair (ed.), *The Mummified Remains Found in the Tarim Basin*, *Journal of Indo–European Studies* xxiii/3&4 (1995), pp. 410f; Hemphill and Mallory, 'Horse-mounted invaders from the Russo-Kazakh Steppe', pp. 200–202; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo–Europeans*, pp. 61, 226; Mallory and Mair, *The Tarim Mummies*, p. 293. See p. 135.
153. Cists are tombs made of stone slabs.
154. Burchard Brentjes, 'Frühe Steinstelen Sibiriens und der Mongolei', *Central Asiatic Journal* xl (1996), p. 22; Vladimir Kubarev, *Drevnie rospisi Karakola* (Novosibirsk, 1988), pp. 28–31, 39–42, 50, 60, 69f, 168–172.
155. Nikolaj Leon'ev and Vladimir Kapel'ko, *Steinstelen der Okunev-Kultur* (Mainz, 2002), figs. 3, 7, 32, 174. See p. 137.
156. Karl Baipakov and A.N. Mariashev, *The Eshkiolmes Rock's Petroglyphs* (Almaty, 2005), p. 118.
157. Henri-Paul Francfort, 'Central Asian petroglyphs: between Indo-Iranian and shamanistic interpretations', in Christopher Chippindale and Paul Taçon (eds), *The Archaeology of Rock-Art* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 309.
158. A.N. Mar'jasev et al. (eds), *Répertoire des pétroglyphes d'Asie Centrale. Fascicule 5: Kazakhstan 1. Choix de pétroglyphes du Semirech'e* (Paris, 1998), figs. 1–7; A.A. Goryachev, A.N. Mariyashev. *Petroglyphs of Semirechye*, 1999; Andrzej Rozwadowski, *Symbols through Time: Interpreting the Rock Art of Central Asia* (Poznan, 2004), pp. 65ff.
159. Marianna Devlet, 'Felsbilder von Aldy-Mozag, Tuva', *Eurasia Antiqua* v (1999), pp. 604f.
160. E. Kuzmina, 'Les steppes de l'Asie centrale à l'époque du bronze, Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale', *Les dossiers d'archéologie*, No. 185 (1993), p. 89.
161. *Rig Veda*, Book 4, 4.13.2; Book 7, 7.61.1, 7.63.5, 7. 65.1,7,12.
162. *Avesta*, VII, XXVI (10) 17ff; (2006, Vol. III. pp. 9, 89–102)
163. Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, p. 31. See here photo p. 83.
164. Rozwadowski, *Symbols through Time*, pp. 57ff. On the symbolism of a horse with horns or deer antlers accompanying the dead into the afterlife, see p. 187.
165. Herodotus, I, 216.
166. See p. 146.
167. *Rig Veda*, Book 1, 14.1.162f; Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 370–375, 405–411; Rozwadowski, *Symbols through Time*, pp. 38–42.V. The Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age

VI. The Middle and Late Bronze Age

1. Nicola di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its enemies: The rise of nomadic power in East Asian history* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 13; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* (Bloomington 2009), pp. 14f; Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih chi. Records of the grand historian of China* (New York 1971), Vol. II, p. 159.
2. The hypothesis of Soviet archaeologists and Claude Rapin is now broadly accepted, that the upper reaches of the ancient Oxus, as defined by the geographers of the classical antiquity, are not identical with the Darya-i Panj, which forms the modern border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan east of Takht-i Sangin as far as Dzong. (East of Dzong the border follows the River Pamir.) Instead, the ancient upper Oxus coincides with the Vakhsh, whose source lies in southern Kyrgyzstan; hence ancient Bactria also included present south-eastern Tajikistan. However, it remains unclear whether the 'Bactria' mentioned by Strabo (*ca.* 63 BC) and Ptolemy was identical with the Bronze Age Bactria. It is unlikely that this was the case. The Darya-i Panj is identical with the ancient Ochus. Askarov Akhmadali, *La Bactriane à l'aube de la civilisation,* 1993, p. 60; Claude Rapin, 'L'Afghanistan et l'Asie Centrale dans la géographie mythique des historiens d'Alexandre et dans la toponymie des géographes gréco-romains', in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout, 2005), p. 144; Ptolemaois Claudios, *Handbuch der Geographie* (2006), VI, 11, 1; 12, 1; Strabo, *Geographica* (2007), II, 1, 15; XI, 8, 8; 12, 1).
3. Viktor Sarianidi, *Margush: Ancient Oriental Kingdom in the Old Delta of Murgab River* (Ashgabat, 2002), p. 86.
4. Despite this limitation we prefer the term 'Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex' to the alternative, introduced by H.-P. Francfort, of an 'Oxus Civilisation', because the Murgab River and Margiana do not belong to the natural watershed of the Oxus River, today called the Amu Darya. A more precise description would be 'Murgab-Oxus Civilisation' (Henri-Paul Francfort, 'La civilisation de l'Oxus et les Indo–Iraniens et Indo–Aryens en Asie Centrale,' in Gérard Fussman et al., *Aryas, Aryens et Iraniens en Asie Centrale* (Paris, 2005), p. 253).
5. Gabriele Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis, III–II mill.* BC (Venice, 2007), pp. 72f.
6. Fredrik Talmage Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization in Central Asia* (Harvard University, 1994), pp. XXXII, 2, 67, 164f; Gabriele Rossi-Osmida, *Margiana: Gonur-depe Necropolis* (Venice, 2002), p. 18.
7. On Margiana: Francfort et al., *Fouilles de Shortugaï*, pp. 379, 459; Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 77ff; J.P. Mallory and D.Q. Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, (London, 1997), pp. 653f; Sarianidi, 'Margiana in the Bronze Age', p. 188. On Bactria: Akhmadali Askarov, 'Southern Uzbekistan in the Second Millennium BC', in Philip Kohl (ed.), *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia: Recent Soviet discoveries* (New York, 1981), p. 261; Vladimir Ionesov, *The struggle between life and death in Proto-Bactrian Culture* (Ceredigion, 2002), pp. 31–80; Temur Sirinov, 'Die frühurbane Kultur der Bronzezeit im südlichen Mittelasien: Die vorgeschichtliche Siedlung Dzarkutan', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* xxxiv (2003), pp. 139ff. Regarding the classification, introduced by Ionesov, of a Sapalli Culture, one should note that the first period is also called Sapalli, while the next three are named for the sites Jarkutan, Kuzali and Molali/Bustan.
8. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, p. 10; Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, p. 21. Sarianidi, *Margush,* p. 87.
9. Henri-Paul Francfort et al., *Fouilles de Shortugaï: Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale protohistorique* (Paris, 1989), p. 379; Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 40, 75ff; Vadim Masson, *Altyn-Depe* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 135; Hermann Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens: Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006), pp. 432f; Viktor Sarianidi, 'Margiana in the Bronze Age,' in Philip Kohl (ed.), *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia: Recent Soviet discoveries* (New York, 1981), pp. 188ff.
10. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 62ff; Sarianidi, 'Margiana in the Bronze Age', p. 167ff.
11. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 89–107; Sarianidi, *Margush,* pp. 220–223.

12. Viktor Sarianidi, 'Temples of Bronze Age Margiana: traditions of ritual architecture', *Antiquity* lxviii/297 (1994), p. 389; *Margush,* pp. 194ff.
13. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 109–129; Sarianidi, *Margush,* p. 194ff.
14. Rossi-Osmida, *Margiana*, pp. 27, 72.
15. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, p. 129.
16. David Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language. How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the modern world* (Princeton, 2007), p. 452; Henri-Paul Francfort, 'La Civilisation de l'Asie Centrale à l'âge du Bronze et è l'âge du Fer', in Osmund Bopearachchi et al. (eds), *De l'Indus à l'Oxus: Archaéologie de l'Asie Centrale* (Lattes, 2003), p. 31; E. Kuzmina, *The Origin of Indo–Iranians* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 238f; Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, p. 20. On Andronovo see pp. 141ff.
17. Vadim Masson, 'The Decline of the Bronze Age Civilization and Movements of the Tribes', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), p. 345. See also: Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 69f; G.A. Pugachenkova, *Antiquities of Southern Uzbekistan* (Tokyo, 1991), p. 41.
18. Strabo, *Geographica*, XI, 10, 2. See also: A. Dani and P. Bernard, 'Alexander and his successors in Central Asia', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II (Paris, 1994), p. 91; Renato Sala, *Historical survey of irrigation practices in West Central Asia* (Almaty, 2004), p. 12. Other authors date this long wall to the Sassanid period (224–651 AD) (V. Gaïbov and G.Kochelenko, *La Margiane,* 2002, p. 48).
19. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 71, 113, 130.
20. Francfort, 'La civilisation de l'Oxus et les Indo–Iraniens et Indo–Aryens', p. 274; Rossi-Osmida, *Margiana*, pp. 27–30; Viktor Sarianidi, 'Les tombes royales de Gonur–Dépé', *Archéologia*, No. 420 (2005), pp. 52–59; 'Nouvelles sépultures sur le territoire de la "nécropole royale" de Gonur Dépé', *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. 65 (2010), pp. 5–26.
21. Viktor Sarianidi, 'Le plus ancien sacrifice de poulain au Proche-Orient', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, No. 317 (2006), pp. 35f.
22. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 141f; Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, pp. 152ff, 159, 166–172, 188.
23. Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, pp. 173ff, 189ff.
24. Joan Aruz (ed.), *Art of the first cities* (New York, 2003), p. 368; Agnès Benoit, 'Les "princesses" de Bactriane', in *Arts & Cultures* (Geneva, 2005), pp. 38f; Marie-Claude Bianchini, *Afghanistan*, 2002, pp. 94f; Sarianidi, *Margush*, p. 148.
25. Rossi-Osmida, *Margiana*, pp. 39, 104f; Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, p. 180.
26. Cluzan, Sophie: *De Sumer à Canaan* 2005, p. 220.
27. Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, pp. 105f; Richard Zettler and Lee Horne (eds), *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur* (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 55.
28. Sarianidi, 'Aegean-Anatolian Motifs', pp. 28ff.
29. www.ancient-wisdom.co.uk/.../gilgamesh1.jpg
30. The claim by the Iranian archaeologist Yousef Majidzadeh that the discoveries support the existence of an independent 'culture of Jiroft' or 'Halil Rud' is controversial (Bruno Bioul, *Jiroft* (2003)).
31. Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, p. 331; Bioul, *Jiroft*, pp. 30, 36f, 43, 99, 109–111, 132.
32. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ancient Near Eastern Art, no. L. 1994.39.3.
33. Stierlin, *Splendors of Ancient Persia*, pp. 67–71.
34. Equating the mistress of animals with the so-called Venus statues of the Palaeolithic and with female deities of earlier agrarian cultures, as has been proposed by Marija Gimbutas, is not appropriate and obscures the distinctive features of the 'mistress of animals' (Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religions* (New York, 1993), Vol. 8, pp. 420ff).
35. Various inscriptions seem to indicate that Asherah was also worshipped in Jerusalem until the Babylonian Exile in the year 586 BC. Only then was she condemned as the wife of the 'evil' Canaanite god Baal (Sandra Scham, *The Lost Goddess of Israel*, 2005. pp. 36–40).
36. Michael Maqdissi et al., *Schätze des Alten Syriens* (Stuttgart, 2009), p. 58*; Le Monde de la Bible*, # 149 (Paris, March 2003), p. 14.
37. Geneviève Lüscher, *Die Hydria von Grächwil* (Bern, 2002).
38. The Celts also had an animal-human hybrid, as can be seen on the silver cauldron of Gundestrup, Denmark, from the last pre-Christian centuries, which was probably crafted on the eastern edge of the Celtic world in the Balkans or Anatolia or else in Thrace. On one of the five inner plates a seated man with deer antlers is portrayed, holding a snake and a torque, a neck band open to the front, and surrounded by various animals such as a stag, a goat, a lion and a kind of greyhound (Sabatino Moscati et al. (eds), *The Celts* (Venice, 1991), pp. 538f; http://www.unc.edu/celtic/catalogue/Gundestrup/kauldron.html).
39. Jakov Sher et al. (eds), *Répertoire des pétroglyphes d'Asie Centrale. Fascicule 1: Sibérie du Sud 1. Oglakhty I–III* (Paris, 1994), plate Oglakhty I,10.1.
40. Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, p. 408.
41. L.K. Galanina, *Die Kurgane von Kelermes* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 173–187, plate I.
42. Pierre Cambon, Jean-François Jarrige et al., *Afghanistan, les trésors retrouvés: Collections du musée national de Kaboul* (Paris, 2006), pp. 174, 210, 273, 283.
43. Jean-Paul Barbier, *Art des Steppes* (Geneva, 1996), p. 70; *Le Monde de la Bible*, # 150 (Paris, April 2003), pp. 64f.
44. Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, p. 169; Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, p. 178.
45. R. Ghirsman, 'Deux statuettes élamites du plateau iranien', *Artibus Asiae* xxx/2/3 (1968), pp. 243f; Henri Stierlin, *Splendors of Ancient Persia* (Vercelli, 2006), pp. 33f. A similar seated woman, wearing a kaunakes, can be seen on a silver pin from Margiana (Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, p. 367).
46. Rossi-Osmida, *Margiana*, 43ff. There are other such seals from Margiana and Bactria, but of unknown origin. Viktor Sarianidi, 'The Bactrian Pantheon', *Information Bulletin of the International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, IASCCA,* No. 10 (1986), fig. 1, nr. 10; Sylvia Winkelmann, *Seals of the oasis from the Ligabue Collection* (Venice, 2004), pp. 71f. Many such metal seals, which appeared on the Chinese antiquities market at the start of the twentieth century, were incorrectly identified as 'Nestorian Ordos crosses', How such seals reached the Ordos, the northern bend of the Yellow River, from the BMAC region remains a mystery (Philip Kohl (ed.), *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia: Recent Soviet Discoveries* (New York, 1981), pp. XXII, XXXVII).
47. Stephen Bourke, *The Middle East: The cradle of civilization revealed* (London, 2008), p. 83.
48. See Vol. II.
49. Holly Pittman, *Art of the Bronze Age. Southeastern Iran, Western Central Asia and the Indus Valley,* (New York, 1994), pp. 72–77.
50. Francfort, 'La civilisation de l'Oxus et les Indo–Iraniens et Indo–Aryens' p. 284; *Images du combat contre le sanglier en Asie centrale (3ème au 1er millénaire av. J.-C.*), pp. 130–33; Pittman, *Art of the Bronze Age*, p. 73. On another ceremonial axe a silver lion attacks a gilt boar (Bianchini (ed.), *Afghanistan*, 2002, p. 105).
51. Sarianidi, 'The Bactrian Pantheon', fig. 1. Another seal made of soapstone or chlorite, depicting a naked man holding two snakes, is on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ancient Near Eastern Art, no. 1984.383.29.
52. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. XXXIII, 60f, 152f; Viktor Sarianidi, 'Aegean-Anatolian Motifs in the Glyptic Art of Bactria and Margiana', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* viii (1994), pp. 28–32.
53. Jeremy Black and Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin, 2000), p. 100.
54. Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, pp. 21f.
55. Three well-preserved 'foundation pegs', in the forms of a personal patron deity, a lion, and King Shulgi of Ur, are exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 1989, 281.5; 1948, 48.180 and Rogers Fund, 1959, 59.41.1. Six additional pegs are on display in the British Museum. See also: Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, pp. 65, 80, 222, 438f.
56. Rossi-Osmida, *Adji Kui Oasis*, pp. 67–120.
57. Sarianidi's interpretation of the citadel as a public temple, in whose necropolis a priestess was buried with a sacrificed man, is debated. Sarianidi, 'Temples of Bronze Age Margiana', p. 391; Sarianidi, *Margush,* pp. 165ff.
58. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, p. 121. Here as well Sarianidi interprets the complex as an Indo–Iranian temple with archaic fire altars. Traces of ephedra, whose alkaloid ephedrine has stimulant effects, in a few vessels led him to the hypothesis that the sacred intoxicant of the Indo–Aryans called *haoma* (mentioned in the Avesta) or *soma* (in the Rig Veda) was prepared in Togolok 21, and he postulated a connection with the Indo–Europeans who advanced into northern India and the Saka Haumavarga, the 'haoma-worshiping Saka', mentioned by Darius I more than a thousand years later. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, p. XXXIV; Sarianidi, 'Temples of Bronze Age Margiana', pp. 391–397; Sarianidi, *Margush,* pp. 178–181.

59. See the above overview and note 8.
60. Hiebert, Cambon, *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World*, (2011) pp. 67–79.
61. Francfort et al., *Fouilles de Shortugaï*, p. 341.
62. Askarov, 'Southern Uzbekistan in the Second Millennium BC', p. 258f.
63. Askarov, 'La Bactriane à l'aube de la civilisation', p. 63; Kohl, *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia*, p. XXI.
64. Askarov, 'Southern Uzbekistan in the Second Millennium BC', p. 263; Sirinov, 'Die frühurbane Kultur der Bronzezeit', pp. 1–7.
65. A. Askarov and T. Shirinov, 'The "Palace", Temple and Necropolis of Jarkutan', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* viii (1994), pp. 21, 23; Sirinov, 'Die frühurbane Kultur der Bronzezeit', pp. 43, 65, 79, 82.
66. Rig Veda, Book 2, 2.1.1,6; *The Encyclopedia of Religions*, Vol. 1, p. 134.
67. Sirinov, 'Die frühurbane Kultur der Bronzezeit', p. 150.
68. Barbara Kaim, 'Où adorer les dieux? Un spectaculaire temple du feu d'époque sassanide', *Dossiers d'Archéologie,* No. 317 (2006), pp. 66–71.
69. Boris Litvinskij and Igor Picikjan, 'The Hellenistic Architecture and Art of the Temple on the Oxus', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* viii (1994), pp. 57f; Boris Litvinskij and Igor Picikjan, *Taxt- Sangin. Der Oxus-Tempel* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 6, 34, 109. See here pp. 300ff
70. Sirinov, 'Die frühurbane Kultur der Bronzezeit', pp. 50, 79.
71. Ibid, p. 73.
72. On burial rituals of Bactria: Askarov, 'Southern Uzbekistan in the Second Millennium BC', pp. 260f; Ionesov, *The struggle between life and death in Proto-Bactrian Culture*, pp. 31–120, 182f; Sirinov, 'Die frühurbane Kultur der Bronzezeit', pp. 9–126.
73. Mike Teufer and Natalija Vinogradova, 'Das Gräberfeld von Gelot, Tadschikistan', in Nikolaus Boroffka and Svend Hansen (eds), *Archäologische Forschungen in Kasachstan, Tadschikistan, Turkmenistan und Usbekistan*, (Eurasien-Abteilung, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin) 2010, pp. 28f.
74. Boris Litvinskij and L.T. Pyankova, 'Pastoral Tribes of the Bronze Age in the Oxus Valley (Bactria)', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), pp. 382–390; L.T. Piankova, 'Bronze Age settlements of Southern Tadjikistan', in Philip Kohl (ed.), *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia: Recent Soviet discoveries* (New York, 1981), p. 302.
75. Konstantin Čugunov, Hermann Parzinger and Anatoli Nagler, *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva* (Mainz, 2010), pp. 144f.
76. Akhmadali Askarov, 'The beginning of the Iron Age in Transoxania', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), p. 444; Čugunov, Parzinger and Nagler, *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva*, p. 319; Wilfried Menghin et al. (eds), *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen* (Munich, 2007), pp. 107, 175f; E.D. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes: Nomad Peoples of the Steppes* (London, 1965), pp. 73f.
77. Renate Rolle et al., *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine* (Schleswig, 1991), p. 219.
78. Mahnaz Moazami, 'The dog in Zoroastrian religion: Videvdad Chapter XIII', *Indo–Iranian Journal* xlvi (2006), pp. 127–149.
79. Askarov, 'Southern Uzbekistan in the Second Millennium BC', p. 271; Sven Hansen et al., *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt: Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Mannheim, 2009), pp. 136ff.
80. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 329–334.
81. Philip Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 192, 200. A connection between the collapse of the Indus Valley Civilisation at the start of the nineteenth century BC and the crisis of the BMAC Culture is doubtful, all the more so since the Indus Valley Civilisation ended about three centuries before the BMAC Culture, although the warrior conquerors of northern India glorified in the Rig Veda came from the north. See: Christopher Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (Princeton, 2009), pp. 42, 397f, endnote 38*;* Richard Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 54–59.
82. Jianjun Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 67–69, 75.
83. Francfort et al., *Fouilles de Shortugaï*, pp. 386, 435–41; Vadim M. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte: Die Wiederentdeckung der ältestens Kulturgebiete in Mittelasien* (Munich, 1982), pp. 51–56.
84. Francfort et al., *Fouilles de Shortugaï,* 1989, p. 437; Francfort, 'La Civilisation de l'Asie Centrale à l'âge du Bronze et è l'âge du Fer', p. 32.
85. See Vol. II.
86. Hiebert et al., *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization*, pp. 49f, 454.
87. Cosmo, *Ancient China and its enemies*, pp. 46f; E. Kuzmina, 'Historical perspectives on the Andronovo and metal use in Eastern Asia', in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), pp. 38–44; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 437ff.
88. Kuzmina, 'Historical perspectives on the Andronovo and metal use', pp. 40ff; Andrew Sheratt, 'The Trans-Eurasian Exchange: The Prehistory of Chinese Relations with the West', in Victor H. Mair, *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World* (Honolulu, 2006), pp. 34, 55, note 23.
89. Jianjun Mei and Colin Shell, 'Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang', in Victor Mair, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia* (Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 581ff, 593; Michael Puett, 'China in Early Eurasian History', in Victor Mair, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia* (Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 703f.
90. Craig Benjamin, *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria* (Turnhout, 2007), p. 34.
91. Elizabeth Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi* (London, 1999), pp. 123, 126, 220; Kuzmina, 'Historical perspectives on the Andronovo and metal use', pp. 47; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Indo–Européens* (Errance, 2006), p. 91; Alexander Lubotsky, 'Tocharian Loan Words in Old Chinese', in Victor Mair, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia* (Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 379–390.
92. Dolkun Kamberi, 'A Century of Tarim Archaeological Exploration (*ca.* 1886–1996)', in Victor Mair, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia* (Pennsylvania, 1998), p. 808; Puett, 'China in Early Eurasian History', pp. 703, 706.
93. Cosmo, *Ancient China and its enemies*, pp. 134–137; Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Records of the grand historian of China. Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson*, Vol. II (New York, 1971), p. 159.
94. See Vol. II.
95. Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1928), fig. 173, pp. 264, 734–737.
96. Songqiao Zhao and Xuncheng Xia, 'Evolution of the Lop Desert and the Lop Nor', *The Geographical Journal* cl/3 (1984), p. 311.
97. A few mummies are displayed in the new Xinjiang Regional Museum in Urumqi, and a few more are held in the museum of the Archaeological Institute, which is not open to the public. The great majority of the 500 mummies are decomposing because they are kept in poor conditions. Mallory estimates that thousands more mummies were destroyed by neglect or grave robbing (J.P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies* (London, 2000), pp. 27, 179–181).
98. Kangxin Han, 'The Physical Anthropology of the Ancient Populations of the Tarim Basin and Surrounding Areas', in Victor Mair, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia* (Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 558–568.
99. Han, 'The Physical Anthropology of the Ancient Populations', p. 568.
100. Rubin Han and Shuyn Sun, 'Preliminary Studies on the Bronzes Excavated from the Tianshanbeilou Cemetery, Hami, Xinjiang', in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), pp. 158f.
101. Cosmo, Nicola di, *Ethnogenesis, coevolution and political morphology of the earliest steppe empire: the Xiongnu question revisited*, in Brosseder Ursula, Miller Bryan (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology*, 2011, p. 41.
102. See Vol. II.
103. As the author knows from personal experience in the Tarim Basin, isolated chance finds of flints, stone weapons and stone tools can hardly be dated with any certainty. Kamberi mentions Palaeolithic discoveries from the oases of Khotan and Turfan; Mair expresses serious doubts which are shared by the author. Kamberi, 'A Century of Tarim Archaeological Exploration', pp. 797, 801; Victor Mair, 'The Archaeology of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region', in Victor Mair (ed.), *Secrets of the Silk Road* (Santa Ana, CA, 2010), pp. 27ff.
104. Douglas Adams, 'Mummies', in Victor H. Mair (ed.), *The Mummified Remains Found in the Tarim Basin*, *Journal of Indo–European Studies* xxiii/3&4 (1995), pp. 410f; Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 56f, 264f; Crubézy et al., 'Indo–européens et anthropologie biologique', in Charlotte Félix (ed.), *Les Indo–Européens, Dossiers d'Archéologie,* no. 338 (2010), p. 67; Brian Hemphill and J.P. Mallory, 'Horse-mounted invaders from the Russo-Kazakh Steppe or agricultural colonists from Western Central Asia? A craniometric investigation of the Bronze Age settlements of

Xinjiang', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* cxxiv/ 3 (2004), pp. 200–202; J.P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo–Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (London, 1989), pp. 61, 226; Mallory and Mair, *The Tarim Mummies*, pp. 293f, 303, 317ff; Edwin Pulleyblank, 'Why Tocharians?', in Victor H. Mair (ed), *The Mummified Remains Found in the Tarim Basin*, *Journal of Indo–European Studies* xxiii/3&4 (1995), pp. 415f.

105. Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi*, pp. 117ff.
106. The dating of the interesting necropolis of Yanbulake near Hami is controversial and ranges from 1700 to 500 BC, so the discoveries there cannot be interpreted. See: Victor Mair (ed.), *Secrets of the Silk Road*, p. 45.
107. Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi*, pp. 71–80; Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road* (Bangkok, 2003), pp. 26ff; Binghua Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang* (Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2001), pp. 17, 21f, 42–47.
108. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Vol. II, fig. 173, p. 734.
109. Han, 'The Physical Anthropology of the Ancient Populations', 1998, pp. 558f.
110. Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang*, pp. 228, 234. See also: Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi*, p. 81. On the basis of craniometric studies Hemphill and Mallory question this hypothesis and suggest a development of an indigenous population of 'unknown origin' (Hemphill and Mallory, 'Horse-mounted invaders from the Russo-Kazakh Steppe', pp. 214, 218).
111. Abdulressul Idriss et al., 'The Xiaohe Graveyard in Luobupo, Xinjiang', *Chinese Archaeology* viii (2008), p. 95.
112. That these statues were not buried wooden mock-corpses is shown by a photograph from 1905, when E. Huntington documented an 80-cm-tall female wooden statue, standing at the head of a grave, about 50 km north of Xiaohe (Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia* (Boston, 1907), pp. 262f).
113. Christoph Baumer, 'Indo–europäische Mumien im Herzen der Wüste Taklamakan. Die Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Kultur', in *Antike Welt* (Mainz, 2010). *The Ayala Mazar – Xiaohe Culture. Results from an archaeological exploration of the ancient Keriya Delta, China, in 2009*, Self-published (June 2010) and in *Kristi*, New Delhi, Vol. 3 (2011), pp. 1–23; 'The Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture: New archaeological discoveries in the Taklamakan Desert, China', in *Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs* (London, Vol. XLII, No. 1, March 2011), pp. 49–70.
114. Surprisingly, such a wooden mask is also included in the Otani-Collection assembled before 1914. See: *Central Asian objects brought back by the Otani mission* (Toyko 1971) fig. 84, no provenance given. The piece was most probably sold by the Uighur guide and treasure-hunter Ördek to the Japanese member of the Otani mission Tachibana Zuicho when he guided him in winter 1910/11 in the Lop Nor Desert. More than two decades later Ördek volunteered to lead Folke Bergman to Xiaohe which he called a 'hill covered with a thousand coffins' and admitted that he had visited (and looted) the site many years earlier. This initial visit by Ördek must have taken place before November 1910 (Bergman Folke, *Archaeological researches in Sinkiang* (Stockholm 1939), pp. 51f).
115. On Xiaohe see: Christoph Baumer, 'Die 'Tausend-Särge-Nekropole' von Xiaohe', in *Antike Welt* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 39–49; Idriss, 'The Xiaohe Graveyard in Luobupo, Xinjiang', pp. 85–95; Victor Mair, 'The Rediscovery and Complete Excavation of Ördek's Excavation', *Journal of Indo–European Studies* xxxiv/3&4 (2006), pp. 273–318; Mair, *Secrets of the Silk Road*, pp. 46ff, 160–180.
116. Li Chunxiang et al., 'Evidence that a West-East admixed population lived in the Tarim Basin as early as the early Bronze Age', *BMC Biology* viii (2010), pp. 1–12. Mitochondria are inherited only maternally and y-chromosomes only paternally. A study published in 2004 of 20 mummies, approximately 3,800 years old, from the northern Lop Nor and 11 mummies, about 2,500 years old, from Turfan showed that the mummies from the Bronze Age had significantly more Europid mtDNA lines of descent than the later mummies from the Iron Age (Christopher Thornton and Theodore Schurr, 'Genes, language and culture: an example from the Tarim Basin', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* xxiii (2004), pp. 93ff).
117. The Uyghur word 'darya' means 'river'. On Jumbulakum see: Corinne Debaine-Francfort, *Keriya. Mémoires d'un fleuve* (Paris, 2001), pp. 120–225.
118. More recently, Victor Mair's March 2010 exhibition catalogue *Secrets of the Silk Road* mentioned on pp. 49–52 a 'northern cemetery' lying 70 km north of Jumbulakum, but no pictures were published. The description suggests that it is Ayala Mazar, which a Uyghur archaeologist had ostensibly already visited briefly in 2008. The first publications of the author occurred in Swiss newspapers on 22 January 2010 (*Thurgauer Zeitung*) and on 14 February 2010 (*Zentralschweiz am Sonntag*). See also note 119.
119. Possnert Göran, Sundström. Result of ^{14}C dating of human hair from Xinjiang, China (Uppsala 11 March 2011).
120. These tiny wooden masks look very different from those found in burials of the Okunev Culture.
121. Two additional residential complexes from the Bronze Age, 'H 16' and 'H 17', are 32 and 37 km from the necropolis respectively.
122. Jianjun Mei and Colin Shell, 'The existence of Andronovo cultural influence in Xinjiang during the 2nd millennium BC', *Antiquity* lxxiii (1999), pp. 575ff; Jianjun Mei and Colin Shell, 'Metallurgy in Bronze Age Xinjiang and its cultural context', in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), p. 183.
123. Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy*, pp. 14, 25, 28ff, 36, 72, 89, 119, 123, 142.
124. Presumably there were other, still unknown sites of this culture between the Keriya Darya and Lop Nor in the inland deltas of the former Niya, Andier or Karamiran rivers.
125. The fact that the craniometric studies of Hemphill and Mallory, which compared material from the Tarim Basin, the steppe, south-eastern Central Asia, and the Near East, showed no great affinity between skulls from the Lop Nor and from Bactria–Margiana is not an argument against the 'Bactria hypothesis', as their sample contained no material from the Keriya delta and a transfer of technology does not imply a mass migration. See: Hemphill and Mallory, 'Horse-mounted invaders from the Russo-Kazakh Steppe', pp. 214f.
126. Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy*, 2000, pp. 11f; Mair, *Secrets of the Silk Road*, p. 44; Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang*, pp. 63–68.
127. See photo p. 83.
128. Emmanuel Anati, 'Le grand sanctuaire rupestre d'Hutubi', *Archéologia*, no. 356 (1999), pp. 57f; Qi Xiaoshan and Bo Wang, *The ancient culture in Xinjiang along the Silk Road* (Urumqi, 2008), pp. 214f.
129. Jean-Paul Demoule, 'Deux siècles à la recherche des Indo–Européens', in *Les Indo–Européens. Dossiers d'Archéologie,* No. 338 (2010), pp. 7f.
130. Lebedynsky, *Les Indo–Européens*, p. 12.
131. Marsha Levine et al., *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 2.
132. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 12–101; Lebedynsky, *Les Indo–Européens*, pp. 80ff, 100; Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, pp. 290–311.
133. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*, p. 368.
134. Frantz Grenet, 'An Archaeologist's Approach to Avestan Geography', in Vesta S. Curtis and Sarah Stewart (eds), *The Idea of Iran*, Vol. 1, (London, 2005), pp. 35f.
135. John Curtis, *Ancient Persia* (London, 2000), pp. 20–25; Henri-Paul Francfort, 'La « culture de Marlik » et l'arrivée des Indo–Iraniens', in Laurence Mattet (ed.), *Le Profane et le Divin: Arts de l'Antiquité de l'Europe au Sud-Est Asiatique* (2008), pp. 143, 145; Igor Khlopin, 'L'Hyrcanie Antique', *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*, no. 185 (1993), p. 47; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens* (Errance, 2004), pp. 153f. The idea that the ancestors of the Medes and Persians came from the Srubnaya Culture and advanced into Iran via the Caucasus is obsolete.
136. Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia*, pp. 68f; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo–Europeans*, pp. 52f, 229f.
137. Only in the Rig Veda can the term *asura* also refer to the 'good' or 'highest spirit'.
138. Lebedynsky, *Les Indo–Européens*, p. 167.
139. Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology & Language: The puzzle of Indo–European origins* (London, 1987); Colin Renfrew, 'Die Indoeuropäer aus archäologischer Sicht', in Reinhard Breuer (ed.), *Die Evolution der Sprachen* (Heidelberg, 2007); Colin Renfrew, 'Le problème Indo–européen et l'hypothèse anatolienne', *Dossiers d'Archéologie,* No. 338 (2010).
140. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo–Europeans*, in J.P. Mallory (ed.), *The Oxford introduction to Proto-Indo–European and the Proto-Indo–European World* (Oxford, 2006); J.P. Mallory, 'L'hypothèse des steppes', *Dossiers d'Archéologie,* No. 338 (2010); Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture.*
141. Kuzmina, *The Origin of Indo–Iranians*.
142. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 75–81; Lebedynsky, *Les Indo–Européens*, pp. 109f; Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, pp. 298f; Mallory, *L'hypothèse des steppes*, p. 34. The suggestion for a merger of the two theories, according to which as a first step the Neolithic farmers of Anatolia spread PIE to Eastern Europe, where it was, in a second step, adopted by steppe peoples in the sphere of

the Tripolye Culture and thus spread further, is unable to answer all the unresolved questions. Kohl, *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, p. 236; Bernhard Victorri, 'Die Debatte um die Ursprache', in Reinhard Breuer (ed.), *Die Evolution der Sprachen* (Heidelberg, 2007) p. 18.

143. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 99f, 317, 343, 369, 464.
144. Michail Grjaznov, *Südsibirien* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 64ff; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 302–308; Denis Sinor, *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 81.
145. Anatolj Nagler, 'Waren die Träger der Okunev-Kultur Nomaden?', *Eurasia Antiqua* v (1999), pp. 22, 25.
146. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien,* pp. 67f, fig. 7.
147. I.V. Kovtun, 'The bear image in Western Siberian art of the 2nd Millennium BC and its relevance for delimiting the eastern periphery of the Samus Culture', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* xxxv/3 (2008), p. 100).
148. As shown by a three-line Old Turkish runic inscription, Okunev steles were still being reused in the mid-first millennium AD (Nikolaj Leon'ev and Vladimir Kapel'ko, *Steinstelen der Okunev-Kultur* (Mainz, 2002), p. 87, fig. 223.
149. On the Okunev steles see: Burchard Brentjes, 'Frühe Steinstelen Sibiriens und der Mongolei', *Central Asiatic Journal*, xl (1996), pp. 34–42; Leon'ev and Kapel'ko, *Steinstelen der Okunev-Kultur*, with 300 sketches.
150. Vladimir Kubarev, *Drevnie rospisi Karakola* (Old paintings of Karakol) (Novosibirsk, 1988).
151. Leon'ev and Kapel'ko, *Steinstelen der Okunev-Kultur*, p. 48.
152. See pp. 157ff, 175ff.
153. Parzinger et al. 'Das mehrperiodige Gräberfeld von Suchanicha bei Minusinsk', *Eurasia Antiqua* xv (2009), pp. 187–203
154. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 354.
155. Ludmila Koryakova and Andrej Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 64.
156. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 350.
157. Ibid, pp. 350f.
158. Leskovar Jutta, Zingerle Maria-Christina (eds), *Goldener Horizont* (2010), pp. 32; Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, p. 92.
159. Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, pp. 439f.
160. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 437f; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 440.
161. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 111, 116, 122f; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens,* pp. 439ff.
162. On account of its non-Indo–Iranian sponsorship affiliation, we do not consider the Okunev Culture part of the Andronovo cultural complex. The phenomenon of Seima Turbino, sometimes referred to as a forest steppe culture, was not a culture but rather an industry of high-quality objects made of tin bronze found in several cultures of northern Central Asia.
163. Kuzmina, *The Origin of Indo–Iranians*, pp. 237ff; E. Kuzmina, *The Prehistory of the Silk Road* (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 76f; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 417ff.
164. V.T. Kovalyova and O.V. Ryzhkova, 'Circular Settlements in the Lower Tobol Area (Tashkovo Culture)', in Karlene Jones-Bley and D.G. Zdanovich, *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC* Vol. I (Washington DC, 2002), p. 291.
165. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 251ff.
166. Lumley Henri de. *Arkaïm*, 2010, pp. 12–17. A mildly similar architectural concept is found in Anatolia at Mersin, Demircihöyük and Pulor. Since these three settlements date from the last quarter of the fifth millennium to the mid-third millennium BC, they are considerably older than Sintashta or Akraim, which rules out an (already improbable) influence (S.A. Grigoryev, *Ancient Indo–Europeans* (Chelyabinsk, 2002), pp. 31–34).
167. On the settlements of Sintashta: Grigoryev, *Ancient Indo–Europeans*, pp. 20–105; Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 37f, 68–75, 89; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 251ff.
168. Henri de Lumley, *Arkaïm: Une cité de l'âge du Bronze dans les steppes de l'Oural* (Tende, 2010), p. 18.
169. http://terra-x.zdf.de/ZDFde/inhalt/25/0,1872,8011225,00.html
170. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 391, 435.
171. Jettmar's interpretation of Sintashta as a 'ceremonial village' with uninhabited houses, which he calls 'cabins', is untenable. Karl Jettmar, 'Sintashta – ein gemeinsames Heiligtum der Indo–Iraner', *Eurasia Antiqua* ii (1996), p. 221. Jettmar's later interpretation of Akraim as a 'ceremonial town', where clans annually performed ritual battles, is equally unfounded ('Bemerkungen zu Arkaim', *Eurasia Antiqua* iii (1998), pp. 251f).
172. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, pp. 393–306; Lumley Henri de. *Arkaïm*, 2010, pp. 22f.
173. Grigoryev S.A. *Ancient Indo–Europeans*, 2002, pp. 43, 58; Lumley, *Arkaïm*, pp. 24, 30.
174. D.G. Zdanovich and L.L. Gayduchenko, 'Sintashta Burial Sacrifice: The Bolschekaragansky Cemetery in Focus', in Karlene Jones-Bley and D.G. Zdanovich, *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia*, p. 206.
175. Zdanovich and Gayduchenko, 'Sintashta Burial Sacrifice', p. 202.
176. Lumley Henri de. *Arkaïm*, 2010, pp. 28–31; Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 75–96.
177. *Rig Veda*, Book 6, 6.75.6f.
178. *Rig Veda*, Book 9, 9.53.2.
179. *Rig Veda*, Book 5, 5.66.3.
180. *Rig Veda*, Book 2, 1st group, 2.2.3.
181. *Rig Veda*, Book 2, 2nd group, 2.17.4. Book 10, 10.138.3.
182. *Rig Veda*, Book 10, 10.91.14. On horse sacrifices: Book 1, 14th group, 1.162.
183. *Rig Veda*, Book 10, 10.14.10f. English from http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/rv10014.htm.
184. *Rig Veda*, Book 10, 10.16.1.
185. *Rig Veda*, Book 10, 10.18.11ff. English from http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/rv10018.htm
186. Baimatowa Nasiba, *5000 Jahre Architektur in Mittelasien: Lehmziegelgewölbe vom 4./3. Jt. v.Chr. bis zum Ende des 8. Jhs. n.Chr.* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 178–189. T.S. Malyutina, '"Proto-towns" of the Bronze Age in the South Urals and Ancient Khorasmia', in Karlene Jones-Bley and D.G. Zdanovich, *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia*, pp. 161, 166; A. Medvedev, 'Avestan "Yima's Town" in Historical and Archaeological Perspective', in Karlene Jones-Bley and D.G. Zdanovich, *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia*, p. 57.
187. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, p. 408.
188. *Avesta,* Vendidad, Fargard 2. *Avesta: Die heiligen Schriften der Parsen,* Vol. I, trans. by Friedrich Spiegel (Leipzig, 1859; reprint by Elibron Classics, 2006), pp. 70–77.
189. N.A. Bokovenko, 'Das karasukzeitliche Gräberfeld Ančil Čon in Chakassien', *Eurasia Antiqua* vi (2000), pp. 244ff; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 468. *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva*, p. 7. See also here photo p. 178.
190. Kohl. *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*, p. 149.
191. Kovalyova and Ryzhkova, 'Circular Settlements in the Lower Tobol Area', pp. 283f, 287.
192. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 318.
193. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, p. 82.
194. Ibid, p. 37.
195. Evengy Chernykh reports that Seima Turbino cemeteries consisted largely of cenotaphs. Evengy Chernykh, 'Ancient metallurgy in northeast Asia: From the Urals to the Saiano-Altai', in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), p. 26; Evengy Chernykh, 'The "Steppe Belt" of stockbreeding cultures in Eurasia during the Early Metal Age', *Trabajos de Prehistoria* lxv/2 (2008), pp. 85f.
196. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, p. 39.
197. Ibid, pp. 106ff.
198. Parzinger posits the origin of this specific type of knob in the bronze needles with heads featuring figurative decoration from Bactria in the Namazga V/VI stages (Hermann Parzinger, 'Sejma-Turbino und die Anfänge des sibirischen Tierstils,' *Eurasia Antiqua* iii (1997), pp. 239–241).
199. See photo p. 152.
200. Chernykh, 'Ancient metallurgy in northeast Asia,' pp. 26, 28; Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 108f.
201. Chernykh, 'The 'Steppe Belt' of stockbreeding cultures', p. 88; Michael Frachetti, *Pastoralist landscapes and social interaction in Bronze Age Eurasia* (Berkeley, 2008), p. 42; Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo–European Culture*, p. 20; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 257, 259, 426.
202. A recent study is Kiryushin Yu.F. and Solodovnikov K.N., *The origins of the Andronovo (Fedorovka) population of Southwestern Siberia, based on a Middle Bronze Age cranial series from the Altai forest-steppe zone*, 2011, pp. 136–140.
203. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, pp. 93f; S.G. Kljastornyj and T.I. Sultanov, *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens: Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 23ff; Kuzmina, *The Origin of Indo–Iranians*, pp. 163–198.
204. Eleonora Novgorodva, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei* (Leipzig, 1980), pp. 84f, 98f.
205. *Rig Veda*, Book 10, 10.18.4. English from http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/rv10018.htm.

206. Frachetti, *Pastoralist landscapes and social interaction*, p. 32f; Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, p. 96; Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 127, 218.
207. Malyutina, '"Proto-towns" of the Bronze Age', p. 165.
208. Olga Korochkova and Vladimir Stafano, 'The Trans-Ural Fedorovo Complexes in relation to the Andronovo', in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), pp. 94ff; Zainolla Samashev, *Treasures from the Ustyurt and Mangystau* (Almaty, 2007), pp. 123–126.
209. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, p. 101.
210. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 134f.
211. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 443–463, supplement II.
212. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 456–462.
213. Whether the ostensible culture of Kamennyi Log represents a late phase of Karasuk lasting into the eighth century BC, as postulated by Grjaznov and Askarov, or whether it developed essentially parallel to Karasuk, as Parzinger argues, remains an open question. Akhmadali Askarov, 'Pastoral and nomadic tribes at the beginning of the first millennium BC,' in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), p. 459. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien,* 1970, p. 132. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 464. Parzinger, 'Das mehrperiodige Gräberfeld,' pp. 198f.
214. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, p. 135 [English is from Mikhail P. Gryaznov, *The Ancient Civilization of Southern Siberia*, trans. from the Russian by James Hogarth (New York: Cowles Book Company, Inc., 1969), p. 104.]
215. Emma Bunker, *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York, 1997), pp. 184, 294.
216. Askarov, 'Pastoral and nomadic tribes', pp. 460f; Sophie Legrand, 'Karasuk Metallurgy: Technological development and regional influence', in K.K. Linduff, *Metallurgy in Ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Lampeter, 2004), pp. 146f.
217. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, p. 130; A.P. Okladnikow, 'Inner Asia at the dawn of history', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 84.
218. Bokovenko, 'Das karasukzeitliche Gräberfeld Ančil Čon', p. 244.
219. Ibid, p. 246.
220. Igor Lazaretov, 'Spätbronzezeitliche Denkmäler in Südchakassien', *Eurasia Antiqua* vi (2000), p. 277f.
221. Novgorodva, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*, pp. 100ff, fig. 61–69; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 474–477, 631–635.
222. D. Erdenebaatar, 'Burial materials related to the history of the Bronze Age in the territory of Mongolia', in Katheryn Linduff (ed.), *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River* (Ceredigion, 2004), pp. 194f.
223. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 635.
224. See p. 178.
225. Erdenebaatar, 'Burial materials', pp. 190f; N. Mamonova, 'Die Paläoanthropologie des Gräberfelds Ulangom', in Eleonora Novgorodva et al., *Ulangom: Ein skythenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Mongolei* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 140, 151; Eleonora Novgorodva et al., *Ulangom: Ein skythenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Mongolei* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 31ff.
226. Mamonova, 'Die Paläoanthropologie des Gräberfelds', p. 148; Novgorodva et al., *Ulangom*, p. 34.
227. Jérôme Magail, 'Tsatsiin Ereg, site majeur du début du Ier millénaire en Mongolie', in Archéo-steppe. com., Mission archéologique Monaco Mongolie (2009). http://archeo-steppe.com/content/view/73/195/lang,french/. Other estimates assume 2,000 deer stones. William Fitzhugh, 'The Mongolian deer stone-khirigsuur complex: dating and organisation of a late Bronze Age menagerie', in Jan Bemmann et al., *Current archaeological research in Mongolia* (Bonn, 2009), p. 183.
228. Aruz, *Art of the first cities*, pp. 37, 217; Joan Aruz (ed.), *The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Perspectives on the Steppe Nomads of the Ancient World* (New York, 2006), p. 170.
229. See p. 254.
230. See Vol. II.
231. See Vol. III.
232. Wilhelm Radloff, *Aus Sibirien,* Vol. II (Leipzig, 1893), p. 92.
233. Novgorodva, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*, pp. 146f, fig. 104–108.
234. Nagler Anatoli. *O stilisovannych isobrajenniach olenei na olennix kamniach Zentralnoy Asii*, 2012.
235. Novgorodva, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*, pp. 131–169; Eleonora Novgorodva, 'Archäologische Funde, Bestattungsplätze und Skulpturen', in Walter Heissig and Claudius Müller (eds), *Die Mongolen* (Innsbruck/Frankfurt, 1989), p. 16. See also: William Fitzhugh, 'Stone Shamans and Flying Deer of Northern Mongolia: Deer Goddess of Siberia or Chimera of the Steppe?', *Arctic Anthropology* xlvi/1–2 (2009), p. 78.
236. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 123, fig. 6; Véronique Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker* (Munich, 1994), p. 268.
237. Goryachev A.A., Mariyashev A.N. *Petroglyphs of Semirechye*, 1999.
238. One stele can be found in the museum of the nearby village of Mörön. When fallen deer stones were put back up, most were incorrectly oriented to the south instead of the east.
239. The numbering follows Novgorodva, who was one of the first to explore the area. *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*, pp. 133–149. In her reconstruction she presents three rows of steles, although there were presumably just two (Shu Takahama et al. (eds), 'Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Investigations in Ulaan Uushig I (Uushigiin Övör) in Mongolia', *Bulletin of archaeology*, University of Kanazawa, no. 28 (2006), p. 84).
240. Takahama et al., 'Preliminary Report', pp. 76, 79.
241. Novgorodva, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*, pp. 115f.
242. Henri-Paul Francfort, 'Les pétroglyphes de Tamgaly', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* ix (1995), pp. 185–197.
243. Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia,* p. 50.
244. Claudia Chang (ed.), *Of Gold and Grass: Nomads of Kazakhstan* (Bethesda, 2006), p. 55; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 164, fig. 3; Marie-Catherine Rey (ed.), *Kazakhstan, hommes, bêtes et dieux de la steppe* (Versailles, 2010), pp. 80, 82.
245. Čugunov, Parzinger and Nagler, *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva*, plate 45, 4.
246. Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia*, p. 193.
247. Alexander Leskov, *The Maikop Treasure* (Philadelphia, 2008), p. 53; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 210, fig. 6.
248. Chang, *Of Gold and Grass,* pp. 66f, 126; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 129, fig. 14; Sergei Rudenko, *Frozen tombs of Siberia: The Pazyrik Burials of Iron Age Horsemen* (London, 1970), plates 119–124; Zainolla Samashev et al., 'Le kourgane de Berel dans l'Altaï kazakhstanais', *Asiatiques* l (2000), pp. 13, 18; Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, p. 275, fig. 206.
249. Chang, *Of Gold and Grass,* p. 120; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 153; I. Molodin et al., 'Das skythenzeitliche Kriegergrab aus Olon-Kurin-Gol. Neue Entdeckungen in der Permafrostzone des mongolischen Altaj', *Eurasia Antiqua* xiv (2008), p. 258.
250. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 134.
251. V. Schiltz hypothesises a connection between this burial and an Indo–Iranian functionary in service to the Mitanni state (Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, p. 269.)

VII. The Iron Age

1. Johann Georg Kohl, *Reisen in Südrussland* (1841, reprint in 3 vols. from the 3rd edition 1847, Elibron Classics, 2008), p. 189.
2. Hermann Parzinger, *Die Skythen* (Munich, 2004), p. 13.
3. Ludmila Koryakova and Andrej Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 44, 190–193.
4. V.G. Dirksen, 'Mid to late Holocene climate change and its influence on cultural development in South Central Siberia', in *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia* (2004), pp. 304f; B. van Geel, 'The sun, climate change and the expansion of the Scythian culture after 850 BC', in *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia* (2004), pp. 151–153.
5. G.I. Zaitseva, 'The occupation history of the southern Eurasia steppe during the Holocene', in *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia* (2004), pp. 76, 78.
6. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 127.
7. Ibid, 98, 136–142.
8. Michail Grjaznov, *Südsibirien* (Geneva, 1970), p. 156. The English is from *South Siberia*, translated from the Russian by James Hogarth (Barrie & Rockliff: The Cresset Press, London, 1969), p. 132.
9. Véronique Schiltz, *Histoire de kourganes: La redécouverte de l'or des Scythes* (Paris, 1991), pp. 42f.
10. Hermann Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens: Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006), pp. 623, 751, 760; Parzinger et al., 'Das mehrperiodige Gräberfeld von Suchanicha bei Minusinsk', *Eurasia Antiqua* xv (2009), pp. 200–203.
11. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien,* pp. 235–241. Grjaznov's division is still valid today, but it has been shifted about two centuries earlier by Parzinger. See here note 10.

12. Burchard Brentjes and R. Vasilievsky, *Schamanenkrone und Weltenbaum: Kunst der Nomaden Nordasiens* (Leipzig, 1989), p. 92; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 625.
13. Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, pp. 236, 240; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 627. S.V. Kiselev has never published the full results of his excavation of the great Salbyk Kurgan and in 2000 a German–Russian project to restart the excavations was cancelled for unclear reasons. Earlier sonic measurements indicated a still-unexplored grave chamber.
14. Hermann Parzinger and Anatoli Nagler, ‚Der tagarzeitliche Großkurgan von Barsučij Log in Chakassien', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 16/2010, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2010, pp. 222–229, 236–246, 262–276.
15. Wilfried Menghin, Hermann Parzinger, Anatoli Nagler and Manfred Nawroth (eds), *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen* (Munich, 2007), pp. 107f, 172–176.
16. Parzinger and Nagler, ‚Der tagarzeitliche Großkurgan von Barsučij Log in Chakassien', pp. 215, 250, 262.
17. Brentjes and Vasilievsky, *Schamanenkrone und Weltenbaum*, pp. 94f; Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, photo 54; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 752.
18. Alfred Wieczorek and Christoph Lind, *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße* (Stuttgart, 2007), p. 260.
19. Andreï Alexeev, *Trésors des Steppes* (Hauterive, 2006), p. 93; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Saces* (Errance, 2006), p. 122; Eileen Murphy, ‘Mummification and Body Processing: Evidence from the Iron Age in Southern Siberia', in *Kurgans, Ritual Sites and Settlements* (2000), p. 282.
20. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 755–759.
21. Renate Rolle, *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine* (Schleswig, 1991), p. 46.
22. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 11.
23. As in the case of Marco Polo, a few scholars doubt that Herodotus really undertook the travels he refers to and consider him a mere armchair scholar. Others reject comparisons between archaeological discoveries and his accounts for obscure methodological reasons.
24. Herodotus, *Histories* IV; 76. Renate Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen* (Lucerne, 1980), pp. 14, 139
25. On the location of Gerrhos see pp. 231f.
26. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 6.
27. The usual transliteration of Σκολάξάϊς as Kolaxaïs appears to be a mistake (Christopher Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (Princeton, 2009), pp. 377f).
28. The fact that only Scolaxaïs was able to hold the glowing gold may indicate that he was a blacksmith. A millennium later, the forefathers of the first Gök Türk rulers were also believed to have been blacksmiths.
29. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 5–7.
30. Ibid, 78–80.
31. Ibid, 120.
32. Ibid, 66.
33. Ssu-ma Ch'ien. *Records of the grand historian of China* (1971), Vol. II, p. 163.
34. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 8–10.
35. Julian Baldick, *Homer and the Indo-Europeans* (London, 1994), pp. 137–141.
36. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 281.
37. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 11–12. On the Cimmerians see p. 224.
38. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 13–32. Herodotus was sceptical about some of Aristeas's information.
39. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 24.
40. Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, pp. 25f.
41. According to Herodotus, the Persians called all the Scythians they dealt with Saka (*Histories* VII, 64).
42. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 27.
43. Lebedynsky, *Les Saces*, p. 34; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 301.
44. See p. 111. Esther Jacobson, *The Art of the Scythians* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 156, 185.
45. A.I. Melyukova, ‘The Scythians and Sarmatians', in *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 90.
46. Michail Grjaznov, *Der Großkurgan von Arzhan in Tuva, Südsibirien* (Munich, 1984), p. 9; Konstantin Čugunov, Hermann Parzinger and Anatoli Nagler, ‘Der skythische Fürstengrabhügel von Arzhan 2 in Tuva, Vorbericht der russisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen', *Eurasia Antiqua* ix (2003), p. 114.
47. Grjaznov, *Der Großkurgan von Arzhan*, pp. 57f.
48. Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, p. 44.
49. Véronique Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker* (Munich, 1994), p. 251.
50. Grjaznov, *Der Großkurgan von Arzhan*, pp. 11–69.
51. A. Abetekov et al., ‘Ancient Iranian nomads in western Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 28.
52. Grjaznov, *Der Großkurgan von Arzhan*, pp. 25–57; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 609; Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, p. 41. Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, pp. 252–255.
53. Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, pp. 253.
54. Boris Piotrovsky, *L'art scythe* (Leningrad, 1986), pl. 13–15; Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, pp. 78–80.
55. Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, p. 81.
56. Konstantin Čugunov, *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva*. (Mainz, 2010), p. 174; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p.609.
57. L.K. Galanina, *Die Kurgane von Kelermes* (Berlin, 1996), Vol. I, p. 187.
58. Hermann Parzinger, *Die Skythen der ukrainischen Steppe und ihre Stellung in der Welt der eurasischen Reiternomaden* (2010), p. 58.
59. Contrary hypotheses, according to which the Scythian nomadic horsemen emerged in the northern Pontic region (Heine-Geldern) or the region of the Volga (Jettmar) and spread from there to southern Siberia, are thus refuted (Nicola di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its enemies: The rise of nomadic power in East Asian history* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 35).
60. Georg Kossack, ‘Mittelasien und skythischer Tierstil', in *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* 2 (Mainz, 1980), p. 91.
61. Emma Bunker, *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York, 1997), p. 194; Emma Bunker, *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes* (New Haven, 2002), p. 24; Gu Fang, *The harmonious beauty of jade* (2008), p. 74; Mayke Wagner and Herbert Butz, *Nomadenkunst* (Mainz, 2007), pp. 46f.
62. An example of speculative interpretations is put forth by Ivan Marazov, ‘The "coiled-up carnivore": visual etymology of the motif', in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 8 (Kamakura, 2002).
63. Kossack, ‘Mittelasien und skythischer Tierstil', pp. 91f.
64. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China* (Princeton, 1929), p. 68. See also: M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), p. 197; Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, pp. 35ff, 99f.
65. Bunker, *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes*, 2002, p. 17.
66. Ellis Minns, *Scythians and Greeks: A survey of ancient history and archaeology on the north coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 241, 252, 267f, 278. At first Rostovtzeff sharply attacked Minns on account of this hypothesis and rejected any connection between Scythian and Siberian toreutics of the Iron Age. In 1922 he changed his opinion and adopted Minns's view (Gregory Bongard-Levin, ‘E.H. Minns and M.I. Rostovtzeff: Glimpses of a Scythian friendship', in *Scythians and Greeks* (Exeter, 2005), p. 17).
67. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 71. Askold Ivantchik has shown that 15 of the 17 characteristics of a Scythian royal burial listed by Herodotus have been substantiated by archaeology (Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 241).
68. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 239.
69. Renate Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen* (Berlin, 1979), Vol. I. p. 100; *Gold der Steppe*, pp. 62f. The additional 50 horse skeletons found on a platform at Ul'skji Aul correspond to Herodotus's description of a memorial ceremony one year after the burial, at which 50 horses and 50 young men were sacrificed (*Histories* IV, 72).
70. The explanations of Arzhan 2 are based on the following sources: Konstantin Čugunov, Hermann Parzinger and Anatoli Nagler, ‘Der skythische Fürstengrabhügel von Arzhan 2 in Tuva. Vorbericht der russisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen', in *Eurasia Antiqua* 9 (2003), pp. 113–162; Konstantin Čugunov, *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva,* (Mainz, 2010); Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 69–100; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 611–614.
71. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 55; Sergei Rudenko, *Die sibirische Sammlung Peters I*, 1962, pp. 9–15.
72. Schiltz, *Histoires de kourganes*, pp.30–33.
73. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 55, 57.
74. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, p. 332; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 56
75. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol* (Errance, 2008), pp. 38–49.
76. Natascha Polos'mak, ‘Die „Amazone" von Pazyryk', in *Amazonen* (2010), p. 134.
77. Vjačeslav Molodin, ‘Das skythenzeitliche Kriegergrab aus Olon-Kurin-Gol. Neue Entdeckungen in der Permafrostzone des mongolischen Altaj', in *Eurasia Antiqua* 14 (2008), pp. 243, 258.
78. Claudia Chang (ed.), *Of Gold and Grass: Nomads of Kazakhstan* (Bethesda, 2006), p. 112.

79. Wieczorek and Lind, *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*, pp. 180f.
80. Nikolaj Leon'ev and Vladimir Kapel'ko, *Steinstelen der Okunev-Kultur* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 15, 24.
81. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 158f.
82. Renate Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk: Ein skythischer Grabhügel des 4. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 1998), Vol. I, p.102.
83. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 71.
84. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes* (Errance, 2001), p. 198; Wolfgang Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien* (Darmstadt, 1992), p. 27.
85. See p. 116. Not all the stone circles are extant; on the south-west side, where a tarred road runs through the landscape, they are missing entirely.
86. On account of a 16-kg (?) gold ring found on the upper Indus in Pattan in northern Pakistan, Parzinger extends this cultural territory even as far as the southern foot of the Karakorum (Čugunov, *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva*, pp. 311–317). It seems questionable that a single discovery could suffice to expand a cultural range so significantly.
87. Wilhelm Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1893), Vol. II, p. 167.
88. I thank Mr Jürg Rageth of Riehen, Basel, for the evidence for this new dating (I. Hajdas, G. Bonani et al., 'Chronology of Pazyryk 2 and Ulandryk 4 Kurgans based on high resolution radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology – a step towards more precise dating of Scythian burials', in *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia* (2004), p. 114). Despite this more precise dating, Parzinger maintains an earlier dating: 'Pazyryk I and II belong accordingly in the fifth and Pazyryk V at the turn of the fifth to the fourth centuries BC' (*Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 599).
89. The most important source on Pazyryk is Rudenko Sergei, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyrik Burials of Iron Age Horsemen* (London, 1970). The book also contains 180 illustrations. See also: Grjaznov, *Südsibirien*, pp. 158–220; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 118–131; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 586–596; Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, pp. 260–289.
90. P.B. Konovalov, *The Burial vault of a Xiongnu prince at Sudzha (Il'movaia Pad', Transbaikalia*), 2008, pp. 46f. See Vol. II. of the present work.
91. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 64. The Greeks called scalping *aposkythizein*, which means roughly 'to de-Scythify' (Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, p. 91).
92. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 71.
93. For illustrations see: Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia*, pp. 109, 111.
94. Boris Litvinskij, *Antike und frühmittelalterliche Grabhügel im westlichen Fergana-Becken, Tadzikistan* (Munich, 1986), pp. 98f.
95. Chang, *Of Gold and Grass*, pp. 66f.
96. Polos'mak, 'Die 'Amazone' von Pazyryk,' p. 132.
97. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 153; Hermann Parzinger et al., 'New discoveries in the Mongolian Altai: The warrior grave of the Pazyryk Culture at Olon-Güüriin-Gol 10', in *Current archaeological research in Mongolia* (Bonn, 2009), p. 213.
98. Chang, *Of Gold and Grass*, pp. 1, 4, 35f, 42, 66, 126; Zainolla Samashev et al., 'Le kourgane de Berel dans l'Altaï kazakhstanais', in *Arts Asiatiques. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet* 55 (2000), p. 13.
99. Joan Aruz (ed.), *The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Scythian and Sarmatian treasures from the Russian steppes* (New York, 2000), p. 261.
100. The assertions sometimes found in the literature that the tattoos and the ubiquity of animal images are 'shamanistic' are untenable, as there is no evidence of Scythian shamanism.
101. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia,* plate 92.
102. R.D. Barnett, 'The art of Bactria and the treasure of the Oxus', in *Iranica Antiqua*, Vol. VIII (1968), pl. VIII.
103. O.M. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus with other examples of early oriental metal-work* (London, 1964), p. 33, plate 1; John Curtis and Nigel Tallis, *Forgotten Empire: The world of Ancient Persia* (London, 2005), pp. 137–143.
104. Gerold Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* (Berlin, 1966), pl. 8, 13, 18, 47, 49, 57.
105. Piotrovsky, *L'art scythe*, fig. 45–46.
106. Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, fig. 145.
107. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 252f; Piotrovsky, *L'art scythe*, fig. 150.
108. Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker,* fig. 296.
109. Igor Pitschijan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel* (Berlin, 1992), p. 37.
110. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia*, pp. 191f, 224.
111. Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia*, p. 267.
112. Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, p. 102; *Gold der Steppe*, p. 157.
113. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 73–75.
114. Richard Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, 1996), p. 82.
115. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 123.
116. Radiocarbon testing gave an even older date from the eighth to seventh centuries BC for a fragment of a knotted wool carpet from Central Asia (Antoine de Moor, Chris Verhecken-Lammens and André Verhecken, *3500 years of textile art* (Tielt 2008) p. 226).
117. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia*, pp. 149, 173.
118. In the Achaemenid Empire the lotus blossom was a royal or divine attribute. Later, in Central Asian Buddhism, holding a lotus bud or blossom represented the respectful greeting of a Buddha or bodhisattva and expressed the hope of being reborn in the paradise of the future Buddha Amitabha, Sukhavati (Christoph Baumer, 'Sogdian or Indian Iconography and Religious Influences in Dandan Uiliq (Xinjiang, China)?', in *Proceedings of the International Seminar 'The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective'* (New Delhi, 2008), p. 175).
119. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia*, pp. 289f.
120. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 127.
121. Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia*, p. 69.
122. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 59; Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes*, p. 181; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 251, 278, 283, 296; Rolle, *Gold der Steppe*, pp. 308f, 378f, 394; Wilfried Seipel (ed), *Gold der Steppe* (Leoben, 2009), p. 176.
123. Henri-Paul Francfort, 'Observation sur la toreutique de la civilisation de l'Oxus'; in *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (2005), p. 23; Sylvia Winkelmann, *Seals of the oasis from the Ligabue Collection* (Venice, 2004), p. 16.
124. Jutta Frings (ed.), *Die Thraker: Das goldene Reich des Orpheus* (Mainz, 2004), pp. 180, 230.
125. Sabine Kaufmann (ed.), *Die Wikinger* (Speyer, 2008), p. 288.
126. Sergei Rudenko, *Die Kultur der Hsung-Nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula* (Bonn, 1969), fig. 48, plates XLi–XLv.
127. Dominik Keller and Regula Schorta, *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands* (Riggisberg, 2001), fig. 15. See here Vol. II.
128. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus with other examples of early oriental metal-work*, pp. XLivf, Lviii; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 163–165; Marie-Catherine Rey (ed.), *Kazakhstan, hommes, bêtes et dieux de la steppe* (Versailles, 2010), pp. 82f.
129. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks,* pp. 281f; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks,* pp. 14, 124, 190; *The Animal Style*, pp. 43–46.
130. Finds in the neighbouring necropolises of Bashadar and Tuekta (Russian Altai), as well as Berel' (Kazakh Altai) add to the picture of a prosperous nomadic elite. Discoveries made between 1990 and 2006 at greater elevation in the permafrost high plains brought to light additional spectacular finds, among them the grave of an armed female warrior and a warrior with remarkably well-preserved clothing (Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 118ff, 132–139).
131. Vjačeslav Molodin, 'Petroglyphs of the Ukok Plateau', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 4 (32) (2007), p. 93.
132. The following sources were used for the discoveries on the Ukok Plateau: Natascha Polos'mak and Mathias Seifert, 'Menschen aus dem Eis Sibiriens: Neuentdeckte Hügelgräber (Kurgane) im Permafrost des Altai', in *Antike Welt* 1996/2, pp. 87–108; Polos'mak, 'Die „Amazone" von Pazyryk', pp. 129–137; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens,* pp. 599–604.
133. Mathias Seifert, 'Zur absoluten Datierung der Hügelgräber der Pazyryk-Kultur', in *Amazonen* (2010), p. 139.
134. This gold fish plaque weighed no less than 609 g. The golden hoard of Vettersfelde was discovered in 1882 about 100 km south of Berlin and had originally been produced around the sixth/fifth centuries BC in the northern Pontic region (Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 318–327).
135. The kurgan was originally dated by Polos'mak and Seifer to 'the fifth century or at the latest at the start of the fourth century', and likewise by Parzinger in 2006. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 599–604. Polos'mak and Seifert, 'Menschen aus dem Eis Sibiriens', 1996, p. 106. In 2010 Polos'mak dated kurgan 1 of Ak-Alacha 1 to the fourth/third centuries BC ('Die "Amazone" von Pazyryk', p. 140f).
136. See pp. 264f.
137. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 116f.

138. Molodin, 'Das skythenzeitliche Kriegergrab', pp. 241–265.
139. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 654–658.
140. Chang, *Of Gold and Grass*, pp. 51–55; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 163ff.
141. Hermann Parzinger, *Der große Kurgan von Bajkara* (Mainz, 2003).
142. Between 150 and 50 BC Sarmatians used the kurgan for a magnificent reburial.
143. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 62; Parzinger, *Der große Kurgan von Bajkara*, p. 220.
144. Alexander M. Leskov, *Grabschätze der Adygeen: Neue Entdeckungen im Nordkaukasus* (Munich, 1990), p. 37.
145. Marcellinus Ammianus. *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, book 31.2. (London, 2004), p. 414. Rolle, *Gold der Steppe*, p. 152.
146. Vladimir Kouznetsov and Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Alains* (Errance, 2005), pp. 26f; Parzinger, *Der große Kurgan von Bajkara*, p. 220.
147. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates* (Errance, 2002), pp. 50, 54, 58, 243.
148. Vjačeslav Molodin, 'Čiča – eine befestigte Ansiedlung der Übergangsperiode von der Spätbronze- zur Früheisenzeit in der Barabinsker Waldsteppe', in *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 8/2002, pp. 185–236.
149. Molodin, 'Čiča – eine befestigte Ansiedlung', pp. 185–236.
150. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 294ff.
151. R. Brzezinski and M. Mielczarek, *The Sarmatians 600 BC – AD 450* (London, 2002), p. 34; Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 306, 309.
152. Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia*, p. 111; Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 310, 332.
153. Koryakova and Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia*, pp. 253f, 258.
154. Ibid, pp. 259f.
155. Herodotus, *Histories* VII, 64; Plinius Gaius, *Naturalis Historia,* VI, 19, 50.
156. M. Dandamayev, 'Media and Achaemenid Iran', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 37.
157. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road,* pp. 61, 377f, 389.
158. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road,* pp. 377f; Lebedynsky, *Les Saces*, p. 8; Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*, p. 52. The ethonym Massagetae is interpreted as 'great Saka' or 'deer people' (Lebedynsky, *Les Saces*, p. 10).
159. Herodotus, *Histories*, III, 89–94. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis,* pp. 27–49. We will refrain from using the Persian chronicle of the Greek doctor and historian Ktesias of Knidos (late fifth–early fourth centuries BC), as his accounts are extremely unreliable when not outright fabrications.
160. Herodotus, *Histories,* I, 106. The dates of Scythian rule over the Medes are debated.
161. Cyrus was king of the Persians of Anshan from 559 BC and, after his victories over the Medes, he declared himself king of the Persians and Medes in 550 BC.
162. Dandamayev, 'Media and Achaemenid Iran', pp. 37ff.
163. Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 177.
164. On the localisation of Sakan peoples: Abetekov et al., 'Ancient Iranian nomads in western Central Asia', pp. 24f; M. Dandamayev, 'Media and Achaemenid Iran', p. 44; Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia*, pp. 81ff; Lebedynsky, *Les Saces*, pp. 41–44; Boris Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique* (Espelkamp, 1998), p. 36; J.P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies* (London, 2000), pp. 41, 108.
165. David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia* (Oxford, 1998), p. 164; Dandamayev, 'Media and Achaemenid Iran', p. 43; Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, p. 36. Other authors locate Cyropolis at the nearby city of Khudjand. The discovery of Achaemenid ceramics at the citadel of Istrafshan corroborates the first hypothesis (Personal communication from Dr Sharofuddin Kurbanov, Panjikant, in 2008).
166. Akhmadali Askarov, 'The beginning of Iron Age in Transoxania', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I (Paris, 1992), p. 457; Dandamayev, 'Media and Achaemenid Iran', p. 41f; Vadim M. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte: Die Wiederentdeckung der ältestens Kulturgebiete in Mittelasien* (Munich, 1982), p. 58.
167. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis,* p. 29.
168. Herodotus, *Histories,* I, 201–215.
169. Ibid, 212.
170. E. Kuzmina, 'Les steppes de l'Asie centrale à l'époque du bronze', in *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale* (1993), p. 83; Shapur Shanbazi, 'Iranian mythology', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* http://www.iranica.com/articles/iraj. Only much later, when the Arabs conquered Iran and Turkic peoples began to advance into the Turan Basin, did the term 'Turanians' come to refer to Turkic ethnic groups.
171. Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia,* p. 165.
172. Herodotus, *Histories,* IV, 120f.
173. Ibid, 108, 123.
174. Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, pp. 124ff; Rolle, 'Das Burgwallsystem von Bel'sk (Ukraine): Eine frühe stadtartige Anlage im skythischen Landesinnern', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 18 (1996), pp. 69, 76.
175. Herodotus, *Histories,* IV, 128.
176. Herodotus's listing of the 20 satrapies can be reconciled with the lists of Persian peoples only with difficulty and reservations, all the more so since Herodotus mentions certain peoples twice, assigning them to different satrapies (Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, pp. 42–49).
177. Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 501.
178. Herodotus, *Histories,* IV, 44.
179. While Strabo and most modern historians accept the identification of Zariaspa with Bactra/Balkh, Ptolemy clearly differenciates between Zariaspa and Bactra. Ptolemaios Claudios, *Handbuch der Geographie* (Basel, 2006), VI, 11, 7 + 9 (Vol. II, p. 649); Strabo, *Geographica* (Wiesbaden, 2007), XI, 8, 11. The absence of Achaemenid findings at Bactra/Balkh and the recent discovery of a major Achaemenid site at Chesm-e Shafa 24 km south-east of Balkh raises the question of whether Chesm-e Shafa could be identical with Achaemenid Zariaspa (Lawler Andrew, 'Edge of an Empire. An ancient Afghan fortress offers rare evidence of Persia's forgotten territories', *Archaeology*. Archaeological Institute of America, Boston September/October 2011, pp. 42–47).
180. Georges Rougemont and David Stronach, 'On the Date of the Oxus Gold Scabbard and other Achaemenid Matters', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (1998), p. 235.
181. This information was taken from a sign in a fire temple in Yazd, Iran, in 2001.
182. Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia*, pp. 67–69.
183. Frantz Grenet, 'Les religions dans l'Empire perse', in *Le monde de la Bible* (2009), p. 28.
184. The manuscript is found in the British Library, London. http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/ashem.html
185. Sergei Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), p. 98. Other scholars credit Vologases I (r. 51–78 AD) with the first codification of the Avesta (G.A. Koshelenko and V.N. Pilipko, 'Parthia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 149).
186. *Avesta: Die heiligen Schriften der Parsen* (Leipzig, 1859; 2006); Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia*, pp. 69–72; Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, pp. 32f, 164–168.
187. P.B. Konovalov, *The Burial vault of a Xiongnu prince at Sudzha (Il'movaia Pad', Transbaikalia),* 2008, pl. 32.
188. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 164. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 659f. Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen*, Vol. I., p. 45, note 45.
189. K.A. Akishev, *Issyk Mound: The art of Saka in Kazakhstan* (Moscow, 1978); Chang, *Of Gold and Grass*, pp. 29–34, 57–70.
190. Lebedynsky, *Les Saces*, p. 217f.
191. Michael Frachetti, *Pastoralist landscapes and social interaction in Bronze Age Eurasia* (Berkeley, 2008), pp. 141f.
192. In 1988 in the village of Zalauly near Almaty a group of schoolchildren made a surprising discovery when they found a sack with 649 gold objects weighing 1.5 kg. The pieces date to the eighth–third centuries BC and had presumably been stolen from various kurgans around Almaty in the nineteenth century and hidden in Zalauly. Several objects are decorated with coloured paste inlays and semiprecious gems, similar to the discoveries from Čilikty (Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 163–165).
193. See p. 116.
194. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 670–73.
195. Sven Helms, 'Ancient Choresmia: The Northern Edge of Central Asia from the 6th Century BC to the mid-4th Century AD', in *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern* (Turnhout, 1998), p. 89; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 108ff.
196. Helms, 'Ancient Choresmia', p. 89; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 108ff.
197. Sergei Tolstov, *Drevniy Choresm* (Moscow, 1948); Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur.*
198. Lucius Flavius, *The Campaigns of Alexander* (London, 1971), pp. 227f; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander* (London, 2004), Viii, 1;

Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, p. 165; N. Negmatov, 'States in north-western Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 455; Yuri Rapoport, 'The palaces of Topraq-Qal'a', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8 (1996), p. 161.

199. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander* (London, 1971), pp. 201, 227.
200. Arrian confirms that Alexander was planning an attack on the northern Pontic Scythians. Alexander is said to have sent spies to the Scythians and to have announced to Pharasmanes a joint campaign against the Scythians after the conquest of India. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, pp. 201, 227; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, Vii, 6, 12.
201. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, Vii, 8, 19–30. See also: Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk,* Vol. I, pp. 176–178. Like the early historians of Alexander, Curtius Rufus mistakes Herodotus's River Tanaïs, which formed the border between Europe and Asia for Greek historians and corresponds to today's Don, with the Jaxartes, the Syr Darya, which he also describes as the border between Europe and Asia (Vii, 6,7). Arrian, however, was aware of this confusion and differentiated between the two rivers (Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, p. 199). Likewise confusing is the reference in several ancient authors to the Hindu Kush as the 'Indian Caucasus' (Claude Rapin, 'L'Afghanistan et l'Asie Centrale dans la géographie mythique des historiens d'Alexandre et dans la toponymie des géographes gréco-romains', in *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, pp. 149ff).
202. Helms, 'Ancient Choresmia', pp. 87ff; Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, pp. 41f; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 677; Boris Staviskij, *Kunst der Kuschan* (Leipzig, 1979), pp. 31f; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 104ff.
203. Nasiba Baimatowa, *5000 Jahre Architektur in Mittelasien: Lehmziegelgewölbe vom 4./3. Jt. v.Chr. bis zum Ende des 8. Jhs. n.Chr.* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 178–189, 201–204, 233–238; David Richardson, *The Karakalpaks* (2005), http://www.karakalpak.com/anckoy.html
204. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, p. 164.
205. See Vol. II.
206. See pp. 147, 178.
207. Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, p. 678; Richardson, *The Karakalpaks*. http://www.karakalpak.com/anckoy.html. A similar, somewhat later ossuary is pictured in: Staviskij, *Kunst der Kuschan*, fig. 149.
208. David Richardson, *The Karakalpaks*.
209. Baimatowa, *5000 Jahre Architektur in Mittelasien*, pp. 178–189; T.S. Malyutina, '"Proto-towns" of the Bronze Age in the South Urals and Ancient Khorasmia', in *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*, Vol. I (Washington, DC, 2002), p. 166; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 35f, 123, 131f.
210. Litvinskij, *Antike und frühmittelalterliche Grabhügel*, pp. 127f.
211. R. Masov et al. (eds), *National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan* (Dushanbe, 2005), pp. 221, 223.
212. As Hermann Parzinger emphasises, the classification of cultures of Iron Age Xinjiang is debated and varies from four (Chen/Hiebert) to 14 (Jianjun Mei) different cultural phases. Kwang-tzuu Chen and Fredrick Hiebert, 'The Late Prehistory of Xinjiang in Relation to its neighbours', *Journal of World Prehistory* 9.2 (1995), pp. 250, 272–283; Jianjun Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 15–24; Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens*, pp. 700ff. We generally accept Parzinger's classification into seven groups, and we try, when possible, to assign the cultures to ethnic groups.
213. Yong Ma and Wang Binghua, 'The culture of the Xinjiang region', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 210; Wang Binghua, *Recherches historiques préliminaires sur les Saka du Xinjiang ancien* (1987), pp. 40f.
214. See Vol. II.
215. Antiochia-in-Margiana is today called Gyaur Kala. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*; Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia*, pp. 104–107; V. Gaïbov and G. Kochelenko, 'La Margiane', in *Les Parthes* (Quétigny, 2002), p. 48; Litvinskij, *Antike und frühmittelalterliche Grabhügel*, 1986, pp. 128f; Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, pp. 141–147; H. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria: From Alexander to Eucratides the Great* (Lanham, 2000), pp. 132f; V.A. Zavyalov, 'The Fortifications of the City of Gyaur Kala, Merv', in *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London, 2007), pp. 313–326.
216. Strabo, *Geographica*, XI, 10,2; A. Dani and P. Bernard, 'Alexander and his successors in Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, p. 91. As already mentioned, other authors attribute these fortifications to the Sassanids (Gaïbov and Kochelenko, 'La Margiane', p. 48).
217. Zavyalov, 'The Fortifications of the City of Gyaur Kala, Merv', pp. 313, 325f.
218. Tei Hatakyama, *The Tumulus and Stag Stones at Shiebar-kul in Xinjiang, China* (2002); Ma and Wang, 'The culture of the Xinjiang region', pp. 222–225' Bo Wang, 'Hirschsteine in Xinjiang', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 7 (2001), pp. 105–132.
219. Another oval stone statue with two triangles on the cheeks was discovered in the Mongolian province of Khovd, bordering on Xianjiang (Alexej Kovalëv and Diimaazhav Erdenebaatar, 'Discovery of new cultures of the Bronze Age in Mongolia according to the data obtained by the International central Asian Archaeological Expedition', in *Current archaeological research in Mongolia* (Bonn, 2009), pp. 155, 157).
220. Alexej Kovalëv, 'Überlegungen zur Herkunft der Skythen aufgrund archäologischer Daten', *Eurasia Antiqua,* Vol. 4 (1998), pp. 265ff; 'Die ältesten Stelen am Ertix', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 5 (1998), pp. 162, 171; 'Discovery of new cultures of the Bronze Age in Mongolia', pp. 158f; Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang*, pp. 14f; Xiaoshan Qi and Bo Wang, *The ancient culture in Xinjiang along the Silk Road* (Urumqi, 2008), pp. 220f.
221. Kovalëv, 'Die ältesten Stelen am Ertix', pp. 162, 169; Qi and Wang, *The ancient culture in Xinjiang,* pp. 215, plate 7, 220, 4. The find of two iron knives indicates that the graveyard was also used in the Iron Age.
222. Wang, *Recherches historiques préliminaires sur les Saka du Xinjiang ancien*, pp. 36ff; See also: Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang*, pp. 50–57.
223. Chengyuan Ma and Feng Yue, *Archaeological treasures of the Silk Road in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region* (Shanghai, 1998), pp. 244f; Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang*, p. 21; Wang, *Recherches historiques préliminaires sur les Saka du Xinjiang ancien*, p. 35. Wieczorek and Lind, *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*, pp. 300f.
224. Victor Mair (ed.), *Secrets of the Silk Road* (Santa Ana, Calif., 2010), p. 155; Wieczorek and Lind, *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*, pp. 54, 290, 300. The helmets of the Thracians also looked like Phyrgian caps cast in metal. See: Frings, *Die Thraker*, pp. 128f, 294.
225. Ma and Yue, *Archaeological treasures of the Silk Road*, pp. 213–220; Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang,* pp. 18f; Qi and Wang, *The ancient culture in Xinjiang*, p. 123; Wang, *Recherches historiques préliminaires sur les Saka du Xinjiang ancien*, pp. 33–35.
226. Ma and Yue, *Archaeological treasures of the Silk Road*, pp. 104f, 254f; Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang* (2001), pp. 98–111; Wieczorek and Lind, *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*, pp. 174–181.
227. Chen and Hiebert, *The Late Prehistory of Xinjiang*, pp. 274ff. Kangxin Han, 'The Physical Anthropology of the Ancient Populations of the Tarim Basin and Surrounding Areas', in *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern central Asia* (Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 564f; Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang*, p. 16.
228. Chen and Hiebert, *The Late Prehistory of Xinjiang*, p. 278f; Mei, *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang,* p. 16.
229. Despite five carbon-14 analyses giving a date around 1000 BC, the earliest undisturbed graves date to around 800 BC. Elizabeth Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi* (London, 1999), p. 37, pl. I; Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road* (Bangkok, 2003), p. 31; Mair, *Secrets of the Silk Road*, p. 36. Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang*, pp. 79–94; Wieczorek and Lind, *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*, pp. 182–201.
230. Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi*, pp. 46–54; Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang*, pp. 79–84
231. Christoph Baumer, 'The Ayala Mazar – Xiaohe Culture. Results from an archaeological exploration of the ancient Keriya Delta, China, in 2009' (2010). See here p. 220.
232. Dexiu He, 'A Brief Report on the Mummies from the Zaghunluq Site in Chärchän County', in *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern central Asia* (Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 169–174; Wang et al., *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang*, pp. 84f, 89, 92.
233. See. p. 129.
234. Investigations of the author in October 2009. See also: Corinne Debaine-Francfort, *Keriya: Mémoires d'un fleuve* (Paris, 2001), pp. 120–225.
235. Debaine-Francfort, *Keriya*, pp. 135ff, 156, 172, 189, 210; Henri-Paul Francfort, 'De l'art des steppes au sud du Taklamakan', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (1998), pp. 45–57.

236. See Vol. II.
237. About 80 pillars originally surrounded the grave. For Satma Mazar see: Christoph Baumer, ‘Indo-europäische Mumien im Herzen der Wüste Taklamakan’, *Antike Welt* (2010), pp. 18–28; ‘The Ayala Mazar – Xiaohe Culture’ (2010); *The Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture* (2011), pp. 49–70.
238. Debaine-Francfort, *Keriya*, p. 173.
239. Debaine-Francfort, *Keriya*, p. 216; Yue Feng (ed.), *A grand view of Xinjiang’s Cultural Relics and Historic Sites* (Urumqi, 1999), p. 169.
240. Sergei Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia* (London, 1970), Fig. 157. I thank Jürg Rageth from Riehen, Basel, who brought this parallel to my attention.
241. Dominik Keller and Regula Schorta (eds), *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands* (Riggisberg 2001), Figs. 89, 115.
242. Debaine-Francfort, *Keriya*, p. 165; Rolle Renate. *Amazonen,* 2010, p. 142.
243. Čugunov, *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva*, pp. 28, 30f, 130–141, 163. Grjaznov, *Der Großkurgan von Arzhan*, p. 58. Kossack, ‘Mittelasien und skythischer Tierstil’, pp. 102ff. See also: Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia*, pl. 1–4, 84–91, 169.
244. Debaine-Francfort, *Keriya*, p. 172.
245. Yue Feng, *Collection of the historical culture of Xinjiang* (Urumqi, 2009), p. 50; Qi and Wang, *The ancient culture in Xinjiang*, p. 44f.
246. Yue Feng, *Collection of the historical culture of Xinjiang*, p. 37, 40f; Wieczorek and Lind, *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*, p. 216.
247. I thank John Vincent Bellezza from the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, for drawing my attention to the Iron Age petroglyphs in the Changtang (byang thang). John Vincent Bellezza, *Antiquities of Northern Tibet,* 2001, pp. 211–215, figs. 10:52–10:59; *Zhang Zhung. Foundations of Civilization in Tibet*, 2007, pp. 191–193, figs. 293–296, 358–359; Hauptmann Harald (ed.), *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan*, 2003, plates 8 (13:3, 69:1), 58 (30:231), 62 (30:226), 89 (30:CC), XIII (69A), XXVI (30:190).
248. Peter Tomka, *Über die Bestattungen der Hunnen*, 2007, p. 254.
249. Sergei Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia,* 1970, p. 80.
250. Göran Possnert, *Sundström. Result of ^{14}C dating of human hair from Xinjiang, China* (Uppsala 11 March 2011.)
251. Michael Schultz, ‘Ergebnisse der paläopathologisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung der menschlichen Skelettfunde aus dem Grab 26 von Liushui, Xinjiang China’, in *Eurasia Antiqua* 13 (2007), pp. 181–197; Xinhua Wu et al., ‘Das protoskythische Gräberfeld Liushi im Kun Lun-Gebirge, NW-China’, *Eurasia Antiqua* 12 (2006), pp. 173–191; *Major archaeological discoveries in China in 2005* (Beijing, 2006), pp. 48–52.
252. Jeremiah 4.29; 5.15–16; 6.22–23. English is from NIV.
253. S. Makhortykh, ‘The Northern Black Sea steppes in the Cimmerian epoch’, in *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia* (2004), pp. 37ff.
254. Askold Ivantchi, *Kimmerier und Skythen* (Berlin, 2001), pp. 17–19, 280; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens* (Errance, 2004), p. 20.
255. It is highly improbable that the Thracian populace belonged to the Cimmerian groups, as the Thracians were sedentary and the Cimmerians nomadic. The only commonality was that each had elite warrior horsemen. Ivantchik, *Kimmerier und Skythen*, pp. 48f, 279; Esther Jacobson, *The Art of the Scythians* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 37f; Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, pp. 19, 73–76, 104f, 116, 152; Renate Rolle et al., *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine* (Schleswig, 1991), pp. 49, 58.
256. Ivantchik, *Kimmerier und Skythen*, pp. 55, 61; Hermann Sauter, *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem* (Bonn, 2000), pp. 219, 222, 247, 251.
257. Whether Sargon really fell in a battle against the Cimmerians remains debated (Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, p. 30).
258. Ivantchik, *Kimmerier und Skythen*, pp. 21ff, 42–49; Sauter, *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*, pp. 226, 247.
259. Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, pp. 17, 31, 126f; Sauter, *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*, 2000, p. 167. Whether there was one Phrygian king with the name Midas or two is debated, and it is also uncertain whether the King Midas mentioned in 738 BC is the same as the Midas who took his own life 63 years later.
260. Herodotus, *Histories* I, 15; Sauter, *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*, pp. 166, 171f, 249. Strabo, *Geographica*, XIII, 4, 8.
261. Sauter, *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*, p. 232. See also: Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, p. 45.
262. Hermann Parzinger, *Die Skythen* (Munich, 2004), p. 19.
263. Ivantchik, *Kimmerier und Skythen*, p. 71; Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, pp. 19, 33, 45, 169; Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, p. 23. The historian Callisthenes (*ca*. 370–327 BC) refers to a second conquest of Sardes by the Lycians and the Treri, and, in another context, Strabo calls the Treri a Cimmerian people (Sauter, *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*, pp. 166, 171, 235, 248).
264. Ivantchik’s interpretation of a single bone disc putatively in the shape of a coiled animal, found in Sardes in a building layer from the mid-seventh century BC, as a material trace of the Cimmerians and as evidence that they were familiar with the early Scythian animal style is unpersuasive (Ivantchik, *Kimmerier und Skythen*, pp. 72–79).
265. Andreï Alexeev et al., ‘Some problems in the study of the chronology of the ancient nomadic cultures of Eurasia (9th–3rd centuries BC),’ *Geochronometria* 21 (2002), pp. 144f. To what extent the pre-Scythian material cultures of Chernogorovka (tenth–ninth centuries BC) and Novocherkassk (late ninth–eighth centuries BC) were associated with the Cimmerians remains debated. Jacobson, *The Art of the Scythians*, pp. 36. Elke Kaiser, *Begraben, aber nicht vergessen. Katakomben – Eine neue Grabkonstruktion in den Grabhügeln.* Jutta Leskovar and Maria-Christina Zingerle (eds), *Goldener Horizont: 4000 Jahre Nomaden der Ukraine* (Weitra, 2010), pp. 42–48. Hermann Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens: Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006), pp. 705–707.
266. Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, pp. 84f; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *De l’Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol* (Errance, 2008), pp. 27–30; D. Telegin and J. P. Mallory, *The Anthropomorphic Stelae of the Ukraine: The Early Iconography of the Indo-Europeans* (Washington, DC, 1994), pp. 59–67.
267. Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, p. 166; Renate Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk: Ein skythischer Grabhügel des 4. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 1998), Vol. I, p. 168.
268. L.K. Galanina, *Die Kurgane von Kelermes* (Berlin, 1996), p. 13.
269. Galanina, *Die Kurgane von Kelermes*, pp. 187, 203; Lebedynsky, *Les Cimmériens*, pp. 31, 44; Rolle, *Gold der Steppe*, p. 59.
270. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 11–12.
271. The Assyrian texts mention neither Nineveh’s siege by the Medes nor the intervention of the Scythians. Sauter, *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*, 2000, p. 231.
272. Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 103–105.
273. Sauter dates the Scythian rule over the Medes somewhat earlier to 652–625 BC (*Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*, 2000, p. 98).
274. Philip de Souza (ed.), *The ancient world at war* (London, 2008), p. 201.
275. Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 106.
276. David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia* (Oxford, 1998), p. 163; Wilfried Menghin, Hermann Parzinger, Anatoli Nagler and Manfred Nawroth (eds), *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen* (Munich, 2007), p. 228.
277. Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 73f.
278. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 3f.
279. Oscar White-Muscarella, ‘“Ziwiye” and Ziwiye: The Forgery of a Provenience [sic]’, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 4.2 (1977), pp. 197–219.
280. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 199; E.D. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes: Nomad Peoples of the Steppes* (1965), pp. 73f.
281. Galanina, *Die Kurgane von Kelermes*, pp. 195, 197, 207.
282. Ibid, p. 187.
283. All the objects from Kelermes mentioned here are pictured in: Galanina, *Die Kurgane von Kelermes*, plates 1–44. Unfortunately, the first excavator of Kelermes, the mining engineer D.G. Schultz, proved to be a grave robber, who surreptitiously melted down over 3 kg of gold objects (Ibid, pp. 17–25).
284. Galanina, *Die Kurgane von Kelermes*, pp. 35, 55, 59, 71, 83.
285. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 72.
286. Alexander M. Leskov, *Grabschätze der Adygeen: Neue Entdeckungen im Nordkaukasus* (Munich, 1990), pp. 15–17. As Radlov reported, in the second half of the nineteenth century AD southern Siberian peoples such as the Teleuts and the Altaians still practised the custom of impaling sacrificed horses on lances (Wilhelm Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1893), Vol. I, pl. 9; Vol. II, pl. 1). Around 1291 the Dominican missionary Riccoldo da Monte di Croce observed the same custom among the Mongols (Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes* (Errance, 2001), p. 200).
287. Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk*, Vol. I, pp. 65–67.
288. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 71.
289. The kurgans on the Sula are, however, more than 200 km away from the former rapids, which today are flooded over (Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes*, pp. 206, 210).
290. Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk*, Vol. II, part III, p. 58.
291. Ellen Reeder, *Scythian Gold: Treasures from ancient Ukraine* (New York, 1999), p. 33.

292. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 17–21.
293. Sergej Skoryj, 'Der Kurgan Perepjaticha', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 18 (1996), pp. 102–105.
294. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, 17f.
295. Reeder, *Scythian Gold*, pp. 32, 94.
296. Vledilen Anochin, 'Die Münzen der skythischen und sarmatischen Könige', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 18 (1996), p. 141. Pericles's visit to Olbia in the 430s BC underscores Olbia's importance for Athens (David Braund and S. Kryzhitskiy, *Classical Olbia & the Scythian World* (London, 2007), pp. 3, 34).
297. Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, p. 14.
298. Rolle, *Gold der Steppe*, p. 79.
299. V. Yu Murzin, 'Key points in Scythian history', in *Scythians and Greeks* (Exeter, 2005), p. 37; Renate Rolle, 'Das Burgwallsystem von Bel'sk (Ukraine): Eine frühe stadtartige Anlage im skythischen Landesinnern', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 18 (1996), pp. 57–84.
300. Renate Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 160–166; Renate Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen* (Lucerne, 1980), pp. 135–138.
301. Larenok Pavel and Dally Ortwin, 'Taganrong', in *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Mainz 2002), p. 90; Véronique Schiltz (ed.), *L'or des Amazones* (Paris, 2001), pp. 40–44, 56–59, 102f, 109–126.
302. Strabo, *Geographica*, 2007. XI, 5, 8 (p. 731). See also: Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, pp. 47, 143.
303. In light of the complete rejection of Greek gods and religious cults by the Scythians it is out of the question that they worshipped their deities, which were presumably related to the Indo–Iranian culture, under Greek names (Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 59–62). See also: Andreï Alexeev et al., *Nomades des Steppes* (Paris, 2001), pp. 102–106; Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes*, pp. 178–181; Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, pp. 96f.
304. In Avestan the name 'Api' means water (Véronique Schiltz, *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker* (Munich, 1994), p. 184).
305. Yulia Ustinova, 'Snake-limbed and tendril-limbed goddesses in the art and mythology of the Mediterranean and Black Sea', in *Scythians and Greeks* (Exeter, 2005), p. 75.
306. See p. 110.
307. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 8–10.
308. See p. 173.
309. Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes*, p. 180.
310. Ibid, pp. 146, 188. In light of the obvious lack of a clergy, interpretations of women's graves with finds of (symbolic) weapons, mirrors and possibly portable altars as 'proof' of 'warrior princesses' and a female priestly caste are pulled out of thin air. For examples of such interpretations see: Jeannine Davis-Kimball, 'Amazons, Princesses and other Women of Status: Females in Eurasian Nomadic Societies', in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 5 (1997/98), pp. 1–50; Jeannine Davis-Kimball, *Warrior women* (New York, 2002).
311. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 67–69.
312. Ibid, 76.
313. Ibid, 78–80.
314. Ibid, 70.
315. Ibid, 66.
316. Ibid, 71–75.
317. These sacrificial animals belonged to the dead and were not consumed at the funeral feast.
318 Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk*, Vol. I, p. 66. See also: Jurij Boltrik and Elena Fialko, 'Der Oghuz Kurgan: Die Grabanlage eines Skythenkönigs zur Zeit nach Ateas', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 18 (1996), p. 121.
319. Renate Rolle et al. (eds), *Amazonen: Geheimnisvolle Kriegerinnen* (Speyer, 2010), pp. 105, 120, 125.
320. Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen*, Vol. I, pp. 11f, 155–158. A few scholars propose that 'a large percentage of the Scythian kurgans were plundered some five to twenty-five years after the burials took place' (Rolle, *Gold der Steppe*, p. 182).
321. Boltrik and Fialko, 'Der Oghuz Kurgan', pp. 109, 119; Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen*, Vol. I, p. 151; Vol. II, p. 98, folding map 11.
322. V. Olkhovsky and G. Evdokimov, *Skifskie izvajanija VII–III vv. do n.e*, (Moscow, 1994); P.N. Schulz, 'Skifskiye izvayanina', in *Khudozhestvennaya kul'tura i arkheologiya antichnogo mira* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 218–231; Telegin and Mallory, *The Anthropomorphic Stelae of the Ukraine*, pp. 68–76; Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, pp. 21–24.
323. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 28.
324. Thomas Werner, *Unbekannte Krim*, 1999, p. 22.
325. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 103.
326. Jutta Frings (ed.), *Die Thraker: Das goldene Reich des Orpheus* (Mainz, 2004), p.118.
327. Braund and Kryzhitskiy, *Classical Olbia & the Scythian World*, pp. 87, 151–153, 157, 161–164, 169.
328. Fornasier and Böttger, *Das Bosporanische Reich*, p. 4; Frings, *Die Thraker*, p. 119; Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 80; Alexander Podossinov, 'Am Rande der griechischen Oikumene', in *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Mainz 2002) p. 26f; Vladimir Tolstikov, 'Pantikapaion', in *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Mainz 2002) p. 51.
329. Du Brux Paul, *Oeuvres* (St Petersburg 2010) Vol. I, p. 171, Vol. II, p. 115.
330. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 276–282; Ellis Minns, *Scythians and Greeks: A survey of ancient history and archaeology on the north coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 194–206; Véronique Schiltz, *Histoire de kourganes: La redécouverte de l'or des Scythes* (Paris, 1991), pp. 60–72.
331. Ekatarina Alexeeva, 'Gorgippia', in *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Mainz 2002) p. 100.
332. Anochin, 'Die Münzen der skythischen und sarmatischen Könige', pp. 146f.
333. P. Foucart, 'Décret de la ville de Chersonésos en l'honneur de Diophantos, général de Mithridate', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 5 (1881), pp. 70–87.
334. Ekatarina Alexeeva, 'Gorgippia', pp. 101f; Alexander Podossinov, 'Am Rande der griechischen Oikumene', in *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Mainz 2002) p. 31.
335. Ekatarina Alexeeva, 'Gorgippia', pp. 108, 111; Burkhard Böttger, Jochen Fornasier and Tatjana Arseneva, 'Tanais am Don', in *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Mainz 2002) p. 82; Alexander Podossinov, *Am Rande der griechischen Oikumene*, pp. 32–34, 37; Rolle, *Gold der Steppe*, p. 211.
336. Earlier, the Hittites had also understood the location of a king's afterlife as a kind of heavenly pasture. Boltrik and Fialko, 'Der Oghuz Kurgan', p. 112; Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen*, Vol. I, p. 42; Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, p. 34.
337. The following section is a chronological overview of kings and events that have already been mentioned, so we will forgo reference to sources and rely on the index, as long as no new facts are involved. See also: Andreï Alexeev, 'Scythian kings and "royal" burial-mounds of the fifth and fourth centuries BC', in *Scythians and Greeks* (Exeter, 2005), pp. 39–55; Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 4.76, 78.
338. Herodotus, *Histories*, VI, 76.
339. Ibid, 84.
340. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 81.
341. David Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language: How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the modern world* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 260f; Frings, *Die Thraker*, pp. 15f, 31, 95.
342. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 78.
343. Ibid, IV, 80.
344. More precisely, the son of the president of the imperial archaeological commission Bobrinskoï found the comb at the end of the excavation (Schiltz, *Histoires de kourganes*, p. 124).
345. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 246f; Schiltz, *Histoires de kourganes*, p. 93.
346. Contrary to the view encountered in the earlier literature that an armed woman was the main person buried in the central chamber of Solocha, it is in fact a man (Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, p. 250).
347. Alexeev et al., *Nomades des Steppes*, pp. 130f; 'Some problems in the study of the chronology of the ancient nomadic cultures', p. 15; Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 250f.
348. It remains debated whether Atheas was a chief king or a western viceroy.
349. Anochin, 'Die Münzen der skythischen und sarmatischen Könige', pp. 145f, plate 19.3.
350. Ibid, pp. 144–146; Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes*, pp. 44f.
351. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander* (London, 1971), p. 227; Boltrik and Fialko, 'Der Oghuz Kurgan', p. 129. See also: Alexeev, 'Scythian kings and 'royal' burial-mounds', p. 47.
352. The number of anonymous kings is debated (Alexeev, 'Scythian kings and "royal" burial-mounds', pp. 40, 44f).
353. E.V. Cernenko et al., *The Scythians 700–300 BC*. (London, 1983), pp. 31f; Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk*, Vol. I, pp. 172–175.
354. M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 98, 147.
355. A.N. Shcheglov and V.I. Katz, 'A fourth-century BC Royal Kurgan in the Crimea', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), p. 117.
356. P.N. Schultz and V.A. Golovkina, 'Neapolis des Scythes', in *Ourartou, Neapolis des Scythes, Kharezm* (Paris, 1954), pp. 67–103; C.A. Tur, *Neapol Skyfsji*, Universum, 2011; Juri Zaytsev, 'Skilur and his Kingdom', in *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia* (Leiden), Vol. 7, No. 3–4, 2001, pp. 239–271; *The Scythian Neapolis (2nd century BC to 3rd century AD)*, 2004; 'Scythian Neapolis – the Capital of the Kingdom of Skiluros', in Friederike Fless and Mikhail Treister, *Bilder und Objekte als Träger kultureller Identität und interkultureller Kommunikation im Schwarzmeergebiet* (Rahden 2005), pp. 141–144.

357. Strabo, *Geographica*, 2007. VII, 3, 17 (p. 430).
358. Schultz and Golovkina, 'Neapolis des Scythes', pp. 95f. The analogy was also known to the Sogdians, Iranians, Mongols and Aesop (Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia* (London, 2008), p. 198, part II, note 4).
359. Valery Olkhovsky, *Scythian Culture in the Crimea*, 1995, p. 76; Schultz and Golovkina, 'Neapolis des Scythes', pp. 83–96; Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, pp. 146f.
360. The Roman legate Silvanus established a naval base for the Ravenna fleet at Charaks, east of Chersonesos (Werner, *Unbekannte Krim*, p. 45).
361. Tur, *Neapol Skyfsji*, pp. 10–14; Zaytsev, *The Scythian Neapolis*, pp. 37–39.
362. Boris Piotrovsky et al., *L'art scythe* (Leningrad, 1986), pl. 184–187.
363. Both objects can be seen in: Rolle, *Königskurgan Čertomlyk*, pl. 19–15. It is occasionally argued that it is not episodes from Achilles's life portrayed on the gorytos but rather scenes from the lives of Scythian heroes (Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 243f).
364. Jacobson, *The Art of the Scythians*, p. 225. Rolle; *Königskurgan Čertomlyk*, pp. 137ff. A few scholars propose that several moulds were combined with one another (Reeder, *Scythian Gold*, p. 71). The gorytos in the alleged grave of Phillip II was presumably war booty. The third, slightly different sword sheath is held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; it presumably came from a kurgan in north-western Crimea (Shcheglov and Katz, 'A fourth-century BC Royal Kurgan', pp. 97–122).
365. Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 20–23.
366. Shcheglov and Katz, 'A fourth-century BC Royal Kurgan', pp. 115f.
367. Schultz and Golovkina, 'Neapolis des Scythes', pp. 83–98.
368. Patric-Alexander Kreuz, *Norm und Sonderweg: Grabstelen klassischer und frühhellenistischer Zeit aus den Städten des Bosporanischen Reichs und das Relief aus dem Drei-Brüder-Kurgan bei Nymphaion*, (Rahden, 2005) pp. 43–52; *Das Relief aus dem Drei-Brüder-Kurgan* (Bonn, Simferopol 2008) pp. 131–140; E.A. Savostina, 'Tema nadgrobnoj stelu iz Trechbratnego kurgana v kontekste antičnogo mirfa', in *Istoriko-archeologičeskij almanach 1* (Armarir, Moskva 1995), pp. 110–119; Mikhail Treister, *Die Drei-Brüder-Kurgane* (Bonn, Simferopol 2008).
369. Most of these grave paintings had already been destroyed by the end of the nineteenth century (M. Rostovtzeff, *La peinture décorative antique en Russie méridionale* (Paris, 1913–1914; 2004)).
370. Menghin et al., *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen*, pp. 306–323; Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, p. 199ff.
371. Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Gold der Steppe* (Leoben, 2009), p. 105.
372. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 21, 119f.
373. Ibid, 110–117.
374. Zainolla Samashev, *Treasures from the Ustyurt and Mangystau* (Almaty, 2007), pp. 186–203, 208.
375. Samashev, *Treasures from the Ustyurt and Mangystau*, pp. 213–215, 232–259. See also: V. Olkhovsky, 'Baité: Un ensemble culturel', in *Les Scythes* (1994), pp. 54–57; V. Olkhovsky, 'Ancient Sanctuaries of the Aral and Caspian Regions', in *Kurgans, Ritual Sites and Settlements* (2000), pp. 33–42.
376. The calibrated radiocarbon dates of 832–774 BC for kurgan 1 of Filippovka reported by Alekseev et al. are improbable, since Achaemenid art objects from the fifth century BC were found in kurgan 1. Alexeev, 'Some problems in the study of the chronology of the ancient nomadic cultures of Eurasia', p. 148; Joan Aruz (ed.), *The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Scythian and Sarmatian treasures from the Russian steppes* (New York, 2000), p. 61, pl. 93–95; Leonid T. Yablonsky, 'New excavations of the early nomadic burial ground at Filippovka (Southern Ural Region, Russia)', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 114, Jan. 2010, pp. 129, 131, 141f.
377. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which Sauromatian culture is related to the Sauromatians or Issedones of Herodotus.
378. Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia*, p. 74. The necropolis consits of 29 kurgans of which 17 were excavated in 1986–90. While 9 additional kurgans were investigated 2004–2007, severe looting, even with the use of heavy equipment, occurred between both campaigns and also in 2005. Yablonsky, 'New excavations of the early nomadic burial ground at Filippovka (Southern Ural Region, Russia)', pp. 129, 132ff.
379. Aruz, *The Golden Deer of Eurasia*, pl. 1–4, 84–91.
380. Yablonsky, 'New excavations of the early nomadic burial ground at Filippovka (Southern Ural Region, Russia)', pp. 136f, 142; 'L'épée dorée de Filippovka', in *Archéologia* (Editions Faton, Dijon, no. 494, 2011), pp. 50ff.
381. Ludmila Koryakova and Andrej Epimakkhov, *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 244.
382. R. Brzezinski and M. Mielczarek, *The Sarmatians 600 BC – AD 450* (London, 2002), p. 7; J. Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians* (Szeged, 1979), pp. 10, 36; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates* (Errance, 2002), p. 39.
383. In the literature the Ixomates are classified as either Maeotian or Sauromatian (Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, p. 33).
384. The term Maeotae is a collective name for native tribes of the Kuban, who adopted cultural influences from the Cimmerians; it is uncertain whether they were Iranian-speaking.
385. Alexeeva, 'Gorgippia', p. 96; Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, pp. 54f.
386. Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, p. 58.
387. Braund and Kryzhitskiy, *Classical Olbia & the Scythian World*, p. 166; Vladimir Kouznetsov and Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Alains*, (Errance, 2005), p. 51; Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, pp. 68ff.
388. Aleksandr Medvedev, *Hügelgräber und befestigte Siedlungen der sarmatischen Zeit am oberen Don*, 2007, pp. 260, 272, 276.
389. Seipel, *Gold der Steppe*, p. 85
390. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 78f, 196.
391. Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, pp. 219f.
392. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 111f; Seipel, *Gold der Steppe*, p. 64. The burials of Kobiakovo and Khokhlatch, as well as the square burial chambers, are sometimes attributed to the Alans instead of the Aorsi (Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, p. 70).
393. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 43–46; *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, 1929, pp. 124–126, 178–190.
394. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 118f; *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol*, pp. 84–86, 98. See here p. 266.
395. According to Zenobius (first half of second century AD) the Siraces already elected as their king the man with the longest skull (Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 18f, 113ff, 221).
396. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih chi*, Book 123, 1971, Vol. II, p. 267.
397. John Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome. An annotated translation of the Chronicle on the 'Western regions' in the Hou Hanshu*, 2009, p. 33. It is unclear whether a single principality was called 'Alanliao' or if two principalities called Alan and Liao are meant. The chronicle *Weilüe*, written between 239 and 265 AD and quoted in 429, states only that 'Yancai' changed its name to 'Alan' (Ibid, pp. 380–391).
398. Pan Ku, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty, Vol. II* (Baltimore, 1944), p. 331; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* (Bloomington, 2009), pp. 375–380.
399. Ann Hyland, *Training the Roman Cavalry*, 1993, pp. 5, 80–83, 93; Souza, *The ancient world at war*, pp. 200f.
400. Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, p. 73.
401. Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, p. 19.
402. Brzezinski and Mielczarek, *The Sarmatians 600 BC – AD 450*, pp. 5, 9; Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 50–55, 248–250.
403. Alexeeva, 'Gorgippia', p. 111. Podossinov, 'Am Rande der griechischen Oikumene', p. 37. Kouznetsov and Lebedynsky, *Les Alains*, p. 58; Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 50f, 249.
404. See Vol. II.
405. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 63–65, 232f; Kouznetsov and Lebedynsky, *Les Alains*, pp. 58f, 90–96; Souza, *The ancient world at war*, pp. 203–207.
406. Kouznetsov and Lebedynsky, *Les Alains*, pp. 101–105, 115.
407. Ibid, pp. 120f.
408. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 167–70.
409. Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 215. One of the best preserved remains of such iron armour from the third century BC was found at Aï Khanum in northern Afghanistan (Frederik Hiebert and Pierre Cambon, *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World* (London 2011) p. 102).
410. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, p. 163.
411. Ibid, p. 164.
412. An alternative etymology sees as the root the Middle Persian word *griwban*, which means essentially 'iron neck-guard' (Ann Hyland, *Training the Roman Cavalry: From Arrian's Ars Tactica* (London, 1993), pp. 85, 87). Valerii Nikonorov, 'Cataphracti, Catafractarii and Clibanarii: Another look at the old problem of their identifications', in: *Military Archaeology* (St. Peterburg, 1998), p. 132.
413. Matthias Pfaffenbichler, *Spangenhelme*, 2007, pp. 245, 249.
414. Brzezinski and Mielczarek, *The Sarmatians 600 BC – AD 450*, pp. 16, 18, 23f; Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 90, 105, 108; *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol*, pp. 50f, 64; Souza, *The ancient world at war*, p. 177.
415. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, p. 175; Souza, *The ancient world at war*, p. 225.

416. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 117.
417. Jochen Fornasier, *Amazonen: Frauen, Kämpferinnen und Städtegründerinnen* (Mainz, 2007), pp. 37ff; Renate Rolle, 'Amazonen in der archäologischen Realität', in *Kleist-Jahrbuch 1986* (Berlin, 1986), pp. 49f; *Amazonen*, pp. 17, 27, 39.
418. Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 119.
419. Fornasier, *Amazonen*, pp. 54f; Rolle, *Amazonen*, pp. 40–42, 93.
420. Rolle, *Amazonen*, pp. 23, 154, 174.
421. Davis-Kimball, *Warrior women*, pp. 57, 54; Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes*, pp. 53f, 151; *Les Sarmates*, pp. 155ff; *Les Saces*, 2006, p. 178; Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen*, pp. 97f; *Amazonen*, pp. 103, 119f.
422. Kouznetsov and Lebedynsky, *Les Alains*, pp. 130, 174.
423. Rolle, *Amazonen*, pp. 120f, 125, 156f.
424. Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes*, p. 151; Rolle, *Totenkult der Skythen*, Vol. I, p. 134. The 'Princess of Kobiakovo', who was killed by an arrow, was also given no ceremonial weapons as grave gifts, only an iron axe.
425. Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, p. 168.
426. Lebedynsky, *Les Sarmates*, pp. 78–80, 88.
427. Hyland, *Training the Roman Cavalry*, pp. 78–83, 90; Lebedynsky, *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol*, p. 112.
428. Brzezinski and Mielczarek, *The Sarmatians 600 BC – AD 450*, pp. 19, 34; Lebedynsky, *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol*, pp. 63f.
429. Maurice, Byzantine Emperor, *Strategikon* (Philadelphia, 1984), XI, 2 (p. 117).
430. Ibid, p. 118.
431. Maurice, Byzantine Emperor, *Strategikon*, I, 2 (p. 13).
432. See photo p. 231.
433. Joan Aruz (ed.), *The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Perspectives on the Steppe Nomads of the Ancient World* (New York, 2006), pp. 196, 199, 206f; Jean-Yves Cozan, Pierre Amandry and Véronique Shiltz, *L'Or des Sarmates: Nomades des steppes dans l'Antiquité* (1995), pp. 18, 30; Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, p. 143.
434. Cozan, Amandry and Schiltz, *L'Or des Sarmates*, pp. 74–79; Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, pp. 214, 218; Seipel, *Gold der Steppe*, pp. 74–83. Similar, somewhat later daggers were found in Gorgippia, Kuban, Kossika on the Volga and in Mskheta, Georgia. W.A. Nabatschikow, *Gold und Kunsthandwerk vom antiken Kuban* (Stuttgart, 1989), pl. 46; Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, p. 218.
435. An attribution of the necropolis to the Yuezhi, as proposed by its discoverer Sarianidi, is improbable, on the basis of the Alano–Sarmatian-style toreutics. Claude Rapin, 'Nomads and the shaping of Central Asia', in *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London, 2007), pp. 58, 62; Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, p. 18. See here p. 293.
436. Véronique Schiltz, 'Notule sur un ours énigmatique', in *Afghanistan* (2005), pp. 296f. See also: Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, pp. 212–219; Seipel, *Gold der Steppe*, pp. 296f.
437. Cozan, Amandry and Schiltz, *L'Or des Sarmates*, pp. 6, 72f; Schiltz, *L'or des Amazones*, pp. 224–226.
438. Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, pp. 98–103, 220–223. See here photo p. 289, p. 292.
439. K.A. Akishev, *Ancient gold of Kazakhstan* (Almaty, 1983), pp. 41f, 158–169; John Boardman, 'Central Asia: West and East', in *After Alexander* (2007), pp. 14–21; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China* (Princeton, 1929), pp. 33, 56; James Watt, 'The legacy of Nomadic Art in China and Eastern Central Asia', in *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes* (New York/New Haven, 2002), p. 202; Y.A. Zadneprovskiy, 'The nomads of Northern Central Asia after the invasion of Alexander', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, pp. 461f.
440. Leskovar and Zingerle, *Goldener Horizont*, p. 126; Rolle, *Gold der Steppe*, pp. 219–226.
441. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes*, pp. 95–98.
442. Seipel, *Gold der Steppe*, pp. 70ff, 241ff.
443. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 129ff; Seipel, *Gold der Steppe*, pp. 221–229.
444. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pp. 14, 124, 190; *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, pp. 43–46. Whether a distant connection exists between the animal style and genres of medieval Western European art such as the Irish book arts or Romanesque capitals remains debated (Andreï Alexeev, *Trésors des Steppes* (Hauterive, 2006), p. 124). In the sixth to ninth centuries AD the *Permian animal style* developed along the Kama, a tributary of the Volga. The Permian style evinces no connection to the Sarmatian animal style. See Vol. II.

VIII. Greeks in Central Asia

1. Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VIII, 8, 11–12
2. The last Greco–Bactrian king north of the Hindu Kush was Heliocles I (r. *ca.* 145–130 BC), and the last Indo–Greek king south of the Hindu Kush was Strato II (r. *ca.* 25 BC–10 AD). Osmund Bopearachchi et al., *De l'Indus à l'Oxus* (Lattes, 2003), pp. 98, 130f, 139; Frank Holt, *Thundering Zeus: The making of Hellenistic Bactria* (Berkeley, 1999), p. 135; H. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria: From Alexander to Eucratides the Great* (Lanham, 2000), pp. 192, 226–228.
3. Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 5, 32–35.
4. Nasiba Baimatowa, *5000 Jahre Architektur in Mittelasien: Lehmziegelgewölbe vom 4./3. Jt. v.Chr. bis zum Ende des 8. Jhs. n.Chr* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 167–172; Anatoli Sagdullaev and Shakir Pidaev, 'L'âge du Fer en Bactriane', in *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour* (Quétigny, 1999), pp. 26f.
5. Claude Rapin, Muxammedzon Isamiddinov and Mutallib Khasanov, 'La tombe d'une princesse nomade à Koktepe près de Samarkand', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 145.1 (2001), p. 76; Claude Rapin, Aymon Baud et al., *Les recherches sur la région der Portes de Fer de Sogdiane* (Samarkand, 2006), pp. 48–59.
6. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander* (London, 1971), p. 160.
7. Ibid, pp. 182ff; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 26–29, 39.
8. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, pp. 191–193.
9. Claude Rapin, 'L'Afghanistan et l'Asie Centrale dans la géographie mythique des historiens d'Alexandre', in *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 147–167; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 39–47.
10. Georg Renner and Christa Selic, *Abseits der großen Minarette* (Leipzig, 1982), p. 115.
11. John Wood, *A journey to the source of the River Oxus* (London, 1872), p. 274.
12. Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 4, 27–29. On the logistical issues see: Donald Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, 1978.
13. Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 5, 17f.
14. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, pp. 197f; Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 5, 23–43.
15. Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 6, 27.
16. See pp. 207f.
17. Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 9, 22.
18. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, pp. 201–226; Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 6, 13–9, 22.
19. For example, at Djandavlat, Dilbergine and Talashkan Tepe. Pierre Leriche, 'Bactria: Land of thousand cities', in *After Alexander* (2007), p. 128; Shakir Pidaev and Pierre Leriche, 'Quelques villes moyennes de Bactriane', in *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour* (Quétigny, 1999), pp. 52–55.
20. Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants. Silk Road treasures from Northwest China*, 2001, p. 315, n. 2. De la Vaissière questions this hypothesis and dates the beginning of the Sogdian trade with China to the first century BC (Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders* (Leiden 2005) pp. 22f, 38–41).
21. While Soviet research consistently identified the ancient Oxus with the Vakhsh, western scholarship of the twentieth century mostly saw the Panj as the Oxus. Today the Soviet interpretation has prevailed. Bopearachchi et al., *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, p. 115. Frantz Grenet and Claude Rapin, 'Alexander, Aï Khanum, Termez: Remarks on the Spring Campaign of 328', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (1998), p. 80; Rapin, 'L'Afghanistan et l'Asie Centrale dans la géographie mythique', pp. 144.
22. Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, pp. 228f; Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VII, 10, 13–16. The city of Margiana mentioned here cannot, as so often assumed, be identified with the city of Merv, more than 600 km further west, but rather should be sought near Termez. Such a far march away from the nucleus of Spitames' revolt made no military sense and the six fortified cities near 'Margiana' mentioned by Curtius Rufus as being 'all…founded on high hills', 'spaced only a short distance apart' (VII, 10) cannot be located near Merv as its environment is flat. Grenet and Rapin believe that 'Margiana' is a spelling mistake and should read 'Marginia'. Grenet and Rapin, 'Alexander, Aï Khanum, Termez,' pp. 79–85; Rapin, 'L'Afghanistan et l'Asie Centrale dans la géographie mythique', p. 167.
23. http://claude.rapin.free.fr/3GeogrPF1_2002.htm Rapin, Baud et al., *Les recherches sur la région der Portes de Fer de Sogdiane, p. 49.*
24. Leriche and Rtveladze identify Alexandria Oxeiana with Kampyr Tepe. Leriche, 'Bactria: Land of thousand cities,' (2007) p. 133. Edvard Rtveladze, 'Kampyr Tepe-Pandokheïon', in *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour* (Quétigny, 1999),

pp. 56f; Edvard Rtveladze, ‘Kampyr Tepe-Pandokheïon – Alexandria Oxiana’, in *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt: Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Mannheim, 2009), pp. 169–175.

25. Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander, pp. 213–17, 227–230; Curtius Rufus, The History of Alexander, VIII, 1–3.
26. On the identification of the most important mountain fortresses that are described differently by Arrian and Curtius Rufus, see: Rapin, ‘L’Afghanistan et l’Asie Centrale dans la géographie mythique’, pp. 157f; Rapin, Baud et al., *Les recherches sur la région des Portes de Fer de Sogdiane, pp. 53–56. Route d’Alexandre le Grand et toponymie de la Bactriane-Sogdiane.* http://claude.rapin.free.fr/4GCarte_Asie_centrale.html
27. Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, VIII, 4, 25.
28. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, p. 77.
29. Ibid, pp. 90–93.
30. Ibid, pp. 92–101.
31. A.D.H. Bivar, ‘The history of Eastern Iran’, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3(1) (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983), p. 185.
32. A. Dani, ‘Alexander and his successors in Central Asia’, in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II (Paris, 1994), p. 89; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 106f.
33. The Seleucid calculation of time, often encountered in the works of classical authors, begins with Seleucus’sinvasion of Babylon, according to the Macedonian calendar on 1 October 312 BC and according to the Babylonian calendar on 1 April 311 BC (Sven Hansen et al. (eds), *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt: Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Mannheim, 2009), p. 116).
34. Dani, ‘Alexander and his successors in Central Asia’, pp. 89–90; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 103–122.
35. Hiebert, Cambon, *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World*, (2011) pp. 96f.
36. See p. 210.
37. Richard Frye, *The heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 104–107; Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, pp. 26, 36f; Vadim M. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte: Die Wiederentdeckung der ältesten Kulturgebiete in Mittelasien* (Munich, 1982), p. 16; Strabo, *Geographica* (Wiesbaden, 2007), XV, 1, 3.
38. Strabo, *Geographica*, II, 1, 15.
39. B. Lyonnet, ‘Les Grecs, les nomades et l’indépendance de la Sogdiane’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (1998), p. 152.
40. Boris Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l’Asie centrale antique* (Espelkamp, 1998), p. 50.
41. On sources see Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, pp. 55–60, 79f, 174–184. Modern forgers, who invent new types of coins and create their own minting equipment, make the work of historians even more difficult. For an overview of Greco–Bactrian coins, see: Osmund Bopearachchi, ‘Les successeurs d’Alexandre le Grand en Asie centrale et en Inde: les Gréco-Bactriens’, in *De l’Indus à l’Oxus*, pp. 81–108; Osmund Bopearachchi, ‘Indo–Grecs, Indo–Scythes, Indo–Parthes’, in *De l’Indus à l’Oxus*, pp. 129–168; Joe Cribb, ‘The Greek kingdom of Bactria, its coinage and its collapse’, in *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l’est et l’ouest*, pp. 207–225; Percy Gardner, *The coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (Chicago, 1966); Holt, *Thundering Zeus*; A.K. Narain, *The Indo–Greeks* (Delhi, 1953, 2003), pp. 307–349; Hatto H. Schmitt and Ernst Vogt (eds), *Lexikon des Hellenismus* (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 185–190; R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Panjab Museum* (Varanasi, 1914, 1971).
42. Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, p. 125.
43. Ibid, pp. 61, 64, 99; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 149–150. For the Parthian Empire see Vol. II. The Chinese name for Parthia, *Anxi*, is presumably derived from Arsaces’ name (Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Saces* (Errance, 2006), p. 54).
44. Holt believes, however, that Diodotus II entered into the alliance with Arsaces not because of the Seleucid threat but rather in light of the impending rebellion of Euthydemos. Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, pp. 62ff, 105; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 151f.
45. Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, pp. 43, 54.
46. French archaeologists searched in vain for Hellenistic remains in Balkh in 1924–25 and in the 1950s, but in 2002 Greek capitals and plinths appeared in the bazaar of Balkh.
47. Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, 1999, pp. 127–130, 182; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 167f, 171–174.
48. John Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987), pp. 23, 29; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, p. 176; W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India* (Chicago, 1938, 1951, 1997), pp. 83–87.
49. Richard Salomon, ‘The Indo–Greek era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist reliquary inscription’, in *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l’est et l’ouest*, pp. 365, 370. Joe Cribb, however, dates the start of the Indo–Greek period to the year 174 BC (Cribb, ‘The Greek kingdom of Bactria, its coinage and its collapse’, p. 214).
50. Craig Benjamin, *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 178f; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 199, 208–213.
51. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India*, pp. 196f.
52. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 199, 209, 215.
53. Claude Rapin, ‘La Sogdiane d’Alexandre le Grand aux derniers Gréco-Bactriens’, in *Samarcande* (Quétigny, 2010), p. 31.
54. For Menandros see Vol. II. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, p. 179; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, p. 216.
55. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, p. 148; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, p. 221. A first attack of the Parthians on the province of Aria may have happened as early as the 160s BC. Phraates II (r. 138–129/28 BC) was the first to have coins minted in Merv (V. Gaïbov and G. Kochelenko, ‘La Margiane’, in *Les Parthes* (Quétigny, 2002), p. 50).
56. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, p. 221. In another place, however, Justin attributes the death of Eucratides to the victorious Parthians (Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India*, pp. 219f).
57. Narain, *The Indo–Greeks*, pp. 88–90.
58. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 225f. Sidky gives 160 BC as the death date of Eucratides (Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India*, pp. 220–222).
59. For an overview of various chronologies of kings, see: Cribb, ‘The Greek kingdom of Bactria, its coinage and its collapse’, p. 216; Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, 25.
60. Cribb, ‘The Greek kingdom of Bactria, its coinage and its collapse’, p. 212f.
61. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 64–74. John Hill lists in his book *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: An annotated translation of the Chronicle on the ‘Western regions’ in the Hou Hanshu* (Australia, 2009) on pp. 312–314 the same three Xiongnu victories over the Yuezhi, but on p. 577 he adds a fourth one in ‘166 BCE at the latest’.
62. A.F.P. Hulsewé and M.A.N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia. The Early Stage: 125 BC – AD 23. An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Leiden 1979) 96A 10B.
63. Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 96B 1B. It remains unclear if the Chinese term *Sai wang* is to be understood literally as ‘king of the Sai’ or if it names a tribe called Royal Sai.
64. Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 96A 10B.
65. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 110f; I.V. Piankov, ‘The Ethnic History of the Sakas’, in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8 (Bloomfield Hills 1996) p. 38.
66. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 114f.
67. For the conflict between the Xiongnu and the Yuezhi see Vol. II, chapter I and Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 48–151.
68. Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians*, pp. 34, 57, 60; G.A. Koshelenko and V.N. Pilipko, ‘Parthia’, in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II (Paris, 1994), p. 132.
69. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 179–189; Lyonnet, ‘Les Grecs, les nomades et l’indépendance de la Sogdiane’, 143. The last inscription found in Aï Khanum dates to the year 147 BC (Pierre Leriche, ‘Aï Khanoum’, in *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour*, p. 39).
70. Ssu-ma Ch’ien, *Shih chi*, Book 123 (New York, 1971), Vol. II, p. 269.
71. Boris Staviskij, *Kunst der Kuschan* (Leipzig, 1979), p. 60.
72. Paul Bernard, ‘The Greek kingdoms of Central Asia’, in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 103.
73. The most important sources for Tillya Tepe are: Pierre Cambon, Jean-François Jarrige et al., *Afghanistan, les trésors retrouvés: Collections du musée national de Kaboul* (Paris, 2006); Pierre Cambon, *Hidden Afghanistan* (2007); Viktor Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria: From the Tillya-tepe Excavations in Northern Afghanistan* (New York, 1985); Viktor Sarianidi, ‘The golden hoard of Bactria’, *National Geographic* 177.3 (1990).
74. Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, p. 16; ‘The golden hoard of Bactria,’ p.65.
75. Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, pp. 19–55. See also: Cambon, *Hidden Afghanistan*, pp. 155–227.
76. Referring to some objects we follow the dates given in the exhibition at the British Museum rather than those in the catalogues.
77. See p. 268, photo p. 291.
78. Cambon, *Hidden Afghanistan*, p. 138.
79. Jean-Paul Desroches et al., *Mongolie, le premier empire des steppes* (Paris, 2003), pp. 112, 120, 124, 130f.

80. Markus Mode, *Hunnen, Sogder und das Erbe Alexanders in Mittelasien* (2008), p. 106.
81. Cambon, *Hidden Afghanistan*, p. 206.
82. A Chinese mirror and three incense holders made of clay were also found in the grave (Rapin et al., 'La tombe d'une princesse nomade', pp. 42ff, 48–50, 61).
83. A few corpses with coins placed in their mouths were also discovered in the Bactrian cemeteries of Tulkhar and Tup-Khona in southern Tajikistan, a custom that was common not only in ancient Greece but also in China. Judith Rickenbach (ed.), *Oxus: 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluss in Mittelasien* (Zurich, 1989), pp. 55f; Boris Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans* (Paris, 1986), pp. 178, 186.
84. Roger Goepper and J. Lee-Khalisch, *Korea. Die alten Königreiche* (Zurich, 2000), pp. 150–153; Young-Sook Pak, 'The Origins of Silla Metalwork', *Orientations Magazine* (September 1988), pp. 45–52; Staffan Rosén, 'Korea and the Silk Roads', *The Silk Road Journal* 6/2 (2009), pp. 3–5.
85. S.G. Kljastornyj and T.I. Sultanov, *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens: Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 30–33; Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, p. 49.
86. Véronique Schiltz. 'Tillya Tepe Catalog', in Hiebert and Cambon, *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World* (2011) p. 286.
87. Pak, 'The Origins of Silla Metalwork', p. 52.
88. Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, p. 183.
89. Cambon, *Hidden Afghanistan*, p. 63; Lebedynsky, *Les Saces*, p. 147; Sarianidi, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, p. 18.
90. John Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: An annotated translation of the Chronicle on the 'Western regions' in the Hou Hanshu* (Australia, 2009), p. 33.
91. Strabo quotes extensively from the now-lost history *Parthika* of Apollodoros of Artemita (first century BC); the likewise lost work of Pompeius Trogus (age of Augustus) *Historiae Philippicae* is quoted by Justin. The *Parthika* of Apollodoros presumably also served as a source for Trogus (Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians*, pp. 1–10).
92. Strabo XI, VIII, 2. English from: Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians*, p. 35.
93. The name Sacaraucae means essentially 'Royal Saka'. Whether they are the same as the Sai Wang of Chinese chronicles is somewhat unclear, although that term likewise means 'Royal Saka'.
94. The identification of these four nomadic peoples has been the subject of controversy since the eighteenth century. See: Craig Benjamin, 'The Yuezhi and their Neighbours: Evidence for the Yuezhi in the Chinese Sources *ca.* 220 – 25 BCE', in *Realms of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 184–189; G. Enoki, A. Koshelenko and Z. Haidary 'The Yüeh-chih and their migrations', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II, pp. 173, 180; Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians*, pp. 35–60; Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, p. 118.
95. Pompeius Trogus/Justin, *Prologi*, XLI, in Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians*, p. 35. Gardiner-Garden is inclined, however, to identify the *Pasianoi* with the *Apasiakai*, the 'water Scythians', from whom Arsaces may have descended. Ibid. pp. 42f.
96. Lebedynsky, *Les Saces*, p. 63.
97. Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians*, p. 40; Claude Rapin, 'Nomads and the shaping of Central Asia', in *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London, 2007), p. 59. Also Bivar's identification of the Asiani with the early Kushans having conquered the four other Yuezhi tribes is problematic since the Chinese *Hou Han Shu* (118.9a) attributes the conquest of the Yuezhi tribes to Kujula Kadphises who came to power not before 25 to 30 AD, but Strabo died in 24 AD (A.D.H. Bivar, 'The history of Eastern Iran', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1) (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983), p. 197).
98. Rapin et al., 'La tombe d'une princesse nomade', p. 77.
99. Ibid, pp. 77, 90f.
100. Boris Staviskij, *Kunst der Kuschan* (Leipzig, 1979), p. 103. See also Vol. II.
101. Wood, *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, pp. 259f.
102. Paul Bernard, 'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan hier (1964–1978) et aujourd'hui', in *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Paris. Comptes rendus des scéances de l'année 2001* (2001), pp. 978f. Jules Bartoux was not really an archaeologist but rather a geologist and his real name was Jules Couyat (Zamariallai Tarzi, 'Jules Bartoux: le découvreur oublié d'Aï Khanoum', in *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Paris. Comptes rendus des scéances de l'année 1996* (1996)).
103. Bernard, 'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan', pp. 971–975; Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, p. 16.
104. Bernard, 'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan', pp. 994–1008; Marie-Claude Bianchini (ed.), *Afghanistan: Une histoire millénaire* (Paris, 2002), p. 86.
105. The hypothesis that Aï Khanum was founded by Seleucus I is based on the numerous discoveries of coins from Seleucus I and Antiochus I; other scholars attribute the establishment of the city to Alexander's general Hephaestion (Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 131f).
106. Staviskij, *Kunst der Kuschan*, p. 55.
107. On Aï Khanum: Paul Bernard, 'L'architecture religieuse de l'Asie Centrale à l'époque hellénistique', in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (1990); Bernard, 'The Greek kingdoms of Central Asia'; Bernard, 'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan'; Guy Lecuyot and O. Ishizawa, 'La restitution virtuelle d'Aï Khanoum. Une cité hellénistique en Afghanistan', in *Archéologia* no. 420 (Dijon, 2005); Guy Lecuyot and O. Ishizawa, 'Aï Khanum Reconstructed', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 133 (2007); Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, pp. 163–172.
108. The adventurous-sounding but finally unverifiable story was reconstructed by the first buyer of the objects, Sir Alexander Cunningham. O.M. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus with other examples of early oriental metal-work* (London, 1964); Boris Litvinskij, *Taxt- Sangin: Der Oxus-Tempel* (2002), pp. 1–12; Igor Pitschikjan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 61–67.
109. What happened to the objects during the three years from 1877 to 1880 is unknown.
110. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus*, p. XIV.
111. John Curtis, *Ancient Persia* (London, 2000), p. 62. Igor Pitschikjan's claim that a 'collection' of about 2,500 (!) precious metal objects offered for sale on the antiquities market in 1993 and acquired by the Miho Museum, which opened in 1997, represents the 'second part of the Oxus Treasure' is unfounded ('Rebirth of the Oxus Treasure: Second part of the Oxus Treasure from the Miho Museum Collection', in *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Leiden, 1997)). The authenticity of the Miho collection is uncertain.
112. See photo p. 196.
113. See photo p. 87.
114. Curtis, *Ancient Persia*, p. 64.
115. Georges Rougemont and David Stronach, 'On the Date of the Oxus Gold Scabbard and other Achaemenid Matters', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (1998), pp. 232f.
116. A standing woman, a camel or a horse are depicted on another dozen discs (Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XIV, XV, pp. 19–26).
117. Recently the controversial researcher Muscarella strongly questioned the authenticity of the Oxus treasure (Oscar White Muscarella, *The lie became great*, 2000, pp. 208f, note 30; *All that glisters isn't gold*, 2003).
118. For some objects a pre-Achaemenid, Median dating is considered, for example for the akinakes sheath. Rougemont and Stronach, 'On the Date of the Oxus Gold Scabbard'; Pitschikjan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*, p. 80.
119. How individual objects got from western Iran to the Oxus remains unclear. Pitschikjan's hypothesis that they were carried to the Oxus as war trophies of the invading Macedonian army cannot be substantiated (*Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*, 1992, pp. 85, 92, 100).
120. Curtis, *Ancient Persia*, p. 65.
121. Pitschijkan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*, pp. 69f.
122. The first explorations in Takht-i Sangin by B. Denike from 1926 to 1928 were never published, and in 1956 A.M. Mandelshtam did not dig deep enough to yield any finds (Litvinskij, *Taxt- Sangin*, p. 7). The excavations lasted from 1976 to 1991 and started again in 1998.
123. Given the later coins, significantly earlier dates, such as the invasion of Alexander, the campaign of Seleucus I or the threat from the north mentioned by Euthydemos I, either are impossible or negate the inclusion of the coins in the hoard. Grenet and Rapin, 'Alexander, Aï Khanum, Termez', 89; Litvinskij, *Taxt- Sangin*, p. 38; Pitschijkan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*, pp. 71, 74, 93.
124. Slightly adapted from: Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, p. 175.
125. Bernard, 'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan', p. 1021.
126. Osmund Bopearachchi, 'A Faience Head of a Graeco–Bactrian King from Aï Khanum', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12 (1998), p. 24.
127. Hiebert and Cambon, *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World*, (2011) p. 118.
128. Bernard, 'The Greek kingdoms of Central Asia', pp. 114ff.
129. Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, pp. 54ff.
130. Holt, *Thundering Zeus*, p. 66.

131. Pidaev and Leriche, ‘Quelques villes moyennes de Bactriane’, pp. 53ff; Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, pp. 268–272. Bernard believes that the temple was dedicated to Zeus and the Dioscuri were merely his attendant deities (‘L’architecture religieuse de l’Asie Centrale à l’époque hellénistique’, p. 55).
132. Ptolemaios Claudios, *Handbuch der Geographie* (Basel, 2006), VI, 12, 5; VIII, 23, 11 (Vol. II, pp. 653, 877, 880f); Anjelina Drujinina, *Wohnen im hellenistischen Baktrien – Wohnhäuser in der Stadt Oxeiane (Tachti Sangin)*, (Mannheim, 2009), p. 177.
133. On the Oxus temple: Anjelina Drujinina, ‘Gussform mit griechischer Inschrift aus dem Oxos-Tempel’, in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 40 (Berlin, 2008); Anjelina Drujinina, ‘Excavations of Takht-i Sangin City, Territory of Oxus Temple, in 2006’, *Bulletin of Miho Museum*, *Koka* 9 (March 2009); Gunvor Lindström, ‘Graeco–baktrische Symbiose’, in *DAMALS, Kontadin, Leinfelden-Echterdingen* 1 (2009); Boris Litvinskij, ‘The Hellenistic Architecture and Art of the Temple on the Oxus’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8 (1994); Litvinskij, *Taxt- Sangin*; Pitschijkan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*.
134. Litvinskij, ‘The Hellenistic Architecture and Art of the Temple on the Oxus,’ figs. 6.–9.
135. Litvinskij, *Taxt- Sangin*, pl. 17.
136. Ibid, p. 96.
137. Pitschijkan, *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*, p. 20. Gignoux and Litvinsky however speculated in 1996 that the Oxus Temple wasn’t a fire temple, but that the ‘temple of the god Oxus at Takht-i Sangin merely had two chapels reserved for the worship of fire’ (Ph. Gignoux and B.A. Litvinsky, *Religions and religious movements I,* 1996, p. 410).
138. For images of the objects see: Hansen et al., *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt*, pp. 351–368; R. Masov et al. (eds), *National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan* (Dushanbe, 2005), pp. 97–106.
139. Hansen et al., *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt*, p. 354.
140. Ibid.
141. Litvinskij, ‘The Hellenistic Architecture and Art of the Temple on the Oxus’, p. 59.
142. Drujinina, ‘Gussform mit griechischer Inschrift’, pp. 124–133. It is unclear how to interpret the phrase ‘newly arisen Oxus’: Had the temple been restored or did it refer to a kind of myth of rebirth?
143. See p. 114.
144. This hypothetical older shrine could also have served as a storage site for the pre-Seleucid objects from the Oxus treasure (Litvinskij, *Taxt- Sangin*, pp. 104, 107, 112).

IX Outlook

1. Ssu-ma Ch’ein, Shih chi, 123 (New York, 1971), Vol. II, p. 274.

Bibliography

Abdullaev, K.A. et al. (ed.). *Culture and Art of Ancient Uzbekistan*. Vneshtorgizdat, Moscow 1991.

Abetekov, A., Yusupov, H. 'Ancient Iranian nomads in western Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II., 1994, pp. 23–33.

Abrazov, Rafis. *The Palgrave concise historical atlas of Central Asia*. Palgrave, New York 2008.

Adams, Douglas. 'Mummies', in Victor H. Mair (ed.), 'The Mummified Remains Found in the Tarim Basin', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Washington, Vol. 23, No. 3&4, 1995, pp. 399–413.

Agrawal, D.P., Kharakwal, J.S. *Bronze and Iron Ages in South Asia*. Aryan Books, New Delhi 2003.

Akiner, Shirin. 'Silk Roads, Great Games and Central Asia', *Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs*, London, Vol. XLII, No. 3, November 2011, pp. 391–402.

Akishev, K.A. *Issyk Mound. The art of Saka in Kazakhstan*. Iskusstvo Publishers, Moscow 1978.

— *Ancient gold of Kazakhstan*. ONER, Almaty 1983.

Alemany, Agusti. *Sources on the Alans. A critical compilation*. Brill, Leiden 2000.

Alexeev, Andreï et al. *Nomades des Steppes*. Editions Autrement, Paris 2001.

— 'A chronology of the Scythian antiquities of Eurasia based on new archaeological and ^{14}C Data', in *Proceedings of the 17th International ^{14}C Conference*, edited by Carmi I., Boaretto E., *Radiocarbon*, Vol. 43, No. 2B, 2001, pp. 1085–1107. University of Arizona, Tucson.

— 'Some problems in the study of the chronology of the ancient nomadic cultures of Eurasia (9th–3rd centuries BC)', in *Geochronometria*, Gliwice, Vol. 21, 2002, pp. 143–150. www.geochronometria.pl/pdf/geo_21/geo21_17.pdf

— 'Scythian kings and "royal" burial-mounds of the fifth and fourth centuries BC', in Braund, David (ed.). *Scythians and Greeks*. University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2005, pp. 39–55.

— *Trésors des Steppes*. Laténium, Hauterive 2006.

Alexeeva, Ekatarina. 'Gorgippia. Geschichte einer griechischen Polis an der Stelle der heutigen Stadt Anapa', in Fornasier Jochen, Böttger Burkhard (eds). *Das Bosporanische Reich*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002, pp. 92–112.

Allchin, Bridget. 'Middle Palaeolithic culture', in History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992, pp. 65–88.

Alles, Volker (ed.). *Reflexbogen. Geschichte und Herstellung*. Hörnig, Ludwigshafen 2009.

Amiet, Pierre. *L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens 3500–1700 avant J.-C.* Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris 1986.

Anati, Emmanuel. 'Le grand sanctuaire rupestre d'Hutubi', *Archéologia*. Editions Faton, Dijon, No. 356, 1999, pp. 52–58.

— 'Parable of the Mask', in *Arts & Cultures*, 2005, pp. 54–73. Musées Barbier-Mueller, Geneva 2006.

André, Guilhem. 'Une tombe princière Xiongnu à Gol Mod, Mongolie. Campagnes de fouilles 2000–2001', *Arts Asiatiques*. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, 57/2002, pp. 194–205. Paris.

Andrews, Roy Chapman. *On the trail of ancient man*. Putnam's Sons, New York 1926.

— *The new conquest of Central Asia. A narrative of the explorations of the Central Asiatic expeditions in Mongolia and China, 1921–1930*. Natural History of Central Asia, Vol. I. The American Museum of Natural History, New York 1932.

— *Under a Lucky Star. A Lifetime of Adventure*. Borderland (1943) 2009.

Anke, Bodo et al. 'Ausgrabungen auf dem Gräberfeld von Süttü-Bula, Raj. Kočkorka, Kyrgyzstan', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol.3/1997, pp. 513–570. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1998.

Anke, Bodo et al. (eds). *Attila und die Hunnen*. Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer, Theiss Verlag Stuttgart 2007.

— *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa. Aktuelle Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kultur der Hunnen*. Beier & Beran, Langenweißbach 2008.

Anochin, Vledilen. 'Die Münzen der skythischen und sarmatischen Könige', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie*, Vol. 18, pp. 47–56. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996.

Anthony, David. *The Horse, the Wheel and Language. How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the modern world*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2007.

— *The Lost World of Old Europe. The Danube Valley, 5000–3500 BC*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 2010.

Anthony, David, Brown, Dorcas. *Harnessing Horsepower. Horses and Humans in Antiquity*. 2007. ttp://users.hartwick.edu/anthonyd/harnessing/horsepower.html

Anthony, David et al. *The Samara Valley Project. Late Bronze Age Economy and Ritual in the Russian Steppes*. No date. http://users.hartwick.edu/anthonyd/opening.html

Argent, Gala. 'Do the clothes make the horse? Relationality, roles and statuses in Iron Age Inner Asia', *World Archaeology*, 42:2, pp. 157–174, Routledge, London 2010.

Armitage, Simon J. et al. 'The Southern Route "Out of Africa": Evidence for an Early Expansion of Modern Humans into Arabia', *Science*, Vol. 331, pp. 453–446, 28 January 2011. American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York 2011.

Arrian, Lucius Flavius. *Arrian's history of the expedition of Alexander the Great, and conquest of Persia*. Translated by Mr. Rooke. Davis, London 1812.

— *The Campaigns of Alexander. (Anabasis Alexandri).* Translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt. Penguin Books, London 1971.

— *Periplus Ponti Euxini*. Translated by A. Liddle. Bristol Classics, London 2003.

Aruz, Joan (ed.). *The Golden Deer of Eurasia. Scythian and Sarmatian treasures from the Russian steppes*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2000.

— *Art of the first cities*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2003.

— *The Golden Deer of Eurasia. Perspectives on the Steppe Nomads of the Ancient World*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2006.

Askarov, Akhmadali. Southern Uzbekistan in the Second Millennium BC', in Kohl, Philipp (ed.). *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia. Recent Soviet discoveries*. Sharpe, New York 1981, pp. 256–272.

— 'The beginning of Iron Age in Transoxania', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, UNESCO Publishing, Paris, Vol. I, 1992, pp. 441–458.

— 'Pastoral and nomadic tribes at the beginning of the first millennium BC', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, UNESCO Publishing, Paris, Vol. I, 1992, pp. 458–472.

— 'La Bactriane à l'aube de la civilisation', *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*. Faton, Dijon, Nr. 185, 1993, pp. 60–69.

Askarov, A., Shirinov, T. 'The "Palace", Temple and Necropolis of Jarkutan', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 13–26. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

Atkinson, Thomas Witlam. *Oriental and Western Siberia*. Harper Brothers, New York 1858.

Atwood, Christopher. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*. Facts on File, New York 2004.

Autio, Eero. *The Permian Animal Style*. Folklore Vols. 18 & 19, 162–186. Folk Belief and Media Group, Tartu 2001. www.haldjas.folklore.ee

Avesta. Die heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Übersetzt von Friedrich Spiegel. Engelmann, Leipzig 1859. Reprint by Elibron Classics, 2006.

Bahain, Jean-Jacques. 'Les premiers homo erectus en Chine', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 292, 2004, pp. 30–37.

— 'Les gisements de l'Homme de Lantian', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 292, 2004, pp. 44–46.

Bahn, Paul. *Prehistoric Art*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998.

— *Prehistoric Rock Art. Polemics and progress*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010.

Baimatowa, Nasiba. *5000 Jahre Architektur in Mittelasien. Lehmziegelgewölbe vom 4./3. Jt. v.Chr. bis zum Ende des 8. Jhs. n.Chr.* Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2008.

Baipakov, Karl, Nasyrov, Rakip. *Along the Great Silk Road*. KRAMDC Publishers, Almaty 1991.

Baipakov, Karl. *Ancient gold collection*. Didar Publishing, Almaty 1998.

Baipakov, Karl, Mariashev, A.N. *Petroglyphs of South Kazakhstan and Semirechye*. Margulan Archaeology Institute, Almaty 1994.

— *Petroglyphs in the Kulzhabasy Mountains*. Margulan Archaeology Institute, Almaty 2004.

— *The Eshkiolmes Rock's Petroglyphs*. Margulan Archaeology Institute, Almaty 2005.

— *Petroglyphs of Ak-Kainar site*. Margulan Archaeology Institute, Almaty 2009.

— *Archaeological cultural heritage of Almaty*. Margulan Archaeology Institute, Almaty 2010.

Bakker, Jan Albert. 'Die neolithischen Wagen im nördlichen Mitteleuropa', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 283–294.

Baldick, Julian. *Homer and the Indo-Europeans*. I.B.Tauris, London 1994.

— *Animals and Shaman. Ancient Religions of Central Asia*. I.B.Tauris, London 2000.

Balint, Csanad. *Die Archäologie der Steppe*. Böhlau, Wien 1989.

Ball, Warwick. *The Monuments of Afghanistan. History, archaeology and architecture*. I.B.Tauris, London 2008.

Ban Biao, Ban Gu and Ban Zhao: see Pan Ku.

Barber, Elizabeth. *The mummies of Ürümchi*. Macmillan, London 1999.

Barbier, Jean-Paul. *Art des Steppes*. Musée Barbier-Müller, Geneva 1996.

Barrett, T.H. 'Climate Change and Religious Response: The Case of Early Medieval China', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd series, Vol. 17, part 2, April 2007, pp. 139–156.

Barnett, R.D. 'The art of Bactria and the treasure of the Oxus', *Iranica Antiqua*, Vol. VIII, pp. 34–53, Brill, Leiden1968.

Batbold, N. (ed.) *Petroglyphs of Aral Tolgoi (Mongolia)*. Mongolia Academy of Sciences, Ulaan Baatar 2007.

Batsaihan, J. (ed.) *National Museum of Mongolian History*. Decom Studio, Ulaan Baatar c. 2000.

Baumer, Christoph. *Southern Silk Road*. Orchid Press, Bangkok, 2003.

— *The Church of the East. An illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity*. I.B.Tauris, London 2006.

— 'Die „Tausend-Särge-Nekropole' von Xiaohe', *Antike Welt*, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2006/6, pp. 39–49

— *Traces in the Desert. Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia*. I.B.Tauris, London 2008.

— 'Sogdian or Indian Iconography and Religious Influences in Dandan Uiliq (Xinjiang, China)?', in *Proceedings to the International Seminar 'The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective'*. Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2008.

— 'Indo-europäische Mumien im Herzen der Wüste Taklamakan. Die Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Kultur', *Antike Welt*, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2010/4, pp. 18–28.

— *The Ayala Mazar – Xiaohe Culture. Results from an archaeological exploration of the ancient Keriya Delta, China, in 2009*. Self-published June 2010 and in: *Kristi*, New Delhi, Vol. 3, 2011, pp. 1–23.

— 'The Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture: New archaeological discoveries in the Taklamakan Desert, China', *Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs*, London, Vol. XLII, No. 1, March 2011, pp. 49–70.

Bausum, Ann. *Dragon, Bones and Dinosaur Eggs. A photobiography of Explorer Roy Chapman Andrews*. National Geographic Society, Washington 2000.

Becker, Alexander, Kalinowski, Ruth (translators). *Lebende Vergangenheit. Prähistorische Ausgrabungen*. Rütten & Loening, Berlin 1954.

Beckwith, Christopher. *Empires of the Silk Road*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 2009.

Bednarik, Robert. 'Pleistocene Rock Art in Central Europe?', *International newsletter on rock art INORA*, No. 45, pp. 27–30. Foix 2006.

Beijing, Cultural Relics Research Institute. *Yan State cemetery of the Western Zhou period at Liulihe*. Cultural Relics Publishing House, Beijing 1995.

Belenickij, Alesandr. *Zentralasien*. Nagel, Genf 1968.

Belinskij, Andrej, Kalmykov, Aleksej. 'Neue Wagenfunde aus der Katakombengrab-Kultur im Steppengebiet des zentralen Vorkauskasus', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 201–220.

Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew (ed.). *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe*. Macmillan, Basingstoke 2000.

Bellezza, John Vincent. *Antiquities of Northern Tibet. Pre-Buddhist archaeological discoveries on the high plateau*. Adroit, Delhi 2001.

— *Zhang Zhung. Foundations of Civilization in Tibet*. Österreicherische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2007.

Belli, Oktay. *Stone Balbals and statues in human form in Kirghizistan*. Arkeoloji ve sanat yayinlari, Istanbul 2003.

Bemmann, Jan et al. *Current archaeological research in Mongolia*. R.F.W.-Universität, Bonn, 2009.

Bendezu-Sarmiento, J.-C. et al. 'La fouille de kourganes dans les Tianshan et dans l'Altaï', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 12/2006, pp. 193–210. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

— 'Post-mortem mutilations of human bodies in Early Iron Age Kazakhstan and their possible meaning for rites of burial', *Antiquity* 82, pp. 73–86, York 2008.

Benjamin, Craig. 'The Yuezhi and their Neighbours: Evidence for the Yuezhi in the Chinese Sources *ca*. 220 – *ca*. 25 BCE', in Christian, David, Benjamin, Craig (eds). *Silk Road Studies IV. Realms of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, pp. 105–160. Brepols, Turnhout 2000.

— 'The Yuezhi Migration and Sogdia', in *Eran ud Aneran*. Webfestschrift Marshak 2003. http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

— 'The Yuezhi. Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria', *Silk Road Studies* XIV. Brepols, Turnhout 2007.

Benoit, Agnès. 'Les "princesses" de Bactriane', in *Arts & Cultures*, 2005, pp. 36–45. Musées Barbier-Mueller, Geneva 2005.

Benton, Michael. *The story of life on earth*. Grisewood & Dempsey, London 1986.

Berchem, Max van. *Amida. Matériaux pour l'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr*. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg 1910.

Bergman, Folke. *Archaeological researches in Sinkiang*. Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. Publication 7. Thule, Stockholm 1939.

Bernard, Paul. 'Le monnayage d'Eudamos, satrape grec du Panjab et 'maître des éléphants', in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, pp. 65–94. IsMEO, Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma 1985.

— 'L'architecture religieuse de l'Asie Centrale à l'époque hellénistique', in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, pp. 51–59. Philipp von Zabern 1990.

— 'The Greek kingdoms of Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. II. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 99–129.

— 'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan hier (1964–1978) et aujourd'hui', in Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Paris. Comptes rendus des scéances de l'année 2001, fasc. II, pp. 971–1029; 2001.

Bianchini, Marie-Claude (ed.). *Afghanistan. Une histoire millénaire*. Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris 2002.

— *Afghanistan, les trésors retrouvés. Album de l'exposition*. Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris 2006.

Binder, Franz. *Mittelasien*. Hirmer, München 2004.

Bivar, A.D.H. 'The history of Eastern Iran', in *Cambridge History of Iran,* Vol. 3 (1), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983, pp. 181–231.

Black, Jeremy, Green, Anthony. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*. University of Texas Press, Austin 2000.

Blount, Kitty, Crowley, Maggie et al (eds). *Encyclopedia of Dinosaurs & prehistoric life*. DK Publishing New York in association with the American Museum of Natural History, New York 2001.

Boardman, John et al. 'A Faience Head of the Graeco-Bactrian King from Aï Khanum', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 23–30. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

— 'Central Asia: West and East', in Cribb Joe. *After Alexander,* 2007, pp. 9–25.

Bogdanov, E. 'Zur Kunst des skythisch-sibirischen Kulturkreises. Raubtierdarstellungen in Werken der Nomaden Zentralasiens', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 13/2007, pp. 199–214. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2008.

Bokovenko, N.A. 'Malinovyj Log. Ein Gräberfeld der Afanas'evo-Kultur', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 6/2000, pp. 209–248. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2000.

— 'Das karasukzeitliche Gräberfeld Ančil Čon in Chakassien', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 6/2000, pp. 13–33. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2000.

— 'Migrations of Early Nomads of the Eurasian Steppe in a context of Climatic Changes', in E. Scott et al. *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia*. Kluwer, Dordrecht 2004 pp. 21–33.

Boltrik, Jurij, Fialko, Elena. 'Der Oghuz Kurgan. Die Grabanlage eines Skythenkönigs zur Zeit nach Ateas', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie*, Vol. 18, pp. 107–130. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996.

Bongard-Levin, Gregory, Minns, E.H., Rostovtzeff, M.I. 'Glimpses of a Scythian friendship', in David Braund, *Scythians and Greeks*. University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2005, pp. 13–32.

Bopearachchi, Osmund. 'A Faience Head of a Graeco–Bactrian King from Aï Khanum', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 23–30. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

— *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archaéologie de l'Asie Centrale*. Association IMAGO, Lattes 2003.

— 'Les successeurs d'Alexandre le Grand en Asie centrale et en Inde: les Gréco-Bactriens', in Bopearachchi, Osmund et al. *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*. IMAGO, Lattes 2003, pp. 81–108.

— 'Indo-Grecs, Indo-Scythes, Indo-Parthes', in Bopearachchi, Osmund et al. *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*. IMAGO, Lattes 2003, pp. 129–168.

Bopearachchi, Osmund, Boussac, Marie-Françoise (eds) *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Brepols, Turnhout 2005.

Boroffka, Nikolaus, Hansen, Svend (eds). *Archäologische Forschungen in Kasachstan, Tadschikistan, Turkmenistan und Usbekistan*. Eurasien-Abteilung, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 2010.

Boroffka, Nikolaus. 'Klima und Besiedlungsgeschichte am Aral-See, Kasachstan und Usbekistan', in Boroffka, Nikolaus, Hansen, Svend (eds), *Archäologische Forschungen in Kasachstan, Tadschikistan, Turkmenistan und Usbekistan*. Eurasien-Abteilung, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 2010, pp. 38–41.

Bosinsky, Gerhard. 'Seite an Seite – Frühe Menschen und Säbelkatzen', *Antike Welt* 2005/1, pp. 55–61. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 2005.

Böttger, Burkhard, Fornasier, Jochen, Arseneva, Tatjana. 'Tanais am Don. Emporion, Polis und bosporanisches Tauschhandelszentrum', in Fornasier, Jochen, Böttger, Burkhard (eds), *Das Bosporanische Reich*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002, pp. 69–85.

Bourgeois, Ignace et al. *Ancient nomads of the Altai Mountains*. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels 2000.

Bourke, Stephen. *The Middle East. The cradle of civilization revealed*. Thames & Hudson, London 2008.

Boyle, Katie, Renfrew, Colin & Levine, Marsha (eds), *Ancient interactions: east and west in Eurasia*. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, Cambridge 2002.

Braund, David, Kryzhitskiy, S. *Classical Olbia & the Scythian World*. The British Academy, London 2007.

Braund, David (ed.). *Scythians and Greeks. Cultural interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (sixth century BC-first century AD)*. University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2005.

Bregel, Yuri. *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*. Brill, Leiden 2003.

Brentjes, Burchard. *Mittelasien. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Völker zwischen Kaspischem Meer und Tien-Schan*. Tusch, Wien 1977.

— *Der Tierstil in Eurasien*. Seemann Verlag, Leipzig 1982.

— *Die Ahnen Dschingis-Chans. Eurasien und das Werden Europas*. Tusch, Wien 1988.

— 'Frühe Steinstelen Sibiriens und der Mongolei', *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 40, p. 21–55. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1996.

Brentjes, Burchard, Vasilievsky, R. *Schamanenkrone und Weltenbaum. Kunst der Nomaden Nordasiens*. Verlag Seemann, Leipzig 1989.

Breuer, Reinhard (ed.). *Die Evolution der Sprachen*. Spektrum der Wissenschaft, Dossier 2/2007. Heidelberg 2007.

Briggs, Adrian et al. 'Targeted Retrieval and Analysis of Five Neandertal mtDNA Genomes', *Science*, Vol. 325, pp. 318–321, 17 July 2009. American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York 2010.

Brosseder, Ursula, Miller, Bryan (eds) *Xiongnu Archaeology*. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 2011.

Brzezinski, R., Mielczarek, M. *The Sarmatians 600 BC – AD 450*. Osprey, London 2002.

Bujskich, Alla. 'Die Gründung von Olbia im Lichte jüngster archäologischer Untersuchungen', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 11/2005, pp. 15–35. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2006.

Bunker, Emma, et al. *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*. The Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, Abrams, New York 1997.

— *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Yale University Press, New Haven 2002.

— 'Northern China in the First Millennium BC: Beifang Artefacts as Historical Documents', *Arts & Cultures*, 2005, pp. 90–103. Musées Barbier-Mueller, Geneva 2006.

Burkett, Mary. *The Art of the Felt Maker*. Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, 1979.

Burmeister, Stefan. 'Neolithische und bronzezeitliche Moorfunde aus den Niederlanden, Nordwestdeutschland und Dänemark', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 321–340.

Bussagli, Mario. *Die Malerei in Zentralasien*. Skira, Geneva 1963.

Cambon, Pierre et al. *L'Asie des steppes, d'Alexandre le Grand à Gengis Khan*. Réunion des Musées nationaux, Paris 2000.

Cambon, Pierre, Jarrige, Jean-François et al. *Afghanistan, les trésors retrouvés. Collections du musée national de Kaboul*. Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris 2006.

Cambridge History of Iran. The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods. Vol. 3 (1), edited by Ehsan Yarshater. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983.

Carey, Brian Todd. *Warfare in the Ancient World*. Pen and Sword, Barnsley 1988.

Carlson, Roy. 'Diring Yuriakh. An early palaeolithic site of the Lena River, eastern Siberia', *Indo-pacific prehistory association bulletin* 212, Melaka Papers, Vol. 5, pp. 132–137. Australian National University, Canberra 2001.

Carrier, Michel. '2500 years ago. An Ice Maiden in Siberia', *Arts & Cultures*, 2005, pp. 36–53. Musées Barbier-Mueller, Geneva 2006.

Casin, Jack. *Archaeological pre-history of Turkmenistan*. Weaving Art Museum and Research Institute. www.weawingartmuseum.org

Central Asian objects brought back by the Otani mission. National Museum, Toyko 1971.

Cernenko, E.V. et al. *The Scythians 700–300 BC*. Osprey, London 1983.

Chaliand, Gerard. *Nomadic Empires. From Mongolia to the Danube*. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick 2004.

Chang, Claudia (ed.) *Of Gold and Grass: Nomads of Kazakhstan*. The Foundation for International Arts & Educations, Bethseda 2006.

Chen, Kwang-tzuu, Hiebert, Fredrick, The Late Prehistory of Xinjiang in Relation to its Neighbours', *Journal of World Prehistory*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 243–300. Plenum Press, New York 1995.

Chen, Shen. *Anyang and Sanxingdui. Unveiling the Mysteries of Ancient Chinese Civilizations*. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 2002.

Chen, Xiejun, Wang Qingzheng (eds). *Treasures on Grassland: archaeological finds from the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region*. Shanghai Museum, Shanghai 2000.

Cheremisin, D.V. 'The meaning of representations in the animal style and their relevance for the reconstruction of Pazyrik ideology', in *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, Vol. 3, No. 31, pp. 87–102. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2007.

Chernykh, Evengy. 'Ancient metallurgy in northeast Asia: From the Urals to the Saiano-Altai', in Linduff, Katheryn (ed.). *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*. Mellen, Ceredigion 2004, pp. 15–36.

— 'Kargaly: The largest and most ancient metallurgical complex on the border of Europe and Asia', in Linduff, Katheryn (ed.) *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*. Mellen, Ceredigion 2004, pp. 223–237.

— 'The "Steppe Belt" of stockbreeding cultures in Eurasia during the Early Metal Age', *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, Vol. 65, No.2, 2008, pp. 73–93.

CHIME Chinese Early Metal: Database – Analyses – Applications. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 2010. http://www.dainst.org/chime

Chippindale, Christopher, Taçon, Paul (eds). *The Archaeology of Rock-Art*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998.

Chlachula, Jiri et al. 'Palaeolithic occupation in the Angara region, East Central Siberia, in the context of Pleistocene climate change', *Journal of Geological Sciences*, Prague 2004, No. 25, pp. 31–49.

— 'Pleistocene climate change, natural environments and Palaeolithic occupation of East Kazakhstan', *Quaternary International Science Reviews*, Vol. 220, No. 1–2, June 2010, Elsevier, Amsterdam pp. 64–87.

Christian, David. *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia. Vol. I, Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire*. Blackwell, Oxford 1998.

— 'State Formation in the Inner Eurasian Steppes', in Christian, David, Benjamin, Craig (eds). *Silk Road Studies II. Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, pp. 51–76. Brepols, Turnhout 1998.

Chunxiang, Li et al. 'Evidence that a West-East admixed population lived in the Tarim Basin as early as the early Bronze Age', *BMC Biology*, 2010, Vol. 8. http://www.biomedcentral.com/content/pdf/1741-7007-8-15.pdf

Churchill, Steven, Franciscus, Robert. 'Shanidar 3 Neandertal Rib Puncture Wound and Palaeolithic Weaponry', *Journal of Human Evolution*, Vol. 57, No. 2, August 2009, pp. 163–178. See also: CSI Neanderthal: Interspecies Homicide of Shanidar 3, in *Scientific Blogging*, ION Publishing, 20 July 2009. http://www.scientificblogging.com/news_articles/csi_neanderthal_interspecies_homicide_shanidar_3

Chuvin, Pierre (ed.). *Les arts de l'Asie Centrale*. Citadelles & Mazenod, Paris 1999.

Ciochon, Russell. 'The mystery ape of Pleistocene Asia', *Nature*, 2009, pp. 910f. http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v459/n7249/full/459910a.html

Ciuk, Krzystof (ed.). *Mysteries of ancient Ukraine*. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 2008.

Clark, J. Desmond et al. 'Stratigraphic, chronological and behavioural contexts of Pleistocene Homo sapiens from Middle Awash, Ethiopia', *Nature*, Vol. 423, pp. 747–752, Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke 2003.

Clottes, Jean. *World Rock Art*. Getty Publication, Los Angeles 2002.

Cluzan, Sophie: *De Sumer à Canaan*. Le Seuil/Musée du Louvre, Paris 2005.

Colin, Elicio. ‚L'oeuvre du P. Licent et la Mission paléontologique française en Chine du Nord', *Annales de géographie, Paris*, Vol. 35, No. 195, 1926, pp. 286–288.

Conrad, Nicholas et al (eds). *Eiszeit, Kunst und Kultur*. Ausstellungskatalog des Kunstgebäudes Stuttgart. Thorbecke, Ostfildern 2009.

Coppens, Yves et al. 'Discovery of an archaic Homo sapiens skullcap in Northeast Mongolia', *C.R. Palevol*, Vol. 7, 2008, pp. 51–60.

Cormas, David et al. 'Trading genes along the Silk Road: mtDNA sequences and the origin of Central Asian populations', *American Journal for Human Genetics*, Vol. 63, pp. 1824–1838, The American Society for Human Genetics, Bethesda 1998.

Cosmo, Nicola di. *Ancient China and its enemies. The rise of nomadic power in East Asian history*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002.

— 'The Origins of the Great Wall', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 4/1, pp. 14–19, 2006. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol4num1/srnewsletter_v4n1.pdf

— 'Ethnogenesis, coevolution and political morphology of the earliest steppe empire: the Xiongnu question revisited', in Brosseder, Ursula, Miller, Bryan (eds). *Xiongnu Archaeology*. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 2011, pp. 35–48.

Costermans, Barbara et al (eds). *Les Huns*. Europalia International, Bruxelles 2005.

Cozan, Jean-Yves, Amandry Pierre, Schiltz Véronique. *L'Or des Sarmates. Nomades des steppes dans l'Antiquité*. Abbaye de Daoulas 1995.

Cribb, Joe. 'The Greek kingdom of Bactria, its coinage and its collapse', in Bopearachchi, Osmund, Boussac, Marie-Françoise. *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Brepols, Turnhout 2005, pp. 207–225.

Cribb, Joe, Herrmann, Georgina (eds). *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam*. The British Academy, London 2007.

Crooson, Lionel. 'L'homme de Salkhit a parlé', *National Geographic*. French edition, Paris Novembre 2010, pp. 48–57.

Crubézy et al. 'Indo-européens et anthropologie biologique', in Félix Charlotte (ed). *Les Indo-Européens. Dossiers d'Archéologie No. 338*, Faton, Quétigny 2010, pp. 62–67.

Čugunov, Konstantin. 'Der skythenzeitliche Kulturwandel in Tuva', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 4/1998, pp. 273–307. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1999.

Čugunov, Konstantin, Parzinger, Hermann, Nagler, Anatoli. 'Der skythische Fürstengrabhügel von Arzhan 2 in Tuva. Vorbericht der russisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 9/2003, pp. 113–162. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2003.

— *Der Goldschatz von Aržhan. Ein Fürstengrab in der südsibirischen Steppe*. Schirmer/Mosel, München 2006.

— *Der skythenzeitliche Fürstenkurgan Aržhan 2 in Tuva*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2010.

Cui, Yin Qiu et al. 'Analysis of the matrilineal genetic structure of population in the early Iron Age from Tarim Basin, Xinjiang, China', *Chinese Science Bulletin*, Vol. 54, 2009, pp. 3916–3923. http://www.springerlink.com/content/lmk6120014352864/fulltext.pdf

Curtis, John. *Ancient Persia*. British Museum Press, London 2000.

— 'Iron Age Iran and the Transition to the Achaemenid Period, in Curtis Vesta, S., Stewart, Sarah (eds). *The Idea of Iran*. Vol. 1. I.B.Tauris, London 2005, pp. 112–131.

Curtis, John, Tallis, Nigel. *Forgotten Empire. The world of Ancient Persia*. British Museum Press, London 2005.

Curtis, Vesta S., Stewart, Sarah (eds). *The Idea of Iran*. 4 vols. I.B.Tauris, London 2005–2009.

Dalfes, Nüzhet, Kukla, George, Weiss, Harvey (eds). *Third Millennium BC Cli,mate Change and Old World Collapse*. NATO Scientific Affairs Division and Springer Verlag, Berlin 1997.

Dalton, O.M. *The treasure of the Oxus with other examples of early oriental metal-work*. British Museum, London (1905) 1964.

Dandamayev, M. 'Media and Achaemenid Iran', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 35–65.

Dani, A., Thapar, B. 'The Indus Civilization', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992, pp. 283–318.

Dani, A., Bernard, P. 'Alexander and his successors in Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 67–97.

Darwin, Charles. *Die Entstehung der Arten* (German translation of '*On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selections, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for* Life' von 1859). Nikol, Hamburg 2008.

— *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to sex*. John Murray, London 1871. Online publication: http://darwin-online.org.uk/pdf/1871_Descent_F937.1.pdf and in German translation: *Die Abstammung des Menschen*. Fischer, Frankfurt 2009.

Dashnyam, L. et al. *Historical and Cultural Monuments of Mongolia*. Mongolian Academy of Humanities, Ulaan Baatar 1999.

David, Bruno, Thomas, Julian (eds). *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek 2008.

Davis-Kimball, Jeannine. 'Amazons, Princesses and other Women of Status. Females in Eurasian Nomadic Societies', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 5, 1997/98, pp. 1–50. Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura 1998.

— *Warrior women*. Warner Books, New York 2002.

— Davis-Kimball, Jeannine et al (eds). *Kurgans, Ritual Sites and Settlements. Eurasian Bronze and Iron Age*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Archaeopress, London 2000.

Davudov, Omar. 'Kimmerier, Skythen und Dagestan. Ein hochalpines Feuerheiligtum im Kontext der reiternomadischen Vorderasienzüge', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie*, Vol. 18, pp. 47–56. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996.

Debaine-Francfort, Corinne. 'Keriya. (Xinjiang)', in *Les carnets de l'archéologie, France-diplomatie*, no date, www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/culture/culture_scientifique/archeologie/keriya

Debaine-Francfort, Corinne et al., *Keriya. Mémoires d'un fleuve*. Findakly, Paris, 2001.

— *La Keriya dans tous ses états: modes de peuplement et paléoenvironnements*. IMASIE, Paris 2007. www.reseau-asie.com

— 'The Taklamakan Oases: An environmental evolution shown through geoarchaeology', in Schneier-Madanes, G., Courel, M.-F. (eds). *Water and Sustainability in Arid Regions*. Springer Netherlands, 2010, pp. 181–202.

Demoule, Jean-Paul. 'Deux siècles à la recherche des Indo-Européens', in *Les Indo-Européens. Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 338, Editions Faton, Quétigny 2010, pp. 6–13.

Dennell, Robin. *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009.

Dennell, Robin, Roebroeks, Wil. 'An Asian perspective on early human dispersal from Africa', *Nature*, Vol. 438, pp. 1099–1104, Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke 2005.

Derevyanko, Anatoly (ed.). *The Palaeolithic of Siberia*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago 1998.

Derevyanko, Anatoly, Lü Zun. 'Upper Palaeolithic cultures', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992, pp. 89–108.

Derevyanko, Anatoly, Dorj, D. 'Neolithic tribes in northern parts of Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992, pp. 169–189.

Derevyanko, Anatoly et al. 'The stratified cave site of Tsagaan Agui on the Gobi Altai (Mongolia)', in *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 1, 2000, pp. 23–36.

http://paleo.sscnet.ucla.edu/DereviankoEtAl2000.pdf

Desroches, Jean-Paul et al. *Mongolie, le premier empire des steppes*. Actes Sud, Paris 2003.

Devlet, Ekaterina. 'Rock Art and the material culture of Siberian and Central Asian Shamanism', in Neil Price (ed.). *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Routledge, London 2001, pp. 43–55.

Devlet, Marianna. 'Felsbilder von Aldy-Mozag, Tuva', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 5/1999, pp. 595–655. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1999.

Dien, Albert. 'The stirrup and its effect on Chinese military history', *Ars Orientalia,* Vol. 16, 1986, pp. 33–56. http://www.silk-road.com/artl/stirrup.shtml

Dirksen, V.G., Geel, B. van. 'Mid to late Holocene climate change and its influence on cultural development in South Central Siberia', in Scott, Marian et al (eds). *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia*, 2004, pp. 291–307.

Dolitsky, Alexander. 'Siberian Palaeolithic Archaeology', *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 361–378, Chicago Journals, Chicago 1985.

Dossiers d'Archéologie No. 185, *Découverte des civilisation d'Asie Centrale.* Faton, Quétigny 1993.

— No. 194, *Les Scythes.* Faton, Quétigny 1994.

— No. 212, *Tombes gelées de Sibérie*. Faton, Quétigny 1996.

— No. 247, *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour*. Faton, Quétigny 1999.

— No. 266, *L'or des rois Scythes.* Faton, Quétigny 2001.

— No. 271, *Les Parthes* Faton, Quétigny 2002.

— No. 287, *Jiroft. Fabuleuse découverte en Iran*. Faton, Quétigny 2003.

— No. 292, *Premiers hommes de Chine*. Faton, Quétigny 2004.

— No. 317, *Turkménistan, un berceau culturel en Asie Centrale*. Faton, Quétigny 2006.

— No. 338, *Les Indo-Européens*. Faton, Quétigny 2010.

— No. 341, *Samarcande*. Faton, Quétigny 2010.

Dovzhenko, Nadia, Zabashta Rostislav. *Davina skulptura i plastyka Ukrainy (Ancient sculpture of Ukarine)*. Rodovit, Kiev 2009.

Drujinina, Anjelina. 'Gussform mit griechischer Inschrift aus dem Oxos-Tempel', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, Vol. 40, pp. 121–135. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin 2008.

— 'Excavations of Takht-i Sangin City, Territory of Oxus Temple, in 2006', *Bulletin of Miho Museum, Koka*, Vol. IX, March 2009, pp. 59–84.

— 'Wohnen im hellenistischen Baktrien – Wohnhäuser in der Stadt Oxeiane (Tachti Sangin)', in Sven Hansen et al. (eds), *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt: Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Mannheim, 2009), pp. 177–181.

Du Brux, Paul. *Oeuvres*. (1811–1835) Compiled and edited by I.V. Tunkina. 2 vols. Kolo, St. Petersburg 2010.

— 'Rackopi kurgana Kul-Oba, 1830 g', in Paul Du Brux. *Oeuvres* (Petersburg 2010) pp. 167–194.

Dueck, Daniela et al. (eds) *Strabo's cultural geography*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005.

Encyclopedia of Religions, edited by Mircea Eliade. 16 vols. Macmillan, New York, 1993.

Engels, Donald. *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978.

Enoki, G., Koshelenko, A., Haidary, Z. 'The Yüeh-chih and their migrations', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. II. Edited by Harmatta Janos et al. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 171–189.

Erdenebaatar, D. 'Burial materials related to the history of the Bronze Age in the territory of Mongolia', in Linduff, Katheryn (ed.). *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*. Mellen, Ceredigion 2004, pp. 189–222.

Etler, Dennis. *Implications of new fossil material attributed to Plio-Pleistocene Asian hominidae*. Center for the study of Chinese prehistory, Cabrillo College, Aptos, no date. www.chineseprehistory.com

— 'The fossil evidence for human evolution in Asia', *Annual review of Human Anthropology*, Vol. 25, pp. 275–301, Annual Reviews, Palo Alto 1996.

Fagne, Claude (ed.). *La Route de la Soie*. Europalia, Bruxelles 2009.

Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan (eds). *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004.

Fay, Marianne et al (eds). *Adapting to climate change in Eastern Europe and Central Asia*. The World Bank, Washington 2010.

Félix, Charlotte (ed). 'Les Indo-Européens', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 338, Editions Faton, Quétigny 2010.

Fitzhugh, William. 'Stone Shamans and Flying Deer of Northern Mongolia: Deer Goddess of Siberia or Chimera of the Steppe?', *Arctic Anthropology*, University of Wisconsin, Vol. 46, No.1–2, 2009, pp. 72–88.

— 'The Mongolian deer stone-khirigsuur complex: dating and organization of a late Bronze Age menagerie', in Bemmann, Jan et al. *Current archaeological research in Mongolia*. R.F.W.-Universität, Bonn, 2009, pp. 183–199.

Fless, Friederike, Treister, Mikhail. *Bilder und Objekte als Träger kultureller Identität und interkultureller Kommunikation im Schwarzmeergebiet*. Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2005.

Fless, Friederike, Lorenz, Angelika. 'Die Nekropolen von Pantikapaion im 4. Jh. v.Chr', in Fless, Friederike, Treister, Mikhail. *Bilder und Objekte als Träger kultureller Identität und interkultureller Kommunikation im Schwarzmeergebiet*. Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2005, pp. 17–25.

Fol, Valeria (ed.). *L'or des Thraces*. Éditions Snoeck, Gand 2006.

Fornasier, Jochen. 'Das Pektorale von Tolstaja Mogila. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur Form und Funktion', in Stähler, Klaus (ed). *Zur graeco-skythischen Kunst*. Archäologisches Kolloquium Münster 1995. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 1997, pp. 119–146.

— *Amazonen. Frauen, Kämpferinnen und Städtegründerinnen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

Fornasier, Jochen, Böttger, Burkhard (eds). *Das Bosporanische Reich*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002.

— 'Das Bosporanische Reich ', in Fornasier, Jochen, Böttger, Burkhard (eds). *Das Bosporanische Reich*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002, pp. 21–38.

Foucart, P. 'Décret de la ville de Chersonésos en l'honneur de Diophantos, général de Mithridate', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. Vol. 5, 1881, pp. 70–87.

Frachetti, Michael. 'Bronze Age Exploitation and Political Dynamics of the Eastern Eurasian Steppe Zone', in Levine, Marsha et al. *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe*. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 161–170.

— *Pastoralist landscapes and social interaction in Bronze Age Eurasia*. University of California Press, Berkeley 2008.

Francalacci, Paolo. 'DNA Analysis on Ancient Corpses from Xinjiang: Further Results', in Mair, Victor. *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*. The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 537–547.

Francfort, Henri-Paul et al. *Fouilles de Shortugaï. Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale protohistorique*. Boccard, Paris 1989.

— 'Art rupestre du bassin de Minusinsk: nouvelles recherches franco-russe', *Arts Asiatiques. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet*, 48/1993, pp. 5–52. Paris.

— 'Les pétroglyphes de Tamgaly', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 9, 1995, pp. 167–208. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1997.

— 'Central Asian petroglyphs: between Indo-Iranian and shamanistic interpretations', in Chippindale Christopher, Taçon Paul (eds). *The Archaeology of Rock-Art*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998, pp. 302–318.

— 'De l'art des steppes au sud du Taklamakan', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 45–58. Bloomfield Hills, 2001.

— 'La Civilisation de l'Asie Centrale à l'âge du Bronze et è l'âge du Fer', in Bopearachchi, Osmund et al. *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archaéologie de l'Asie Centrale*. Association IMAGO, Lattes 2003, pp. 29–62.

— 'La civilisation de l'Oxus et les Indo-Iraniens et Indo-Aryens en Asie Centrale', in Fussman, Gérard et al. *Aryas, Aryens et Iraniens en Asie Centrale*, pp. 253–328. Diffusion Boccard, Paris 2005.

— 'Observation sur la toreutique de la civilisation de l'Oxus', in Bopearachchi, Osmund et al. *Afghanistan. Ancien: carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, 2005, pp. 21–64.

— 'Images du combat contre le sanglier en Asie centrale (3ème au 1er millénaire av. J.-C.)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 16, 2002, pp. 117–142. Bloomfield Hills, 2006.

— 'La «culture de Marlik» et l'arrivée des Indo-Iraniens', in Mattet, Laurence (ed.). *Le Profane et le Divin. Arts de l'Antiquité de l'Europe au Sud-Est Asiatique*, 2008, pp. 138–145.

Frings, Jutta (ed.). *Die Thraker. Das goldene Reich des Orpheus.* Kunst und Ausstellungshalle der Bundersrepublik, Bonn, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004.

Frumkin, Grégoire. *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*. Brill, Leiden 1970.

Frye, Richard. *The heritage of Central Asia. From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion*. Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton 1996.

Fuhrmeister, Kirsten. 'Zweiergruppen und Brüdermotive', in Stähler Klaus (ed). *Zur graeco-skythischen Kunst*. Archäologisches Kolloquium Münster 1995. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 1997, pp. 161–176.

Gafurov, B.G. *Central Asia. Prehistoric to pre-modern times*. Shipra Publications, Delhi (1972) 2005.

Gaïbov, V., Kochelenko, G. 'La Margiane', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 271, *Les Parthes*. Editions Faton, Quétigny 2002, pp. 46–53.

Galanina, L.K. *Die Kurgane von Kelermes*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 1996.

Gall, Hubertus von. 'Das Motiv des „Reiters mit dem Knappen" auf den bosporanischen Grabstelen', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, Vol. 34, pp. 397–413. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin 2003.

Gao, Shi Zhu. 'Mitochondrial DNA analysis of human remains from the Yuansha site in Xinjiang, China', *Science in China Series C: Life Sciences*, Vol. 51, No.3, March 2008, pp. 205–213. http://www.scichina.com:8082/sciCe/fileup/PDF/08yc0205.pdf

Gardiner-Garden, John. *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians*. Papers on Inner Asia, No. 3. Indiana University, Bloomington 1987.

Gardner, Percy. *The coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*. Argonaut Publishers, Chicago 1966.

Geel, B. van et al. 'The sun, climate change and the expansion of the Scythian culture after 850 BC', in Scott Marian et al (eds). *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia*, 2004, pp. 151–158.

Gej, Aleksandr. 'Die Wagen der Novotitarovskaja-Kultur', in Fansa Mamoun, Burmeister Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 177–190.

Gentelle, Pierre. 'Une géographie du mouvement: le désert du Taklamakan et ses environs comme modèle', *Annales de Géographie*, Armand Collin, Paris, Vol. 101, nr. 567, 1992, pp. 553–594.

Ghirsman, R. *Fouilles de Sialk près de Kashan. 1933–1937*. 2 vols. Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1938.

— 'Le dieu Zurvan sur les bronzes de Luristan', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXI, pp.37–42. Ascona 1958

— 'Deux statuettes élamites du plateau iranien', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXX, 2/3, pp. 237–247. Ascona 1968.

Gignoux, Ph., Litvinsky, B.A. 'Religions and religious movements I', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. III. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1996, pp. 403–420.

Gingerich, Philip D. 'Environment and evolution through the Palaeocene-Eocene thermal maximum', in *Trends in Ecology and Evolution*, Vol 21, 2006, pp. 246–253.

— 'Mammalian faunal succession through the Palaeocene-Eocene themal maximum (PRTM) in western North America', *Vertebrata PalAsiatica*, Vol. 48, No. 4, pp.308–327, Beijing 2010.

Gladkih, Mikhail et al. 'Mammoth-Bone Dwellings on the Russian Plain', *Scientific American*, Vol. 251, No. 5, November 1984, pp. 165–175.

Goepper, Roger, Lee-Khalisch, J. *Korea. Die alten Königreiche*. Ausstellungskatalog, Museum Rietberg, Zürich 2000.

Golden, Peter. *Central Asia in World History*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011.

Golzio, Karl-Heinz. *Kings, Khans and other rulers of Early Central Asia*. Religionswissenschaftliches Seminar der Universität Bonn, Bonn 1984.

Good, Irene. *On the question of silk in pre-Han Eurasia*, 1995. http://harvard.academia.edu/documents/0009/8367/good1995.pdf

— 'When East met West: Interpretative Problems in Assessing East-West Contact and Exchange in Antiquity', in *Vth ICAANE Congress, Madrid*. Edited by Allison Betts and Fiona Kidd. Ancient Near Easstern Monograph series. Peeters, Louvain 2008.

Good, Irene, Kennoyer, J.M., Meadow, R.H. 'New evidence for early silk in the Indus civilizations', *Archaeometry*, University of Oxford, 50, 2009. http://www.scribd.com/doc/11508384/Indussilk

Gorelik, Mikhael. *Warriors of Eurasia*. Montvert, Stockport 1995.

Gorshenina, Svetlana, Rapin, Claude. *De Kaboul à Samarcande. Les archéologues en Asie centrale*. Gallimard, Paris 2001.

Goryachev, A.A., Mariyashev, A.N. *Petroglyphs of Semirechye*. Fort inform 1999. http://tourkz.com/eng/articles/petrog1e_3.html

Götzelt, Thomas. *Ansichten der Archäologie Süd-Turkmenistans bei der Erforschung der mittleren Bronzezeit (Periode Namazga V.)* Marie Leidorf, Espelkamp 1996.

Gougouev, Vladimir. 'Tombe d'une reine Sarmate', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, No. 194, *Les Scythes,* 1994, pp. 76–83.

Govedarica, B. et al. 'Der Grabhügel „Tarasova Mogila' bei der Stadt Prechov', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 12/2006, pp. 63–112. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

Green, Richard et al. 'Analysis of one million base pairs of Neanderthal DNA', *Nature*, 10:1038/05336, No. 444, pp. 330–336, Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke 2006. http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v444/n7117/full/nature05336.html

— 'A Draft Sequence of the Neanderthal Genome', *Science*, Vol. 328, pp. 710–722, 7 May 2010. American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York 2010.

Grenet, Frantz. ‘An Archaeologist’s Approach to Avestan Geography’, in Curtis Vesta, S., Stewart, Sarah (eds). *The Idea of Iran*, Vol. 1, I.B.Tauris, London 2005, pp. 29–51.

— ‘Les religions dans l’Empire perse’, in *Le monde de la Bible*. Bayard, Montrouge, Nr. 187, 2009, pp. 26–31.

Grenet, Frantz, Rapin, Claude. ‘Alexander, Aï Khanum, Termez. Remarks on the Spring Campaign of 328’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 79–90. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

Grigoryev, S.A. *Ancient Indo-Europeans*. RIFEI, Chelyabinsk 2002.

— ‘The Sintashta Culture and the Indo-European Problem’, in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 148–160.

Grjaznov, Michail. *Südsibirien*. Nagel, Genf 1970.

— *Der Großkurgan von Arzhan in Tuva, Südsibirien*. C.H. Beck, München, 1984.

Grousset, René. *The Empire of the Steppes*. Rutgers, New Brunswick (1939) 1970.

Haarmann, Harald. *Universalgeschichte der Schrift*. Campus, Frankfurt 1998.

Hajdas, I, Bonani, G. et al. *Chronology of Pazyryk 2 and Ulandryk 4 Kurgans based on high resolution radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology – a step towards more precise dating of Scythian burials*. In Scott, Marian et al. *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia,* 2004, pp. 107–116.

Han, Kangxin. ‘The Physical Anthropology of the Ancient Populations of the Tarim Basin and Surrounding Areas’, in Mair Victor, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*. The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 558–570.

Han, Rubin, Sun Shuyun. ‘Preliminary Studies on the Bronzes Excavated from the Tianshanbeilou Cemetery, Hami, Xinjiang’, in Linduff Katheryn (ed.). *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*. Mellen, Ceredigion 2004, pp. 157–172.

Hansen, Sven et al (eds). Alexander *der Große und die Öffnung der Welt. Asiens Kulturen im Wandel*. Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim 2009.

Harmatta, J. *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*. Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta antique et archaeologica Tomus XIII. Szeged 1970 http://www.kroraina.com/sarm/jh/index.html

Harvati, Katerina. ‘100 years of Homo heidelbergensis – life and times of a controversial taxon’, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte. Blaubeuren*, Vol. 16, 2007, pp. 85–94.

Hatakyama, Tei. *The Tumulus and Stag Stones at Shiebar-kul in Xinjiang, China*. 2002. http://web.kanazawa-u.ac.jp/~steppe/sougen13.hatakeyama.html

Hauptmann, Harald (ed.). *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan. Kataloge Chilas-Brücke und Thalpan (Steine 1–30).* Vol. I. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2003.

He, Dexiu. ‘A Brief Report on the Mummies from the Zaghunluq Site in Chärchän County’, in Mair, Victor, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asi*a. The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 169–174.

Hebeisen, Kurt Beat. *Spurensuche nach dem Ursprung der Kunst*. Haupt, Bern 2009.

Hedin, Sven. *Through Asia*. Harper, New York, 1899.

— *Der wandernde See*. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1938.

Hedin, Sven et al. *History of the expedition in Asia 1927–1935. Part I–IV*. Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. Publications 23–26. Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, Göteborg 1943–45.

Heissig, Walther, Müller, Claudius (eds). *Die Mongolen*. Pinguin, Innsbruck/Umschau, Frankfurt 1989.

Helms, Sven. ‘Ancient Choresmia. The Northern Edge of Central Asia from the 6th Century BC. to the mid-4th Century AD’, in Christian, David, Benjamin, Craig (eds). *Silk Road Studies II. Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, pp. 77–96. Brepols, Turnhout 1998.

Helms, Sven et al. ‘Five seasons of excavations in the Tash-k’irman oasis of Ancient Chorasmis, 1996–2000. An interim report’, *Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 119–144. The British Institute of Persian Studies, London 2001.

Hemphill, Brian, Mallory J.P. ‘Horse-mounted invaders from the Russo-Kazakh Steppe or agricultural colonists from Western Central Asia? A craniometric investigation of the Bronze Age settlements of Xinjiang’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 123, No. 3, 2004, pp. 199–222. http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/105558550/abstract

Herman, Luc. *Les pétroglyphes de Tcholpon-Ata au Kirghizstan*. BoD, Paris 2010.

— *Die Petroglyphen von Tamgaly in Kasachstan*. BoD, Paris 2011.

— *Die Petroglyphen von Usektal in Kasachstan*. BoD, Paris 2011.

Hermanns, Matthias. *Chinas Ursprung*. Missionsdruckerei Yenchowfu, Shantung 1935.

Herodotus. *Geschichten und Geschichte*. Artemis, Zürich 1973.

— *The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt and revised by John Marincola. Penguin Books, London 2003.

Herrmann, Georgina. *Monuments of Merv*. The Society of Antiquaries, London 1999.

Herrmann, Georgina et al. The international Merv Project. Preliminary report on the ninth year (2000)’, *Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 9–52. The British Institute of Persian Studies, London 2001.

Hiebert, Fredrik Talmage et al. *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization in Central Asia*. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 1994.

— *A Central Asian Village at the Dawn of Civilization, excavations at Anau, Turkmenistan*. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia 2003.

Hiebert, Frederik, Cambon, Pierre (eds). *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World*. The British Museum Press, London 2011.

Higham, Thomas et al. Testing models for the beginnings of the Aurignacian and the advent of figurative art and music: The radiocarbon chronology of Geißenköcherle. In: *Journal of Human Evolution*, Vol. XXX, 2012, pp. 1–13. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2012. doi:19.1016/j.jhevol.2012.03.003.

Hildinger, Erik. *Warriors of the Steppe. A military history of Central Asia 500 BC to 1700 AD* Da Capo Press, Cambridge MA 2001.

Hill, John. *Through the Jade Gate to Rome. An annotated translation of the Chronicle on the ‘Western regions’ in the Hou Hanshu*. John Hill publication, Australia, 2009.

History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. I. The dawn of civilization: earliest times to 700 BC. Edited by Dani A.H., Masson Vadim. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992.

History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. II. The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 BC to AD 250. Edited by Harmatta Janos et al. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994.

History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. III. The crossroads of civilizations. AD 250 to 750. Edited by Litvinsky, Boris et al. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1996.

Holt, Frank. *Thundering Zeus. The making of Hellenistic Bactria*. University of California Press, Berkeley 1999.

Höllmann, Thomas, Kossack, Georg. ‘Maoqinggou. Ein eisenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Ordos-Region (Innere Mongolei)’, in *Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie*, Vol 50, pp. 46–87. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1992.

Hrdlicka, Ales. ‘Crania of Siberia’, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, pp. 435–481, American Association of Physical Anthropologists, Baltimore (1942) 2005.

Hsü, Kenneth. *Klima macht Geschichte*. Orell Füssli, Zürich 2000.

Hübner, Ulrich et al (eds). *Die Seidenstraße. Handel und Kulturaustausch in einem eurasischen Wegenetz*. EB-Verlag, Hamburg 2001.

Hulsewé, A.F.P., Loewe, M.A.N. *China in Central Asia. The Ealy Stage: 125 BC – AD 23. An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty*. Brill, Leiden 1979.

Humboldt, Alexandre de. *Asie Centrale. Recherches sur les chaînes des montagnes et la climatologie comparée*. 3 vols. Gide, Paris 1843. *Zentral-Asien. Untersuchungen zu den Gebirgsketten und zur vergleichenden Klimatologie*. Nach der deutsche Übersetzung von 1844, Fischer-Verlag, Frankfurt a.M., 2009.

Huntington, Ellsworth. *The Pulse of Asia*. Houghton, Boston 1907.

Hyland, Ann. *Training the Roman Cavalry. From Arrian’s Ars Tactica*. Grange, London 1993.

Iakovleva, Lioudmilla. ‘Les habitats en os de mammouth des chasseurs paléolithiques d’Ukraine’, *Dossiers d’Archéologie* No. 266, *L’or des rois Scythes*, 2001, pp. 36–47.

Iakovleva, Lioudmilla, Djindjian, François. ‘New data on Mammoth bone settlements of Eastern Europe in the light of the new excavations of the Gontsy site Ukraine’, *International Science Reviews*, 126–128, 2005, pp. 195–207. Elsevier, Amsterdam.

Idriss, Abdulressul et al. ‘The Xiaohe Graveyard in Luobupo, Xinjiang’, *Chinese Archaeology*, Vol. 8. China Social Sciences Press, Beijing 2008, pp. 85–95.

Ionesov, Vladimir. *The struggle between life and death in Proto-Bactrian Culture*. Mellen, Ceredigion 2002.

Isakov, A.I. ‘Sarazm et la civilisation de l’Asie centrale’, in *Découverte des civilisations d’Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d’archéologie*. Faton, Dijon, Nr. 185, 1993, pp. 28–35.

— Sarazm. ‘An Agricultural Center of Ancient Sogdiana’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 1–12. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

Ivanisev, N.D. *Drevnosti vremennoj komisii po razboru drevnich aktov*, Kiev, 1846.

Ivanova, N.O. (ed.) *Materialy po arkheologii i etnografii Iuzhnogo Urala*. Trudymuzeia-zapovednika Arkaim, Cheliabinskii universitet, Cheliabinsk 2006.

Ivantchik, Askold. *Les Cimmériens au Proche-Orient*. Editions Universitaires, Fribourg (Suisse) 1993.

— *Kimmerer und Skythen*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 2001.

Jacobson, Esther. *The Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia*. Brill, Leiden 1993.

— *The Art of the Scythians*. Brill, Leiden 1995.

— ‘The “bird-woman”, the “birthing-woman” and the “woman of the animals”: a consideration of the female image in petroglyphs of Ancient central Asia’, *Arts Asiatiques. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet*, 52/1997, pp. 37–59. Paris.

— ‘Cultural Riddles: Stylized Deer and Deer Stones of the Mongolian Altai’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 15, 2001, pp. 31–56. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2005.

— ‘The Rock Art of Mongolia’, *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 4/1, pp. 5–13, 2006. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol4num1/srnewsletter_v4n1.pdf

Jacobson, Esther, Meacham, James. *Archaeology and Landscape in the Mongolian Altai: An Atlas*. ESRI Press, Redlands CA 2010.

Jäger, Ulf. *Reiter, Reiterkrieger und Reiternomaden zwischen Rheinland und Korea: Zur spätantiken Reitkultur zwischen Ost und West, 4.–8. Jh. n. Chr.* Beier & Beran, Langenweißbach 2006.

Jahresbericht 2007, AA 2008/Beiheft. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin. Hirmer, München 2008.

Jahresbericht 2008, AA 2009/Beiheft. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin. Hirmer, München 2009.

Jahresbericht 2009, AA 2009/Beiheft. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin. Hirmer, München 2010.

Jäkel, Dieter, Zhu, Zenda. ‘Reports on the 1986 Sino-German Kun Lun Shan Taklimakan-Expedition’, *Die Erde, Gesellschaft für Erdkunde Berlin, Ergänzungsheft 6*, 1992.

Jaubert, Jacques. ‘The decorated cave of Hoït Tsenkher Agui’, *International newsletter on rock art INORA*, No. 17, pp. 23–26. Foix 1997.

Jettmar, Karl. *Die frühen Steppenvölker*. Holle, Baden-Baden 1964.

— *Zwischen Gandhara und den Seidenstraßen. Felsbilder am Karakorum Highway*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1985.

— ‘Archäologie in Xinjiang und ihre Bedeutung für Südsibirien – eine Bestandesaufnahme’. in *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie*, Vol. 12, pp. 130–151. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1992.

— ‘Sintashta – ein gemeinsames Heiligtum der Indo-Iraner?’, *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 2/1996, pp. 215–228. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996.

— ‘Bemerkungen zu Arkaim’, *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol.3/1997, pp. 249–254. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1998.

— *Beyond the Gorges of the Indus*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002.

Jettmar, Karl, Kattner, Ellen (eds). *Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens*. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 2003.

Jia, Lanpo, Huang Weiwen. *The Story of Peking Man*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1990.

Johanson, Donald. *Origins of Modern Humans: Multiregional or Out of Africa?* American Institute of Biological sciences, Washington 2001. http://www.actionbioscience.org/evolution/johanson.html

Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington D.C., 2002.

Jones-Bley, Karlene. ‘Indo-European Burial, the “Rig Veda” and “Avesta”’, in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 68–81.

Juliano, Annette, Lerner Judith (eds). *Monks and Merchants. Silk Road treasures from Northwest China*. Abrams/Asia House, New York 2001.

Kaim, Barbara. ‘Où adorer les dieux? Un spectaculaire temple du feu d’époque sassanide’, *Dossiers d’Archéologie* No. 317, 2006, pp. 66–71.

Kalashnik, Yuri. *Greek gold. From the treasure rooms of the Hermitage*. Lund Humphries, Aldershot 2004.

Kamberi, Dolkun. ‘A Century of Tarim Archaeological Exploration (*ca.* 1886–1996)’, in Mair Victor, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*. The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 785–811.

Kaniuth, Kai. ‘The metallurgy of the Late Bronze Age Sapalli Culture (Southern Uzbekistan) and its implications for the “tin question”’, *Iranica Antiqua*, Vol. XLII, pp. 23–40, 2007. Peeters Publishers, Louvain.

Kantorovic, A., Maslov, E. ‘Eine reiche Bestattung der Majkop-Kultur aus einem Kurgan der stanica Mar’inskaja, Kreis Stavropol, Nordkaukasien’, *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 13/2008, pp. 151–166. Deutsches

Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2009.

Karabelnik, Marianne. *Aus den Schatzkammern Eurasiens. Meisterwerke antiker Kunst*. Kunsthaus Zürich 1993.

Karomatov, F.M. et al. *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*. Mittelasien. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1987.

Kaufmann, Sabine (ed.). *Die Wikinger*. Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer 2008.

Keller, Dominik, Schorta, Regula (eds). *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands*. Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg 2001.

Kenk, Roman. *Das Gräberfeld der hunno-sarmatischen Zeit von Kokel', Tuva, Süd-Sibirien*. C.H. Beck, München 1984.

Kenk, Roman, auf Grundlage der Arbeit von A.D. Grač. *Grabfunde der Skythenzeit aus Tuva, Süd-Sibirien*. C.H. Beck, München 1986.

Kenoyer, Jonathan. *Ancient cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1998.

Keyser, Christine et al. 'Tracking back ancient south Siberian population history using mitochondrial and Y-chromosope SNPs', *Forensic Sciences International: Genetics Supplements Series 1*, pp. 343–345. Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2008.

Khazanov, Anatoly. *Nomads and the Outside World*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1994.

Khlopin, Igor. 'L'Hyrcanie Antique', in *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*. Faton, Dijon, Nr. 185, 1993, pp. 42–51.

Khrapunov, I.N., Herzen, A.H. (eds). *Ot Kimerijev do Krimchakov*. Dolia, Simferopol 2010.

Kiatkina, Tatiana. 'Le population de l'Asie Moyenne ancienne', in *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*. Faton, Dijon, Nr. 185, 1993, pp. 36–41.

Kirtcho, L.B. 'The earliest wheeled transport in southwestern Central Asia: New finds from Altyn-Depe', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 37/1, pp. 25–33. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2009

Kiryushin, Yu.F., Solodovnikov, K.N. 'The origins of the Andronovo (Fedorovka) population of Southwestern Siberia, based on a Middle Bronze Age cranial series from the Altai forest-steppe zone', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 38/4 pp. 122–142. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2011.

Kislenko, Aleksandr, Tatarintseva, Nataliya. 'The Eastern Ural Steppe at the End of the Stone Age', in Levine Marsha et al. *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe*. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, 1999.

Kljastornyj, S.G., Sultanov, T.I. *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens. Altertum und Mittelalter*. Schletzer, Berlin 2006.

Koch, Alexander (ed.). *Attila und die Hunnen*. Herausgegeben vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer, Theiss, Stuttgart 2007.

— *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa*. Herausgegeben vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer. Beier & Beran, Langenweissbach 2008.

Kohl, Johann Georg. *Reisen in Südrussland*. 1841, reprint in 3 vols. from 3rd edition of 1847, Elibron Classics 2008.

Kohl, Philipp (ed.). *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia. Recent Soviet discoveries*. Sharpe, New York 1981.

— *The making of Bronze Age Eurasia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007.

Kondakof, N., Tolstoï, J., Reinach, S. *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale*. Ernest Leroux, Paris 1891.

Konovalov, P.B. *The Burial vault of a Xiongnu prince at Sudzha (Il'movaia Pad', Transbaikalia)*. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 2008.

Korochkova, Olga, Stafanov, Vladimir. *The Trans-Ural Fedorovo Complexes in relation to the Andronovo*. in Linduff, Katheryn. Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River. Mellen, Ceredigion 2004.

Korolkova, E.F. *The Rulers of the Steppe* (in Russian). APC Publishers, St. Petersburg 2006.

Koryakova, Ludmila, Epimakkhov, Andrej. *The Urals and Western Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007.

Koshelenko, G.A., Pilipko, V.N. *Parthia*. in History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. II. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 131–150.

Kosintsev, P.A. 'Animals in the Burial Rite of the Population of the Volga-Ural Area in the Beginning of the 2nd Millennium BC', in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 232–247.

Kossack, Georg. *Mittelasien und skythischer Tierstil*. Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie 2, pp. 91–107. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1980.

Kostijuk, O. *Die Galerie der Kostbarkeiten in der Ermitage*. Kunstverlag Iwan Fjodorow, St. Petersburg 2005.

Kotova, Nadezhda. *Early Eneolithic in the Pontic Steppes*. BAR International Series 1735. Oxford, 2008.

— *The Neolithization of Northern Black Sea area in the context of climate changes*. http://arheologija.ff.uni-lj.si/documenta/authors36/kotova.pdf

Kouznetsov, Vladimir, Lebedynsky, Iaroslav. *Les Alains*. Editions, Errance 2005.

Kovalëv, Alexej. 'Überlegungen zur Herkunft der Skythen aufgrund archäologischer Daten', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 4/1998, pp. 247–271. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1999.

— 'Die ältesten Stelen am Ertix', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 5/1999, pp. 135–178. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1999.

Kovalëv, Alexej, Erdenebaatar, Diimaazhav. 'Discovery of new cultures of the Bronze Age in Mongolia according to the data obtained by the International central Asian Archaeological Expedition' in Bemmann Jan et al. *Current archaeological research in Mongolia*. R.F.W.-Universität, Bonn, 2009, pp. 149–170.

Kovalyova, V.T., Ryzhkova, O.V. 'Circular Settlements in the Lower Tobol Area (Tashkovo Culture)', in Jones-Bley Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*, Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 283–395.

Kovtun, I.V. 'The bear image in Western Siberian art of the 2nd Millennium BC and its relevance for delimiting the eastern periphery of the Samus Culture', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, Novosibirsk, 35/3, 2008, pp. 97–104.

Kozemjako, P., Kozomberdieva, E., Kozomberdiev, I. 'Ein Katakombengrab aus der Schlucht Shamsi', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 4/1998, pp. 451–471. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1999.

Kozintsev, A.G. 'The "Mediterraneans" of Southern Siberia and Kazakhstan', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 36/4, pp. 140–144. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2009.

— 'Craniometric evidence of the early Caucasoid migrations to Siberia and Eastern Central Asia, with reference to the Indo-European problem', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 37/4, pp. 125–136. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2009.

Krause, Johannes et al. 'Neanderthals in central Asia and Siberia', *Nature*, 10:1038/06193, No. 449, pp. 902–904, Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke 2007.

— 'The complete mitochondrial DNA genome of an unknown hominin from southern Siberia', *Nature*, 10:1038/08976 (advance publication) Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke March 2010.

Kreuz, Patric-Alexander. 'Norm und Sonderweg: Grabstelen klassischer und frühhellenistischer Zeit aus den Städten des Bosporanischen Reichs und das Relief aus dem Drei-Brüder-Kurgan bei Nymphaion', in Fless, Friederike, Treister, Mikhail. *Bilder und Objekte als Träger kultureller Identität und interkultureller Kommunikation im Schwarzmeergebiet.* Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2005, pp. 43–52.

— 'Das Relief aus dem Drei-Brüder-Kurgan', in Treister, Mikhail. *Die Drei-Brüder-Kurgane. Katalog und Analyse der Befunde und Funde einer Grabhügelgruppe auf der östlichen Krim aus der Zeit des 4. bis 3. Jhs. v.Chr.* Universum, Bonn, Simferopol 2008. pp. 131–140.

Krivoshapkin, Andrei, Brantingham, Jeffrey. 'The Lithic industry of Obi-Rakhmat Grotto, Uzbekistan', *Actes du XIV Congres UISPP, 2–8 septembre 2001*. BAR International Series 1240. pp. 203–214. Université de Liège, Liège. (pdf)http://paleo.sscnet.ucla.edu/KrivoshapkingBrantUISPP2004.pdf

Kristiansen, Kristian. 'La diffusion préhistorique des langues indo-européennes', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 338, Editions Faton, Quétigny 2010, pp. 36–43.

Kruta, Vencelas. 'Les racines profondes de l'Europe', in *Clareté-grandes signatures*, 2008/4, pp. 46–59. Editions Faton, Dijon.

Kubarev, Vladimir. *Drevnie rospisi Karakola. (Old paintings of Karakol)* NAUKA Novosibirsk 1988.

— 'Skythische Kurgane aus den Gräberfeldern Bike I und III am mittleren Katun, Sibirien', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 7/2001, pp. 133–167. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001.

— 'Biluut-Tolgoi. A new rock art site in Mongolia', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 3 (31), pp. 63–68. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2007.

— 'Results and prospects of studying ancient art monuments in Mongolia', in Bemmann, Jan et al. *Current archaeological research in Mongolia*, 2009, pp. 67–81.

Kubarev, Vladimir, Zevendorz, D. 'Steinstelen aus der Westmongolei', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 3/1997, pp. 571–580. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1998.

Kuckenberg, Martin. *Als der Mensch zum Schöpfer wurde.* Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart 2001.

Kühn, Herbert. *Wenn Steine reden*. Brockhaus, Wiesbaden 1966.

Kuzmina, E. 'Les steppes de l'Asie centrale à l'époque du bronze', in *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*. Faton, Dijon, Nr. 185, 1993, pp. 82–89.

— 'Cultural connections on the Tarim Basin People and pastoralists of the Asian Steppes in the Bronze Age', in *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern central Asia*, The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 63–93.

— 'Historical perspectives on the Andronovo and metal use in Eastern Asia', in Linduff, Katheryn (ed.). *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*, Mellen, Ceredigion 2004, pp. 37–84.

— *The Origin of Indo-Iranians*. Edited by J.P. Mallory. Brill, Leiden 2007.

— *The Prehistory of the Silk Road*. Edited by Mair, Victor, H. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2008.

Kyzlasov, L.R. *Drevniaia Tuva. (Ot paleolita do IX B.)* Icdatelstvo Moskovckovo Universiteta, Moskva 1979.

Larenok, Pavel, Dally, Ortwin. 'Taganrog. Eine frühgriechische Siedlung an den Gestaden des Asowschen Meers', in Fornasier, Jochen, Böttger, Burkhard (eds). *Das Bosporanische Reich*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002, pp. 86–91.

Lawler, Andrew. 'Central Asia's Lost Civilization', *Discover Magazine*, New York, November 2006 http://discovermagazine.com/2006/nov/ancient-towns-excavated-turkmenistan

— 'Edge of an Empire. An ancient Afghan fortress offers rare evidence of Persia's forgotten territories', *Archaeology*. Archaeological Institute of America, Boston September/October 2011, pp. 42–47.

Lazaretov, Igor. 'Spätbronzezeitliche Denkmäler in Südchakassien', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 6/2000, pp. 249–280. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2000.

Lebedynsky, Iaroslav. *Les Scythes*. Errance, Paris 2001.

— *Les Sarmates*. Errance, Paris 2002.

— *Les Cimmériens*. Errance, Paris 2004.

— *Les Saces*. Errance, Paris 2006.

— *Les Indo-Européens*. Errance, Paris 2006.

— *Les Nomades*. Errance, Paris 2007.

— *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol* Errance, Paris 2008.

— *Armes et Guerriers du Caucase*. L'Harmattan, Paris 2008.

Lecomte, Olivier. 'Ulug Dépé. 4.000 ans d'évolution entre plaine et désert', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, No. 317, 2006, pp. 16–23.

Lecuyot, Guy, Ishizawa, O. 'La restitution virtuelle d'Aï Khanoum. Une cité hellénistique en Afghanistan', *Archéologia*. Editions Faton, Dijon, No. 420, 2005, pp. 60–71.

— 'Aï Khanum Reconstructed',. *Proceedings of the British Academy, London*, 133, 2007, pp. 155–162.

Lee, James. *Climate Change and Armed Conflict. Hot and Cold Wars*. Routledge, Oxford 2009.

Legrand, Sophie. 'Karasuk Metallurgy: Technological development and regional influence', in Linduff K.K. *Metallurgy in Ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*. Edwin Mellen Press, Lampeter, 2004, pp. 139–155.

Leon'ev, Nikolaj. 'Ein Kurgan der Okunev-Kultur am Fluss Černovaja, Chakassien', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 7/2001, pp. 53–74. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001.

Leon'ev, Nikolaj, Kapel'ko, Vladimir. *Steinstelen der Okunev-Kultur*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002.

Leriche, Pierre. 'Aï Khanoum', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 247, *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour*. Editions Faton, Quétigny 1999, pp. 36–42.

— 'Bactria. Land of thousand cities', in Cribb, Joe. *After Alexander*, 2007, pp. 121–153.

Leriche, Pierre, Pidaev, Chakirjan. *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d'Asie Centrale*. Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris 2008.

Leskov, Alexander M. *Grabschätze der Adygeen. Neue Entdeckungen im Nordkaukasus*. Hirmer, München 1990.

— *Grabschätze vom Kaukasus. Neue Ausgrabungen sowjetischer Archàologen in der Adygee und im nördlichen Ossetien*. Leonardo, De Luca, Roma 1991.

— *The Maikop Treasure*. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 2008.

Leskovar, Jutta, Zingerle, Maria-Christina (eds). *Goldener Horizont. 4000 Jahre Nomaden der Ukraine*. Bibliothek der Provinz, Weitra 2010.

Létolle, René et al. 'Uzboy and the Aral regression: A hydrological approach', *International Science Reviews*, 123–174, 2007, pp. 125–136. Elsevier, Amsterdam.

Levine, Marsha et al. *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe*. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, 1999.

Levis-Williams, David, Pearce, David. *Inside the Neolithic Mind*. Thames & Hudson 2009.

Lindström, Gunvor. 'Graeco–baktrische Symbiose', *DAMALS*, Kontadin, Leinfelden-Echterdingen, 10/2009, pp. 54–57.

Linduff, Katheryn (ed.). *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*. Mellen, Ceredigion 2004.

Litvinskij, Boris. *Antike und frühmittelalterliche Grabhügel im westlichen Fergana-Becken, Tadzikistan*. C.H. Beck, München 1986.

— *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*. Marie Leidorf, Espelkamp 1998.

Litvinskij, Boris, Picikjan, Igor. 'The Hellenistic Architecture and Art of the Temple on the Oxus', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 47–66. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

— *Taxt-Sangin. Der Oxus-Tempel*. Philipp von Zabern. 2002.

Litvinskij, Boris, Pyankova, L.T. 'Pastoral Tribes of the Bronze Age in the Oxus Valley (Bactria)', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, UNESCO Publishing, Paris, Vol. I, 1992, pp. 379–394.

Lontcho, Frédéric, Melmoth, Françoise (eds). 'Les tombes royales des Thraces', *L'archéologue* No. 86. Archaéologie Nouvelle, Paris 2006.

Lorblanchet, Michel et al (eds). *Chamanisme et arts préhistoriques*. Errances, Paris 2006.

Lordkipanidze, David, Gagnepain, Jean. *La Géorgie, berceau des Européens*. Musée de Préhistoire des Gorges du Verdon, Quinson 2003.

Lubotsky, Alexander. 'Tocharian Loan Words in Old Chinese', in Mair, Victor, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*. The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 379–390.

Lumley, Henri de. 'Les premiers hommes en Chine', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 292, 2004, pp. 7–17.

— *Arkaïm. Une cité de l'âge du Bronze dans les steppes de l'Oural*. Musée des merveilles, Tende, 2010.

Lüscher, Geneviève: *Die Hydria von Grächwil*. Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern 2002.

Lyonnet, B. 'Les Grecs, les nomades et l'indépendance de la Sogdiane', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 141–160. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

Ma, Chun Mei et al. *Climate and environment reconstruction during the Medieval Warm Period in Lop Nur of Xinjiang, China*. in Chinese Science Bulletin, Vol. 53, No. 19, 2008, pp. 3016–3027. Co-published with SpringerLink. http://www.springerlink.com/

Ma, Yong, Wang Binhua. 'The culture of the Xinjiang region', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. II. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 209–225.

Maca-Meyer, Nicole et al. 'Major genomic mitochondrial lineages delineate early human expansions', *BMC Genetics*, 2001, 2:13, BioMed Central, London 2001.

Macaulya, Martin et al. 'The emerging tree of West Eurasian mtDNAs: A synthesis of control-region sequences and RFLPs', *American Journal for Human Genetics*, Vol. 64, pp. 232–249, The American Society for Human Genetics, Bethesda 1999

Magail, Jérôme. 'Tsatsiin Ereg, site majeur du début du Ier millénaire en Mongolie', Archéo-steppe.com., Mission archéologique Monaco Mongolie, 2009. http://archeo-steppe.com/content/view/73/195/lang,french/

Mair, Victor H. (ed.). 'The Mummified Remains Found in the Tarim Basin', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Washington, Vol. 23, No. 3&4, 1995, pp. 279–445.

— 'Prehistoric Caucasoid Corpses of the Tarim Basin', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Washington, Vol. 23, Nr. 3&4, 1995, pp. 281–307.

— *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern central Asia* (ed.). The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998.

— *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 2006.

— 'The Rediscovery and Complete Excavation of Ördek's Excavation', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Washington, Vol. 34, No. 3&4, 2006, pp. 273–318.

— 'The Archaeology of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region', in *Secrets of the Silk Road*. Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, California 2010.

— *Secrets of the Silk Road* (ed). Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, California 2010.

Major archaeological discoveries in China in 2005. Cultural Relics Publishing House, Beijing 2006.

Mak, Philip. *Treasures of the Eurasian steppes*. Ariadne Gelleries, New York 1998.

Makhortykh, S. 'The Northern Black Sea steppes in the Cimmerian epoch', in Scott Marian. *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia*, 2004, pp. 35–44.

Mallegni, Francesco et al. '*Homo cepranensis* sp. nov. and the evolution of African–European Middle Pleistocene hominids', *Comptes Rendus Palevol*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2003, pp. 153–159.

Mallory, J.P. *In Search of the Indo-Europeans. Language, Archaeology and Myth*. Thames & Hudson, London 1989.

— 'L'hypothèse des steppes', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 338, Editions Faton, Quétigny 2010, pp. 28–35.

Mallory, J.P., Mair Victor, H. *The Tarim Mummies*. Thames & Hudson, London, 2000.

Mallory, J.P., Adams, D.Q. (eds). *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. Fitzroy Dearborn, London 1997.

— *The Oxford introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2006.

Malyutina, T.S. '"Proto-towns" of the Bronze Age in the South Urals and Ancient Khorasmia', in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 161–169.

Mamonova, N. 'Die Paläoanthropologie des Gräberfelds Ulangom', in Novgorodva, Eleonora et al. *Ulangom. Ein skythenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Mongolei*, 1982, pp. 140–151.

Maran, Joseph. 'Die Badener Kultur und ihre Räderfahrzeuge', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 265–282.

— 'Kulturkontakte und Wege der Ausbreitung der Wagentechnologie im 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 429–442.

Maqdissi, Michael et al. *Schätze des Alten Syriens*. Theiss, Stuttgart 2009.

Marazov, Ivan. 'The "coiled-up carnivore": visual etymology of the motif', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 8, pp. 255–271, Kamakura, 2002.

Marcellinus, Ammianus. The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378). Translated by Walter Hamilton. Penguin Classics, London 2004.

Maringer, John. *Contribution to the prehistory of Mongolia*. Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. Publications 34. Thule, Stockholm 1950.

— *Gräber und Steindenkmäler in der Mongolei*. Monumenta Serica. Journal of Oriental Studies, undated reprint from Vol. XIV, 1949–1955, pp. 303–339.

Mariyashev, A.N. *Petroglyphs of South Kazakhstan and Semirechye*. Margulan Archaeology Institute Almaty 1994.

Markley, Jonathan. 'Gaozu confronts the Shanyu: The Han Dynasty's First Clash with the Xiongnu', in Benjamin, Craig, Lieu, Samuel (eds). *Silk Road Studies VI. Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, pp. 131–140. Brepols, Turnhout 2002.

Markus, Ursula, Eichenberger, Ursula. *Augusto Gansser. Aus dem leben eines Welt-Erkunders*. AS Verlag, Zürich 2008.

Marsadolov, Leonid. 'The Art Images and Ideas along the Great Steppe Road of Eurasia in the IXth–VIIth Centuries BC', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 8, pp. 221–238, Kamakura, 2002.

Masov, R. et al. (eds) *National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan*. Donish Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography, Dushanbe 2005.

Masson, Vadim. M. *Das Land der tausend Städte. Die Wiederentdeckung der ältesten Kulturgebiete in Mittelasien*. Udo Pfriemer, München 1982.

— *Altyn-Depe*. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1988.

— 'The Bronze Age in Khorasan and Transoxiana', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Unesco Publishing, Paris, Vol. I, 1992, pp. 225–245.

— 'The Decline of the Bronze Age Civilization and Movements of the Tribes', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Unesco Publishing, Paris, Vol. I, 1992, pp. 337–356.

Masson, Vadim, Sarianidi, Victor. *Central Asia. Turkmenia before the Achaemenids*. Thames and Hudson, London 1972.

Mattet, Laurence (ed.). *Le Profane et le Divin. Arts de l'Antiquité de l'Europe au Sud-Est Asiatique.* Éditions Hazan, Paris 2008.

Maurice, Byzantine Emperor. *Strategikon*. Translated by G.T. Dennis. University of Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia, 1984.

Mayr, Hans, Lehner, Johann. *Gold der Skythen aus der Leningrader Eremitage*. Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung der Republik Österreich, Wien 1988.

Medvedev, A. 'Avestan "Yima's Town" in Historical and Archaeological Perspective', in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, DG. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 53–67.

— 'Hügelgräber und befestigte Siedlungen der sarmatischen Zeit am oberen Don', in *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 13/2007, pp. 257–284. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2008.

Mei, Jianjun. *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang*, Archaeopress, Oxford, 2000.

Mei, Jianjun, Shell, Colin. *Copper and Bronze Metallurgy in Late Prehistoric Xinjiang.* in Mair, Victor, The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia. The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 573–603.

— 'The existence of Andronovo cultural influence in Xinjiang during the 2nd millennium BC', *Antiquity*, 73, pp. 570–578, York 1999.

— 'Metallurgy in Bronze Age Xinjiang and its cultural context', in Linduff, Katheryn. *Metallurgy in ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River.* Mellen, Ceredigion 2004, pp. 173–188.

Meijden, Ella van der (ed.). *Die alten Zivilisationen Bulgariens. Das Gold der Thraker.* Antikenmuseum Basel, Basel 2007.

Melikian-Chirvani, A.S. 'Rostam and Herakles, a Family Resemblance', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 171–200. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

Melyukova, A.I. 'The Scythians and Sarmatians', in Sinor, Denis (ed.). *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990, pp. 97–117.

Menghin, Wilfied, Parzinger, Hermann, Nagler, Anatoli, Nawroth, Manfred (eds). *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen. Königsgräber der Skythen.* Prestel, München 2007.

Mertens, Michaeila. *Spuren alter Besiedlung im Altai-Gebirge und religiöse Vorstellungen der Altai-Völker.* Philipps-Universität Marburg, no date. http://web.uni-marburg.de/geographie/HPGeo.old/personal/Opp/Mittelseminar_Sibirien/altai/mertens/mertens.pdf

Metternich, Alain. *Afghanistan, les trésors retrouvés. Album des plus beaux objets du Musée national de Kaboul.* SFPA, Paris 2006.

Miller, Bryan et al. 'Xiongnu Elite Tomb Complexes in the Mongolian Altai. Results of the Mongol-American Hovd Archaeological Project 2007', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 5/2, pp. 27–36, 2008. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol5num2/

— 'Xiongnu Constituents of the High Mountains: Results of the Mongol-American Hovd Archaeological Project 2008', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 7, pp. 8–20, 2009. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol7/

Minaev, Sergei. 'The Excavation of Xiuongnu Sites in the Buryatia Republic', *Orientations Magazine*, Hong Kong, November 1995, pp. 44f.

Minaev, Sergei, Sakharovskaia, Lidiia. 'Investigation of a Xiongnu Royal Tomb Complex in the Tsaraam Valley', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 4/1, pp. 47–54, 2006 and Vol. 5/1, 2007, pp. 44–56. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga.

Minaev, Sergei, Elikhina, Julia. 'On the Chronology of the Noyon uul Barrows', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 7, pp. 21–35, 2009. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga.

http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol4num1/

Minns, Ellis. *Scythians and Greeks. A survey of ancient history and archaeology on the north coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1913.

Mithen, Steven. *After the ice. A global human history 20.000 – 5000 BC*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2003.

Moazami, Mahnaz. 'The dog in Zoroastrian religion: Videvdad Chapter XIII', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 46, 2006, pp. 127–149. http://www.springerlink.com/content/b6312v8779677117/fulltext.pdf

Mode, Markus. 'Sogdian Gods in Exile. Some iconographic evidence from Khotan in the light of recently excavated material from Sogdiana', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. II, pp. 179–214. The Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura 1991/92.

— 'Hunnen, Sogder und das Erbe Alexanders in Mittelasien', in *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa*. Herausgegeben vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer. Beier & Beran, Langenweissbach 2008, pp. 101–108.

Mode, Markus, Tubach Jürgen (eds). *Arms and Armour as Indicators of Cultural Transfer.* Reichert, Wiesbaden 2006.

Molodin, Vjačeslav, Cheremisin, D.V. 'Pétroglyphes de l'Age du Bronze du plateau d'Ukok: à propos des représentations de personnages avec une coiffure fongiforme', *Arts Asiatiques*. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, 54/1999, pp. 148–152. Paris.

— 'Bronzezeit im Berg-Altai', in *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 7/2001, pp. 1–52. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001.

— 'Petroglyphs of the Ukok Plateau', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 4 (32) pp. 91–101. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2007. http://www.springerlink.com/content/876332w625462h2x/

Molodin, Vjačeslav et al. 'Čiča – eine befestigte Ansiedlung der Übergangsperiode von der Spätbronze-zur Früheisenzeit in der Barabinsker Waldsteppe. Vorbericht der Kampagnen 1999–2001', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 8/2002, pp. 185–236. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002.

— 'Das skythenzeitliche Kriegergrab aus Olon-Kurin-Gol, Mongolischer Altaj', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 14/2008, pp. 241–266. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2009.

Moor, Antoine de, Verhecken-Lammens, Chris, Verhecken, André. *3500 years of textile art*. Lannoo, Tielt 2008.

Morgan, Delmar, Coote, C. *Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and other Englishmen.* 2 vols, Hakluyt Society, London 1886.

Morio, Asif Raza. *Moen Jo Daro. Mysterious City of Indus Valley Civilization*. Morio Editions, Larkana, 2007.

Moscati, Sabatino et al. (eds). *The Celts.* Bompiani, Venezia 1991.

Movius, Hallam. 'Teshik-Tash: A Mousterian Cave Site in Central Asia', in *Société Royale Belge* *d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire, en l'honneur du Professeur Hamal-Nandrin*, pp. 72–83, Bruxelles 1953.

Mukhareva, A.N. 'Camel scenes in the rock art of the Minusinsk Basin', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 4 (32) pp. 102–109. Elsevier, Amsterdam 2006.

Müller, Beat. *Geburt war schon bei Neandertalern schwierig*. Informationsdienst Wissenschaft der Universität Zürich, 2008. http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news276581

Müller, Claudius, Wenzel, Jacob (eds) *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*. Kunst und Ausstellungshalle der Bundersrepublik, Bonn and Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2005.

Müller-Karpe, Hermann. *Neolithisch-kupferzeitliche Siedlungen in der Geoksjur-Oase, Süd-Turkmenistan*. C.H. Beck, München 1984.

Murphy, Eileen. 'Mummification and Body Processing. Evidence from the Iron Age in Southern Siberia', in Davis-Kimball, Jeannine et al (eds). *Kurgans, Ritual Sites and Settlements*, 2000, pp. 279–292.

Murzin V. Yu. 'Key points in Scythian history', in Braund, David. *Scythians and Greeks*. University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2005, pp. 33–38.

Muscarella, Oscar White. 'Ziwiye' and Ziwiye. The Forgery of Provenience', *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Boston University, Vol. 4.2, 1977, pp. 197–219.

— *The lie became great. The forgery of ancient Near Eastern Cultures*. Styx Publications, Groningen 2000.

— 'All that glisters isn't gold', *The Sunday Times*, 19 December 2003.

Nabatschikow, W.A. *Gold und Kunsthandwerk vom antiken Kuban*. Theiss, Stuttgart 1989.

Nagler, Anatoli. *Kurgane der Mozdok-Steppe in Nordkaukasien*. Marie Leidorf, Espelkamp 1996.

— 'Waren die Träger der Okunev-Kultur Nomaden?', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 5/1999, pp. 1–27. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1999.

— *O stilisovannych isobrajenniach olenei na olennix kamniach Zentralnoy Asii*. (On the stylistic representation of deer on deer stones of Central Asia.) Advance copy. Archaeological Institute and Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk, 2012.

Narain, A.K. *The Indo-Greeks*. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi (1953) 2003.

Nazarov, Vladimir V. 'Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Berezan', in Stähler, Klaus (ed). *Zur graeco-skythischen Kunst. Archäologisches Kolloquium Münster 1995*. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 1997, pp. 5–21.

Negmatov, N. 'States in north-western Central Asia', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. II. The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 BC to AD 250*. Edited by Harmatta Janos et al. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 441–456.

Neumann, Karl. *Hellenen im Skythenlande*. Reimer, Berlin 1855.

Nikolova, Alla, Kaiser, Elke. 'Die absolute Chronologie der Jamnaja-Kultur im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet auf der Grundlage erster dendrologischer Daten', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 15/2009, pp. 209–240. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2010.

Nikonorov, Valerii. *Cataphracti, Catafractarii and Clibanarii: Another look at the old problem of their identifications*. In: *Military Archaeology. Weaponry and Warfare in the Historical and Social Perspective*. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Peterburg 1998, pp. 131–138.

Novgorodva, Eleonora. *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*. Seemann Verlag, Leipzig 1980.

— 'Archäologische Funde, Bestattungsplätze und Skulpturen', in Heissig, Walther, Müller, Claudius (eds). *Die Mongolen*. Pinguin, Innsbruck/Umschau, Frankfurt 1989, pp. 14–20.

Novgorodva, Eleonora et al. *Ulangom. Ein skythenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Mongolei*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982.

Očir-Gorjaeva, Maria, *Pferdegeschirr aus Chošeutovo. Skythischer Tierstil an der Unteren Wolga*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2003.

Okladnikow, A.P. *Der Hirsch mit dem goldenen Geweih*. Brockhaus, Wiesbaden 1972.

— 'Inner Asia at the dawn of history', in Sinor Denis (ed.). *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990, pp. 41–96.

Olkhovsky, Valery. 'Baité. Un ensemble culturel', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, No. 194, *Les Scythes,* 1994, pp. 54–57.

— 'Scythian Culture in the Crimea', in Davis Kimball, Jeannine, Bashilov, Vladimir, Yablonsky, leonid (eds). *Nomads in the Eurasian Steppes in the Early Iron Age*. Zinat Press, Berkeley 1995. pp. 63–81.

— 'Ancient Sanctuaries of the Aral and Caspian Regions', in Davis-Kimball, Jeannine. *Kurgans, Ritual Sites and Settlements*, 2000, pp. 33–42.

Olkhovsky, V., Evdokimov, G. *Scythian Statues VII–III B.C. (Skifskie izvajanija VII–III vv. do n.e; in Russian.)* Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Moscow 1994.

Oppenheimer, Stephen. *The real Eve. Modern Man's Journey Out of Africa*. Constable & Robinson, London 2003.

Ovchinnikov, Igor et al. 'Molecular analysis of Neanderthal DNA from the northern Caucasus', *Nature*, Vol. 404, pp. 490–493, Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke 2000. http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v404/n6777/pdf/404490a0.pdf

Pak, Young-sook. 'The Origins of Silla Metalwork', *Orientations Magazine*, Hong Kong, September 1988, pp. 44–53.

Palaeoanthropology of Central Asia. No date. www.bookrags.com

Pan, Ku. *The History of the Former Han Dynasty. [The Han Shu]* A critical translation with annotations by Homer H. Dubs. 3 vols. Wawerly Press, Baltimore 1938, 1944, 1955.

Pare, Christopher. 'Die Wagen der Bronzezeit in Mitteleuropa', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 355–372.

Parker, E. *A thousand years of the Tartars*. Kegan Paul, London 2002.

Parzinger, Hermann. 'Sejma-Turbino und die Anfänge des sibirischen Tierstils', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol.3/1997, pp. 223–247. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1998.

— *Der große Kurgan von Bajkara*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2003.

— *Die Skythen*. C.H. Beck, München 2004.

— *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens. Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter*. C.H. Beck, München 2006.

— 'The "Silk Roads" Concept Reconsidered: About Transfers, Transportation and Transcontinental Interactions in Prehistory', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 5/2, pp. 7–15, 2008 . The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol5num2/

— 'Die Skythen der ukrainischen Steppe und ihre Stellung in der Welt der eurasischen Reiternomaden', in Leskovar Jutta, Zingerle Maria-Christina (eds). *Goldener Horizont*, 2010, pp. 58–66.

Parzinger, Hermann, Nagler, Anatoli et al. 'New discoveries in the Mongolian Altai: The warrior grave of the Pazyryk Culture at Olon-Güüriin-Gol 10', in Bemmann Jan et al. *Current archaeological research in Mongolia*. R.F.W.-Universität, Bonn, 2009, pp. 203–220.

— 'Das mehrperiodige Gräberfeld von Suchanicha bei Minusinsk', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 15/2009, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2010, pp. 67–208.

— 'Der tagarzeitliche Großkurgan von Barsučij Log in Chakassien', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 16/2010, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2010, pp. 169–281.

Pfaffenbichler, Matthias. 'Spangenhelme', in Koch, Alexander (Hg). *Attila und die Hunnen*. Theiss, Stuttgart 2007, pp. 244–251.

Phillips, E.D. *The Royal Hordes. Nomad Peoples of the Steppes*. Thames & Hudson 1965.

Piankov, I.V. 'The Ethnic History of the Sakas', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 37–46. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

Piankova, L.T. 'Bronze Age settlements of Southern Tadjikistan', in Kohl, Philipp, *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia. Recent Soviet discoveries*. Sharpe, New York 1981, pp. 287–310.

Pidaev, Shakir, Leriche, Pierre. 'Quelques villes moyennes de Bactriane', in *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour. Dossiers d'Archéologie*, Editions Faton, Quétigny 1999, pp. 50–55.

Pidoplichko, I. H. *Meziritchiskie jilicha iz kosteï*. Naukova Dumka, Kiev 1976.

— *Upper Palaeolithic Dwellings of Mammoth Bones in the Ukraine: Kiev-Kirillovskii, Gontsy, Dobranichevka, Mezin and Mezhirich*. BAR International Series 712, J. and E. Hedges, Oxford, 1998.

Pilipko, V.N. 'Excavations at Staraia Nisa', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 101–116. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

Piotrovsky, Boris et al. *Ourartou, Neapolis des Scythes, Kharezm*. Maisonneuve, Paris 1954.

Piotrovsky, Boris et al. *L'art scythe*. Aurora, Léningrad 1986.

Piotrovsky, Mikhail et al. *The Treasures of the Sarmatians* (in Russian). Museum of Azov 2008.

Pitschikjan, Igor. *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1992.

— 'Rebirth of the Oxus Treasure: Second part of the Oxus Treasure from the Miho Museum Collection', in *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 4, No. 4. Brill, Leiden 1997, pp. 306–383.

Pittman, Holly. *Art of the Bronze Age. Southeastern Iran, Western Central Asia and the Indus Valley*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1984.

Podossinov, Alexander. 'Am Rande der griechischen Oikumene. Geschichte des Bosporanischen Reichs', in Fornasier, Jochen, Böttger, Burkhard (eds). *Das Bosporanische Reich*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002, pp. 21–38.

Pohl, Walter. *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Europa 567–822 n.Chr*. C.H.Beck, München 2002.

Polos'mak, Natascha, Seifert, Mathias. 'Menschen aus dem Eis Sibiriens. Neuentdeckte Hügelgräber (Kurgane) im Permafrost des Altai', *Antike Welt* 1996/2, pp. 87–108. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996.

— 'Die ‚Amazone' von Pazyryk', in Rolle Renate, *Amazonen,* 2010, pp. 129–137.

Pommereau, Claude (ed.). *La vie des hommes de la préhistoire*. Figaro, Beaux Arts magazine, Paris 2008.

Poncins, Vicomte Edmond de. *Chasses et Explorations dans la Région des Pamirs*. Challamel, Paris 1897.

Possnert, Göran, *Sundström. Result of ^{14}C dating of human hair from Xinjiang, China*. Report from The Angström Laboratory, Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala 11 March 2011.

Potts, Daniel. 'Bactrian Camels and Bactrian-Dromedary Hybrids', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 3/1, pp. 49–59, 2005. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol3num1/7_bactrian.php

Prejevalsky, Nicholai. *Mongolia. The Tangut country and the solitudes of Northern Tibet. Being a narrative of three years travel in Eastern High Asia*. 2 vols. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London 1876.

Preston, Douglas. *Dinosaurs in the Attic*. St. Martin's Griffin, New York 1986.

Price, Neil (ed.). *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Routledge, London 2001.

Primas, M. 'Innovationstransfer vor 5000 Jahren. Knotenpunkte an Land-und Wasserwegen zwischen Vorderasien und Europa', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 13/2007, pp. 1–20. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2008.

Ptolemaios, Claudios. *Handbuch der Geographie*. Herausgegeben von Alfred Sückelberger und Gerd Grasshoff. 2 Bde. Schwabe, Basel 2006.

Puett, Michael. 'China in Early Eurasian History', in Mair, Victor, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*. The Institute for the Study of Man, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 699–715.

Pugachenkova, G.A. *Development of architecture in South Turkmenistan for classical and early medieval periods. (Puti razvitiia arhitektur'i iuzhnogo Turmenistana.*) Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1958.

— *Antiquities of Southern Uzbekistan*. Soka University Press, Tokyo 1991.

Pulleyblank, Edwin. 'Chinese and Indo-Europeans', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London April 1966, pp. 9–39.

— 'Why Tocharians?', in Mair, Victor H. (ed.). 'The Mummified Remains Found in the Tarim Basin', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Washington, Vol. 23, No. 3&4, 1995, pp. 415–430.

Pumpelly, Raphael (ed.). *Explorations in Turkestan. Expedition of 1904. Prehistoric civilizations of Anau*. Carnegie Institute, Washington 1908.

Pyankov, I.V. 'Arkaim and the Indo-Iranian Var', in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington D.C., 2002, pp. 42–52.

Qi, Xiaoshan, Wang Bo. *The ancient culture in Xinjiang along the Silk Road*. (in Chinese) Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, Urumqi, 2008.

Quintus, Curtius Rufus. *The History of Alexander*. Translated by John Yardley. Penguin Classics, London 2004.

Radloff, Wilhelm. *Aus Sibirien*. 2 vols. Weigel Nachfolger, Leipzig 1893.

Ranov, Vadim. 'Toward a new outline of the Soviet Central Asian Palaeolithic', *Current Anthropology*, University of Chicago Press, Vol. 20. No. 2, 1979, pp. 249–270.

— 'Zentralasien', in Bar-Yosef, O. et al. *Neue Forschungen zur Altsteinzeit*. Beck, München 1984, pp. 299–343.

— 'L'exploration archéologique du Pamir', *Bulletin de l'Ecole française de d'Extrême Orient*, Paris, Vol. 73, 1984, pp. 67–97.

— 'Tout commence au paléolithique', in *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*. Faton, Dijon, Nr. 185, 1993, pp. 4–13.

— 'Les énigmes de la culture de Hissar', in *Découverte des civilisations d'Asie Centrale. Les dossiers d'archéologie*. Faton, Dijon, Nr. 185, 1993, pp. 14–21.

— 'The "Loessic Palaeolithic" in south Tadjikistan, Central Asia: its industries, chronology and correlation', *Quaternary Science Reviews* 14, 1995, pp. 731–745. Elsevier, Amsterdam.

Ranov, Vadim et al. 'Kuldara: Earliest Human Occupation in Central Asia in its Afro-Asian Context', *Current Anthropology*, Tucson, Vol. 36, No.2, 1995, pp. 337–346.

— 'Lower Palaeolithic cultures', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992, pp. 45–63.

— *Guide to the principal archaeological sites of the Eastern Pamir (Tajikistan)*. META, Murgab 2003.

Rapin, Claude. 'L'incompréhensible Asie centrale de la carte de Ptolémée. Propositions pour un décodage', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 201–226. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

— 'L'Afghanistan et l'Asie Centrale dans la géographie mythique des historiens d'Alexandre et dans la toponymie des géographes gréco-romains', in Bopearachchi Osmund, Boussac Marie-Françoise (eds). *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Brepols, Turnhout 2005, pp. 143–172.

— ‘Nomads and the shaping of Central Asia’, in Cribb, Joe; Herrmann, Georgina (eds). *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam*. The British Academy, London 2007, pp. 29–72.

— ‘La Sogdiane d’Alexandre le Grand aux derniers Gréco-Bactriens’, *Dossiers d’Archéologie* No. 341, *Samarcande*. Editions Faton, Quétigny 2010. pp. 28–31.

Rapin, Claude, Isamiddinov, Muxammedzon, Khasanov, Mutallib. ‘La tombe d’une princesse nomade à Koktepe près de Samarkand’, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 145e année, N. 1, 2001, pp. 33–92.

Rapin, Claude, Baud, Aymon et al. *Les recherches sur la région der Portes de Fer de Sogdiane. Bref état des questions en 2005*. Istorija Material’noj Kul’tury Uzbekistana, IMKU pp. 48–59, Samarkand, 2006 http://claude.rapin.free.fr/1BiblioTextesGeogrPDF/GeogrPF_IMKU35.pdf

Rapoport, Yuri. ‘The palaces of Topraq-Qal’a’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 161–185. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

Rassamakin, Jurij. ‘The Eneolithic of the Black sea Steppe: Dynamics of Cultural and Economic Development 4500–2300 BC’, in Levine Marsha et al. *Late prehistoric exploitation of the Eurasian steppe*. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, Cambridge 1999, pp. 59–182.

— *Die nordpontische Steppe in der Kupferzeit. Gräber aus der Mitte des 5. Jts. bis Ende des 4. Jts. v. Chr.* 2 vols. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004.

Razzakov, Rauf. *Sarazm*. Donish Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography, Dushanbe 2006.

Reeder, Ellen. *Scythian Gold. Treasures from ancient Ukraine*. Abrams, New York 1999.

Reger, Gary. *Traders and Travellers in the Black and Aegean Seas*. Pontos Publications 2007. pp. 273–285.

Regzen, G. *Korean-Mongolian joint expedition in Mongolia 1997–2001*. The National Museum of Mongolian History, Ulaan Baatar 2002.

Reich, David et al. ‘Genetic history of an archaic hominin group from Denisova Cave in Siberia’, *Nature*, 10:1038/09710, Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke December 2010, pp. 1053–1060.

Renfrew, Colin. *Archaeolgy & Language. The puzzle of Indo-European origins*. Jonathan Cape, London 1987.

— ‘Die Indoeuropäer aus archäologischer Sicht’, in Breuer, Reinhard (ed.) ‘Die Evolution der Sprachen’, *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, Dossier 2/2007, pp. 40–48. Heidelberg 2007.

— ‘Le problème indo-européen et l’hypothèse anatolienne’, *Dossiers d’Archéologie* No. 338, Editions Faton, Quétigny 2010, pp. 44–53.

Renner, Georg; Selic, Christa. *Abseits der großen Minarette*. Brockhaus Leipzig 1982.

Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 1: Sibérie du Sud 1. Oglakhty I–III. Edité par Sher Jakov et al. Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 1994.

Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 2: Sibérie du Sud 2. Tepsej I–III, Ust’-Tuba I–VI. Edité par Blednova Natalia et al. Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 1995.

Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 3: Sibérie du Sud 3. Kalbak-Tash I. Edité par Kubarev Vladimir et al. Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 1996.

Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 4: Sibérie du Sud 4. Cheremushny Log, Ust’-Kulog. Edité par Sher Jakov et al. *Stèles de Khakassie*. Edité par Savinov Dimitri et al. Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 1999.

Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 5 :Kazakhstan 1. Choix de pétroglyphes du Semirech’e. Edité par Mar’jasev A.N. et al. Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 1998.

Répertoire des pétroglyphes d’Asie Centrale. Fascicule 6: Mongolie du Nord-Ouest, Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor. Edité par Jacobson Esther et al. 2 vols, Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 2001.

Rey, Marie-Catherine (ed.). *Kazakhstan, hommes, bêtes et dieux de la steppe*. Artlys, Versailles 2010.

Rezepkin, Alexeij. D. *Das frühbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Klady und die Majkop-Kultur in Nordwestkaukasien*. Marie Leidorf, Espelkamp 2000.

Richardson, David. *The Karakalpaks*, 2005. http://www.karakalpak.com/index.html

Rickenbach, Judith (ed.). *Oxus. 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluss in Mittelasien*. Museum Rietberg, Zürich 1989.

Rieger, Angelica (ed.). *Der Alexanderroman*. Müller und Schindler, Stuttgart 2002.

Rieu, Jacques. *Trésors de l’Altai Mongol*. Creatica, Santander 2006.

Rig Veda, published by Peter Michel. Marix, Wiebaden 2008.

Rivera, Norberto (ed.). *Shang and Western Zhou Jades*. Throckmorton Fine Art, Inc. New York 2010.

Rogozhinsky, A.E. (ed.). *Rock Art sites of Central Asia*. NIPI PMK, Almaty 2004.

Rolle, Renate. *Totenkult der Skythen*. 2 vols. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 1979.

— *Die Welt der Skythen*. Bucher, Luzern 1980.

— ‘Amazonen in der archäologischen Realität’, *Kleist-Jahrbuch* 1986, pp. 38–62. Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin 1986.

Rolle, Renate et al. *Gold der Steppe. Archäologie der Ukraine*. Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Schleswig 1991.

— ‘Das Burgwallsystem von Bel’sk (Ukraine). Eine frühe stadtartige Anlage im skythischen Landesinnern’, in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie*, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, Vol. 18, 1996, pp. 57–84.

— *Königskurgan Čertomlyk. Ein skythischer Grabhügel des 4. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1998.

Rolle, Renate et al. (ed.) *Amazonen. Geheimnisvolle Kriegerinnen*. Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer 2010.

Rosén, Staffan. ‘Korea and the Silk Roads’, *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 6/2, pp. 3–14, 2009. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol6num2/srjournal_v6n2.pdf

Rosendahl, Gaëlle et al. ‘Le plus vieil arc du monde? Une pièce intéressante en provenance de Mannheim, Allemagne’, *L’Anthropologie*, Vol. 110, No. 3, Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2006, pp. 371–382.

Rossi-Osmida, Gabriele (ed.). *Turkmenistan. Environment, history, monuments, ethnography*. Centro Studi Ricerche Ligabue, Venezia 1996.

— *Margiana. Gonur-depe Necropolis*. Il Punto, Venice 2002.

— *Adji Kui Oasis, III–II mill. BC*. Centro Studi Ricerche Ligabue, Venezia 2007.

Rostovtzeff, M. *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. Clarendon, Oxford 1922.

— *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1929.

— *La peinture décorative antique en Russie méridionale*. Diffusion Boccard, Paris (1913–1914) 2004.

Rothe, Peter. *Die Erde*. WBG, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Damstadt 2008.

Rougemont, Georges, Stronach, David. ‘On the Date of the Oxus Gold Scabbard and other Achaemenid Matters’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 231–248. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

Roux, Georges, Renger, Johannes. *Irak in der Antike*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2005.

Roux, Jean-Paul. *L’Asie Centrale. Histoire et civilisations*. Fayard, Paris 1997.

Rowland, Benjamin. *Zentralasien*. Holle, Baden-Baden 1970.

Rozwadowski, Andrzej. ‘The forgotten art of ancient Uzbekistan’, *The Times of Central Asia*, 26 January 2001, Vol. 3, No. 4.

— ‘Sun gods or shamans? Interpreting the “solar-headed” petroglyphs of Central Asia’, in Price, Neil (ed). *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Routledge, London 2001, pp. 65–86.

— *Symbols through Time. Interpreting the Rock Art of Central Asia*. Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan 2004.

Rtveladze, Edvard. ‘Kampyr Tepe-Pandokheïon’, in *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour. Dossiers d’Archéologie*, Editions Faton, Quétigny 1999, pp. 56f.

— ‘Kampyr Tepe-Pandokheïon – Alexandria Oxiana’, in Hansen Sven. *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt. Asiens Kulturen im Wandel*. Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim 2009, pp. 169–175.

Rudenko, Sergei. *Die sibirische Sammlung Peters I.* Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR. Moskau-Leningrad 1962.

— *Die Kultur der Hsung-Nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula*. Habelt, Bonn 1969.

— *Frozen Tombs of Siberia. The Pazyrik Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*. Dent & Sons, London 1970.

Rusanov, D.V. ‘The Fortification of Kampir-Tepe: A Reconstruction’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 155–160. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

Sagdullaev, Anatoli, Pidaev, Shakir. ‘L’âge du Fer en Bactriane’, La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour. *Dossiers d’Archéologie*, Editions Faton, Quétigny 1999, pp. 24–27.

Sala, Renato. *Historical survey of irrigation practices in West Central Asia*. Laboratory of Geoarchaeology, Almaty 2004.

Sala, Renato, Deom, Jean-Marc. *Petroglyphs of South Kazakhstan*. Laboratory of Geoarchaeology, Almaty 2005.

Salmony, Alfred. *Sino-Siberian Art in the collection of C.T. Loo*. C.T. Loo Publishers, Paris 1933.

— *Antler and tongue. An essay on ancient Chinese symbolism and its implications*. Artibus Asiae, Ascona 1954.

Salomon, Richard. ‘The Indo–Greek era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist reliquary inscription’, in Bopearachchi, Osmund, Boussac, Marie-Françoise. *Afghanistan. Ancien carrefour entre l’est et l’ouest*. Brepols, Turnhout 2005, pp. 359–401.

Samashev, Zainolla. *Petroglyphs of East Kazakhstan as historical sources*. Rakurs, Almaty 1993.

Samashev, Zainolla et al. ‘Le kourgane de Berel dans l’Altaï kazakhstanais’, *Arts Asiatiques*. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, 55/2000, pp. 5–20. Paris.

— *Treasures from the Ustyurt and Mangystau*. Publishing Group ‘Archaeology’ LLC, Almaty 2007.

Sanders, Alan. *Historical Dictionary of Mongolia*. Scarecrow Press, Lanham 2003.

Sarianidi, Viktor. ‘Margiana in the Bronze Age’, in Kohl Philipp. *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia. Recent Soviet discoveries*. Sharpe, New York 1981, pp. 165–193.

— *The Golden Hoard of Bactria. From the Tillya-tepe Excavations in Northern Afghanistan*. Abrams, New York 1985.

— ‘Le complexe culturel de Togolok-21 en Margiane’, *Arts Asiatiques*. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, 41/1986, pp. 5–21. Paris.

— ‘The Bactrian Pantheon’, *Information Bulletin of the International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, IASCCA*, No. 10, pp. 5–20, Moscow 1986.

— ‘The golden hoard of Bactria’, *National Geographic*, Vol. 177, No. 3, March 1990. National Geographic Society, Washington, pp. 50–75.

— ‘Food-producing and other Neolithic communities in Khorasan and Transoxiana: Eastern Iran, Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan’, in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992, pp. 109–126.

— ‘Temples of Bronze Age Margiana: traditions of ritual architecture’, *Antiquity*, Vol. 68, No. 297, pp. 388–397, York 1994.

— ‘Aegean-Anatolian Motifs in the Glyptic Art of Bactria and Margiana’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 8, 1994, pp. 27–36. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 1996.

— *Margush. Ancient Oriental Kingdom in the Old Delta of Murgab River.* Türkmendöwlethabarlary, Ashgabat, 2002.

— ‘Les tombes royales de Gonur-Dépé’, in *Archéologia*. Faton, Dijon, No. 420, 2005, pp. 52–59.

— ‘Le plus ancien sacrifice de poulain au Proche-Orient’, *Dossiers d’Archéologie*, No. 317, 2006, pp. 34–39.

— ‘Nouvelles sépultures sur le territoire de la «nécropole royale» de Gonur Dépé’, *Arts Asiatiques*. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, 65/2010, pp. 5–26. Paris.

Saunders, Nicholas. *L’âme des animaux*. Albin Michel, Paris 1995.

Sauter, Herrmann. *Studien zum Kimmerierproblem*. Habelt, Bonn 2000.

Savinov, D.G., Chlenova, N.L. ‘Zapadnyye predaly rasprostraneniya olennykh kamney i voprosy ikh kul’turno-etnicheskoy prinadlezhnosti’, in *Arkheologiya i etnografiya Mongolii*. Novosibirsk 1978, pp. 72–94.

Savostina, E.A. *Tema nadgrobnoj stelu iz Trechbratnego kurgana v kontekste antičnogo mirfa*. Istoriko-archeologičeskij almanach 1. Armarir, Moskva 1995, pp. 110–119.

Schäfer, Joachim et al. ‘Neue Untersuchungen zum Lösspaläolithikum am Obi-Mazar, Tadžikistan’, *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum*, Mainz, Jg. 26, Heft 2, 1996, pp. 97–109.

— ‘Das Altpaläolithikum aus dem 4. Paläobodenkomplex von Obi-Mazar (Tadschikistan)’, in J. Burdukiewicz u. al. (eds), *Erkenntnisjäger. Kultur und Umwelt des frühen Menschen. Veröffentlichungen des Landesamtes für Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt 57*, 2003 (Festschrift Dietrich Mania), pp. 509–535.

Scelinskij, Vjaceslav, Sirokov, Vladimir. *Höhlenmalerei im Ural*. Thorbecke, Sigmaringen 1999.

Scham, Sandra. ‘The Lost Goddess of Israel’, *Archaeology*. Archaeological Institute of America, Boston March/April 2005.

Scharlipp, Wolfgang. *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien*. WBG, Darmstadt, 1992.

Schiltz, Véronique. *Histoires de kourganes. La redécouverte de l’or des Scythes*. Gallimard, Paris 1991.

— *Die Skythen und andere Steppenvölker*. C.H. Beck. München 1994.

— *L’or des Amazones* (ed.). Findakly, Paris 2001.

— ‘Notule sur un ours énigmatique’, in Bopearachchi Osmund. *Afghanistan,* 2005, pp. 293–305.

Schlichtherle, Helmut. ‘Wagenfunde aus den Seeufersiedlungen im zirkumalpinen Raum’, in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 295–314.

Schmitt, Hatto H., Vogt, Ernst (eds). *Lexikon des Hellenismus*. Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden 2005.

Schultz, Michael. ‘Ergebnisse der paläopathologisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung der menschlichen Skelettfunde aus dem Grab 26 von Liushui, Xinjiang China’, *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 13/2007, pp. 181–197. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2008.

Schultz, P.N., Golovkina, V.A. ‘Neapolis des Scythes’, in Piotrovsky, Boris et al. *Ourartou, Neapolis des Scythes, Kharezm*. Maisonneuve, Paris 1954.

Schulz, P.N. ‘Skifskiye izvayanina’, in *Khudozhestvennaya kul’tura i arkheologiya antichnogo mira*. Nauka, Moskwa, 1976, pp. 218–231.

Schwarcz, H.P. ‘ESR dates for the hominid burial site of Qafzeh in Israel’, *Journal of Human Evolution*, 17, Elsevier, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 733–737.

Scott, Marian et al (eds). *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia*. NATO Scientific Affairs Division and Kluwer Publishers, Dordrecht, 2004.

Seaman, Gary (ed.). *Foundations of empire. Archaeology and Art of the Eurasian Steppes*. University of Southern California, Los Angeles 1992.

Seaman, Gary, Marks, Daniel (eds). *Rulers from the Steppe. State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*. University of Southern California, Los Angeles 1991.

Seifert, Mathias. 'Zur absoluten Datierung der Hügelgräber der Pazyryk-Kultur', in Rolle Renate et al. *Amazonen,* 2010, p. 138f.

Seipel, Wilfried (ed.). *Gold der Steppe*. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Leoben 2009.

Semonov, Petr Petrovich. *Travels in the Tian-Shan, 1856–1857*. Haklyut Society, London (1946) 1998.

Shanbazi, Shapur. 'Iranian mythology. Iraj', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Columbia University, New York. http://www.iranica.com/articles/iraj

Shao, Qinglong et al. *Genghis Khan – The Ancient Nomadic Culture of the Northern China*. N.D. Beijing 2004.

Sharma, Deo Prakash. *Indus Script on its way to decipherment*. Prakashan, Delhi 2000.

Shcheglov, A.N., Katz, V.I. 'A fourth-century BC Royal Kurgan in the Crimea', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*. New York, Vol. 26, 1991, pp. 97–122.

Sheppard, Ruth. *Alexander der Grosse und seine Feldzüge*. Theiss, Stuttgart 2009.

Sher, Jakov. 'Pétroglyphes de Russie', *Archéologia*. Editions Faton, Dijon, No. 395, 2002, pp. 58–65.

Sheratt, Andrew. 'The Trans-Eurasian Exchange: The Prehistory of Chinese Relations with the West', in Mair, Victor H. *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World*, 2006, pp. 30–61.

Shreeve, Jamie. 'Sur la route de l'évolution', *National Geographic*, Washington/Paris. July 2010, pp. 2–35.

Shunkov, Michael. 'The characteristics of the Altai (Russia) Middle Palaeolithic in regional context', *Indo-Pacific Association Bulletin* 25, Taipei, 2005, pp. 69–77.

Sidky, H. *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria. From Alexander to Eucratides the Great*. University Press of America, Lanham 2000.

Sima, Guang. *Zizhi tongjian*. 1084. Excerpt titled *Wars with the Xiongnu*, translated by Joseph P. Yap. Author House, Bloomington 2009.

Sima, Qian: see Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

Simonenko, A.V. 'Bewaffnung und Kriegswesen der Sarmaten und späten Skythen im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 7/2001, pp. 187–328. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001

— 'Sarmatian relics of the "Eastern Wave" in the North Pontic Region', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*. Vol. 8, 2002, pp. 1–28. Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura 2002.

Sinor, Denis (ed.). *The Cambridge history of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990.

Sirinov, Temur. 'Die frühurbane Kultur der Bronzezeit im südlichen Mittelasien. Die vorgeschichtliche Siedlung Dzarkutan', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, Vol. 34, pp. 1–170. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin 2003.

Sirocko, Frank. *Wetter, Klima, Menschheitsentwicklung*. WBG, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 2010.

Skvorcov, N., Skripkin, A. 'Eine sarmatische Adelsbestattung aus dem Wolgograder Wolgagebiet', in *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 12/2006, pp. 251–268. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

Skoryj, Sergej. 'Der Kurgan Perepjaticha', in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie*, Vol. 18, pp. 86–106. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996.

Sokolov, G. *Antique art of the Northern Black Sea coast*. Aurora, Leningrad 1974.

Solanki, Sami et al. *Unusual activity of the Sun during recent decades compared to the previous 11,000 years*, Nature 28 October (2004). http://dx.doi.org/10.1038/nature02995

Solecki, Ralph S. *Shanidar cave: a Palaeolithic site in northern Iraq*. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1954: pp. 389–425.

Solecki, Ralph S.; Anagnostis P., Agelarakis (2004). *The Proto-Neolithic Cemetery in Shanidar Cave*. Texas A&M University Press, 2004.

Souza, Philip de (ed.). *The ancient world at war.* Thames & Hudson, London 2008.

Ssu-ma, Ch'ien. *Shih chi. Records of the grand historian of China. Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson.* Columbia University Press, New York 1971.

Stähler, Klaus (ed.). *Zur graeco-skythischen Kunst. Archäologisches Kolloquium Münster 1995*. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 1997.

Stark, Sören, Rubinson, Karen (eds.). *Nomads and Networks. The Ancient Art and Culture of Kazakhstan*. Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, New York, and Princeton University Press, Princeton 2012.

Staviskij, Boris. *Kunst der Kuschan*. Seemann, Leipzig 1979.

— *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*. Maisonneuve, Paris 1986.

Stein, Sir Aurel. *Ruins of Desert Cathay*. Macmillan, London, 1912.

—*Serindia*. Clarendon, Oxford, 1921.

— *Innermost Asia*. Clarendon, Oxford 1928.

Stierlin, Henri. *Splendors of Ancient Persia*. White Star Publishers, Vercelli 2006.

Strabo. *Geographica*. In der Übersetzung und mit Anmerkungen von Dr. A. Forbiger. Marix Verlag, Wiesbaden 2007.

Strahlenberg, Philip Johann von. *Das Nord-und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der großen Tartarey in sich begreiffet*. In Verlegung des Autoris, Stockholm 1730.

Stronach, David. 'On the date of the Oxus Scabbard and other Achaemenid Matters', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 231–248. The Asia Institute, Bloomfield Hills 2001.

Takahama, Shu et al. (eds). 'Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Investigations in Ulaan Uushig I (Uushigiin Övör) in Mongolia', *Bulletin of archaeology, the University of Kanazawa* No. 28, .pp. 61–102, 2006. http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110006278430/en/

Talbot-Rice, Tamara. *Die Skythen*. Dumont, Köln 1957.

Tarn, W.W. *The Greeks in Bactria & India*. Ares Publishers, Chicago (1938, 1951) 1997.

Tarzi, Zamariallai. 'Jules Bartoux: le découvreur oublié d'Aï Khanoum', in *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Paris. Comptes rendus des scéances de l'année 1996*, fasc. II, pp. 595–611, 1996.

Tashbayeva, K. et al. *Petroglyphs of Central Asia*. International Institute for Central Asian Studies, Samarkand 2001.

Telegin, D., Mallory, J.P. 'The Anthropomorphic Stelae of the Ukraine. The Early Iconography of the Indo-Europrans', *Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph No. 11*. The Institute for the Study of Man, Washington 1994.

Telegin, D. et al. 'Settlement and economy in Neolithic Ukraine: a new chronology', *Antiquity*, Vol. 77, No. 297, pp. 456–470, York 2003.

Teufer, Mike, Vinogradova, Natalija. 'Das Gräberfeld von Gelot, Tadschikistan', in Boroffka, Nikolaus, Hansen, Svend (eds). *Archäologische Forschungen in Kasachstan, Tadschikistan, Turkmenistan und Usbekistan*. Eurasien-Abteilung, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 2010, pp. 28–31.

Thornton, Christopher, Schurr, Theodore. 'Genes, language and culture: an example from the Tarim Basin', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, Oxford, Vol. 23, 2004, pp. 83–106.

Tolstikov, Vladimir. 'Pantikapaion. Ein archäologisches Porträt der Hauptstadt des Kimmerischen Bosporus', in Fornasier, Jochen, Böttger Burkhard (eds). *Das Bosporanische Reich*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002, pp. 39–58.

Tolstov, Sergei. *Drevniy Choresm*. Isdanjje MGU, Moscow 1948.

— *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*. Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt, Berlin 1953.

Tomasello, Michael. *Die kulturelle Entwicklung des menschlichen Denkens*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., 2002.

Tomka, Peter. *Über die Bestattungen der Hunnen*. in Koch, Alexander (ed.). Attila und die Hunnen. Theiss, Stuttgart 2007, pp. 252–257.

Tosi, M. et al. 'The Bronze Age in Iran and Afghanistan', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992, pp. 191–223.

Treister, Mikhail. *Die Drei-Brüder-Kurgane. Katalog und Analyse der Befunde und Funde einer Grabhügelgruppe auf der östlichen Krim aus der Zeit des 4. bis 3. Jhs. v.Chr.* Universum, Bonn, Simferopol 2008.

Trifonov, Viktor. 'Die Majkop-Kultur und die ersten Wagen in der südrussischen Steppe', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 167–176.

Trofimova, Anna (ed.). *Greeks on the Black Sea*. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2007.

Tsultem, N. *Mongolian Arts and Crafts*. State Publishing House, Ulaan Baatar 1987.

— *Mongolian Architecture*. State Publishing House, Ulaan Baatar 1988.

— *Mongolian Sculpture*. State Publishing House, Ulaan Baatar 1989.

Tur, C.A. *Neapol Skyfsji*. Universum, Simferopol 2011.

Tureckij, Michail. 'Wagengräber der grubengrabzeitlichen Kulturen im Steppengebiet Osteuropas', in Fansa, Mamoun, Burmeister, Stefan. *Rad und Wagen*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, pp. 191–200.

Ustinova, Yulia. 'Snake-limbed and tendril-limbed goddesses in the art and mythology of the Mediterranean and Black Sea', in Braund, David (ed.). *Scythians and Greeks*. University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2005, pp. 64–79.

Vaissière, Étienne de la. 'Huns et Xiongnu', *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 49, pp. 3–26. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2005.

— *Sogdian Traders. A History*. Brill, Leiden 2005.

Valois, Paule. 'Quand l'homme a peuplé la terre. Les récentes découvertes', *Archéologia*. Editions Faton, Dijon, No. 480, 2010, pp. 48–56.

Vandermeersch, Bernhard. 'The excavation of Qafzeh. Its contribution to knowledge of the Mousterian in the Levant', *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem*, 10, 2002, pp. 65–70. http://bcrfj.revues.org/index1192.html

Vasil'ev, Sergei et al. 'Radiocarbon-based chronology of the Palaeolithic in Siberia and its relevance to the peopling of the New World', *Radiocarbon*, Vol. 44/2, pp. 503–530, University of Arizona, Tucson 2002.

Vedder, James. 'Greeks, Amazons and Archaeology', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 2/2, pp. 17–24, 2004. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol2num2/greek.html

Vickers, Michael. *Scythian and Thracian antiquities*. Asmolean handbooks, Oxford 2002.

Victorri, Bernhard. 'Die Debatte um die Ursprache', in Breuer, Reinhard (ed.). 'Die Evolution der Sprachen', *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, Dossier 2/2007, pp. 16–19. Heidelberg 2007

Vishnyatsky, Leonid. 'The Palaeolithic of Central Asia', *Journal of World Prehistory*, Vol. 13, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 69–122.

Vitebsky, Piers. *Les Chamanes*. Albin Michel, Paris 1995.

Wagner, Mayke, Butz, Herbert. *Nomadenkunst*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

Wagner, Mayke, Wang Wei (eds). *Bridging Eurasia*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2010.

Walser, Gerold. *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*. Teheraner Forschungen, Bd. 2, Mann, Berlin 1966.

Wang, Binghua. 'Recherches historiques préliminaires sur les Saka du Xinjiang ancien', *Arts Asiatiques*. Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, 42/1987, pp. 31–44. Paris.

— 'The Polychrome Rock Paintings in the Altay Mountains', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 3/1, pp. 16–23, 2005. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol3num1/srjournal_v3n1.pdf

Wang, Binghua et al. *The ancient corpses of Xinjiang*. Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2001.

Wang, Bo. 'Hirschsteine in Xinjiang', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 7/2001, pp. 105–132. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001.

Wang, Tao; Wang, Helen. 'The Anau Seal and the questions it raises', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2/2007, pp. 143–150. Brepols, Turnhout 2007.

Watt, James. 'The legacy of Nomadic Art in China and Eastern Central Asia', in Bunker, Emma. *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Yale University Press, New Haven 2002, pp. 199–209.

Weniger, Gerd-Christian. 'Wie modern waren Neanderthaler?', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 14/2008, pp. 1–18. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2009.

Wereshagin, Wassilij Wassiljewitch. *Turkestan. Etyudy s natury. (Turkestan. Studien nach der Natur.)* Beggrow, St. Petersburg 1874.

Werming, Jeanette. 'Käwrigul/Gumugou and Xiaohe, Lop Nur Zhen', in Wieczorek, Alfred, Lind, Christoph (eds), *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*. Theiss, Stuttgart 2007, pp. 102–133.

Werner, Thomas (ed.). *Unbekannte Krim*. Kehrer, Heidelberg 1999.

West, M.L. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007.

Wheeler, Mark. 'Back to the Source. A modern-day archaeologist digs deep in Central Asia and excavates a hero', *Huntington Frontiers*, Fall/Winter 2005, pp. 20–24. The Huntington Library, San Marino CA 2005.

White, Randall. *Prehistoric Art. The symbolic journey of mankind*. Abrams, New York 2003.

White, Tim et al. 'Pleistocene Homo sapiens from Middle Awash, Ethiopia', *Nature*, Vol. 423, pp. 742–747, Macmillan Publishers, Basingstoke 2003.

Whitehead, R.B. *Catalogue of coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*. (1914), Indic Academy, Varanasi 1971.

Wieczorek, Alfred, Lind, Christoph (eds). *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße*. Theiss, Stuttgart 2007.

Willerslev, Eske, Rasmussen, Morten et al. 'An Aboriginal Australian genome reveals separate human dispersals into Asia', *Science*, Vol. 333, pp. 1689ff, 23 September 2011. American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York 2011.

Williams, James. 'The Tahilt Region: A Preliminary Archaeological Survey of the Tahilt Surroundings to Contextualize the Tahilt Cemeteries', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 5/2, pp. 27–36, 2008. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol5num2/

Winkelmann, Sylvia. *Seals of the oasis from the Ligabue Collection*. Il Punto, Venice 2004.

Wood, John. *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*. Murray, London 1872.

Wu Rukang, Olsen, John W. (eds) *Palaeoanthropology and Palaeolithic Archaeology in the People's Republic of China*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek 2009.

Wu Xinhua et al. 'Das protoskythische Gräberfeld Liushi im Kun Lun-Gebirge, NW-China', *Eurasia Antiqua*, Vol. 12/2006, pp. 173–192. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology. *New Achievements in archaeological research in Xinjiang during the time span 1990–1996* (in Chinese). Xinjiang Wenwu, Urumqi, 1997.

— 'Investigation and Excavation of the Xiaohe Cemetery in 2002' (in Chinese), in *Cultural Relics of Xinjiang*, Xinjiang Wenwu, Urumqi, 2003/2.

— 'Investigation and Excavation of the Xiaohe Cemetery in 2003' (in Chinese), in *Cultural Relics of Xinjiang*, Xinjiang Wenwu, Urumqi, 2007/1.

Xu Wenkan. 'Xinjiang Mummies and the Origin of the Tocharians', in Mair, Victor H. 'The Mummified Remains Found in the Tarim Basin', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Washington, Vol. 23, Nr. 3&4, 1995, pp. 357–369.

Yablonsky, Leonid T. 'New excavations of the early nomadic burial ground at Filippovka (Southern Ural Region, Russia)', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Archaeological Institute of America, Boston, Vol. 114, Jan. 2010, pp. 129–143.

Yablonsky, Leonid T. et al. 'L'épée dorée de Filippovka', *Archéologia*. Editions Faton, Dijon, No. 494, 2011, pp. 50–57.

Yang Juping. 'Alexander the Great and the Emergence of the Silk Road', *The Silk Road Journal*, Vol. 6/2, 2009, pp. 15–22. The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga.

Yang Xiaoping. 'The oases along the Keriya River in the Taklamakan Desert, China, and their evolution since the end of the last glaciation', *Environmental Geology*, Springer, Berlin 1993, Vol. 41, No. 3–4. pp. 314–320.

Yang Xiaoping et al. 'Late Quaternary environmental changes in the Taklamakan Desert, western China, inferred from OSL-dated lacustrine and Aeolian deposits', *Quaternary International Science Reviews* 25, 2006, pp. 923–932. Elsevier, Amsterdam.

— 'Hydrological changes and land degradation in the southern and eastern Tarim Basin, Xinjiang, China', *Land Degradation & Development*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2006, pp.381–392. http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/6175/home

— 'Late Quaternary palaeoenvironment change and landscape evolution along the Keriya River, Xinjiang, China: the relationship between high mountain glaciation and landscape evolution in foreland desert regions', *Quaternary International*, Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2002, Vol. 97–98, pp. 155–166.

Yatsenko, Sergey. 'The biggest expedition. Studying the Ancient Iranian World: Chorasmian Expedition of S.P. Tolstov', *Transoxiana* 12, 2007. http://www.transoxiana.org/12/yatsenko-tolstov_chorasmia.php

Yue Feng (ed). *A grand view of Xinjiang's Cultural Relics and Historic Sites.*(in Chinese with English captions). Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, Urumqi, 1999.

— *Collection of the historical culture of Xinjiang* (in Chinese). Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, Urumqi, 2009.

Zadneprovskiy, Y.A. 'The nomads of Northern Central Asia after the invasion of Alexander', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. II. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1994, pp. 457–472.

Zaitseva, G.I., Geel, B. van. 'The occupation history of the southern Eurasia steppe during the Holocene', in Scott, Marian et al (eds). *Impact of the Environment on Human Migration in Eurasia*, 2004, pp. 63–82.

Zavyalov, V.A. 'The Fortifications of the City of Gyaur Kala, Merv', in Cribb, Joe, Herrmann, Georgina (eds). *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam*. The British Academy, London 2007, pp. 313–329.

Zaytsev, Juri. 'Skilur and his Kingdom', in *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia*. Brill, Leiden. Vol. 7, No. 3–4, 2001. pp. 239–271.

— *The Scythian Neapolis (2nd century BC to 3rd century AD). Investigation into the Graeco-Barbarian city on the northern Black Sea coast*. BAR International Series 1219, Oxford 2004.

— 'Scythian Neapolis – the Capital of the Kingdom of Skiluros', in Fless, Friederike, Treister, Mikhail, *Bilder und Objekte als Träger kultureller Identität und interkultureller Kommunikation im Schwarzmeergebiet*. Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2005, pp. 141–144.

Zbenovic, Vladimir G. '*Siedlungen der frühen Tripol'e-Kultur zwischen Dnestr und Südlichem Bug*. Marie Leidorf, Espelkamp 1996', in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington D.C., 2002, pp. 121–138.

Zdanovich, D.G, Batanina, I.M. 'Planography of the Fortified Centers of the Middle Brinze Age in the Southern Trans-Urals according to Aerial Photography Data', in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington D.C., 2002, pp. 121–138.

Zdanovich, D.G., Gayduchenko, L.L. 'Sintashta Burial Sacrifice: The Bolschekaragansky Cemetery in Focus', in Jones-Bley, Karlene, Zdanovich, D.G. *Complex Societies of Central Eurasia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*. Vol. I., Institute for the Study of Man, Washington D.C., 2002, pp. 202–231.

Zeimal, E.V. 'The political history of Transoxiana', in *Cambridge History of Iran,* Vol. 3 (1), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983, pp. 232–262.

Zettler, Richard, Horne, Lee (eds). *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 1998.

Zhao Feng, Yu Zhiyong (eds). *Legacy of the Desert King*. ISAT/Costume Squad, Hong Kong 2000.

Zhao Songqiao, Xia Xuncheng. 'Evolution of the Lop Desert and the Lop Nor', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 150, No.3, 1984, pp. 311–321. The Royal Geographical Society, London.

Zhou Xuejun, Song Weimin. *Archaeological treasures of the Silk Road in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region*. Shanghai Translation Publishing House. Shanghai 1998.

Zuev, V., Ismagil, E. 'Frühsarmatische Steinstelen von Ustyurt und Mangyshlak, West-Kasachstan', *Antiqua*, Vol. 2/1996, pp. 307–404. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

List of Maps

1. **The main archaeological sites of Central Asia** (Inner front endpaper)
   Adapted from: Aruz, Joan (editor). *The Golden Deer of Eurasia. Scythian and Sarmatian treasures from the Russian steppes*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2000. pp. XIV–XV.

2. **The continental drift from the Carboniferous to a future position in 50 million years** (p. 5)
   Adapted from: Rothe, Peter. *Die Erde*. WBG, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Damstadt 2008. Separate map.

3. **The migration of *Homo sapiens* out of Africa** (p. 26)
   Adapted from: Geographical, July 2002, p. 34, 28. 07. 2011.

4. **Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age sites of south-eastern Central Asia and the Kopet Dag sites** (p. 64)
   Adapted from: Hiebert, Fredrik Talmage et al. *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization in Central Asia*. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 1994. Fig. 10.3. Tosi, M. et al. *The Bronze Age in Iran and Afghanistan*. In: History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. I. Unesco Publishing, Paris 1992. Map 7.

5. **Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age cultures of northern Central Asia** (p. 97)

6. **The main sites of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex and of the Early Iron Age** (p. 105)
   Adapted from: Hiebert, Fredrik Talmage et al. *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization in Central Asia*. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 1994. Fig. 2.2. Rossi-Osmida, Gabriele (editor). *Turkmenistan. Environment, history, monuments, ethnography*. Centro Studi Ricerche Ligabue, Venezia 1996. pp. 16–17.

7. **The most important archaeological sites in the Taklamakan and Lop Nor Deserts** (pp. 118–119)
   © Christoph Baumer. Original Design: Urs Moeckli.

8. **Middle and Late Bronze Age cultures of northern Central Asia** (p. 140)

9. **The peoples of the 5th century BC mentioned by Herodotus** (pp. 176–177)
   Adapted from: Menghin, Wilfied, Parzinger, Hermann, Nagler, Anatoli, Nawroth, Manfred (editors). *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen. Königsgräber der Skythen*. Prestel, München 2007.

10. **The main Sarmatian tribes** (pp. 258–259)
    Adapted from: Menghin, Wilfied, Parzinger, Hermann, Nagler, Anatoli, Nawroth, Manfred (editors). *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen. Königsgräber der Skythen*. Prestel, München 2007.

11. **The campaign of Alexander the Great, 334–323 BC** (pp. 272–273)
    Adapted from: Hansen, Sven et al (editors). *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt. Asiens Kulturen im Wandel*. Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim 2009.

12. **The main archaeological sites of Central Asia and present state boundaries** (Inner back endpaper)
    Adapted from: Aruz, Joan (editor). *The Golden Deer of Eurasia. Scythian and Sarmatian treasures from the Russian steppes*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2000. pp. XIV–XV.

Satellite imagery © NASA. http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/

Photo Credits

All photos are by the author with the exception of the following:

American Museum of Natural History Library, New York: pp. 6–7, 9.

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, bpk/Photo: Johannes Laurentius: p. 198.

Archaeological Institute of the Kazakh Ministry of Sciences, Almaty: p. 208.

Archaeological Museum, Ufa: pp. 255, 256, 265.

Azov History, Archaeology and Palaeontology Museum, Azov: pp. 266, 270.

Astavjev Andrej, Aktau: pp. 150, 254.

Blaser Architekten, Basel: p. 220.

British Museum, London: Front jacket, pp. 87, 196, 298.

Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty: pp. 209, 260 right, 267.

Drujinina Anjelina, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut DAI, Eurasien-Abteiling, Berlin: p. 301.

Ewig Willi, Manilla, Australia: p. 13.

Garrett Kenneth, Broad Run: pp. 102–03, 106, 286–87.

Giancola Donato, Brooklyn: pp. 182–183.

Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Edward W. Forbes, 18999.9 + 1932.49. Photo: Katya Kallsen; © President and Fellows of Harvard College: p. 264.

Historical Museum, Abakan: p. 137.

Historical Museum of Dnepropetrovsk: p. 79.

Historical Museum of Uzbekistan, Tashkent: p. 112.

Huang Yan Hong / Redlink Hong Kong: p. x.

Institute for Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow: p. 172.

Institute for Archaeology and Ethnography, Novosibirsk: p. 199.

Kubarev Vladimir, Novosibirsk: pp. 59, 91, 186.

Kupferstichkabinett Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin/bpk: p. 284.

Lapidarium Kerch: p. 251.

Li Xueliang, Urumqi: pp.120, 121, 122, 123.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, bpk/Photography: MMA: pp. 107, 109, 164.

Möckli Urs, Wetzikon: pp. 126–27, 223.

Museum of Archaeology, National Museum of Sciences of the Ukraine, Kiev: p. 78 right.

Museum zu Allerheiligen Schaffhausen, Sammlung Ebnöther: p. 108 right.

Nagler Anatoli, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut DAI, Eurasien-Abteilung, Berlin: p. 200.

National Army Museum, London, Courtesy of the Council of the N.A.M. Photo John Burke, 1879: pp. 276–77.

National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul: pp. 274, 289, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295.

National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan, Dushanbe: pp. 72, 203, 285, 302.

National Museum of the History of the Ukraine, Kiev: pp. 78 left, 236.

National Museum of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat: pp. 65 top, 66 both, 106, 108 left.

National Museum of Tuva, Kyzyl: pp. 179 left, 181.

Paley Matthieu / paleyphoto.com: pp. 275, 278–79.

Prisma Bildagentur © waldhaeusl.com: p. 201.

Regional Museum of Rostov: p. 235, 257.

Regional Museum of Simferopol: p. 240 bottom.

Rieser Lorenz, Luzern: p. 219.

Shekeyuan, Zhongguo shehuikexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo kaogudui. 1981–1983 nian Liulihe Xizhou Yan guo mudi fajue jianbao. Kaogu, Beijing 1984, H.5.: p. 84.

State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photographs © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets: pp. 34, 35, 65 bottom, 90, 111, 171, 173, 174, 175, 179 right, 187 both, 188, 189, 191, 194 both, 195, 197, 229, 230 both, 232–33, 234, 237 (both), 243 (both), 244, 260 left, 261, 268.

Stierlin Henri, Geneva: p. 192.

Stuhrmann Jochen, Hamburg: pp. 67, 142–43, 297.

Stuhrmann Jochen, GEO, Picture Press, Hamburg: p. 32.

Throckmorton Fine Art, New York: p. 152.

Tscherne Erik, GEO, Picture Press, Hamburg: p. 21.

Ukrainian Museum of Historical Treasures, Kiev: pp. 227, 248, 249.

Waugh Dan, Shoreline: pp. 28 both, 45, 85.

Weber Therese, Arlesheim, Switzerland: pp. 10, 23, 43 bottom right, 92, 115, 138 bottom.

Wereshagin Wassilij Wassiljewitch. *Turkestan. Etyudy s natury*. Beggrow, St. Petersburg 1874. Tafel 18: p. 169.

Weyl Laurent, Argos, Picturetank, Paris: pp. 14–15.

Wong Adam / Redlink Hong Kong: pp. 304–05.

Xinjiang Uigurs Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi: pp. 82, 83, 98, 116, 217 both, 218 both.

All efforts have been made to name or identify copyright holders. We will endeavour to rectify any unintended omissions in future editions of this work, upon receipt of evidence of relevant intellectual property rights.

Acknowledgements

This book is based on dozens of expeditions and journeys undertaken in the last three decades. My research was successful only thanks to hundreds of kind people in China, India, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Pakistan, Russia, Tajikistan, Tibet, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan; to all of them I remain grateful. The book itself was produced only with the help of many people. A few preferred to remain anonymous; others are briefly acknowledged here, in alphabetical order.

Mrs Susanne Annen, Kabul, who helped me obtain permission to publish the photos from Tillya Tepe.

Mr John Vincent Bellezza, Charlottesville, for drawing my attention to the Iron Age petroglyphs in the Changtang, Tibet.

Dr Nikolaus Boroffka, Berlin, who indicated a similarity between ceramics from Satma Mazar and Charwighul.

Dr Anjelina Drujinina, Berlin, who put her unpublished material about the Oxus temple at my disposal.

Prof. Denis Etler, Aptos, who suggested a date when modern Asian ethnicities differentiated.

Prof. Don Johanson, Tempe, who put me in touch with Denis Etler.

Dr Sharofuddin Kurbanov, Panjikant, who gave me several valuable indications concerning archaeological facts in Tajikistan.

Dr Anatoli Nagler, Berlin, who shared his wide knowledge about the Scythians and gave me an advance copy of his publication on the stylistic representation of deer on deer stones of Central Asia.

Jürg Rageth, Riehen, who made me aware of the newest dating of the Pazyryk kurgans and gave other valuable inputs concerning Central Asian textiles.

Dr Alexei Savchenko, Kiev, whose inputs in the fields of Central Asian archaeology and religions I highly appreciate.

Dr St. John Simpson, London, who helped me obtain permission to publish the photos from Tillya Tepe.

Mrs Verhecken-Lammens, Antwerp, who provided interesting insights into the textiles discovered at Ayala Mazar and Satma Mazar, Taklamakan Desert.

Prof. Therese Weber, Arlesheim, who accompanied me on numerous journeys and expeditions and contributed to the research results, especially concerning the analysis of ancient textiles.

Dr Judith Wörner-Hasler, Lörrach, who carefully reviewed the German manuscript.

Index: Concepts

Illustrations are indicated by *italic* references. Tables are indicated by *t*.

A

Abashevo culture, 140, 141
Aborigines, 25
accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS), 129
Achaemenids, 1, 51, 188, 218, 274, 306
  and clothing, 184
  influences of, 207
  invasions of, 198–203
  migration, 197
Acheulean period, 22, 23
adze, 132, 145
aerial reconnaissance, 207
Afanasievo culture, 96–7, 98, 122, 124, 125, 128, 129
  and burials, 138, 212
Afanasyeva Gora culture, 96
afterlife, 2, 82, 128, 152
  and animals, 116, 163
  and chariots, 90, 92
  and human sacrifices, 83, 85
Aga'ersen culture, 132
agate, 73
agrarian culture, 50, 58, 60, 66, 78, 137
  and economy, 17, 55, 56
  settled, 12, 34, 53, 69, 84, 95
agriculture, 47, 50, 53, 56, 285, 306
  and climate, 12, 76
  and irrigation, 4, 13, 14
  slash-and-burn, 78, 79
agro-urban cultures, 116
Aidinghou culture, 216
akinakes, 181, 184, 193, 231, *232–3*, *291*, 298
Akkadians, 224
Alakul culture, 141, 146, 149–50, 151
Alans, 4, 10, 110, 196, 294, 295
  and Aorsi, 256, 258
  invasions of, 121, 228, 249, 296
  migration of, 174, 259–60, 261–2
  and military prowess, 262–3, 265
  and women, 264–5
Alazones, 233
Aldy Bel' culture, 185
alloying, 58, 60, 92, 122
almandine, 268
Altaic language, 4, 261, 267
altar, *209*, 299, 300
Amazons, 254, 264–5
Amirabad culture, 208
amulet, 34, 55, 69, *112*, 132, 138, 292
Ananyino culture, 197–8
Andronovo culture, 73, 98, 99, 113, 122, 123, 149, 175
  and burials, 128, 141
  and ceramics, 107, 132
  and language, 136
  migration of, 113, 116, 117, 121
Angara culture, 23
animal husbandry, 12, 17, 50, 55, 61, 79
  and economy, 13, 40, 45, 56
animal skins, 23, 26, 31, 55, 195
  and burial, 128, 132
  export of, 234
animals, 50, 52, 110, 187–8, 192, 269
  and art, 29–30, 231–2
  coiled, 161, 170, 178, 179, 216
  and goldworking, 267–9
  see also individual animals
antelope, 29, 62
anthropology, 11, 20*t*, 205
anthropomorphic figures, 55, *91*, *99*, 110, 238
  and cave painting, 31, 33
  and ceramics, 109, 115, 125
  and fertility, 134–5
  and steles, 82, 96, 98, 138, 139, 157
  see also hybrid creatures
antlers, 160, 187, 188, 191, 229, 293
  and fertility, 46, 163
  as jewellery, 125
  as tools, 55
Anyang Dynasty, 152
Aorsi, 235, 256, 257–8, 259, 260, 261
apotropaicism, 79, 128, 138, 189, 193
appliqué, 191, 193, 258, 292
arable land, 15, 17, 76, 108
Arabs, 306
Aramaic language, 197, 202–3, 206, 284
Aramaic script, alphabet, 202, 203
Archaeanactidae, 241
archery, 35, 85, 123
architecture, 53, 55, 61, 66, 76, 147
  grave, 251–3
  Greek, 297, 299
  monumental, 107, 203
argali (mountain sheep), 40, 42
Arian Empire, 201
aridity, 11–12, 14, 18, 22, 106, 175
Arimaspians, 174
army, 203, 227–8, 306
armlet, *192*, *193*, *196*, 298
armour, 86, 197, 227, 262, 265
arrowhead, 32, 58, 61, 145, 148, 223, 301
  bilobite, 38, 133, 178
  iron, 181, 265
  and microliths, 47, 50
  Scythian, 179, 229, 244
  trilobite, 38, 133
arrow, 35, 86, 219, 248
  and art, 29, 30–1
  in burial, 129, 132, 193
Arsacids, 254
arsenic, 58, 60, 61, 68, 92, 148
art, 2, 28–35, 55, 92
  and animals, 187–8, 231–2
  Greek, 281, 283
  see also cave painting; rock painting
artisan, 1, 68, 73
Aryans, 136, 205
Ashina clan, 212
Asii, 295, 296
ass *see* donkey
Assyrian text, 224–5
astronomy, 153, 209
Atbasar, 55
Aurignacian culture, 34
auroch, 33, 40, 42, 45
Australopithecus afarensis, 22
Avars, 86, 265, 267
Avesta, 72, 98, 147, 201, 205, 294, 298
  language of, 136, 137
axe, 56, 82, 96, 114, 148
  battle, 82, 87, 145, 193–4, 255, 264, 292
  ceremonial, *109*, 112
  hand, 22, 23, 29, 50
  pick, 58, 82
  shaft-hole, 112, 132, 140
Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe culture, 123, 133, 220
Aži Dahāka, 69

B

Bactrian culture, 87, 203
Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC), 104, *105*, 108, 113, 115, 121, 133
Baden culture, 90
Bainov phase, 169–70
Baitovo culture, 197
baldachin, 95, 178, 189
Balkano–Carpathian Metallurgical Province, 58
baluchitherium, 8
barley, 52, 53, 55, 56, 61, 65, 133
  in China, 122
  and fertility, 79
barrels, 220
basketry, 125, 132
battle axe, 82, 87, 145, 193–4, 255, 264, 292
battlements, 113
bear, 26, 138, 139, 293
  in art, *29*, 30–1, 42, 45, 198, 268
Beauty of Loulan, *116*, 125
bell, 43, 293
Belozerka culture, 224
belt, 227, 293
Beshkent-Vakhsh culture, 115–16, 151
bird of prey, 69, 110, 112, *175*, 229
bison, 32, 40
blacksmith, 68, 148–9, 168
blood, 50, 237
boar, 30, 51, 112, 161, 196, 198
Botai Tersek culture, 84, 96
bow, 46, 129, 132, 193, 265, 293
  composite, 84, 87, 123, 145, 195
  recurve, 12, 35, 38, 85, 197, 216, *217*
Brahmi script, 203
Branchidae, 274–5
breastplate, 148, 178
brick, 104, 117, 218
  mud, 53, 55, 61, 73, 132, 144
bridle, 84–5, 178, *179*, *226*, *265*
bronze, 95, 132
  arsenic, 58, 60, 61, 68, 92, 148
  tin, 148, 149
Bronze Age, 14, 35, 38, 58, 104, 106, 129
  end of, 151–2, 153, 168
  and petroglyphs, 44, 45, 46, 47
buckle, *197*, 220, *222*, *292*, 293

- Buddhism, 92, 203, 274, 289, 293, 306
  - and sculpture, 283, 295
- Budini, 201
- Bug-Dniester Culture, 56
- Bukon phase, 195
- bull, *66*, 69, *90*, 95, 114, *268*
- burial clothing:
  - female, 125, 184, 186–7, 193–4, 220, 292
  - male, 128, 134, 181, 186, 193, 206, 217
- burial rites, 2, 27, 55, 56, 95, 117
  - Afanasievo, 97
  - Cimmerian, 226
  - and fire, 115, 116
  - intra muros, 114
  - military, 238, 244
  - prehistoric, 27
  - royal, 238
  - Scythian, 180–1, 185
  - and the Urals, 140–1
  - *see also* grave goods; sacrifices
- burial sites, 1–2, 27, 41, 73, 79, 82, *84*
  - Bactrian, 114
  - and children, 61, 72, 96, 151
  - horses, 231
  - mass, 76, 108, 170
  - Okunev, 138
  - prehistoric, 27
  - shaft, 216
  - and wagons, 90, 91, 108–9
  - Yamnaya, 95, 96
  - *see also* catacombs; cemeteries; Khirigsuurs; kurgans

C

- Callipidae, 233
- camel, *28*, 29–30, 33, 45, 50, 84, 104
  - and art, 268
  - domesticated, 72
  - as transport, 62–3, *65*, 66, 91, 150
  - and wagons, 109
- cannabis, 189
- cannibalism, 23, 174
- caravanserai, 108, 112–13, *126–7*, 306
- carbon dating, 61, 128, 129, 178, 185, 186, 193
- carbon dioxide, 18, 40
- Carboniferous period, 11
- carnelian, 73, 95, 218, 258, 267, 268
- carpet, 189, 191, 192, 269
- cart, 46, 63, 76, *77*, 122, *148–9*, 189
- casket, 125, 128, 129, 138, 175, 193
- Catacomb culture, 171
- catacomb, 115, 216, 238
- cataphracts, 263; *see also* Kataphraktos
- catapult, 279
- catching loop, *51*
- cat, 69, 161, 188
- cattle, 40, 79, 104, 234
- cattle breeding, 50, 52, 53, 56, 62, 117, 133
- cauldron, 212, 215, *301*, 302
- cavalry, 86, 123, 200, 227–8
- cave painting, 2, 29, 31, 32–3, 203, 306
- Celtic language, 4, 124, 135, 136
- cemetery, 108, 114, 134, 150, 299
- cenotaph, 107, 109, 114, 115, 194, 196
- ceramics, 50, *69*, 73, 96, 107, 109
  - Chinese, 132
  - export of, 234
  - Namazga, 104, 106
  - Sarazm, *69*, 73
  - *see also* pottery
- Ceratopsia, 8
- cervids *see* deer
- Chalcolithic period, 55, 56, 58, 60, *64*, 69, 84
- chalk, 109
- charcoal, 31
- chariot, *87*, 91–2, 98, 122, 146, 298, 299
  - light, 141, 147
- Charwighul Group, 216, 219
- chief, 56, 83, 95, 96, 294
- children, 86, 96, 132, 194
- chlorite, 109, 110, *112*
- Choresmian language, 197, 203
- Christianity, 110, 306
- Chust culture, 117, 133
- Čilikta phase, 195
- Cimmerian culture, 85, 174, 198, 224–6
- Čirikrabat culture, 206–7
- cist, 98, 151, 152–3, 211
- citadel *(kala)*, 107, 108, 113, 114, 207, 209
- city, 53, 66, 72–3, 107–9, 114, 117, 207
  - rectangular, 76, 145, 147
- civil war, 289, 290
- clan, 60, 86, 96, 150
- clasp, 292, 294, 295
- clay brick, 13, 73, 76, *78*, 79, 97, 104
- Clibanarius, 262
- climate, 1, 4, 9, 11–12, 14, 15, 28
  - changes, 26, 76, 77, 218
  - cooling, 17, 79, 91
  - drying, 141, 197
  - humid, 55, 168, 175
  - warming, 17, 40, 186
- Climate Optimum, 78
- cloisonné, 192
- clothing, 23, 26, 30, 45, 50, 55, *67*, 109
  - traditional, *216*
  - *see also* burial clothing; headdresses; shoes
- clover, 189
- CO$_2$, 18
- cochineal, 220
- coin, 197, 203, 246, 284, 285, *288*, 289
  - and burial, 292, 294, 295, 301
  - Oxus, 298–9
  - and Skilurus, 240, 248
- comb, *244*, 245, 292
- conflict, 23, 45, 46, 56, 61, 86
- copper, 13, 58, 60, 68, 72, 78, 92, 106, 218
- Copper Stone Age, 58
- coral, 258, 267
- Corded Ware culture, 82
- corn, 150, 233
- cosmetics, 293
- cosmology, 205
- cotton, 187, *280*
- cowry shells, 152, 193, 218
- cremation, 115, 116, 151, 197
- Cretaceous period, 8, 11, 17
- Cro-Magnons, 26
- crops, 52, 76, 95; *see also* barley; millet; wheat
- crown, 191, 294
- Cryogenia period, 17
- crypt, 108, 170, 299
- Cucuteni-Tripolye culture, 56, 58, 69, 78–9, 147
- cultic rites, 27, 31, 33, 55, 61, 68–9, 92, 114
- culture, 1–2, 4, 12–13
  - social, 22, 27, 29, 40
  - *see also* society
- currency *see* coins

D

- Dacians, 260
- dagger, 61, 145, 148, *203*, 293
  - with animal protomes, 152, 161, 162, 292
  - ceremonial, *266*, 268
  - double-edged, 181
  - flint, 83, 96
  - Scythian, 178
- Dahae, 254, 284, 285
- Dalongku culture, 211
- death *see* burial rites; burial sites; cremation; mummies
- decapitation, 171, 237, 281
- deer, 30, 40, 51, 55, *230*
  - in art, 42, 45, 220, 229
  - as symbols, 163, *164*
  - *see also* antlers
- deer stone, 46, 139, 175, 180, 211
  - and the afterlife, 157, *158–9*, 160–3
  - and Slab Grave culture, 153, *154–5*, 156
- defence towers, 60, 66, 114, 117, 208, 297
  - rectangular, 107, 113
- deforestation, 76, 77, 79, 147
- Delian League, 239
- dendrological analyses, 185, 186
- deserts, 4, 12–15, 17, 40, 77, 278; *see also* places
- diadem, *261*, *267*, 267–8, 269
- Diadochi, 203, 283
- dinosaur, 8–9, 11, 18
- DNA, 22, 24, 28, 97, 129
- Dnieper-Donets Culture I, 56
- Dnieper-Donets Culture II, 56, 82, 83
- dog, 52, 109, 115, 116, 147, 151
- doll, *123*, 171
- donkey, 51, 55
- *Draconarius*, 263
- dragon, 152, 179, 268, 293
- Dravidian languages, 72
- drought, 22, 63, 73, 90
- dwelling, 26, 31, *32*, 34, 52, 56, 91
  - multi-room, 60, 66, 68
  - tents, 40
  - *see also* houses; yurts

E

- eagle, 188, *190*
- Earth, the, 17–18
- earthquake, 18, 61, 76, 297
- economics, 1, 4, 13, 23, 40, 55, 56, 82
  - Bactrian, 290
  - Greek, 284–5
  - and horses, 224
  - mixed, 133, 138, 218
  - mobile, 84
  - semi-nomadic, 95
  - and trade, 108, 234
- ecosystems, 55
- Eemian interglacial period, 18, 27
- electrum, 110, *111*
- elephant, 29, 284, 288
- elite class, 107, 108–9, 113, 185, 197
- elk, 40, 42, 45, 46, 55, 198
- Elshanka Culture, 56
- embalming, 186
- embroidery, 134, 191, 192
- ephedrine, 125, 128, 132
- Epigravettian culture, 34
- equinoxes, 153, 209
- Erlitou culture, 122
- eroticism, 134–5
- ethnicity, 28, 55, 204, 306
- Europids, 55, 56, *72*, *83*, 97, 156, 216
  - in China, 122, 123–4
  - Mediterranean, 73
  - and Scythians, 178–9
  - and Siberia, 129
- evaporation, 12, 14, 123
- Evenks, 45, 163
- evolution, 15, 17, 20, 24
- exporting, 60

F

- faience, 73
- falcon hunting, 46
- famine, 27
- Faravahar, 204
- farming *see* agriculture; animal husbandry
- fauna *see* animals; mammals
- feathers, 139, 204
- felt, 50, 91, 125, 171, 186, 189, 191
- fertility, 55, 128, 133, 134–5, 139, 220
  - and deer, 46, 163
  - and female figures, 34, 66, 69, 79
- fibre revolution, 95
- figurative objects, 2, 29, 32, 69
- finial, 178
- Finno-Ugric languages, 4, 135, 197
- fire, 22, 23
  - rituals, 116, 146, 147, *150*, 170, 229
  - temples, 114, 300–1
- fish, 193, *198*, 292
- fishing, 1, 12, *14*, 47, 50, 56, 83
  - hooks, 145
- flax, 95
- flint, 9, 23, 27, 35, 47, 50, 83
- flooding, 12
- food, 22, 23, 26, 50, 62, 65, 215; *see also* meat
- forest, 12, 15, 42, 45, 50, 96; *see also* deforestation
- fortress, 107, 114, 117, 138, 197, *282*
  - Achaemenid, 200
  - Scythian, 234
- fossil, 8, 11, 22–3

foundation peg, 113
Franks, 192, 269
funeral, 97, 151, 174, 178
Funnelbeaker culture, 82
Fyodorovo culture, 141, 149–50, 151, 152

G

Galatians, 246, 285
game, 45, 50, 65, 110
Gandhara style, 274, 283, 306
Gandhari language, 203
garnet, 110, 258, 267
gas, 1, 12, 13
Gathas, 136
gatherers, 1, 34, 35, 40, 42, 46, 50
gazelles, 51, 55
gemstones, 56, 72, 95, 106, 192, 196
  semiprecious, 184, 267, 292, 293
gender equality, 86
genes, 22, 24
genome, 25
geoglyphs, 47, 209–10, *213*
geology, 11, 17, 20*t*
glacier, 40
glass, 218, 258, 267, 295
Glazkovo, 55
Globular Amphora culture, 82
goat, 50, 52, 53, 62, 83, 104, 133
  mountain, *22*, 27
goddess, 34, 69, 78–9, 95, 96, 110, 112
god, 69, 72, 92, *94*, 112, 137
Gök Turks, 212
gold, 13, 60, 68, 95, 106, 174
  export of, 234
  polychrome working, 192–3, 197, 258, 267–9, 293
  Siberian, 180
  and trade, 179
  see also jewellery; plaques
Golden Man of Issyk, 184, 206, *208*
goldsmith, 73, 295
gorgon, 249
gorillini, 17
gorytos, 179, 181, 191, 229, 238, *249*, 251
Goths, 192, 240, 248–9, 261, 269
government, 108, 202, 203, 285, 291
granite, 82, 157, 162
grave goods, 83, 95, 97, 125, 170, 215–16, 218
  and catacombs, 115
  see also chariots; jewellery; weaponry
grave robbers, 169, 178, 238
Gravettian culture, 34
grazing land, 45, 86, 87, 90–1, 96, 150, 168
  protection of, 46
  and steppes, 50, 56, 79
  see also overgrazing
Greek language, 135, 136, 201–2, 203, 284, 289
greenhouse gases, 17–18
Greuthingi, 261
greywacke, 41
griffins, 174, 187, 188–9, 231, 268, 293
Gulf Stream, 40
gymnasium, 297

H

Hades, 253
hairpieces, 220
Hallstatt period, 90
Han Dynasty, 1, 4, 123, 189, 259
Han Shu, 1
hares, 32
harnesses, 91, 122, 178, 188, 216, 229
harpoon, 47, 50, 145
Hattic language, 137
headdress, 139, *181*, 187, 206, *235*
  tall, 184, *199*, 216, 293
  see also crowns
Heidelberg Man, 24
Hellenism, 191, 274, 283, 295
helmet, 87, 156, 197, 215, 227, 229, 262
hemp, 171, 189
herding, 90–1, 96, 150, 152
heroon, 297
Herto Man, 24
Hinduism, 137
hippocamp, 249, 302
Hissars, 50
Hittite language, 4, 83, 91, 136, 137
Holocene period, 20*t*, 30, 40, 77
hominids, 17
hominins, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24–5
'Homo Alpinus', 123
Homo antecessor, 24
Homo cepranensis, 24
Homo denisova, 20, 22, 24–5, 28
Homo erectus, 20, 22, 23, 27
Homo ergaster, 20, 22, 24
Homo floresiensis, 20
Homo habilis, 22
Homo heidelbergensis, 20, 24, 26
Homo rhodensiensis, 24
Homo rudolfensis, 22
Homo sapiens, 20, *21*, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28
honey, 234
hoplite, 86–7
horse sacrifices, 91, 151, 163, 178, 184–5, *187*
  burial of, 162, 175, *181*, 216
horsemen, 4, *80–1*, 85, *115*, 168, 185, 306
  and combat, 38, 46, *82*, 85, 86–7, 197
horse, 12, 35, 56, 86, 91, 122
  and armour, 262
  and art, 33, 42, 45, 83, 195
  breeding of, 83, 96, 117
  as meat, 50, 82, 84, 86, 178
  riding of, 84–7, 123, 134
  as transport, 83–4, *85*
  wild, 26, 40, 51
Hou Hanshu, 295
house, 107, 113, 144–5, 147, 152, 171, 208
human life, 12, 17, 20, 30, 31, 42
Hunnic culture, 86, 171, 195, 265
Huns, the, 10, 174, 185, 228, 261, 265, 267
hunting, 1, 12, 32, 56, *59*, 306
  and art, *29*, 30–1, *36–7*, 42, 45
  equipment, 35, 38, 40, 50–1
  and microliths, 47
  organised, 86
  prehistoric, 23, 26
  rituals, 110
Hurrians, 121, 137
hut, 52, 56, 78
hybrid creature, 33, *108*, *111*, 191, 193, 295
  and bears, *138*, 139
  and birds, 112, 231
  and camels, 63
  and deer, *194*, 255
hydrology, 106
Hylaia, 233
Hyperboreans, 174

I

Iazyges, 256, 260–1
ibex, 29, 42, 44, 47, 62, 163, 188
ice, 17, 186
ice ages, 12, 35, 51
iconography, 204, 302
illness, 27
Indo-Aryans, 98, 107, 136
Indo-European language, 4, 55, 82, 92, 96, 135–6, 149, 306
Indo-Iranian language, 97, 98, 107, 124, 136, 141
Indus Valley Civilisation, 1, 69, 72, 73, 76
infantry, 87, 91–2, 227, 260, 265, 275
instrument, 29, 301–2
intaglio, 293, 295
Intercultural Style, 110, *112*
intoxicant, 189, 205
Iranian language, 178, 197, 207, 215, 224, 253, 261
  and Scythians, 233, 234
Irmen culture, 151, 197
iron, 60, 72, 117, 123
Iron Age, 46, 47, 58, 61, 106, 116, 129
  emergence of, 151–2, 153, 168
ironworking, 218
irrigation, 4, 13, 14, 40, 53, 133, 284
  canals, 104
  capillary, 108
  tiered, 62
Isakovo, 55
Ishtyk culture, 31
Islam, 203, 306
Issedonians, 174, 255
Issyk-Besschatyr culture, 205–6
Italic language, 124
ivory, 73, 108, *203*, 292, 293, 295
Ixomates, 257

J

jade, 1, 122, 125, 129, 132, 133, 258
  and daggers, 152
Jaz I, 104*t*
Jaz II, 104*t*
Jaz III, 104*t*, 117
Jeitun settlement and culture, 53, 55, 60, 62, 63, 66
jet streams, 18
jewellery, 29, 56, 78, 83, 193, 216, 301
  anklets, 53, 295
  bones, 125
  bracelets, 73, 129, 146, 188, 292
  earrings, 178
  necklaces, 9, 53, 95, 157, 268, 295
  pendants, 53, 110, 294
  see also gemstones; seashells
Judaism, 306
jug, 219, *222*
Jurassic period, 11

K

kalathos, 252
Kamennyi Log culture, 223
Kangju federation, 289, 296
Kangju phase, 209
Karakol culture, 139
Karasuk culture, 147–8, 150, 151, 152–3, 161, 168, 184
Katakombnaya culture, 140
Kataphraktos, 263
kaunakes, 109, 112
Ke'ermuqi culture, 211–12
Kelteminar, 50–2, 72
Kemi Oba culture, 82
kettle, 189, 215
khanate, 157
Kharoshthi script, 203
Khirigsuurs, 151, 156–7, 162, 211
Khvalinsk culture, 83, 99
Kjuzeligyr phase, 208–9
knife, 132, 146, 148, 152, 223, 293
kontos, 262
Kontopharos, 262–3
Krorainan language, 124
Kuchean language, 124
Kujusaj culture, 207
kulan, 161
Kura–Araxes culture, 95
kurgan, 82, 99, 116, 121, 141, 152–3, *168*
  ice, 186–9
  Maikop, 92, 95
  Scythian, 193–4, 196
  Tagar, 169–71
  Tuva, 175, 178
  Yamnaya, 96–7
  see also Khirigsuurs
Kushan Empire, 1, 10, 38, 77, 209, 235, 296, 299, 301

L

labour divisions, 53, 78, 86
lance, 46, 82, 86–7, 132, 253, 263, 301
languages *see* individual languages
lapis lazuli, 1, 53, 73, 95, 106, 109, 110
lasso, 263
Late Khvalinsk culture, 83, 95
lead, 60, 68, 106
leather, 188, 189, 234
lentils, 52
leopard, 161, 188
life expectancy, 146
limestone, 12, 30, 82, 106, 107
lion, 40, 110, 112, 293
literacy, 1, 2, 53
lithosphere plates, 11
livestock breeding *see* stockbreeding
loess storms, 26
log cabin, 141, 186

Lombards, 192
lord of the animals motif, 110, *111*, 112, *289*
Luvian language, 83
Lydians, 188, *193*

M

Macedonians, 1, 306
maceration, 115, 116, 117
mace, 56, 61, 83
maenads, 249
Maeotae, 226, 229, 234, 243, 257
magic, 33, 40, 41
Magyars, 4, 228
Maikop culture, 60, 83, 90, 92, 95, 99, 178
Majemir culture, 193
Makhandzhar culture, 55
mammal, 11, 18, 40
mammoths 26, 29, 31–2, 33, 34, 40, 42
  and petroglyphs, 47
Manchurian language, 203
manganese oxide, 31
Manichaean script, 203
Mannaeans, 226, 229
map, 32
marble, 109, 157
Marcomanni, 261
Markansu culture, 31
marriage, 191, 194, 264, 281
mask, *128*, 132, 135, 138–9, 140, 171, 187
massacres, 228, 274, 275, 283
Massagetae, 200, 207, 254, 259, 281
  culture, 86, 92, 99, 174, 198
Maurya dynasty, 284, 288
mausoleum, *245*, 248
Maya culture, 58
meat, 22, 23, 26, 40, 50, 65
  horse, 82, 84, 86
medallion, *293*, 295
Medes, 136, 188, 198, 199, 227, 244
medicine, 8
megalith, *172*
Melanesians, 25
memorial, 297, 299
mercenaries, 234
mercury, 186
Merovingians, 192
Mesolithic period, 9, 20*t*, 30, 31, 40, 41, 42, 58
  and petroglyphs, 46*t*, 47
metallurgy, 1, 47, 58, 133, 138, 145, 306
  Afanasievo, 96
  and China, 90, 122–3
  Karasuk, 152
  Kelteminar, 52
  Sarazm, 68
  see also bronze; copper; tin
methane, 18
microliths, 47, 50
Middle Ages, 41, 56, 99, 104
migration, 4, *26*, 53, 96, 136, 306
  Chinese, 124
  Cimmerian, 174, 224
  and climate, 17, 22
  and wagons, 91
Mikhailovska culture, 82
militarisation, 84, 169, 197
milk, 50, 65, 86
millet, 55, 56, 104, 123
minerals, 12, 104
mining, 58, 73, 144–5
Miocene era, 8
mirrors, 187, 193, 197, 292, 293, 294–5; *see also* places: Kelermes
mistress of animals, *108*, 110, 112, 235, 294
moat, 150
Molali/Bustan, 114, 115
molar, 23, 24
money tree, 293
Mongol language, 135, 203
Mongoloids, 97, 137–8, 156
Mongols, 4, 38, 47, 228
monsoons, 12, 76
mosaic, 108
mound, 83, 95, 150, 186, 223
'Movius Line', 23
mummies, 99, 171, 186, 217–18
  in China, 123, 125, 128
  images, *83*, *98*, *116*, *120*, *218*
murals, 2, 203, *252*
museum, 291, 292, 298
music, 29, 301–2
myth, 40, 41, 45, 58, 95, 173, 264

N

Namazga I, 72
Namazga II, 65, 72
Namazga III, 62, 65, 104, 113, 114
Namazga IV, 62, 65, 66, 104
Namazga V, 65, 66, 104, 106, 113
Namazga VI, 62*t*, 104*t*
Nart saga, 196–7
natural resources, 12, 13
Neanderthals, 20, 22, 23, 24–5, 26–7, 29
necropolis, 95, 96, 98–9, 108, 114, 116, 205–6
  in China, 124, 124–9, 128
  dynastic, 175
  Karasuk, 152
  Sintashta, 145–6
needle, 31, 32, 61, 96, 125, 184
Neo-Assyrian Empire, 112, 204, 224
Neolithic period, 20*t*, 40, 42, 50, 56, 58
  and art, 31, 33
  and petroglyphs, 46*t*
  revolutions, 50, 56, 137, 306
Nestorian script, 203
net sinkers, 50
Nike, 241, 293, 294, 299
nomads, 1, 4, 12, 14, 50, *88–9*, 205
  and agriculture, 79, 168, 169
  and horses, 86
  and wagons, 91
Novotitarovskaya culture, 90
Nuristani, 136

O

oasis, 14, 17, 40, 53, 65, 73, 77, 104
obsidian, 47
ochre, 30–2, 55–6, 82, 83, 96, 97, 216
Odrysians, 239
Okunev culture, 97–8, 124, 157, 161, 180, 184
  steles, *136*, 137–9
Old Choresmian culture, 207, 208–9
Old Turks, 212, 238
Oldowan period, 22
Oligocene era, 8
ore, 13, 60, 72, 95, 175
orthostat, 170
ossuary, 115, 116, 209
ostrich, 29, 47
outer quarters *(rabat)*, 107
overgrazing, 50, 76, 77
oviraptor, 9
oxen, 45, 63, 79, 91, 96, 109
Oxus, 114, 115, 298–9, 301

P

palace, 114, 209, 297, 299
Palaeo-Mongols, 55
palaeoanthropology, 24
Palaeocene-Eocene Thermal Maximum (PETM), 18
Palaeolithic period, 20*t*, 22, 23–4, 27, 40, 42, 58
  and art, 29, 31–2, 34
  and petroglyphs, 46*t*
palaeontology, 8–9, 23
Palaic language, 83
panini, 17
panthers, 179, 229, *230*, 267, 293
paraceratherium, 8
Parni, 254
Parthian language, 203
Parthian shot, *82*, 85
Parthians, 51, 98, 210, 263, 285, 289, 290
Pasiani, 295, 296
Pazyryk culture, 184, 186–8, 191–5, 216, 220
pea, 52, 56
pebbles, 215
pectorals, *248*, 249
permafrost, 12, 40
Permian era, 11, 18
Persephone, 253
Persian language, 135
Persians, 136, 137, 198
petroglyph, 2, 40–7, *63*, *93*, 110
  and chariots, 92
  and deer, 55, *160*, *185*, 220
  and fertility, 134–5
  and hunting, 35, *36–7*, *53*, *99*
  and horses, 100, 115
petroleum, 1, 12, 13, 116, 269
Petrovka culture, 91, 92, 95, 141, 147–9
phalanx, 86–7, 263, 275
phalerae, 269, *270*
phallic symbol, 128, 129, 132, 220
pharaoh, 2, 171
phoenix, 191
phoneme, 76
photosynthesis, 11
pig, 40, 52, 56, 62, 83
pinacosaurus, 9
planetary activity, 17
plant life, 11, 29
plaque, 298, 299, 301
plate, 58, 178, 293
platybelodon, 9
Pleistocene period, 12, 15, 20, 24, 25, 40
Pliocene period, 12, 20*t*
Podgornovo phase, 170, 185
poison, 38
Polovtsi people, 157
Poltavka culture, 140–1
population figures, 4, 12–13, 15, 27, 168
  high, 50, 53, 66, 77, 78
ports, 234
pottery, 52, 56, 61, 68, 73, 115, 116, 151
  grey, 133, 136–7, *221*, *222*
power structures, 173, 234, 288
precipitation, 11–12, 13, 14, 40, 45, 53, 77, 123
prisoners of war, 234
Prokhorovo culture, 256
property, 46, 53, 185
proto-Anatolian language, 83, 136
proto-Baltic language, 82
proto-Celtic language, 96
proto-Elamite culture, 68, 69, 72, 76
proto-Germanic language, 82, 96
proto-Indo European language (PIE), 56, 79, 83, 96, 97, 124, 137
  and steppe dwellers, 136
proto-Italic language, 96, 136
proto-Slavic language, 82, 234
proto-Tocharian language, 4, 97, 123, 124, 136, 219; *see also* Turfanian; Kuchean; Krorainan
proto-urban cultures, 13, 50, 55, 61, 63, 306
Protoceratops andrewsii, 8
pterosaurs, 8, 11
pyramids, 68–9, 73, 196

Q

Qijia culture, 122
Quadi, 261
quadriga, 150, 252
quiver, 193, 293
Qunbake group, 216

R

radiation, 18
raid, 12, 76, 92, 145, 201, 208, 224
  Scythian, 239
rain *see* precipitation
ram, 66, 139, 178
reincarnation, 110
reindeer, 40
religion, 20, 27, 98, 204, 235–7, 265, 306
  and language, 124
  see also Buddhism; Christianity; Hinduism; Islam; Judaism; Zoroastrianism
Repin culture, 95, 96
'Replacement Hypothesis', 20, 22, 25
reproduction, 27, 42, 46, 129, 132
reptile, 11, 18
reservoir, 14

residential quarters *(shahristan)*, 107, 114, 207
rhinoceros, 8, 26, 33, 34, 40, 47, 73
rhyton, 188, 191
Rig Veda text, 92, 98–9, 114, 121, 136, 146–7, 150–1, 205
rivers, 4, 13, 14, 17
road networks, 203
rock paintings, *28*, 29–31, 35, 41, *138*
Roman Empire, 98, 243, 261–2, 263, 265, 306
roof, 31, 52, 84, 115, 220, 297, 300
  wood, 56, 144
Rouran confederation, 212
Roxolani, 243, 248, 256, 260–1, 262
runes, 203

S

Sacae, 295
Sacarauli, 295, 296
sacrifice, 56, 73, 92
  animal, 96, 114, 115, 139, 146, 216
  human, 83, 95, 175, 218
  see also horse sacrifices
saddle, 85, 189, *191*, 193, 216
Sagly Bazy phase, 185
Saii, 256, 260
Saka, 4, 10, 121, 205, 206, 290, 306
  and Alexander the Great, 87, 201, 208, 279
  and animals, 46, 110, 192
  and burial, 116, 170
  haumavarga, 199, 209–10
  and military campaigns, 86, 87, 201, 280, 285
  origins of, 178–9, 198, 199*t*
  tayaiy paradraya, 199
  tigraxauda, 199, 210, 215
salinisation, 12, 13, 123
Samara culture, 82–3
Samoyedic language, 135
Samus culture, 138
sand dunes, *13*, 14, 15
sandstone, 12, 41, 82, 157
Sanskrit, 135, 136
Saragash phase, 170
Sarazm I, 72
Sarazm II, 72–3, 114
Sarazm III, 73, 114
Sarazm IV, 73
sarcophagi, 241, 251, *264*
Sargat culture, 197
sarissa, 263
Sarmatians, 4, 10, 96, 157, 240, *252*, 253–5
  and burial, 116, 238, 294
  and gold, 192–3
  migration of, 168, 174, 256
  and military prowess, 86, 197, 262–3, 265
  and Scythians, 224, 228, 243
Sassanids, 98, 263
satrapy, 202, 203, 207, 210, 218, 276
  Greco-Bactrian, 283, 285
  Persian, 191, 198
satyr, 249
Sauromatians, 4, 96, 174, 234, 254–5
sauronithoides, 9
sauropods, 8
scabbard, 184, 251
scalping, 186, 237
sceptre, 293
Scolotoi, 172–3, 198
'scorched earth' strategy, 188, 201, 277
sculpture, 203, 274, 281, 283, 301
Scythians, 1, 4, 10, 168, 173, 186, 306
  animal style, 110, 179–80, 249
  and art, 46, 231
  and burial, 83, 95, 99, 116, 151, 157
  early, 178–9, 224, 226–9
  and Greece, 207–8, 249, 251–3
  as horsemen, 85, 86
  kings, 244–6, 248–9
  migration, 232
  and military campaigns, 201–2
  as nomads, 91, 96
  Pantheon, 235–7
  Pontic, 233–5, 256
  and religion, 235–7, 244
  and trade, 174–5
  triad, 179–80, 229, 253
  and warriors, 237–8
  and weapons, 35, 38
sea levels, 17, 18, 28
seafaring, 203
seal, 108, 110, 112
seashell, 32, 53, 73
sedimentation, 106
seige machines, 279
Seima-Turbino, 60, 148–9, 152, 161
Seleucids, 210, 274, 283, 285, 288, 289
self-mutilation, 185
Seljuks, 228
Semitic language, 137
Serovo, 55
settlements, 78, 84, 95–6, 152, 169
  circular, 147, 153, 209
  fortified, 141, 144–5
  hexagonal, 218
  unfortified, 150, 197
shamanism, 33, 40, 236
Shamash, 204
Shang-Anyang culture, 122–3
Shang dynasty, 90
Shanidar I, 27
Shanidar III, 27
Shanidar IV, 27
sheath, 184, 203, 206, 231, 258, 267, 268
sheep, 83, 104, 122
  domestication of, 50, 52, 53, 56, 62, 65
  and wool, 95, 133
  see also argalis
shepherd, 95
shields, 86, 87, 227, 229
Shiji, 1
shoe, 83, 83, 171, 181, 184, 292
  leather, 125, 128, 129, 217
shoveltuskers, 9
shrine, 252, 299, 300, 302
sickle, 47, 50, 55, 61, 150
silk, 1, 76, 114, 186, 189
silver, 13, 60, 68, 73, 95, 106
Sinanthropus pekinensis, 23
Sino-Mongoloids, 123–4
Sintashta culture, 91, 92, 95, 99, 141, 145–6, 147, 153
Siraces, 243, 256, 257, 260
skeleton, 27, 56, *72*, 156, 181, 196
skiing, 45
skirmish, 92, 145, 208
skull, 22, 24, 56, 73, 123, *125*, 128, 129
  bovine, 79
  as drinking vessels, 237
Slab Grave culture, 151, 153, 156, 157, 162
slag, 133, 145
slavery, 66, 279
sled, 89–90
slingshot, 50, 55, 61, 263
smelting, 145, 168
snake, 30, 69, 110, 152
snow, 12, 14, 53, 193
soapstone, 73, 76, *106*, *107*
society hierarchies, 50, 53, 56, 66–7, 82, 107–8, 146, 209
sod, 84, 170, 175, 196
Sogdian culture, 87, 112, 188, 203
solar energy, 17–18, 40, 77, 168
soothsayer, 237
Spangenhelm, 262
Spartocids, 241, 245
spatha, 263
spear, 35, 47, 55, 61, 87, 145, 301
sphinx, 188, 249
spirituality *see* religion
Srednyi Stog culture, 83–4, 96
Srubnaya culture, 141, 146, 175, 224
stables, 223
statue, *79*, 254
  bronze, 215, *217*, 301–2
  clay, 53, 55, 66
  terra cotta, *65*, 69, 106
  see also deer stones; figurative objects; steles
status symbol, 83, 90, 92
steel, 60
stele, 82, 96, 98, 138–9, 211–12
  images, *136*, *137*, *214*, *251*
  see also deer stones
steppes, 4, 12, 13, 40, 58, 77, 79
  and ceramics, 107
  and metallurgy, 96
  nomads, 116, 121
  and transport, 92
stirrups, 85–6, 267
stockbreeding, 4, 12, 14, 82–4, 95, 150, 306
  Andronovo, 73, 116
  and art, 45
  and climate, 17, 78, 79, 197
  and transport, 90, 168
Stone Age, 24, 30, 47, 58
stone beds *(klinai)*, 252
storehouse, 60, 66, 72, 108
stratigraphy, 23, 58, 61, 72
streets, 60, 66, 68, 76, 114, 144, 297
stupa, *74–5*
Styx, the, 294
suicide, 227
sulphur dioxide, 18
Sumerian culture, 69, 78, 110
summers, 11–12, 209
sun, the, 17, 92, 98, 152–3, 185
  and burial sites, 128
  symbols, 139, 156
  worship of, 92, 98–9, 200, 209
supernatural, the, 2, 20, 33, 42
Surya, 92, 98
Svobodnoe culture, 92
swan, 189, *194*
swastika, 293
sword, 87, 181, 196–7, *201*, 257, 293, 301
  cavalry, 262–3

T

tables, 189, 215, 216
tableware, 117
Tagar culture, 138, 169–71, 185, 224
taiga, 12
Taliban, 292
Tang Dynasty, 4
tapestry, 2, 192, 220, *222*
Tashkovo culture, 147
Tashtyk culture, 140, 171, 186
Tasmola culture, 185
tattoos, 134, 161, 186, *189*
Tauri, 239
Tazabagyab culture, 107, 141, 151
'Tchink', *10*, *253*
tectonic action, 1, 11, 76, 77, 106
temple, 73, 107, 113, 236, 297, 299, 300–1
  fire, 114–15
terra cotta, 34, 61, *65*, *66*, 69, 106
Tes' culture, 170–1
textiles, 95, 134, 218; *see also* carpets; tapestry
theatre, 297
theriomorphic figure, 98, 139, 187
theropods, 9
Thervingi, 261
Thracians, 192
Tiemulike culture, 212
tiger, 135, 152, *188*
tile decoration, 297
timber, 12, 141, 186
Timber-Grave Culture *see* Srubnaya culture
Timurids, 10
tin, 1, 60, 68, 72, 106, 138, 168
  bronze, 148, 149
titanotherium, 8
Tochari, 295, 296
  language, 135–6, 215
tomb, 108, 121
tools, 32, 50, 55, 58, 132, *133*, 145
  Mousterian, 27
  prehistoric, 22, 23
  stone, 31
topaz, 267
toreutics, 69, 203, 249, 251–3, 269
  Scythian, 175, 192, 231, 236, 267
torques, 188, *243*, *257*
totem, 27, 174
tower of silence *(dakhma)*, 209
trade, 1, 12, 50, 95, 106, 234, 306
  and China, 123

  and gold, 175
  international, 53, 108, 116–17, 197
  interregional, 13
  sea routes, 72
  transcontinental, 72, 76, 179, 193, 235, 285
transhumance, 84
transport, 1, 50, 76, 79, 90, 128, 285; *see also* carts; chariots; horses; wagons
tree of life, 46, 110, 163, 192, 231, 268, 294
trepanning, 171
Triassic period, 11, 18
tribal cultures, 73, 185, 233
Tripolye culture, 69, 90, 95, 147
Trojan War, 264
tropical regions, 18
tubs, *222*
tundra, 12
Tungusic language, 4, 135
Turfanian language, 124
Turkic culture, 4, 38, 46, 52, 160, 185, 306
  language, 135, 171
Turko-Mongol people, 85
turquoise, *66*, 69, 95, 110, 258, 267, 268, 293
  resources of, 72, 73, 106

U

UNESCO, 2, 4
Uralic language, 4
uranium, 13
urbanisation, 66, 72–3, 76, 115, 285
Urgi, 256
Uruk culture, 95
Usatovo culture, 79, 82, 96, 157
utensils, 184
Uyghurs, 124, 203, 219, 306

V

Vandals, 192, 261, 269
Var, 147, 209
vase, 112, 251
Vedas, the, 98
vegetation, 12, 22, 26
velociraptors, 9
Venus statues, 29, 34, *35*
Vikings, 192
village, 150, 223
Visigoths, 262
volcano, 18, *41*
votive offerings, 47, 115, 301, 302
vulva symbols, 128

W

wagon, 87, 92, 122, *234*, 306
  and burials, 108–9, 189
  and migration, 90–1, 96, 168
wall hangings, *194*, *195*
wall paintings, 55
wall, 107–8, 113, 114, 144, 208, 297
warfare, 1, 12, 38, 86–7, 91–2, 168–9, 224, 227
warriors, 86, 92, 96, 251
  elite, 83, 141, 146–7, 148–9
waste water, 76, 144, 145
water, 1, 65, 76, 86, 133
wax, 234
wealth, 185, 203
weaponry, 12, 23, 26, 58, 148–9; *see also* individual weapon types
weaving, 133, 134, 136
weights and measures, 76
Western Zhou dynasty, 90, 156, 179
wheat, 52, 53, 55, 56, 61, 65, 104, 133
  in China, 122
  export of, 234
  and fertility, 79
wheel, the, 87, 90–1, 109, 123, 136, 293, 306
Wheel of Law, 293
wickerwork, *221*
winds, 11–12, 15
windsock, 263
wine, 234, 237
winters, 11–12, 45–6, 209
wolf, 179, 188, 198, 294
women, 32, 34, 35, 42, 66, 193–4
  Amazons, 96
  and figurines, 69, 78–9, 96, 106, *107*, 109, 112, *173*, *295*
  and horses, 86
  noble, 258
  warriors, 238, 264–5
wood, 47, 60, 141, 216,
  birch, 171, 196
  larch, 186, 193
  poplar, 125, 132, 218, 219
  tamarisk, 218, 219
wooden figures, *124*, 128, *130–1*, 132
woodland, 40
wool, 50, 52, 65, 95, 125, 136
  and China, 123
  and clothing, 109
workshop, 107, 113, 114
Wusun, 212, 216, 290, 296, 306

X

Xianbei tribe, 85, 86, 212, 294, 306
Xiangbaobao culture, 210
Xintala culture, 132
Xiongnu culture, 123, 173, 189, 212, 288, 306
  and animals, 156, 192
  and burial, 186, 220, 293
  warriors, 256, 290
Xyston, 263

Y

yak, 45, 47, 110, *215*
Yamnaya culture, 79, 82, 83, 92, 95–7
  and animal sacrifices, 146–7
  and burials, 90, 125
  heritage of, 140–1
Yancai *see* Alans
Yenisei Kirghiz culture, 171
Yuezhi, 10, 212, 294, 295, 296, 306
  invasions of, 121, 210, 268, 283, 290–1
yurts, *52*, 91, *145*, 150, 171, *172*, 185

Z

Zamanbaba culture, 52, 117
Zebakino-Čilikta phase, 195
ziggurat, 68, 69
zoomorphic figure, 109, 138, 152, *260*
Zoroastrianism, 114, 121, 204–5, 209, 298, 306
  and burials, 115, 116, 117
  and deities, 98, 294
  text, 137

Index: People

A

Abeakos, King of the Siraces, 257
Achilles, 251, 264
Aeschylus, 226
Agaros, King of Scythia, 243, 246, 256
Agathocles, 289
Agni, 92, 114, 147
Ahriman, 72, 204
Ahura Mazda, 147, 199, 204, 205, 299
Alexander the Great, 1, 4, 200, 201, 203, 207–8, 271
  campaign of, 87, 256, 272–3, 275–83, *284*
Alyattes, King of Lydia, 226, 228
Ammianus Marcellinus, 196
Anacharsis, 237
Anahita, 205, 294, 299
Andersson, Gunnar, 23
Andragoras, 285
Andrews, Roy Chapman, *6–7*, 8–9
Anonymous I, King of Scythia, 246
Anonymous II, King of Scythia, 246
Anonymous III, King of Scythia, 246
Anthony, David, 83, 96
Antigonus, 283, 284
Antimachos I, 289
Antiochus I, 108, 210, 279, 284, 285, 300
Antiochus III, 263, 285, 288
Anthesterios, *252*
Apam Napat, 114
Apama, 284
Api, 235
Apollo, 235, 274, 299
Apollodoros, 288
Apollodoros I, 289
Ardeshir II, *94*
Ardys II, King of Lydia, 225
Ares, 196, 235–6, 264
Argimpasa, 235
Argippaoi, 174, 175
Argotos, King of Scythia, 246
Ariadne, 294
Ariapeithes, King of Scythia, 172, 239, 244–5
Aristeas of Prokonnesos, 174
Aristotle, 62, 281, 299
Arpoxais, 173
Arrian, 251, 260, 263
Arsaces, 254, 285
Arsaces II, 288
Artabanos I, 290
Artaxerxes, 205
Artaxerxes V, 276
Artemis, 110, 299
Arzabazos, 280
Asarhaddon, 225, 226, 244
Asherah, 110
Ashoka, Emperor, 284
Askarov, A., 114, 200
Aspurgos, King of Bospora, 243, 248
Assurbanipal, King of Assyria, 225–6, 227, 244
Astarte, 110
Astygates, 199
Atheas, King of Scythia, 234, 246
Athena, 299
Attaces, King of the Alans, 262
Attila the Hun, 262
Aurelian, Emperor, 261

B

Balachtchin, Valery, *172*
Balakros, 283
Balamber, King of the Huns, 261
Bana, King of the Iazyges, 261
Bartatua, King of Scythia, 226, 227, 244
Bartraz, 196–7
Bergman, Folke, 128
Berthoux, Jules, 296
Bes, 188, 298
Bessus, 276, 277, 278–9, 281
Bohlin, Anders, 23
Borysthenes, 173, 233
Buddha, 293, 306
Burebista, King of Getae, 240
Burton, F.C., 298

C

Caesar, 243, 257
Cambyses I, 199, 201
Cassander, 283
Chandragupta, 284
Charon, 252, 294
Claudianus, 86
Clearchus of Soli, 299
Cleitos, 274, 280
Cleomenes, King of Sparta, 244
Coenos, 280, 281
Cotys I, King of Bospora, 257
Cotys II, King of Bospora, 243
Croesus, King, 199, 200
Cunningham, Sir Alexander, 298
Cyaxares II, King of Media, 198–9, 228, 244
Cybele, 110, 237, 293, 299
Cyrus II, 199–201, 208

D

Dadarshish, 104
Dandamayev, M., 200
Daniel, 110
Darius I, King, 104, 198, 203, 208, 224, 252
  and government, 203
  and Saka, 184, 189, 201
  and Scythians, 168–9, 173, 202, 232, 234, 239, 244
  and Zoroastrianism, 204
Darius III, 275, 276
Darwin, Charles, 19, 20
Demeter, 252
Demetrius I, 284, 288, 289
Demetrius II, 289
Demidov, Akinfiy, 180
Demodamas, General, 210, 284, 288
Diodotus I, 285, 288
Diodotus II, 288
Dionysus, 294
Diophantos, General, 243, 248, 260
Dioscuri, 288, 299, 300
Dumuzi, 95

E

Ermanaric, 261
Etana, 112
Eucratides I, 289, 296
Eucratides II, 289, 290
Eumelos I, King of Bospora, 234, 246, 257
Eumenes, 283
Euthydemos I, 288, 289
Euthydemos II, 289

F

Faxian, 306
Fereydun, King, 201
Firdausi, 201
Flavius Aetius, 262
Flavius Josephus, 227–8
Fourier, Jean Baptiste, 18
Frada, 201
Francfort, H.-P., 112
Franks, Sir A.W., 298
Fu Hao, 122, 152

G

Gagarin, Prince, 180
Galanina, Ludmilla, 231
Gansser, Augusto, 11
Gatalos, King of the Saii, 260
Gautama, 201
Genghis Khan, 47, 280
Gerasimov, 34
Ghirsman, R., 112
Gilgamesh, 110
Gimbutas, Marija, 84
Gmelin, J.G., 169
Gnoli, G., 200
Gnuros, King of Scythia, 244
Goitosyros, 235
Gotarzes I, 294
Grenet, Frantz, 296
Grjaznov, Michail, 169, 175, 178, 186
Gunderic, King of the Vandals, 262
Gyges, King of Lydia, 225–6

H

Hadrian, Emperor, 260, 263
Han Kangxin, 123–4, 128
Hedin, Sven, 9
Hekataios, 256–7
Heliocles, 289, 290, 291
Helios, 299
Hellanikos of Lesbos, 168
Hephaestion, 280
Heraios, 292
Hercules, 233, 235, 249, 299
Hermaios, 291
Herodotus, 1, 57, 86, 176–7, 178, 255
  and Achaemenids, 199, 200, 201
  and Amazons, 264, 265
  and burial, 95, 99, 180, 185, 186
  and Cimmerians, 225, 226–7
  and Greece, 239, 240
  and Sarmatians, 194, 254
  and Scythians, 172–5, 178, 188–9, 191, 196, 198, 228–9, 231–7, 244

Hiebert, Frederick, 63, 108
Homer, 264
Humboldt, Alexander von, 4
Huntington, Ellsworth, 3, 15, 17, 61

I

Idanthyrsos, King of Scythia, 168–9, 173, 201, 232, 244
Inana, 95, 112
Ionesov, Vladimir, 114
Iraj, 201
Isakov, A.I., 73
Išpakaia, King of Scythia, 226, 244
Ishtar, 112

J

Jenkinson, Anthony, 51–2
Jeremiah, 224
Jones, Sir William, 135
Justin, 289

K

Kamasarye, 246
Katz, V., 251
Kineas, 299
Kiselev, S.V., 170
Kohl, Johannes Georg, 165
Kornietz, Ninelj, 32
Krause, Johannes, 28
Kristiansen, Kristian, 83
Kühn, Herbert, 39
Kujula Kadphises, 292
Kuzmina, E., 137

L

Lebed, Alexander, 175
Lebedynsky, Iaroslav, 296
Leskov, Alexander, 196
Licent, Emile, 8
Lipoxais, 173
Litvinsky, Boris, 300, 302
Lygdamis, 226
Lykos, King of Scythia, 244
Lysimachus, 246, 283

M

Madyas, King of Scythia, 227, 244
Mahudel, Nicholas, 58
Mallory, James P., 83, 137
Malte-Brun, Conrad, 135
Manandros I, 291
Marcus Aurelius, Emperor, 197, 261
Masimov, I.S., 112
Masson, Vadim, 27, 53, 62–3, 68–9, 107, 200, 208–9
Mauaces, King of the Saka, 276
Maurice, 38, 265, 267
Maximus Thrax, Emperor, 261
Menandros I, 289
Menedemus, General, 279–80
Messerschmidt, Daniel Gottlieb, 157, 169
Midas II, King, 225
Minns, Ellis, 180, 192
Mithra, *94*, 98, 191, 205, 299
Mithridates I of Pontus, 289, 290
Mithridates II of Pontus, 290, 292
Mithridates VI of Pontus, 240, 243, 248
Mithridates VIII of Pontus, 257
Mode, Markus, 293
Molodin, Vjačeslav, 193
Movius, Hallam, 23
Muhammed Zahir Shah, 296

N

Nagler, Anatoli, 170–1, 196
Nana, 112, 293
Nanna-Sin, 69
Narunde, 112
Nero, Emperor, 243
Nicholas I, Tsar of Russia, 4

O

Octamasadas, King of Scythia, 237, 239, 241, 245
Okladnikov, A. P., 27, 39
Opoia, 245
Orikos, 245–6
Osborn, Henry Fairfield, 8
Oxyartes, 281, 283

P

Pairisades II, King of Bospora, 234
Pairisades III, King of Bospora, 246
Pairisades IV, King of Bospora, 246
Pairisades V, King of Bospora, 243
Palakos, King of Lesser Scythia, 243, 248
Pallas, P.S., 169
Pantaleon, 289
Papaios, 178, 235, *236*, 249
Parmenion, General, 275
Parzinger, Hermann, 179, 185
Peithon, General, 283
Penthesilea, 264
Persephone, 252
Peter I, Tsar of Russia, 178, 180
Pharasmanes, 207
Pharnaces II, 243
Philip II, King of Macedonia, 246, 251, 275
Philip III, King of Macedonia, 283
Philip IV, King of Macedonia, 283
Phraates II, 290
Phraates IV, 294
Pidoplichko, 32
Pinikir, 112
Pitschikjan, Igor, 300–1
Plato I, 289
Pliny the Elder, 198
Plutarch, 248, 262–3
Polos'mak, Natalia, 193
Polyainos, 256
Pompeius Trogus, 285, 289, 295, 296
Pomponius Mela, 253
Pompey, 243
Poncins, Vicomte Edmond de, 30
Poseidon, 235, 299
Procopius, 18
Przhevalsky, Lt. Col. Nicolai Michailovitsch, 49, 50
Psammetichus I, 225–6, 227
Psyche, 294
Ptolemy, 259, 280, 283, 300
Pumpelly, Raphael, 60, 61, 62
Pythagoras, 281

Q

Quintus Curtius Rufus, 208, 275, 279, 280

R

Radlov, V.V., 169, 186
Ranov, Vadim, 27
Rapin, Claude, 296
Renfrew, Colin, 137
Respendial, King of the Alans, 261
Rhescuporis III, 243
Rostovtzeff, M., 95, 180, 192, 258
Roxana, 281, 283
Rudenko, Sergei, 186, 189
Rusa I, King of Urartu, 225

S

Salm, 201
Samashev, Zainola, 255
Šandakšatru, 226
Sanherib, 224–5
Sargon II, King of Assyria, 225
Sarianidi, Viktor, 63, 104, 106–10, 113, 291–2, 294, 295
Satyros I, King of Bospora, 246, 257
Saulius, King of Scythia, 237, 244
Saumakos, King of Scythia, 243, 248–9
Sauromates I, King of Bospora, 234, 243
Sauromates II, King of Bospora, 243
Schiltz, Véronique, 178, 268, 294
Schmidt, Hubert, 61
Schrader, Otto, 136
Scolaxais, 173
Scopasis, 173
Scylas, King of Scythia, 237, 240, 241, 245–6
Seleucus I, 73, 210, 279, 283–4, 285, 296
Seleucus II, 288
Shalmaneser III, 136
Shcheglov, A., 251
Shu Sin, King, 84
Shunkha, 184
Sibyrtius, 283
Silenus, 294, 301–2
Silvanus, 248, 260
Sima Qian, 1, 86, 259, 303
Sitalces, King of Thrace, 241, 245
Skiluros, King of Lesser Scythia, 240, 243, 246, 248
Skopasis, 244, 253
Skunkha, 201
Skylax, 203
Solecki, Ralph, 27
Sophagasensus, 288
Spadinos, King of the Aorsi, 257
Spargapeithes, King of Scythia, 244
Spargapises, 200
Spitames, 278–81, 284
Stasanor, 283
Stein, Sir Aurel, 123, 125, 205, 207
Strabo, 108, 225, 235, 248, 256, 285, 288, 295
Strahlenberg, Philipp Johann von, 11
Strato II, 291

T

Tabiti, 96, 191, 235, 249
Tacitus, 262
Targitaos, 173
Tarn, W.W., 289
Taxakis, 173, 244
Telegin, Dimitri, 82
Teres, King of Odrysia, 239, 244
Teušpa, King, 225
Thagimasadas, 235
Thomsen, Jürgensen, 58
Thymnes, 172
Tiberius, Emperor, 292
Tirgatao, Queen of Ixomates, 256–7
Tolstov, Sergei, 51, 207
Tomyris, 200
Trajan, Emperor, 261, 263
Tur, 201
Tyche, 191–2

V

Vaissière, Étienne de la, 296
Valens, Emperor, 261
Verethraghna, 209
Vistaspa, 200
Vithimir, 261
Vologases IV, 205

W

Wang Binghua, 122, 128
Warner, Langdon, 61
Witsen, N.K., 180
Wood, John, 278, 296
Wuling of Zhao, King, 101, 123

X

Xerxes I, 188, 198, 274–5
Xuanzang, 306

Y

Yahweh, 110
Yima, 147
Young-sook Pak, 295
Young, Thomas, 135

Z

Zaibert, Victor, 84
Zanticus, King of the Iazyges, 261
Zarathustra, 116, 200, 204, 205
Zaytsev, Juri, 249
Zeus, 173, 299
Zhang Qian, 290–1, 295
Zopyrion, General, 207, 240, 246

Index: Places

Illustrations are indicated by *italic* references. Tables are indicated by *t*.

A

Abakan, 169
Adji Kui, 109, 112–13
Adrianople, 261
Afar Triangle, 24
Afghanistan, 10, 27, 104, 106, 200, *278–9*
  and Aï Khanum, *296–7*, 299–300
  and Alexander the Great, 277
  and burial sites, 110
  and trade, 53, 72, 73
  and tools, 31
Africa, 11, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28; *see also* North Africa
Aï Khanum, 73, 280, 284, 288–90, 293, 295
  layout of, 296–7, 299–300, 302
Ajaz Kala, 208
Ak-Alacha, 187, 193, 194, 220
Ak Cunkur, 31
Aksha Tepe, 65
Aksu, 209, 288
Alagou, 215, 216
Alaska, 28
Aldy Bel', 192, 195
Alexandria ad Caucasum, *276*, 277
Alexandria Eschate, 210, 279
Alexandria in Arachosia, 277
Alexandria in Aria, 277
Alexandria Oxeiana, 280
Alichur, 209
Almaty, 205
Altai Mountains, 4, 12, *59*, 137, 211
  and burial sites, 99, 163
  and early man, 22, 24, 27, 28
  and ore, 60, 96
  and petroglyphs, 41, 42
Altan Sandal, 162, *163*
Altyn Oba, 241
Altyn Tepe, 62, 65, *67*, 68–9, 77
  and burials, 72, 73
  and ceramics, 109, 114
Amu Darya River, 13, 50, 51, 52, 73, 114, 280
Amurru, 225
Anatolia, 4, 53, 55, 91, 179, 198
  and Cimmerians, 224, 226
  and copper, 58
  and language, 137
Anau, 60, 61–2, 63, 65, 72
Anchil Chon, 147, 152–3, *153*, 209
Andier River, 66
Angara River, 34
Anghilak, 27
Antarctica, 11
Anyang, 90, 122
Aq Kupruk, 53
Arabia, 14, 15, 28, 77, 203
Arachosia, 200, 277, 283, 284, 289
Aral Sea, 12–13, *14*, 50, 51, 106, 116, 254
Aral Tolgoi, 47
Arbil, 275
Arctic Circle, 12
Arctic Sea, 174
Aria, 277, 283, 284
Arkaim, 141, *142–3*, 144–5, 146
Arkhangai Aimag, *41*
Armenia, 235, 260
Arpa Uzen, *63*, 161
Arschaan Khod, 47
Aryana Vaeja, 136
Arzhan-1, 175, 180
  and animal objects, 178, 179, 192, 220
  and graves, 162, 181, 185, 209
  and *radial architecture*, 147, 153, 156
Arzhan-2, 38, 116, 163, *181*, *182*, 193, 293
  and graves, 162, 178, 180, 185
Ashgabat, 61
Asia Minor, 58, 174, 201, 241
Assyria, 85, 91, 112, 136–7, 179, 180, 188
  overthrow of, 198–9
  and Scythians, 226–7
Athens, 232, 234
Atlantic Ocean, 11, 27, 224
Australia, 11, 25, 28
Avdeevo, 34
Ayala Mazar, 124, *125*, *128*, 129, *130–1*, 132–3, 218
Azerbaijan, 163
Azov, Sea of, 234, 239, 254

B

Babylon, 172, 188, 200
Bactra, 203, *286–7*, 291
Bactria, 1, 77, 112, 117, 200, 210, 290
  and Alexander the Great, 207–8, 274, 276, 277, 279, 283
  and art, 306
  and Greece, 285
  and religion, 114, 116, 204
  and the Saka, 284, 290
  and trade, 73, 254
Badain Jaran Desert, 14, *304–5*
Baga Oigor, 42–6, *85*,163
Bagram, 277
Baikal, Lake, 10, 23, 29, 31, 34, 124
  and bows, 38
  early settlements, 55
Baite, *254*
Bajkara, 196, *200*
Balkans, the, 56, 58
Balkh, 204, 276, 278, 280; *see also* Bactra
Baluchistan, 53
Bard-i Nishanda, 114
Barsučij Log, 116, 170–1, 196, 229
Bayan Zag, 8–9
Beijing, 8, 15, 23
Bela Hissar, *276–7*
Belaya River, 92
Bel'sk, 202, 234
Berel, 163, 186, 188, 255
Bering land bridge, 17, 28
Bertek, 193
Besschatyr, 205, *207*, 216, 219
Betpak-Dala, 13
Bisotun, 184, 199, 200, 204, *206*
Black Sea, 1, 4, 27, 32, 172, 233
  and agriculture, 55
  and burial sites, 82, 99
  and climate, 11
  and metallurgy, 58
Blombos, 29
Bol'šhoe Chodosovskoe gorodišče, 234
Bolshoi Gluchoj, 23
Borystenes, 234
Bosporan Kingdom, 224, 231–2, 234, 238, 239–43, 252–3
Botai, 84
Bouret, 34
Bozzhira, *10*, *253*
British Isles, 17, 193, 197, 224, 256
Bronocice, 90
Buchara, 117
Bug River, 234, 239
Bulgaria, 78
Byzantion, 201

C

Carpathians, 58, 84, 96
Carthage, 262
Caspian Sea, 10, 11, 12, 50, 51, 52, 99
  and trade, 254
Častye, 173
Catal Hüyük, 55
Catalaunian Fields, 262
Caucasus, 11, 22, 23, 27, 83, 85, 224
  and copper, 58, 60
  and Scythians, 226, 228
Čertomlyk, 185, 234, 251
Chang'an, 280
Changtang, 220
China, 1, 4, 11, 76, 123, 295, 306
  and archaeology, 8, 9, 20, 22, 23–4, 38, 61
  and border regions, 12
  and burial sites, 85, 90
  and metallurgy, 58, 122–3
  and migration, 28
Cholistan Desert, *70–1*
Choresmia, 51, 117, 200, 205, 207, 254, 280
Čiča, 197
Cilicia, 226, 275
Čilikty, 163, 195–6, 258, 267
Circumpontic Region, 96
Crimea, 116, 168, 179, 238, 239, 246
Cyropolis, *202*, 203, 279
Czech Republic, 34

D

Dacia, 260–1
Dalverzin Tepe, 299
Dam Dam Chasma II, 52
Danube, 4, 12, 56, 60, 96, 169, 233
Dara-i Kur, 27
Dashli Tepe, 65, 66, 106, 114, 147, 153
Datchi, 258, *266*, 268
Delger Saikhan River, 162
Denmark, 35, 58, 92
Derawar Fort, *70–1*
Dereivka, 83
Dilbergine Tepe, 299
Dmanisi, 22

Dnieper River, 78, 79, 83, 84, 149, 168, 234
Dniester River, 56, 79
Dolní Věstonice, 34
Don River, 11, 58, 83, 84, 95–6, 233
Donetsk, 229
Drangiana, 277, 283, 289
Drishadvati River, 76
Dushanbe, 23
Dzong, 280
Dzungarian Alatau Desert, 13, 14, 205, 211

E

Eastern Europe, 10, 28
Ebla, 109
Egypt, 2, 76, 85, 172, 188, 198
  and burial rites, 91, 171
  conquering of, 201
  and Scythians, 174, 227
  and trade, 241
Elam, 72, 109, 112, 199
Elangash, 98
Elizavetovka, 234
Elken Tepe, 117
Eltsin Bulak, *160f*
Emba River, 11
Emshi Tepe, 291
England *see* British Isles
Ephesus, 226
Equator, 17, 18
Eshki Olmes, 45, 98, 206
Ethiopia, 24
Eucratidia, 280
Euphrates River, 225
Eurasia, 4, 11, 12, 18, 23, 25, 84
Europe, 17, 20, 24, 28, 53, 86, 90
  and metals, 58, 60
  see also Eastern Europe; Western Europe

F

Farah, 277
Fergana, 23, 117, 133, 209–10, 288, 290
Fertile Crescent, 52–3
Filippovka, 163, 255
France, 29, 82

G

Gadara, 200
Gagarino, 34
Gamir, 225
Gandhara, 200, 289, 290, 306
Ganges, River, 76
Gansu, 122, 123, 124, 306
Gaugamela, 275, 276
Gaul, 262
Gaza, 28, 52
Gäze, 133, 223, *307*
Gedrosia, 284
Gelonos, 201, 202, 234
Gelot, 115
Geoksyur, 62, 63, *64*, 65, 66, 73, 77, 106
Georgia, 22
Germany, 24, 34, 35, 193
Gerrhos, 172, 231
Gibraltar, 24
Gobi Desert, 8–9, 12, 14, 15, 23, 61, 62
  and petroglyphs, 110
Godon Go River, *54*
Goguryeo, 294
Gol Mod, 293
Gondwana, 11
Gonur, 104*t*, 106, 107–9, 112–13, 114, 192
Gonur Tepe North, *102–3*
Gordion, 225
Gorgan valley, 53, 136
Gorgippia, 261
Granicus, 275
Greece, 1, 55, 73, 87, 92, 137, 179, 239
  and Alexander the Great, 274–83
  and art, 231
  and Scythians, 249, 251–3
  and trade, 224, 232, 234, 241
Gumugou, 98–9, *117*, 123, 125, 128, 133, 153
Gyaur Kala, 208; *see also* Merv

H

Halys River, 228
Hamadan, 201
Hami, 124, 132, 134
Hanlar, 163
Haraiva, 200
Harappa, 72, 73, 76, 108
Hasanlu, 136–7
Hekatompylos, 288
Henan Province, 90, 122
Herat, 200, 203, 277
Harauvatish, 200
Himalayas, 10, 11, 12
Hindu Kush, 10, 12, 274, 276–7, 284, 289, 291
Holmgård IV, 35
House 18, 132
Hövsköl Aimag, 162
Hubei Province, 23
Hungary, 4, 56, 253, 256, 261
Hutubi, 212
Hyrcania, 199, 277, 285

I

Iberian Peninsula, 28
Ignateva, 31, 32–3
Ili River, 205, 212, 290
Illintsy, 251
India, 10, 11, 38, 72, 295, 306
  and caste system, 205
  and early man, 23, 28
  and Greece, 284
Indian Ocean, 203
Indonesia, 18, 22, 28
Indus Valley, 1, 13, 53, *74–5*, 220, 284
  and figurines, 69, 110
  and trade, 72, 73, 76, 106
Inner Mongolia, 8, 10, 14, 62, 122, 180, *304–5*
Ionia, 199, 232, 234
Ipsus, 284
Iran, 1, 4, 10, 13, 15, *94*, 306
  and architecture, 68–9, 73
  culture, 63, 201, 203
  fire temples, 114
  and Gilgamesh, 110
  and language, 136
  and trade, 106, 235
  see also Bisotun
Iraq, *25*, 27, 60, 275
Iren Dabasu, 8
Irkutsk, 34
Irtysh River, 137, 138, 149, 197
Ishim River, 141, 196
Islamabad, 289
Issus, 275
Issyk, 184, 205, 294
Issyk-Kul, Lake, 23, 50
Istaravshan, 200, *202*, 279
Istros River, 241
Italy, 82, 172

J

Jalang, 209
Janbas Kala, 208
Japan, 8, 61, 274
Jargalant, *156*, 162
Jarkutan, 114, 115, 116, 302
Java, 22
Jaxartes *see* Syr Darya River
Jaz III, 104*t*, 117
Jebel, 52
Jiaohe Gou, 215
Jiroft, 68–9
Jordan River, 23
Jumbulakum, 129, 133, 217, 218, *219*, 223
  and the Saka, 219, 220
Juz Oba, 241

K

Kabul, 203, *276*, 281, 289, 298
Kailash, 11
Kalai Mir, 299
Kalaligyr, 208
Kalibangan, 76
Kalos Limen, 246, 248
Kamennyi Log, 152
Kamenskoje gorodišče, 234, 246
Kampyr Tepe, 280
Kandahar, 69, 277
Kan'ergou, 212
Kangjia Shimenzi, *134f*
Kangju, 259, 268, 290
Kapova, 31, 32, 33
Kara Art, 209
Kara Kum Desert, 13, 15, 51, 104, 117
Kara Oy, 163, *185*
Kara Tepe, 66
Karadong, 133
Karagodeuashkh, 251
Karakol, *91*, 98
Karakul Lake, *145*, 209, *215*
Karatau I, 23
Karatau Mountains, *63*
Karatul'skoe gorodišče, 234
Kargaly complex, 58, *267*
Kashgar, 288
Kashmir, 10, 290, 306
Kayina'er, 212, *213*, *214*
Kazakhstan, 1, 4, *10*, 11, 12, 13, 23
  and burials, 147–8
  and camels, 62
  and climate, 141
  early settlements, 55
  and horses, 84
  and petroglyphs, 40, 45, *93*, *99*, *100*, 161, 163
  and sun engravings, 98
  and tin, 60
  and the wheel, 91
Kazakhstania, 11
Kazanovka, *138*
Kelermes, 178, 185, 196, 229, 231, 267
  mirror, 110, *111*, 174
Kelleli, 104*t*, 106–7, 109
Kerch, 239, 241
Keriya River, 66, 129, 133, 216, 217, 218
Kerkinitis, 246, 248
Kernosovka, *79*, 82
Khakassia, 96, *136*, 137, 152, 153, 157, 169
Khanuy Gol River, 162
Khapuz Tepe, 77
Khar Nuur Lake, *52*
Khawak Pass, 278
Khentii Mountains, 47
Khoit Zenger Agui, *28*, 29–30
Khokhlach, 258, *261*, 267, 269, 293, 294
Khonako II, 23
Khong Tepe, 65
Khorgo Uul, *41*
Khotan, 122, 210, 219, 290
Khoton Nuur, Lake, 47
Khovd Aimag, *28*, 29
Khujand, 210, 279
Khusistan, 114
Kiev, 56, 233
Kjuzeligyr, *211*
Kobiakovo, 258, 268, 294
Koi Krylgan Kala, 147, 209, *211*
Kök Tepe, 203, 296
Kokcha River, 73, 288, 296
Koksu, 206
Konar Sandal I, 68
Konqi He River, 125, 128
Kopet Dag Mountains, 13, 53, 61, 63, 68, 104, 106
  and settlements, 60, 62*t*, *64*
  and trade, 72, 73
Korea, 8, 274, 294
Korla, 216
Kostienki 1, 34
Kostromskaja, 116, *228*, 229
Krasnoyarsk, 175
Kuban, 90, 116, 178, 179, 185, 196, 256
  and Scythians, 226–9
Kuban River, 60
Kubuqi Desert, 15
Kul Oba, *241*
Kulbulak, 23
Kuldara, 23
Kuljab, 115
Kum Tag Desert, 14
Kuma-Manych Depression, 11

Kun Lun mountains, 10, 12, 13–14, 218, 223
Künäs He, 212, 216
Kunduz, 278
Kuqa, 132
Kurgani Trëkh Bratev, 251–2
Kurgansol, 280
Kurteke, 31
Kuten Buluq, *168*
Kutlug Tepe, 147
Kuzali, 114, 115
Kyrgyzstan, 4, *16*, 23, 31, 50, 98
  and petroglyphs, 40, 92, 163, *185*
Kyrshkata, 200
Kyzykl Art Pass, *16*
Kyzyl Kum Desert, 13, 15, *16*

L

Ladakh, 10, 220
Lakhuti, 23
Land of the Seven Rivers, 205, 215, 216; *see also* Semirechie
Langar, 45
Lantian, 23
Laurasia, 11
Laurussia, 11
Leuce, 251
Levant, 28
Liushi, 223
Lop Nor Desert, 14, 17, 122, 123, 133
  images, *116*, *117*, *118–19*, *120*
  L.F. tomb, 123
  L.S. tomb, 123, 125, 128
Lugavskoe, 153
Luoyang, 280
Lydia, 199, 225, 228

M

Macedonia, 1, 55, 207–8, 246, 260, 275–83
Magnesia, 263
Magnitogorsk, 141
Majuangou, 22–3
Makarovo IV, 23
Malt'a, 31, 34
Manchuria, 4
Mangyshlak Peninsula, *10*, 12, 23, *150*, 151, 157, 254
Mannheim, 35
Maracanda *see* Samarkand
Margiana, 77, 104, 110, 114, 117, 141, 199
  and Alexander the Great, 280, 283
  and religion, 112
  and the Saka, 210, 284
Margush *see* Margiana
Marlik, 136
Masjid-Suleiman, 114
Max Planck Institute, 17, 25, 28
Media, 228, 235, 260
Mediterranean Sea, 11, 28, 29
Mehrgarh, 53, 55, 76
Mele Hairam, 114
Melek Chesmen Kurgan, 241
Melgunov–Litoi, 229
Melitopol, 251
Merv, 13, 77, 104, 107, 210, *216*
  Erk Kala, 203
  Gyaur Kala, 208
Mesopotamia, 1, 15, 60, 69, 95, 104, 109
  and animals, 52, 65, 84
  and architecture, 66, 68, 113
  and trade, 13, 72, 73, 76, 106, 235
  and the wheel, 90, 91
Mezhirich, 31, 32
Mezin, 31, 32
Mingtiegai, 210
Minusinsk Basin, 96, 97, 110, 116, 139*t*, 157
  and burial sites, 138, 151, 169–71
Mitanni, 121
Mizdajkan, 208
Mohenjo-daro, 72, 73, *74–5*, 76
Mojokerto, 22
Molodova, 26
Mongolia, 4, 8, 10, 11, 15, 23, 35
  early settlements, 55
  and horses, 84
  and migration, 28
  and petroglyphs, 40, 41, 42–6, *160*, 163
  realms of, 156–7
  and stone art, 47, 82, 157
  and trade, 123
  see also Inner Mongolia; Outer Mongolia
Moscow, 180
Mount Tambora, 18
Mu Us Desert, 15
Mujun Kum Desert, 13
Mullali Tepe, 60, 65, 66
Mundigak, 69
Muradymovka, 33
Murgab River, 65, 77, 104, 106, 107
Muztagata Mountain, *145*, *215*
Mycenae, 149

N

Namazga, 62; *see also* concepts
Naqsh-i Rustam, 198
Neander valley, 24
Neapolis Scythica, *245*, 246, 248, 249, 251
Nihewan Basin, 23
Nile Valley, 53
Nileke, 212
Nineveh, 199, 227, 228, 244
Niya, 38, 66, 215
Nogajčik, 116, 269
Noin Ula, 192
North Africa, 224, 256, 262
North America, 11, 17, 84
Norway, 35
Novosibirsk, 197
Novosvobodnaya 2, 95
Nukuz, 208
Nulasai Mountains, 212
Nymphaion, 251

O

Ob River, 11, 137, 138, 141, 149
Obi-Mazar, 23
Obi Rakhmat, 27
Ochus, Ochos River, 280, *297*
Odessa, 172
Oglakhty, 47, 110
Oguz kurgan, 238, 246
Ogzi-Kichik, 27
Okladnikov, 27
Olbia, 172, 207, 234, 239–43, 251, 260, 261
Olginskoe, 145
Olon Kurin Gol, 38, 187, 194–5
Omsk, 197
Ordos plateau, 15
Orenburg, 255
Oshkhona, 31
Ossetia, 259
Outer Mongolia, 8, 10
Oxus *see* Amu Darya River

P

Pacific Ocean, 12
Pakistan, 1, 10, 28, 53, 198, 200, 220
  and trade, 72, 76
Palestine, 225, 227
Pamir mountains, 10, 12, 13–14, 27, *275*
  and petroglyphs, 92, *115*
  and rock paintings, 30–1
  and the Saka, 209–10
Pangaea, 11, 18
Panj River, 280, *281*, 288, 296, 298, 301
Panjikent, 72
Pannonian Plain, 55
Pantikapaion, *239*, *240*, 241, 251
Papua New Guinea, 25
Paropamisadae, 283, 284, 288
Parthia, 199, 254, 277, 285, 295
Pazyryk, 163, 186, 252, 255, 258
Perederieva Mogila, 229
Perekop, Isthmus of, 246
Perepiat'ycha, 233
Persepolis, 188, 189, 191, *192*, *193*, 198, *204*, 277
Persia, 87, 275–6
Persian Gulf, 52
Peshawar, 298
Phrada, 277
Phrygia, 225, 284
Piat'Brat'ev, 234, *235*, 251
Pokrovka, 264
Poland, 90
Pontic region, 86, 157, 171, 179, 224
Pribaikalja, 38
Prophtasia, 277
Punjab, 291

Q

Qäwrighul *see* Gumugou
Qianshanyang, 76
Qiemo, *13*, 217
Qirq Qiz Kala, 208
Quergou, 134–5, 212
Qurgashin Kala, 208

R

Rawalpindi, 298
Red Sea, 23, 28, 203
Romania, 56, 58
Rome, 1, 224, 235, 243, 260, 295
Rub' al Khali Desert, 14
Russia, 4, 10, 11, 12, 83, 228; *see also* Soviet Union
Ruthog, 220

S

Safronovo, *172*
Saimaly Tash, 92, 98
Saksanochur, 299
Salbyk, *170*
Salkhit, 23
Samara, 56
Samarkand, 203, 210, 274–5, 285, 289, 295
  and Alexander the Great, 279, 280
Sangiran, 22
Sapalli, 104, 114
Sarakhs, 114
Sarasvati River, 76
Saratov, 83
Sarazm, *68*, 72; *see also* concepts
Sardes, 225, 226
Saryesik-Atyray Desert, 13
Sarykamysh Lake, 51, 52
Satma Mazar, 216, 217, 219, 220, *221–23*, *307*
Sattagydia, 200
Sayan Mountains, 12, 175
Sebier, *132*, 133, 218
Seleucia, 285
Selungur, 23
Semirechie, 215, 216, 219; *see also* Land of Seven Rivers
Serbia, 58
Serpievka 2, 33
Sevastopol, 243
Shaanxi Province, 23
Shabarakh Usu, 8, *9*
Shahr-i Sabz, 278, 281
Shahr-i Sokhta, 69, 73
Shakti, 30–1
Shanidar, *25*, 27
Shanpula, 192, 219, 220
Sharyn, *166–7*
Shortugaï, 72, 73
Shurali, 209, *213*
Shurali Mozkol, Mount, *212*
Siberia, 1, 4, 10, 82, 96, 152
  and climate, 11, 12
  early settlements, 27, 55
  and language, 124
  and migration, 28, 29, 129
  and petroglyphs, 41, 45, 47
  and Scythians, 216, 217
Silk Roads, 1, 4, 13, 60, 108, 123, 306
Silla, 294, 295
Simferopol, 246
Sintashta, 141
Sirkap, 289
Sirven Mountains, *36*, 110
Sistan, 200, 290
Sogdia, 1, 200, 290, 306
  and Alexander the Great, 274, 276, 278, 279, 283

Sokolova Mogila, 269
Solocha, 234, 245–6
South Africa, 29
South America, 11, 47
Soviet Union, 10, 12, 291, 296
Spain, 35, 262
Starokorsunskaya, 90
Steblev 15, 226
Subexi, 38, 184, 187, 216
Sukhan Darya, 280
Sumbawa, 18
Suspended Crossing, 290
Syr Darya River, 13, 50, 259, 295
  and Alexander the Great, 279, 280
  and the Saka, 205, 206–7, 210
Syria, 15, 28, 52, 121, 225

T

Taganrog, 234
Tagisken South, 116, 170, 185, 206, 229
Tajikistan, 4, *16*, 23, 27, 30–1, 50, 104
  and burials, 116
  and geoglyphs, 47
  and metallurgy, 68
  and petroglyphs, 40, 45, 115
  and trade, 72
Takht-i Kuwad, 298, 299
Takht-i Sangin, 203, 280, *285*, 299, *300–1*
Taklamakan Desert, 14, 123, 129, 217, 218
  and climate, 12, 17, 38, 62, 66
  images, *13*, *118–19*, *126–7*
Talashkan I, 275
Taman Peninsula, 239
Tamgaly, 45, 46, *93*, 98, *99*, *100*, 163
Tanaïs, 234–5, 261
Taq-e Bostan, *94*, *263*
Tarim Basin, 85, 98, 133, 215, 217, 288, 306
  and Europids, 124, 129
  and language, 97
  and the Saka, 210, 290
Tarim River, 66, 218
Tashkent, 27, 259
Tashkurgan, 210, *216*
Tathagush, 200
Tauric Chersonesos, *242*, 243, 246, *247*, 248
Taxila, 203, 289
Tejen River, 65, 77, 104, 106
Tengger Desert, 14, 15
Tepe Fullol, 114
Tepe Sialk, 68
Tepe Yahya, 68–9
Tepsej, 47
Terek He, 212
Terkhin, Lake, *88–9*
Termez, 114, 274, 275, 280
Teshik-Tash, 23, 27
Thrace, 201, 241, 245, 246
Tian Shan Mountains, 14, 23, 134, 141, 205, 215, 216–20
Tianshan Beilu, 124, 132
Tiberias, Lake, 23
Tibet, 10, 11, 12, 123, 220, 306
Tieban *see* Töwän
Tigrovaia Balka, 116
Tillya Tepe, 110, 268, 269, 291–6
Tobol River, 141, 147, 149, 197
Togolok 1, 106, 113, 114
Togolok 21, 108, 113–14
Tolstaya Mogila, *248*, 249
Töwän, 124, 125, 133
Transbaikal region, 171
Troy, 275
Troyes, 262
Tsagaan Agui, 23–4
Tsagaan Asgat, *154–5*
Tsagaan Nuur, 8, *88–9*
Tsagaan Salaa, 35, *42-5*, 47, *48*, *53*
  and petroglyphs, 42–6, 110, 163
Tubezik 2, 255
Tuekta, 163, 187, 188
Turan, 13, 50, 201
Tureng Tepe, 69
Turfan Basin, 38, 184, 187, 215
Turkmenistan, 1, 4, 13, 17, 40, 53, 104
  and agriculture, 50
  and copper, 58
  early settlements, 60, 61
  fire temples, 114
  and trade, 76
  urbanisation, 65–6
Tuva, 38, 116, 138, 156, 175, 179

U

Ubeidiya, 23
Ufa, 31
Ujgarak, 116, 170, 185, 206, 229
Ujuk valley, 175, 185
Ukok, 193
Ukraine, 26, 31–2, 50, 56, 78, 83, 224
  and copper, 58
Ul, 196
Ulaan Baatar, 23, 55
Ulangom, 156
Uljap, 196
Ulken Kuduk, *150*, *151*
Ul'skji Aul, 231
Ulug Chorum, 147, 153
Ulug Tepe, 65, 117
Upper Hunza Valley, 290
Ur, 69, 72, 73, 95, 110
Ur-Maral, 161
Urals, the, 4, 11, 23, 83, 91
  and art, 31, 34
  and bronze, 58, 60
  and horses, 56, 84
  and Indo-Iranians, 139–41
Urartu, 179, 180, 225
Urmia, Lake, 137, 226
Uruk, 110
Urumqi, 134, 215
Usek, 161
Ushkin Uver, 157, *158–9*, 160, 161, *162*, 163
Ustyurt Plateau, *10*, 13, 253, 254
Uzbekistan, 4, 13, 104, 106, 114, 147
  and early man, 23, 27
  and Greek community, 274
Uzboy River, 51, 52

V

Vakhsh valley, 50, 280, 298, 301
Verch-Kaldžin, 193, 194
Vettersfelde, 193, *198*
Vibist, *115*
Volga River, 10, 11, 56, 58, 95, 96, 149
  and burial rites, 82, 83
Voronezh, 173
Vorovskaïa, 145
Vorskla River, 202
Vysokaja Mogila, 226

W

Western Europe, 1, 4, 33, 34, 193, 228
Wupu, 124, 134

X

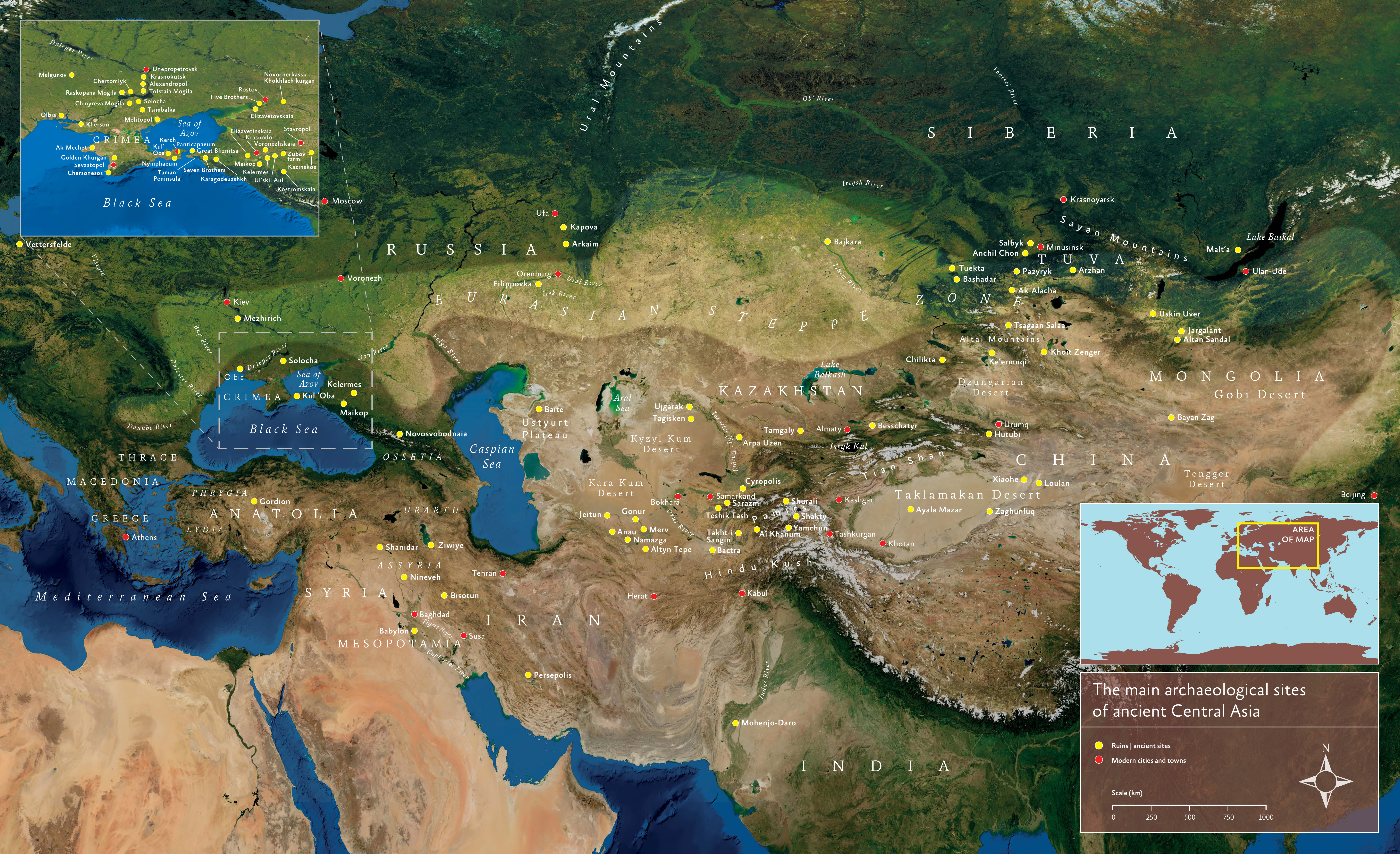
Xiangbaobao, 210
Xiangbabei, 210
Xiaohe, *120*, *121*, *122*, *123*, 124, 128–9
Xinjiang, 9–10, 13–14, *118–19*, 211, 220, 306
  and burials, 122, 187
  and language, 97
  and Mongoloids, 124
  and petroglyphs, 40
Xinyuan, 212, 215

Y

Yalangach, 60, 65, 66, 69
Yanbulake, 124
Yanghai, 216, 217, 220
Yellow River, 15
Yenisei, 140, 141, 149, 223
Yingpan, 171
Yuan Sha, 129, 218
  see also Jumbulakum
Yunxian, 23

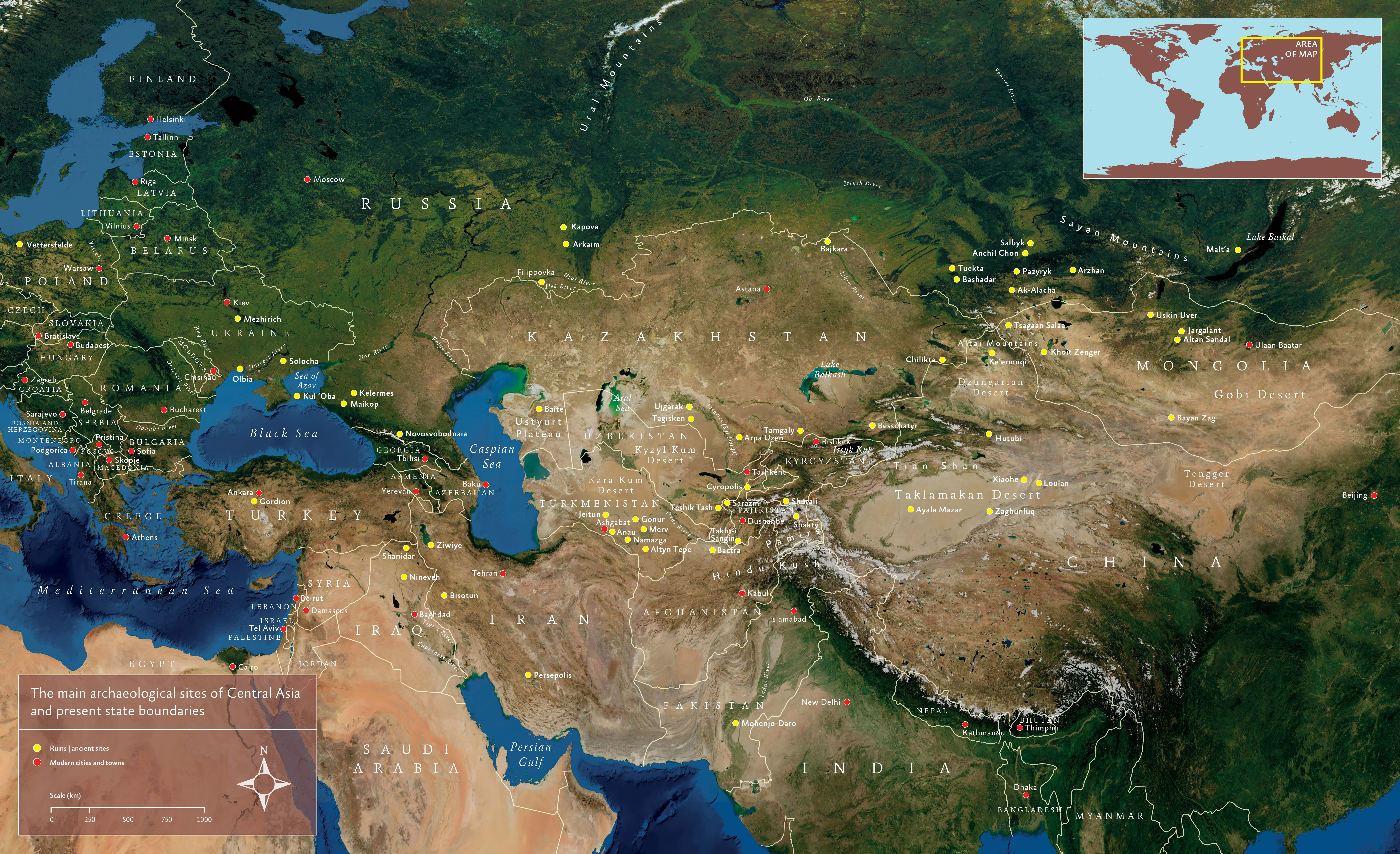
Z

Zaghunluq, *83*, 85, 99, 128, 218, 220, 223
  and grave sites, 134
Zamakhsha, 208
Zamr-i Atish Parast, *282*, *283*
Zariaspa, 276, 286–7, 288
Zarskij Kurgan, 241, *250*, 251
Zela, 257
Zena, 243
Zerafshan valley, 51, 72, 117, 280
Zhalauly, 163
Zhejiang, 76
Zhoukoudian, 23
Ziwiyeh, 229
Zraka, 200



The main archaeological sites of ancient Central Asia

Dnieper River
Melgunov
Chertomlyk
Raskopana Mogila
Dnepropetrovsk
Krasnokutsk
Alexandropol
Tolstaia Mogila
Chmyreva Mogila
Solocha
Tsimbalka
Olbia
Kherson
Melitopol
Sea of Azov
Novocherkassk
Khokhlach kurgan
Rostov
Five Brothers
Elizavetovskaia
CRIMEA
Ak-Mechet
Golden Khurgan
Sevastopol
Chersonesos
Kerch
Kul' Oba
Panticapaeum
Great Bliznitsa
Nymphaeum
Taman Peninsula
Seven Brothers
Karagodeuashkh
Elizavetinskaia
Krasnodor
Voronezhskaia
Stavropol
Zubov farm
Kazinskoe
Maikop
Kelermes
Ul'skii Aul
Kostromskaia
Black Sea
Moscow
Ural Mountains
Ob' River
Yenisei River
SIBERIA
Irtysh River
Ufa
Kapova
Arkaim
RUSSIA
Vettersfelde
Vistula
Voronezh
Orenburg
Filippovka
Ural River
Ilek River
Kiev
Mezhirich
Bajkara
Ishim River
EURASIAN STEPPE ZONE
Krasnoyarsk
Sayan Mountains
Salbyk
Anchil Chon
Minusinsk
TUVA
Tuekta
Bashadar
Pazyryk
Arzhan
Ak-Alacha
Lake Baikal
Malt'a
Ulan-Ude
Uskin Uver
Jargalant
Altan Sandal
Tsagaan Salaa
Altai Mountains
Khoit Zenger
Ke'ermuqi
Chilikta
Bug River
Dnieper River
Solocha
Don River
Volga River
Olbia
Sea of Azov
Kelermes
CRIMEA
Kul 'Oba
Maikop
Dniester River
Black Sea
Danube River
Novosvobodnaia
Lake Balkash
KAZAKHSTAN
Dzungarian Desert
MONGOLIA
Gobi Desert
Aral Sea
Baite
Ustyurt Plateau
Ujgarak
Tagisken
Kyzyl Kum Desert
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
Tamgaly
Arpa Uzen
Almaty
Besschatyr
Issyk Kul
Urumqi
Hutubi
Bayan Zag
Caspian Sea
OSSETIA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
Tian Shan
CHINA
Tengger Desert
Xiaohe
Loulan
Beijing
PHRYGIA
Gordion
ANATOLIA
URARTU
Kara Kum Desert
Cyropolis
Bokhara
Samarkand
Sarazm
Shurali
Kashgar
Taklamakan Desert
Ayala Mazar
Zaghunluq
GREECE
LYDIA
Athens
Jeitun
Gonur
Oxus River
Teshik Tash
Pamirs
Shakty
Yamchun
Anau
Merv
Namazga
Altyn Tepe
Takht-i Sangin
Ai Khanum
Bactra
Tashkurgan
Khotan
Shanidar
Ziwiye
ASSYRIA
Nineveh
Tehran
Hindu Kush
Mediterranean Sea
SYRIA
Bisotun
Herat
Kabul
Baghdad
Babylon
Tigris River
Susa
IRAN
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates River
Persepolis
Indus River
Mohenjo-Daro
INDIA
AREA OF MAP
● Ruins | ancient sites
● Modern cities and towns
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000
N



The main archaeological sites of Central Asia and present state boundaries

AREA OF MAP
FINLAND
Helsinki
Tallinn
ESTONIA
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
Minsk
BELARUS
Vettersfelde
Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
CZECH
SLOVAKIA
Bratislava
Budapest
HUNGARY
Zagreb
CROATIA
Sarajevo
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Belgrade
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
Podgorica
Pristina
KOSOVO
Skopje
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
Tirana
ITALY
GREECE
Athens
Sofia
BULGARIA
Bucharest
ROMANIA
Danube River
Chisinau
MOLDOVA
Dniester River
Bug River
Kiev
Mezhirich
UKRAINE
Dnieper River
Olbia
Solocha
Sea of Azov
Kul 'Oba
Kelermes
Maikop
Don River
Volga River
Moscow
RUSSIA
Ural Mountains
Ob' River
Yenisei River
Irtysh River
Kapova
Arkaim
Filippovka
Ural River
Ilek River
Bajkara
Ishim River
Astana
KAZAKHSTAN
Black Sea
Novosvobodnaia
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
ARMENIA
Yerevan
AZERBAIJAN
Baku
Caspian Sea
Baite
Ustyurt Plateau
Aral Sea
UZBEKISTAN
Ujgarak
Tagisken
Syr Darya
Kyzyl Kum Desert
Kara Kum Desert
TURKMENISTAN
Jeitun
Ashgabat
Anau
Gonur
Merv
Namazga
Altyn Tepe
Oxus River
Teshik Tash
Sarazm
TAJIKISTAN
Dushanbe
Shurali
Shakty
Takht-i Sangin
Bactra
Pamir
Hindu Kush
Cyropolis
Tashkent
Arpa Uzen
Tamgaly
Bishkek
Issyk Kul
KYRGYZSTAN
Besschatyr
Lake Balkash
Chilikta
Ke'ermuqi
Dzungarian Desert
Altai Mountains
Tsagaan Salaa
Khoit Zenger
Hutubi
Tian Shan
Xiaohe
Loulan
Taklamakan Desert
Ayala Mazar
Zaghunluq
Salbyk
Anchil Chon
Tuekta
Bashadar
Pazyryk
Arzhan
Ak-Alacha
Sayan Mountains
Malt'a
Lake Baikal
Uskin Uver
Jargalant
Altan Sandal
Ulaan Baatar
MONGOLIA
Gobi Desert
Bayan Zag
Tengger Desert
Beijing
CHINA
Ankara
Gordion
TURKEY
Shanidar
Ziwiye
Nineveh
Bisotun
Tehran
SYRIA
Mediterranean Sea
LEBANON
Beirut
Damascus
ISRAEL
Tel Aviv
PALESTINE
Baghdad
IRAQ
Tigris River
Euphrates River
IRAN
JORDAN
EGYPT
Cairo
Persepolis
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Islamabad
Indus River
PAKISTAN
Mohenjo-Daro
New Delhi
NEPAL
Kathmandu
BHUTAN
Thimphu
INDIA
Dhaka
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR
SAUDI ARABIA
Persian Gulf
Ruins | ancient sites
Modern cities and towns
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000
N

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME **TWO**

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

The Age of the Silk Roads

CHRISTOPH BAUMER

I.B.TAURIS
LONDON • NEW YORK • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

I.B. TAURIS
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA

BLOOMSBURY, I.B. TAURIS and the I.B. Tauris logo are trademarks of
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2014
Reprinted 2019

Copyright © 2014 Christoph Baumer

Translated by Marina Dervis and Dafydd Roberts. English text editing: Malcolm Imrie
Photographs © Christoph Baumer 2014

Christoph Baumer has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents
Act, 1988, to be identified as Author of this work.

Cover design: Christopher Bromley

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted
in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying,
recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission
in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for, any
third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given in this
book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher regret any
inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have ceased to exist, but can
accept no responsibility for any such changes.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-1-7883-1351-3 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)
HB: 978-1-7807-6832-8
ePDF: 978-1-8386-0868-2 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)

Image editing and processing by Sturm AG, 4132 Muttenz, Switzerland

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.

Contents

Introduction 1

I. Early Empires and Kingdoms in East Central Asia 3

1. The Xiongnu, the First Steppe Nomad Empire 4
  1.1 The Chinese Sources 4
  1.2 The Early Xiongnu and their Ancestors 4
  1.3 The Xiongnu Rise to Power 8
  1.4 The Xiongnu Exact Tribute from China 12
  1.5 The Xiongnu and China Fight Over East Turkestan 14
  Excursus: *Ambassador Zhang Qian Scouts Out the Silk Road to Sogdiana and Bactria* 15
  1.6 China Acquires 'Horses that Sweat Blood' and East Central Asia Becomes a Chinese Protectorate 18
  1.7 The Collapse of the Xiongnu Steppe Empire 25
  1.8 Xiongnu Customs in Life and Death 29
  1.9 The Second Chinese Protectorate over the 'Western Regions' 33
2. The Wusun 37
3. The Parthians: An Empire between East and West 39
4. Kingdoms of Central Asian Peoples in Afghanistan and the North of the Indian Subcontinent 43
  4.1 The Indo-Greek Kingdoms 44
  4.2 The Indo-Saka Rulers 45
  4.3 The Indo-Parthian Kingdom 46
  4.4 The Yuezhi and the Kushan Empire 46
    4.4.1 The 'Long March' of the Yuezhi 47
    4.4.2 The Kushan Empire 47
    4.4.3 Silk and the Kushan Trade Network 54
    4.4.4 The Kushan Pantheon and its Dynastic Art 56

II. Early Buddhism in Central Asia and the Gandhara School 59

1. Indian Buddhism before the Kushans 60

2. Diffusion into Central Asia 61

Excursus: *A Murder Uncovers East Turkestan's Pre-Islamic Past* 66

3. The Art of Gandhara 66

III. The Migration of Hunnic Peoples to Northern China, Central Asia and Eastern Europe 81

1. Mongolia and North-West China: the 'Barbarian' Kingdoms of the Xiongnu, the Xianbei and the Rouran, supporters of Buddhism 82

1.1 The Four Xiongnu States and the Emergence of Early Buddhist Art in North-West China 83

1.2 The Northern Wei and the Yungang Grottoes 86

1.3 The Rouran and Gaoche 90

2. Hunnic Peoples of Central Asia 94

2.1 The Chionites 94

2.2 The Kidarites 96

2.3 The Central Asian Hephthalites 97

2.4 The Alkhan 99

2.5 The Nezak 100

3. Pre-Islamic Chorasmia 101

4. The Huns of Eastern Europe 105

IV. The Kingdoms of the Tarim Basin and their Schools of Buddhist Art 113

1. The Archaeological Exploration of the Tarim Basin – An Overview 114

1.1 Early Explorers of the Southern Silk Road 114

1.2 The Riddle of the Lop Nor Lake – Nikolay Przhevalsky and Sven Hedin 117

1.3 Sir Aurel Stein, Pioneer Archaeologist of the Tarim Basin 123

1.4 The Exploration of the Northern Silk Road 129

1.5 Latest Research 133

2. The Southern Silk Road 136
  2.1 Kashgar and Yarkand 136
  2.2 The Kingdom of Khotan 138
    2.2.1 Origins and History 138
    2.2.2 Artworks in the Sands 142
    Excursus: *Jade, Silk and Paper* 148
  2.3 The Kingdom of Shan-shan 151
3. The Northern Silk Road 158
  3.1 The Kingdom of Kucha 158
  3.2 The Kingdoms of Jiaohe and Gaochang in the Turfan Oasis 166
  Excursus: *The* Karez *Irrigation System* 170

V. The First Turkic Khaganate 173
1. A Two-in-One Khaganate 174
  1.1 A Military and Commercial Alliance with Byzantium 175
  1.2 Buddhism, Funerary Rituals, and the Splitting of the Khaganate 182
2. The Eastern Turkic Khaganate 187
  Excursus: *Chinese Pilgrim Monks* 193
3. The Western Turkic Khaganate 198

VI. Turkic Kingdoms of Eastern Europe 207
1. The Empire of the Avars (568–796) 208
2. The Pre-Christian Bulgar Empires 209
  2.1 Great Bulgaria on the Sea of Azov 209
  2.2 The Empire of the Volga Bulgars 210
  2.3 The First Empire of the Danube Bulgars 211
  Excursus: *Ahmad ibn Fadlan's Journey to the Volga Bulgars* 213
3. The Khazars and the Adoption of Judaism 213

VII. The Sogdians 221

1. A Trade Empire from the Crimea to China 222
    1.1 Sogdian Trade before Old Turkic Rule 222
    1.2 The Sogdian-Turkic Alliance 226
2. Sogdian Religion and Art 231
    Excursus: *The Church of the East* 238
3. De Facto Independence under Nominal Chinese Rule 242
4. The Arab Conquest of Sogdiana 244

VIII. The Second Turkic Khaganate and the Türgesh 255

1. The Unification of the Turkic Tribes 256
2. A Short-Lived Great Power 258
3. The Western Turkic Türgesh 267

IX. China, Tibet and the Arabs: The Struggle for Supremacy in Central Asia 271

1. The Emergence of Tibet as a Major Central Asian Power 272
2. Sassanid Princes Seek Chinese Military Assistance 280
3. The Tibetan-Chinese War in the Pamirs 281
    3.1 The Turkic-Sogdian Insurrection of An Lushan 285
4. East Turkestan and the Pamirs under Tibetan Suzerainty 289
    4.1 The Tibetan Reconquest 289
    4.2 Central Asian Influence on Tibetan Culture 292
    4.3 Tibetan Withdrawal from Central Asia 295

X. The Uyghurs 297

1. The Early Period 298
2. The Uyghur Empire 299
    Excursus: *Manichaeism* 305
3. The Flight of the Uyghur Tribes 310

3.1 Refugees at China's Northern Border 310
3.2 Western Uyghur Kingdoms 311
3.2.1 The Kingdom in Gansu 312
3.2.2 The Kingdom of Kocho 313

XI. Outlook 317

Appendix

The Most Important Dynasties and Rulers of Central Asia 322

Notes 326

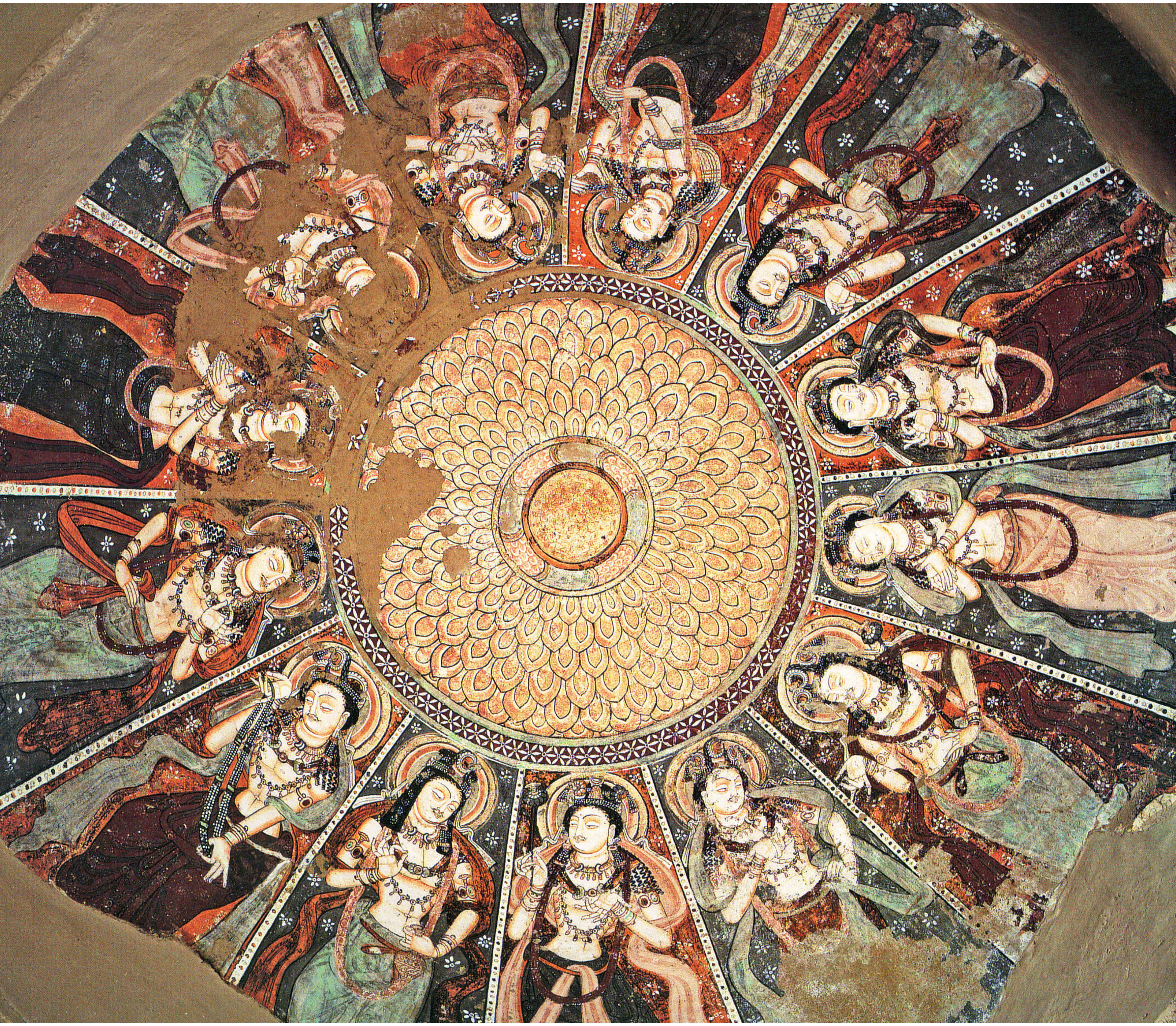
Bibliography 357

List of Maps 382

Photo Credits 383

Acknowledgements 384

Index 385
Concepts 385
People 391
Places 395



1. Cave GK 21 of Kumtura, west of Kucha on the Northern Silk Road, previously called 'New Cave 2', was discovered by chance in 1979. In the cupola 13 bodhisattvas stand around an open lotus flower which symbolises the presence of the Buddha. The numerous bodhisattvas who, like Indian princes, are depicted with rich jewellery on their naked torsos, show that the cave was designed in the Mahayana cultural sphere. It dates from the early second half of the 5th c. CE. Like the neighbouring cave GK 20, whose cupola shows 11 bodhisattvas, the cave is cut into fragile gompholite-like stone which is frequently shaken by earthquakes. Both cupolas are seriously endangered.

Introduction

In Central Asia, history lies outspread before the traveller like the page of a Chinese manuscript, waiting to be deciphered.

ADAPTED FROM **GEORGE N. CURZON**, *RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA IN 1889 AND THE ANGLO–RUSSIAN QUESTION*, 1889.[1]

The period from the Xiongnu steppe empires (before 244 BCE–93 CE) to that of the Uyghurs (744–840 CE) was marked by the extraordinarily dynamic and multifaceted relationships between the peoples of Central Asia and the states of sedentary cultures at the peripheries, such as those of China, north India and Iran, and the Roman and Byzantine empires. These contacts involved both active trading and political and military conflicts, the migration of peoples and the diffusion of religions and artistic styles.

The peoples and empires of Central Asia formed the hubs of the trade networks which we call the Silk Roads, which connected the sedentary empires by land and sea. Thanks to increased mobility and the rapid economic growth of the great empires to the east, south and west, the first millennium CE saw a vast expansion in transcontinental trade – a trade that slowed down towards the end of the ninth century. A comparable dynamic returned only a thousand years later with the Russian advance into the region and the 'Cold War' with British India that ensued. The steppe peoples and oasis cities of Central Asia not only lay at the geographical centre of the trade routes, but they controlled the flow of trade itself, either by levying tolls or through their own mercantile activities. Thus, for example, the thriving economy of the oasis cities of Sogdiana in today's southern Uzbekistan and north-western Tajikistan formed the basis for a complex trade network that included far-flung Sogdian enterprises which extended from the Crimea and Byzantium in the west to Mongolia and the Chinese capitals of Chang'an (today's Xian) and Luoyang in the east.

Silk, probably the most important commodity, was not just an article of commerce but served as an official means of payment in China, for soldiers' pay, as currency for purchase of the much sought-after horses of Mongolia and eastern Tibet, and for tribute to the powerful steppe empires in the north. The rulers of the Xiongnu and of the Turkic khaganates, loosely structured tribal confederations, were, however, economically dependent on China's prosperity. While nomadic stock rearing allowed self-sufficiency and a meagre subsistence, it did not provide the leaders of these extensive confederations with enough surplus to distribute it to subordinate tribal princes or allies in order to secure their loyalty. For several hundred years, therefore, the rulers of the steppe empires exerted a permanent military pressure on China in order to exact yearly tribute in the form of coveted luxuries, notably silk in bales or made up into clothing. Tribal leaders presented with bales of silk swiftly sold these to Sogdian merchants, thus feeding Chinese tribute into trade. China's silk roads to the steppe empires were 'tribute routes', and silk played an essential role in holding together the powerful steppe empires of east Central Asia.

The relationship between the steppe empires and China was one of mutual but asymmetrical dependency. The elites of the steppe confederations needed China's luxury goods, especially silk, to guarantee internal stability, while China required horses from them in order to resist with its own cavalry the border raiding and blackmail of these same empires, for China's potential grasslands were all under cultivation. For both the Xiongnu and their Chinese contemporaries of the Han and Xin dynasties (202 BCE–220 CE) Clausewitz's maxim certainly applied: war was 'a mere continuation of politics by other means'.[2]

The outstanding importance of the silk trade and the Silk Road also determined the policy of the great powers of the day. China thus strove over centuries to extend its zone of influence westward so as to ensure the security of the trade route through the Hexi Corridor in Gansu, along the Taklamakan Desert and on to Samarkand, while the First Turkic Khaganate (552–630/59) established diplomatic relations with Byzantium in the winter of 568/69 in order to break the trade blockade imposed by the Sassanids who ruled Iran and Iraq. The Sassanids then struck back by occupying Yemen so as to disrupt Byzantine maritime trade with India. If today 'it's all about oil', then in the Eurasia of the first millennium CE it was 'all about silk'.

The wealthy empires of sedentary cultures exerted an irresistible attraction on the steppe peoples of Central Asia, who suffered from internal military conflict and sometimes harsh climatic conditions. Towards the end of the third century CE, Turkic and Turco-Mongol peoples began a westward and south-westward migration, one of the most important population movements of the last two millennia, which would culminate in the general Turkification of Anatolia and a wide swathe of Central Asia.

The Silk Roads conveyed not only goods and peoples but also ideas, discoveries and religions. In the first century CE, Buddhism began to spread into Central Asia, followed from the third century on by Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorian Christianity which officially reached the Chinese capital Chang'an in 635. The eighth century, finally, saw Islam begin to establish itself in Central Asia, sometimes by force. Diffused along with these religions were their characteristic means of visual communication, in the form of sculpture and painting, most notably the art of the Buddhist Gandhara School, which combined a Greco-Roman aesthetic with Indian wisdom. Curiously familiar to the European eye, Gandharan representations of buddhas and bodhisattvas had a profound influence on the canon of Buddhist art, still felt today from north India, across Central Asia, to China, Korea and Japan. The 'Age of the Silk Roads' led to a kind of globalisation not only of commodities but also of religious ideas and visual art forms. One of the most important inventions to find a staging post in Central Asia before going on to conquer the world was paper, for Samarkand had a flourishing paper industry centuries before paper reached Western Europe.

Compared with the first volume of this History of Central Asia, this second, covering the last two centuries BCE and the first millennium CE, can draw on much more extensive written sources. But, apart from the brief proclamations of Kushan and Turkic rulers recorded on stone stelae, these texts were written not by Central Asian authors but by foreigners from neighbouring empires of sedentary cultures. These sources are Chinese, Roman, Byzantine, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic. Archaeological, linguistic and numismatic data are therefore still indispensable for the reconstruction of the history of the peoples and cultures of Central Asia.

I

Early Empires and Kingdoms in East Central Asia

All the people who live by drawing the bow are now united in one family [of the Xiongnu] and the entire region of the north is at peace.

Letter of 176 BCE from **MODU CHANYU**, RULER OF THE XIONGNU, to the CHINESE EMPEROR HAN WENDI, following his victories over the Yuezhi and Wusun tribal confederations, the city-state of Loulan and 27 other states and tribes.[1]

1. The Xiongnu, the First Steppe Nomad Empire

The sphere of control and influence of the Xiongnu tribal confederation extended from Lake Balkhash in East Kazakhstan in the west to Manchuria in the east, and from Lake Baikal in the north to the Qilian Shan Mountains, in what is today the Chinese province of Gansu, in the south. As the Xiongnu were for five centuries China's chief enemy, a great deal is known about their history and customs from Chinese chronicles. China was for almost 3,000 years an 'empire of historians', where the history of dynasties of past and present, and also the biographies of leading political actors, were regularly recorded in writing. The name Xiongnu is Chinese, and means something like 'ferocious slaves', though it may also represent an attempt to reproduce the sound of the Xiongnu's name in their own Turkic language, or that of one of the component tribes, such as the Hunyu or Hunxie. The choice of name was also a deliberate slight against this foreign people, representing as it does the Chinese as their masters.[2]

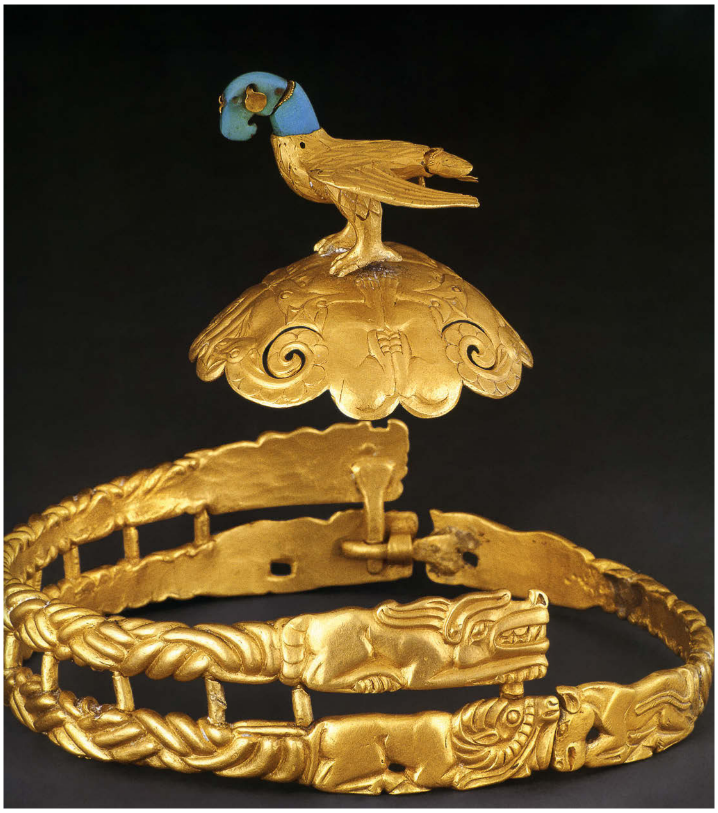
1.1 The Chinese Sources

In matters relating to the Xiongnu, four chronicles are of particular relevance. The first is the *Shiji*, the 'Historical Records' of historian Sima Qian (*ca.* 145–87 BCE), which deals extensively with China's relations with the Xiongnu and also their history. Sima Qian found himself personally affected by China's wars against the Xiongnu in quite unintended fashion, for in 99 BCE he was castrated on the orders of Emperor Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE), whom he had enraged by his defence of the general Li Ling, after the latter had been overcome in the field by superior Xiongnu forces. It was Sima Qian who coined the paradigmatic idea that since the earliest times there had existed a bottomless gulf between the settled Chinese and the nomadic 'foreigners' in the north.[3] Overlapping in parts with the *Shiji* is the second source, the *Han Shu*, the 'History of the Western Han dynasty' (202 BCE–9 CE) from the first century CE. This chronicle was begun in 36 CE by the historian Ban Biao, continued by his son Ban Gu, and finished by the latter's sister Ban Zhao around 110 CE.[4]

The third source is the *Hou Han Shu*, the chronicle of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE) compiled by the historian Fan Yen (398–446 CE). Relevant to the Xiongnu and China's Western policy are volumes 47 and 88,[5] which deal with three generals who fought the Xiongnu[6] and the 'Chronicle of the Western Regions'. Both volumes are highly informative, as they are based on the reports of two imperial generals, who both fought successfully against the Xiongnu in what is today Xinjiang: Ban Chao (d. 102), who was the brother of Ban Gu, the principal author of the *Han Shu*, enforced China's interests in the west between 73 and 102 CE, and his son Ban Yong (d. *ca.* 128) between 123 and 127.[7] The fourth source is the monumental *Zizhi Tongjian*, the 'Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government' written by Sima Guang (1019–1086), a chronological account in 354 volumes of 1,362 years of Chinese history.[8]

1.2 The Early Xiongnu and their Ancestors

The antecedents of the Xiongnu, who are first explicitly mentioned in 244 BCE, are unknown.[9] Sima Qian identifies a descendant of the legendary Chinese dynasty of the Xia (21st c.–17/16th c. BCE) by the name of Chunwei as forefather of the Xiongnu, so attributing a shared origin to the Chinese and their nomadic enemies.[10]



2. Golden crown of a Xiongnu leader. The eagle's head and the back of its neck are made of turquoise; the eagle is standing on four groups of stylised wolves which are attacking *argali* (mountain sheep). At both ends of the band, which is double in the front and single in the back, are a tiger, an *argali* and a horse. Excavated in 1972 in Aluchaideng, Inner Mongolia, late 3rd c. BCE. Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot.

Already by the time of the Shang dynasty (*ca*. 16th–11th c. BCE) China had to ward off attacks by peoples from the north, who at first used light war chariots, as did the Xianyun, for example, in the late ninth century BCE.[11] Soon afterwards, the Quanrong – a tribe living in the Ordos, the area enclosed within the great northward loop of the Yellow River – toppled the Chinese Western Zhou dynasty (*ca*. 11th c.–771 BCE). The successor dynasty of the Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE) had to transfer the capital from Shaanxi province to Luoyang.[12] The Chinese would later call these threatening neighbours, generically, *Di* in the north-west, *Rong* in the north, or more generally *Hu*, 'barbarians'. To protect themselves against attacks, Qin, Zhao and Yan, the three most northerly of the seven states of the period of Warring Kingdoms (475–221 BCE), built defensive walls on their northern borders, forerunners of the Great Wall of China.

These defensive measures could not make up for the military inferiority of China's poorly trained infantry and heavy war chariots when faced with the mounted archers of the steppe nomads. King Wuling of Zhao (r. 325–299 BCE) therefore reformed his army, introducing independent units of mounted archers, and so succeeded not only in repelling the attacks of the Linhu and the Lufan, but in pushing on to Gansu, later the heartland of the Yuezhi.[13] Soon after, Zhao's eastern neighbour, the kingdom of Yan, followed the former's example, and the general Qin Kai, who only a few years earlier had been living among the Donghu, the 'eastern barbarians', as a hostage, now used his newly established mounted units to drive them out of the kingdom's northern frontier regions.[14] At the same time, both Zhao and Yan extended their northern walls, as Zhao's western neighbour Qin also began to do in 295 BCE.[15] The value of well-trained mounted archers was again demonstrated in 244 BCE, when Zhao's general Li Mu first halted the advance of an enormous Xiongnu army with infantry and chariots, before attacking them from behind with 30,000 bowmen on horseback, whom he had been drilling for years, thus annihilating the enemy. The ruler of the Xiongnu, the chanyu, managed, with great difficulty, to escape, and 'for the next ten or more years the Xiongnu did not have the courage nor the strength to venture near the borders of Zhao'.[16] Li Mu's triumph revealed that agrarian China was now the military equal of the steppe empires on its northern borders, possessing sufficient war horses and a cavalry adequately trained in bowmanship and fast manoeuvre, and generals who adopted for themselves the military tactics of the riders of the steppes.

But the switch from war chariots to cavalry brought with it a massive increase in demand for suitable horses, which agrarian China could not meet since the potential pastures of the northern part of the country were under cultivation. China was thus dependent on the import of horses, which at first it could only obtain from its arch-enemies in the north, in exchange for luxury goods, chiefly silk.[17] First established on a large scale in the late fourth century BCE, this flourishing trade rapidly effected a drastic change in the self-images of the steppe elite, as witnessed by the imported grave goods found in their tombs. This reorientation towards China on the part of the steppe nomads is exemplified by Kurgans 3, 5, and 6 at Pazyryk, Kurgan 5 being especially notable for the wooden chariot with four spoked wheels of a Chinese type that was found in the burial chamber.[18]

3. Terracotta figure of a Chinese equestrian warrior. Grave good, Han dynasties (202 BCE–220 CE). Private collection.

The accession of Prince Zheng (r. 246–221 BCE) to the throne of Qin had far-reaching consequences for both China and the Xiongnu. Eliminating his competitors one after another, he succeeded by 221 BCE in uniting China politically for the first time, assuming the title of *Qin Shihuangdi* (r. 221–210 BCE).[19] Consolidating his

4. Horses cooling down in the shallow waters of the Tuul River, Töv Aimag, Mongolia.

power, he not only standardised the Chinese characters, weights, measures and currencies, but turned from a defensive to an offensive strategy in relation to the Xiongnu: in 215 BCE he ordered General Meng Tian to drive the Xiongnu from their territory in the Ordos, which formed a steppe nomad enclave in the lands south of the Huang Ho (the Yellow River). 'He seized control of all the lands south of the Yellow River and established border defences along the river, constructing forty-four walled district cities . . . The whole line of defences stretched over ten thousand *li* from Lintao [180 kilometres south of Lanzhou in Gansu] to Liaotung [in Liaoning] and even extended across the Yellow River.' 'The Chanyu Touman, unable to hold out against the Qin forces, withdrew [in 214 BCE] to the far north.'[20] Qin Shihuangdi did not, however, raise the first Great Wall from scratch, but had the internal walls of the defeated states demolished while linking Qin's northern walls with those of Yan and Zhao; extended east and west, this wall was some 2,500 kilometres long.

It is significant that the new Great Wall stood on the far side of the Huang Ho, and thus beyond the Ordos. While it still had the role of protecting China from nomad incursions, it now also had offensive functions. For Emperor Qin Shihuangdi, like Han Wudi one century later, built his wall only *after* his troops had advanced

into enemy territory, planting the newly created buffer zone with self-sufficient military colonies called *tuntian*.[21] The walls then secured the occupied nomad territory, which might thus serve as a concentration zone for future offensive campaigns.[22] Their building also had consequences for the trade between nomads and Chinese, which had earlier been distributed along the whole length of the frontier, but which was now concentrated at the gates in the wall. Until the end of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 CE), the Great Wall would represent for the Chinese the boundary between Chinese civilisation and the alien world of the barbarians. As very soon became clear, Qin Shihuangdi's unification of the empire and his occupation of the then lush pastures of the Ordos provoked profound social transformations among the Xiongnu. If the nomads were not to be reduced to vassals of China, they would have to find another way to organise themselves.

When Qin Shihuangdi died in 210 BCE, palace intrigues and revolts led to the fall of the dynasty and a ferocious struggle for power, won in the end by Liu Bang. Reigning as the emperor Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE), he would be the founder of the Han dynasty. Under **Touman Chanyu** (d. 209 BCE), the first chanyu whose name we know, the Xiongnu took advantage of these troubles to cross the border and occupy the southern part of what is today Inner

Mongolia, western Shanxi, northern Shaanxi, Ningxia and eastern Gansu. In those days, the Xiongnu were bordered by two great tribal federations: to the west by the Europoid Yuezhi, probably speakers of a proto-Tocharian language, and to the east by the Mongoloid Donghu, who spoke an Altaic, proto-Mongolian language. The Xiongnu for their part were a heterogeneous tribal confederation whose leading clans also spoke an Altaic, but in their case proto-Turkic, language. Proto-Mongolian- and proto-Tungusic-speaking groups would join the confederation after their speedy conquest in the early second century BCE, to be followed after 176 BCE by proto-Tocharian speakers.

1.3 The Xiongnu Rise to Power

The transformation of the Xiongnu into a major power followed a bloody coup and a radical reorganisation of the confederation. According to Sima Qian, Crown Prince Modu, eldest son of Touman Chanyu and the future **Modu Chanyu** (r. 209–174 BCE), fell into disfavour with his father. To get rid of him, Touman sent him to the Yuezhi as a hostage, soon afterwards attacking them in the hope that they would kill Modu in retaliation. The attack was a failure, and Modu succeeded in escaping. On his return, Touman gave him command of 10,000 horsemen. Having trained his men rigorously, Modu made whistling arrows and ordered them: 'Shoot wherever you see my whistling arrow strike! Anyone who fails to shoot will be cut down!'[23] He first shot a whistling arrow at one of his best horses, then at his favourite wife, and any one of his following who failed to shoot as he did was killed on the spot. When he aimed at a splendid horse of his father's, they all followed him, and Modu knew they would now obey him blindly: when he was next out hunting with the chanyu, he loosed his bow at his father, who was instantly riddled with arrows. Modu then had his step mother, his half-brother and every reluctant minister executed, and in 209 BCE he declared himself the new chanyu.

When the powerful Donghu nomads to the east learnt of this coup, they hoped to take advantage of the unrest among the Xiongnu, first demanding Touman's most famous horse, which 'went a thousand *li* a day',[24] and then Modu's favourite concubine. Against the advice of his ministers, Modu complied each time, leading the Donghu to think the new chanyu weak and fearful, and so to demand that he hand over an area of uninhabited land. When some of his ministers advised giving in, Modu became enraged and cried out: 'Land is the basis of a nation!'[25] This remark ran counter to the traditional thinking of nomadic peoples, for whom not control of land but control of tribes was important; clearly, Modu was thinking in new and different political terms. Taking advantage of the impression of weakness he had made, he mobilised his warriors and in 209 or 208 BCE attacked the Donghu, whose false sense of security had left them unprepared. In twice giving in without a struggle, Modu had employed the classic tactic of feigning flight before launching a decisive blow. The Xiongnu won an overwhelming victory, capturing enormous spoils before making their way to the west. There in around 208–207 BCE they defeated the Lufan in Shanxi and drove the Yuezhi out of their homeland west of the Ordos Loop, in today's Inner Mongolia and central Gansu. The Yuezhi fled westward, to the area between the Qilian Mountains and Tian Shan.[26] With China engaged in civil war, Modu was able to win back all the territory that had been lost in 214 BCE, and extend his dominion east and west. Not long after, Modu subdued other tribal confederations in the north, among them the Dingling, who inhabited what is today northern Mongolia and Buryatia south-east of Lake Baikal, thus bringing arable lands under Xiongnu control.

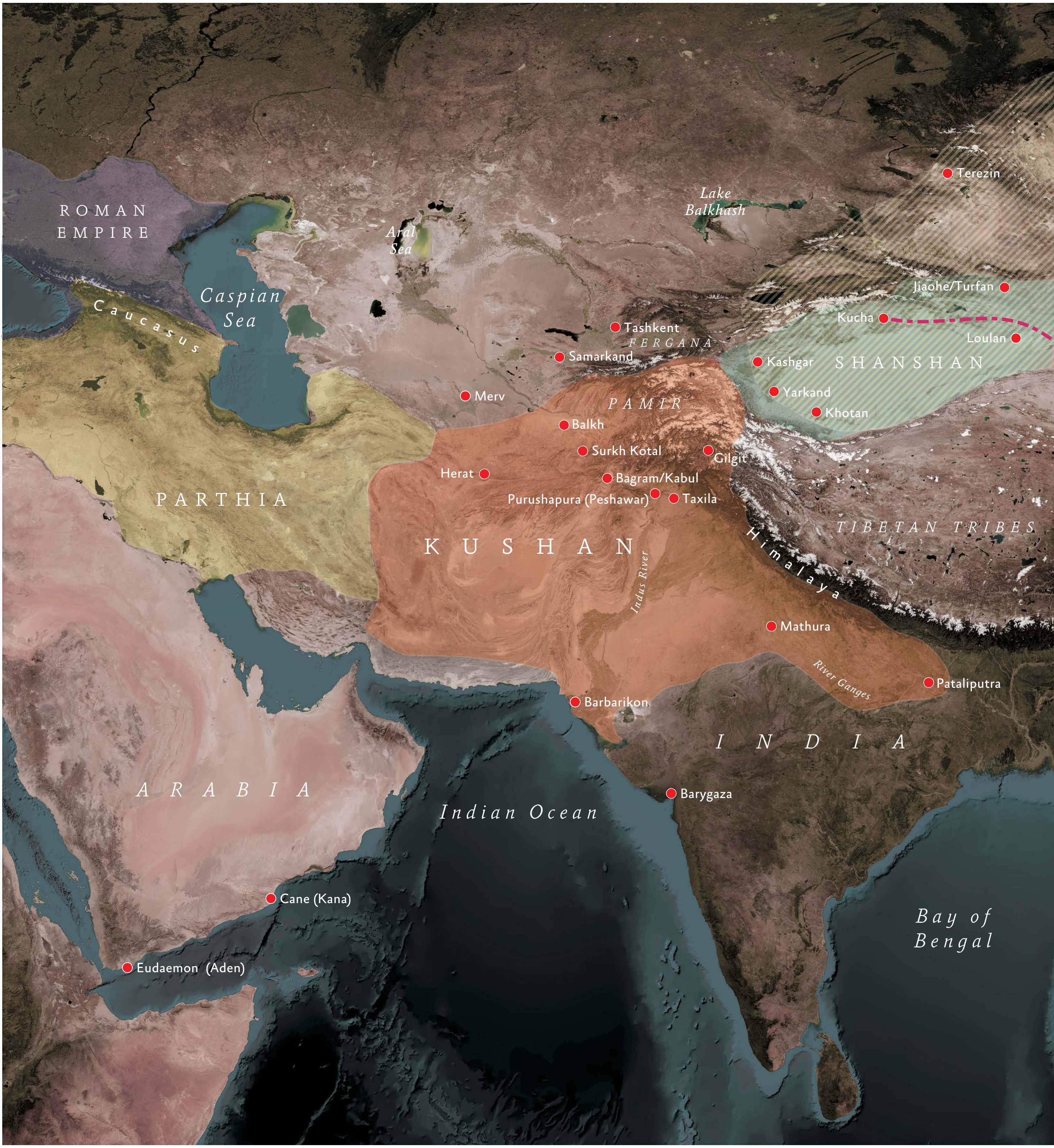
After his early military victories, Modu undertook decisive reforms so as to endow his tribal confederation with stable structures. One such measure was the division of people and army, and also of time, in accordance with the decimal system. The Xiongnu week had ten days,[27] while the traditional structure of tribe and clan was overlaid with a decimal-based system[28] that organised the people like an army in accordance with the principles of rigorous hierarchy and central command. Modu Chanyu ruled every tribe of the confederation, held the supreme command, and resided at the centre of his steppe empire; he divided people and army – every adult nomadic horseman was a soldier in time of war – into symmetrical halves. 'Under the Chanyu are the Wise Kings of the Left and Right, the left and right Luli kings, left and right generals, left and right commandants, left and right household administrators, and left and right Kutu marquises.'[29] As direction was specified in relation to the south, the dignitaries of the left lived in the eastern sector, those of the right in the western; the eastern king took precedence over the western, and his office was often filled by the crown prince. The ten most important of these 24 leaders commanded 10,000 horsemen, the others some thousands, but all bore the title 'Ten Thousand Horsemen'. Under them were the leaders of units of 1,000, 100, and 10 warriors. This organisation of people and army in two symmetrical halves would later be adopted by other steppe empires, such as the Turkic khaganates.

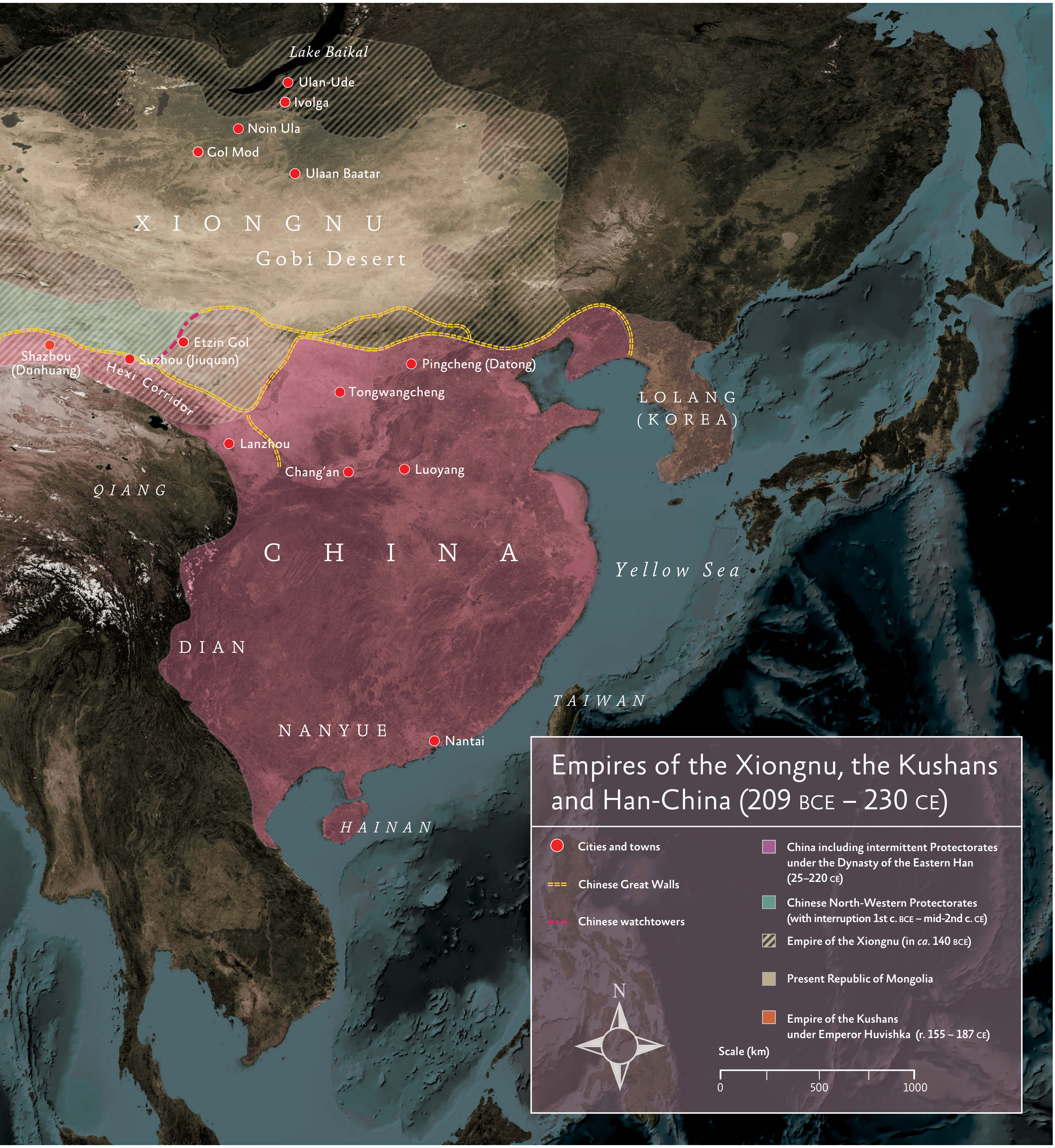
Within the decimal structure of the empire, the leaders of individual tribes enjoyed a certain autonomy as regards their own tribal affairs, but they were bound to absolute obedience in matters concerning relations with other tribes of the confederation or with foreigners. To the chanyu fell the difficult task of securing the financial resources required to support the governmental structure and to ensure the loyalty of the four highest royal dignitaries, whether by levying high taxes on vassal states, exacting tribute from China, or raiding. As a second priority, the chanyu pressed for the opening of markets at selected locations along the Great Wall, so that his merchants and stock breeders might profit from barter with China. The Xiongnu Empire's relations with China were essentially parasitic. From the economic point of view, the chanyu functioned as the manager of his nation, a manager who had a powerful army at his disposal to enforce the national interest. Because the power structures of the Xiongnu ultimately depended on the acquisition and redistribution of luxury goods and the personal skills of the chanyu, the Xiongnu confederation might well have formed an empire, but it hardly constituted a stable state.[30] The empire's stability did not depend on the chanyu's personal charisma, as it did in other tribal confederations, but on recognition of his line of descent.

At the same time, Modu modernised the army, replacing the heavy cavalry with a more lightly armoured, much more mobile force, and introducing the long, asymmetric, composite bow. A wood-framed saddle gave riders a better seat. The saddle tree consisted of at least four elements: two saddle-bows; that is, the pommel and cantle, and two side panels, which were all held together loosely by leather straps.[31] Also carrying a cavalry sword up to 130 centimetres long, Xiongnu warriors so equipped must have feared only the Chinese crossbow. As in the case of other steppe nomads living in a harsh climate, everyday life offered an ideal and continuous preparatory training for war.[32] However, nomads lost their military advantage as soon as they changed their lifestyle. China was aware of the nomadic mounted warriors' Achilles' heel, and sought always to soften them with opulent gifts such as silk clothing, jewellery, rare foodstuffs and other luxury goods. As early as around 174 BCE, Zhong Xing Shuo, a Chinese adviser to the chanyu Laoshang, warned that 'The strength of the Xiongnu lies in the very fact that their food and clothing are different from those of the Chinese, and they are therefore not dependent upon the Han for anything. Now the Chanyu has his fondness for Chinese things and is trying the Chinese customs. . . . From now on, when you get any of the Han silks, put them on and try riding around on your horses through the brush and brambles! In no time your robes and leggings will be torn to shreds and everyone will be able to see that silks are no match for the utility and excellence of felt or leather garments.'[33]

A structured empire had to possess a clear centre of power, which the chanyu physically embodied. Whether, as has sometimes been claimed, his favoured residence and hence his 'seat of government' lay in the Orkhon Valley, where the administrative centres of the Uyghurs, the Mongols or the Turkic khaganates were actually located, is highly uncertain.[34] For only sparse traces of the Xiongnu have been found in the Orkhon Valley, and most importantly, no elite tomb has been discovered there. On the contrary, the great majority of Xiongnu elite tombs, with the exception of those of Takhiltin-khotgor in the south-west Mongolian province of Khovd, stand on the middle and lower course of the Selenge river. Here, necropoles such as Noin Ula or Gol Mod represented religious centres in a place where there might have been a geographical centre of power. Until the serious defeats of 121 and 119 BCE, there also existed a second centre of power south of the Gobi Desert. It remains an open question, though, whether the Xiongnu did not in fact operate with a mobile power centre, with the chanyu and his court moving their yurt encampment to different places in turn.

In contrast to earlier nomad confederations, the economy of the Xiongnu was not based on pastoralism alone but, thanks to their conquests in Buryatia and Transbaikalia, also extended to agriculture, which gave them a high degree of economic independence and greater flexibility in creating political structures.[35] In areas of agricultural activity, the Xiongnu established fortified settlements, such as Ivolga, south of today's city of Ulan Ude. The settlement, which measured approximately 350 metres x 200 metres, was surrounded by four earthworks and three ditches. Here lived some 3,000 people, engaged in irrigated agriculture, fishing and metalworking; their houses were for the most part dug into the ground. As the nomadic pastoralists disdained cultivation, they put deserters and Chinese prisoners of war to work in such centres of agriculture.[36] The harvested cereals were then transported to the Xiongnu heartland, where they were stored in fortified granaries. Further rectangular walled sites were discovered in north-eastern Mongolia, for example in the southern foothills of the Khentii mountains near Terelzhiin Dörvölzhin and Bürkhiin Dörvölzhin. The numerous eaves tiles which have been found on the ground of those sites are decorated in a manner which is very similar to that of Chinese Han dynasty eaves tiles.[37] As the excavator of the settlement of Boroo Gol, Denis Ramseyer, emphasises, the 20 or so huge quadrangular enclosed sites discovered in the last few decades 'are not villages or cities surrounded by walls: they are rather cult sites, centres of public, of political or of military life which were occupied temporarily'.[38] So far, only four sites of the Xiongnu have been certainly identified as settlements: Boroo Gol in Mongolia, and in Russia, south of Lake Baikal, the sites of Ivolga, Dureny and Nijnii Mangirtai.[39]


ROMAN EMPIRE
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Balkhash
Terezin
Jiaohe/Turfan
Kucha
Loulan
Tashkent
FERGANA
Samarkand
Kashgar
SHANSHAN
Yarkand
Khotan
Merv
PAMIR
Balkh
Surkh Kotal
Gilgit
Herat
Bagram/Kabul
Purushapura (Peshawar)
Taxila
PARTHIA
KUSHAN
Indus River
TIBETAN TRIBES
Himalaya
Mathura
River Ganges
Pataliputra
Barbarikon
INDIA
ARABIA
Indian Ocean
Barygaza
Cane (Kana)
Eudaemon (Aden)
Bay of Bengal



Empires of the Xiongnu, the Kushans and Han-China (209 BCE – 230 CE)

Lake Baikal
Ulan-Ude
Ivolga
Noin Ula
Gol Mod
Ulaan Baatar
XIONGNU
Gobi Desert
Etzin Gol
Shazhou (Dunhuang)
Suzhou (Jiuquan)
Hexi Corridor
Pingcheng (Datong)
Tongwangcheng
LOLANG (KOREA)
Lanzhou
Chang'an
Luoyang
QIANG
CHINA
Yellow Sea
DIAN
TAIWAN
NANYUE
Nantai
HAINAN
● Cities and towns
=== Chinese Great Walls
- - - Chinese watchtowers
■ China including intermittent Protectorates under the Dynasty of the Eastern Han (25–220 CE)
■ Chinese North-Western Protectorates (with interruption 1st c. BCE – mid-2nd c. CE)
▨ Empire of the Xiongnu (in ca. 140 BCE)
■ Present Republic of Mongolia
■ Empire of the Kushans under Emperor Huvishka (r. 155 – 187 CE)
N
Scale (km)
0
500
1000

5. **Pair of belt buckles; a Mongol is preparing to mount a Bactrian camel, holding on to its humps. Gilded bronze, Inner Mongolia, 3rd–1st c. BCE. Private collection.**

1.4 The Xiongnu Exact Tribute from China

Laying great store by the territorial integrity of his own dominion, which he could control through a small number of people, Modu Chanyu noted the fragility of China's newly established Han Empire. When the Han emperor Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE) laid claim to absolute power, his pretensions were opposed by a number of local kings, and in order to destabilise China's fragile unity, Modu and his successors provided military support to these rebellious vassals. In autumn 201 BCE, Modu therefore encouraged the king of Han, in today's Shanxi province, to join the Xiongnu and rebel against the emperor, thus affording the Xiongnu a gateway to the Chinese heartland. Early the following year, as the emperor Gaozu advanced with a huge army, Modu feigned a retreat: the emperor pursued him with the vanguard alone, without awaiting the main body of infantry. At Baideng, not far from today's Datong, Modu suddenly attacked with 400,000 horsemen, surrounding the imprudent emperor. Gaozu was able to escape the trap only by bribing Modu's wife with rich gifts and offering Modu himself the prospect of tribute.[40] Modu had won an overwhelming victory, and he looted the border region unhindered as Gaozu withdrew his troops.

The humiliated emperor had to recognise that his army of foot soldiers, light war chariots, and inadequately trained and outnumbered cavalry had been no match for the Xiongnu forces, just as the Chinese generals were far from equalling the Xiongnu commanders in strategy and tactics. Even though the Xiongnu numbered fewer than 1.5 million adults, while China had 60 million,[41] because every horseman was a warrior they had been able, with their allies, to put as large an army into the field as their much bigger neighbour. Gaozu therefore abandoned military efforts to halt the Xiongnu's continuous raids: he recognised them as equals, sued for peace, and offered tribute. In 198 BCE a treaty put the seal on China's *heqin* policy (the word means 'peace and kinship' and so 'alliance by marriage'), the emperor undertaking to offer the chanyu a Chinese princess for a wife, and to pay an annual tribute in the form of silk, luxury clothing, gold, jewellery, alcohol, cereals and other foodstuffs. The chanyu for his part promised to renounce raids and incursions. In its weakness, China maintained the *heqin* policy for 60 years, even though the Xiongnu regularly harried the borderlands, forcing the Chinese emperor just as regularly to increase the tribute. In 166 BCE, for example, Laoshang Chanyu even threatened China's capital, Chang'an.[42]

To reinforce the stability of his confederation, Modu Chanyu needed a broader economic base, and to ensure the loyalty of the tribal princes he needed military victories; he therefore ordered one or more large-scale campaigns to the south-west. The results he reported to Emperor Wendi (r. 180–157 BCE) in a letter of 176 BCE: '(I have sent) the Wise King of the Right . . . to search out the Yuezhi people and attack them. He has succeeded in wiping out the Yuezhi, slaughtering or forcing them into submission, every member of the tribe. In addition he has conquered the Loulan, Wusun and Huquie tribes as well as the twenty-six states nearby, so that all of them have become part of the Xiongnu nation. All the people who live by drawing the bow are now united in one family [of the Xiongnu] and the entire region of the north is at peace.'[43] These victories brought Modu a quantum leap in power, for the Xiongnu now controlled Gansu and Xinjiang with their wealthy oasis cities, so crucial to trade, and 20 to 30 years later, even Fergana as well. The Xiongnu not only demanded tribute and hostages from the local ruling families, but controlled the trade routes to Central Asia, to Sogdiana, Bactria and the Caspian Sea. At the same time, they gained for their comparatively barren heartland a further source of food supply. To oversee the newly conquered vassal states and to ensure the collection of taxes, the chanyu appointed a 'commander of the slaves' who resided at Yanqi (Karashahr), south-west of Turfan, in Xinjiang.[44]

For half a century, continental East Asia was divided into two zones of great-power influence, the north being dominated by the Central Asian empire of the Xiongnu, the south by China. This status quo was acknowledged by Emperor Wendi in a letter to Laoshang Chanyu of 162 BCE: 'The land north of the Great Wall, where men wield the bow and arrow, receives its commands from the chanyu, while within the wall, whose inhabitants dwell in houses and wear hats and girdles, is to be ruled by us.' And he went on to acknowledge China's tribute to the Xiongnu: 'We have decreed that our officials send to the chanyu each year a fixed quantity of millet, leaven, gold, silk cloth, thread, floss and other articles.'[45]

Although Emperor Wendi acknowledged the humiliating payments of tribute, in 169 BCE, on the advice of his minister Chao Cuo (d. 154 BCE), he undertook important reforms of the army and of settlement policy, reforms that would only come to full fruition under Emperor Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE). Chao Cuo advised replacing heavy chariots with much lighter versions, and establishing a cavalry as an independent branch, for the Xiongnu were much superior to the Chinese troops in mobility. Like the Scythians and the Saka they relied on lightning attacks and feigned retreats, and if battle turned against them they could take flight and scatter without loss of honour in their own eyes.[46] 'When they catch sight of the enemy, they swoop down like a flock of birds, eager for booty, but when they find themselves hard pressed and beaten, they scatter and vanish like the mist.'[47] As Emperor Gaozu's adviser Zheng Jin warned, 'Trying to catch them [the Xiongnu] is like grabbing at a shadow'.[48]

6. The Kelpin Tagh mountain range at the southern foot of the Tian Shan Mountains between Maralbashi and Artush. Xinjiang, China.

Chao Cuo called for stronger and hardier horses and riders better trained in the use of the bow – in adverse weather conditions, too, he insisted. Battle should more often be sought on flat terrain, where well-trained infantry equipped with crossbows and halberds would have the edge over Xiongnu fighters reluctant to engage in close combat. Chao Cuo also advocated the use of offensive units armed with heavy crossbows and light repeating crossbows whose bolts could easily penetrate the Xiongnu's wooden shields and leather armour. The earliest Chinese crossbows date from the sixth to the fifth centuries BCE, the first repeating crossbows to the third. The latter had a magazine fastened to the bow which made it possible to shoot ten light but poisoned bolts in 20 seconds, so that a compact unit of soldiers armed with single-shot and repeating crossbows could unleash a volley devastating in its effect at ten to 20 metres. The sale of crossbows to foreigners was strictly forbidden.[49] Chao Cuo also advised the emperor to recruit mercenary companies from among nomadic peoples like the Yuezhi, or the Qiang of Eastern Tibet, so as to 'fight barbarians with barbarians'. Finally, he argued for blanket coverage of the northern frontier with the self-sufficient military colonies called *tuntian:* freemen looking for opportunity would be encouraged to settle there, trained militarily, and exempted from all taxes, but they were also manned with reprieved criminals and slaves.[50] Chao Cuo's programme represented an attempt to combine Chinese virtues in the way of agriculture and technology with the traditional strengths of the nomadic horsemen of the steppes.

Modu was succeeded by **Laoshang Chanyu** (r. 174–161 BCE), whose personal name, as rendered in Chinese, was Jizhu.[51] Laoshang continued his father's policy of expansion, driving away the Xiongnu's only surviving rivals in the south-west, the Yuezhi. These, it seems, had quickly recovered from Modu's attack, and in 173 BCE they attacked their north-western neighbours, the smaller Wusun tribe (perhaps Indo-Europeans like them), driving them out of north-east Xinjiang and north-west Gansu. 'The Da Yuezhi attacked and killed [the king of the Wusun] Nantoumi, seizing his lands, and his people fled to the Xiongnu.'[52] For the Yuezhi, the victory proved to be doubly short-lived, firstly making a sworn enemy of the dead king's son, who 40 years later would avenge his father, and secondly prompting Laoshang Chanyu to inflict on them in 162 BCE a third and this time shattering defeat. 'The Xiongnu defeated the king of the Yuezhi people and made his skull into a drinking vessel.'[53] The majority of the Yuezhi fled westward to the fertile Ili Valley or to Lake Issyk Kul, a smaller fraction southward to the land of the Qiang people, and another to the area between Turfan and Kucha in Xinjiang.[54]

1.5 The Xiongnu and China Fight Over East Turkestan

Junchen Chanyu (r. 161–126 BCE) succeeded his father Laoshang, and by the end of his reign he found himself confronted by the new, offensive strategy of the emperor Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE). When in 135 BCE he demanded the continuation of the *heqin* policy and a Chinese princess to go with it, Wudi reluctantly gave in, perhaps in order to win time. For the following year he decided to solve the problem of the constant Xiongnu incursions and the shameful Chinese tribute by means of a consistently offensive strategy, implemented in three stages: in the first phase (134/33–119 BCE) the Ordos would be won back and the Xiongnu driven far to the north, beyond the Gobi Desert. In the second phase (119–101 BCE), the Xiongnu would be robbed of control over the oasis cities and the trade routes to the west, depriving them of the economically all-important inflow of tribute, foodstuffs and arms. Following the example of Qin Shihuangdi, the borders would be moved northward and north-westward in the wake of the armies' advances, secured with forts and signal towers, and manned with self-sufficient troops. The third phase, intended to break up the Xiongnu Empire, was brought to a successful conclusion between 53 and 51 BCE with a first split between the still independent Northern Xiongnu and the Southern Xiongnu under Chinese suzerainty.

An attempt in 134 or 133 BCE to take the chanyu prisoner failed, when the Xiongnu ruler saw through Wudi's wiles, and the first major Chinese attack in 129 BCE was also unsuccessful, though General Wei Qing (d. 106 BCE) did win the Han dynasty's first ever victory against the Xiongnu.[55] Wudi accelerated the mass production of crossbows of different types, of scale armour and helmets, and the breeding of horses suitable for warfare.[56] In 128 and 127 BCE General Wei Qing won two overwhelming victories, regaining the Ordos for China and organising the repair of Shihuangdi's frontier walls on the far side of the Yellow River. When Junchen Chanyu died in 126 BCE, he was succeeded by his younger brother **Yizhye Chanyu** (126–114 BCE), whose reign was dominated by the full force of ceaseless Chinese attacks. Three years later, Wei Qing penetrated 250 kilometres into Xiongnu territory, routing the forces of the Wise King of the Right, which led to Yizhye moving his main camp northward, 'beyond the desert' around 122 BCE.[57] Yet before Emperor Wudi took the war to the Xiongnu heartland, he would be offered entirely new strategic options by his ambassador and spy, Zhang Qian.

Ambassador Zhang Qian Scouts Out the Silk Road to Sogdiana and Bactria

Shortly after his accession to the throne, Emperor Wudi began to consider the military options available to him against the Xiongnu, and to look around for allies. When he questioned Xiongnu deserters, they told him that the Yuezhi, who had had to flee westward in around 162 BCE, hated the Xiongnu, brooded on revenge, and were looking for allies against them. 'When the emperor heard this, he decided to try to send an envoy to establish relations with the Yuezhi.'[58] Zhang Qian (195–114 BCE), a palace attendant, volunteered for the role, and in 139 BCE he set off for the west, accompanied by a Xiongnu who knew the country. However, the route to the Ili Valley and Lake Issyk Kul, where the Yuezhi had settled, passed through Xiongnu territory, where they were captured and taken to Junchen Chanyu. He treated the enemy spy with courtesy, even providing him with a wife, but he would not let him go. In 129 BCE, after ten years' captivity, Zhang Qian succeeded in escaping, and continued on his journey. As the Yuezhi had since been driven south, by the Wusun, among others, he turned south-west, travelling through Fergana and Kangju to find the Yuezhi in northern Bactria. Though he stayed a year with them, gathering information about the peoples who lived further south, the king of the Yuezhi was not interested in avenging his father with another war, and Zhang Qian had to set off on his return journey empty-handed.[59] After another period of captivity among the Xiongnu, he was able to escape once again on the death of the chanyu, to reach the Chinese capital of Chang'an in 126 BCE.

For Emperor Wudi, Zhang Qian's report on the distant lands of Sogdiana, Bactria, India, Parthia and Mesopotamia was a fourfold revelation. Firstly, he learnt of rich lands, with which it would be profitable to trade – Zhang Qian had travelled the traditional Silk Road, though the Hexi Corridor in Gansu and Xinjiang was still in the hands of the Xiongnu. Secondly, in the market in the city of Bactra, in today's northern Afghanistan, the traveller had discovered Chinese Sichuan ware imported from India. From this he concluded that a southerly trade route connected Sichuan to India, and 'it would seem that the most direct route, as well as the safest, would be that out of Shu' (Sichuan).[60] Thirdly, Zhang had heard that the Wusun, who lived west of the Xiongnu, were ill-disposed to the latter, offering another possibility of alliance. Finally, he told of strong 'horses that sweat blood' and were descended from 'heavenly horses'.[61] It was clear to the emperor that the acquisition and breeding of such animals would offer an immediate solution to the chronic lack of war horses. Trusting his envoy, the emperor decided to pursue energetically all four possibilities for strengthening China's position that Zhang had outlined.

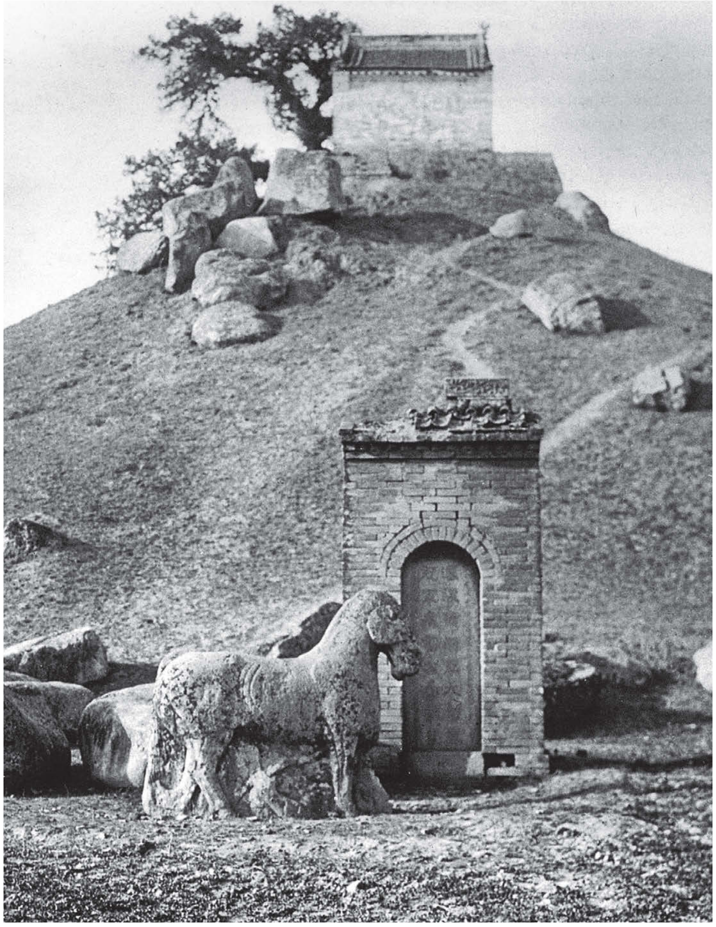
Two of these four projects would involve Zhang himself. Around 123 BCE, the emperor sent him to Sichuan with four scouting parties to find the southerly trade route to India. While they were prevented by hostile tribes from getting any further than north Yunnan, they did hear for the first time about the rich kingdom of Dian.[62] Two years later, Zhang successfully guided General Wei Qing through Xiongnu territory, but not long afterwards, serving as a colonel under General Li Kuang, he and his unit were late in making a rendezvous, leading his commander to suffer severe losses. As a result, he was fined and degraded to a commoner.[63]

Despite Zhang's diminished social status, the emperor still often consulted him, while Zhang himself was looking for some opportunity to regain his lost rank. He told the emperor of the Wusun, who had fled to the Xiongnu on their defeat by the Yuezhi and the death of their king Nantoumi. A young baby of the slain king had been left with his guardian, who took him and fled. Then the guardian left the infant on the grass while he searched for food, and when he returned he saw 'a wolf suckling the child . . . and ravens holding meat in their beaks and hovering at [the child's] side. Believing this to be supernatural, he then carried [the child] back to the Xiongnu, and the Chanyu loved and reared him.'[64] The myth of the future founder of a warlike nation, exposed as an infant and suckled by a she-wolf, was to be found across the whole Eurasian land mass. It appeared in different variants: committed to writing among the Romans in the late fourth century BCE; in the legend recorded by the Roman writer Justin, according to which the future Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, was suckled by a bitch;[65] on Sassanid seals of the sixth century CE;[66] among the Turkic clan of the Ashina in the fifth to sixth centuries CE;[67] and the myth was also known as a motif in late Sogdian painting. Furthermore, in the wall paintings (8th–9th c. CE) of the palace of the Afshin rulers at Kala-i Kahkaha I near Bunjikat (in north Tajikistan), a standing she-wolf suckles two boys. The image's great resemblance to the Capitoline Wolf was mediated by the Byzantine coinage of the fifth to sixth centuries CE, which is known to have circulated in Sogdiana – at Panjikant, for example. And finally, the Turkic Gaoche – members of the Tiele confederation, to which the Uyghurs also belonged – and also the Mongols of Genghis Khan honoured a male wolf as their first ancestor.[68]

When the chanyu of the Xiongnu heard this wondrous tale, he took in the infant and later granted him kingship over the Wusun. In 133 or 132 BCE, Lieqiaomi, the new king, who bore the title 'kunmo', attacked the Yuezhi in the Ili Valley and on Lake Issyk Kul, avenging the death of his father and driving them out, before himself settling there with his people. Zhang further reported that the kunmo had declared himself independent, and had repulsed a punitive expedition by the Xiongnu. Now – in 119 BCE – if the Xiongnu were to be expelled from Gansu,[69] the Wusun could return to their old homeland: 'we could make use of the present opportunity to send generous presents to Wusun, and induce [its people] to move east and live in their old lands. This would result in cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu.'[70] Thereupon, Emperor Wudi appointed Zhang Qian leader of a 300-strong mission whose goal would be to persuade the Wusun king to return to his homeland in

Gansu, and invite him to ally himself by marriage with the emperor. When Zhang met the Wusun, there was a serious conflict going on between one of the aged ruler's sons and one of his grandsons, because of which he did not dare decide on his own whether to return.[71] Despite this setback, Zhang took advantage of his visit to send emissaries to Fergana, Kangju (in central Kazakhstan and northern Uzbekistan), Sogdiana, Bactria, Parthia (Iran), India, and Khotan in southern Xinjiang. Around 115 BCE, Zhang returned home, bringing with him horses and Wusun envoys. Back in Chang'an, the emperor appointed him minister for state missions, effectively minister for foreign affairs. He died a year later, just as the envoys he had sent far into the west started to return to China, accompanied by foreign diplomats. Wusun allied itself by marriage with the imperial house, and became a highly dependable ally to China. Zhang Qian's last mission had been a complete success, as the *Han Shu* underlines: 'For the first time the states of the north-[west] came into communication with Han. It was [Zhang] Qian who had pioneered the way.'[72]

In the spring of 121 BCE, Emperor Wudi embarked on a decisive campaign against the Xiongnu. General Wei Qing's nephew, the 19-year-old General Huo Qubing (140–117 BCE), pushed deep into the western half of the Xiongnu Empire, which was under the control of the Wise King of the Right. He traversed Gansu, and Juyan[73] in the delta of the Etzin Gol, besieged the sub-king Xiutu Wang and seized from him the golden figure of a man that Xiutu Wang used in the worship of Heaven, the supreme deity of the Xiongnu.[74] It is conceivable that this 'golden man' was a gilt statue of the Buddha. After both sub-kings, Xiutu Wang and his western counterpart Hunye Wang, had suffered a number of heavy defeats at the hands of Huo Qubing, Yizhye Chanyu summoned them to him, intending to put them to death. Fearing for their lives, they both decided to surrender to General Huo. On the way, Hunye killed Xiutu, united the murdered general's troops with his own, and surrendered to Huo Qubing with 40,000 men. With Hunye's capitulation, Ganzu and northern Shanxi fell to China, whereupon Emperor Wudi settled some 700,000 people there.[75] This marked the beginning of a policy that would continue into the twenty-first century, of integrating and developing territories to the west through colonisation and cultivation.



7. The mausoleum of the Chinese general Huo Qubing (140–117 BCE). The stone horse is standing on a dead Xiongnu warrior. As a mark of recognition, Emperor Han Wudi commissioned the mausoleum of this illustrious general as a satellite tomb near his own Maoling Mausoleum. Shaanxi Province, China.

Two years later, Wudi decided to venture upon the hitherto unthinkable, to cross the Gobi Desert with two armies and engage the chanyu in his own heartland. The campaign would be recorded in history as the Battle of Mobei, the name meaning 'northern' (*bei*) 'desert' (*[Sha]mo*). Huo Qubing led the Eastern Army, with the Chinese elite troops, and pushed 2000 *li* – some 800 kilometres – into enemy territory, where, east of today's Ulaan Baatar, he annihilated the army of the Wise King of the Left. More than 70,000 Xiongnu warriors died in the battle. Wei Qing commanded the Western Army, and after advancing more than 400 kilometres into central Mongolia he unexpectedly ran into the chanyu and his elite cavalry, which the Chinese command had believed to be further east, on Huo Qubing's route of march. Wei Qing arranged his armoured chariots in a circle, protecting archers, crossbowmen, infantry and the larger part of the cavalry, and ordered a small detachment of cavalry to assail the attacking Xiongnu from the rear. At dusk, a sandstorm arose and Wei Qing took advantage of the loss of visibility to send the main body of the Chinese cavalry out from within the wagons, to encircle and attack the now worn-out Xiongnu. Yizhye Chanyu lost courage and fled under cover of night, as 19,000 Xiongnu warriors died. Wei Qing pursued the chanyu for almost 100 kilometres, until they came to his

8. Fort 86, which was built towards the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century BCE, was part of a Chinese *limes* (a series of watchtowers) in the region of the Etzin Gol river, which controlled the path from Mongolia to China along the Etzin Gol. Inner Mongolia, China.

fortified granary. There, the Chinese satisfied their hunger, burnt the remaining cereal, and then turned back.[76]

For the Xiongnu, the wars of 121 and 119 BCE were a disaster from which they would never recover. They lost 100,000 warriors, millions of livestock, fertile pastures south of the Gobi, and the income from taxes on trade through the Hexi Corridor. China for its part lost three-quarters of its war horses, which limited in the short term Emperor Wudi's freedom of action and drew attention to the urgent necessity of finding an alternative supply. However, before he sought out the wondrous 'horses that sweat blood' in distant Fergana, he had to secure the newly conquered territories and establish military bases along the road to Fergana. Among the Xiongnu, who around 106–05 BCE moved the royal residence to the upper reaches of the River Orkhon,[77] a rapid succession of rulers followed one upon the other. Yizhye was succeeded on the throne by his son **Wuwei Chanyu** (r. 114–105 BCE) and Wuwei in turn by **Wushilu'er Chanyu** (r. 105–102 BCE), so young he was known as *Er Chanyu,* the 'Child Chanyu'. **Xulihu Chanyu** reigned only briefly (r. 102–101 BCE), to be followed by **Quedihou Chanyu** (r. 101–96 BCE) and then **Hulugu Chanyu** (r. 96–85 BCE). That so many under-age chanyus should die after a 'reign' of only a few years leads one to doubt that they died natural deaths. Around 100 BCE, the domestic political situation in China also began to deteriorate. To finance the wars, taxes were raised and monopolies on salt, wine and even iron introduced, and offices were sold to the wealthy rather than awarded to capable candidates.[78] At the same time, at the imperial court, intrigue and conspiracy became rife, culminating in the rebellion of Crown Prince Liu Ju in 91 BCE, when the ageing emperor began to suffer from paranoia.[79]

Because the then fertile valley of the northward-flowing Etzin Gol offered the Xiongnu an easy approach to Gansu, in 119 BCE Emperor Wudi started to build a chain of watchtowers and signal towers along the lower reaches of the river, from Maomu to the fort of Jiuquan in the south, and to the city of Juyan, on the now dried-up Lake Juyan, in the north. Standing within sight of each other, these towers communicated by day with coloured flags or smoke signals, and by night with fire signals. The system of fortifications that Emperor Wudi built first in north Gansu and then in Xinjiang can be compared with the early Roman *limes.* In

102 BCE, General Lu Pute was charged with upgrading the border fortifications on the Etzin Gol, remaining directly responsible to the central government until his death in 89 BCE. In 72 BCE civil administration was split from the military, and four subordinate commanders called *houguan* introduced beneath the chief commandant of Juyan, called the *Duwei*. The Xiongnu were now barred from entry to the Etzin Gol Valley.[80]

As the Wusun did not want to return to Gansu, Wudi decided to incorporate the territory into China, for the Hexi Corridor in central Gansu was of outstanding strategic importance. The trade route between China and Central Asia had necessarily to use this narrow passage squeezed between the Gobi Desert on the one side and the Qilian Mountains that form the north-eastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau on the other. Furthermore, the new Chinese prefectures cut all communications between the Xiongnu in the north and the tribes of the proto-Tibetan Qiang people in the south, thus preventing any alliance between them. The settlement of Chinese crop farmers in Gansu led to the transformation of pastureland into irrigated farmland. At the same time, existing fortresses were extended and made prefectural capitals: Jiuquan in 115 BCE, Wuwei before 111 BCE, Zhangye and Dunhuang in 111 BCE, Jincheng in 81 BCE; these were the Five Prefectures.[81] By this means, China's trans-Gansu trade with Central Asia, above all with Kangju and Bactria, was protected from attack by Xiongnu from the north or Qiang from the south. And the Great Wall ensured that Xiongnu and Qiang could no longer undertake joint military actions against China.

1.6 China Acquires 'Horses that Sweat Blood' and East Central Asia Becomes a Chinese Protectorate

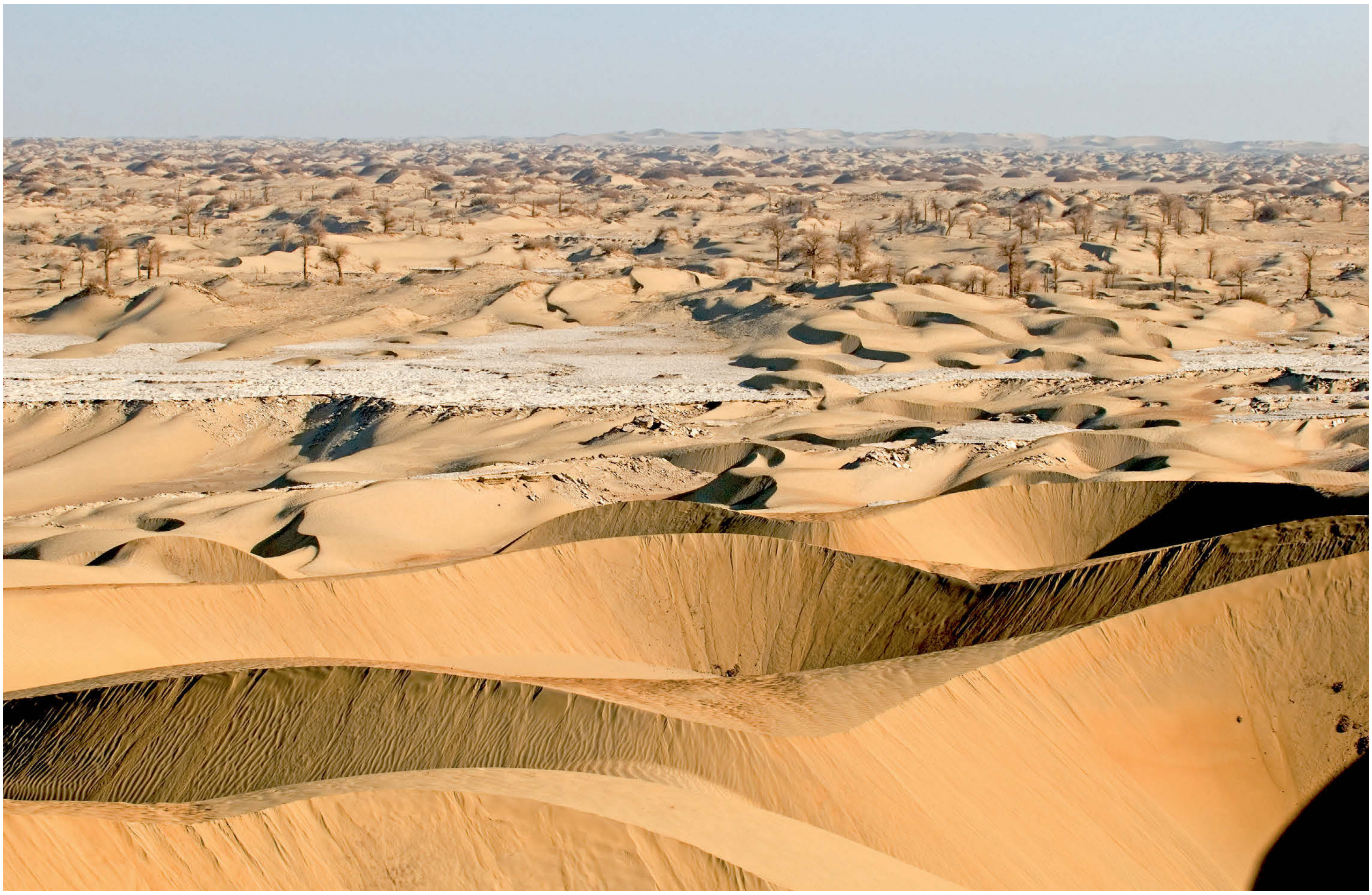
With the occupation of Jiuquan, China for the first time gained access to *Xiyu*, the 'Western Regions', today's province of Xinjiang. Here too, the system of watchtowers and major and minor fortresses was not merely defensive in function but also served Wudi's forward strategy, forming the central spine of the Chinese advance into Central Asia. Beyond the prefecture of Jiuquan, three Xiongnu territories blocked China's progress: to the west were Hami and Jushi, the latter extending along the Tian Shan Mountains from

9. The Jade Gate (Yumen Guan), situated 70 km north-west of Dunhuang and built between 96 and 94 BCE, marked the south-western border of China and controlled the beginning of the middle and southern sections of the Silk Road in the Tarim Basin. Gansu Province, China.

10. **This collection of yardangs, which are up to 30 m high, is called 'Dragon City' in ancient chronicles. Yardangs are composed of dried-up lacustrine sediment layers. Their formation in the Lop and Kum Tagh deserts probably often started when flowing water repeatedly cut out ridges, although running water is not always essential in the initial phase of yardang formation. Then a sand-laden wind, which always blows in the same direction, erodes the pre-shaped sediment formations. Kum Tagh Desert east of the Lop Nor, Gansu, China.**

Turfan in the south to Beiting in the north, and to the south-west was Loulan. Standing on the most direct route to the blood-sweating horses of Fergana, the city-state of Loulan had been since 176 BCE an isolated outpost of the Xiongnu and it thus became the next target of Wudi's expansionist designs, to be followed soon after by Jushi, while Hami remained for the time being a vassal of the Xiongnu. With the establishment in 111 BCE of the prefecture of Dunhuang,[82] whose old Chinese name *Shazhou* means 'desert district', Wudi set up two frontier posts: the fortress of Yan Guan some 40 kilometres south-west of Shazhou, and the Yumen Guan or 'Jade Gate' (fig. 9) around 60 kilometres north-east.[83] The name refers to the old trade in the jade that was imported into China from Khotan on the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert.

The hostility of Loulan and Jushi toward Chinese missions passing through, which were plundered by marauding Xiongnu, provided a pretext for their conquest by General Zhao Ponu in 108 BCE. The two Xiongnu vassals provided their overlords with valuable information about Chinese missions: 'They frequently acted as ears and eyes for the Xiongnu, enabling their troops to intercept Han envoys.'[84] The then capital of Loulan – whose real name, in the north Indian Gandhari language, was Kroraina, rendered by Ptolemy as Kharauna[85] – corresponds to Sir Aurel Stein's 'ruin L.A.' (fig. 122).[86] Discovered on 28 March 1900 by Sven Hedin (1865–1952), Swedish geographer and pioneer explorer of the Taklamakan Desert, the Loulan ruins lie in the north of the Lop Desert, one of the most uninhabitable places on earth.[87] Once the city lay west of the Lop Nor Lake, which the *Han Shu* calls Puchang, the 'sea of abundant reeds'.[88] Lake Puchang was fed with water by the Konqe and Tarim rivers from the west. When in 330 CE they shifted their course southward, the lake dried up. Today, a thick salt crust with razor edges and needle-sharp spikes lies over a treacherous, thick morass. No animal can survive in this waterless wasteland, neither insect nor reptile, and should a bird stray into this desert it falls down and dies. North-west and east of the former lake rise two vast



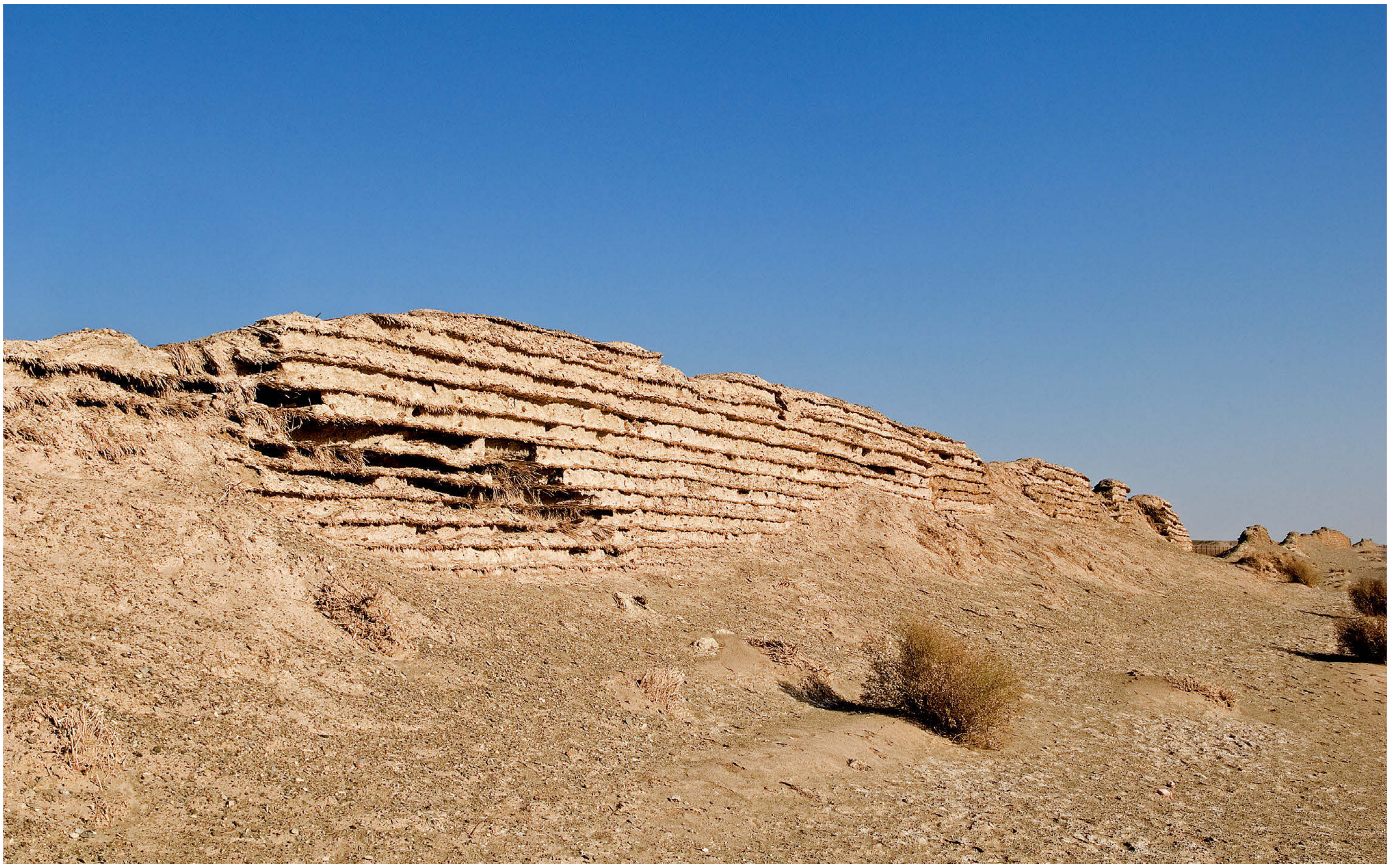
11. The Lop Desert, some 30 km east of the dried-up bed of the Tarim, south of the settlement of Alagan. The whitish silt deposits indicate an earlier river bed, behind which thickets of tamarisk and living poplars can be seen, suggesting an underground water source. Xinjiang, China.

fields of silt deposits, standing up to 30 metres high, called *yardangs*. These remind us that hundreds of thousands of years ago the Lop Nor was part of an inland sea that filled the whole of the Tarim Basin. When Sir Aurel Stein set foot in this wasteland in 1914, he wrote: 'As we left behind the withered and bleached fragments of the last dead tamarisk trunk lying on the soil, I felt that we had passed from the land of the dead into ground that never knew life.'[89]

General Zhao Ponu and his cavalry had to cross this barren desert with its close-set agglomerations of yardangs, called in ancient chronicles 'dragon cities' or 'white dragon hills'.[90] He took the king of Loulan prisoner before making his way north and capturing Jushi, which however would afterwards remain contested between China and the Xiongnu until 67 BCE. The Chinese advance convinced the still hesitant Wusun of China's power, whereupon they sent 1,000 choice war horses to the Chang'an as dowry for the alliance by marriage negotiated sometime between 108 and 105 BCE.[91] With the conquest of Loulan, the trade route and military road from Dunhuang through Loulan, Ruoqiang, Khotan and Kashgar to Fergana was open, and for the time being free of Xiongnu. In 104 BCE, General Li Guangli took this southern Silk Road through the Tarim Basin to reach Fergana, there to acquire 'horses that sweat blood'. Much weakened by their passage through the desert, the expedition could not, however, overcome the resistance of the expert horse breeders of Fergana and returned empty-handed to Yumen Guan, whose door they found closed to them. A return home was forbidden on pain of death. Two years later, Li Guangli returned to Fergana, now at the head of a much stronger force of 180,000 conscripts.[92] In view of this Chinese military superiority, the beleaguered leaders of the city cut off their king's head and sent it to Li Guangli with the message: 'If Han will not attack us, we will bring out all the fine horses; Han may choose what it likes. If Han does not listen to us, we will kill all the fine horses.'[93] General Li selected a few dozen of the best stallions and a further 3,000 horses of both sexes and returned home in 101 BCE. The Fergana horses were taller and more muscular than the ponies of northern China, with harder hooves that wore more slowly. They had been fed on the highly nutritious lucerne (alfalfa), which led to China adopting this forage crop from Fergana, together with the vine.[94] Li Guangli's campaign also made it clear to China's adversaries that Chinese armies were able to reach destinations in their territories which were thousands of kilometres away from Chang'an.

The political position of the small state of Loulan in outer east Central Asia remained precarious. It had thwarted Li Guangli's first expedition, and around 103 BCE General Renwen therefore led a punitive campaign against it. The embattled ruler of Loulan declared, 'When a small state lies between two great kingdoms, if it has not an alliance with both, it cannot be at rest',[95] and sent both China and the Xiongnu a son as hostage. Emperor Wudi then ordered the frontier fortifications to be extended west and north-west, from Yumen Guan to Loulan and then along the old course of the Tarim River through Yingpan and Korla as far as Kucha. Granaries such as He Zhang Chen (fig. 14) were set up at regular intervals along it. 'The government established . . . defence stations at various points from Dunhuang west to the Salt Swamp [Lake Lop Nor]. A force of several hundred agricultural soldiers was sent up to set a garrison at Luntu [Luntai at Bugur east of Kucha[96]], headed by an ambassador who saw to it that the fields were protected and stores of grain laid away to be used to supply the Han envoys who passed through on their way to foreign countries.'[97]

This construction was a gigantic achievement: the distance from Dunhuang to Kucha was more than 1,000 kilometres. It consisted at the Jade Gate first of a 3-metre-high and 60-kilometre-long wall, which Sir Aurel Stein called 'Chinese Limes';[98] then further west of watchtowers and forts built at varying distances up to Kucha. The large Han dynasty fortifications, first L.E. and L.A., and later L.K., L.L. (figs. 95f, 125) and Yingpan, were constructed in the same manner as the fortified wall west of Dunhuang, with layers of stamped silt alternating with thick bundles of tamarisk branches bound with raffia. This was either finished with a final layer of strong poplar branches laid horizontally, covered with a thick layer of silt, or two parallel rows of closely set, slim poplar trunks



12. The *limes* built by Emperor Han Wudi around 100 BCE as an extension of the Great Wall, a few kilometres west of the Jade Gate. This section of the pounded-earth wall, which was *ca.* 3 m high, extended over 60 km. It was followed by a series of watchtowers and forts at irregular intervals, which stretched as far as the Kucha Oasis, 1,000 km away. Gansu, China.

were rammed vertically into the wall and the space between them filled with silt. As was noted by Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943), the pioneer of Xinjiang archaeology, this construction technique was highly resistant to erosion by the furious winds of the Lop Nor.[99] Foreshadowing the principle of reinforced concrete, the technique would remain in use for a millennium, being taken over not only by China's Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) but also by the Tibetans, who, with some interruptions, controlled the Tarim Basin from around 670 to around 850 CE. However, the Bronze Age fortified settlement of Sebier discovered by the present author in 2009, in the middle of the Taklamakan Desert, shows that this technique was by no means a Chinese invention, but was known as early as the second half of the second millennium BCE.[100]

In 78 BCE **Huyandi Chanyu** (r. 85–68 BCE) attempted to win back the Hexi Corridor, but his army under the command of the Wise King of the Left suffered an ignominious defeat.[101] The following year, the chanyu tried once again to end Chinese supremacy in outer east Central Asia. When the king of Loulan died in 77 BCE, he immediately sent home the crown prince, Angui, who had been living at his court as a hostage. On taking power, King Angui broke off diplomatic relations with China, and killed a number of Chinese envoys, prompting Emperor Zhaodi (r. 87–74 BCE) to send General Fu Jiezi to Loulan. By subterfuge, Fu Jiezi succeeded in killing King Angui, and then set on the throne his younger brother Weituqi, who had been brought up as a hostage at the Chinese court. As a symbol of this political change, Fu Jiezi renamed the state Shan-shan, allegedly at the wish of Weituqi, and moved the capital south-west to Yixun, the previous capital retaining the name of Loulan.[102] The location of the new capital Yixun with its Chinese garrison is still disputed, but it was probably not far from the present-day city of Ruoqiang or the ruins of Miran.[103]

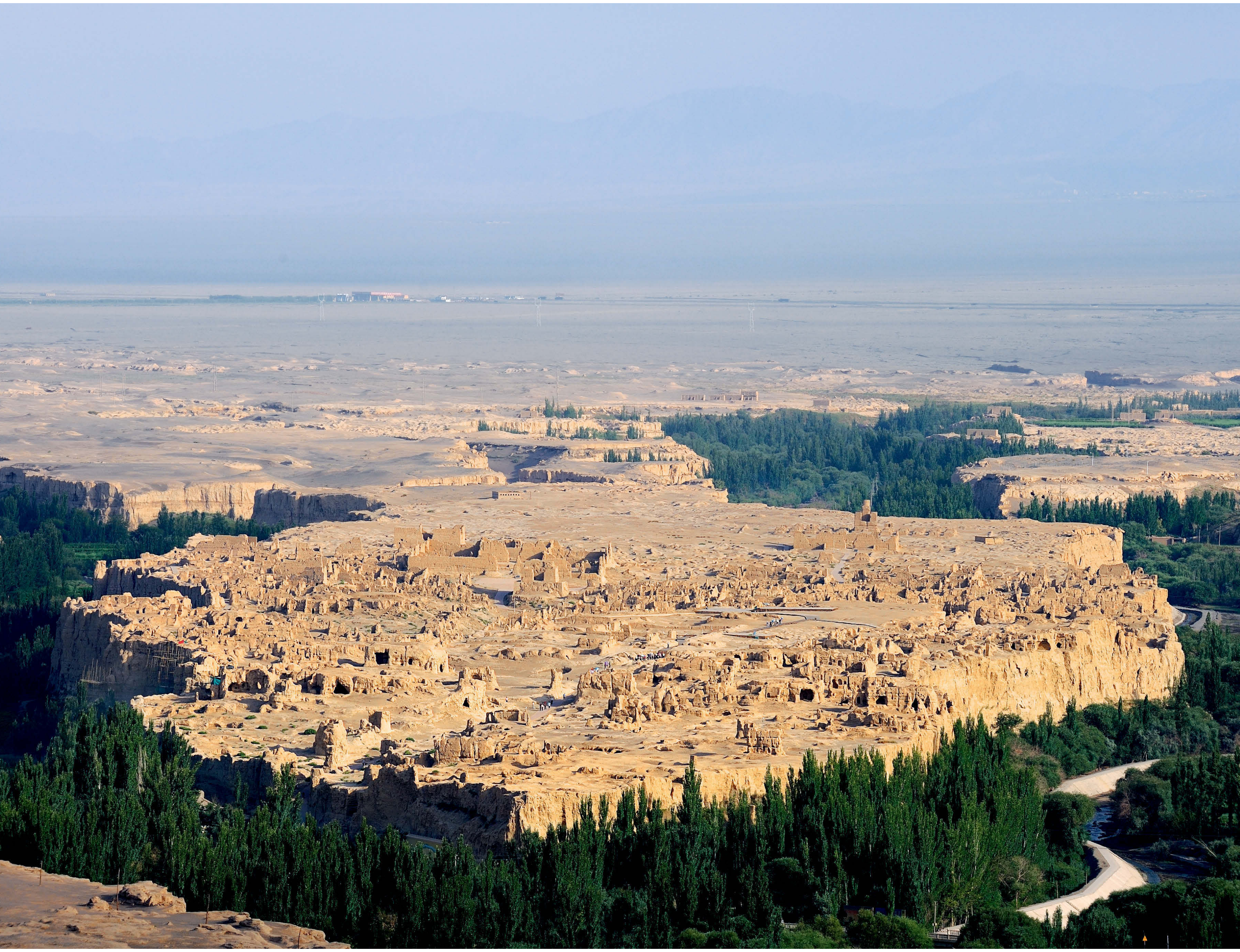
In 71 BCE Huyandi Chanyu suffered another serious reverse when a quadruple coalition launched a coordinated attack on his already weakened empire from all four points of the compass. A joint Chinese and Wusun army first penetrated deep into the Xiongnu heartland, taking 40,000 prisoners and capturing several hundred thousand head of stock, and then a few months later the Dingling steppe horsemen attacked from the north, the Wuhuan from the east, China from the

13. The 13.5-metre-high watchtower of Kizil Gaha near Kucha marks the western end of the Chinese defence system. Han dynasties (202 BCE–220 CE). Xinjiang, China.

14. The complex of He Zhang Chen, which was built in the early 1st c. BCE, 13 km north-east of the Jade Gate, was 174 m long and served as a military camp and granary until the end of the 8th century.

south and the Wusun from the west.[104] This attack by a hostile tribal alliance was particularly dangerous for the Xiongnu, as they knew that while Chinese troops could not occupy the steppes, another horse people could well drive them out of their lands or keep them in subjection. As Yap remarks: 'Thus the mighty nomadic Empire had become a subject of prey by their former subjugated enemies, who were waiting like vultures going in for the kill.'[105] China, however, had become a master at inciting distant and weaker nomad confederations to make war on a nearer and more powerful steppe empire, a strategy that would also prove itself under the Tang dynasty, when it was deployed against the Turkic khaganates.

In the following years, too, the Xiongnu found themselves in a battle with China, this time for the strategically important town of Jushi, but equally without success. Following an initial defeat in 67 BCE, it was **Xuluquanqu Chanyu** (r. 68–60 BCE) who succeeded three years later in recapturing Jushi,[106] but on his death his widow intrigued to have her lover succeed him as **Woyanqudi Chanyu** (r. 60–58 BCE). This brought to an end the stability associated with the last ten more or less uncontested successions, and the new chanyu lacked the legitimacy of a consensus among the tribal chiefs. Faced with the brutality of the new ruler, Rizhu Wang, the sub-king of Jushi, surrendered to the commissioner Zheng Ji, whose residence lay east of Kucha, and Jushi thus fell to China.[107] Jushi was now divided into Nearer Jushi, with its capital at Jiaohe in the Turfan Oasis, and Further Jushi, ruled from Beiting, near Jimisar.[108] From 60 BCE to 450 CE, Jiaohe remained the political, economic and cultural centre of the extensive Turfan Oasis, which developed into a thriving outpost of Chinese culture. At the same time, Zheng Ji (in office 60–49 BCE), was appointed as the first protector-general of the 36 States of Xiyu, with his residence at Wulei, east of Kucha. The protector-general replaced the Xiongnu 'commander of the slaves'. He was directly responsible to the emperor, and according to the *Han Shu* enjoyed wide-ranging powers: 'If the situation was suitable for a peaceful settlement, he settled it peacefully; if it was suitable for launching an attack, he attacked.'[109] The strategic importance of Nearer Jushi was demonstrated in 48 BCE,



15. Jiaohe, the Chinese name of the city which the Uyghurs called Yarkhoto, means 'river's fork', for it stands on a 30-metre-high rock between two rivers. From the 1st century BCE to the 5th century CE, Jiaohe was the capital of the Turfan Oasis; in the background on the right is the Buddhist complex of 105 stupas. Xinjiang, China.

when an additional military commandant was appointed, with his headquarters at Gaochang, south-west of Jiaohe.[110] With this appointment of a powerful official responsible for the small states of the Western Regions, East Turkestan became for the first time a vassal of China. The Xiongnu Empire, however, had had its right arm cut off, in Zhang Qian's words, having lost essential inflows of tribute, taxes, foodstuffs and craft products.

1.7 The Collapse of the Xiongnu Steppe Empire

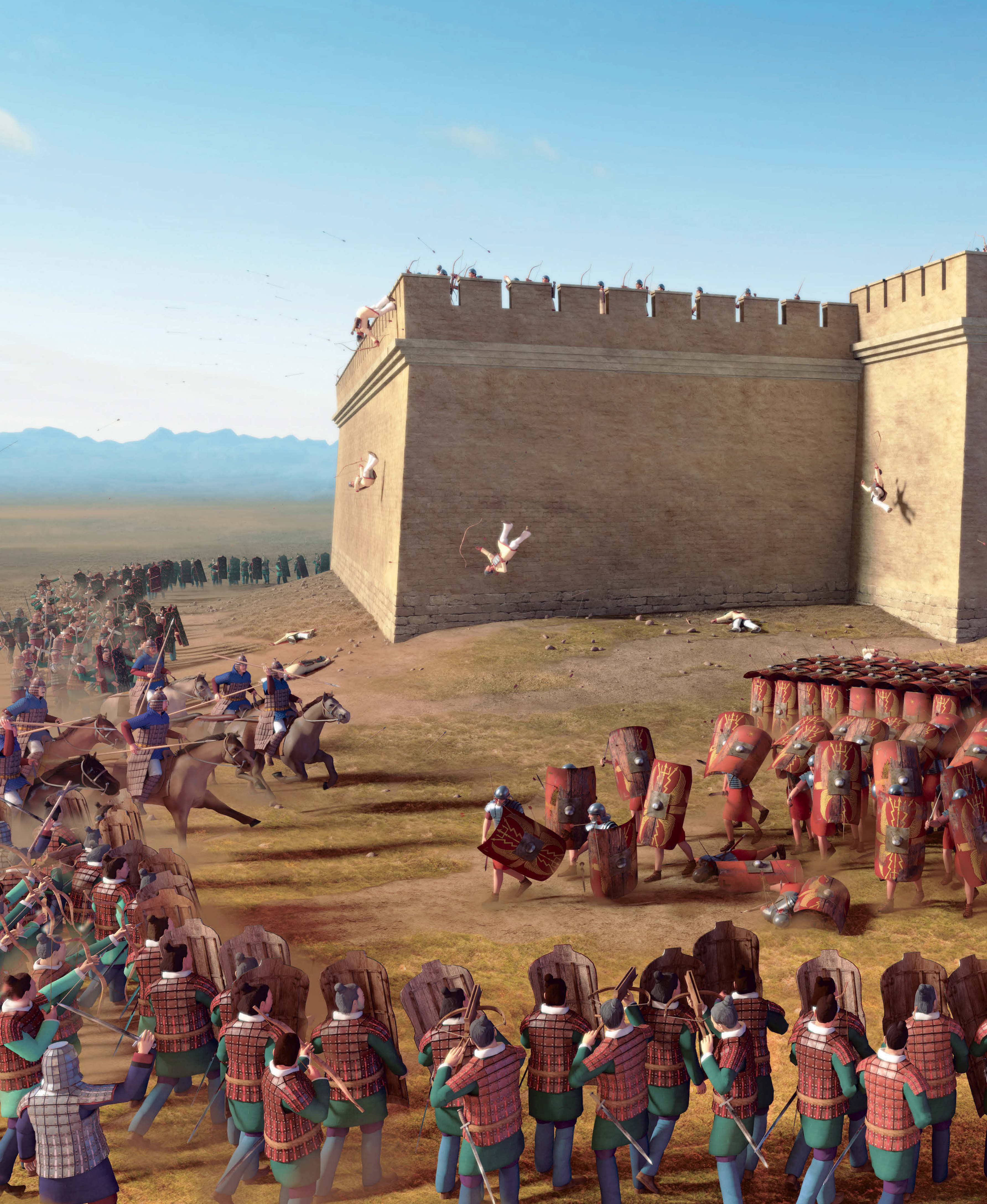
Woyanqudi Chanyu's boundless brutality hastened the break-up of the Xiongnu Empire, provoking an internal split. In 58 BCE, rebels chose one of Xuluquanqu's sons as **Huhanye Chanyu** (r. 58–31 BCE), and Woyanqudi Chanyu committed suicide. Rather than bringing peace, this led to civil war: in 57 BCE, five chanyus contended against each other, a year later three, and in 54 BCE only Huhanye and his older brother **Zizhi Guduhou Chanyu** (r. 56–36 BCE) remained.[111] China looked on fascinated at the spectacle of the self-destruction of the Xiongnu Empire. In 53 BCE, after suffering a grievous defeat at the hands of Zizhi, Huhanye asked to submit to China, and in 52–51 BCE he crossed the border with his troops and presented himself as a supplicant at Chang'an. Emperor Xuandi (r. 74–49 BCE) allowed him and his people to settle, as Chinese vassals, on infertile lands between the Gobi and the Ordos,[112] bringing about the division of the once mighty steppe empire of the Xiongnu into a still independent realm to the north of the Gobi, and a vassal state to its south.

Supported by China, Huhanye attacked his brother Zizhi in the north and drove him to the west, where he occupied part of Kangju in East Kazakhstan. Plagued by intrigue at court, China could not prevent Huhanye Chanyu's return to the north in 43 BCE where he stabilised the Xiongnu position to a certain extent. Zizhi Chanyu had in the meantime installed himself in a newly constructed fort on the river Talas, probably near today's city of Taraz, intended as the nucleus of a new empire. The Chinese protector-general Gan Yanshou and his deputy Chen Tang observed Zizhi's efforts with suspicion, fearing that a strengthened Zizhi might one day threaten the Western Regions. Chen Tang recommended a pre-emptive attack, but Gan Yanshou hesitated. When the latter fell ill in 36 BCE, Chen Tang counterfeited imperial marching orders and assembled an army of Chinese crossbowmen and allied cavalry units to march on Zizhi's fortress and lay siege to it. During the siege, the superiority of the Chinese crossbow companies became clear, as they advanced under the protection of large shields carried by foot soldiers and shot the defending bowmen down from the battlements. The fortress fell, and Zizhi became the only chanyu of the Xiongnu to die in battle against the Chinese.[113]

Fighting alongside the chanyu there may have been Roman legionaries. The *Zizhi tongjian* records: 'One hundred or so infantry warriors marched out [of the city] lining the flanks of the city-gate and commenced to display a fish-scale battle formation.'[114] This description accords with the Roman tortoise formation called the *testudo* (fig. 16). In this, the front row of a densely packed infantry detachment held their large, rectangular shields in front of them, while those behind held theirs overlapped above their heads in such a way as to protect themselves and those in front. Soldiers at the sides held their shields to right or left as the case might be, protecting the flanks too from enemy arrows. Only the Romans at that time used this formation, and the sinologist Homer Dubs believed that these soldiers of Zizhi's were Roman legionaries, who, as Pliny the Elder reports, were taken prisoner by the Parthians at the Battle of Carrhae (in south-east Turkey) in 53 BCE, and taken to Margiana (in modern Turkmenistan), probably to Merv.[115] It is conceivable that these captured legionaries escaped to neighbouring Kangju and there offered their services to Zizhi Chanyu (fig. 16).[116]

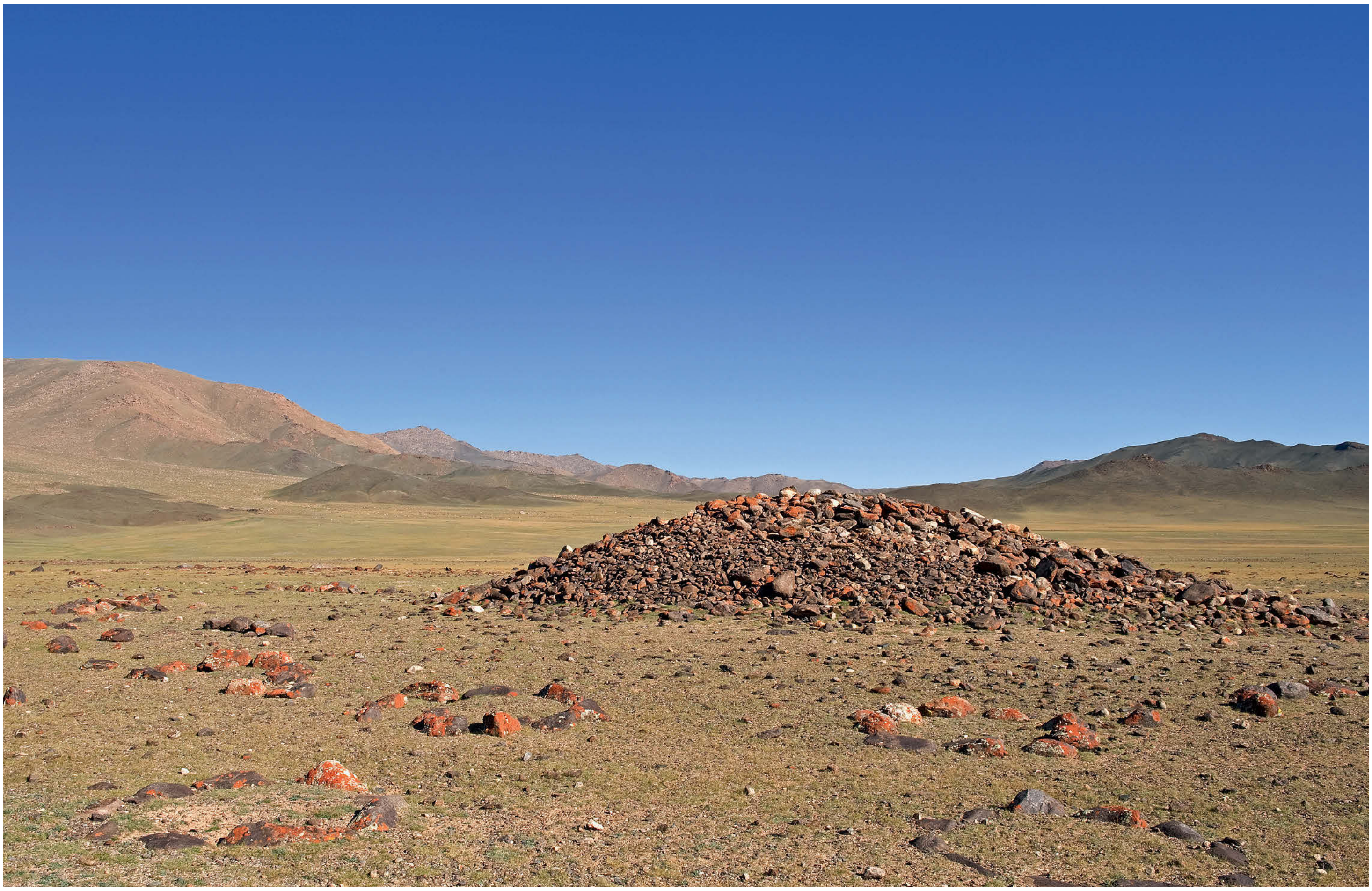
After Zizhi's death, the Chinese chronicles were concerned above all with the palace intrigues of the declining Western Han dynasty, which had effectively abandoned any active foreign policy, so that reports on the Xiongnu became scarce. It would appear that chanyus **Fuzhuleiruodi** (r. 31–20 BCE), **Souxieruodi** (r. 20–12 BCE), **Cheyaruodi** (r. 12–8 BCE) and **Wuzhuliuruodi** (r. 8 BCE–13 CE) succeeded in consolidating their shrunken empire. The last was able to take advantage of Chinese domestic troubles to throw off Chinese overlordship. For in 9 CE, power was seized in China by the minister Wang Mang, a relative of the imperial family (r. 9–23 CE) and founder and sole member of the short-lived Xin dynasty, which ended with his death. Imbued with the old Confucian values and principles of government and driven

▶ 16. Illustration based on historical records of the Chinese siege in 36 BCE of the fort of Zizhi Chanyu, which stood on the river Talas. The troops of the Xiongnu chanyu probably included a unit of Roman legionaries who, after being captured at the battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE, were transported to the east. The legionaries in this picture, in a tortoise formation, a *testudo*, are trying in vain to attack the Chinese archers and crossbowmen. The first line of the Chinese besiegers consists of a chain of infantrymen, who are holding large shields protecting the archers and crossbowmen shooting at the legionaries and the defenders on the battlements. At the left flank of the besiegers, armoured horsemen attack the legionaries with lances as soon as the *testudo* breaks up, and at the right flank armoured and helmeted infantrymen prepare to attack the legionaries with halberds. Behind the Chinese infantrymen stand their armoured officers.

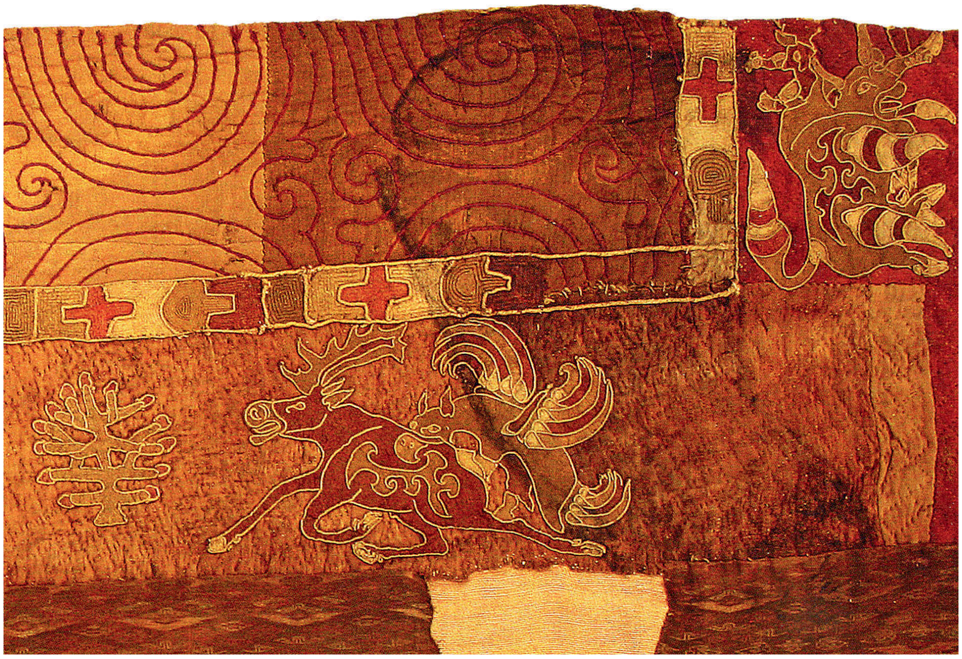


by reforming zeal, Wang Mang attempted to change everything at once, but the simultaneous introduction of administrative, legal, economic, fiscal and foreign policy reforms led to chaos. In 10 CE he reduced the chanyu of the Xiongnu from an allied ruler to a mere vassal. Affronted, Wuzhuliuruodi Chanyu broke off diplomatic relations and began to raid Chinese frontier towns, provoking an immediate exodus to central China. Wuzhuliuruodi was succeeded by **Wuleiruodi Chanyu** (r. 13–18 CE), who continued the raids on northern China, especially when he found out that Wang Mang had in 12 CE ordered the public execution of his son Deng, who had been living at the Chinese court as a hostage.[117] Wuleiruodi's successor **Huduershidaogaoruodi Chanyu** (r. 18–46 CE) intensified the border conflict with China, which prompted Wang Mang, in the spring of 19 CE, to call up all those liable to military service in defence against the Xiongnu. As a result, the fields remained uncultivated and seed was not sown, which led to a catastrophic famine. Revolts broke out all across China, leading to the fall of Wang Mang in 23 CE.[118] The Western Regions, too, took advantage of the opportunity this offered. Yanqi (Karashahr), which until 60 BCE had traditionally maintained a close relationship with the Xiongnu, rose in rebellion in 13 CE, killing Protector-general Danjin. Three years later Wang Mang appointed Li Chong as the new protector-general of Xiyu, but the latter's army fell into a trap laid by Yanqi, and Li Chong took refuge in Kucha.[119] East Central Asia had freed itself of Chinese tutelage; only in 73 CE would China once more gain a foothold in Xiyu (East Turkestan).

The relative weakness of Guangwudi (r. 25–57 CE), first emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE), brought Huduershidaogaoruodi Chanyu external peace, and he brought important Xiyu states back into the Xiongnu sphere of influence; domestically, however, his authority was not uncontested. On his death, a civil war broke out that led in 48 CE to an irreversible split between the Northern Xiongnu of **Punu Chanyu** (r. 47–?) and the



17. The necropolis in the Bodonch Gol valley, which extends over a length of more than 20 km, was used for over a millennium by the Scythians, the Xiongnu and the Göktürks. This picture shows the *khirigsuur* of a Scythian prince from the 6th–5th c. BCE with *ca.* 60 satellite tombs, which are arranged in concentric rings. The inner ring, which is intact, contains 26 satellite tombs, the outer one 15, of what were originally some 34 tombs. The total number of satellite tombs probably corresponded to the same number of horse sacrifices. Khovd Aimag, south-western Mongolia.



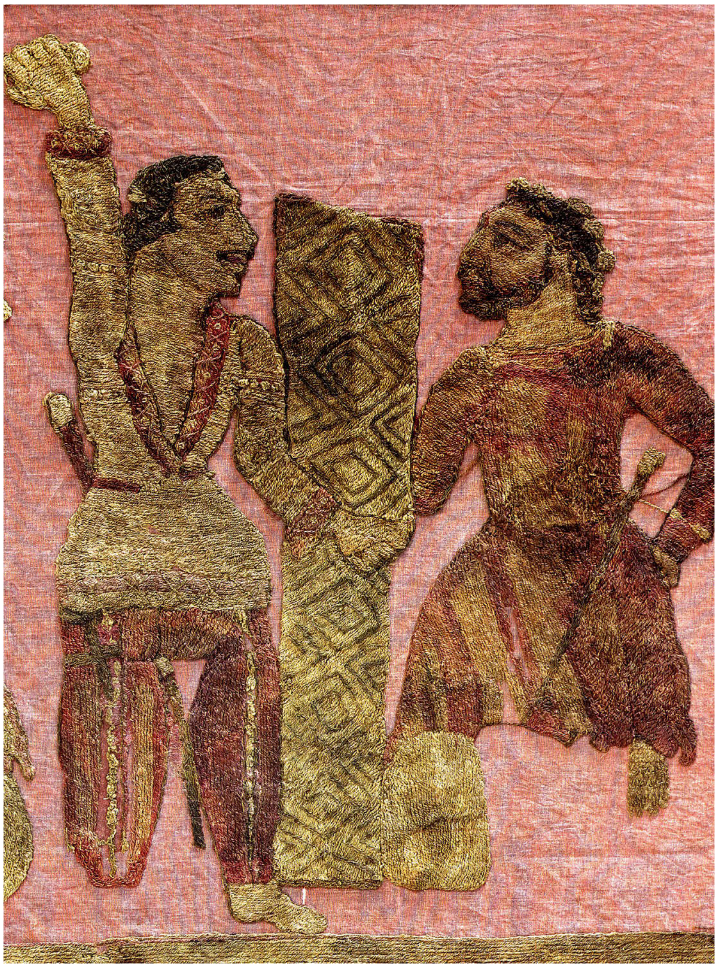
18. Fragment of a felt carpet from kurgan no. 6 of Noin Ula, Töv Aimag, Mongolia, which was excavated in 1924. The person buried in kurgan no. 6 was probably Chanyu Wuzhuliuruodi, who died in 13 CE. In the lower part of the fragment a bird of prey attacks an elk; the animal represented on the right is a yak. National Museum of Mongolia, Ulaan Baatar.

Southern Xiongnu of **Bi Chanyu** (r. 48–56). Plagued by famine and threatened by Punu Chanyu, in 50 CE Bi Chanyu submitted to Emperor Guangwudi, who settled him and his tribes in uninhabited north China, to form a kind of buffer state. The emperor at the same time compelled crop farmers from central China to move there as well, leading to the mixing of the two groups. Among the Southern Xiongnu, power now lay in the hands of a Chinese emissary, the chanyu retaining only a ceremonial role.[120] When the Southern Chanyu rebelled in 109 CE, a Chinese army forced his capitulation a few months later.[121] The last chanyu of all the Southern Xiongnu, Huchuquan by name, would be deposed in 215 CE by the Chinese warlord Cao Cao, who then divided the Southern Xiongnu into five separate tribes, but in the early fourth century the now highly sinified Xiongnu would invade China, toppling the Jin dynasty in 316 CE.[122]

Faced with increasing Northern Xiongnu military activity in north Gansu and Xiyu, Emperor Han Mingdi (r. 57–75), decided to drive the nomads out of all the Western Regions, a task accomplished by General Ban Chao between 73 and 91 CE.[123] In 87 CE the descendants of the Donghu, the Mongolic-speaking Xianbei, attacked the Northern Xiongnu, killing the chanyu and cutting off his head as a trophy before occupying a great part of Mongolia.[124] Two years later an alliance of Xianbei, Southern Xiongnu and Chinese troops under General Dou Xian inflicted a heavy defeat on **Bei Chanyu** (r. 88–?),[125] upon which 200,000 Xiongnu transferred their allegiance to the Xianbei. In 91 CE the chanyu suffered another defeat at the hands of Dou Xian's troops, who in 93 CE would go on to kill the last chanyu, **Yuchujian** (r. 91–93 CE).[126] The Central Asian steppe empire of the Xiongnu had ceased to exist. Some of the defeated Xiongnu tribes still roamed northern Xinjiang in the second century CE, others migrated west to the Wusun, or further towards the Aral Sea, and around 150 CE Ptolemy could refer to *Khunoi* on the Black Sea.[127] After another victory in 155 CE, over the Xiongnu who had remained in Mongolia, the Xianbei became the most powerful force in north-east Central Asia, a position they would succeed in maintaining until around 235 CE.[128]

1.8 Xiongnu Customs in Life and Death

The free Xiongnu lived mostly in yurts (in Mongolian, *ger*) with dome-shaped felt roofs, which either stood directly on the ground or were set on a wide cart drawn by oxen. The artisans who worked for the Xiongnu lived sometimes in settlements with houses dug into the ground, as can be seen at Ivolga and Boroo Gol. Rudenko, the Russian excavator of the Xiongnu necropolis of Noin Ula, was convinced that the Xiongnu also had log cabins whose walls were hung with artful rug-like hangings, matching the burial chambers there.[129] As in Mongolia today, the animals most important to the Xiongnu were horses, camels, cattle, sheep and goats, whose numbers they used to measure their wealth. The life of the nomadic stock breeder offered an excellent training for warfare. Hunts regularly organised by tribal leaders provided an opportunity to carry out coordinated manoeuvres in the field. Children learnt to



19. Embroidery fragment from kurgan no. 31 of Noin Ula, Töv Aimag, Mongolia, *ca.* 1st c. CE, which was researched in 2009. National Museum of Mongolia, Ulaan Baatar.

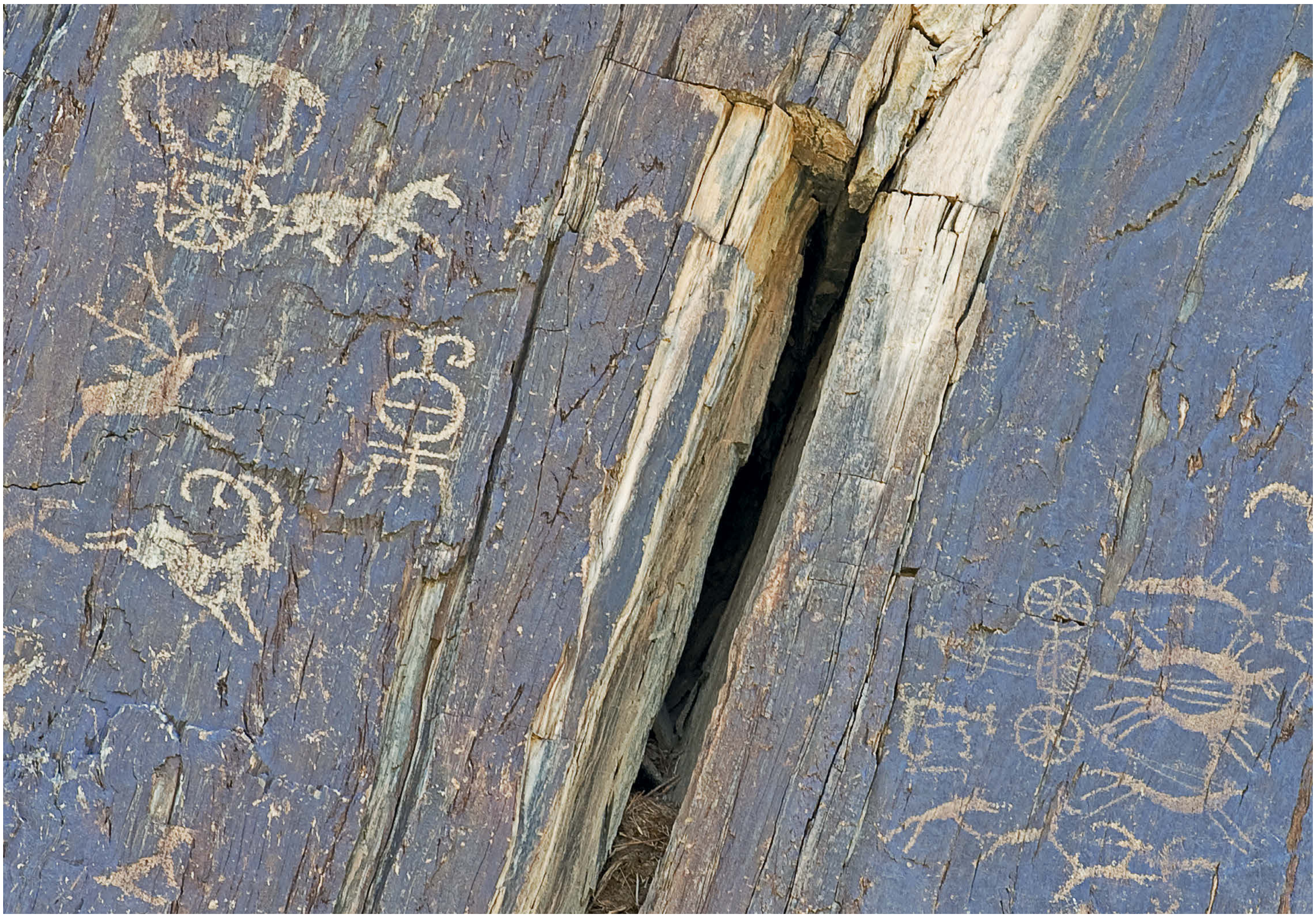
ride and to handle a bow at a young age, and if necessary women, too, would take up arms in defence of their property. Many Chinese who lived among the Xiongnu by their own choice appreciated the freedom of living according to rules strict but few and simple when compared to the extremely hierarchical bureaucracy and innumerable pointless rituals of life in China. Sima Qian described the laws of the Xiongnu as follows: 'Anyone who in ordinary times draws his sword a foot from the scabbard is condemned to death. Anyone convicted of theft has his property confiscated. Minor offenses are punished by flogging and major ones by death. No one is kept in jail awaiting a sentence longer than ten days, and the number of imprisoned men for the whole nation does not exceed a handful.'[130]

As Sima Qian tells us, the Xiongnu had no script,[131] but they had two forms of spiritual or religious practice. On the one hand was the soothsayer, who could divine the future from the cracks in the scorched shoulder blades of sheep, or from observing the stars before a battle. It is likely that all Xiongnu could use the services of soothsayers, who perhaps also had shamanic functions, such as communicating to humans the wishes or demands of the spirits. On the other hand, the most important national leaders would meet twice a year, in the first month at the chanyu's residence and in the fifth month at the capital Lungcheng, and sacrifice to their forefathers, to Heaven and Earth, and to the gods and spirits.[132] The sun and the moon were held in reverence by members of the elite and by the chanyu in particular: 'At dawn the Chanyu leaves his camp and makes obeisance to the sun as it rises, and in the evening he makes a similar obeisance to the moon.'[133] It is possible that the chanyu regarded himself as an incarnation of the most important divinities of heaven and earth. This is suggested by the way Laoshang Chanyu presents himself at the beginning of a letter to the Chinese emperor: 'The great Chanyu of the Xiongnu, born of Heaven and Earth and ordained by the sun and moon.'[134] These heavenly bodies' great importance to the Xiongnu is shown by the many grave finds of paired golden ornaments in the form of little suns and moons.[135]

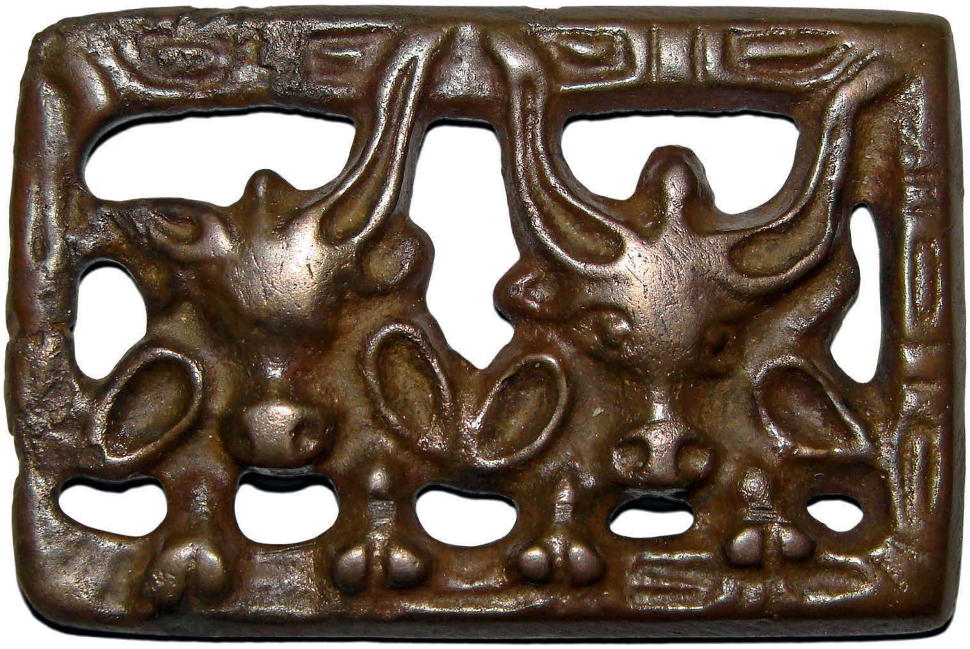
Of funerary rites the *Shiji* tells us that, 'In burials the Xiongnu use an inner and outer coffin, with accessories of gold, silver, clothing and fur, but they do not construct grave mounds. When a ruler dies, the ministers and concubines who were favoured by him and who are obliged to follow him in death often number in the hundreds or thousands.'[136] Archaeology has confirmed Sima Qian's description in every point but the last, as can be seen in the excavations of the two most important aristocratic necropoles. Dating from the first to second centuries CE, the necropolis of **Noin Ula** lies north-west of Ulaan Baatar, on the Selenge river; it was investigated in 1924–25 by Pyotr Kozlov, who excavated eight of the 212 kurgans, or tumuli.[137] In six princely tombs unfortunately already looted in antiquity, beneath a low, rectangular mound was a burial pit that narrowed stepwise to the bottom, like an inverted step-pyramid. At depths of 9 to 18 metres the archaeologists each time discovered two massive, nested chambers constructed of wooden timbers, the floor of the inner chamber being laid with rugs and the walls hung with decorative felt hangings.[138] The mode of construction of the nested timber chambers is continuous with the Pazyryk burial culture.[139] As the Mongolian archaeologist Gelegdorj Eregzen has observed, the Xiongnu took their tomb architecture from the Pazyryk culture and the form of the burial pit from China, while the superstructure was the Xiongnu's own.[140] A Chinese lacquer bowl with two inscriptions, one of them identifying its date of production as 2 BCE, makes it possible to date Kurgan No. 6 accordingly. As the bowl was made in an imperial workshop 'for the use of the Emperor', it may be supposed – following the hypothesis of the Soviet archaeologist Bernshtam – that it was a gift from Emperor Han Aidi (r. 7–1 BCE) to Wuzhuliuruodi Chanyu, who died in 13 CE.[141] Kurgan No. 6 is so far the only known example of a chanyu's tomb.

In spite of their fragility, Chinese painted lacquer caskets were not only found in tombs of the Xiongnu, but even in late Scythian graves in the Crimea, more than 7,000 kilometres away from their probable place of manufacture in the eastern Chinese province of Jiangsu. In several female burials in the necropolis of Ust'Al'ma in south-western Crimea, dating from the Late Scythian Culture (second century BCE – third century CE), small stacking lacquer caskets were discovered, which were probably manufactured in the Chinese principality of Guangling in today's province of Jiangsu between the last century BCE and the second century CE.[142]

Among the outstanding finds from Noin Ula are felt carpets with embroidered decoration showing a struggle between a yak and a horned lion, for example, or a lion and a deer, and also imported Greco-Bactrian textiles (figs. 18f). One of these depicts horsemen,[143] on another is a male head that is practically identical with a coin portrait of the early Kushan ruler Heraios (r. *ca.* 0–30 CE),[144] and on yet another a naked boy armed with an oval shield and a javelin.[145] The motif of an armed, naked boy can be found not only in the Hellenistic world but also on the kaftan on the fourth to fifth century CE Yingpan mummy discovered in the western Lop Desert.[146] A well-preserved embroidery discovered in 2006 in tomb 20 shows a seated prince surrounded by nine followers with Iranian or Bactrian facial features.[147] Also found in Noin Ula were gilded bronze buckles in a sophisticated animal style, the animals being depicted either geometrically simplified or in life-like forms, the



20. Rock engravings of Yamaan Uus, Khovd Aimag, Mongolia. On the cliffs consisting of multi-layered, chimney-like rock formations, petroglyphs from the Bronze Age (2400–900 BCE) to the Turkic period cover an area measuring 20 x 12 m. On the right a quadriga from the Bronze Age, shown in top view, on the left a single-axle Chinese ceremonial chariot with canopy. Such ceremonial chariots were often given as gifts by Chinese emperors to the chanyu or the princes of the Xiongnu, and were added to graves after being taken apart. The rock engravings of the Xiongnu are realistic rather than stylised.



21. Bronze belt buckle with two yaks from the Hunno-Scythian stone cist grave 5 in the necropolis of Terezin, Tuva, Russia, 1st c. BCE. The National Museum of the Republic of Tuva, Kizil.

latter showing Chinese influence. Also featured are human activities and animals symmetrically paired in heraldic fashion.

The second great Xiongnu necropolis is **Gol Mod**, south-west of Noin Ula in the province of Arkhangai, which has 393 graves, 128 of them aristocratic burials.[148] As in Noin Ula, a square or rectangular low stone platform covered the burial pit, which was shaped like a stepped pyramid, and a south-facing, trapezial low stone ramp led to the platform. Under the first layer of stone were often the skeletons of sacrificial horses and cattle, and under the second, which covered the burial chamber, were one or two dismantled two-wheeled chariots of high quality.[149] Within the burial chamber are two nested timber chambers, the wooden coffin in the inner one often being painted.[150] Single-axle chariots like the ones found here were for the most part official gifts from the Chinese emperor to the chanyu or the king of the Wusun, such as the *Han Shu* records on the occasion of the marriage of a Chinese princess to the king of the Wusun between 105 and 108 BCE.[151] The chanyu would then present these imperial gifts to his own most important chiefs. Just as in China the body of a fallen officer was carried away from the battlefield on a chariot, deceased Xiongnu nobles were conveyed to the grave on chariots.[152] In one of the two chariots from tomb T20, dateable to the last decade of the first century BCE, the archaeologists found in the spokes of the parasol which sheltered the passenger a blank piece of hemp and linen paper, one of the oldest papers in the world.[153] As for the human sacrifices described by Sima Qian, while the archaeologists found no bones of sacrificed followers or concubines in the elite graves, there were dozens of plaits of hair: symbols of self-mutilation and signs of mourning.[154] Such plaits have also been found at Noin Ula, and in the Iron Age tombs of Pazyryk (Altai), Besshatyr (East Kazakhstan) and Satma Mazar (Taklamakan Desert).[155] The monumental tombs are surrounded by smaller and simpler satellite tombs of young, armed men, and it is conceivable that these young warriors were obliged to accompany their chanyu into the afterlife.[156] While the elite graves had a rectangular or square, above-ground stone platform and a dromos, the smaller graves of the lesser nobility had a circular stone platform without dromos.[157]

In Tuva, in the north-west of the Xiongnu Empire, there developed two remarkable mixed burial types belonging to the **Hunno-Scythian culture**. Dating from the first century BCE, the **Terezin** cemetery stands on the southern shore of the Saian-Shusheskoe reservoir; investigations there began in 2006.[158] The archaeologists discovered many stone cist graves of East Scythian type, but the grave goods found in them belonged unambiguously to the material culture of the Xiongnu. Among them were the bone plaques of a Hun bow, and bronze buckles in both realistic and geometric animal style.[159] The second instance of a hybrid culture is the Hunno-Sarmatian cemetery at **Kokel**, dating from the second century BCE to the first century CE, ascribed to the **Surmak culture**. In this necropolis of 381 graves, which hold the remains of 475 people, the burials were made either in small wooden constructions, on boards or in log coffins. Some of the dead were mutilated on burial, or were found with boulders on their breast, possibly to prevent their return to the land of the living. Surprising was the discovery in men's graves of many wooden anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures, together with wooden swords and daggers. These wooden weapons are signs of high social standing, as are the ceramic reproductions of Hunnish bronze kettles. Either iron objects were too precious to put in the grave alongside the deceased, or wood had a particular significance unknown to us.[160]

1.9 The Second Chinese Protectorate over the 'Western Regions'

If on their detachment from China in 13 CE the small states of the Tarim Basin believed they were again to enjoy independence, they were mistaken, for they soon fell back into the sphere of influence of the Xiongnu, who imposed heavy taxes on them. In 45 and 46 CE the states of Further Jushi (Beiting), Yanqi (Karashahr) and Shan-shan (in the south-west of the Tarim Basin) offered China their submission, asking for protection and even a protector-general. But Emperor Guangwudi (r. 25–57) was weak, and replied: 'We are not able, at the moment, to send out envoys and Imperial troops so . . . each kingdom [should seek help] as they please, wherever they can, to the east, west, south, or north.'[161] In 73 CE, however, Emperor Mingdi felt strong enough to try and deprive the Xiongnu of control over the Silk Road, turning east Central Asia into a theatre of war for China, the Xiongnu, the Kushans, who were advancing from northern India, and the small states who were battling between themselves. Chapter 47 (77) of the *Hou Han Shu* tells of the course of the war.

General Tou Ku first re-established peace and security in the Hexi Corridor, where the towns had been keeping their gates closed even during the day. His subordinate, the cavalry general Ban Chao (32–102) drove the Xiongnu out of their stronghold in Hami, which 'meant breaking their left [eastern] horn' in Xiyu.[162] The

22. A Xiongnu grave in the 4 km^2 necropolis of Aduun Chuluumi Belchik near Most, Khovd Aimag, Mongolia. As in the Bodonch Gol valley, tombs of Scythians, Xiongnu and Göktürks can be found side by side here.

Chinese troops then captured Nearer Jushi, installing Chen Mu as protector-general, after which Ban Chao advanced to Shan-shan with a small number of troops. He was, however, received in unfriendly fashion by the king, for the latter had a Xiongnu envoy with a large escort in residence. To his frightened companions Ban Chao declared that, 'He who ventures not into the tiger's lair will not catch the tiger cubs'. They then killed all the Xiongnu, and the following day Ban Chao took the Xiongnu envoy's head to the king of Shan-shan, who submitted immediately. As Ban Chao set off westward on the Southern Silk Road, riding to the mighty kingdom of Khotan, its ruler was overcome by great fear, and he immediately killed the great Xiongnu delegation that was staying at his court, and submitted to Ban Chao, who shortly afterward installed in Kashgar a new, more acceptable king.[163]

In 75 CE, however, the king of Yanqi killed the protector-general Chen Mu, and at the same time the ruler of Kucha attacked Ban Chao in Kashgar, whereupon, in 76 CE, the latter was recalled by Emperor Zhangdi (r. 75–88). Ban Chao, though, resisted the imperial order to evacuate the Western Regions, and clung on in Xiyu, using guerrilla tactics. After four years of fighting alone, Ban Chao proposed to the Emperor the idea of 'using barbarians against barbarians'.[164] Zhangdi agreed, and sent him 1,000 soldiers: some volunteers, some pardoned criminals. Over the next six years, Ban Chao, emerging as one of the most capable generals of the Eastern Han, succeeded in largely pacifying Xiyu and the Wusun, and in 91 CE Emperor Hedi (r. 88–105) appointed him protector-general.[165]

In the 80s, Ban Chao's diplomatic skills were particularly in demand. Zong, the king he had installed in Kashgar, first allied himself with Kangju, which had just contracted an alliance by marriage with the powerful Kushans of north India, and then, in 84 CE, rebelled against Ban Chao. Finding himself powerless in

23. Modern monument in honour of the general and protector-general Ban Chao (32–102 CE) in Kashgar, Xinjiang, China.

the face of Kangju's elite troops, the latter bribed the ruler of the Kushans, probably Vima Takto[166] (r. *ca*. 80–102?), with rich gifts of silk, to induce him to stop supporting the rebellious Zong. Three years later, with assistance from the Kushans, Ban Chao besieged Kashgar and mighty Kucha, and subjugated Yarkand. Yet in 88 CE, when the Kushans requested a Chinese princess in return for their help, Ban Chao stopped their richly laden mission and sent it back to north India. His honour offended, Vima Takto sent a 70,000-strong army across the Hindu Kush and through the Pamir mountains to attack Ban Chao, who quickly moved all grain stocks north-east. He used the nomads' strategy of pinprick attack and rapid retreat, allowing the enemy army to advance into the void and starve, until its leader, vice-king Xie, begged to be allowed to withdraw unmolested.[167] In this way Ban Chao prevented the Kushans from intervening in the affairs of Eastern Turkestan, where their ancestors had lived 250 years earlier, between 176 and 162 BCE. Although the Kushans' attempt to conquer Xiyu by military force had failed, their art and culture would soon become a lasting influence there, thanks to trade and the activity of Buddhist missionaries.

On the other hand, Ban Chao's attempt to make contact with the Roman Empire, the ultimate buyer of Chinese silks, ended in relative failure. After the rebellious Yanqi, too, had finally submitted in 94 CE, the three Silk Roads through the Tarim Basin were once again secure. The southern route led from Dunhuang to Loulan, branched south for the Shan-shan capital near Ruoqiang, and then continued westward to Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar. From Loulan the middle route followed the old course of the Tarim river, through Yingpan to Korla, Kucha and Kashgar, while the northern one led from Anxi to Korla via Hami and Turfan, or, avoiding the often unsafe Hami, left from Dunhuang to cross the eastern outliers of the Tian Shan Mountains, passing through Beiting via Qigujing before continuing to Turfan and Korla.[168] Of these three caravan routes, the northern was the easiest, but it remained vulnerable to Xiongnu raids, while the southern was the hardest, due to its long stretches through waterless desert. The Chinese pilgrim monk Xuanzang described it in connection with his return from India in 644 CE, noting that, 'There was no path, and wayfarers had to look for human and animal skeletons as road signs when they travelled'.[169] Leaving the choice of route aside, no private trading caravans travelled along the complete trade route; the pack animals were often exchanged, and the goods were temporarily kept in caravanserais or larger monasteries. It was different for the many envoys in Central Asia who under the pretext of bringing tribute to China actively conducted trade at their destinations of Chang'an or Luoyang. These semi-official caravans were often travelling for thousands of kilometres with their 'gifts' and the goods that they had traded them for in China. In this context, around 25 BCE the imperial adviser Du Qin cautioned against receiving a group of envoys from Jibin in north-west India: 'There are no members of the royal family or noblemen among those who bring the gifts; the latter are all merchants of low origin. They wish to exchange their goods and to conduct trade, under the pretext of presenting gifts.'[170]

In 97 CE Ban Chao sent the administrator Gan Ying in Xuanzang's footsteps, as it were, his mission being to find the Roman Empire, in Chinese called *Da Qin*. Through making direct contact with Rome, Ban Chao hoped to break the Parthian monopoly on trade by land by finding alternative routes, whether through the northern steppes or through an extension of maritime trade.[171] Gan Ying reached what is today the Iranian province of Khuzestan at the head of the Persian Gulf, where he allowed himself to be discouraged by the Parthians, as the *Hou Han Shu* reports: 'The ocean is huge. Those making the round trip can do it in three months if the winds are favourable. However, if you encounter winds that delay you, it can take two years . . . The vast ocean urges men to think of their country, and get homesick, and some die.'[172] The Parthians had deliberately deceived him, for there was a direct land route to Da Qin, from Ecbatana (Hamadan) through Ctesiphon (Baghdad) to the Roman city of Antioch. Their wiles were successful, as Gan Ying gave up and turned back. Direct contact between trade partners China and Rome would be established only 70 years later, when in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180) a Roman trade delegation landed on the coast of Vietnam and made its way to the Imperial Court. They probably had no official accreditation from Marcus Aurelius, and the gifts they brought with them were judged too ordinary: 'This was the very first time there was [direct] communication [between the two countries]. The tribute brought was neither precious nor rare, therefore raising suspicions that the accounts [of Da Qin] might have been exaggerated.'[173] The *Hou Han Shu*'s undertone of criticism of the Chinese government for having spurned the Roman delegation is unmistakeable here. For in those days, the opening of a direct sea route to Rome would have been of great advantage to China, as it had again lost control of the Western Regions.

In 95 CE Ban Chao made a remarkable foray into south-east Central Asia. From Khotan he crossed the Pamir Mountains, called in Chinese *Congling*, the 'Onion Mountains', and reached the fearsome *Xuandu*, the 'hanging passages' of the Karakorum

Mountains, in the upper Hunza Valley.[174] Perched high above the raging mountain torrent, and impassable by pack animals, the path consisted of 40- to 50-centimetre-wide wooden planks, or flat stones, laid loose on wooden supports driven into the cliff face. A fall meant certain death. Despite its dangers, this route from Tashkurgan in the Pamirs to Hunza and Gilgit in the Karakorum was one of the most important of the Silk Roads connecting the Tarim Basin to north India, as it was not only the shortest and fastest, but also almost snow-free – the 'Xuandu Route' was the only all-year link between the Western Regions and the Indus Valley and, beyond that, the Indian Ocean ports.

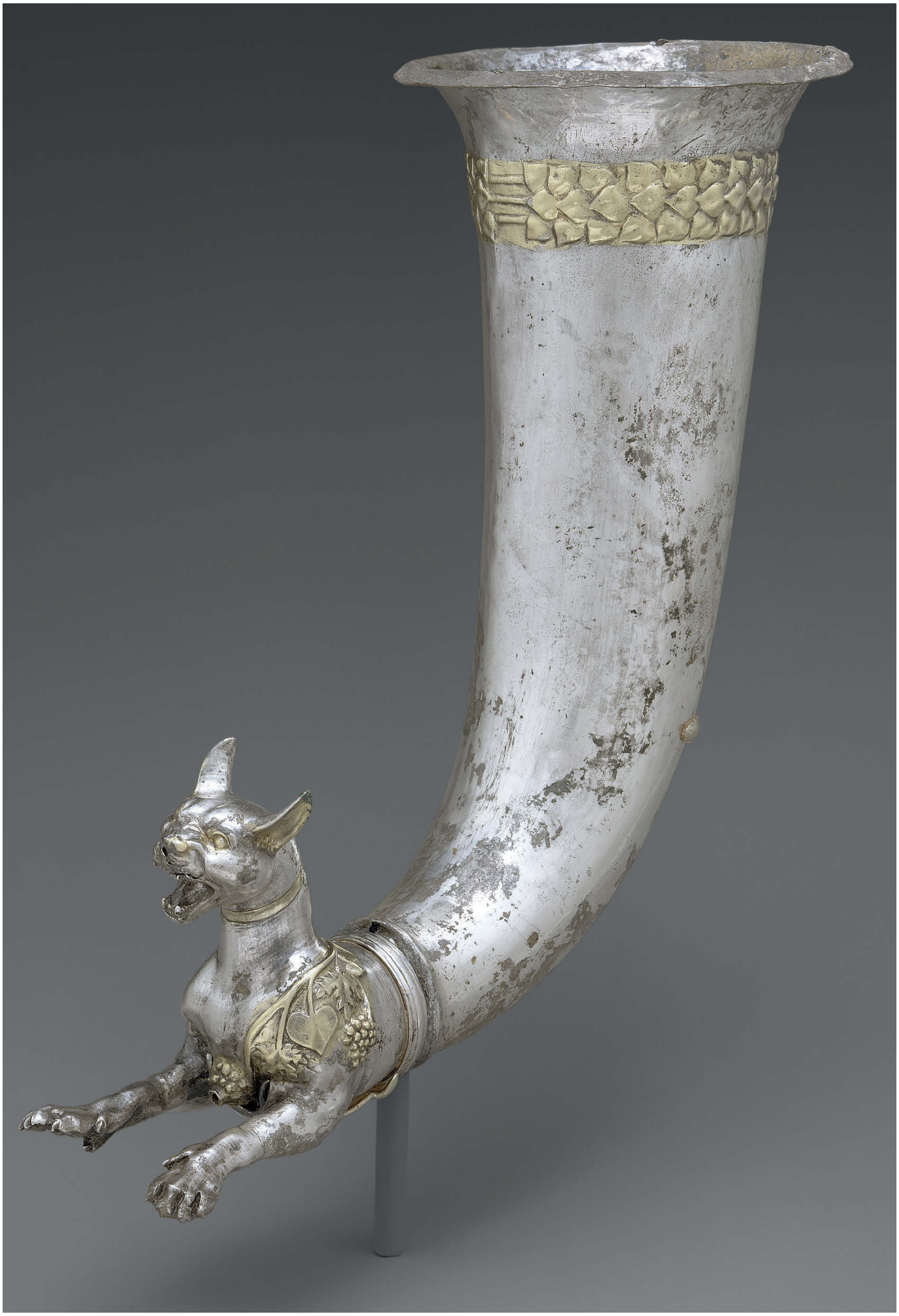
In 102 Ban Chao asked to be allowed to retire, and died on his return to Luoyang. His successor Ren Shang, however, was arrogant and not up to the job. After the rebellions in Xiyu in 106, which saw China lose all the territories north-west of Dunhuang to some Xiongnu tribes and suffer defeats at the hands of the Qiang of east Tibet, Ren Shang was executed in 119.[175] In 123, two decades after Ban Chao's departure from Xiyu, his son Ban Yong went back to Lukchun, east of Turfan, to drive out the Xiongnu who remained there. Within four years, he had succeeded in winning acknowledgement of China's supremacy from the *36 States*[176] of the West. Chenpan, the king of Kashgar whom the Kushans had installed by military force, also submitted, thereby putting paid to the Kushans' renewed attempt to gain a foothold in Kashgar.[177] In that same year of 127, Ban Yong was recalled. Over the following decades, China was able to maintain a certain supremacy over the Western Regions, until in 175 it withdrew its administrators and its soldiers, and ten years later even gave up Gansu.[178] It would be another 500 years before China once again had a presence in east Central Asia.

24. The Jeti Oguz valley south of Karakol in eastern Kyrgyzstan was probably the base of the 'Greater Kunmi', the main kings of the Wusun in the 1st c. BCE. The Chinese *Han Shu* called the royal court Chigu, meaning 'red valley'.[1]

2. The Wusun

A small tribal confederation, the Wusun lived in north-west Gansu and on the northern side of the Tian Shan Mountains. If, as seems very likely, they spoke an Iranian language, the Wusun would have belonged to the Saka cultural sphere.[179] When the neighbouring Yuezhi drove them from their lands in 173 BCE, killing their king **Nantoumi** (d. 173 BCE), they fled to the Xiongnu and asked for their protection. Laoshang Chanyu took them into his confederation, giving Nantoumi's son **Lieqiaomi** (r. ?–*ca.* 105 BCE), who bore the title of kunmo, command over the Wusun warriors. Some 40 years later, in 133 or 132 BCE, the kunmo was given a chance to avenge his father and find a new land of their own for his people: defeated by Laoshang in 162 BCE, the Yuezhi had for the most part fled westward, to the lush pastures of the Ili Valley and the lands bordering Lake Issyk Kul, driving south in turn the Saka who had lived there.[180] The kunmo 'asked permission of the Chanyu [Junchen] to avenge his father's wrongs. Going west he attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, who again fled south-west.'[181] The Wusun, who had a relatively small but highly effective army of mounted bowmen, settled on their new territory, incorporating the remaining Saka and Yuezhi, and declared independence from the chanyu. And as Modu had done, Lieqiaomi divided army and people into right and left halves.

As Zhang Qian reports, not long after 119 BCE there developed a power struggle between one of the kunmo's sons, rich in military experience, and Cenzou, the youthful son of the recently deceased crown prince. To avoid the prospect of civil war, the kunmo assigned separate regions to each of them, together with the associated military units, himself retaining overall command.[182] When some



25. Silver rhyton with mercury gilding terminating in the forepart of a wild cat, Parthian metalwork, 1st century BCE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

time after 108 BCE Lieqiaomi was given the Chinese princess Xijun for a wife, the chanyu immediately sent him a Xiongnu princess. In a careful political balancing act, the kunmo appointed Xijun 'Lady of the Right', and his Xiongnu wife 'Lady of the Left', the latter enjoying precedence. A little later, he gave Xijun to his grandson Cenzou, who soon succeeded him as kunmo, taking the name of **Junxumi** (r. *ca.* 105–?BCE). Xijun, however, had died not long before, prompting China to send Junxumi the princess Jieyou as a replacement. Junxumi was succeeded by his nephew **Wenguimi** (r. before 74–*ca.* 60 BCE), whom the Chinese called 'the Fat King'. In accordance with the practice of levirate marriage that prevailed among the nomadic horse peoples, which generally obliged a widow to marry the brother or a non-consanguineous son of her deceased husband, Jieyou then married the new ruler, Wenguimi. When in 74 BCE the Xiongnu and the state of Jushi came together to attack the Wusun, she asked the Chinese emperor for military assistance, leading to the two successful Chinese-Wusun joint campaigns of 71 BCE.[183]

When Wenguimi died around 60 BCE, Yuanguimi, the crown prince designated four years earlier, failed to enforce his claim, the chiefs raising to the throne instead Junxumi's son **Nimi** (r. *ca.* 60–55), whose mother was a Xiongnu. He was known to the Chinese as 'the Mad King'.[184] Once again the Chinese princess Jieyou had to marry the new ruler. However, as the Chinese government was incensed by the choice of Nimi as king of the Wusun, she sought to intervene in the domestic politics of her adoptive people, plotting with a Chinese envoy to have her third husband killed at a banquet. The attack miscarried, Nimi escaping with a wound, but new power struggles would soon break out that would lead to a division of the Wusun. In 55 BCE, Wenguimi's son **Wujiutu** (r. 55–53 BCE) killed Nimi and declared himself king, leading China to assemble an expeditionary force in Dunhuang. As the wife of Wusun's sub-king of the Right was a literate and diplomatically experienced Chinese woman named Feng Liao, Emperor Xuandi summoned her to him so that they might consult together. Accompanied by an escort and bearing official emblems of authority, Lady Feng then returned to the principal royal residence in Wusun, where she announced the division of the confederation: **Yuanguimi** (r. 53–51 BCE) was declared the 'Greater King', with 60,000 households under him, and **Wujiutu** (r. 53–?) the 'Lesser King', with 40,000.[185]

The division of the Wusun into two kingdoms brought not peace but a succession of weak rulers, assassinations, and costly Chinese interventions. The *Hou Han Shu* concludes the section on the Wusun with the resigned observation, 'From the time Wusun was split between the two Kunmi, Han suffered sorrows and troubles and had no years of tranquillity'.[186] That China exerted a strong cultural as well as political influence on the Wusun is evidenced in an exemplary manner by the famous gold diadem of Kargaly, which depicts an enchanted world of Daoist immortals.[187] For the *Hou Han Shu* the simultaneous visit of Great Kunmo Ichimi and Chanyu Wuzhuliuruodi to the court of Emperor Han Aidi (r. 7–1 BCE) in 1 BCE was 'a magnificent achievement',[188] even though China had to shower both rulers, nominally Chinese vassals, with outrageously costly gifts.[189] For the chanyu in particular, the presentation of symbolic tribute was such a profitable business that he would continually insist on being 'allowed' to pay homage to the emperor, while the Chinese court would be horror-struck by the financial implications. As regards the Wusun, the Chinese sources generally fall silent with the end of the Western Han. The Xianbei tribal confederation inflicted three heavy defeats on them in the mid-second century CE and in 318, after which they withdrew to the Tian Shan Mountains, and in the mid-fifth century were defeated by the Hephthalites.

3. The Parthians: An Empire between East and West

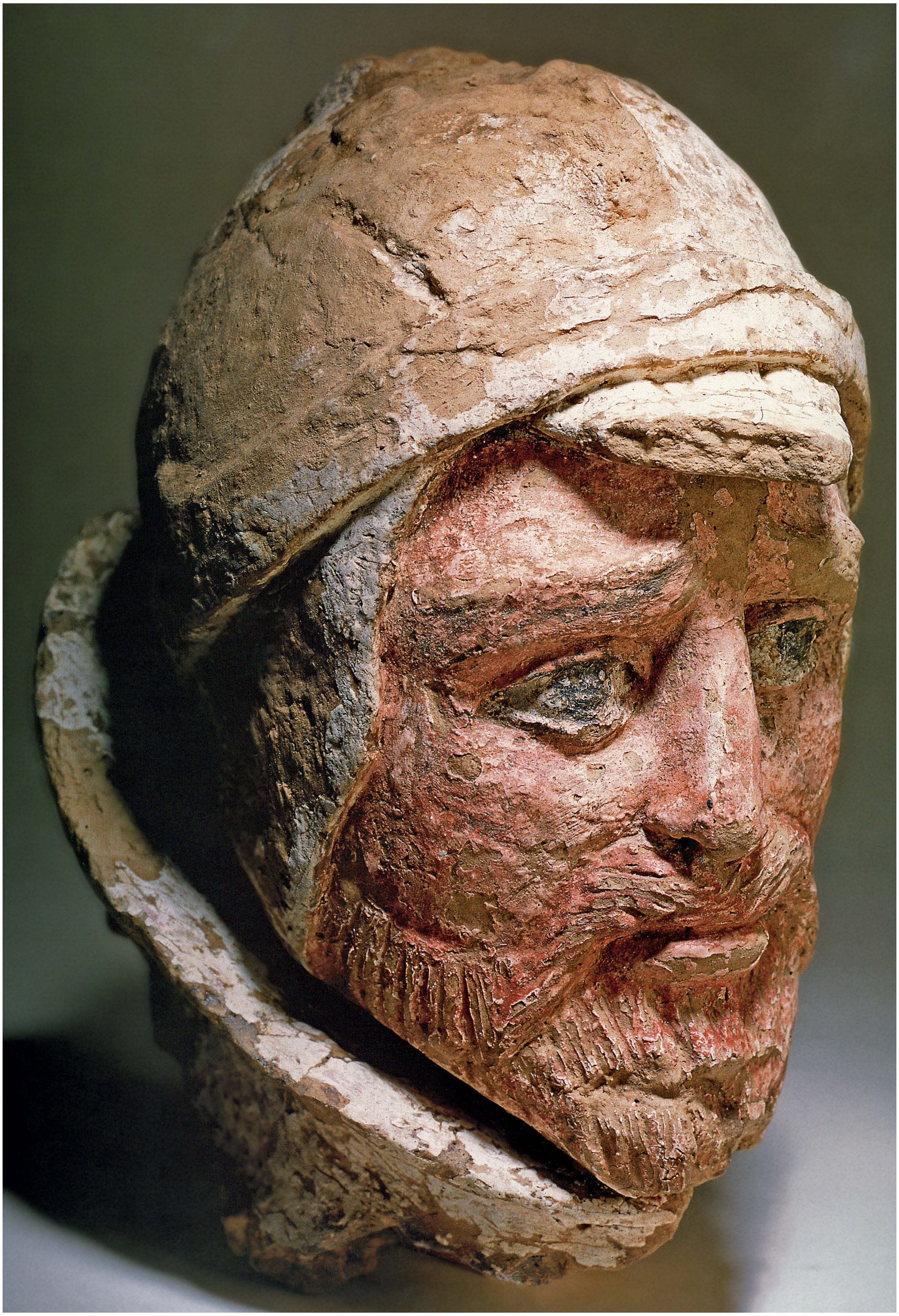
As recounted in volume I,[190] the Greek satraps of Parthia and Bactria – Andragoras (d. *ca.* 238 BCE) and Diodotus (*ca.* 285–235 BCE) – took advantage of the Near Eastern wars of Seleucid ruler Antiochus II (r. 261–246 BCE) and the latter's death in 246 BCE to assert their independence. At the same time, however, they found themselves facing attack by Saka horse nomads from the north. Mentioned by Strabo,[191] **Arsaces** (d. 218 or 211 BCE) was the leader of the semi-nomadic Parni tribe of equestrian people; he broke away from the Dahae confederation of Saka tribes, who lived east and south-east of the Aral Sea, to first attack Diodotus in Bactria: an attack which was successfully repelled. Arsaces then turned west to conquer Parthia, killing its ruler Andragoras around 238 BCE and then adopting the name of that province for the realm that he and his successors, the Arsacid dynasty,[192] would now govern in southern Turkmenistan and eastern Iran. The Parthian calendar began its reckoning of years in 247 BCE, presumably to coincide with the beginning of Arsaces' reign.[193] Some ten years later Seleucus II (r. 246–225 BCE) marched into Central Asia to recover the seceded satrapies. Arsaces first retreated, then formed an alliance with Saka tribes and the Greco-Bactrian king Diodotus II before going on either to defeat the already homeward-marching Seleucus II, as Justin tells, or to drive out of Parthia the occupying troops he had left behind.[194]

After stabilising his rule in the west, the Seleucid Antiochus III. (r. 223–187 BCE) embarked in 209 BCE on a new attempt to win back Parthia and Greco-Bactria. Advancing eastward with a strong army, he took the Parthian capital of Hecatompylos, not far from the south-eastern end of the Caspian Sea, whose name means 'city of a hundred gates', forcing **Arsaces II** (r. 218 or 211–*ca.* 191 BCE) to recognise Seleucid suzerainty.[195] Continuing his Central Asian campaign, Antiochus succeeded in defeating Euthydemus's cavalry but failed to capture the strongly fortified Bactrian capital Zariaspa (Balkh) in northern Afghanistan. When, after a two-year siege (208–206 BCE), Euthydemus threatened to form an alliance with the Saka nomads who lived on the northern border, Antiochus relinquished his claims and turned south to conquer Paropamisadae.[196] As Arsaces II's successor **Phriapatios** (r. *ca.* 191–176 BCE) appears to have struck no coin of his own, it is likely that Parthia remained a Seleucid vassal for more than 30 years. Phriapatios's own successor, his eldest son **Phraates I** (r. 176–171 BCE), threw off Seleucid overlordship and began the advance on the west that his brother and successor **Mithridates I** (r. 171–139 BCE) would bring to an end with the conquest of the Seleucid capital of Seleucia, not far from today's Baghdad, and with it the whole of Mesopotamia.[197]

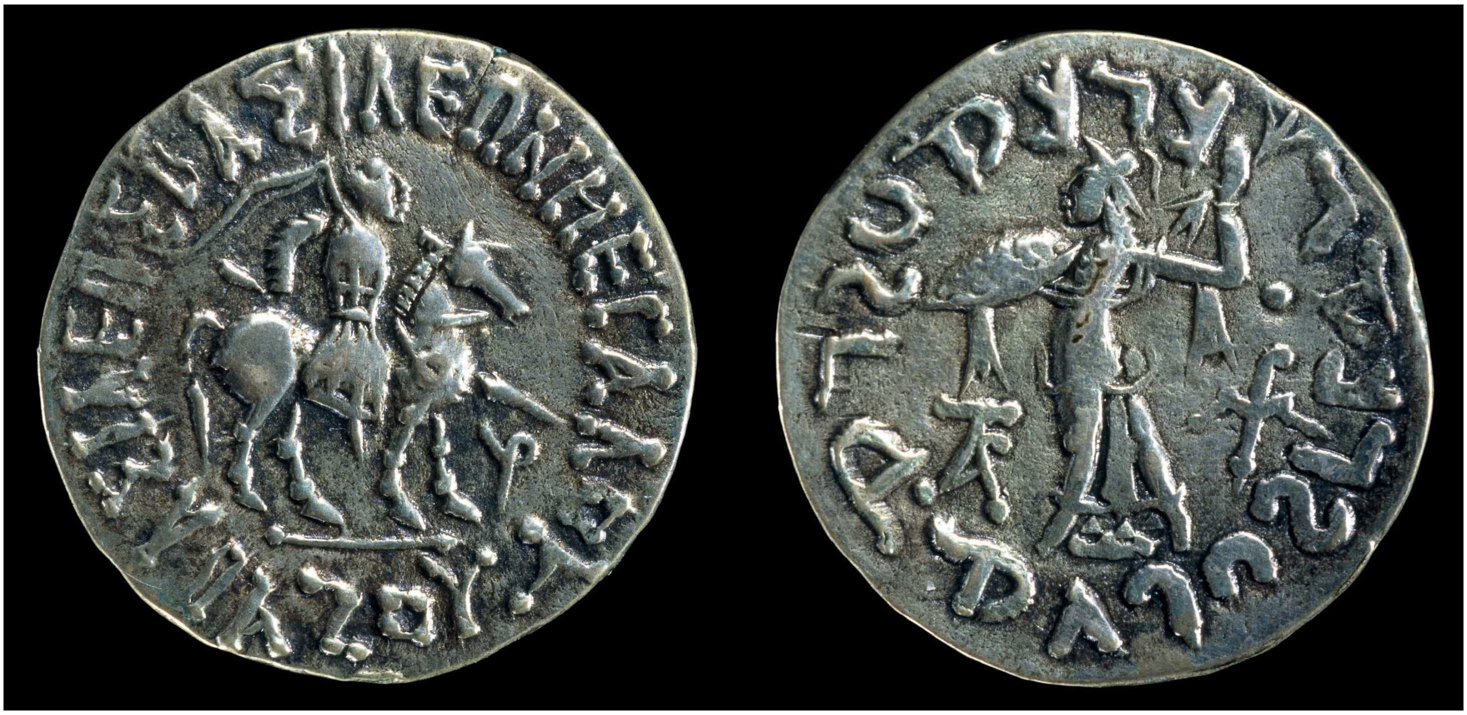
Mithridates also extended the Parthian Empire eastward, taking advantage of the departure of the Bactrian king Eucratides I (r. 171/70–145 BCE) on an expedition south of the Hindu Kush to capture the satrapies called Turiva and Aspionus by Strabo – which most probably included the important trading city of Herat. Then, shortly before Eucratides' death, Mithridates also robbed him of Margiana and the city of Merv.[198] By taking possession of the important cities of Herat and Merv, Mithridates had laid the foundation for control of the eminently important middle section of two of the overland Silk Roads, namely those from China and from northern India to Rome: control of these trade routes provided the economic basis for the power and wealth of the Parthian Empire. The delegation that Zhang Qian sent to Mithridates II in the years between 119 and 115 BCE would lead the Parthian king to realise the immense economic potential implied by control over the trade route and the power to tax the goods that travelled it.[199] As the *Hou Han Shu* reports, Parthian emissaries later arrived at the imperial court, as for example in the year 87 CE: 'This kingdom [Parthia] sent an envoy to offer lions and fuba [Persian gazelle]. The fuba looks like a female unicorn but it has no horn.'[200] Lions, gazelles and the ostrich or 'Anxi bird' were valued as lucky 'creatures of the West'. Mithridates I also went on to contrive the downfall of Eucratides, still a dangerous military opponent, probably helping the latter's arch-enemy, the son of Demetrius I whom Eucratides had overthrown and killed in battle, to ambush and kill the unsuspecting king.[201] Set upon the throne of Bactria by Mithridates, Demetrius II (r. 145–?) would very soon be removed by Heliocles (r. *ca.* 145–130 BCE).

With the conquest of Mesopotamia, the Parthian Empire's centre of gravity moved westward, not least because its first capital, Nisa in the Parthian heartland, was increasingly threatened by the attacks of savage Saka horse nomads. Three factors led the Parthians to shift their strategic focus west: firstly the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes, the last great Seleucid ruler, who fell in battle against **Phraates II** (r. 138–128 BCE) in 129 BCE, which saw the Seleucid Empire reduced to its Syrian territories; secondly, Parthian intervention in Armenian politics; and thirdly, Roman expansion to the east. The advancing Roman border soon halted on the Euphrates, the Parthian cavalry with its armoured horse archers inflicting many grievous reverses on Roman forces, most spectacularly in 53 BCE at Carrhae, when the legions of Crassus – the ally of Caesar and Pompey in the First Triumvirate – were lured into the desert and crushingly defeated.

Regardless of this turn to the west, nomadic migrations triggered in 133/32 BCE by the Wusun's expulsion of the Yuezhi from the Ili Valley and the Issyk Kul region made the Parthian Empire's Central Asian 'backyard' a perpetual trouble spot.[202] For the Yuezhi then went to Bactria, pushing the Saka who lived there further south, where beyond the Hindu Kush they encountered the Indo-Greek Kingdom, which turned them west towards Herat in the eastern Parthian Empire.[203] Some of these Saka horsemen were recruited as mercenaries by Phraates II, to fight against Antiochus VII when he invaded Media. When the latter was killed in a chance encounter, Phraates wanted to dismiss without compensation the mercenaries he no longer required, whereupon the Saka set about looting Media, and in 128 BCE they defeated and killed the Parthian king in battle.[204] His successor **Artabanus I** (r. 128–123 BCE) also fell in battle against the Saka, struck in the arm by a poisoned arrow.[205] Only **Mithridates II** (r. 123–88/87 BCE) succeeded in dealing with the Saka, forcing some out into the Indus Valley, and resettling others in Sakastan, today's Sistan.[206] The minor Saka principalities established there remained within the Parthian sphere of influence, some of them becoming Parthian vassals. That the Saka continued to play an important role in the Empire was made evident when in 78 BCE they raised to the throne



26. Head of a Saka warrior. Painted terracotta, Khalchayan, southern Uzbekistan, 2nd half of 1st c. CE. The State Museum of History, Tashkent.



27. Silver tetradrachm of the Indo-Saka ruler Azes I (r. 57–*ca.* 30 or 20 BCE). The representation of the ruler as an equestrian warrior on the obverse emphasises the horse nomad cultural heritage to which he belongs. On the reverse the goddess Pallas Athene holds her shield and thunderbolt. The legend 'of the king of kings Azes the Great' is Greek on the obverse and Kharoshthi on the reverse. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

of Parthia the Arsacid prince **Sanatruces** (r. 78/77–70 BCE), who had lived among them.[207]

'The kingdoms of Parthia are eighteen in all': so wrote Pliny the Elder of Rome's eastern neighbour.[208] Parthia was never as centralised as the Achaemenid Empire that preceded it or the Sassanid Empire that followed, being a typical feudal state. Some provinces were governed by semi-autonomous local dynasties, their rulers styling themselves kings and striking some coins of their own. Among them was the 'King of Kings, the great Sanabares', who ruled as a rival king in Merv in the second half of the first century CE.[209] There were also territories and provinces directly subject to the great king, which he had administered by his own satraps.[210] The king's power was not unlimited: he had to take into account the divergent interests of members of the Arsacid clan: 'The king stood at the head of the state, but royal power was regarded as the collective property of the Arsacid family.'[211] Because of this, the great kings who followed Sanatruces were often weak, having to fight civil wars or falling victim to assassination. In 224 CE Artabanus IV (r. *ca.* 213–224) would lose a decisive battle against the rebellious king of the province of Fars, Ardashir by name, who then went on to found the Sassanid Empire (224–651).[212]

The Parthian Empire was divided and diverse not only in government but also in culture and religion. While Iranian languages dominated in the east, in the west it was the Semitic language Aramaic, and in the cities Greek. But even in the east, the Parthian elites were anchored in Hellenistic culture, thanks to the Greco-Bactrian influence. Because of this, and in view of the great commercial importance of the relatively autonomous Greek-speaking cities, Parthian silver drachms had Greek inscriptions, and Greek was also used to some extent as a language of official administration. The strength of the Parthian elite's identification with Hellenistic culture is revealed by Mithridates I's description of himself, on his coinage, as 'philhellene', 'friend of the Greeks'. It was only with Vologases I (r. 51–76/79), traditionally accounted responsible for the first codification of the Avesta, the primary collection of sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, that the royal name began to appear on the coinage in Aramaic script. This policy of rejecting the Greek language and Hellenism in favour of promoting the Parthian and even the Achaemenid heritage had already been initiated by Artabanus II (r. 10–36/38), also as a return to their own, oriental values in the context of their growing enmity with Rome, the champion of Hellenistic culture.[213] Parthian culture developed into a synthesis of Hellenistic, Achaemenid, Old Parthian and local elements. Aramaic grew in importance as a language of international communication, and as the language of the Arsacids' external contacts, and it served as the basis for the development of a script for the Middle Iranian Parthian language, the vowel-less, right-to-left, Arsacid Pahlavi.[214]

The Parni's original religion is unknown, but in penetrating the Seleucid Empire they encountered the Greek and Old Iranian pantheons and also Zoroastrian beliefs. In all likelihood, the rulers of Parthia adopted the Zoroastrianism of the day some time after the establishment of the empire. Writing around the beginning of the Christian Era about a trade route through Parthia, the geographer Isidore of Charax mentions the existence there of what one supposes to be a royal fire temple: 'the city of Asaac, in which Arsaces was first proclaimed king; and an everlasting fire is guarded there.'[215] The Nisa ostraca (potsherds with inscriptions) show that the Parthians also used the Zoroastrian calendar alongside their own. Yet the privileged position accorded to Zoroastrianism did not at all prevent the continuing practice of the old religions or the spread of new ones. Particularly in the cities and among the nobility, the Greek gods remained popular, being worshipped in the guise of Old Iranian divinities: Zeus as Ahura Mazda, Apollo as Mithra, Heracles as Verethraghna, and Athena as Nanaia, who had a temple in Parthia.[216] A similar fusion of the gods of one religion with the characteristic visual representations of those of another would also be found among the Sogdians of medieval Central Asia.[217] The south-eastern periphery of the Parthian Empire also witnessed the growth of Buddhism, one of the first translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese being an Indo-Parthian prince called An Shigao (d. 168).[218] Christian communities, too, sprouted up across the whole empire, from Adiabene (northern Iraq) in the west to the Kushans in the east, in western Afghanistan or Bactria.[219]

In the *Parthian Stations* Isidore identifies one of the next halts north-east of the royal fire temple as the city of Parthaunisa. 'Beyond [Asaac] is Parthyena, 25 schoeni [*ca.* 140 kilometres], within which is a valley, and the city of Parthaunisa after 6 schoeni [*ca.* 34 kilometres]; there are royal tombs. But the Greeks call it Nisaea.'[220] While this city is most likely identical with the ruin complex called New Nisa, 18 kilometres west of today's city of Asghabat in southern Turkmenistan, no trace of a necropolis has yet been discovered there. What Soviet archaeologists did find nearby in the 1930s was a cult complex of the late third or early second century BCE, later renamed Mithradatkert in honour of Mithridates I or II.[221] Surrounded by a city wall of rammed earth with rectangular towers, the 28-hectare city of Parthaunisa possessed a citadel and a temple. A kilometre and a half from New Nisa stood the strongly fortified cult complex of Old Nisa, with a number of monumental buildings. Among them are the 'Square Hall', where painted clay statues once stood, the 'Round Temple' with a 'Round Tower', both used for cultic purposes, and finally the 'Large Square Building', also called 'Red Building', in which the archaeologists discovered, in walled-up rooms, an archive of more than 2,700 Parthian ostraca as well as marble statues of Greek origin, valuable silver coins from different lands, a silver mirror with Animal Style decoration and more than 40 ivory rhytons. Tapering down to a figurative finial, these drinking horns show not only Central Asian motifs such as griffins but also Hellenistic ones such as centaurs and Dionysiac scenes. The building served either as a royal treasure house or for the safe keeping of the funerary goods of the Parthian rulers. The already derelict complex was completely destroyed by an earthquake in 454.[222] The strong influence of Hellenistic art on the Mithradatkert complex also finds expression in the absence of strict frontality that characterises post-Hellenistic Parthian sculpture, which also marks the self-representations of the Kushan rulers and even leaves its traces in the Early Buddhist sculpture of Gandhara.[223]

4. Kingdoms of Central Asian Peoples in Afghanistan and the North of the Indian Subcontinent

From the middle of the second to the middle of the first century BCE the Hindu Kush on the south-eastern margin of Central Asia witnessed major migrations by the Saka and the Yuezhi. The first wave of Saka horse nomads to leave the Issyk Kul region around 162 BCE saw some of the expelled Saka move to the western Tarim Basin, especially to the Khotan Oasis, leading to the development of the Khotanese Saka language and culture.[224] As the *Han Shu* reports, a second group crossed the Pamir and the Hindu Kush to settle in Kashmir, where Emperor Wudi sent a number of missions, without success. A military intervention proved equally fruitless.[225] The third group finally settled in Sogdiana and Bactria, from where the Yuezhi again pushed them out around 132 BCE. These Saka made their way to the province of Aria (Herat) and deeper into the Parthian Empire. It was only after the death in battle of two Parthian kings that Mithridates II (r. 123–88/87 BCE) managed to resettle the Saka in Sakastan, today's Sistan, and drive others of them into the Indus Valley, where they clashed with the Indo-Greek kingdoms.

Although the little pre-Kushan kingdoms and the Kushan Empire lay south of the Hindu Kush, they were all established by Central Asian peoples, and through Buddhism and the Gandhara school of art that it inspired they would come to have a decisive influence not only on pre-Islamic Central Asia but also on China, Japan and Korea. A brief account of them will therefore be given here.

4.1 The Indo-Greek Kingdoms

The foundations for the Indo-Greek kingdoms were laid by the Greco-Bactrian king **Demetrius I** (r. *ca*. 195–171/70 BCE), when he conquered the provinces of Arachosia, Drangiana, and Gandhara in the Kabul Valley. This successful extension of the Greco-Bactrian Empire south of the Hindu Kush marked the beginning of the Yavana Era, the Indo-Greek reckoning of time, counted from 186/85 BCE.[226] Apart from a few inscriptions and mentions in chronicles, the history of the Indo-Greek kingdoms, which extended as far as the eastern Punjab, has to be reconstructed from their coinage. Coins of 37 Greek rulers are known altogether, but these do not form a chronological series, since two or three of them were reigning at the same time in small neighbouring kingdoms.[227] Demetrius I was succeeded by his presumed sub-kings, **Agathocles** in Paropamisadae (Kabul Valley) and **Pantaleon** in Arachosia (Kandahar), before **Apollodotus I** (r. ?–165 BCE) brought both areas under his rule, together with western Punjab. Given that they had Indian subjects, these kings began to strike bilingual coins, first in Greek and Brahmi, and a little later in Greek and Kharoshthi.[228] The next Indo-Greek ruler of importance was **Menander I** (r. *ca*. 165/155–130 BCE), who repelled the attack of the Greco-Bactrian king Eucratides I (r. 171/70–145 BCE), consolidating the Indo-Greek rulers' independence from Greco-Bactria. Menander expanded his empire to eastern Punjab, and advanced deep into the Ganges Valley, which formed part of the Sunga Empire; he is said to have destroyed the city of Pataliputra, today's Patna in Bihar, without, however, succeeding in laying claim to the Ganges Valley.[229]

Menander is known above all for his reported conversion to Buddhism. According to the Buddhist tradition of the Pali text *Milindapanha* or 'The Questions of Milinda', King Menander was very knowledgeable in matters of philosophy and an extremely accomplished rhetorician. After government business was done, he enjoyed conversing with philosophers and representatives of different religions, among them Buddhists, but none of his numerous interlocutors was able to answer his questions or meet his arguments. At the conclusion of one debate with the Buddhist abbot Ayupala he is said to have scoffingly exclaimed: 'All India is an empty thing, it is verily like chaff! There is no one, either Samana or Brahma, capable of discussing things with me and dispelling my doubts!'[230] At that time, however, the sage Nâgasena had arrived in Menander's capital Sagala, today's Sialkot, on the Indo-Pakistani border. Menander went to see him and for the first time encountered an interlocutor of sufficient ability, who succeeded in convincing him of the truth of Buddhist teaching. Their days-long discussion ended, so tradition tells, with Menander's request: 'May the venerable Nâgasena accept me as a supporter of the faith, as a true convert from today onwards as long as life shall last!'[231] That Menander really did become a Buddhist is as debatable as the supposed conversion of Kanishka I, king of the Kushans, yet there is much evidence that Buddhism flourished in Menander's realm and that many Greeks joined the Sangha, the Buddhist monastic order, and propagated Buddhist teaching as missionaries. Nonetheless, the legend of Menander's conversion summarises the development of the Early Buddhist art of Gandhara in the form of an allegory according to which Indian thought found a perfect visual expression in Hellenistic forms.

On Menander's death the provinces broke apart, and he would be followed by 20 Greek kings before Hermaios and Archebios, the last Greeks to rule outside the eastern Punjab. Menander's immediate successors were probably **Zoilos I** in Paropamisadae and Menander's widow Queen **Agathokleia** in Gandhara and western Punjab, ruling as regent for her son **Strato I**, still a minor. It is notable that the bilingual coinage of many Greek kings bore on the reverse a Buddhist-sounding legend in Kharoshthi, *Maharajasa dharmikasa*, followed by the name of the monarch, whether Agathokleia, Strato I, Strato II, Zoilos I, Heliocles II, Peukolaos, Theophilos or Archebios. The royal self-description *Maharajasa dharmikasa* means 'great king, follower of the dharma'; that is, of Buddhist teaching – a title very close to that of the great Buddhist king Ashoka (r. 268–234/32 BCE), *Dharmaraja*, the king who follows the teaching. Buddhism seems to have come to occupy so prominent a place in the Greek kingdoms that their rulers portrayed themselves as proponents of its teachings, and some of them may have been Buddhists themselves. It would, however, be wrong to conclude that Buddhism was then dominant, for on the other side of the same coins one finds, as well as relatively infrequent Buddhist symbols such as the eight-spoked wheel or the triratna symbol,[232] such Greek deities as Zeus with his lightning, the armed Athena, or Nike, goddess of victory.[233] In Paropamisadae, the last Greek king, **Hermaios** (r. *ca*. 90–70 BCE), was driven out by

28. Head of a Kushan prince, clay and stucco, Dalverzin Tepe, southern Uzbekistan, 1st–2nd c. CE. The State Museum of History, Tashkent.

the Yuezhi around 70 BCE, while in Arachosia and Gandhara **Archebios** (r. *ca.* 90–80 BCE) had to yield to the Saka ruler Maues around 80 BCE. The very last of the Greek kings, **Strato II** (r. *ca.* 25 BCE–10 CE), was able to hold out with his son and joint ruler **Strato III** in eastern Punjab until around 10 CE, when he was defeated and killed by the Indo-Scythian satrap of Mathura.

4.2 The Indo-Saka Rulers

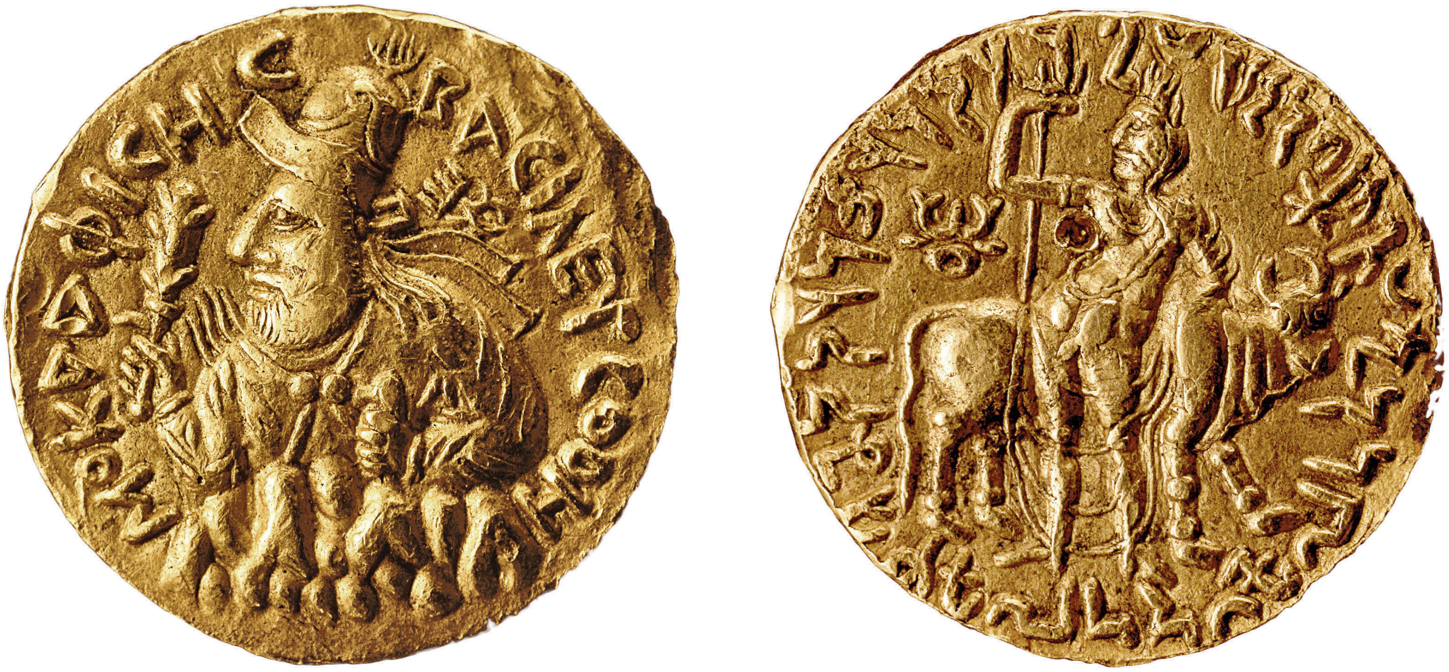
Maues (r. *ca.* 85–60 BCE), the first Indo-Saka king, crossed the Karakorum with his horsemen and joined with Saka from Sistan before conquering Arachosia and Gandhara and minting coins in Taxila. Traces of his passage through the Karakorum are to be found in the many petroglyphs in the Scythian Animal Style that survive in such places as Chilas, Thalpan, Shatial, Gilgit and in Hunza, where later rock engravings and inscriptions by Sogdian traders, and Buddhists and Hindus both monastic and secular are all to be seen. Karl Jettmar rightly called 'the drawings and inscriptions on [today's] Karakorum Highway the visitors' book of the Silk Road'.[234] However, the Greek kings Apollodotos II and Hippostratos regained Taxila not long afterwards, so that the power of the Parthian-named Indo-Saka king **Vonones**, and his brother and co-ruler **Spalahores** was limited to Arachosia. In 57 BCE, during the reign of his successor **Spalagdames**, another Saka group suffered defeat at the hands of Vikramaditya, king of Malava, in Ujjain, west central India, an event said to have been the basis for the introduction of the Vikram Samvat calendar, still used today in India and Nepal.[235] Some authors, however, take the view that the Vikram Era, which starts in 57 BCE, celebrates the accession to power of the Indo-Scythian king **Azes I** (r. 57–*ca.* 30 or 20 BCE) and his reconquest of the western Punjab and Taxila.[236] Azes' rule now extended from Arachosia in the west to Mathura, central India, in the east. Another reckoning of time still in use in India is the Saka Era, introduced by the Saka Western Satraps of Ujjain in 78 CE.[237] Azes I was succeeded by **Azilises** and **Azes II**, then the empire fell apart, to be conquered by a succession of Indo-Parthian rulers. In the east, the 'Northern Satraps of Mathura' later fell to the Kushans, while in the west the 'Western Satraps of Ujjain', descendants of Saka who had migrated from Sistan, enjoyed a certain autonomy until 388.[238] As explained below, the Bimaran Reliquary – one of the earliest Buddhist sculptures and one of the most treasured representations of the Buddha – may have been produced in the age of Azes II (fig. 46).

4.3 The Indo-Parthian Kingdom

Early in the first century CE a Parthian princely family declared itself independent and from its base in Sistan embarked upon the conquest of the Indo-Saka Empire. The first Indo-Parthian king was **Gondophares I** (r. *ca.* 20–46), who extended his rule to eastern Punjab but did not succeed in reducing the satraps of Mathura and Ujjain to subjection. Gondophares is known from the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, for he is the king to whom the Apostle travelled just after the Crucifixion and for whom he allegedly worked as carpenter and master builder.[239] Even though the historical truth of this account cannot be confirmed, it is plausible in so far as there existed a busy maritime trade between the Roman Empire and northern India, and artists from the eastern Mediterranean were indeed active there. Gondophares' empire began to fall apart under his successor **Abdagases**, when Kujula Kadphises, the first ruler of the Kushans, robbed the latter first of the Kabul Valley and then Gandhara, Taxila and Kashmir. In eastern Punjab and Sindh, nine Indo-Parthian kings managed to hang on to their ever-decreasing territories until the end of the first century, probably as vassals of the mighty Kushans.[240]

4.4 The Yuezhi and the Kushan Empire

As explained in volume I, the Europids, who migrated into Xinjiang towards the end of the third millennium BCE, were probably speakers of an Indo-European, Proto-Tocharian language with linguistic affinities to Celtic and Italic, and hardly any with later subdivisions of the Indo-Iranian language group. This extinct Proto-Tocharian language can be reconstructed from written documents from the Tarim Basin, dating from the sixth to the ninth century CE, which attest to three different Tocharian languages: Tocharian A, also called Turfanian, was mostly a religious language; Tocharian B, or Kuchean, was a local vernacular, and Tocharian C, or Krorainic, was an older language spoken in the Lop Nor that died out around the fourth century CE.[241] Whether the most probably Europid Yuezhi who originally dwelt west of the Ordos Desert also spoke a proto-Tocharian language remains uncertain, despite many pointers in that direction. The name that in Modern Mandarin is pronounced Yuehzi was in Old Chinese pronounced 'Tokwar' or 'Togwar', very close to 'Tochar-ian'.[242] It is, however, clear that the Τόχαροι (Tocharoi) of Strabo, who 'took Bactria from the Greeks' are identical with the Yuezhi described by Sima Qian.[243] In the fourth century, after the end of the age of



29. Gold double stater of the Kushan ruler Vima Kadphises (r. *ca.* 102–127 CE). Vima Kadphises reformed the coinage of the Kushan Empire and introduced the first gold coinage in India, which was based on the Roman weight standard of the stater. The obverse with the Greek legend 'King Vima Kadphises' shows the ruler holding a club, and with flames rising from his shoulders which indicate his divine right to rule. The reverse portrays the god Oesho, whose features anticipate the representation of the Hindu god Shiva with his trident and his bull, Nandi. The Kharoshthi legend proclaims: 'Of the king of kings, lord of the world, Vima Kadphises the Great, the Saviour.' The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

the Kushans, direct descendants of the Yuezhi, Bactria began to be called 'Tocharistan'.[244]

4.4.1 The 'Long March' of the Yuezhi

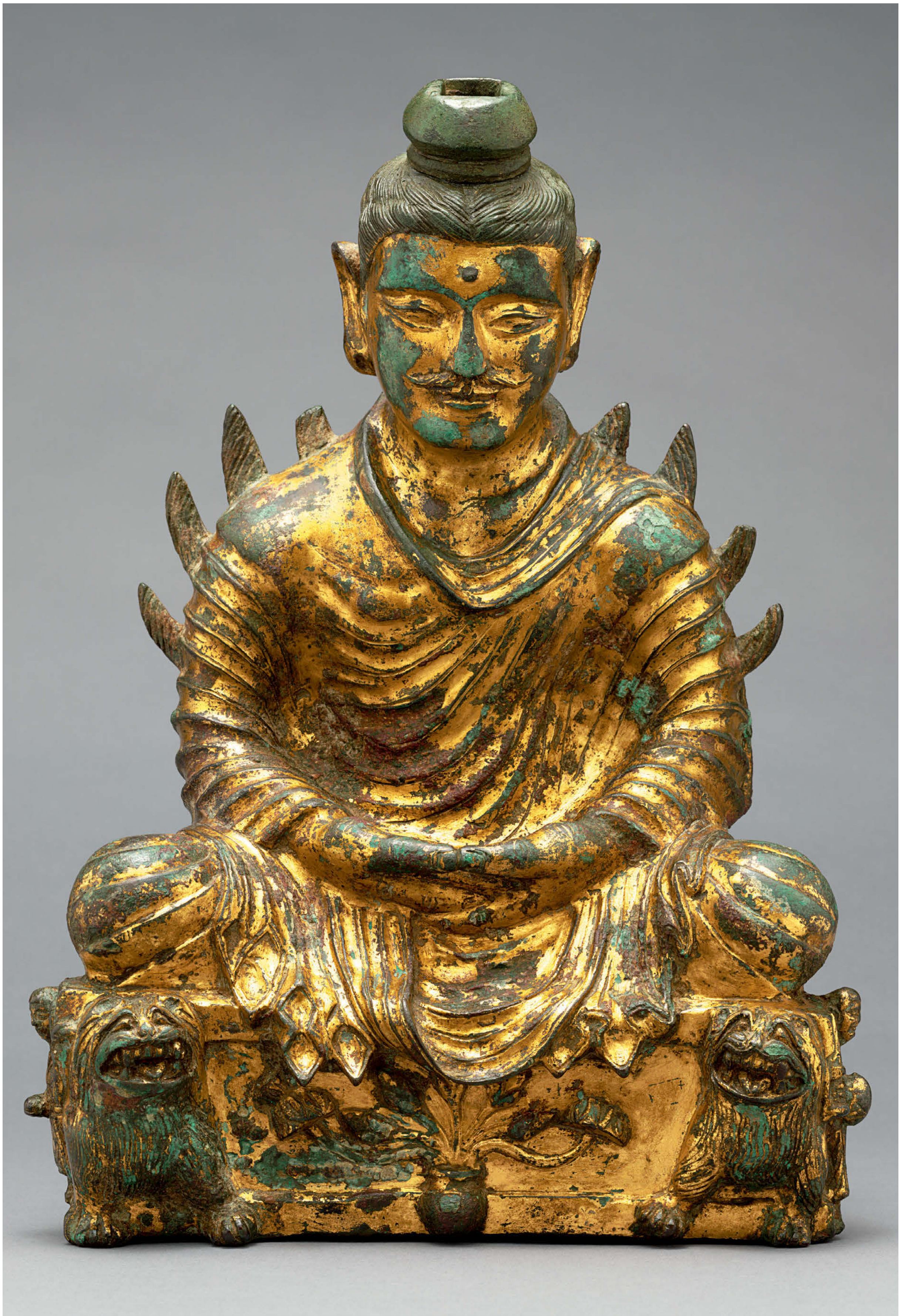
The Yuezhi make their first appearance in the historical record in Sima Qian's account in the *Shiji* of their wars against the Xiongnu.[245] After a first victory over their then vassals, the Xiongnu, in 209 BCE, they suffered three heavy defeats at the hands of these same Xiongnu in 208–207, 176 and 162 BCE, after which they broke up into three or four separate groups. The largest, called by Zhang Qian the 'Great Yuezhi', fled westward and took the Ili Valley from the Saka who lived there, while the 'Lesser Yuezhi' went south, seeking refuge among the north Tibetan Qiang on the borders of today's Gansu and Qinghai provinces.[246] A yet smaller third group settled in the Tarim Basin, as might be inferred from Xuanzang's mention of the kingdom of Duohuoluo not far from the ruins of Endere whose Chinese name probably corresponds to 'Tukhara'.[247] It may be that a fourth fraction reached the southern Chinese province of Yunnan, as is suggested by the famous animal combat motifs found on the bronze buckles of the Dian culture that existed there between the second century BCE and the second century CE.[248]

The Greater Yuezhi were driven out of the Ili Valley by the Wusun in 133 or 132 BCE, when they fled south, expelling in their turn the Saka who lived in Sogdiana and Bactria. As Sima Qian reports, the Yuezhi conquered the little principalities of Bactria,[249] plundering a number of cities, such as Aï Khanum, but leaving the agricultural irrigation systems unharmed. By around 80 BCE they held the whole of Bactria. Kangju, however, falling in the north into the Xiongnu sphere of influence and bordering in the south on the Yuezhi, had nominally to recognise the suzerainty of both its neighbours.[250] The Kushans celebrated the Yuezhi victory over the Saka in a sculptural frieze of the second half of the first century CE at their dynastic cult centre of Khalchayan, north of Termez in southern Uzbekistan. Almost life-size figures in painted clay look down from the three walls of the great hall; they represent members of the ruling house, Hellenic and Iranian deities such as a warlike Athena, Heracles, Nike goddess of victory, and a Mithra or Zeus with radiate halo, as well as a group of variously armed horse warriors (fig. 26). These last represent a battle between the victorious mounted bowmen of the Yuezhi and the defeated, heavily armoured Saka.[251] The Khalchayan sculptures represent a crucial link between a Greco-Bactrian art inspired by Hellenistic and Iranian formal conceptions and two later artistic tendencies: on the one hand the monumental frontality of the dynastic art of the Kushans, and on the other the early Gandhara School. The Khalchayan sculptures were also a visual expression of the traditional nomadic life of the Yuezhi. The Yuezhi's adaptation to their new, Bactrian environment is also reflected in their abandonment of their (probably) Proto-Tocharian language in favour of the east Iranian Bactrian language.[252] Bactria thus became the cradle of the later Kushan culture.

4.4.2 The Kushan Empire

Our knowledge of the later history of the Yuezhi and the rise of the Kushan dynasty comes from coins, the *Hou Han Shu*, and a number of inscriptions such as the famous Rabatak inscription in central Afghanistan from the year 132/33, uncovered in 1993 by mujahideen as they were digging a trench. The *Hou Han Shu* reports that 'The Yuezhi moved to Bactria and divided up this kingdom between five xihou [princes]. . . . More than hundred years later, the prince of Guishuang [Kushan], named Qiujuque [Kujula Kadphises], attacked and exterminated the four other xihou. He established himself as king, and his dynasty was called that of the Guishang [Kushan] King. He invaded Anxi [the Indo-Parthian Kingdom], and took the Gaofu [Kabul] region. . . . Qiujuque [Kujula Kadphises] was more than eighty years old when he died. His son Yangozhen [Vima Takto] . . . became king in his place. He defeated Tianzhu [north-western India].'[253] The Rabatak inscriptions confirm Kujula Kadphises as the founder of the dynasty and identify his successors as Vima Takto, Vima Kadphises and Kanishka; kingship descended directly from father to son.[254] We also know of three ancestors of Kujula Kadphises, six Great Kings, and five kings of a rump state in the east of the empire.

Kujula Kadphises' predecessors in Bactria and southern Uzbekistan are known only from coins; one of them is **Saparbizes**, also known as Sapalbizes, whose name, however, has an Indo-Saka ring, and another is **Arseiles**; both ruled in the last two decades of the first millennium BCE.[255] **Heraios** (r. *ca*. 0–30 CE) was the first Kushan prince to describe himself on his coins as 'Ruler of the Kushans';[256] he probably ruled the rich valley of Surkhan Darya in southern Uzbekistan.[257] Heraios was succeeded by **Kujula Kadphises**, perhaps his son (r. *ca*. 30–80 CE), who first conquered the other four Yuezhi princedoms, so founding the Kushan Empire. On the death of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares in 46 CE he took from the latter's successor the Kabul Valley, Swat, and Gandhara with the region of Peshawar and Taxila, and seized Kashmir from the Indo-Scythians.[258] When the Yuezhi under Kujula Kadphises reached Peshawar, then called Purushapura, later Kanishka's winter capital, their almost 4,000-kilometre 'Long March' from the Ordos Desert via the Issyk Kul, the Oxus and



30. Fire-gilt bronze seated Buddha Shakyamuni in meditation, with hands in the Dhyana mudra position and flaming shoulders. This figure in the Gandhara style was possibly made in China towards the end of the 2nd century CE[2]. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge.

Kabul came to an end. After these conquests south of the Hindu Kush, Kujula Kadphises and his successor Vima Takto consolidated Kushan rule over northern Bactria.[259]

The coins struck by Kujula Kadphises are characterised by a remarkable diversity, for he adapted them to each of the recently conquered regions: in Bagram (Kabul), coins imitated their Indo-Greek predecessors, in Gandhara the Indo-Parthian, in Kashmir the Indo-Saka, and in Bactria the Greco-Bactrian. In Taxila, however, he anticipated the great reform of the coinage that would be undertaken by his grandson Vima Kadphises, introducing a new coin patterned upon the Roman silver denarius of Emperor Augustus, testimony to a thriving maritime trade with Rome.[260] Also worthy of particular note is a bronze coin attributed to Kujula Kadphises that features Zeus on the obverse, and on the reverse a seated figure with legs crossed and right hand raised, together with the Kharoshthi inscription *dharmathidasa*, which signifies 'steadfast in the teaching'. If the attribution is correct, these coins represent one of the earliest attempts at a canonical figural representation of the Buddha. However, two Kushan rulers minted similar coins a century or so later, Kanishka one with a seated Bodhisattva Maitreya and Huvishka one with a seated self-portrait, and the attribution to Kujula is thus disputed.[261]

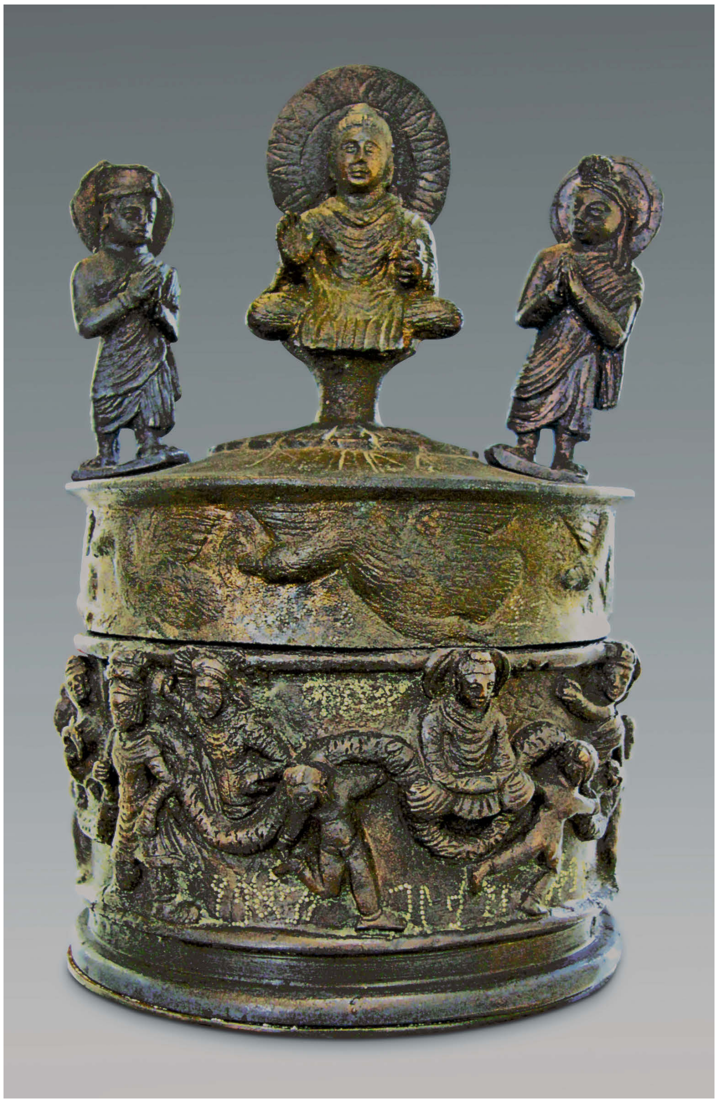
Kujula Kadphises was succeeded by **Vima Takto** (r. *ca.* 80–102?),[262] who until the decipherment of the Rabatak inscription was known to us only under his sobriquet 'Soter Megas', the 'Great Saviour'.[263] The exceptionally high number of finds of Vima Takto's coins, from Mathura in central India to the northern reaches of Bactria, suggests that he consolidated the empire north of the Oxus and considerably extended it to the south-east. In 83 or 84 CE Vima Takto succeeded through a marriage alliance in integrating Kangju more closely into his sphere of influence, but Sogdiana, which was experiencing a renewed invasion of nomadic horsemen, probably Alans, and Chorasmia remained beyond the reach of the Kushans' power; the frontier ran most probably near the 'Iron Gates', north of Termez.[264] As already discussed, Vima Takto failed in his attempt in 90 CE to wrest control of the Tarim Basin from the Chinese protector general Ban Chao.[265]

In 120 CE Vima Takto's successor **Vima Kadphises** (r. *ca.* 102–127) also tried to gain a political foothold in the Tarim Basin, and again failed when seven years later the Kushan governor of Kashgar submitted to China and cut his links with the Kushans.[266] Despite this minor setback, the Kushan Empire became immensely rich, as it controlled portions of two of the three most important Silk Roads. One was the land route that ran from Kashgar in the east, through Tashkurgan and the Wakhan Corridor and along the Oxus to the commercial cities of Sogdiana and then Merv. As Strabo records, at the end of the Wakhan, at Aï Khanum at the latest, an alternative presented itself: travelling by boat on the navigable Oxus, through the Uzboy River to the Hyrcanian (Caspian) Sea.[267] The route then continued through the Caucasus to the Black Sea, from where Bosporan or Roman ships would carry the goods.

The second option was the combined land and sea route from Kashgar either via Baktra, Bagram (near Kabul) and Purushapura (Peshawar) or via Gilgit and Taxila to the north-western Indian plains. From there a trade route led south-west along the Indus to the seaport of Barbarikon, not far from today's Karachi, while another led to the port of Barygaza, today's Bharuch, at the mouth of the Narmada river in Gujarat, either by travelling directly south or passing through the rich metropolis of Mathura.[268] Both ports are described as important destinations for the Roman merchant fleet in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a mid-first-century CE guide to commercial navigation composed by an experienced Greco-Egyptian mariner and trader.[269] The Roman merchants of the day knew that silk came from China, being brought either by land through Bactria, or by sea, along the Malabar Coast of south India to Barygaza. 'Beyond this region [of Chrysê – either Burma or Sumatra], by now at the northernmost point, where the sea ends somewhere on the outer fringe, there is a very great inland city called Thina [China] from which silk floss, yarn and cloth are shipped by land via Bactria to Barygaza and via the Ganges River back to Limyrikê [on the coast of Malabar]. It is not easy to get to this Thina.'[270] The Kushan Empire was a hub of international trade; it was, with China, Rome and Iran, one of the four great powers of Eurasia.

The third trade route to the west was described by Ptolemy, who cites the geographer Marinos of Tyre (*ca.* 70–130 CE), who himself had obtained his information from agents of the Macedonian merchant Maes Titianos. This route crossed Parthia from Hierapolis on the Euphrates (east of Aleppo) to Ecbatana (Hamadan), Hecatompylos and Merv, then continued through the Fergana Valley to Osh in south-eastern Kyrgyzstan and the 'Stone Tower' mentioned by Ptolemy. From the Stone Tower, the Irkeshtam Pass or the Derek Davan Pass led one to Kashgar.[271]

As the Kushans' trade balance was in massive surplus, they were flooded with Roman gold denarii. A high point in trade relations between Rome and the Kushan Empire was marked in 107 by the visit to Emperor Trajan (r. 98–117) of an Indian trade delegation which sought to set relationships on a firmer footing, not least in order to circumvent the fiscal trade barrier represented by the Parthians, a real 'Iron Curtain'. The Kushan emissaries could not have chosen a better time for their journey to Rome, as a year



31. **The reliquary 'casket of Kanishka', gilt copper alloy. On the lid, Buddha Shakyamuni sits on a lotus flower, flanked by the Hindu gods Brahma and Indra. The rim of the lid is decorated with flying geese, the body of the casket with cherubs holding a heavy garland and the seated Buddha in meditation with the sun god Miiro on the left. Gandhara, 1st half of the 2nd century CE. Peshawar Museum, Pakistan.**

before Trajan had brought the Second Dacian War to a highly successful conclusion, bringing home, according to Dio Cassius, an immense booty of 164 tons of gold. In the negotiations the Kushans are said to have been promised that Rome would increasingly pay in gold.[272] As is shown by archaeological finds, there was indeed a greater influx of Roman gold coins into the Kushan Empire, which allowed Emperor Vima Kadphises to introduce a new gold coin. He had the Roman gold denarii melted and minted coins of his own whose weight standard of eight grams very slightly exceeded that of the Roman *aureus denarius*.[273] Vima also had a gold double dinar and quarter dinar minted. The near parity between the two coinages facilitated commercial exchanges between the Kushan Empire and Rome, and within Central Asia the introduction of the gold standard led to the Kushan coinage being accepted everywhere. At the same time, the gold standard isolated the Parthians, who kept to silver coin.

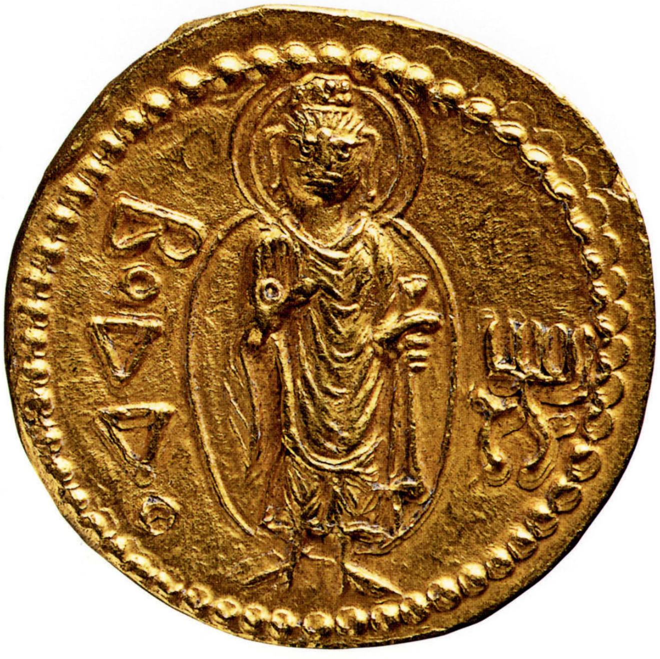
On these gold coins the Emperor appears either riding an elephant, driving a chariot, in bust, or enthroned cross-legged on top of a mountain. From his shoulders spring flames which, according to the then rarely used Iranian model, symbolise *xvarnah*, the vital force and royal splendour of the ruler. This motif is found not only in representations of various Kushan deities but also in figurative representations of the Buddha, namely in depictions of the Great Miracle of Sravasti, when Shakyamuni caused flames to shoot from his shoulders and streams of cold water to flow from his feet. This spectacular motif travelled the Silk Road to the Tarim Basin and on into China.[274] If Marilyn Martin Rhie is right in dating to the second half of the second century CE the famous fire-gilt bronze figure of a meditating Buddha with flaming shoulders in Harvard's Arthur M. Sackler Museum, this would be the oldest canonical statue of the Buddha from China. In facial features, this Buddha, believed to have been produced in China (fig. 30), shows a very striking similarity with the sculptures of rulers at the Kushan cult centre of Khalchayan, suggesting that by the second century CE there were direct contacts between central China and Kushan missionaries and artists.[275] How popular the idea of this miracle still was in the seventh century is shown by Xuanzang's account of his travels, which attributes a similar miracle to the Kushan ruler Kanishka. He is said to have overcome a dangerous dragon by shooting a mighty flame and smoke from his shoulders.[276]

On his bronze coinage, however, Vima Kadphises is shown – like his successor Kanishka on some gold coins – standing behind a small fire altar, performing a sacrifice. He wears a long, heavy kaftan, a sword on a belt, long trousers, and heavy felt shoes: the traditional attire of a nomadic steppe horseman. Behind him stands a tremendous mace, symbol of authority of the early Kushan kings. The reverse of Vima Kadphises' coins features only Oesho, one of the most important of the Kushan titular deities, whose features anticipated the later representations of the Hindu god Shiva. Oesho was a syncretistic deity, probably introduced by the Kushans, blending concepts and attributes of Iranian, Greek, Roman, Indian and local deities. The god had close affinities to the Zoroastrian wind god Vayu, 'who rules the upper regions', and was closely related to the later Sogdian wind god Weshparkar, who was also depicted as Shiva.[277] As mentioned by Abdul Samad, the representations of 'deities on Scythian coins [Indo-Greek, Indo-Saka and Indo-Parthian coins] served as models for the

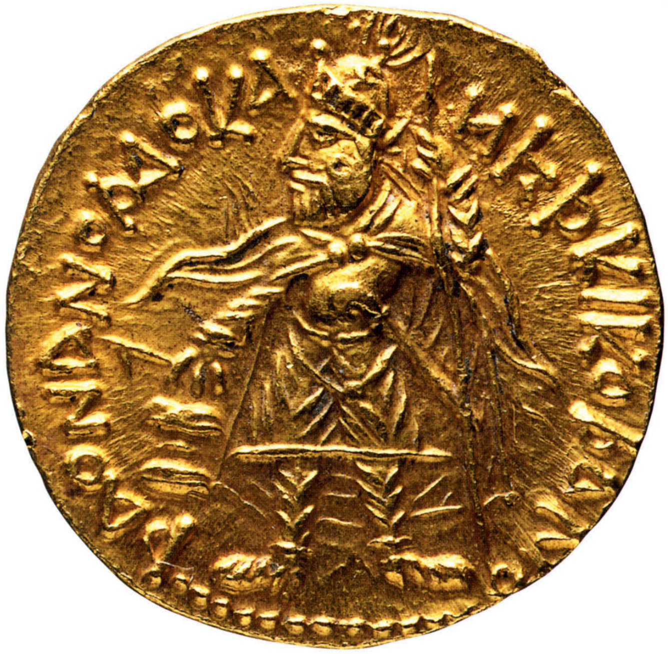
Kushana engravers'.[278] At the same time several early attributes of Oesho stemmed from the Hellenistic world, for example the trident from representations of Poseidon, the thunderbolt from Zeus and the club, nakedness and animal skin from Heracles. Later coin representations of Oesho borrowed Indic attributes such as the bull, the multiplicity of head and arms, the third eye and the water-pot. So it seems that the iconography of the Hindu god Shiva was 'developed on the basis of the Kushana period Wēś'; that is, Oesho.[279] And when the Hindu gods became more important among the later Kushans, Shiva himself could have been worshipped in the form of Oesho. Vima Kadphises continued the tradition of inscriptions in both Kharoshthi and Greek, while Kanishka later replaced these with inscriptions in the Bactrian language and modified Greek characters.[280]

The Kushan coins offer an outstanding example of the Yuezhi's creative adaptability. Originally a nomadic horse people, they succeeded in preserving their traditional identity and proclaiming it on their coins and in official statuary. The Kushans were masters in using coins not only as currency, but also as a tool to propagate their ideology. They also fostered an urban culture whose economy was based on transcontinental trade and, in Bactria, on irrigated agriculture. Under the Kushans, the irrigation systems were refined and extended – some canals were more than 100 kilometres long – allowing agriculture in Kushan-controlled Central Asia to reach a high level of development. The Kushans' wealth very quickly brought about a marked economic upswing in all of Central Asia, far beyond the borders of the Kushan Empire, in Sogdiana, Chorasmia and the Tarim Basin. The very high numbers of Kushan bronze coins in circulation underline the vitality of the economy at that time. The Kushans' economic flexibility was accompanied by a high degree of religious tolerance: the reverse of their coins feature some 30 deities from the Irano-Zoroastrian, Hellenistic-Roman and Indian belief systems – including Buddhism.[281] The Kushans achieved a unique synthesis of horse-nomad, Greco-Bactrian, Roman, Iranian and Indian cultural elements that found its highest expression in the Buddhist Gandhara school of art.

The accession of the next Kushan emperor, **Kanishka I** (r. 127–151) marked the beginning of the eponymous Kanishka Era. In Buddhist tradition he is honoured as a great patron of the religion, said to have convened the Fourth Buddhist Council of the north Indian Sarvastivada school in Kashmir and to have built an enormous stupa in Peshawar. While Kanishka's involvement in this controversial council is certainly no more than a pious legend, it was in his time that the Sarvastivada school, a forerunner of Mahayana, began to translate the Buddhist texts composed in the Gandhari Prakrit or vernacular and written in Kharoshthi script,



32. Reverse of a gold coin of Kanishka I (r. 127–151 CE) showing the standing Buddha. With his right hand he performs the Abhaya mudra of 'no fear'. His feet are turned outward like the codified posture of a Kushan ruler. On the left the Greek inscription ΒΟΔΔΟ. The Hirayama Collection.



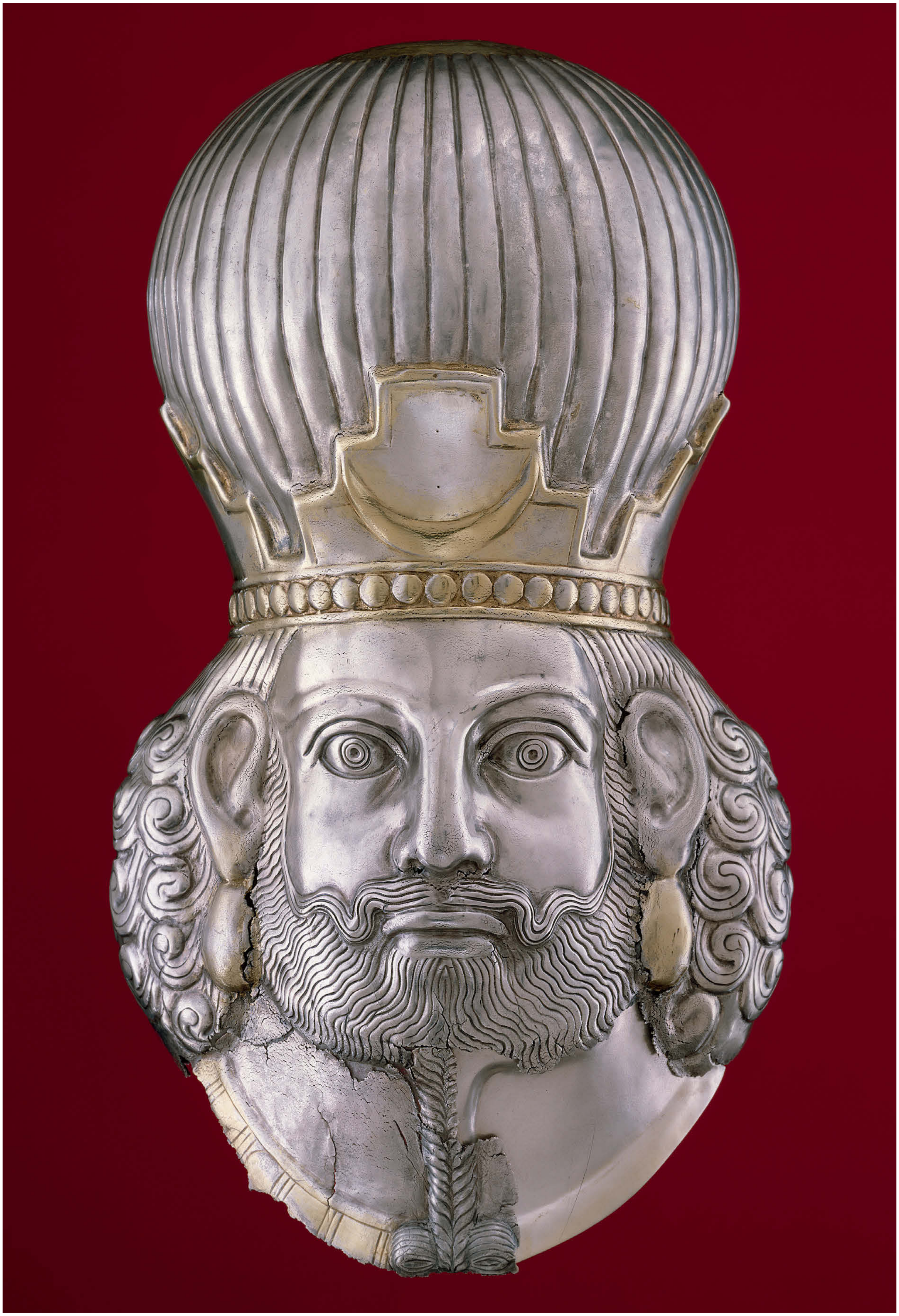
33. Obverse of a gold coin of Kanishka I showing the ruler standing with his feet turned wide apart and with flaming shoulders. The Hirayama Collection.

into Sanskrit written in the Brahmi script. As a result, this Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit written in Brahmi became the favoured Buddhist medium along the Silk Roads of Central Asia, while the Gandhari Prakrit in its Kharoshthi script first came to dominate the administration of the Kushan Empire, before later spreading, via Kushan merchants, to the southern Tarim Basin.[282] But Kanishka was certainly closer to the goddess Nana than to the Buddha, since he announced himself on the inscription of Rabatak as: 'Kanishkha, the Kushan . . . who has obtained the kingship from Nana and from all the gods.'[283]

The second Buddhist tradition mentioned above, the one about the big stupa, seems to have had a basis in fact, as witnessed by the excavations of 1908–1909 in Shah-ji-ki Dheri, a suburb of Peshawar. There the archaeologists under David B. Spooner discovered the base, 87 metres in diameter, of the gigantic stupa that had astonished the pilgrim monks Faxian (sometime after 400) and Xuanzang (sometime after 630).[284] The Muslim polymath al-Biruni (973–1048) also saw it, before its destruction by the Turkic Afghan Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 998–1030).[285] In the ruins Spooner found a gilded copper reliquary, said to have contained three bone fragments of the Buddha Shakyamuni, whose undated Kharoshthi inscription identifies Emperor Kanishka as the founder of the Kanishka *vihara* or monastery (fig. 31). Such reliquaries were not private property but gifts to a monastery that would be set at the heart of a stupa. The little reliquary itself takes the form of such a monument, a reminder that all stupas are in fact gigantic reliquaries.[286] On the lid is a small figure of the Buddha seated on a lotus flower, flanked by the Hindu gods Brahma and Indra, who stand in postures of reverence; the heads of all three figures are surrounded by circular haloes. The vertical rim of the lid is decorated with a frieze of flying geese, symbolising the soul's liberation from the cycle of rebirth. On the body of the reliquary, Kanishka is represented frontally, standing with feet turned outward and set well apart, and framed between the Iranian moon god Mao and sun god Miiro (Mithra); on the sides, two princes or bodhisattvas worship the meditating Buddha.[287] The whole scene is surrounded by a heavy, undulant garland supported by cherubs. This originally Dionysian motif, derived from the garland decoration found on Roman and Hellenistic temple friezes, altars and sarcophagi of the same period, would travel from Gandhara as far as the Tarim Basin, as is evidenced by the murals of Miran. In Buddhism, garlands were among the gifts that believers would bring to a stupa.[288]

Towards the end of his reign Kanishka became the first Kushan emperor to have images on his coins of both of the most important Buddhist cult figures of the time, Buddha Shakyamuni and Bodhisattva Maitreya. But these rare pieces represent only a fraction of the coins he had minted, for images of Iranian, Bactrian and Hellenistic deities such as Oesho, Nana, Miiro and Mao, were far more numerous. The obverse of the 'Buddhist' gold coin shows Kanishka, sacrificing at a fire altar, dressed in a heavy cloak, clearly presented as the follower of a fire cult (fig. 33). The reverse has the Buddha, frontally depicted, with the Greek inscription ΒΟΔΔΟ (fig. 32). He wears a Hellenistic-looking monastic robe and his right hand is raised in the gesture of fearlessness and protection (*abhaya mudra*). Like Kanishka's, his feet are turned outward, his attitude corresponding to that of a ruler as codified in Kushan dynastic art. The Buddha's head is surrounded by a halo, his body by a mandorla – one of the earliest examples of this kind of representation of the Buddha. On a similar series of very well worn copper coins the inscription reads CAKAMANO ΒΟΥΔΟ (Shakyamuni Buddha), and that on a third equally well worn series ΜΗΤΡΑΓΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ (Maitreya Buddha).[289] There Maitreya sits on a throne, suggesting that the image on the coin may have reproduced an existing sculpture.[290] The representation of the Buddha with combined halo and mandorla would soon be adopted in the heart of Central Asia, as at the Kushan-period Kara Tepe cave monastery near Termez in southern Uzbekistan. The mural in question dates from the second to third centuries CE and is one of the oldest surviving wall paintings depicting the Buddha;[291] the representation with combined halo and aureole is a Kushan innovation, reproduced in painting for the first time in Kushan Bactria.[292] Another novelty at Kara Tepe is the halo of tongues of flame that surrounds the entire body of the Buddha,[293] surely connected with the depiction of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka with flames shooting from their shoulders. The epithet BUDDOMAZDO, inscribed near the Kara Tepe Buddha in the fourth or fifth century, related to a later syncretic cult of Buddha and Ahura Mazda that arose after the Central Asian campaigns of the Sassanid Shapur II around 368–378.[294] Since Mazda means 'wise', this epithet could also just represent a Buddhist reverential title implying 'Wise Buddha'.

Under Kanishka's successor **Huvishka** (r. *ca.* 155–187) the Kushan Empire reached its greatest extent, and he consolidated Kushan authority over the semi-autonomous Indo-Saka satrapies of western India.[295] On the other hand, it seems improbable that the Kushan Empire also included the western Tarim Basin, as Staviskij and Litvinsky argue. The Kushans' evident cultural influence in the Tarim Basin can be explained by the advance of Buddhism and perhaps the flight of Kushan administrators to



34. Silver head of a Kushano-Sassanid ruler or a Sassanid king, 4th century CE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Khotan and Shan-shan in the face of Sassanid invasion.[296] The next ruler, **Vasudeva I** (r. 191–229/30) seems to have favoured the Hindu gods: representations of Oesho/Shiva predominate in his coinage, and his own name is that of one of the 24 avatars of the god Vishnu. Towards the end of his reign, Vasudeva, the last of the 'Great Rulers' of the Kushan Empire, was confronted by the Sassanid incursion, and in the last year of his life he sent an embassy to Cao Rui, the Emperor Ming of Wei, northernmost of China's Three Kingdoms, presumably to forge a military alliance against the Sassanids.[297] In 819/20, the Arab historian al-Tabari reported on the Sassanid advance on the Kushan Empire as follows: 'Ardashir gathered an army and attacked Khorasan [north-east Iran and Turkmenistan]. He went from the province of Fars [Central Iran] to Kerman and from there to Sistan, seized this region and turned toward Khorasan, where he took the cities Balkh, Merv, Nishapur and Khorasan.' Later, 'emissaries of the Kushan from Turan [mountainous east and central Baluchistan] and Makran [Gedrosia in southern Iran and Pakistan] offered their submission to King Ardashir'.[298] In fact, Ardashir (r. 224–*ca.* 240), the first of the Sassanid dynasty, attacked the Kushan Empire's north-western provinces and peripheral sphere of influence not long after 224, and by 233 he had conquered the whole of Bactria, initiating the decline of its urban culture.[299]

Faced with Ardashir's military superiority, the western regions of the Kushan Empire recognised Sassanid suzerainty and paid tribute, bringing about the division of the empire. In the rump state remained the rulers of the south-eastern part of the empire: **Kanishka II** (r. *ca.* 230–47), who had lost the western and northern territories to Ardashir, **Vasishka** (r. *ca.* 247–257), **Kanishka III** (r. *ca.* 268) and **Vasudeva II** (r. *ca.* 280–300). Vasudeva II was succeeded on the throne of the declining remnant by **Shaka** (r. ?– mid-4th c.) and a line of other minor potentates, until Hunnish Kidarites from Central Asia invaded north India in the early 440s.[300] We read of the north-western regions of the Kushan Empire that submitted to Ardashir in an inscription on the tower of Ka'ba-ye Zartosht at the Naqsh-e Rustam necropolis north-west of Persepolis, an inscription composed in 261 by Ardashir's son and successor Shapur I (r. *ca.* 240–272). In this he lists not only the territories his father acquired in Margiana, Bactria and Sogdiana, but also 'Hindustan [Sind] and Kushanshahr as far as Peshawar'.[301] Shapur seized the Upper Kabul Valley shortly after his accession from Kanishka II or Vasishka; the whole of Gandhara fell to the Sassanids after 293.[302] The government of the lands that had once belonged to the Kushans was left by the Sassanids to a semi-autonomous vassal king, who bore the title *Kushanshah*. The rule of the eight to ten kings of the **Kushano-Sassanian Dynasty** came to an end in the 360s to 380s, when the Hunnish Chionites drove the Sassanids out of their eastern territories.

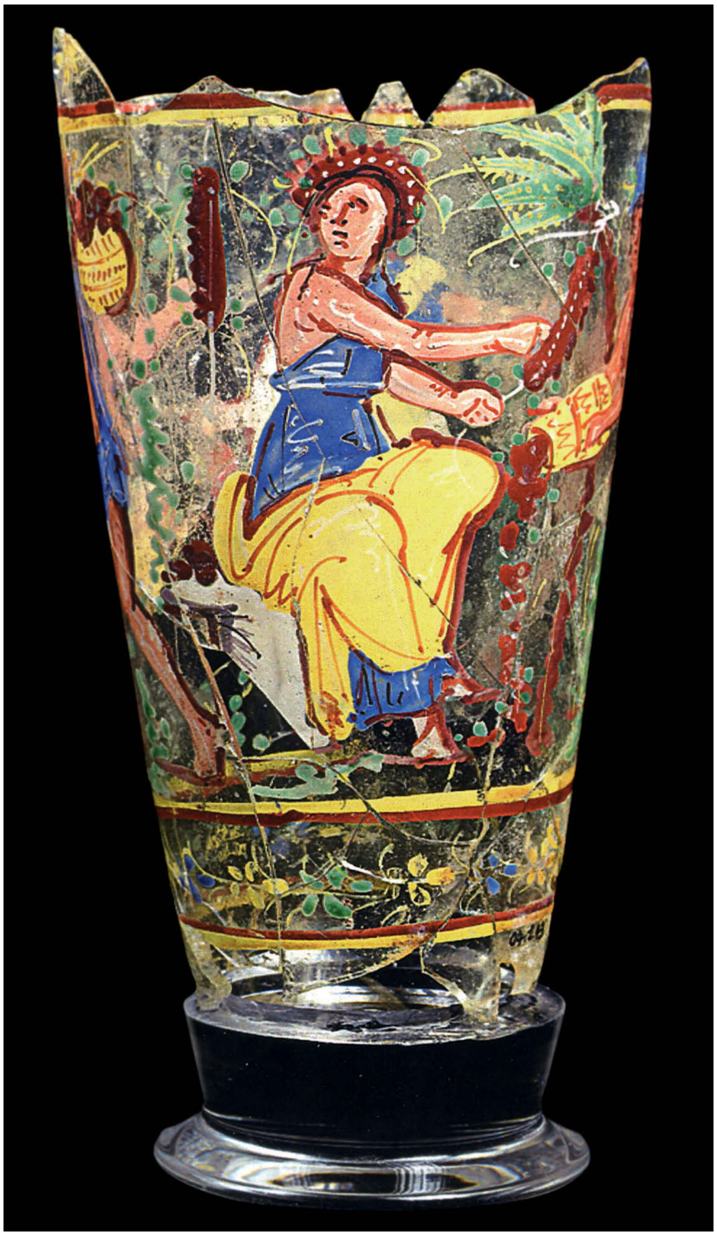
4.4.3 Silk and the Kushan Trade Network

The Kushans opened the most important trade routes of Central Asia, which formed the main section of the transcontinental Silk Road. They controlled the territories between China and the Indian Ocean ports, and secondly, they had the necessary resources in terms of pack animals to be able to carry on the trade efficiently. The Kushans made it possible to circumvent the barrier to trade represented by the Parthians and quickly developed into the biggest distributors of Chinese goods. Sima Qian's pioneering journey to Central Asia and China's conquest of the Western Regions provided the preconditions for the 'opening' of the Silk Road, but it was the mentally and physically mobile Yuezhi-Kushan steppe horsemen and Mediterranean mariners who created the combined land and sea silk routes. These new routes were all the more important to China as Ban Chao's attempt to establish direct contact by sending Gan Ying to Rome had failed; and they also offered a connection to the eastern sea route to China via Sumatra.

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* reports that the ship's captain Hippalus (*ca.* 1st c. BCE) was the first to discover the direct sea route between the Arabian Peninsula and India, while Pliny (d. 79) says that he discovered the regularity of the monsoon winds,[303] and Strabo notes that around 24 BCE 120 merchant ships made the journey between the Red Sea and India every year.[304] Sailors from Himyar in southern Arabia were in fact the true discoverers of the monsoon winds which made it possible to sail between Arabia and India and back within a year. Between Africa and India the wind blows from the south-west between April and October, and from the north-east between October and April, so the Arabs would sail to India in the spring, and return home at the approach of winter, when the wind changed.[305]

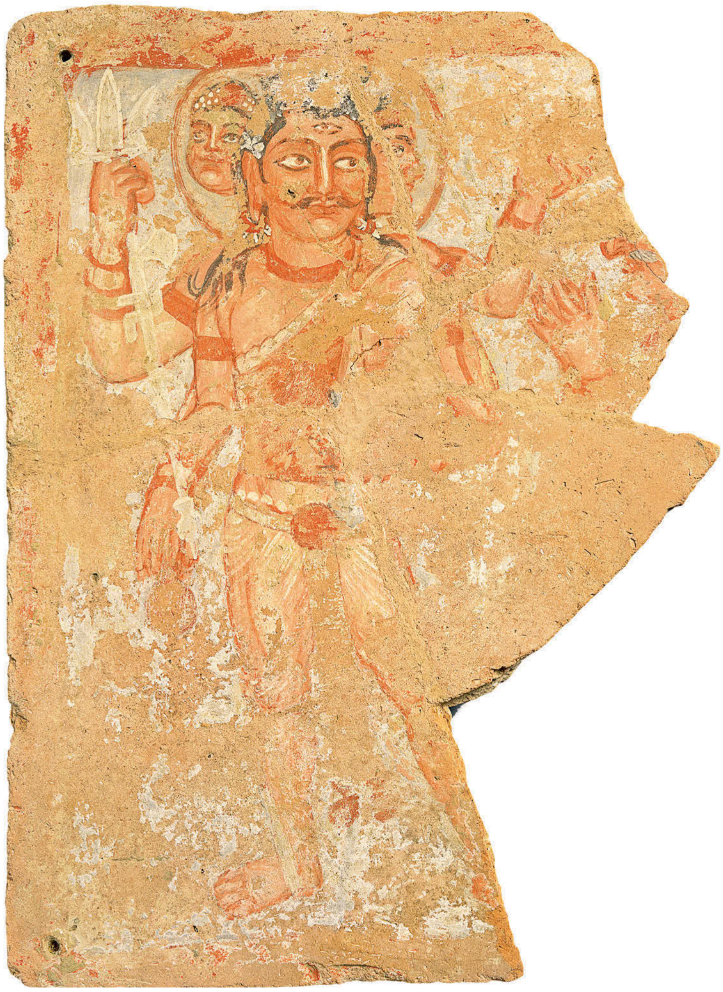
China's most significant exports were silk, lacquerware and bronze products, while the *Hou Han Shu* lists the most important imports as gold and silver products, luminous jade, pearls, African rhinoceros horn, coral, Baltic amber, transparent blown glass from Syria and Egypt – Chinese glass remained opaque until the fourth or fifth century CE – cinnabar, green gemstones, gold-thread embroidery and rugs, fine polychrome silk fabrics with a golden lustre, asbestos clothing and 'a fine cloth which people say is made from the down of water sheep'. The profit margin between India and China was ten times the purchase price.[306] The Kushans also imported pelts and honey from the north, and exported to China spices, linen, lapis lazuli, minerals, dyes, exotic animals, slaves, incense, myrrh and topaz. Central Asian and Chinese buyers paid for Kushan exports to China with silk, which Kushan merchants sold on to Rome.

Of the mysterious fabric made from the 'down of water sheep' that China bought from Rome, a Chinese fifth-century commentator remarked that it was really made from wild silk. While the pupa of the domesticated silkworm *Bombyx mori* is killed by immersion in boiling water before the moth can break out of the cocoon, in wild species of the silkworm, the moth escapes by perforating the cocoon, so breaking in countless places the endless thread it has spun, and the silk obtained is of lower quality. However, the necessity of killing a living creature posed an insurmountable problem to observant Buddhists, leading them to avoid high-quality silk. The Chinese monastic pilgrim Xuanzang thus noted approvingly in the course of his visit in 643 to the Buddhist oasis town of Khotan (in the south-western Tarim Basin): 'From old time till now, this kingdom has possessed silkworms, which nobody is allowed to kill.'[307] But about the down of water sheep the *Hou Han Shu* was right: the material came from a Mediterranean sea creature, the *Pinna nobilis,* or noble pen shell. This bivalve, up to one metre long, attaches itself to the sea bed by a tuft of silky filaments called byssus, and in Antiquity (and indeed until the end of the nineteenth century) these filaments were spun and woven into an extremely fine fabric, known in English as sea silk.[308]



35. **A 12.6-centimetre-high, painted glass goblet depicting a Roman noblewoman harvesting, 1st century CE. From dig II, room 10, Bagram, Afghanistan. National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul.**

Even more surprising is the fact that in importing 'gold-thread embroidery' from Rome, the Chinese were unknowingly buying back the silk they had sold to the Kushans! Roman customers, and Roman ladies especially, did not like the tightly woven, rather heavy Chinese silk fabrics. So, as Pliny records, the silks were unravelled in the coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean, such as Sidon, Tyre and Gaza, and the threads were re-woven into much lighter and almost transparent fabrics with new patterns.[309] In the process, gold thread was also incorporated, giving the material a golden sheen. In the third century CE the Chinese became aware that the Romans were making their 'Western silk' from Chinese silk.[310] Later, under the Tang Dynasty (618–907), China unintentionally became a significant importer of foreign silks. As the early Tang emperors wished to weaken the locally based nobility, they created a new layer of aristocracy to which access was gained by success in written state examinations. At the same time, they introduced strict new dress regulations for each rank of the administration and nobility.[311] At the top of the colour hierarchy stood gold and yellow, followed by purple, green and black; particular patterns and motifs were also prescribed for each rank. Those seeking alternatives could find high-quality, colourful silk garments in vivid reds, yellows or greens from Byzantium, which had had its own silk industry since the time of Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565), from Iran, Khorasan and Sogdiana, all available in Chinese markets. By then, the trade of Central Asia had for a long time been dominated not by the Kushans, but the Sogdians.[312] By the fifth century, the Khorasanis from eastern Iran and the Sogdians were producing exquisite silk garments in



36. Terracotta votive panel fragment showing the Kushan three-headed god Oesho holding a trident. On the right, the god is approached by a worshipper. Bactria, *ca.* 3rd c. CE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

many colours[313] and, outcompeting the Sassanids, were successfully exporting their silks to China, Tibet and Eastern Turkestan. In those last two regions, their silks were also valued as fabric for shrouds. But such silk fabrics adorned with medallions surrounded by pearls were also made from the end of the sixth century in the Tarim Basin and in imperial workshops in Sichuan.[314] Later, the Sogdians found a new and unexpected market in Western Europe. The cult of relics emerging there had cathedrals, churches and religious houses searching for the remains of patron saints and founders, which they then wrapped in finest silk before depositing them in crypts or under altars. As Byzantium could not meet the demand, Central Asian silks, from Sogdiana and especially Bukhara and Samarkand, found their way into the treasuries of Western European churches.[315]

Indicative of the wealth of the mercantile Kushan Empire and its close trade relations with Rome is the so-called 'Bagram Treasure' discovered in 1937 and 1939 by the archaeologists Joseph and Ria Hackin. Some 60 kilometres north of Kabul, Bagram is probably identical with the Alexandria ad Caucasum of Antiquity and Kanishka's summer residence Kapisa. Here the archaeologists discovered, carefully deposited in two walled-up chambers in a Kushan-period building complex, a collection of objects from three different cultural spheres. From India there were ivory carvings that had served as decorative inlays for sofas, stools and caskets,[316] from China lacquerware, and from the eastern Mediterranean around 50 plaster casts, between 10 and 20 centimetres high, of mythological scenes in a pure Hellenistic style, bronze figurines of Greek or Egyptian-Hellenistic deities, and spectacular vessels of blown glass from the Roman-Egyptian city of Alexandria. These are either finely painted drinking vessels depicting fishing, hunting or battle scenes or distinguished Roman ladies, or ichthyomorphic (fish-shaped) perfume flasks. The oldest datable object was a coin of King Hermaios (r. *ca.* 90–70 BCE), the most recent a coin of Vasudeva I (r. 191–229/30 CE). Dated to the first or early second century CE, the objects probably belonged to the collection of a rich merchant or the treasure chamber of a Kushan ruler. The coin of Vasudeva represents the *terminus post quem*, the earliest possible date for the closing of both chambers, making a persuasive case for associating the deposit with the impending conquest and destruction of Bagram by Shapur I in 241 CE.[317]

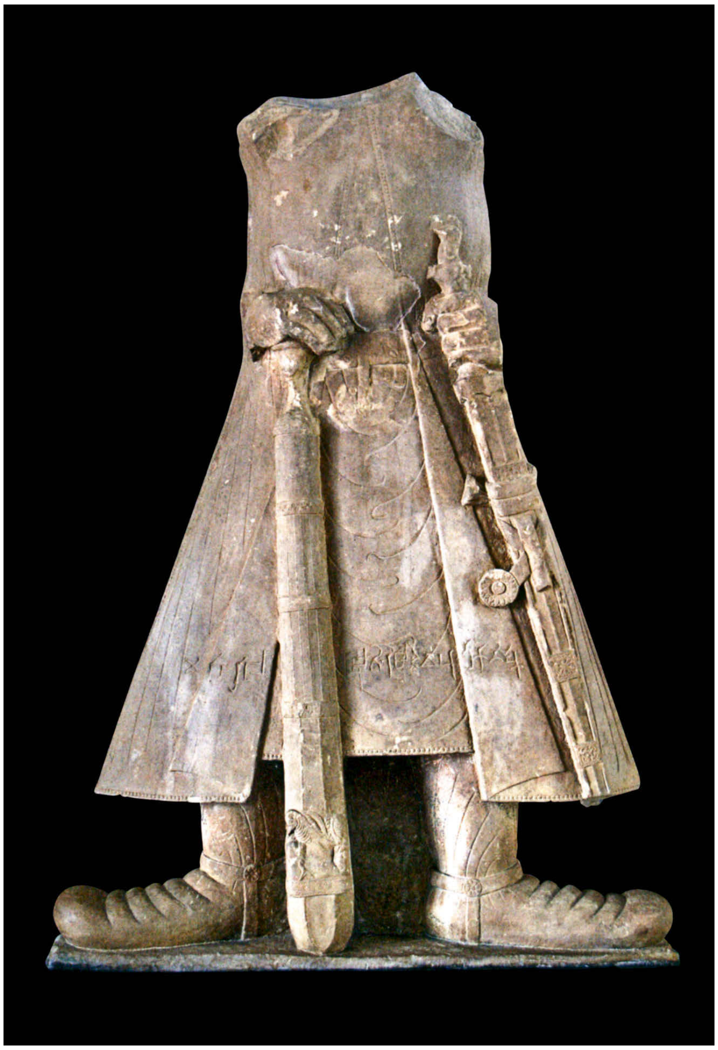
4.4.4 The Kushan Pantheon and its Dynastic Art

The religious beliefs of the Yuezhi before their arrival in Bactria are unknown. There they encountered a Hellenised culture in which Greek settlers and their descendants identified the local gods as Greek ones. They thus understood Ahura Mazda as Zeus, Mithra as Apollo, and Nana as Artemis. Confronted with this range of expressive possibilities, the early Kushans began to adopt them for the representation of their own religious ideas, as can be seen in the Hellenistic and Iranian divinities appearing in the Khalchayan frieze. At the same time, the Yuezhi came into contact with the local Bactrian fire cult, for which evidence from as early as the fourteenth century BCE was found at Jarkutan.[318] The high importance attached to this cult by many Kushan rulers can be seen not only in their coins, where they are shown sacrificing at a fire altar, but also at the dynastic cult centre of Surkh Kotal.[319] This complex of four great man-made terraces in northern Afghanistan was founded by 'Kanishka the Victorious' and renovated and extended under Huvishka in 158. On the highest platform stood two fire temples; the cella of the main temple was surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory, and in niches in the wall surrounding the courtyard stood life-size stone sculptures of Kushan rulers. Highly significant was the Kushan architects' decision to adopt the idea of an ambulatory temple; that is, of a cella surrounded by a walkable corridor, an architectural feature that Boris Litvinsky traces back to Achaemenid and Parthian precursors in Iran.[320]

The square or rectangular ambulatory temple introduced by the Kushans would serve as the basis for both the later massive Hindu temples of south India and the earliest Buddhist temples in Central Asia, first in northern Bactria with the Airtam temple east of Termez, whose foundation inscription dates to 159, and the nearby monastery complex of Kara Tepe, also dating from the second century.[321] The ambulatory temple offered the faithful the possibility of paying respect to the cella and the cult image it contained by a circumambulation, called *pradakhshina*, analogous to the circumambulation of a stupa or a holy mountain such as Mount Kailash. These Kushano-Bactrian innovations very quickly spread to the Tarim Basin, as seen, for example, in Temple 61 at Karadong (4th c.), Temple B and Temple D of the Northern Group at Tumshuk (4th–5th c.), and the early cave temples of Kizil in Xinjiang and Dunhuang in Gansu.

Related to the ambulatory temple are those cave temples in which it is possible to circumambulate a square solid core with cult images carved into it, as seen at Kizil and Dunhuang. Surkh Kotal, Kara Tepe and Airtam were partly destroyed in the aftermath of the third-century Sassanid invasion (or, less probably, in the wars between the Sassanids and the Hunnic Chionites around 368–79), most probably on the instructions of Kartir, the iconoclastic court priest who accompanied Shapur I, who in his inscriptions boasted of himself as the founder of Zoroastrian orthodoxy and persecutor of unbelievers such as Buddhists, Manichaeans, Christians and Jews.[322]

Under Kanishka and Huvishka there developed a syncretic pantheon of at least 33 different deities, similar to the Roman pantheon, and the Bactrian script, which had been introduced by Vima Kadphises, made it possible to replace Greek names for gods with Iranian ones. For many of the Kushan gods of Irano-Bactrian origin, images on coins are the first, and in some cases also the last, anthropomorphic representations to have survived.[323] How far images of emperors and gods used on coins were derived from sculptures in palaces or temples is unknown. The following gods were particularly important:[324] the goddess **Ardoxsho** corresponded either to Ahura Mazda's daughter Ashi, bringer of wisdom and wealth, or the goddess Anahita, who invests with kingship. Later, Ardoxsho would be depicted as Tyche, the Greek goddess of fate and fortune, holding a cornucopia, this figure coming to represent Hariti, Buddhist goddess of fertility. **Oesho** bore similar features as later representations of Shiva, the Hindu god of creation and destruction, since the 'Hindus borrowed Wēś' [Oesho's] attributes to present Śiva in stone sculptures' (figs. 29, 36).[325] Oesho was closely related to the Zoroastrian wind god Vayu and is often shown with a bull, similar to Shiva's mount Nandi, or with his companion, **Ommo** (Uma/Parvati). Very popular, too, were the Iranian moon god **Mao**, pictured carrying a sword and with a sickle moon behind his shoulder, the sun god **Miiro** with radiate nimbus, first represented as Helios and later as Mithra, and **Pharro**, who with flaming shoulders represented *xvarnah*, regal glory. In Gandhara, the couple Pharro and Ardoxsho correspond to the popular Buddhist divine couple of Panshika (Kubera), god of wealth, and fertility goddess Hariti.[326]



37. Sandstone statue of King Kanishka I (r. 127–151) with club, long sword and heavy, outward-turned boots. The Kharoshthi inscription proclaims: 'The great king, king of kings, His Majesty Kanishka.' Museum of Mathura.

Likewise very important was the goddess **Nana**, on whose head is a crescent moon. She is seen standing holding a staff with a horse or stag protome, or drawing an arrow from its quiver, or mounted on a lion. Nana was a complex deity who combined the functions of several different goddesses and who also had an important place in the Sogdian pantheon (fig. 191). She brought together aspects of the Mesopotamian goddesses of fertility and war – Inana and Ishtar respectively – the Zoroastrian goddess of water and fertility, Anahita, and the Greek goddess of the hunt, Artemis. Nana figures prominently on the gold belt from Grave 4 at Tillya Tepe.[327] Towards the end of the second century CE, there began to emerge from the worship of the lion-riding Kushano-Bactrian goddess Nana the cult of the Hindu goddess Durga Simhavahini, one of the most important Hindu goddesses.[328]

Less frequently encountered are coins with **Ooromozdo** (Ahura Mazda), **Mozdooano** mounted on a double-headed horse (also representing Ahura Mazda or a deified first ancestor of the Kushans), and Ahura Mazda's son **Atisho** (Atar) in the form of Hephaistos, Greek god of fire and metallurgy. In the Zoroastrian context he represented fire and served as doorkeeper of Paradise, who admitted or turned away the souls of the dead. Also found are **Lrooaspo** with a horse, responsible for the health of horses; the four-armed god **Manaobago**, the Avestan personification of 'Good Thought', Vohu Manah; the running wind god **Oado** (Avestan Vata), with his cloak floating in the air behind; the victory goddess **Oanindo** in the guise of the Greek Nike; **Oaxsho**, the fish-bearing god of the River Oxus; **Sroshardo**, equivalent to the Zoroastrian god of righteousness and obedience; the Indian war god Skanda under the names of **Skando** and **Orlagno**, who corresponds to Verethraghna, the Iranian god of victory. Much less frequently found, finally, are the Buddhist 'deities' **Boddo** (Buddha), **Sakamanoboudo** (Shakyamuni) and **Metragoboudo** (Maitreya). Equally rare are the Greco-Egyptian god Serapis, under the name **Sarapo**, the goddess **Rishto** who corresponds to the Avestan goddess of justice Arshti (Arshtat) and who was depicted by the Kushans under the traits of the Hellenistic Pallas Athene,[329] and finally the Roman god of war Mars as the armoured **Shaoreoro** as well as **Erakilo**, a naked, bearded Heracles carrying a broad club and wearing a lion's pelt.

Three schools of art flourished under the Kushan Empire: firstly the local, Indian art, secondly the Buddhist Gandhara School that will be discussed in the next chapter, and thirdly the proclamatory official art of the Kushan rulers. The local Indian style was characterised by sensual depictions of human figures, with broad hips, full breasts, plump bodies and rich jewellery. It can be seen in profane, decorative art such as the ivory carvings of the 'Bagram Treasure', as well as in early Buddhist art, as for example the stone archways of Sanchi in north central India, with their rich sculptural decoration. The crucial role of ivory carving in the earliest Buddhist art is shown by an inscription on the stone entrance gate to the hemispherical Great Stupa 1 at Sanchi, built in the first century BCE or CE, which states that local ivory carvers were responsible for one of the great scenes depicted on it.[330] Indian relief sculpture of this kind was not only full of grace and eroticism; the carvers were also interested in detail, and they loved to tell stories. They would often include several scenes within one frame, so as to compose a narrative.

Diametrically opposed to this sensual art was the dynastic conception of art of the Kushans, which is evident in gold coins and the few surviving stone statues (figs. 33, 37). It also represents a clear departure from the lively and expressive early Kushan sculpture of Khalchayan, which sought to achieve a likeness in its representation of rulers. In dynastic art, this gave way to strictly formal principles, as can be seen in the cult centres of Surkh Kotal and Māt, near Mathura,[331] as well as on coins. Figures are normally represented in a static and markedly frontal view, with feet pointing to opposite sides, but on some gold coins the head of the standing ruler is shown in profile. On other gold coins, the emperor is portrayed in bust, with arms, and with his head also in profile (fig. 29). In having themselves depicted in the traditional, heavy clothing suited to a cold climate, the emperors emphasised their rootedness in the cultural heritage of what had earlier been a nomadic horse people. While representations of rulers on the obverse of the gold coins rigorously adhere to these compositional principles, the gods on the reverse were rendered more freely. Some are presented frontally, standing with head in profile, like the emperor; others are shown mounted or in movement. As for the widely circulated bronze coinage, the representations of Vima Kadphises and of Kanishka share the rigid code of the gold coins, while Huvishka is shown seated, or riding an elephant.

Surprisingly, the Kushan rulers are never pictured in a scene of battle, or of triumph, with defeated enemies, evidently wishing to represent their unique status by means of a powerful austerity suggestive of the hieratic or even superhuman. The dynastic art of the Kushans which had developed in Bactria was influenced by Parthian sculpture, which, since the politically motivated abandonment of Hellenistic cultural features, was itself characterised by a marked frontality, in contrast to Achaemenid relief sculpture, which favoured the side-view. The Sassanids, on the other hand, combined figures in profile and frontal view in the same scene.

II

Early Buddhism in Central Asia and the Gandhara School

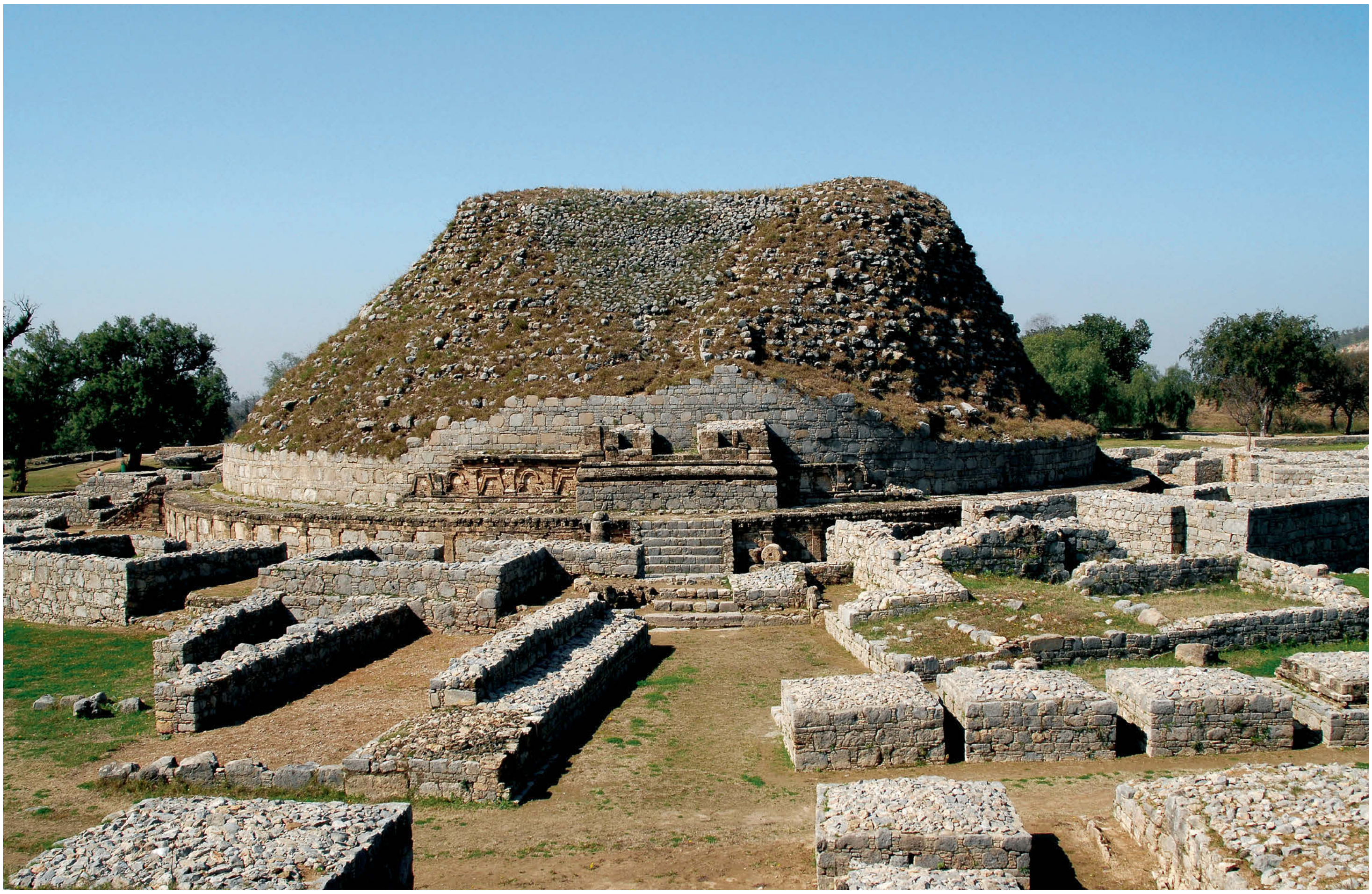
The Gandharan School of art [was] clearly influenced by the naturalism of Classical Greek style. Thus, while these images still convey the inner peace that results from putting the Buddha's doctrine into practice, they also give us an impression of people who walked and talked and slept much as we do. These figures are inspiring because they do not only depict the goal, but also the sense that people like us can achieve it if we try.

HIS HOLINESS THE 14TH DALAI LAMA[1]

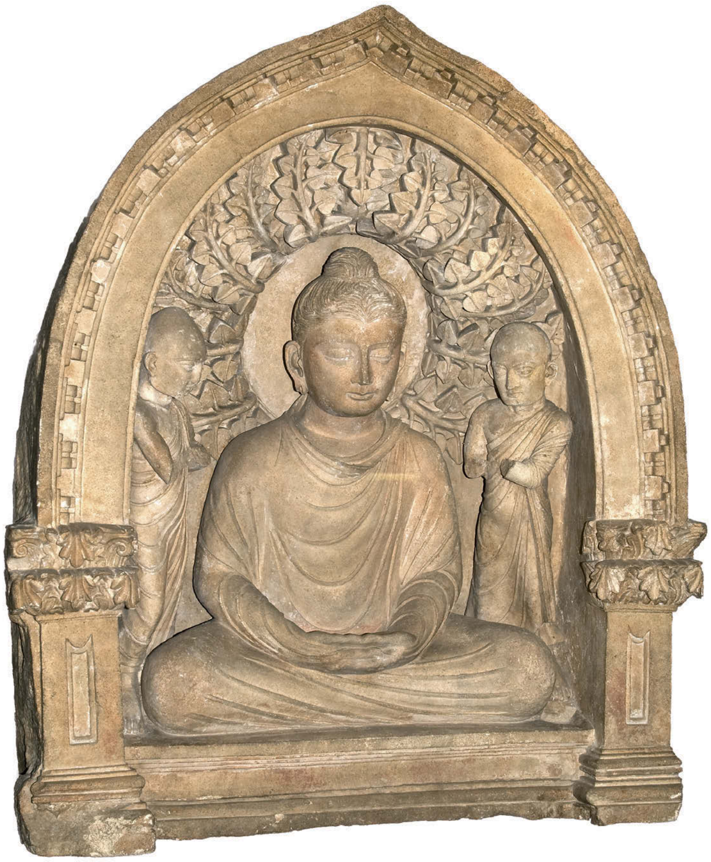
1. Indian Buddhism before the Kushans

The teaching of Buddha Shakyamuni (*ca*. 563–483 BCE or 448–368 BCE)[2] developed as an alternative to the paths to salvation then current in India – an alternative accessible to all.[3] It retained, however, the fundamental premise of all redemptive religions; that is, that the world is fundamentally corrupt and life in need of redemption. It also held on to the ideas of karma – the requital of all deeds – and of rebirth. But Shakyamuni extended the concept of karma to include the intention behind an act since he believed that an intention, even if not realised, was karmically effective. He rejected as means to salvation the mortification of the ascetics, the philosophical path of the Upanishads, and the pedantic observance of Vedic rites, with their bloody animal sacrifices. Conceived as guidance for self-redemption, his teaching pointed to the twilight of the gods: the gods of the time were superfluous. As Shakyamuni addressed all humanity without regard to barriers of caste, he laid the foundation for a universal, missionary religion. He outlined his doctrine of redemption in the Four Noble Truths: life is suffering; the origin of suffering is craving for continued existence and sensual pleasure; suffering can be overcome by abandoning the craving; and the way to this is the Noble Eightfold Path. The Buddha's method of salvation makes each person responsible for his or her later lives; the Path involves mental insight, spiritual discipline and right behaviour. The Buddha's teaching was other-worldly in that the goal was not concrete change in this world but the final breaking of the chain of earthly reincarnation. As in all redemptive religions, the value of this-worldly life was reduced to its function within the process of redemption.

Having already experienced many struggles between divergent tendencies, with splits and departures of reformers to north-west India, towards the end of the first century BCE Buddhism saw the emergence of two fundamental innovations: the anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha, and the appearance of



38. The stupa of Dharmarajika in Taxila, Gandhara, Pakistan, still 15 m high today. The stupa dates from the 2nd century BCE, and its monastery was destroyed in the first half of the 6th century CE.



39. Meditating Buddha Shakyamuni under a Sacred Fig (*Ficus religiosa*) flanked by two monks. Limestone, 1st–2nd c. CE, Fayaz Tepe, southern Uzbekistan. The State Museum of History, Tashkent.

the new schools of thought grouped together under the concept of *Mahayana*. Both ultimately arose from the need for devotion to a personal god, which would greatly facilitate lay people's access to Buddhism. Representatives of Mahayana, the 'Great Vehicle', saw themselves as a development of *Hinayana*, the 'Lesser Vehicle'; a description that adherents of the earlier Buddhism, called Theravada, rejected as demeaning.[4] Hinayana teaching understood itself as a practical guide to individual liberation from the cycle of rebirth, as humans had to find the road to salvation themselves and walk it alone. The narrow path of renunciation could, however, only be followed by monks and nuns who had freed themselves of all worldly ties, and it thus remained closed to laypeople.

The Mahayana movement developed complex philosophical systems, but at the same time emphasised the role of male and female bodhisattvas for the sake of ordinary believers. Though bodhisattvas – whose Sanskrit name means 'enlightened beings' – do indeed strive after enlightenment, they pledge to forego their entry into Nirvana until all living beings are likewise redeemed. Bodhisattvas are kind-hearted and compassionate. They help other living creatures, taking others' sufferings upon themselves and transferring to them their own karmic merits. A broad road to salvation was thus opened up for those men and women who were unwilling or unable to follow the narrow path of monastic renunciation. It was enough to call on the compassionate bodhisattvas for help and to fulfil one's own religious and moral duties to reach at least a paradise, a preparatory stage for Nirvana. In this way Mahayana, which can also be called the 'Buddhism of bodhisattvas', became more accessible to the broader population and developed into a popular religion. While Hinayana also had the concept of the bodhisattva, it was limited to the earlier existences of the historic Buddha, as described in the 547 legends of the jataka, and to the future Buddha Maitreya. Already widespread in Hinayana, this belief in Maitreya, the Buddha to come, provided a bridge to Mahayana ideas about the future, with their many bodhisattvas.

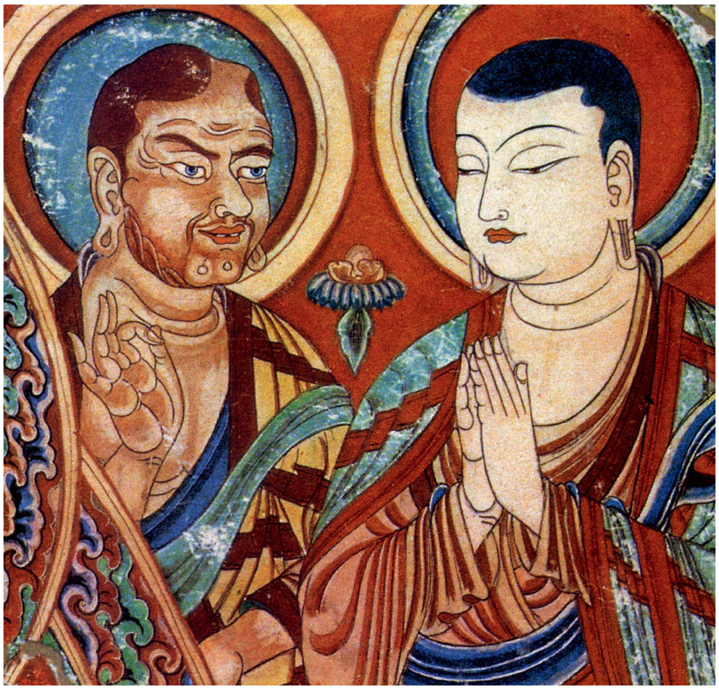
Laypeople were naturally less interested in an enlightenment difficult to comprehend than in rebirth in better circumstances, or quite simply good fortune in one's present life, achievable through the accumulation of merit, by giving to monks, for example, or donating to monasteries for the raising of stupas or statues or the copying of sacred texts, as taught by the Lotus Sutra, translated into Chinese in 286 CE.[5] Another motivation for generous giving was the prospect of transferring merit thus obtained to living or even departed relatives. Thanks to these unabashedly mercantile aspects of Mahayana theology, vast financial resources flowed to the monasteries, promoting a sustained flourishing of Buddhist art over a period of centuries.[6]

2. Diffusion into Central Asia

The first systematic missionary efforts were made by the Indian emperor Ashoka Maurya (r. *ca*. 268–234/32 BCE), who not only sought to govern his empire in accordance with Buddhist principles, but also sent Buddhist missions to Sri Lanka, Kashmir, the Himalayan princedoms and Greco-Bactria, and also to the Seleucids, the Ptolemies of Egypt, and the Antigonids of Greece. We do not know whether these emissaries reached their destinations, but Ashoka did have his Buddhist edicts inscribed at three different sites in the future Kushan Empire: in Kharoshthi script[7] at Manserah and Shabazgarhi in north-west Pakistan, and bilingually in Greek and Aramaic at Kandahar in south-east Afghanistan. A century after Emperor Ashoka, Buddhism enjoyed the respect and support of several Indo-Greek kings from Menander to Archebios, the satraps of Mathura, and the Indo-Saka satraps of Bajaur on Pakistan's north-western border with Afghanistan. Evidence of this favour is afforded by the Indo-Greek coinage already discussed, inscriptions on reliquaries containing relics of the Buddha, such as were dedicated by members of the Indo-Saka satrap dynasty of Bajaur, or the red sandstone capital from Mathura in central India, whose inscription lists those of its ruling satraps who promoted the Buddhist cause. All these Kharoshthi inscriptions date from the first two decades of the first century CE.[8]

A few Buddhist sources report that the Buddha himself, soon after his enlightenment, had chosen two merchants from Balkh in Central Asia as his very first lay disciples and taught them the enshrinement of relics in a stupa. As Xuanzang relates, once initiated into his teaching the merchants asked for an object that they might venerate, whereupon the Buddha gave them some of his own nail clippings and hair and explained to them the form and construction of a stupa in which the relics were to be kept. He took his three garments, *tricivara*, folded first the outer garment, *sangati*, twice and put it on the floor, and on top of it the lower garment *Antaravasaka* and the upper garment *Uttarasangha* in such a way that always a smaller garment came to lie on top of a bigger one. Finally he placed his alms bowl, *patra*, upside down on to the pile of clothes and on top of it all his monk's staff, *khakkhara* – this is how he designed a model for all stupas. And he goes on: 'The two men taking the order, each went to his own town [near Balkh], and then, according to the model which the holy one had prescribed, they prepared to build a monument, and thus was the very first stupa of the Buddhist religion erected.'[9] This legend underlines the important role of Central Asia in the diffusion of Buddhism outside India.

The cosmopolitan attitude of the Kushans and their promotion of trade made it possible for Buddhism, whose teaching was particularly appealing to the class of urban traders, to travel in the footsteps of the trade caravans, first conquering southern Afghanistan before advancing into Central Asia. Already around the end of the first century BCE, in the time of the five Yuezhi princedoms, Buddhist monks and missionaries had reached the Oxus, establishing a small Buddhist monastery at **Termez**, the ancient Tarmita, on the north bank of the river.[10] In the second half of the first century CE, Kujula Kadphises or Vima Takto developed Termez into a heavily fortified commercial metropolis, and the city quickly became a base from which Buddhist missions were sent to Eastern Turkestan and on to China. In Termez there were not only monks; there was also a thriving lay civic community, as is witnessed by the number of city temples with their countless dedicatory inscriptions and even painted portraits of donors.[11] At least one of these temples had Indo-Corinthian capitals, on each of which, amid the acanthus leaves, sits a small Buddha figure in an attitude of meditation.[12]

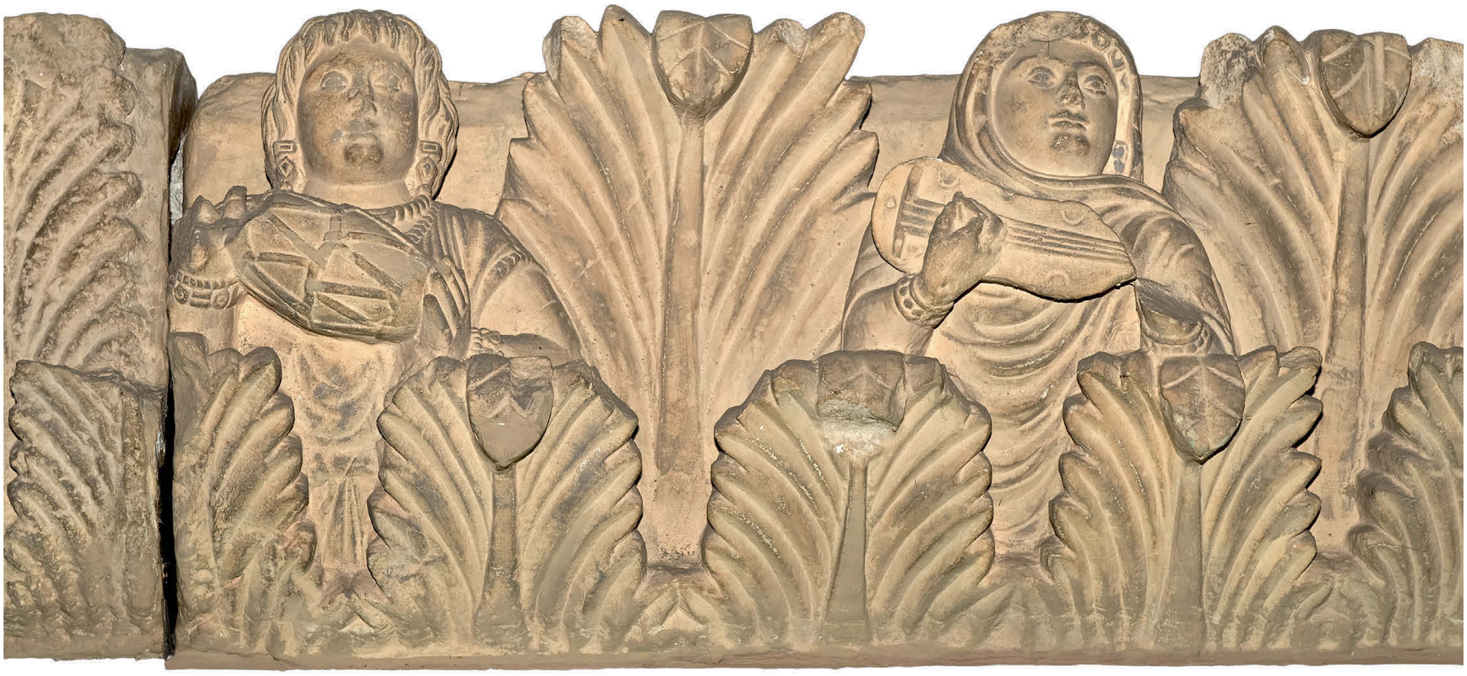


40. A Central Asian Buddhist monk (left) and a Chinese one (right). Pranidhi scene no. 5 (in Le Coq's counting) from cave 9 in Bezeklik, Xinjiang, China, 11th c. No longer extant. Albert von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, 1913, pl. 21.

Among the largest of the monasteries built between the first and third centuries is the great cave complex of **Kara Tepe**, with its several temples and enormous, freestanding stupa. Numerous ostraca inscribed 'Kadevaka Vihara' testify to Kara Tepe's status as a 'royal temple', suggesting that it was an imperial temple of the Kushans.[13] Carved in the living rock, the figure of a seated Buddha with figured halo, surrounded by an aureole painted on the stone, became, as Marylin Martin Rhie observed, the prototype for the late third–fourth century Style I buddhas on the great stupa of Rawak near Khotan in the south-west Tarim Basin.[14] Like many Buddhist cult sites north of the Oxus, the monastery had a tumultuous history. Founded at the time of the Kushans, it suffered during the campaigns of Shapur I or Shapur II and from the third/fourth to the fifth century served as a necropolis where the dead were often buried with a coin in their mouth or hand, a 'Charon's obol'. Around the fifth or sixth century, the site was reconstructed and turned into a Buddhist monastery but the destruction and looting of the city of Termez by Said bin Uthman, the Arab governor of Khorasan, dealt the fatal blow to Buddhism in 676.[15] Not far from Kara Tepe are the enormous stupa of **Zurmala** and the monastery of **Fayaz Tepe**, whose own stupa, renovated in the second or third century, is of cruciform plan. It consists of three rectangular platforms, one upon the other and each smaller than the next, with staircases on each side, on top of which rises a domed, cylindrical structure. This stupa represents a gigantic, walkable, three-dimensional mandala, whose concept derived from Kanishka's stupa at Shah-ji-ki Dheri, and itself served as the model for the Rawak stupa (figs. 111f).[16] The cruciform-shaped stupa with staircases also symbolised Buddha Shakyamuni's 'descent from heaven', his human incarnation.[17]

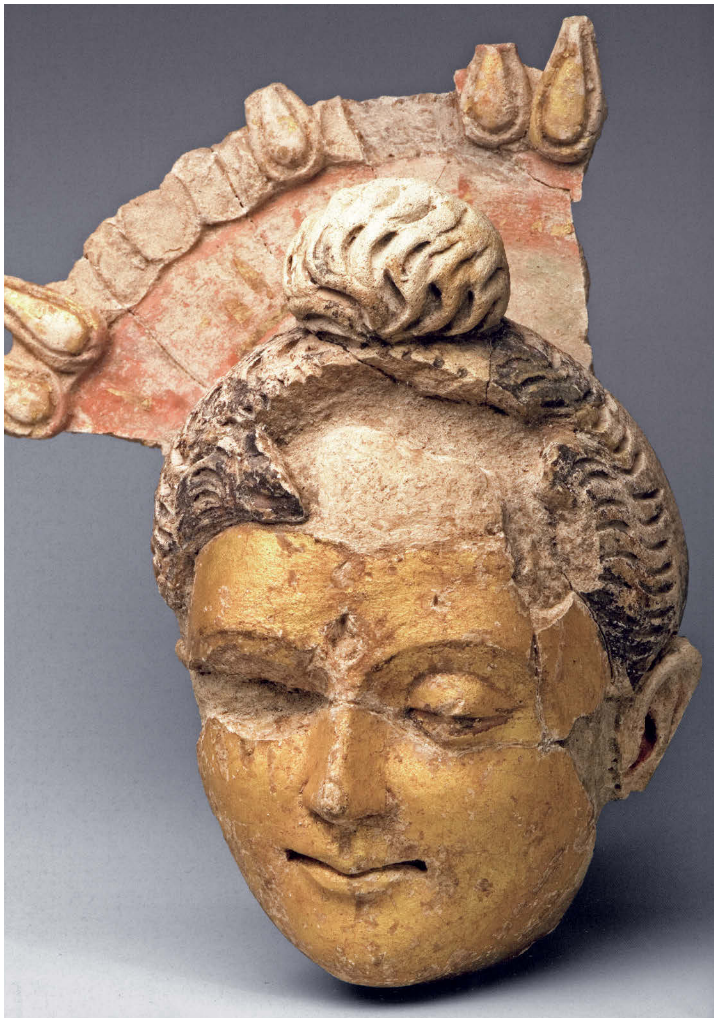
Two other important Buddhist monasteries of the Kushans were discovered near Termez by accident. In 1932, close to a place called **Airtam**, a man fishing on the north bank of the Oxus found eight limestone blocks worked in the classical Gandhara style of the Kushans. The 14 figures set between acanthus leaves represent women musicians and women offering flower garlands to a stupa.[18] In **Dalverzin Tepe** it was a tractor driver who came across some stucco fragments in a field, leading to the discovery by archaeologist Galina Pugachenkova of the heads of many statues once mounted on walls but deliberately destroyed in the fourth century.[19] Dating from the early second century, these statues were made using a technique that would soon spread throughout the Tarim Basin and beyond that to Tibet, Gansu and all of China. A rough form was created by applying clay mixed with straw to a core of wood and straw held together by thick cord. This was covered with damp cloth, then several layers of clay plaster were applied which were finally shaped and painted. As Pugachenkova noted, the cloth 'functioned as a binding element between materials such as clay and gypsum that would otherwise not form a strong bond'.[20] The heads of these figures display another characteristic of Gandharan origin, also found in the Tarim Basin and Gansu. While representations of benefactors and local princes were lively, individualised portraits, those of buddhas and bodhisattvas appear stereotyped and lifeless, having been created by impression from standardised moulds. As such moulds were considered sacred objects, they were kept a long time, and the dating of temples on the basis of the stylistic features of such clay statues alone can be misleading. An art historian might well wonder at finding seemingly older clay figures amid walls, murals and dedicatory inscriptions of more recent date.

Most Buddhists in Termez belonged to the Hinayana Mahasamghika and Sarvastivadin schools,[21] which contributed to the spread of worship of anthropomorphic images of the Buddha.[22] In fact, it was for the most part Sarvastivadin monks who in the late first or early second century CE brought Buddhism to the Tarim Basin, first to Kashgar and Khotan. They came either from Bactria to Kashgar, or directly to Khotan via Gilgit from Kashmir. Although Buddhism in its Hinayana forms did not establish



41. Female musicians between acanthus leaves. Gandhara style, limestone, Airtam, southern Uzbekistan, 2nd c. CE. The State Museum of History, Tashkent.

itself along the Northern Silk Road until the third century,[23] it would remain dominant there for centuries at cult sites such as Tumshuk, Kucha, Turfan and Karashahr. On the Southern Silk Road, on the other hand, in Kashgar, Khotan and the kingdom of Shan-shan, Hinayana Buddhism spread much earlier but by the late third century began to retreat again under the pressure of Mahayana.[24] The more rapid diffusion of Buddhism along the Southern Silk Road reflects the flow of trade at the time. In the first three centuries CE, caravans favoured the southern route, but with the decline of Loulan and Niya in the fourth century trade turned to the northern route, bringing with it the elite of wealthy merchants who were among the most important sponsors of Buddhist religious institutions, which now saw rapid growth in the north. As the orientalist Hans-Joachim Klimkeit has noted, the geography of the trade routes in east Central Asia, and in the Tarim Basin in particular, is marked by the harsh contrast between the flourishing oasis towns and the dead wastes of the desert, where travellers were menaced not only by sandstorms and lack of water but also by ruthless robber bands: 'Thus for the oasis-dweller [and the trader], the situation of the sheltered town and the open, dangerous [deserts] and steppes corresponds to the duality of order and chaos, of life and death.'[25] Given the transience of life, it is understandable that the people of Eastern Turkestan sought consolation in the compassion and protection of buddhas and bodhisattvas.

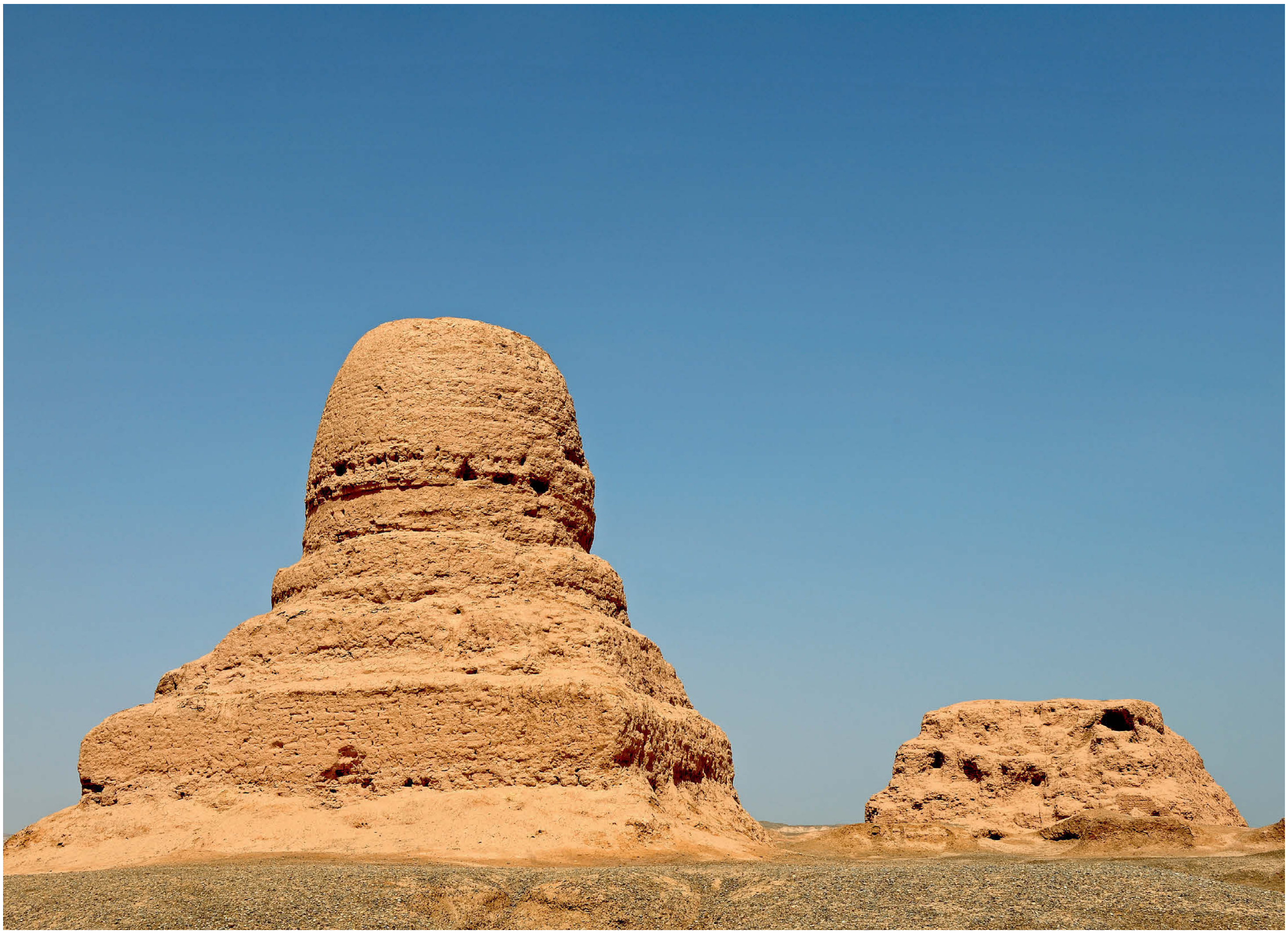


42. **Head of the Buddha. Gilded, unfired clay and stucco. Kara Tepe, southern Uzbekistan, 2nd–3rd c. CE. The State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.**

A Kharoshthi stone inscription discovered by the present author at Endere in 1998 shows that by 263 Mahayana had come to enjoy the patronage of King Amgoka (r. 246–277) of Shan-shan, who identifies himself there as *Mahayana Samprastida*, 'who has set forth on the Mahayana'.[26] This is a title very rarely found in Central Asia, otherwise being known only from a third-century inscribed wood tablet found in 1901 by Sir Aurel Stein in the oasis city of Cadota (Niya), part of the kingdom of Shan-shan. There it is the *cozbo* or governor, Samasena, who has this title.[27] The oasis city of Khotan for its part soon developed into a centre of Mahayana Vajrayana Buddhist learning. In the monastic scriptoria there, as later in Turfan, not only were Indian sutras collected and commentaries written on them, but many new, 'apocryphal' sutras were composed. These texts also served as foundation for the development of local forms of Chinese, Tibetan, Tangut, Uyghur and Mongolian Buddhism.[28] Many of the Buddhist manuscripts found in Khotan, elsewhere in Central Asia, and in Dunhuang, are of inestimable value, as the Indian originals no longer exist.

With Buddhism, two scripts in which to write the local languages also came to the Tarim Basin. In the northern oases (except Tumshuk) the slanting type of Central Asian Brahmi was developed for Tocharian A and B, while the upright Central Asian Brahmi, also known as square Brahmi, was used for the Iranian Saka dialects of Khotan, Kashgar and Tumshuk. With the further development of the Saka language, the fifth century CE saw the adoption of a cursive form of Central Asian Brahmi, based on the Gupta Brahmi script.[29] Along the Southern Silk Road and in Shan-shan especially, administration was carried out through the Gandhari Prakrit, an Indian language from Gandhara, which was written in Kharoshthi.

The striking similarity between the facial features of the very early bronze Buddha at Harvard's Sackler Museum (fig. 30) and those of the Kushan rulers at the dynastic cult centre of Khalchayan in southern Uzbekistan suggests the hypothesis that the impulse for the earliest diffusion of the Buddhist faith and



43. The nearly 12-metre-high stupa of Mauri Tim, situated 30 km east of Kashgar, belonged to a large monastery. Late 2nd or early 3rd c. CE. Xinjiang, China.

Buddhist art among the urban circles of Luoyang, then the capital of China, came directly from northern Bactria and not from the Tarim Basin that lay between the two. It would seem that on its way to China Buddhism 'leapt over' Eastern Turkestan,[30] a region which represented no more than a traverse for the trade caravans. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Central Asian scholars began to translate Buddhist texts into Chinese, in China itself, as early as the second century.

The earliest leading translators came from Central Asia, from areas under the political and cultural hegemony of the Kushans; they were Kushans and Indo-Parthians.[31] Among the most important were the Parthian An Shigao,[32] who translated Sarvastivadin sutras in Luoyang from about 148, his Parthian pupil An Xuan, originally a merchant (from around 181), and the Kushan Lokaksema, who from 167 translated Mahayana scriptures into Chinese. Other Kushan translators with Chinese names were Zhi Yao (*ca*. 185), Zhi Qian (*ca*. 220–252) and Zhi Yueh (*ca*. 230). The development of Chinese Buddhism was further advanced by the work of the Dunhuang-born Kushan Dharmaraksa (230–*ca*. 313), who translated the crucial *Saddharmapundarika* sutra, commonly known as the Lotus Sutra. This important text was written in stages through the first two centuries CE in either northern India or Central Asia, in a Prakrit language, before it was later translated into Sanskrit for prestige reasons.[33] To sum up, it was from Central Asia that China first received Buddhist teaching, Buddhist texts and Buddhist notions of art; as Litvinsky vividly put it, 'Central Asia acted as a gigantic conveyor belt in the diffusion of Buddhism and Indian culture to China and on to Korea and Japan.'[34]

Buddhism received a much less enthusiastic welcome in western and north-western Central Asia than it did in the east, though isolated Buddhist communities were established in Sogdiana, for example in Samarkand, as well as further west,

A Murder Uncovers East Turkestan's Pre-Islamic Past

Until 1890, the Buddhist history of the Tarim Basin remained hidden in sand. A singular competition between scholars of different nations was triggered by the murder of Scottish trader Andrew Dalgleish on the Karakorum Pass in 1888, which led the government of British India to send a Lieutenant Hamilton Bower to catch the culprit.[35] In early March 1890 this officer was in Kucha, where he bought a manuscript in the form of 51 oblong birch-bark leaves bearing Gupta script, stolen by a treasure hunter from a stupa at the nearby cave complex of Kumtura. First deciphered by philologist Rudolf Hoernle in 1891, the 'Bower Manuscript' proved to be a collection of seven medical texts, written in the early sixth century by four Kucha monks.[36] Once published, the translation caused a sensation, indicating as it did that other pre-Islamic treasures awaited discovery in the Tarim Basin.[37] Russian and British scholars were the first to recognise the potential for fresh discoveries, giving the 'Great Game' – the competitive struggle for political influence in Central Asia – a new, scholarly, dimension. The two countries' diplomatic representatives in Kashgar, the Russian consul-general Nicolay F. Petrovsky (in office 1882–1902) and his British counterpart Sir George Macartney (in office 1890–1918), then activated their local networks in order to acquire old manuscripts.

A significantly older Central Asian manuscript than Hamilton Bower's bears a collection of the Buddha's sayings called the *Dhammapada*, originally compiled in the fourth or third century BCE in Pali. The Kharoshthi script of this version in Gandhari Prakrit dates from the first or second century CE. It was discovered in the 1890s in the ruins of the Gosinga monastery near Khotan, in the form of a birch-bark roll originally five metres long. A large part of this was acquired in 1892 by the French explorer Jules Dutreuil de Rhins, and a smaller part by Consul-General Petrovsky.[38] The publication of the manuscript by S.F. Oldenburg in 1897 had an enormous impact, confirming and underlining the conclusion drawn from the Bower Manuscript, that Eastern Turkestan had enjoyed a long Buddhist past.

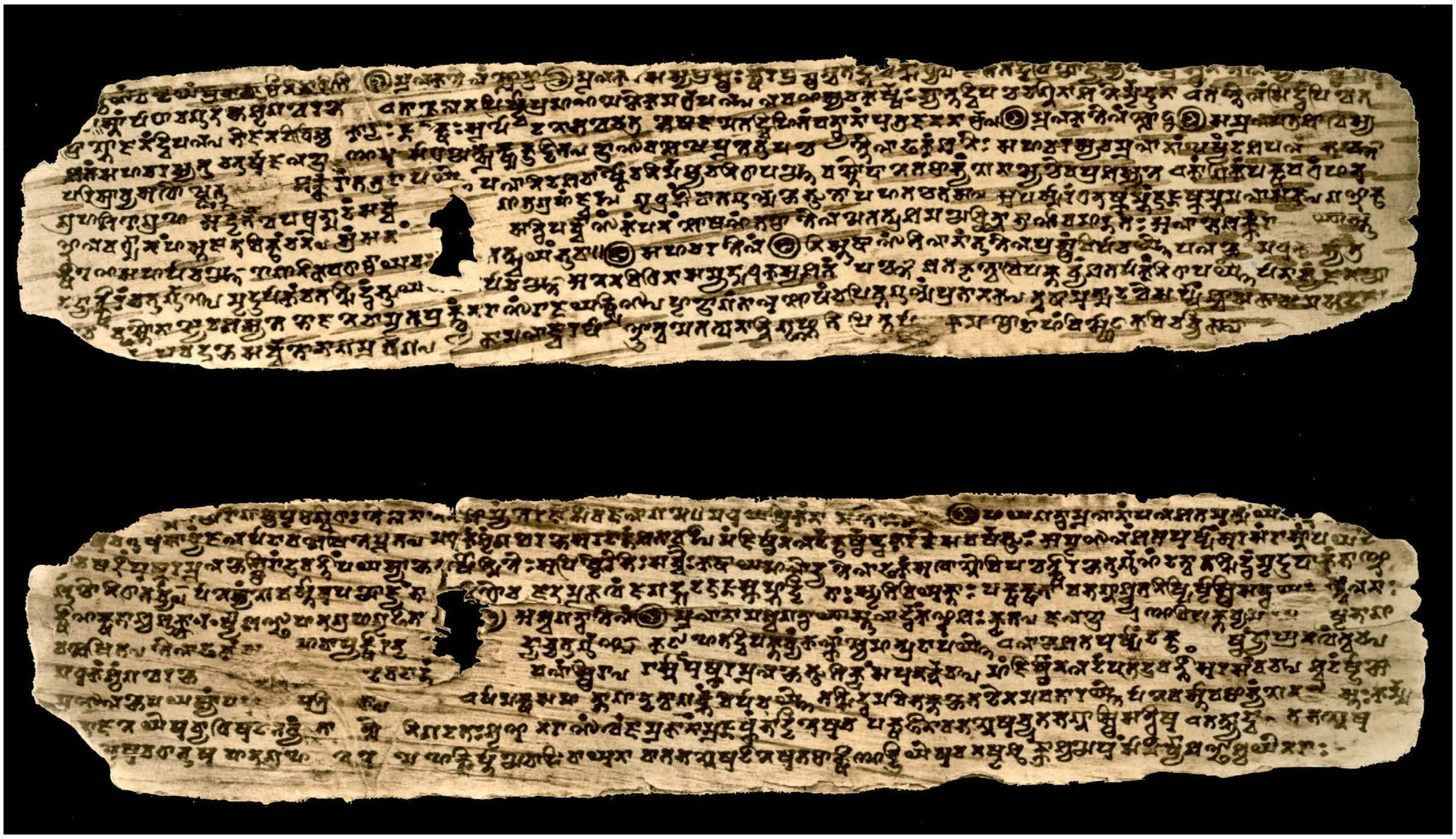
The competition for ancient manuscripts between Petrovsky and Macartney would bear curious fruit, since demand many times exceeded supply. Islam Akhun, a Uyghur from Khotan, seemed to be an exceedingly gifted treasure seeker in the Taklamakan Desert. In 1895 he began to supply both consuls with birch-bark manuscripts, and in 1896 with woodblock prints, many of which ended up in museums in London and St Petersburg. Hoernle and his Russian counterparts were able to decipher the first texts they received, but as more came in, only the Brahmi characters were familiar while the language was unknown, and finally, even the characters were incomprehensible. While Hoernle laboured over his translations and ignored the warnings, in 1898, of the Kashgar-based Swedish missionary Bäcklund and the researcher Deasy,[39] the orientalist Marc Aurel Stein began to suspect that the indecipherable manuscripts were fakes. In 1901, Stein succeeded in questioning Islam Akhun, who after initially defending himself made a full confession. He and his partner Ibrahim Mullah had started by faithfully copying Brahmi texts, before inventing new 'words' to be written in Brahmi and later making up their own scripts. Given the enormous demand, Islam Akhun had opened a workshop where he cut woodblocks and printed 'ancient' texts on local paper bought in the bazaar. He then aged the prints by smoking them and burying them in sand.[40] There was now nothing the museums could do but remove these very costly counterfeits from their collections.

---

at Gyaur Kala in Merv, around the second century CE, where the Chinese officer Du Huan – taken prisoner near Talas in southern Kazakhstan in 751 and transported to Merv – would later come upon two Buddhist monasteries.[41] Faced with state-sponsored orthodox Zoroastrianism, Buddhism found itself in a difficult position. On the one hand, non-Zoroastrian religions in the Sassanid Empire were often the objects of persecution, and on the other, much of Buddhist belief must have been quite foreign to Zoroastrian ways of thought. While Zoroastrianism was based on the ideas of a creator God, a continuous conflict between opposing principles, and finite time, and saw human reproduction as a duty, Buddhism recognised neither creator god nor cosmic struggle, saw time as cyclical, and took monks and nuns – childless and set apart from the world – as its ideal; in addition, the funeral rites of the two religions were fundamentally different.[42]

3. The Art of Gandhara

Humanity stands at the centre of Buddhism in two important respects: its teaching is focused on the believer, and its history is therefore not centred on a divinity, as it is in the Hindu or Semitic religions. In Buddhist art, then, it is the Buddha (as historic teacher or as various aspects of a cosmic buddha), the bodhisattvas, and monks and nuns and lay believers who occupy the foreground; the deities which were subsequently incorporated into Buddhist imagination play a merely secondary role.[43] Before his death, Buddha Shakyamuni identified his teaching as his true successor and leader of the community; and as a visual symbol of his continuing presence, easily understandable to all, he ordered that stupas be built at the four places most important in his life: at his birthplace Lumbini in the north; at Bodhgaya, the place of his



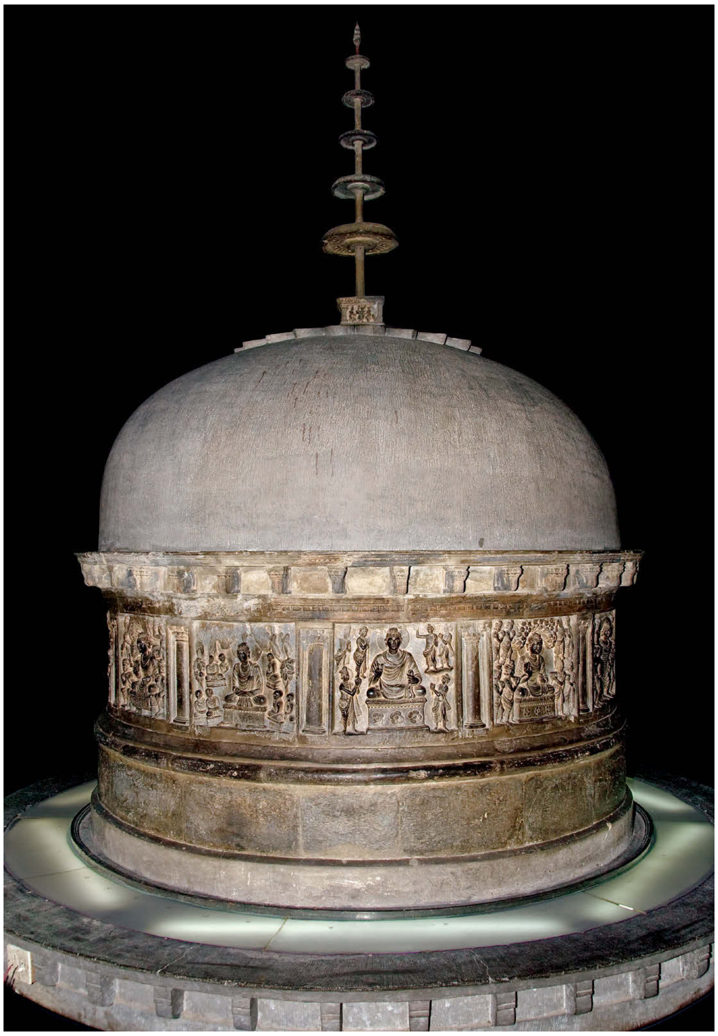
44. The Bower Manuscript, part II, leaf II. The birch-bark manuscript is a collection of medical texts in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and written in the Indic Gupta script in the early 6th c. in Kucha. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript*, part II, fasc. I, 1894, pl. XVI.

enlightenment, in the south; at Sarnath, where he first preached, in the south-west; and at Kushingara, the place of his death, in the north.[44] The four stupas marked out a sacred geography, a pilgrimage route which, like the ritual circumambulation of a stupa, had to be performed clockwise.

As the French art historian and ‘father of Gandhara studies’ Alfred Foucher noted in 1905, ‘the ancient stone-carvers of India [were] very industriously engaged in carrying out the strange undertaking of representing the life of the Buddha without Buddha’.[45] Indeed, early Buddhist sculptors avoided depicting the Buddha in human form, preferring symbolic representations. Among these are the four key stages of his life that he had ordered to be commemorated by the construction of stupas, and these symbols also have a further meaning related to the teaching. The lotus flower thus symbolises both the Buddha’s birth and the purity of the Buddha nature; the Peepal Tree, also known as Sacred Fig (*Ficus religiosa*), the Buddha’s enlightenment and the attainability of redemption; the eight-spoked wheel, the Buddha’s first preaching and the *dharma*, the teaching; and the stupa, the Buddha’s death, his presence in the teaching, and Nirvana. Other favoured symbols of this aniconic period (5th–1st c. BCE)[46] were an empty throne, which, like the Sacred Fig, signified the Buddha’s enlightenment; the imprint of a foot with the eight-spoked wheel on the sole, expressing the Buddha’s presence and the effect of his teaching; a horse with saddle but no rider, standing for his renunciation of worldly pleasure; and the lion, representing the unmistakeable power of the Buddha’s message.

Another way of communicating the Buddha’s teaching and his exemplary qualities to mostly illiterate laypeople was found in the figural representation of episodes from his earlier lives, and even earlier (e.g. animal) forms of existence. These were recorded in a collection of 547 stories called the *Jatakas*, tales with a markedly moral lesson. They tell how through countless rebirths the future Buddha Shakyamuni ascends all the rungs of the ladder of knowledge, until at last, as Siddhartha Gautama, he reaches the final level of existence that opens on to enlightenment. In all the jatakas the future Buddha acts in accordance with virtuous moral principles, first as an animal of many different species with human characteristics, later as a woman and as a man.[47] He is always guided by such values as willingness to recognise past faults, contrition, humility, empathy, compassion, and willingness to sacrifice oneself for the sake of all living beings in need of help. Many of these jataka legends were originally pre-Buddhist fables, adapted to Buddhist ends. Stone-carvers used these tales, still popular today, to decorate first the stone gates and balustrades that stood before the stupas, and then the relief panels of stone or stucco mounted on the circular or square base of the stupa itself.

Following the Roman model, the panels represent the life of the Buddha in self-contained episodes in framed fields – unlike the Indian relief art found at Sanchi in Central India, in which many successive events in a number of scenes were all contained within a common frame. The Gandhara panels were set clockwise in chronological order around the structure, so that by circumambulating it believers could 'read' the scenes as a coherent narrative and exposition of teaching. As the anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha became more prevalent in the second century CE, such panels came to retell his whole history. Starting with selected previous existences, they then depicted Shakyamuni's life, from his mother Maya's miraculous conception to his entry into Nirvana; in their ritual circumambulation of the stupa believers could now immerse themselves in the life of the Buddha as represented in sculpture.[48] In an intermediate phase, towards the end of the aniconic period, artists depicted episodes from Shakyamuni's life before his enlightenment in which the Buddha was represented as a prince or an ascetic.[49]

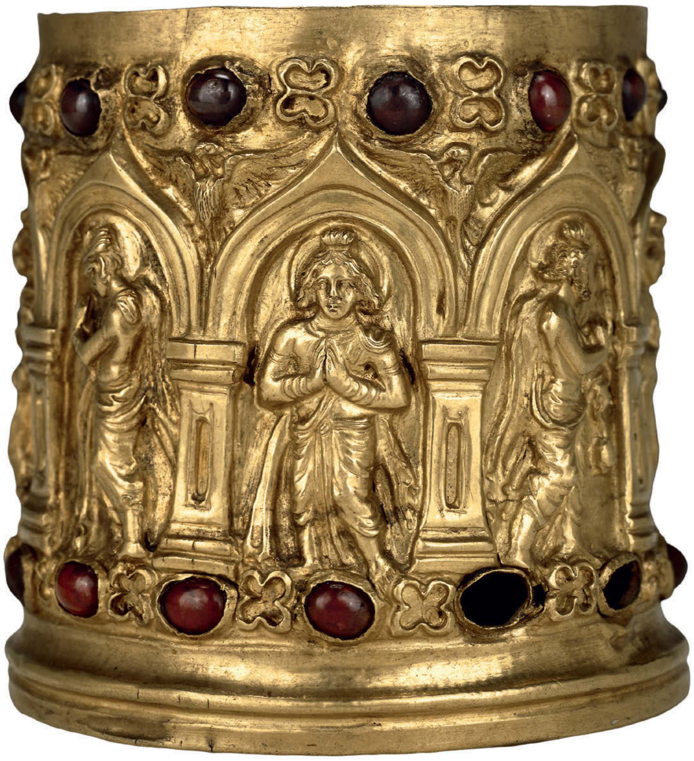


45. The reconstructed stupa from Sikri, Gandhara, with 13 narrative panels, excavated by Harold Deane in 1888, *ca*. 2nd c. CE. Central Museum, Lahore.

Early Buddhist sculpture is very closely related to the secular art of India, as was shown by the comparison with ivory carving mentioned earlier (see p. 58). This closeness reveals itself not only in the sensuous and erotic portrayal of the human body, but also in the drinking and banqueting scenes which were very popular with the Hellenised Indo-Parthians, and are reminiscent of Dionysian fertility rituals. As eroticism and intoxication did not accord with Buddhist principles, the sensuality vanished from stupa panels, and the carouser holding a *kylix*, a broad and shallow drinking cup, became a mannered Buddhist believer with lotus flower in hand.[50]

The need for a figurative representation of the Enlightened One was so strongly felt that a number of texts began to ascribe the first creation of Buddha figures to those close to the Buddha himself, and to show him as approving this. As the monk Faxian has it: 'When the Buddha went up to heaven for ninety days to preach the Faith to his mother, king Prasenajit, longing to see him, caused to be carved from sandal-wood an image of [the] Buddha . . . and placed it where [the] Buddha usually sat. Later on, when [the] Buddha returned to the shrine, the image straightaway quitted the seat and came forth to receive him. [The] Buddha cried out: "Return to your seat: after my disappearance you shall be the model for [those] in search of spiritual truth."'[51]

One of the earliest representations of the Buddha is found on the Bimaran Reliquary, discovered in 1834 at Stupa 2 in Bimaran near Jalalabad by the British explorer James Lewis, known as Charles Masson, a deserter from the East India Company's Bengal Artillery.[52] The 7-centimetre-high gold reliquary was found in a steatite casket, whose Kharoshthi inscription states that the reliquary contained bones of the Buddha. In this casket were also found four coins of the Indo-Saka king Azes II, who ruled in the last decades of the first century BCE. Decorated with almandine garnets, the sides of the reliquary are divided into eight pointed arches, under two of which are Hellenistic-looking Buddha figures, each flanked by Indra and Brahma – a motif typical of Early Gandharan art. The other two niches under the arches are occupied by bodhisattvas or believers shown in postures of prayer. Despite

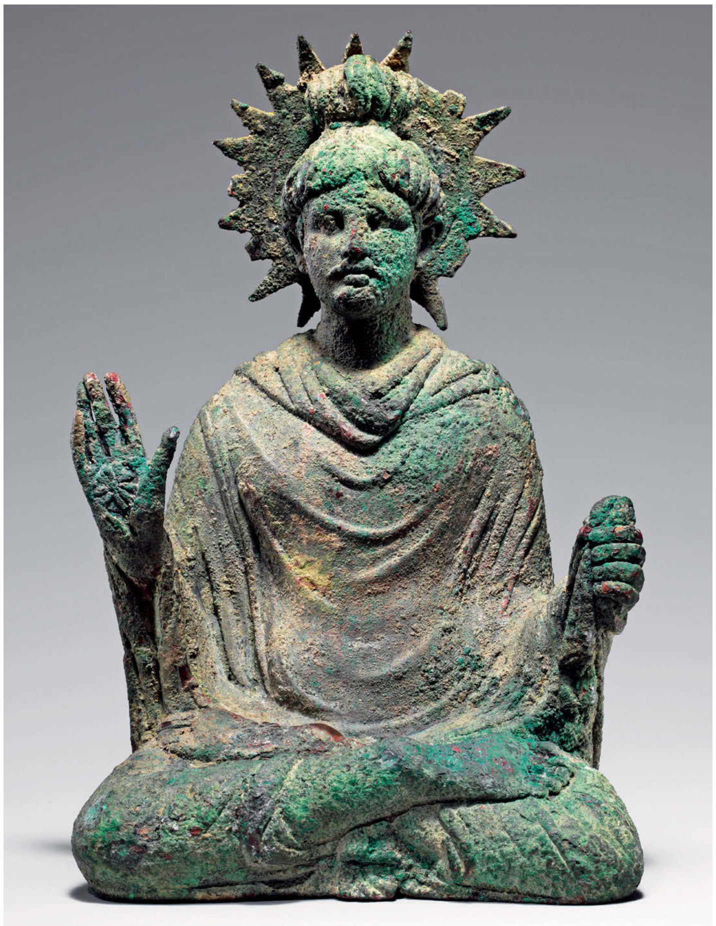


46. The Bimaran Reliquary discovered by Charles Masson in 1834 in Stupa 2 of Bimaran near Jalalabad, south-eastern Afghanistan, 2nd quarter of the 1st century CE. In the centre is a devotee or a bodhisattva with his hands pressed together in the gesture of reverence called Anjali mudra. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

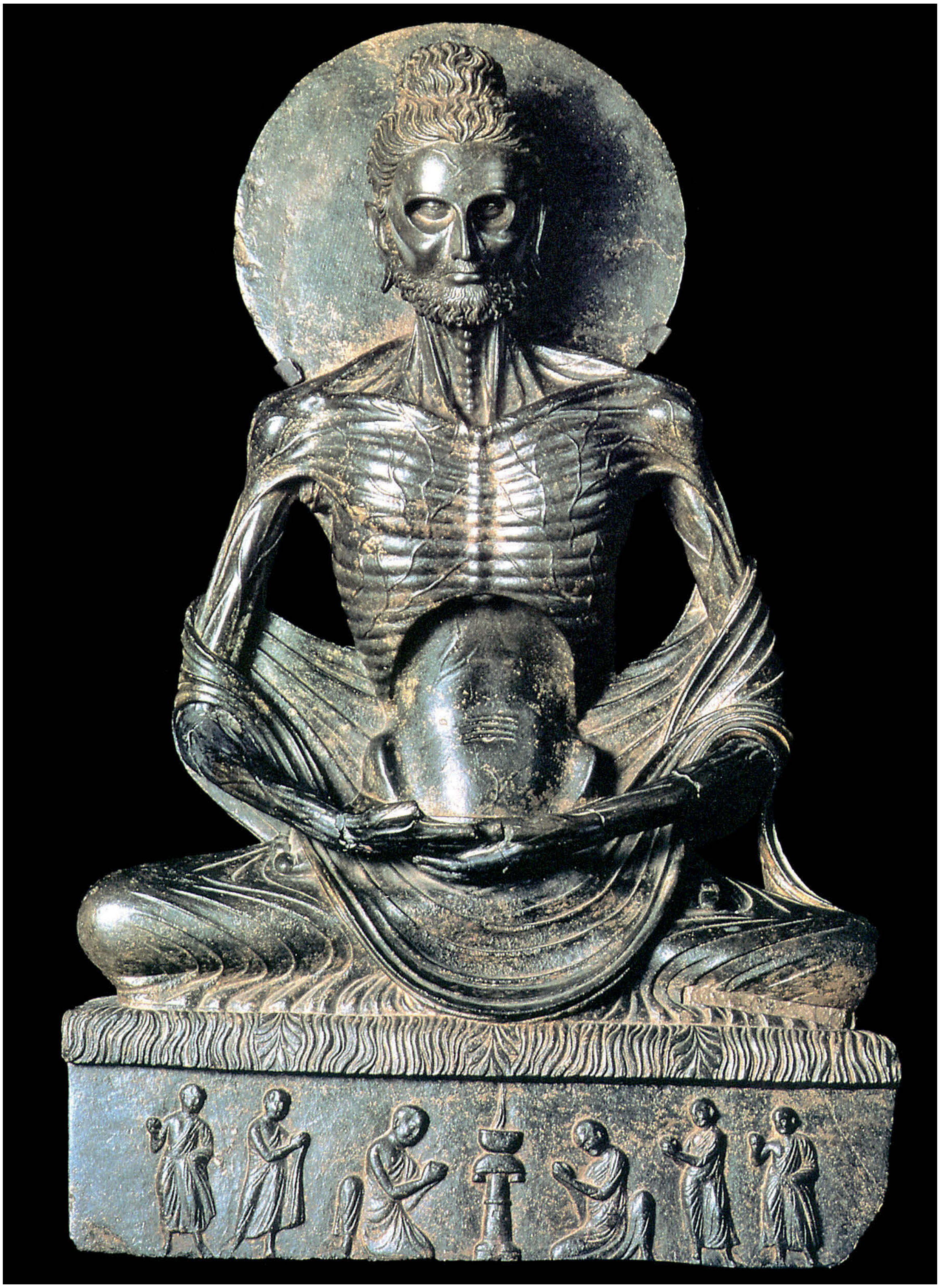
the coins of Azes II, the dating to around the very end of the first century BCE is disputed, as the accomplished form and sophisticated iconography of the figures suggest a chronological scheme of development that would put the earliest beginnings of Gandharan art in the time of the late Indo-Saka or Indo-Greek kings – half a century earlier than generally assumed. From an epigraphical point of view, the Kharoshthi inscription can be dated to around 50 CE,[53] and in the opinion of the present author there are no reasons to date the reliquary any later than 30–50 CE.

The first century CE was a time of experiment for Early Buddhist plastic art, as can be seen in a medallion from Grave 4 at Tillya Tepe[54] and a small bronze figure of a seated Buddha with serrated halo kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[55] Such a halo also characterised the solar deities Helios and Mithra on the gold coins of Kanishka, but it is highly exceptional in the Gandharan tradition of representation of the Buddha and thus may be judged an early experiment.[56] There quickly emerged two different canonical styles of Buddha representation, that of Gandhara in north-western and that of Mathura in north-central India.[57] The Mathura School's red sandstone statues – of which the most famous, in the National Museum in New Delhi, is dated to 159 CE[58] – for the most part show a powerfully built, seated Buddha wearing a close-clinging robe, often with exposed right shoulder; even when they show some signs of Gandharan influence, they are essentially rooted in the formal language of Indian art, more particularly in that of the Amaravati School.

In Gandhara, on the other hand, there emerged a fascinating art that may seem familiar in some ways to Europeans. Hellenistic principles of visual art from Greco-Bactria combine with figural elements from the Roman Empire, Palmyra, Iran and the Kushan Empire to produce a Buddhist iconography intended to give expression to religious beliefs of Indian origin. This unique synthesis blossomed from the first to the late fourth century, initially finding expression in grey, bluish, dark-green or black schist, and from the third century also in the stucco taken over from the Romans. First depicted standing in contrapposto,[59] the Buddha wears sandals, an undergarment, and a monastic robe covering both shoulders



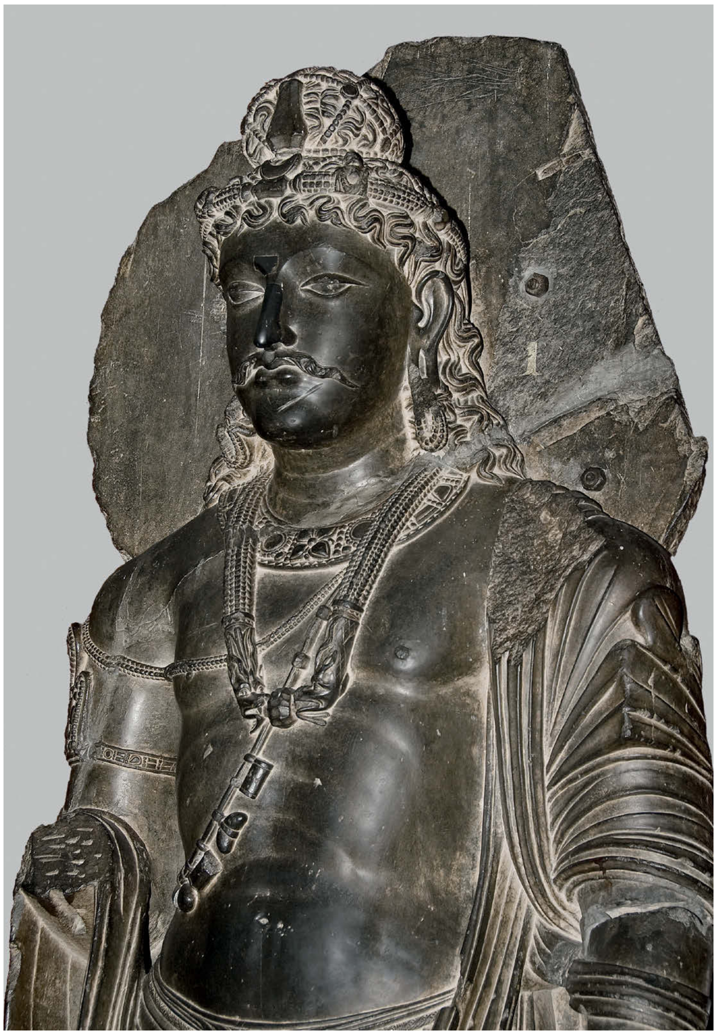
47. Bronze statuette of Buddha Shakyamuni with a serrated halo, Gandhara, 1st to 2nd c. CE. The figure shows influence from Roman imperial portraits and the halo with sharply incised rays also appeared on coins of Kanishka and in Sassanid representations of Mithra. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



48. Fasting Siddharta, dark grey schist. On the front of the pedestal is a fire altar with three devotees on each side. During this six-year period, Siddharta Gautama practised extreme asceticism, in the hope of learning the truth about human existence. Finally Siddharta realised that the path of extreme mortification was futile and decided to follow the Middle Way between luxury and asceticism. Excavated from the monastery of Sikri, Gandhara, 2nd to 3rd c. CE. Central Museum, Lahore.

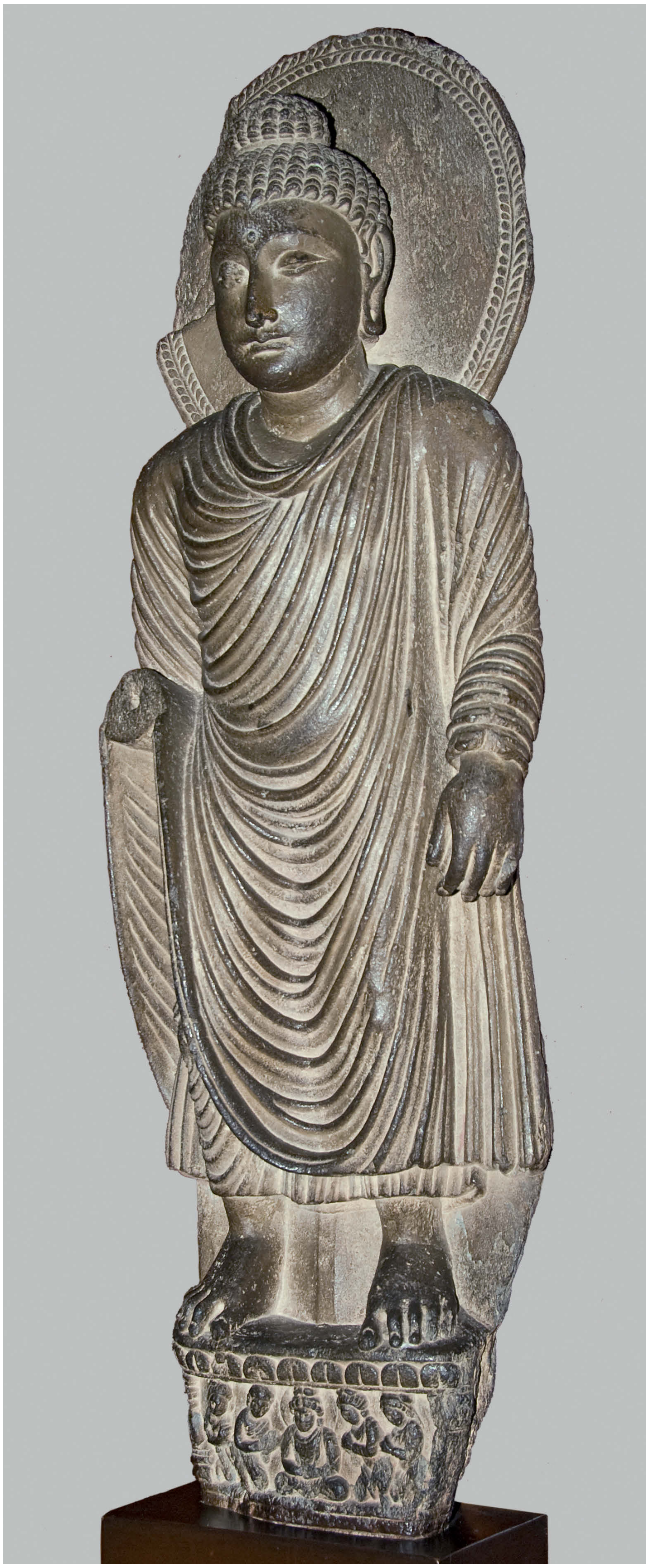
that recalls the Roman toga or the lighter himation of the Greeks. The youthful-looking features resemble a head of Apollo, more especially that of the famous Apollo Belvedere, and the waves or stylised curls of the hair have a Mediterranean feel. The standing Buddha indeed resembles a Roman-Hellenistic god such as Apollo, or a young Roman emperor. Already seen at Khalchayan, the nimbus surrounding the figures of Buddha or bodhisattvas is, however, of Iranian origin.[60] Although the Buddha's dress is entirely different from that of Kushan rulers, early sculptors did borrow from the dynastic art of the latter the out-turned feet, albeit in less emphatic form than is found on Kanishka's gold dinars. At the same time there developed the new sculptural type of the seated Buddha or bodhisattva.

Influenced by a Palmyran sculpture itself much influenced by Parthian art, in the second half of the second century Gandharan representations of the Buddha became more frontal, and the contrapposto less marked. At the same time, the eyes that had at first been large and looking directly at the viewer have become narrower and almond-shaped, half-closed, while the gaze, turned inward, away from the world, was directed at the ground.[61] This was the pattern for an image of the Buddha that would spread to China, Japan and Korea. Common to all Buddha figures is the intention to represent a historical persona in his physical reality but at the same time in a specific spiritual state. As Alfred Foucher pointed out, it is from the shared roots of Gandharan and Gallo-Roman art that a current of early medieval Christian stone



49. Bodhisattva Maitreya in dark grey schist from Takht-i-Bahi, Gandhara, Pakistan, 2nd to 3rd c. CE. The bodhisattva is dressed like a Kushan prince and wears a large necklace, its clasp formed of two wolf-like heads of animals of prey. The necklace is very similar to the golden necklaces of the Saka equestrian warriors and shows that the Kushans preserved elements of their former horse nomad culture. Central Museum, Lahore.

50. The warriors of the demon Mara attack Siddharta Gautama shortly before he attains enlightenment. Grey schist, Gandhara, 2nd to 3rd c. Central Museum, Lahore.

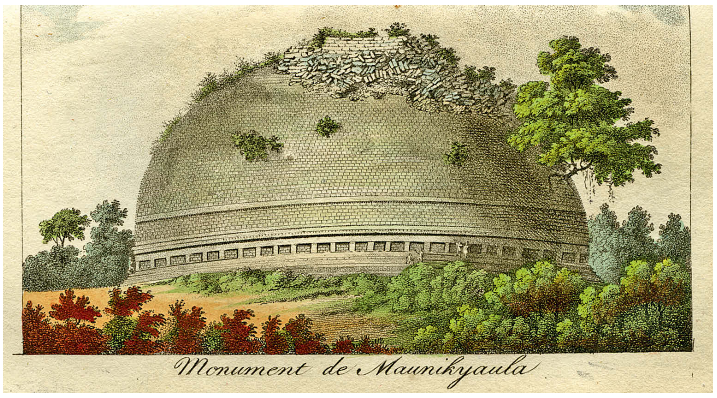


51. Standing Buddha Shakyamuni. Grey schist, Gandhara, 2nd to 3rd c. Central Museum, Lahore.

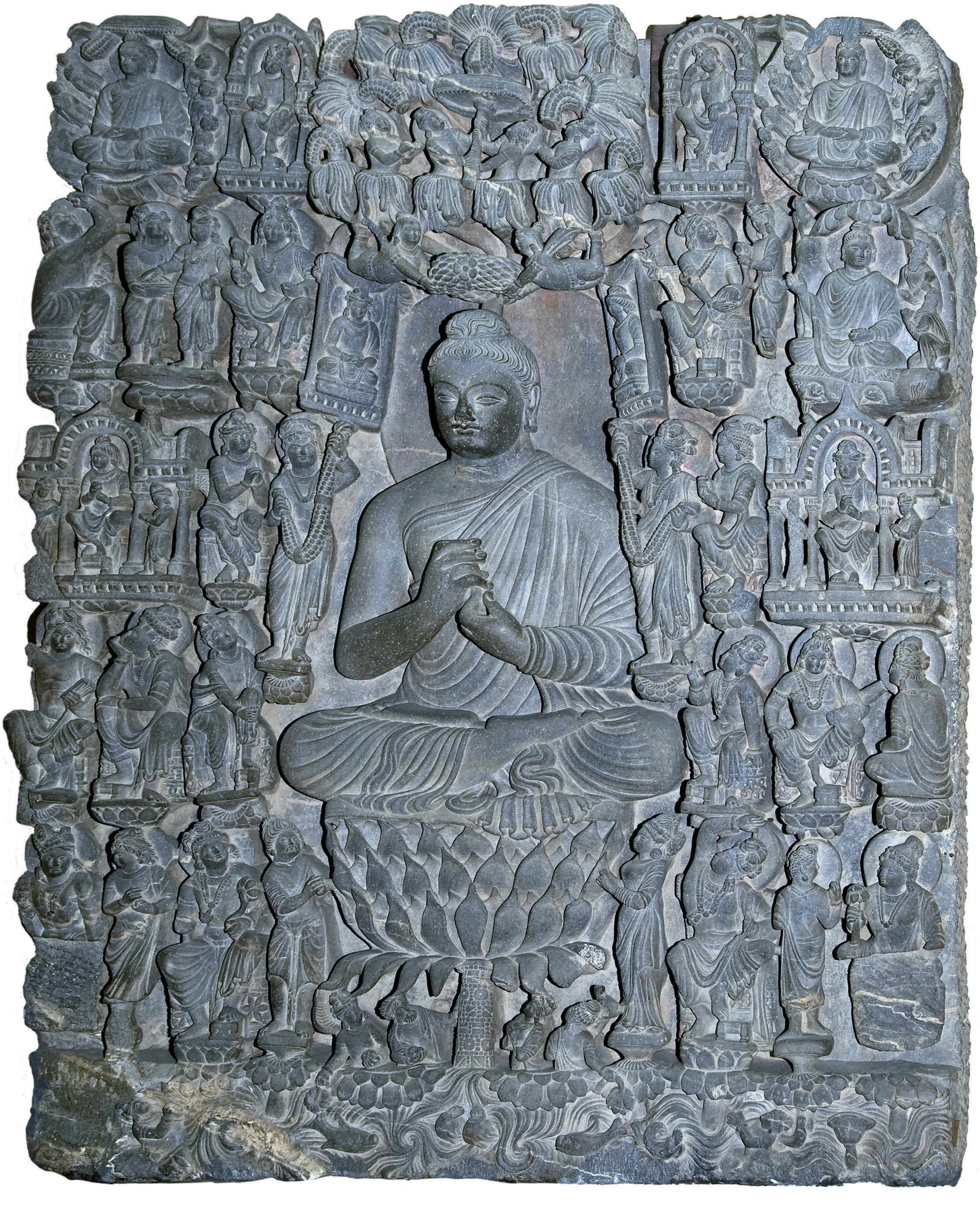
sculpture emerged, and these shared roots make for the seeming familiarity of Gandharan statues to European observers.[62]

While the Kushan art of Gandhara depicted the Buddha as a monk, albeit without the tonsure, it represented the bodhisattvas, for the most part, Shakyamuni before his turn away from the world and the future Buddha Maitreya, as Indian princes of the Kushan Empire (fig. 49). Their youthful heads are adorned with a crown or diadem, their hair is long and slightly wavy; they wear lordly dress that often leaves the breast uncovered, and also fine jewellery of Greco-Roman or Saka origin. Among the latter are torcs whose two terminals take the form of animals, winged putti, or riders, such as have been found in Scytho-Saka graves, from the Crimea in the west to Taxila in the Punjab in the south-east.[63] In the art of Gandhara, other figures deified in Buddhism were shown in Greek form: at Hadda in east Afghanistan the Buddha's bodyguard and protector Vajrapani appears as Heracles or Alexander the Great,[64] the fertility goddess Hariti as Demeter with cornucopia, and her consort Panshika as Mercury.[65] Other examples are the atlantes and caryatids,[66] and tritons and centaurs[67] on the Hadda stupas, together with the garland-bearing cupids or cherubims mentioned earlier.

The influence of Rome made itself felt not just in sculpture but also in the building of stupas. The successor to the Vedic grave mound,[68] the stupa first consisted of a relatively low, circular base from which rose a dome flattened at the top, as for example at Sanchi in Central India, Butkara I in Swat, or Manikyala (fig. 52) near Taxila, all from the third to first centuries BCE. In a second



52. The Buddhist stupa of Manikyala near Rawalpindi, Pakistan. The British envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779–1859) visited the stupa during his diplomatic mission to the Afghan ruler Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk in 1809. Elphinstone's embassy to Kabul was a counter to the French mission of General Gardanne to Persia of 1808, and its aim was to win Shah Shuja as an ally against any invasion of India by Napoleon. The Italian general Ventura, who was in the service of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh, was the first to study the stupa in 1830. He discovered that the grand stupa enclosed a second, smaller one, which dated back to King Kanishka I (r. 127–151).[3] Partly coloured copper engraving: Mountstuart Elphinstone, *Tableau du Royaume de Caboul et ses dépendances dans la Perse, la Tartarie et l'Inde* (Paris, 1817), vol. 3, p. 36.



53. Vision of the paradise of a Buddha, probably of Buddha Amitabha's paradise Sukhavati, grey schist. From Mohammed Nari in Charsadda District, north-east of Peshawar, Gandhara, Pakistan, 4th century CE. Central Museum, Lahore.

54. The monastery stupa complex of Guldara, Kabul Province, Afghanistan. Martin Honigberger (1795–1869), personal physician of Ranjit Singh, was the first to study the stupa but without any result. In 1834 Charles Masson also examined it and found inside six gold coins of the Kushan ruler Vima Kadphises (r. *ca.* 102–127) and two of Huvishka (r. 155–187). Contrary to the opinion of G. Fussmann and M. Le Berre, who consider the gold coins of little importance and date the stupa to the 5th–6th c., a dating to the 3rd to early 4th c. is much more plausible.[4]

phase the builders sought to increase the height of both circular base and brick-built dome, which, due to the increased pressure from above, would have endangered the stability of the whole construction and threatened to crack the dome. But thanks to the extensive trade contacts between Rome and the Kushans and their north Indian predecessors, Buddhist architects were able to adopt the principles of construction employed in the mausoleum of the Emperor Augustus, begun in 28 BCE. In this massive building, 84 metres in diameter and 42 metres high, the Roman builders set down a wheel-like masonry structure of five concentric rings with twelve interior radial walls tying these to a central hub.[69] This construction technique diverted the massive load exerted by the enormous dome from the outer wall to the internal structure. Two dozen stupas were constructed in this fashion in north-west India – in the Kushan Empire – and in the south-west.[70] In Gandhara the stupa-builders also adopted another Roman idea: the high, square podium that serves as a base for the cylindrical or rectangular superstructure. To make the stupa accessible, so that the faithful could ritually circumambulate the panels with their episodes of Buddha's life or continuous succession of seated Buddha figures, a staircase, or sometimes four, would lead up to the platform atop the podium.[71]

Before Buddhism crossed the Hindu Kush into Central Asia, it had made its way into Gandhara and eastern Afghanistan along the trade routes, beginning in the third century BCE. The importance of the cult sites that developed there is underlined by the presence of various relics of the Buddha, despite the fact that the region is very far from the area he was active in, and that he never visited it. The area around Hadda, the former Nagarahara in eastern Afghanistan, was particularly rich in relics, miracles accomplished by the Enlightened One, and sites associated with jataka legends.[72] As Faxian and Xuanzang report, a fragment of skull, a tooth, some hair, his monastic robe and his monk's staff were all preserved there, and he had left his shadow in a nearby mountain cave.[73]

In Nagarahara the Bodhisattva Shakyamuni, in an earlier incarnation, is said to have offered flowers in greeting to Dipamkara, his predecessor Buddha, and spread his long hair on the dirty ground as a carpet before him.[74] As Liu Xinru aptly remarks, the religious geography of Gandhara and east Afghanistan developed on the basis of the trade routes.[75]

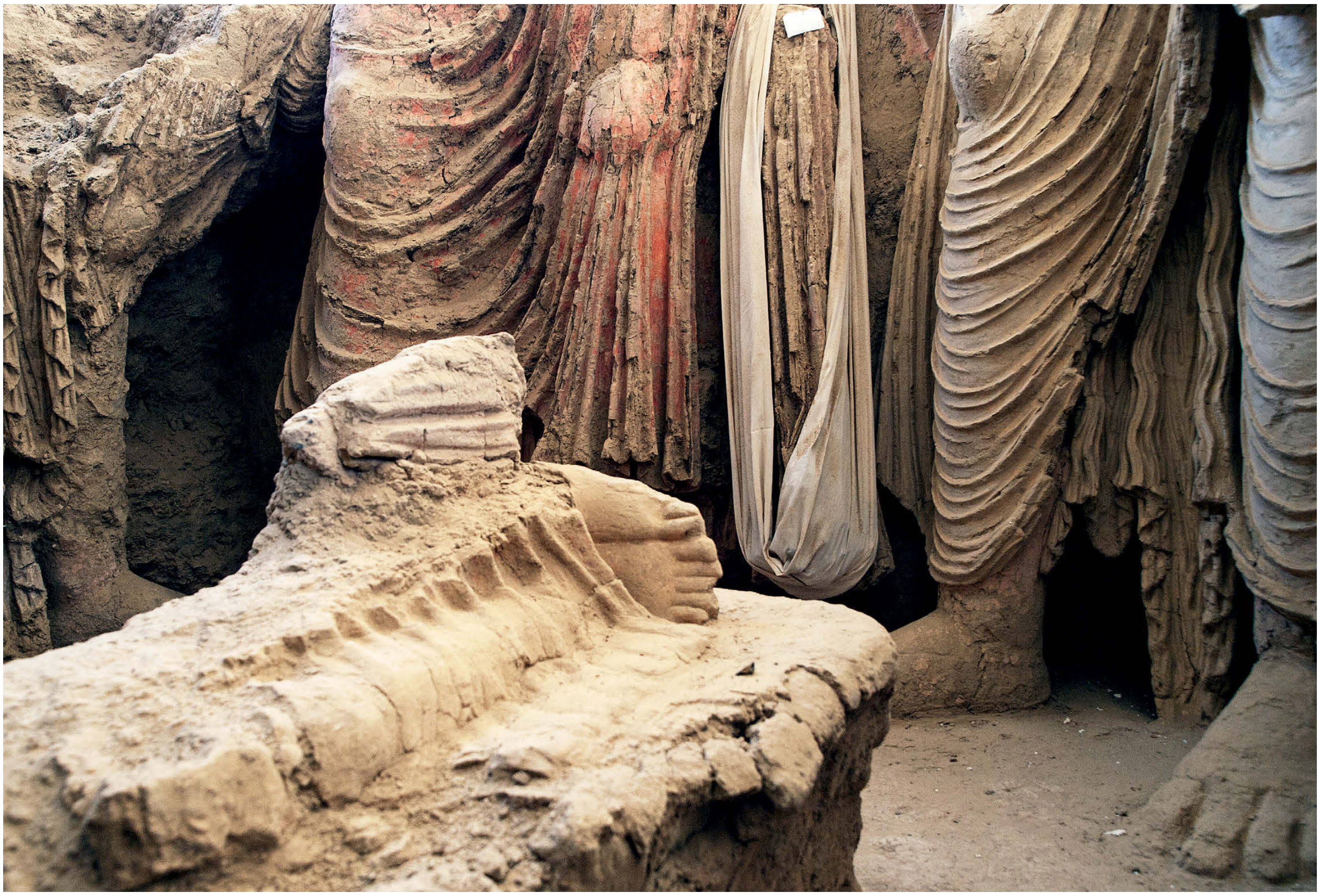
The sculptural process adopted in Dalverzin Tepe in the second century was also extensively used south of the Hindu Kush, not least because of the lack of suitable stone. For small figures, the body would be modelled from local clay, sometimes reinforced by a wooden armature, to which a thin layer of lime stucco would be applied, while the heads were made of lime stucco on a core of clay mixed with quartz sand, animal hair and a little straw. The figure would then be painted, and gilded if need be. Very slightly asymmetrical forms were often preferred in canonical representations of the Buddha, so as to avoid the impression of stereotyped lifelessness.[76] As a taste for monumentality developed in the Gandharan heartland around the fourth century, these more vulnerable materials replaced stone, as for example at Takht-i-Bahi north-east of Peshawar.

Three other important Buddhist cult centres were to be found in the vicinity of Kabul. While the monastery of Khwaja Safa in south Kabul was investigated by Charles Masson in the 1830s, that of Tepe Naranj was first discovered in 2004. Both adorned with large unfired clay figures of the Buddha, these monasteries were active from the late fourth to the mid to late ninth century; their destruction around 869–870 was the work of the Muslim Saffarid warlord Yaqub bin Layth al-Saffar, who sent to the caliph in Baghdad 50 gold and silver statues of the Buddha.[77] Even more spectacular are the discoveries that have recently been made near Mes Aynak, some 40 kilometres south-east of the capital, on the site of the world's second-largest copper ore deposit. The mine was already exploited at the time of the Kushans in the second century CE, which helped the region to gain considerable prosperity. The Buddhist sanctuaries were consciously erected in close proximity to the copper mine.[78] At the time of the *Turk Shahi* (*ca.* 666–*ca.* 843), Turkish rulers, whose capital was first Kapisa, later Kabul, and their successors, the *Hindu Shahi* (*ca.* 843–*ca.* 1026), the copper mine, together with silver mines, made a substantial contribution to the wealth of Gandhara.[79] The archaeologists working there since 2009 have identified some eight complexes, and of these have excavated three monasteries and two stupas of up to nine metres in height. Here the archaeologists found a 3-metre-long and another *ca.* 7.5-metre-long reclining Buddha Shakyamuni and numerous clay figures of buddhas and bodhisattvas, still bearing red paint in parts (fig. 56).[80] Unique, too, are the paintings on the reverse of a stone relief (third–fifth century) and the fifth-to-seventh-century wall paintings, which since the destruction of the Bamiyan paintings by the Taliban are

55. Ruin of the Buddhist monastery of Khilgian, Bamiyan Province, Afghanistan.

among the very few Buddhist murals in Afghanistan to survive in their original context.[81]

In the case of the colossal figures of **Bamiyan** – the Greater Buddha (fig. 58) was 53 metres high, the Lesser Buddha 35 metres[82] – the mass that would make up the statue was first roughly shaped and freed from the rock by carving out the surrounding niche; holes were then drilled in it and wooden pegs driven in, to support a thick layer of clay mixed with straw. In this clay layer the artists modelled the face and the folds of the monastic robe, then covered all with a layer of lime stucco. Finally, both Buddhas were painted in polychrome and the faces gilded.[83] The Lesser Buddha was probably sculpted in the mid-sixth century, the Greater Buddha around 600, when the smaller one was also restored.[84] These two statues executed in Late Gandhara style formed part of a vast Buddhist complex home to thousands of monks and lying on a major trade route. Travelling through on his way to India in 632, Xuanzang very accurately estimated the height of the buddhas as 'about 140 to 150 feet' and '100 feet' respectively, and described an even larger reclining Buddha: 'To the east of the city 12 or 13 li [approx. 5.2 km] there is a convent, in which there is a figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position, as when he attained Nirvana. The figure is in length about 1000 feet or so.'[85] Probably made of clay and stucco, this 300-metre-long Buddha has long since disappeared, as a result of exposure to the elements. Since the Greater Buddha in the west most probably represents the Buddha of the past, Dipamkara, the Lesser Buddha to its east, Buddha Shakyamuni, and the reclining Buddha further east, Shakyamuni entering Nirvana, the visiting pilgrim walking along the cliff clockwise from left to right would symbolically follow Shakyamuni's spiritual biography: He would first meet his previous incarnation Dipamkara, then the historical Buddha of this age and finally the Buddha having entered nirvana after enlightenment. The splendour of the Buddhist temple complex of Bamiyan is mostly due to its favourable situation on one



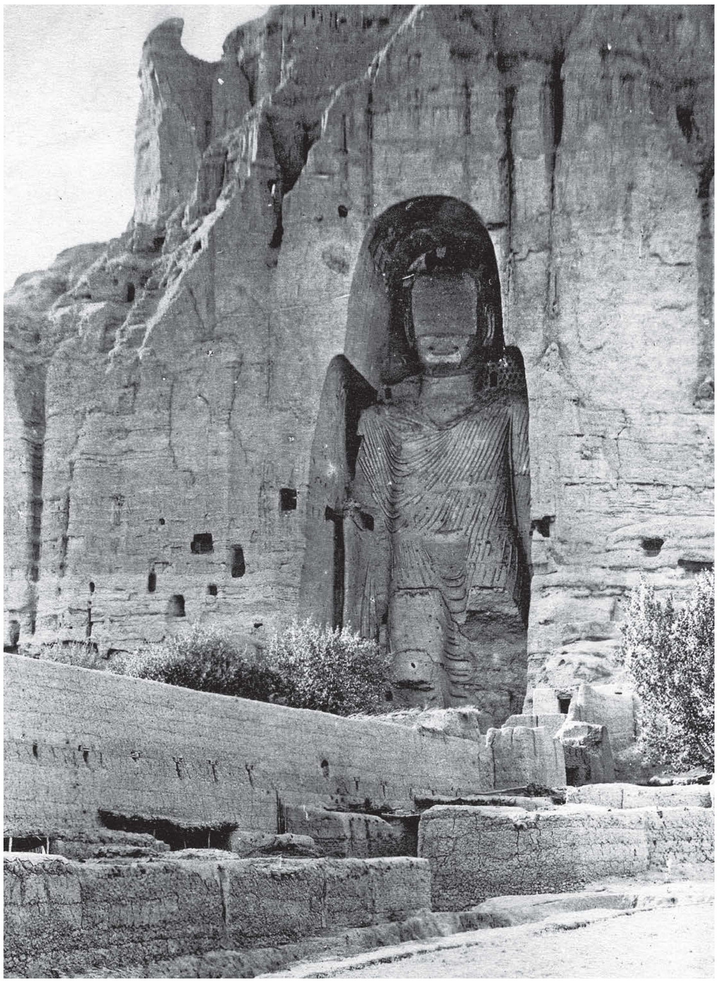
56. Clay figures of standing buddhas or bodhisattvas, which were originally 5–6 m high, surround a 7.5-metre-long, reclining figure of Buddha Shakyamuni, who has entered Parinirvana. Northern chapel of the Buddhist monastery of Kafiryat Tepe, Mes Aynak, Kabul Province, Afghanistan. Late Gandharan, 5th–9th c.

of the most important trade routes which crossed the Hindu Kush and linked Central Asia with northern India. This route led from Balkh or Kunduz in the north to Khulm and from there southwards via Haibak, Nigar and the pass of Kara Kotal to Bamiyan and from there eastwards via Fondukistan to Kapisa and Kabul.[86] From the first quarter of the seventh century, the little kingdom of Bamiyan was part of the Western Turkic sphere of influence.

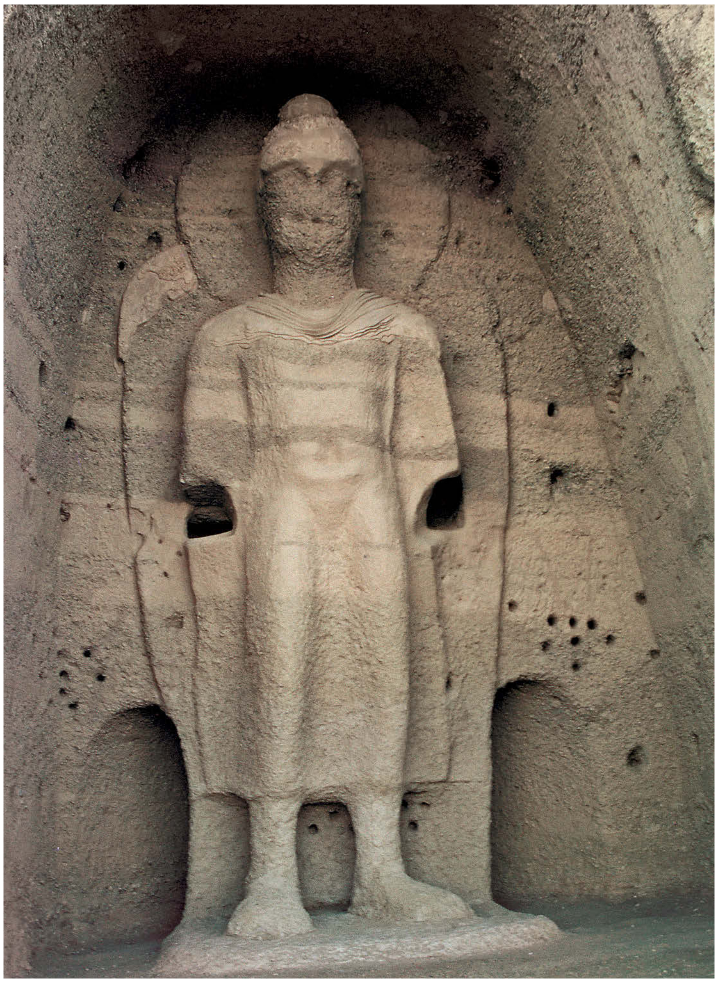
Both buddhas stood in niches, which from a distance appeared as mandorlas. They were flanked by small grottoes linked together by staircases cut in the rock, enabling pilgrims to ritually circumambulate the colossal figures even through the cliffs, climbing up on one side and descending on the other, just as they would walk around a stupa. In 1824, recounting his visit to Bamiyan, the English explorer and traveller William Moorcroft described this unique form of *pradakhshina*: 'On either side of the figures are numerous caves excavated in the rock, usually with vaulted roofs. [There are] staircases ascending to a gallery behind the neck of the statue, while other galleries run off from their sides, right and left, into the rock. The flight of steps on the side of the smaller [statue] was tolerably entire and led to the head of the figure.' Moorcroft was one of the first to realise that these gigantic statues were Buddhist figures, and that the smaller represented Shakyamuni.[87] Before Moorcroft, in 1815, the Scottish diplomat Mountstuart Elphinstone had already correctly concluded from the descriptions of locals that 'The idols and caves of Baumeeaun appear to establish that the inhabitants of that country [the Afghans] were at one time worshippers of Boodh.'[88] After Moorcroft and Trebeck, the Scotsman Sir Alexander Burns in 1832 was the next visitor to Bamiyan; he described the paintings in the niches and was the first to publish a drawing of the statues from his own observation.[89] Burns was followed by Charles Masson and Dr James Gérard in 1833, and the Orientalist Johann Martin Honigberger, of Transylvania, in 1834, as we learn from Carl Ritter's highly informative 1838 monograph on the monuments of Indo-Bactria.[90] Another famous, but involuntary visitor to Bamiyan was Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, who was taken prisoner during the disgraceful British retreat from Kabul in January 1842. When Generals William Nott and George Pollock counterattacked, the British hostages were moved to Bamiyan where they arrived on 3 September. In contrast with his learned predecessors, Eyre interpreted the colossi as a regal couple: 'The first figure we passed was that of a female, 120 feet high; the body covered with a clever representation of the drapery. [. . .] About 400 yards further on, in the same cliff, stands the male figure, about 160 feet high.'[91]

57. Head of a Buddha statue from the monastery of Gol Hamid, Mes Aynak, Kabul Province, Afghanistan, 4th–7th c.

The two uppermost niches above the buddha statues had painted decoration, that over the Lesser Buddha in a style suggestive of the Sassanid Iranian, that over the Greater Buddha in the Indian Gupta style. As the paintings in both are dated to the sixth to seventh centuries, it appears that two very different artistic groups were active during the same period.[92] Both used the same technique found throughout Central Asia: on to the raw surface they applied a layer of clay mixed with plant fibre up to 4 centimetres thick, to which was added a coat of calcined lime plaster or gypsum. Lapis lazuli was used for ultramarine blue, ochre for yellow, copper silicate for green, chalk for white and lead oxide for red, the latter becoming dark brown to black with further oxidation.[93] In the niche of the Lesser Buddha is a motif recalling the Greco-Roman world, the image of a sun god. Carrying spear and long sword, the divinity stands in a quadriga drawn by winged horses, a helmeted female divinity with sword or bow and shield on either side, of whom the left one probably represents under the traits of Pallas Athena Arshtat, the female personification of the Avestan principle of justice.[94] Over each of these warrior goddesses floats a haloed hybrid creature with a bird's body and a human head, its mouth covered by a *padam*, the protective veil that prevents the pollution of the sacred fire by human breath, an



58. The 53-metre-high Great Buddha of Bamiyan probably represents the Buddha of the Past, Dipamkara, and was carved out of the rock around the year 600. On the orders of the Taliban leadership the figure was blown up in March 2001. Photo: A. and Y. Godard, J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (Paris, 1928), pl. IX.

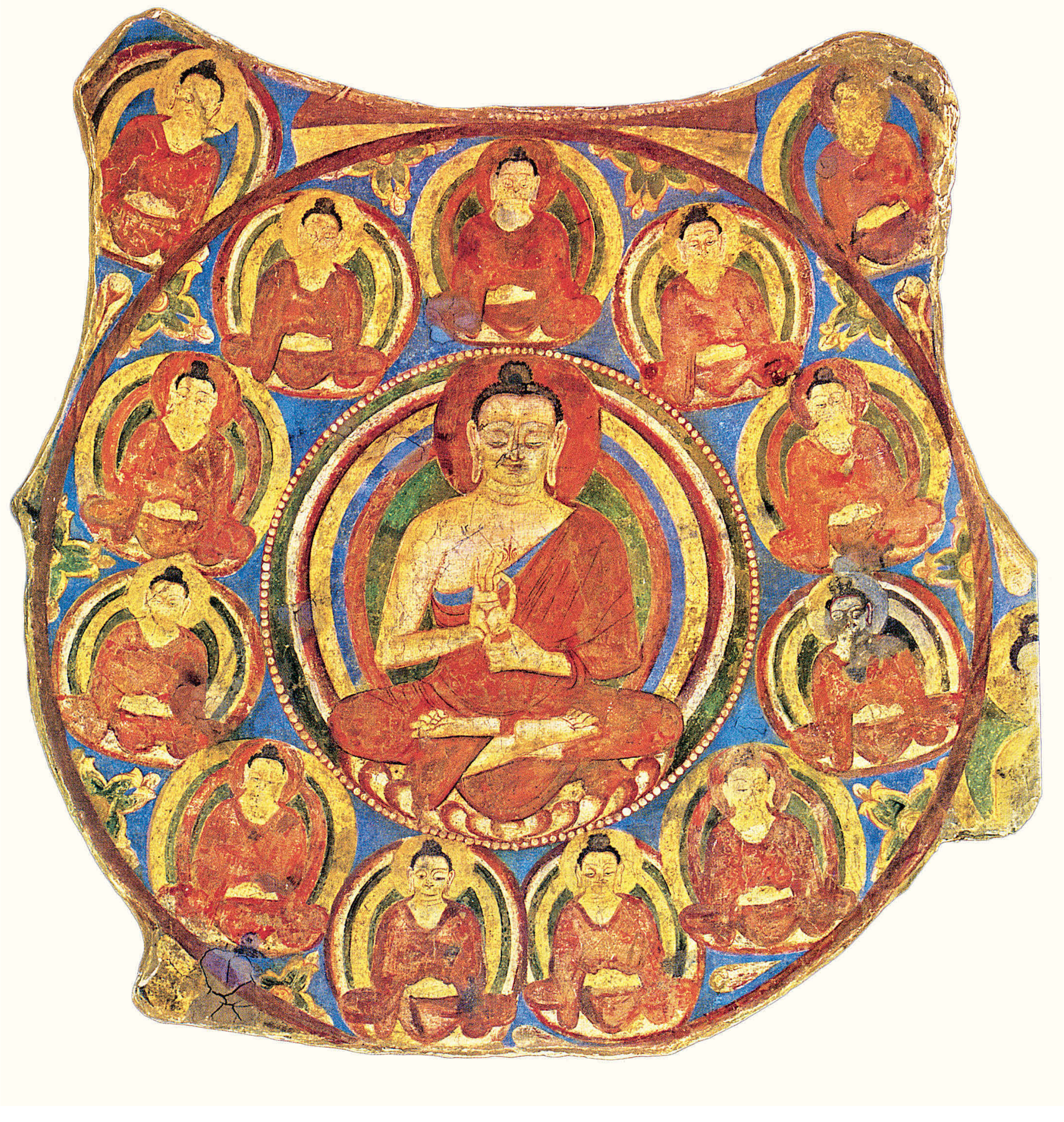


59. The 7-metre-high Buddha of Kakrak from the 6th/7th c. stood in a rock niche a few kilometres south-east of Bamiyan, Afghanistan. After the feet of the stone figure had been destroyed in 1996, the Taliban blew up the remainder in 2001.

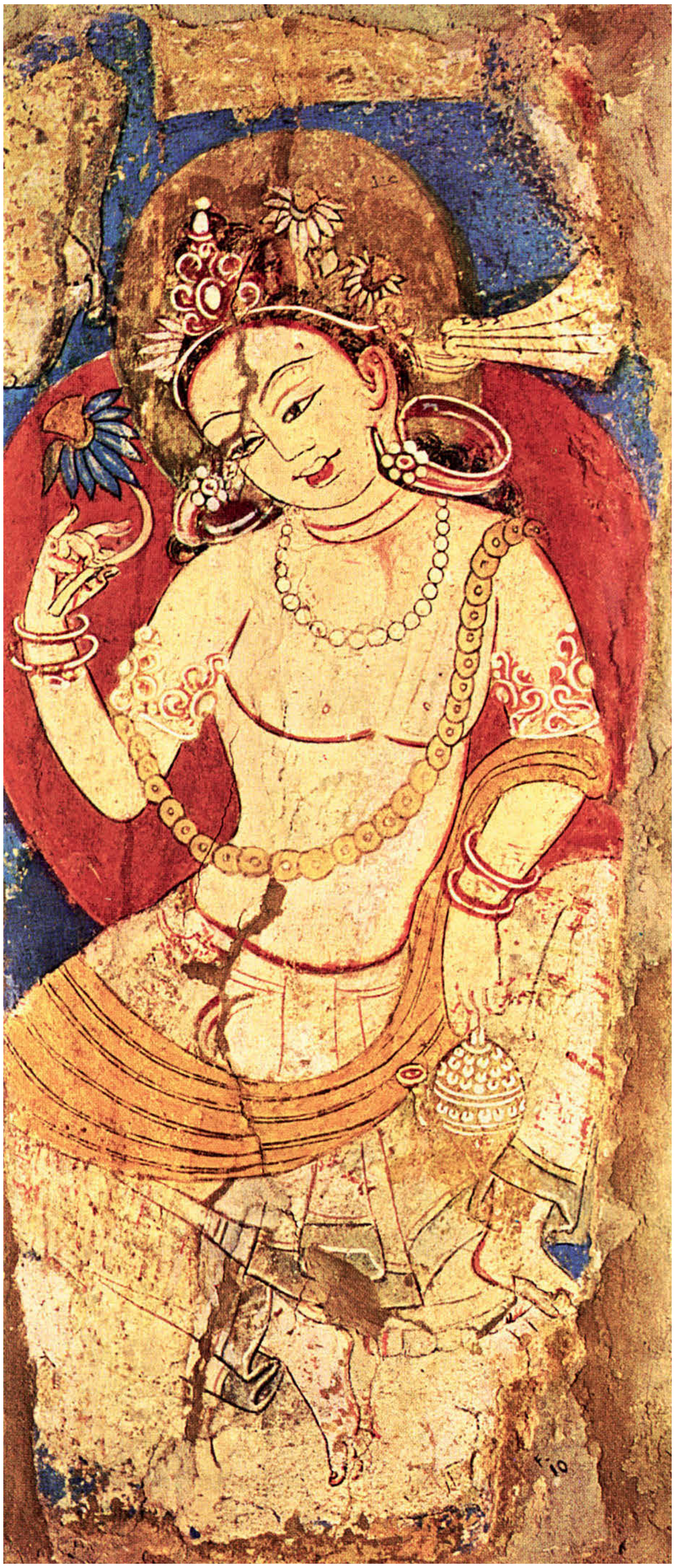
unambiguously Zoroastrian reference.[95] These human-bird hybrids belong to the retinue of the god Sraosha, who leads the righteous across the Chinvat Bridge to Paradise; the other two guardians of the bridge are Mithra and Rashnu.[96] The dreaded Chinvat Bridge became a broad road for the virtuous, but narrowed to a razor's edge for the sinner so that he would tumble down into hell.[97] The motif of the sun god travelling through the sky in a quadriga – which in Bamiyan's Sassanid context most probably represents Mithra – is found again, several times, in the Buddhist wall paintings of Kizil and of Kumtura near Kucha. In a Buddhist context, the sun god may also represent the future ideal universal ruler Cakravartin.

Also typical of Iranian-Sassanid painting are the long ribbons that in Bamiyan and its environs are attached to the crowns of certain buddhas, just as one finds in depictions of Sassanid great kings, and the pearl roundels encircling either boars' heads or birds holding strings of pearls in their beaks. These birds represent the raven Varagan that seeks light in the ocean in the form of a pearl, and allude to the legitimation of the king, while the boar's head symbolises the Iranian war god.[98] Both motifs are also found in the patterns of the Sogdian silks of Eastern Turkestan. This Iranian influence was the consequence of the Sassanids entering an alliance with the Turkic Khaganate between 557 and 563, to break up the Hephthalite Empire, and southern Bactria coming under Sassanid suzerainty. Whether the Hinayana monks[99] of Bamiyan knew that their sanctuary was adorned with the emblem of an Iranian war god we do not know. What we do know is that a pioneering synthesis of Indian and Iranian art developed in Bamiyan, a synthesis that simultaneously flourished on Xinjiang's Northern Silk Road.

Markedly Indian-looking paintings and clay sculptures incorporating isolated Iranian motifs such as floating sashes were



60. Wall painting in the dome of a cave temple in the Buddhist cave complex of Kakrak, Bamiyan Province, Afghanistan. In the mandala-shaped arrangement from the 6th/8th c. eleven meditating buddhas, seated in a circle, surround the larger, central buddha, whose hands perform the Dharmacakra mudra of teaching. The scene probably represents the cosmic Buddha Vairocana with his own emanations and is one of the earliest visualisations of esoteric Buddhism. National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul.



61. Wall painting from the monastery of Fondukistan, Parvan Province, Afghanistan. The painting from the 7th/8th c. depicts the Bodhisattva Maitreya; in his left hand he holds the phial of sacred water which is his typical attribute, in his right a blue lotus flower. National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul.

produced not only in the upper niche of Bamiyan's Great Buddha[100] but also in **Fondukistan**, north-west of Kabul. Dating from the seventh to the eighth centuries, the post-Gupta paintings there survived countless invasions, having been walled up for their protection, most likely in the ninth century. The painted and sculpted figures are characterised by fluid lines, sinuous posture, affected hand gestures, and mysterious smiles; they give the impression of a unique combination of erotic, dreamy sensuality and other-worldly serenity.[101] As Benjamin Rowland acutely remarks: 'What we have is a culmination of the kind of Mannerism already suggested in the Bamiyan bodhisattvas, and only a step removed from the half-erotic, half-mystical conception of religious beings in the art of Tibet and Nepal.'[102] Remarkable, too, are the paintings of the moon and sun gods, who both wear the same Sassanid-inspired court dress and Iranian long swords as the fifth- to sixth-century 'Tocharian princes' in Cave 8 at Kizil near Kucha.[103] These two styles that predominate at Bamiyan also characterise the Buddhist art of the Tarim Basin. While Gandharan art established itself along the Southern Silk Road, as instanced by the sculpture of Rawak and the paintings of Miran, Iranian stylistic features at first dominated on the Northern Silk Road, best exemplified by the cave paintings of Kizil.

Bamiyan began to decline in the second half of the eighth century with the enforced Islamisation of some of the local princes.[104] Statues and monasteries suffered many depredations, first under the Saffarid Yaqub bin Layth in 869–870 and then the Turkic general Alp Tigin and the Ghaznavid leader Sabuktigin in the late tenth century, before Genghis Khan in 1222 razed the wealthy city of Bamiyan to the ground. The two colossal Buddhas survived all this, as they did the artillery fire of Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb in 1646 and of Persian conqueror Nadir Shah (r. 1736–1747), only to be blown up by the Taliban regime on 12 March 2001.[105]

III

The Migration of Hunnic Peoples to Northern China, Central Asia and Eastern Europe

The last emperor [Huai Di of the Western Jin dynasty], so they say, fled from Sry [Luoyang] (in 311 AD*) because of the famine and fire was set to his palace and to the city, and the palace was burnt and the city [destroyed]. Sry [Luoyang] is no more, 'nkp' [Ye] is no more! Moreover . . . by the Huns [Xwn], . . . and by them . . . 'xwmt'n [Chang'an], if indeed they held (?) it (?). And, sirs, we do not know, whether the remaining Chinese were able to expel the Huns [from] 'xwmt'n [Chang'an], from China . . . .*

The Sogdian Merchant **NANAI-VANDAK** in a letter of June/July 313 to 'the noble lord Varzakk' in Samarkand.[1]

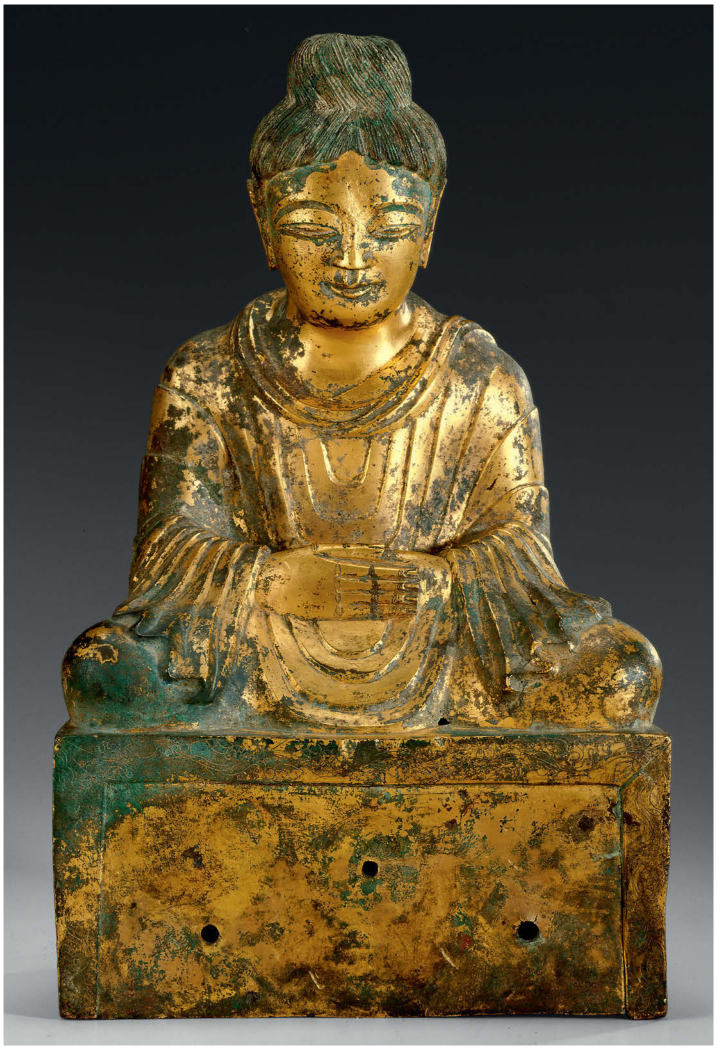
'Sogdian Ancient Letter II' was discovered unopened by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907, at watchtower T.xii.a, some 90 kilometres west of Dunhuang.[2] The letter was written by a Sogdian commercial agent in Jincheng (Lanzhou) or Dunhuang to his partner or superior in Samarkand. Dated the month of Taghmich, in the summer of 313, this letter, like the other five ancient letters found with it, is highly revealing in several respects. Not only is it one of the oldest surviving Sogdian documents,[3] but it shows that the Sogdians maintained a trade network with local agencies and a regular international postal service in China and East Turkestan. The letter tells of the destruction of the then Chinese capital Luoyang in 311 and that of Ye in 307, as well as the chaos into which the Western Jin dynasty had fallen (265–316), which would initiate in northern China the highly unstable period of the 'Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarian Peoples'.[4] And finally, the letter unambiguously refers to the invading Xiongnu – who in 316 also destroyed the second capital, Chang'an – as *Xwn*; that is, as Huns, thus bringing to an end a decades-long debate.[5]

The French sinologist and orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800) had already suggested in 1756 that the Huns were descendants of the Xiongnu,[6] and there is indeed a striking phonetic similarity between the 'Hunyu', 'Huna' and 'Hunxie' of the Chinese sources, the 'Khounoi' of Ptolemy, the 'Khounni' of Byzantine historian Theophylact Simocatta and the *Xwn* in Sogdian Ancient Letter II.[7] Archaeological finds have also confirmed to some degree the idea of a connection between the Huns of eastern Europe and those of Central Asia and the Xiongnu. The Altaic horse nomads who in the fourth and fifth centuries set off toward the Volga nomads, and eastern Europe in the west, and Eastern Turkestan, Sogdiana, Bactria and Afghanistan in the south, were the linguistic, cultural and political heirs of the Xiongnu. Within the Altaic language family, the western tribes spoke Turkic and the eastern proto-Mongolian languages. The direct descendants of the Xiongnu were the Southern Xiongnu, who lived on the Ordos Plateau (today's Inner Mongolia), and in Shanxi and Shaanxi. Between 304 and 316 they laid low the Western Jin, and their clans would establish four short-lived kingdoms in China. The peoples or leading clans more or less closely related to the Xiongnu were known in the west as Huns; in east Central Asia they were the Huns, the Chionites, the Kidarites, and possibly also the Hephthalites. The migration of these Altaic peoples led to the displacement of most Iranian-speaking nomads, the Tajiks excepted, from Central Asia.

1. Mongolia and North-West China: the 'Barbarian' Kingdoms of the Xiongnu, the Xianbei and the Rouran, supporters of Buddhism

The fourth century saw war break out again between the Xiongnu and China, though circumstances and strategies had changed since the time of the Han dynasties.[8] Then, the foreign policy strategy of the politically highly organised Xiongnu was aimed at control of the northern trade routes and the exaction of the largest possible tribute from China, either by raiding or through extortionate treaties, but never the actual occupation of Chinese territory. China's emperors, for their part, sought by various means to secure their northern borders. When China was weak and governed by Confucian bureaucrats, who were ill-disposed toward the military and the merchant classes, it bought its freedom by the payment of vast tribute. If, however, generals and merchants enjoyed the confidence of a strong emperor, China would adopt a package of offensive strategies, extending outward its northern and north-western frontiers, securing control of the trade routes, depriving the Xiongnu of important suppliers of foodstuffs and craft products, seeking alliances with other 'barbarians', and finally taking the war to the enemy's heartland. In the early fourth century, on the other hand, China faced horse nomad peoples who possessed military strength but were poorly organised, among them the Southern Xiongnu and the originally Manchurian Xianbei. At the same time, the Xiongnu elite had become strongly sinified, and so were interested not just in pillage and exacting tribute but also in taking power within China itself. Despite this the Xiongnu remained aware of their own distinctive identity and their steppe-nomad traditions. China, for its part, was not only militarily weak but found itself rocked by the 'Rebellion of the Eight Princes' (291–307), a struggle for the imperial throne among nobles of the Jin dynasty. The warring princes were no longer 'using barbarians against barbarians' but now sought alliances with them to make war on other Chinese. With the northern frontier now left defenceless, this war laid the foundations for the period called *Wuhu Luanhua*, whose name means 'The Five Barbarians brought disorder to China'.[9]

Living at the Chinese court, the chiefs of the five tribes of the Xiongnu were familiar with the domestic political situation and knew the weaknesses of the Western Jin. One of them, Liu Yuan (r. 304–310), a descendant of Huchuquan, the last southern chanyu, who had been deposed in 215 by the Chinese chancellor Cao Cao, took advantage of the Rebellion of the Eight Princes to break with the Western Jin, declaring independence and taking the title of 'Great Chanyu'. Liu Yuan's rebellion marked the beginning of the turbulent 'Sixteen Kingdoms' period, which would be brought to an end only with the unification of northern China (except Western Xinjiang) under the Northern Wei dynasty, members of the Tuoba clan of the Xianbei people.[10] The Chinese now paid the price for having settled non-Chinese Xiongnu, Di and Qiang in their own heartland near Chang'an several times since the first century BCE. Fourteen of these 16 unstable petty states, some of them hardly more than a roving army, were founded by the 'Five Barbarians'. These were the Xiongnu themselves, the related Jie tribe, the originally Manchurian Xianbei, the Di from north-west China, and the proto-Tibetan Qiang; only two of these ephemeral states were founded by Han Chinese.[11]



62. Seated gilt bronze Buddha made in China and dated by its inscription to the year 338 CE, Dynasty of Later Zhao, Honan Province, China. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco.

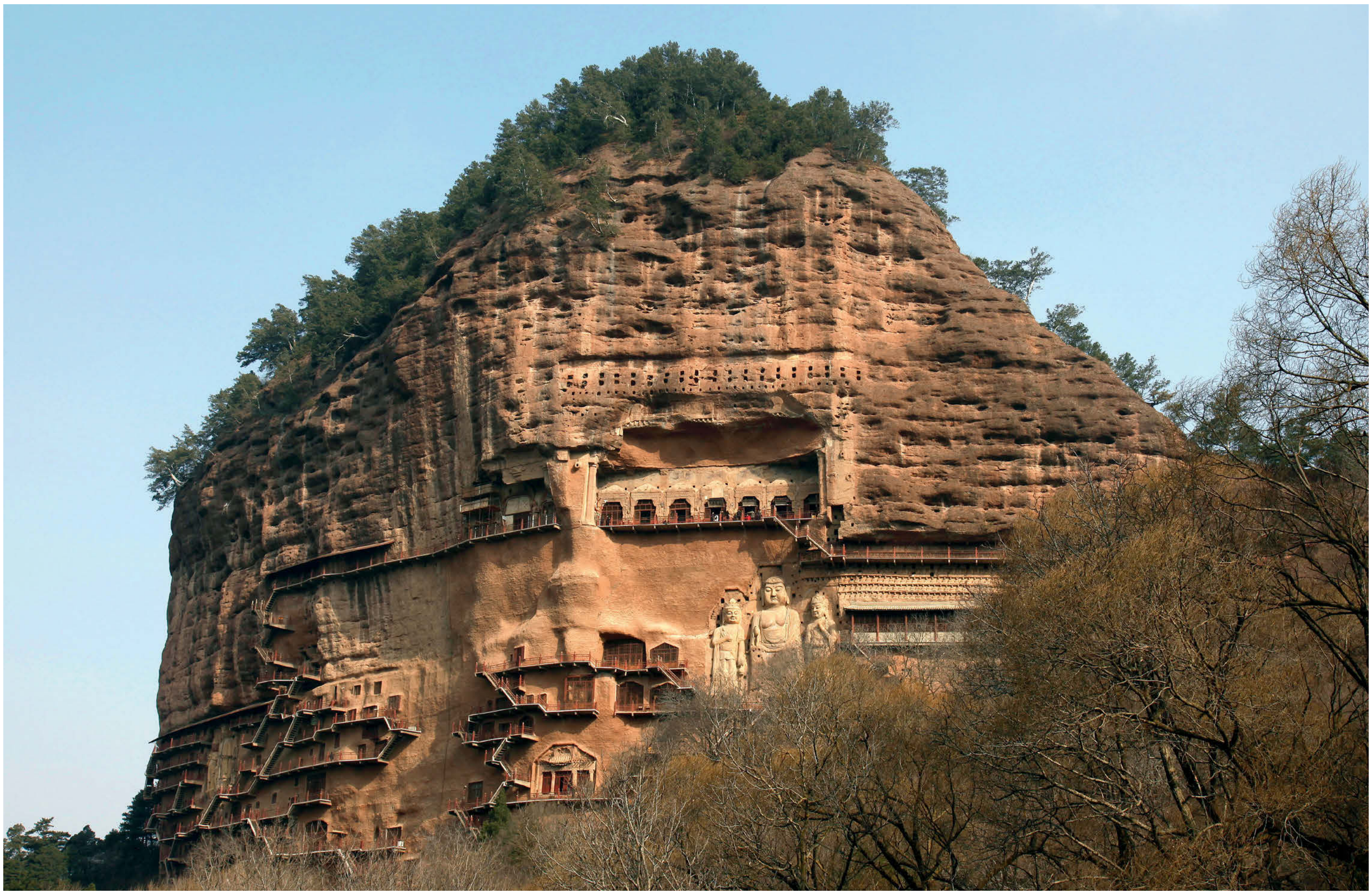
1.1 The Four Xiongnu States and the Emergence of Early Buddhist Art in North-West China

The short-lived dynasty that Liu Yuan founded would be called **Han Zhao**[12] (304–329). Its military success was in no small part due to General Shile (274–333), a member of the Jie tribe, ancestrally related to the Xiongnu. While successful military commanders, Shile and his nephew Shihu (295–349) were also notorious for their excessive cruelty. The Han Zhao dynasty had the two Chinese capitals Luoyang and Chang'an put to the torch once they had been looted; Shile had 100,000 Chinese massacred in 310 alone,[13] and like Genghis Khan's general Subotai 900 years later, was happy, given the extensive devastation, to have northern China reduced to pastureland, 'since this was so much better for the Xiongnu horses'.[14] In 319, General Shile broke away and founded the **Later Zhao** dynasty (319–351), his 'state' hardly more than a roving army that didn't so much govern urban settlements as plunder them mercilessly. In 329, Shile annexed Han Zhao, then died four years later, whereupon Shihu seized power in a coup d'état. When Shihu died in 349, a war of succession broke out and the dynasty collapsed two years later. After almost half a century of pillage and destruction, northern China's trade with Central Asia had come to a standstill[15] and extensive areas had been ruined; the Xiongnu had bled their once wealthy victim dry. Since an important part of the wealthy elite fled to southern China where the 'Six Southern Dynasties' of Jiankang (Nanjing) ruled, some of the Chinese trade in luxury goods was transferred to the sea routes. The hubs for Chinese exports and 'Persian' imports were in the harbours of India and Sri Lanka.[16]

It is a paradox of history that Buddhism had the cruel Xiongnu generals and the bellicose Tuoba to thank for its rapid diffusion north of the Yangtse. Its foundations were laid by Fotudeng (*ca.* 232?–348), a Hinayana monk of Central Asian origins, probably from Kucha.[17] He is said to have reached Luoyang at the advanced age of 78, and to have witnessed its destruction. Fotudeng was not only a charismatic preacher but was also said to have had powers of clairvoyance. He realised that Buddhism might greatly appeal to the afflicted population if he could stop the foreign warlords from butchering innocent civilians. So he joined General Shile and served him as a military adviser, predicting the outcome of upcoming battles and at the same time exerting a moderating influence upon him. He also succeeded in gaining Shihu's confidence. The decisive breakthrough came when a minister named Wang Tu warned Emperor Shihu that no Chinese emperor could tolerate the dissemination of the Buddha's teaching, for the latter was a 'foreign god'. But Wang Tu's advice achieved the opposite of what the minister had intended. Shihu thought of his own Xiongnu origins and delivered the following edict: 'Tu's argument is that Buddha is a deity of foreign lands and is not one whom it is proper for the emperor and the Chinese to worship. We were born out of the marches, and though We are unworthy We have complied with Our appointed destiny and govern the Chinese as their prince . . . Buddha being a barbarian god is the very one we should worship . . . As for I [*sic*], the Chao, and the myriad barbarians, if there are those who abandon their unauthorised worship and take pleasure in worshipping Buddha, We hereby permit all of them to become adherents.'[18] Shihu deliberately chose a non-Chinese religion, a faith that addressed all peoples.

Fotudeng also managed to found 893 temples, formulate a basic monastic rule, and promote Buddhist sculpture, as the earliest-dated gilt Buddha in China suggests. This 39-centimetre-high figure of a seated Buddha (fig. 62) from the Later Zhao territory dates from 338; the realistic representation and beatific expression of the meditating Buddha would be characteristic of early Chinese Buddha figures.[19] Daoan (*ca.* 312–385), Fotudeng's most famous disciple, and Kumarajiva (344–413) from Kucha in Xinjiang continued Fotudeng's efforts to develop a distinctively Chinese Buddhism, at the same time helping Mahayana along its way to dominance.

The third Xiongnu state, called **Da Xia** (407–431), was founded in the Ordos region by Liu Bobo (381–425), who in 413 took the name of Helian Bobo. He built the highly fortified city of Tongwangcheng, which remained the capital of Xia even after the capture of Chang'an. Helian Bobo exceeded even Shihe and Shilu in cruelty, ordering the killing of thousands of skilled craftsmen who had worked on the building of his new capital, so as to ensure that they could never repeat their achievement elsewhere.[20] Scarcely a quarter of a century after its founding, Da Xia fell to the Northern Wei. The fourth Xiongnu state in China would be that of the **Northern Liang** (397–439, 460 in Gaochang) in today's Gansu province, where the Xiongnu general Juqu Mengxun (r. 401–433) seized power in a coup against the state's founder, the Chinese Duan Ye.[21] After successfully defending his little state for

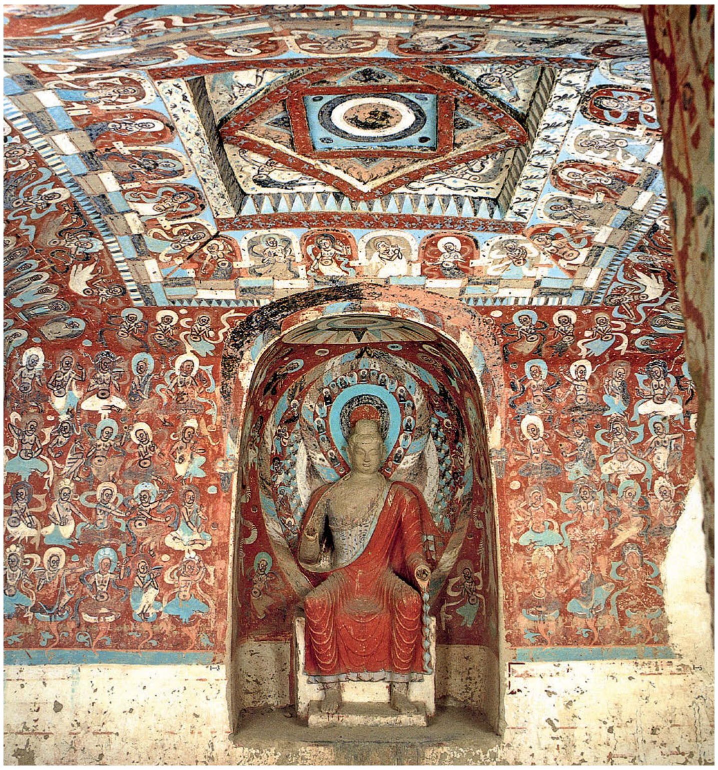


63. Around the mid-5th c., Buddhist monks began to cut caves into Mount Maiji Shan and to decorate them with stone and clay figures as well as wall paintings. Gansu Province, China.

more than 20 years, in 426 Juqu Mengxun had to recognise the overlordship of Taiwudi, the increasingly powerful emperor of the Northern Wei. When in 439 Taiwudi attacked again, capturing the Northern Liang capital of Guzang, not far from Wuwei in Gansu, Juqu Mengxun's son and successor Juqu Mujian (r. 433–439) had no option but to capitulate.

His younger brothers Juqu Wuhui and Juqu Anzhou succeeded in escaping west, first to Dunhuang, where in the winter of 441–42 they were encircled by Northern Wei troops. The Xiongnu then broke out, crossing the Kum Tagh desert south of the Lop Nor and escaping toward Shan-shan. Shan-shan's king Bilong had already fled to Calmadana (Chümo) on the Southern Silk Road during the war, leaving the kingdom's defence to his son.[22] When the Xiongnu failed to establish control over Shan-shan and were threatened with invasion by the Northern Wei, they turned to the north around 444, capturing the city of Gaochang in the Turfan Basin from the warlord Hei Shuang. Northern Wei forces on the trail of the fleeing Xiongnu then conquered Shan-shan in 445,[23] thus putting an end to the political fragmentation of northern China and reviving the terrestrial trade route. When Juqu Wuhui died in 444, his brother Juqu Anzhou succeeded him at the head of the small rump state of Northern Liang. Around 450, Juqu Anzhou captured the hostile neighbouring city of Jiaohe (Yarkhoto), west of today's city of Turfan, and made Gaochang (also called Kocho and Karakhoja) the capital of the united oases of Turfan.[24] Although Juqu Anzhou strove to maintain peaceful relations with the powerful nomad empire of Rouran to the north, the latter attacked Gaochang in 460, killing Juqu Anzhou and establishing the Han Chinese Kan Bozhou as a vassal king.[25]

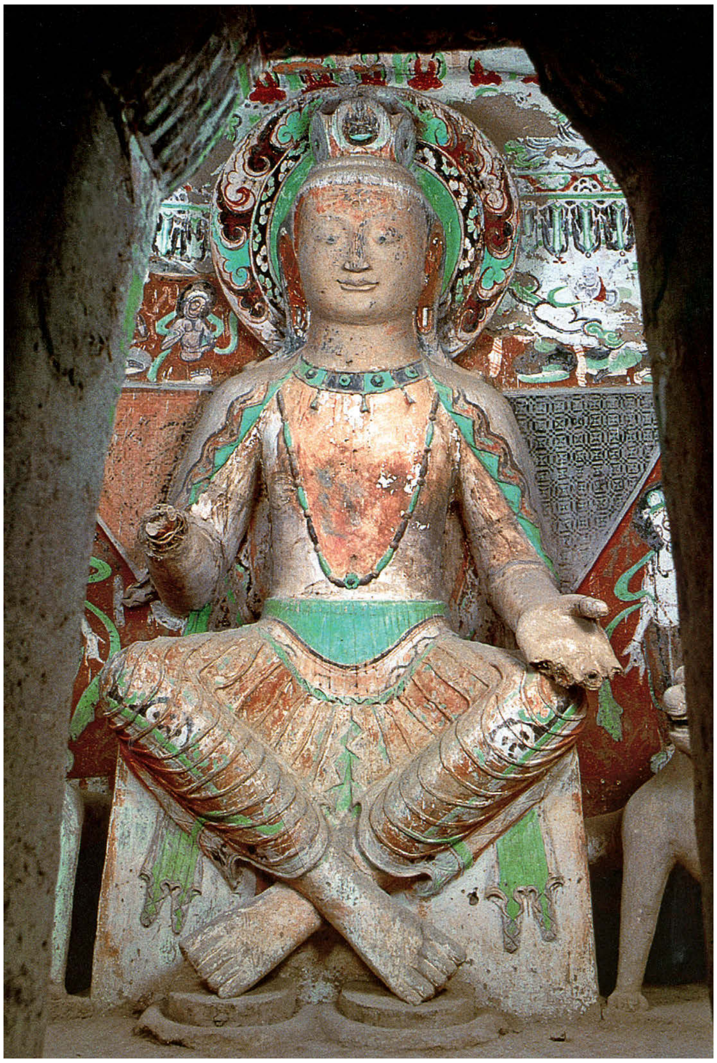
Like the Later Zhao, the Northern Liang supported Buddhism on pragmatic grounds. The rulers valued the clairvoyancy and supposed magical powers of Buddhist masters and promoted the veneration of the apparently all-powerful 'god' named Buddha and his omnipresent bodhisattvas. Hailing from India or Kashmir, the monk Dharmakshema (385–433) came to occupy in relation to Juqu Mengxun a position comparable to Fotudeng's under the Later Zhao. Dharmakshema left home for Central Asia, living in Kucha and Shan-shan before settling in Shazhou (Dunhuang). When Juqu Mengxun captured Dunhuang in 420 or 421, he took Dharmakshema to the capital Guzang, where the latter translated into Chinese the *Nirvana Sutra* especially revered by the Sarvastivadin monks of Xinjiang. Together with the *Dirghagama Sutra* this sutra inspired the design of early Buddhist grottoes at Kizil and in Gansu as circumambulatories with a central pillar.[26]



64. Cave 272, Mogao Caves, Northern Liang dynasty (397–439), Gansu Province, China. In the main niche, the future Buddha Maitreya is depicted in the typical 'European' sitting position, on a raised seat, with his feet resting on the floor; his head is a late replacement which was made too small. The Buddha is surrounded by celestial musicians, dancers and adorants; the *zaojing*-type ceiling, with an ornamental caisson inset at the crown, emulates the architectural structure of ancient Chinese buildings.

Thanks to royal support, there were five centres of translation in the little kingdom of Northern Liang alone.[27] Buddhism quickly found a following among the impoverished wider population, which was hardly interested in a hard-to-earn redemption in some mysterious Nirvana, being concerned rather with gaining entry to the paradise of Maitreya or Amitabha, as it was described in the newly translated sutras. Dharmakshema's fame as a soothsayer, however, became so great that Taiwudi, the mighty king of the Northern Wei, himself a Daoist, demanded that Juqu Mengxun hand him over. As the latter let the matter drag on, Taiwudi threatened war in late 432, whereupon Juqu Mengxun had Dharmakshema killed, to prevent him ever using his magical powers against his old master in the service of the new.[28]

While the small Xiongnu kingdom of the Northern Liang in north-west China remained politically insignificant, it did play a prominent role in the development of China's Early Buddhist sculpture. In holding the Hexi Corridor in Central Gansu it controlled an essential sector of the Silk Road; in the west, Gansu bordered on the Tarim Basin, where Buddhism had already gained



65. Cave 275, Mogao Caves, Northern Liang dynasty (397–439), Gansu Province, China. The 3.34-metre-high Buddha of the Future, Maitreya, sits on his throne with crossed legs.

a foothold in the late first to early second centuries CE, while in the east it gave on to central China and the Northern Wei. The geographical position of the Northern Liang and their interest in Buddhism meant that Gansu served as a bridge in the transmission of Buddhist art from Central Asia to China. Juqu Mengxun supported the foundation of Buddhist cave monasteries, carved out of the red sandstone of the Qilian Mountains. Among the most important of the cave monasteries established by the Northern Liang are the grottoes of Mati Si, Tianti Shan, Wenshu Shan and Jianti Si;[29] almost simultaneously, or a very little later, the neighbouring Xianbei-ruled kingdom of Western Qin (385–431) saw the development of the imposing Buddhist cave monasteries of Bingling Si and Maiji Shan (fig. 63).[30] All these institutions were situated near military garrisons established on the Silk Road.[31] As can be seen in the caves of Mati Si, the artists adopted the plan of the circumambulatory temple with central pillar from Kizil or the older cave temples of Airtam and Kara Tepe near Termez.[32] The early Kizil caves also influenced the distinctive Buddhist imagery of the Northern Liang, which sets the Buddha Shakyamuni and the future Buddha Maitreya in the foreground, surrounding them with flying heavenly beings called *apsaras* (Chinese: *feitian*). Apsaras, bodhisattvas and benefactors are all surrounded by airy, floating bands or ribbons that recall images of the Kushan wind god Oado and his billowing cloak.

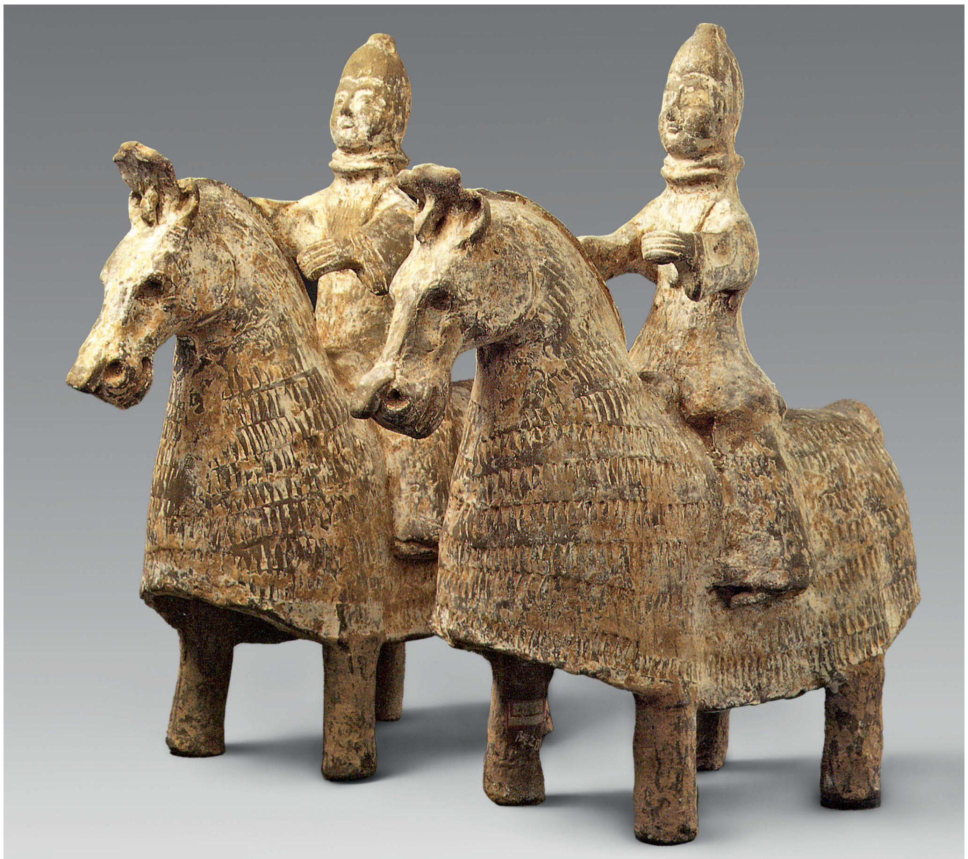
The most valuable legacy of the Northern Liang is the oldest surviving Buddhist cave complex at Mogao, 25 kilometres south-east of Dunhuang in furthest Western Gansu. The 492 caves that now survive are only some of the more than 1,000 caves that were cut into a sandstone cliff two kilometres long and 17 metres in average height.[33] The first grotto was made by the monk Yuezhun in 366, during the Former Liang dynasty (320–376), whose state developed from a commandery of the Chinese Western Jin. The earliest caves have collapsed, and the oldest well-preserved grottoes, nos. 268, 272 and 275 (figs. 64f), date from the time of the Northern Liang, after they had conquered Dunhuang in 420 or 421.[34] Like those in Cave 169 at Bingling Si (dated to 420), the Buddha statues in these three grottoes display characteristics of the Late Gandhara School, such as the cheery, composed faces, the half-closed, almond-shaped eyes, the pronounced *ushnisha* (the cranial protuberance) and naturalistic anatomy.[35] The Northern Liang left another, unintended legacy to Buddhist art on their defeat by the Northern Wei in 439, when the latter deported some 100,000 households to their capital Pingcheng (today's Datong), where 20 years later the Emperor Wengchengdi (r. 452–465) would embark upon the construction of a gigantic Buddhist cave temple at Yungang. These prisoners of war and craftsmen and artists later deported from Gansu would be employed to construct these grottoes.[36]

1.2 The Northern Wei and the Yungang Grottoes

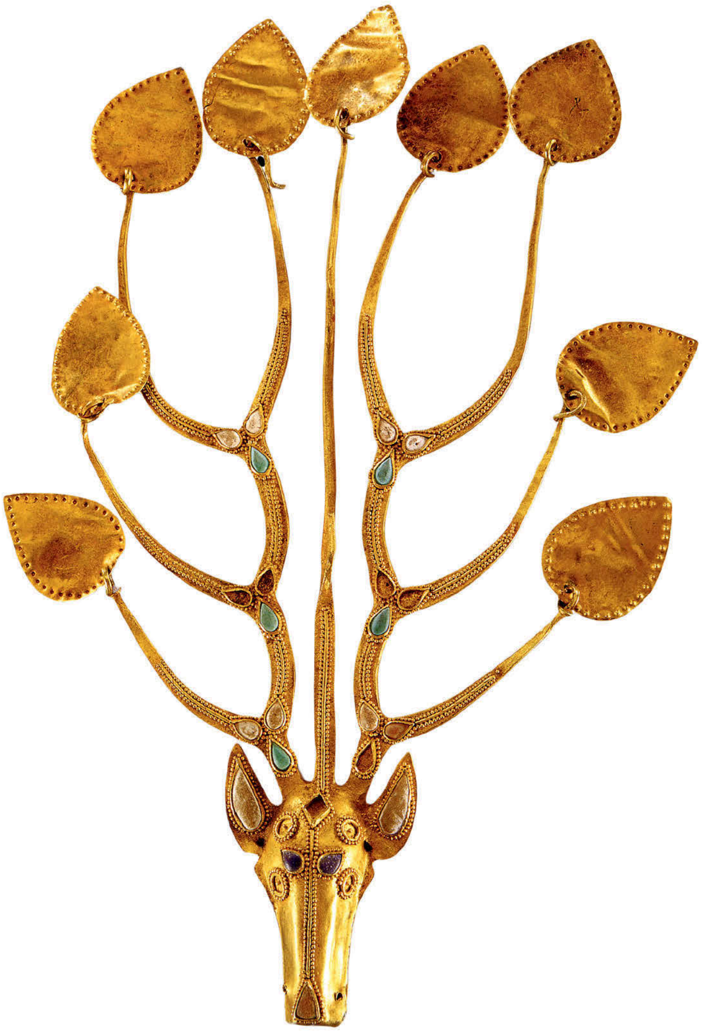
The loose, proto-Mongolian-speaking **Xianbei tribal confederation** (89–235) originated in eastern Mongolia and Manchuria. In the late first century CE they had played a key role in the defeat of the Northern Xiongnu and had incorporated some 200,000 of their warriors into their own federation. The combined Xianbei-Xiongnu federation controlled much of Mongolia, and after victories over the remaining Xiongnu and the Wusun, they became the strongest power in north-east Central Asia. The architect of this success was Tanshihui (r. 156–180), who ruled over almost as large a territory as had Chanyu Modu, and who in 177 defeated two invading Chinese armies. Unlike Modu, Tanshihui failed to strengthen his 'empire' by establishing governmental structures and enacting a body of laws. And rather than doing as Modu did and concluding advantageous treaties with China, he preferred to conduct annual raids to the south. As de Crespigny says, 'His state was a pirate kingdom, never matching the organization of the former Xiongnu'.[37] His death was immediately followed by a struggle for succession, and when a leader called Kebineng seemed to have succeeded in reuniting the different clans, Emperor Wei Mingdi had him murdered in 235. The confederation broke up into several tribal groups, the most important of which were the Murong, the Shiwei and probably the Khitan in the east, the Tabgach (Tuoba) in the centre, and the Rouran (Juan Juan) in the west.[38]

While the Xiongnu were responsible for four of the Sixteen Kingdoms, the Xianbei founded six, as well as the powerful Northern Wei Empire. These were the four Yan dynasties in the east, the Southern Liang in south Gansu and north-east Qinghai, and the Western Qin in south-east Gansu, while the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) played a vital role in the revival of international trade, the further development of Buddhism, and the history of China more generally.[39] This was the first time that Buddhism had enjoyed the support of a strong and stable dynasty, one that reinforced the religion's visual presence through huge cave temples and stone sculptures. The ruling house of the Northern Wei belonged to the Tabgach clan (Chinese: Tuoba), which spoke a 'Para-Mongolic' language[40] and had earlier founded the principality of Dai (310–376), whose capital Shengle (Shilinggol) was near today's Hohhot in Inner Mongolia. The founder of the dynasty was Tuoba Gui (r. 386–409), nephew of the last prince of Dai. He broke away in 386 from the collapsing Former Qin (351–394), proclaiming himself king (*wang*) and increasing his territories through several wars. In 398 he declared himself emperor, taking the name of Daowudi, unifying weights and measures and moving his capital to Pingcheng in northern Shanxi Province. A year later he inflicted a massive defeat on the Turkic-speaking Gaoche confederation settled around the Gobi Desert and deported tens of thousands of their households to Shanxi.[41]

The early Northern Wei's successes against the great Gaoche and Rouran confederations in the north were based on their intimate knowledge of horse-nomad behaviour. So as not to endanger the traditional martial spirit of their own members, the Northern Wei used two systems of administration: one that applied traditional Chinese principles of administration to conquered Chinese populations, the other governing Xianbei



66. Clay grave figures of two armoured horsemen from the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). The heavily armoured cavalry constituted the power base of the Xianbei, who originated in Eastern Mongolia and Manchuria and founded the dynasty of the Northern Wei. Caochangpo tomb in Xian, Shaanxi Province, China. Source: Yu Weichao, *A Journey into China's Antiquity* (Beijing, 1997), vol. 2, p. 262, fig. 303. Shaanxi History Museum, Xian.



67. **Golden leaf headdress of a noblewoman of the Xianbei, Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). Peach leaves hang from the tines of the stag's antlers, and the thin sheet gold made a ringing metallic sound with each step the wearer took. Excavated in 1981 in Xihezicun, Inner Mongolia. Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot.**

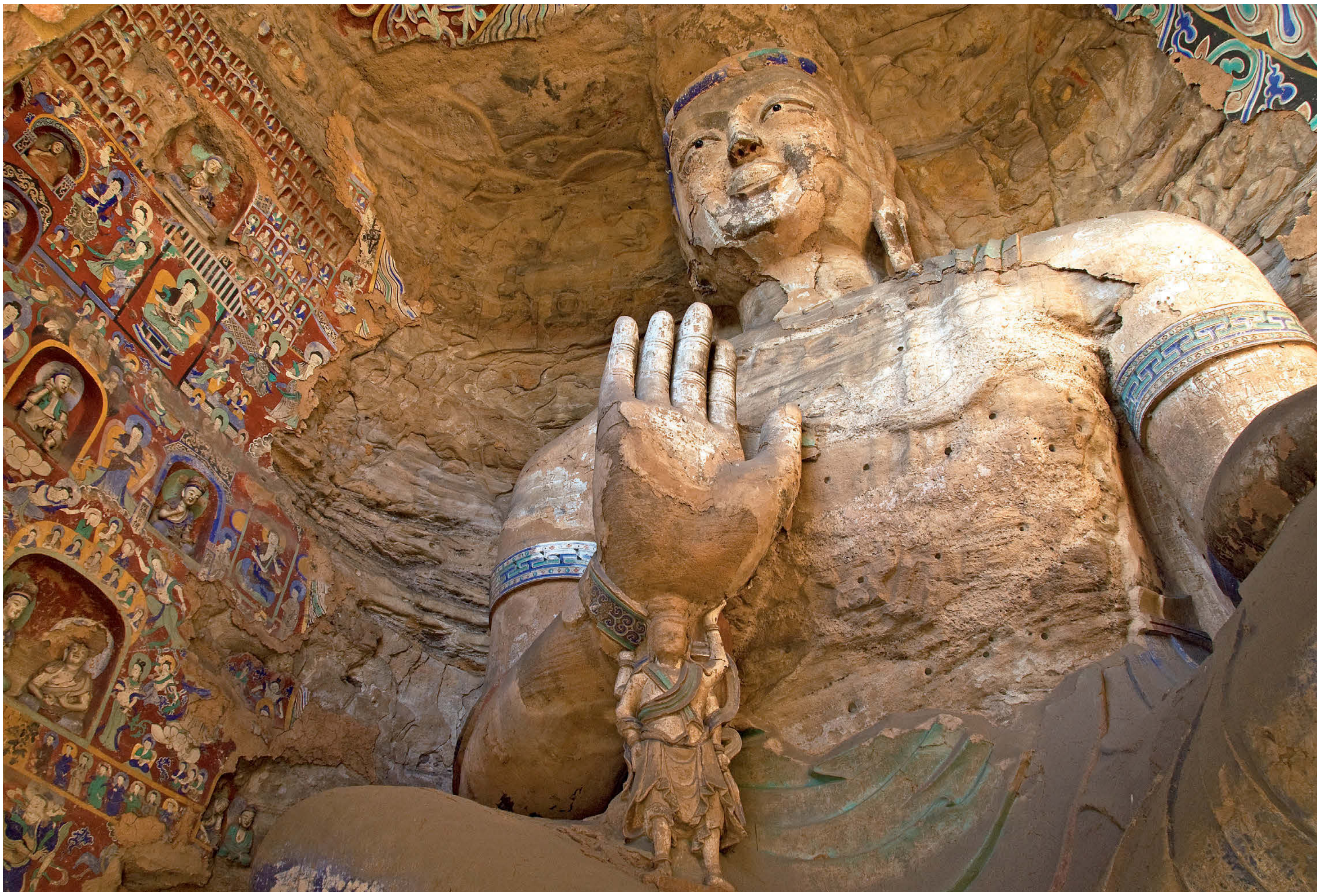
households in accordance with the traditional law and custom of the steppe. Secondly, they adopted a markedly offensive military strategy and between 391 and 492 regularly attacked the heartland of the Rouran, whose loose empire extended from Manchuria to the Turfan Basin. The consequent destabilisation was each time reinforced by the deportation of thousands of households, literally depopulating the Rouran Empire. Like the administration, the Tabgach army was divided, Chinese forming the infantry, Tabgach the cavalry, itself divided into tribally based light and heavy divisions. Thanks to grave goods in the form of clay figures, called *mingqi*, of heavily armoured horsemen and other archaeological finds, we know that their mounts were protected by horse-armour that included a chamfron, and that the rider, likewise armoured down to the knees, fought with a lance or long composite bow. Thanks to iron stirrups, very likely a Xianbei invention, the mounted bowman could stand in the saddle when shooting. The Northern Wei also contributed to transcontinental trade and diplomatic exchange, as can be concluded from the Byzantine legations which reached Pingcheng in the years 456, 465 and 467.[42]

Emperor Daowudi also supported Buddhism, and established the office of superintendent of monks and nuns, responsible for Buddhist affairs. The first to be appointed was the monk Faguo (in office 396–398), who not only organised the building of the first Buddhist monastery in Pingcheng but also pioneered the argument that the Tuoba emperor was a *Tathagata*, an earthly manifestation of the Buddha. Faguo adopted this bold postulate in order to resolve an acute dilemma. On the one hand, Daowudi wanted the monks to recognise his worldly authority, and on the other, the Buddhist scriptures insisted that a monk should bow to neither parents nor king. Faguo argued that the emperor was 'the Tathagata of the present time. The [monks] should do him all homage . . . I am not bowing before the emperor, I am just paying homage to the Buddha.'[43] Submissively flattering to worldly rulers, this notion would later be adopted by Chinese and Tibetan emperors.[44]

After the death of the second emperor, Mingyuandi (r. 409–423), poisoned by the 'immortality pills' prepared for him by Daoist alchemists, the emperor Taiwudi (r. 423–452) succeeded in taking Chang'an in 430, defeating Da Xia a year later, and conquering Gansu in 439, bringing the Sixteen Kingdoms period to an end. The conquest of Shan-shan in 445, however, brought neither strategic nor economic advantage, as the desiccation of the climate made the crossing of the desert from Dunhuang to Shan-shan increasingly impracticable and led to the depopulation of that kingdom's oasis cities.[45] Taiwudi, though, was a Daoist, who in 442, as part of his sinification policy, had made Daoism the state religion. The growing wealth of Buddhist institutions therefore annoyed him, and when three years later evidence came to light that monasteries in Chang'an were involved in rebellion he took drastic measures, issuing an edict in 446 that 'All stupas, paintings, and foreign sutras are to be beaten down and burned utterly; the *sramanas* without distinction of age are to be executed'.[46]

The fifth Tuoba emperor, Wengchengdi (r. 452–465) was a Buddhist; he repealed the edict and initiated one of the most splendid of all China's Buddhist works of art. In 460 he appointed as superintendent the monk Tanyao, who decided that the revitalisation of Buddhism required an indestructible visual symbol, and after Taiwudi's destruction of works in wood and metal he opted for a less vulnerable material, stone. He thus recommended to the emperor that five great cave temples be carved out of the rock at Yungang. Like the grottoes of Kizil and Gansu, the cave temples of Yungang are charged with symbolic meaning. In accessing the caves through a dark, narrow passage, the faithful leave the earthly world and all its faults to enter a mysterious space. At the end of the ever-darkening corridor they came to the great Buddha figure, giving the journey the character of a cathartic rebirth. The five earliest caves, Caves 16–20, are presided over by gigantic figures of Shakyamuni or Maitreya, as much as 17 metres high. It is said that these five stone Buddhas have the features of the first five Tuoba emperors, the complex thus serving also the cult of the ancestors, while the faithful who venerated the Buddha simultaneously paid homage to the five emperors. Caves 1 and 2 and 5 to 13 belong to the second phase of construction, which lasted from 470 to 494 (fig. 68). There, colossal Buddhas have in some cases given way to smaller figures, and in certain caves one finds instead, as at Kizil and Mati Si, a central pillar, square in cross-section, connecting floor to ceiling like the world tree that symbolically connects earth and heaven. On each side of the pillar is a large niche with a Buddha figure carved out of the rock; the walls are decorated with reliefs showing scenes from the life of the Buddha.

The second phase of construction came to an end in 494, when Emperor Xiaowendi (r. 471–499) moved the capital to Luoyang. He did this so that the centre of his empire should lie closer to the geographical centre of China, planning for a conquest of southern China that never in fact took place. In Luoyang the Tuoba continued the construction of cave temples in the grand style that had already been begun at Longmen Shiku, a project that the Tang dynasty (618–907) would bring to glorious fruition. The sinification of Tuoba society and culture begun by Xiaowendi led to the emergence of a distinct, somewhat mannered-seeming sculptural style that found expression in an elongation of form, especially that of the head, a transfigured, inward-turned expression of the face, and a diminution of corporeality. This new Chinese style



68. The more than 10-metre-high sandstone figure overlaid with painted clay of the seated Buddha of the future Maitreya, whose right hand is supported by the small Bodhisattva Vajrapani. Cave 13, Yungang Grottoes, Shanxi, China, created between 470 and 494.

69. A *feitian* (Sanskrit *apsara*), a flying celestial creature from Cave 133, Maiji Shan, Gansu Province, China; *ca.* end of the 5th c., Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). Maiji Shan Art Research Institute, Tianshui.

appears both at Longmen and in the later grottoes at Yungang, as also at Maiji Shan, whose Cave 133 has ethereal-looking heavenly beings with billowing robes floating through space.[47] However, the forced sinification of the Xianbei population alienated the armies stationed in the north, who not only lost their privileges but were threatened in their identity. With the year 523 began a period of rebellion and palace intrigue that would end in the splitting of the empire into Eastern Wei (534–550) and Western Wei (535–557).

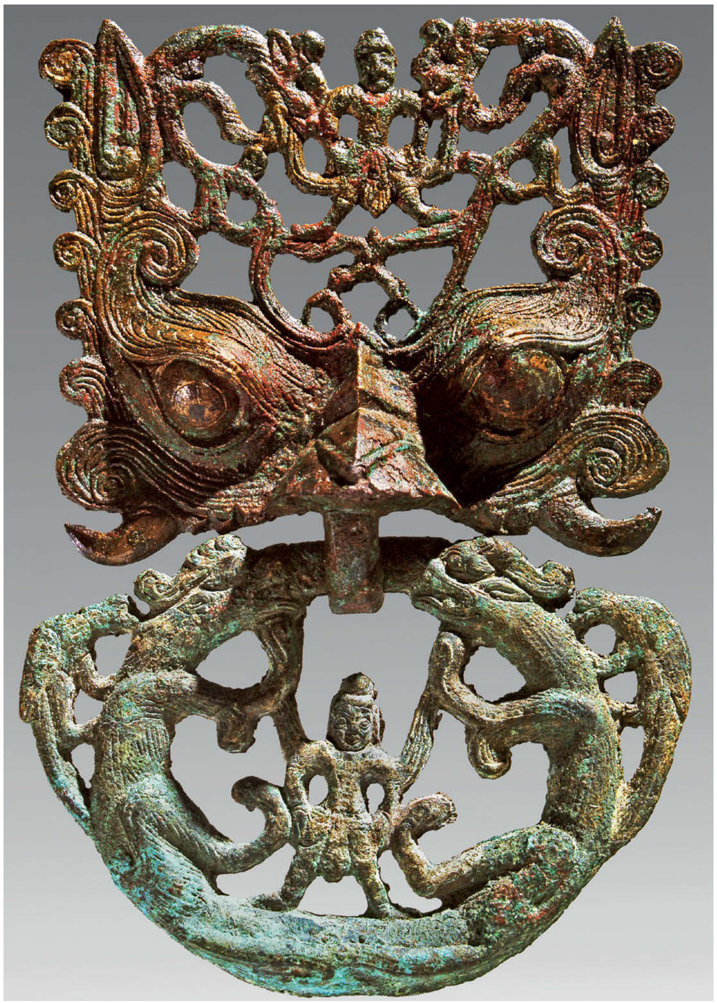
Under the Northern Wei there developed not only an official Buddhist art but also fascinating hybrid forms that combined symbolically significant features from Buddhism, from China, and from the older steppe culture. Among these are the two-part bronze knockers called *pushou* that were affixed to tomb doors or coffins (fig 70). The upper part consists of a frontally represented zoomorphic mask, called a *taotie*, in which, in these specific types of bronze pieces, the newborn Buddha Shakyamuni can be seen between the upward-pointing ears, subduing two symmetrically arranged dragons. From the muzzle of the animal mask hangs the knocker ring, a pair of dragons worked into a circle, again tamed by the newborn Shakyamuni, who has flames flaring from his shoulders. On the back of each dragon stands a feathered beast of prey. Known in China since the third millennium BCE, the *taotie* mask represents a wild and dangerous being that will confer protection when properly venerated. The motif of 'lord of animals' had been known in east Central Asia since the Bronze Age and the representation of the newborn Buddha as the lord of the dragons conveys a double meaning: according to Buddhist tradition, rain divinities in the form of dragons poured auspicious water over the newborn child, while in the Chinese Daoist context the little Buddha can be understood as the dragon tamer Huang Long Shi, bringer of good fortune. As Annette Juliano notes, 'In China, the *taotie*, coupled with the images of the dragon and the Infant Buddha immortal, would give this *pushou* extraordinary power to protect the deceased in the tomb on the journey to immortality'.[48]

We may note in conclusion that it was the Xiongnu and Xianbei from the eastern steppes of Central Asia who in the second quarter of the first millennium CE helped Buddhism achieve a breakthrough in northern China and at the same time laid the foundations for the development under the Liang and Northern Wei of a synthesis of Indo-Hellenistic and Chinese notions of art.

1.3 The Rouran and Gaoche

The Rouran had formed part of the combined Xianbei-Xiongnu confederation that broke up in 235.[49] While the forebears of the Northern Wei and the dynasties of some of the petty states of northern China moved to the south, there emerged from the Xianbei and Xiongnu who had remained in Mongolia the tribal confederation of the **Rouran**, whose name derives from that of tribal father Ruru or Ruirui.[50] The name Juan Juan was given to them by the Tuoba emperor Taiwudi, a derogatory pun meaning 'wriggling worms'.[51] The confederation is said to have been first brought together by the semi-legendary Muyilu (r. *ca.* 306–316), though it was Shelun (r. 394–410) who broke away from the Tabgach in 392 and who in 402 proclaimed himself khagan of the **Rouran Empire** (402–555).[52] At the same time he succeeded in gaining control over the **Gaoche** federation, which had suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of the Tuoba emperor Daowudi three years earlier.[53] Just as Chanyu Modu had done, Shelun organised all arms-bearing men into units of 100 and 1,000 and promulgated a strict code of military discipline.[54]

Though Rouran territory extended from Manchuria to Turfan, and sometimes even as far as Khotan, they never succeeded in really subduing the Gaoche, whose name means 'high carts'.[55] The Northern Wei either played Rouran and Gaoche against each other, by supporting the Gaoche, or simultaneously attacked both confederations, as they did in 429, when Emperor Daowudi captured and brought back with him 300,000 Rouran and a million head of livestock.[56] Despite such reverses, the Rouran – whose later khagans were possibly Buddhist[57] – conducted an expansionary foreign policy, displacing the Wusun in the early fifth century.[58] The wars of that period in east Central Asia made their effects felt even in distant Byzantium. Under pressure from the Rouran, some Tiele, members of the Gaoche confederation, moved west, driving the Sabirs out of southern Siberia, who in their turn expelled several Old-Turkic-speaking Oghur tribes from Kazakhstan. From there the Oghurs travelled west, together with a number of Tiele tribes, crossing the Volga in the mid-fifth century, a mere century after the Huns, to occupy the Caspian-Pontic steppes. Around 463 the Byzantine historian Priscus (*ca.* 410/20–74) reported that Oghuric tribes had occupied the Pontic steppe and were seeking diplomatic contacts with Constantinople. The Byzantines granted the request of the most dangerous-seeming Oghurs, seeking to convert these nomadic Central Asian warriors and integrate them 'into the Christian Commonwealth of which the Byzantine emperor considered himself the head'.[59]

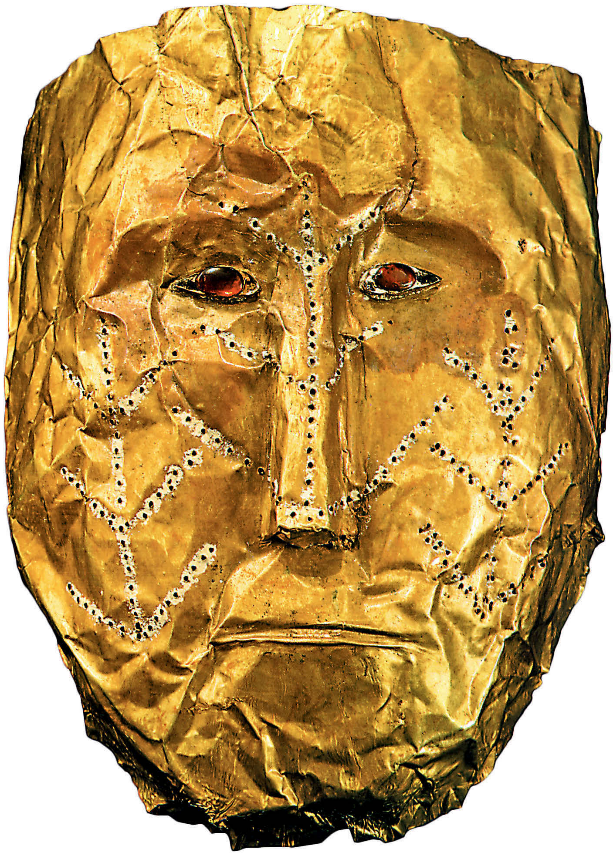


70. Bronze door knocker base (*pushou*), which was fixed to the entrance gate of a tomb or to a coffin. In the upper half, the young Shakyamuni tames a fearsome monster called *taotie*, in the lower half a pair of dragons. This *pushou* had a strong protective function. Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), excavated in 1981 in Leizumiao, Ningxia, China; Guyuan Municipal Museum, Ningxia.

Two serious defeats by the Northern Wei in 449 and 458 saw the Rouran lose people and livestock in the south-east. To compensate for these losses they attacked to the south-west, conquering Gaochang in 460, eliminating the Northern Liang elite that remained there and installing a vassal king. At the same time, they resettled the Ashina Turks from the area around Turfan to the Altai, where they had to work for them as ironsmiths.[60] In 471 they gained control of the important oasis city of Khotan,[61] and perhaps also the kingdom of Shan-shan, which had been depopulated since the mid-fifth century.[62] Yet the Rouran were unable to enjoy their new conquests for long, for in 491 the Gaoche toppled the Kan ruling house that the Rouran had installed in Turfan. After a period of turmoil, the non-Chinese[63] and probably Turkic **House of Qu** established itself in Gaochang (501–640), which managed for 139 years to maintain a degree of autonomy, despite the permanent threat of the northern steppe nomads and the pressures to recognise the suzerainty of Gaoche, Rouran and Western Turks in turn. Although Turfan was then politically independent of China, the increasingly wealthy Chinese displaced the old Tocharian elite, and the Tocharian A language faded away.[64]

Under the Rouran khagan Doulun (r. 485–492) the **Uyghur** chief Ay Uzhru (r. *ca.* 487–508; Chinese, Abuzhiluo), a member of the Yaghlaqar clan, left the Rouran federation to make for the west. The Uyghurs then consisted of around 100,000 tents ('households') and ten tribes, the largest of them led by the Yaghlaqar. As the Uyghurs represented by far the largest of the nine tribes of the Tiele confederation,[65] the Rouran lost the majority of their Turkic-speaking nomads with Ay Uzhru's departure, leading to Doulun losing his legitimacy as khagan and being deposed in a coup.[66] Under khagan Anagui (519, 521–552) the Rouran flourished again, not least because the last, weak rulers of the Northern Wei needed their services to defeat domestic revolts.[67] Anagui's arrogance, however, led to the defeat of the Rouran at the hands of the rising Ashina Turks (Chinese: Tujue). The latter's leader Bumin (d. 552)[68] first sought diplomatic relations with the Western Wei (535–557), whose all-powerful General Yuwen Tai (in power 535–556) sent him the Sogdian Anahita (or Nanai) Banda (Chinese: An Nuopantuo) as his ambassador in 545.[69] When a year later the Gaoche were planning a new rebellion, Bumin attacked them at

▶ **71.** Subterranean street in the city of Jiaohe, Turfan Oasis, Xinjiang, China. The Turfan Depression lies at an average of 80 m below sea level and has an extreme continental and arid climate with strong winds. To protect the inhabitants from the unbearable summer heat and the icy winter winds, many streets were cut 2 to 5 m into the ground. At the same time the one- to two-storey houses and the workshops were also dug deep into the ground. The buildings often had two entrances, the upper one from the city level and a lower one from the subterranean street.



72. **Golden funeral mask of a woman with tattoo-like decorations which represent the trees of life. These decorations were created by puncturing on the reverse and covering with white paint on the obverse. Rouran period, 5th–6th c. Excavated in 1958 in Shamsi, Chui Province, Kyrgyzstan; National Historical Museum, Bishkek.**

Anagui's behest and defeated them. As thanks he asked for a Rouran princess as a wife, to whom Anagui made this scathing reply: 'You are our slaves, our smiths; how do you presume to make such a request?'[70] Seeking his revenge, Bumin allied himself with the Western Wei, gathered his forces and in 552 inflicted on Anagui a crushing defeat, upon which the latter took his own life. Over the next three years the Ashina defeated and hunted down four different Rouran khagans, and when the last khagan, Yanluchen, and 3,000 faithful followers found refuge with the Western Wei,[71] he demanded that they be handed over to him. For fear that the Turks might attack, Yuwen Tai delivered up the refugees to the Tujue, who slaughtered them. The Rouran steppe empire had ceased to exist.[72] Shortly thereafter, in around 557 or 558, the Avars or Varchonites made their appearance on the Pontic steppe, as reported by the Byzantine historian Menander, with the Western Turks at their heels.[73] These Varchonites were defeated Rouran and Hephthalite tribes, fleeing before the Turks, which later led to the development of intensive contacts between Constantinople and the Western Turks.[74]

2. Hunnic Peoples of Central Asia

Around the mid-fourth century, Hunnic peoples invaded the southern half of Central Asia, creating five significant political entities which spread as far as northern India. They were the Chionites, the Kidarites, the Alkhan, the Nezak and the Hephthalites north of the Hindu Kush. It remains controversial whether these Hunnic state-like entities came out of a single, vast migration over time, or whether there were several separate waves of immigration.[75]

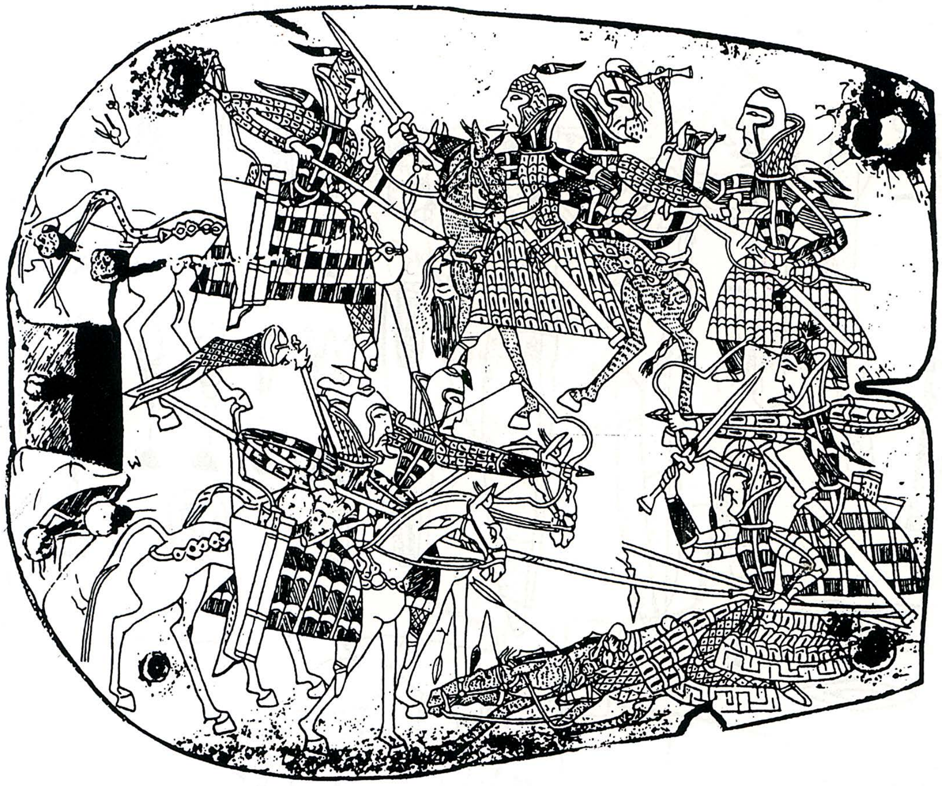
2.1 The Chionites

The first written account of the incursion of Hunnic tribes into the heart of Central Asia comes from the Greek-born Roman military officer and historian Ammianus Marcellinus (*ca.* 330–*ca.* 395), who reports that in the winter of 356/57 Constantinople's arch-enemy Shah Shapur II (r. 309–379) drove off attacks by Hunnic **Chionites** (*ca.* 350–*ca.* 441) on the eastern reaches of the Sassanid Empire.[76] Since the days of Shapur I, Sogdiana had been ruled by vassal kings under Sassanid suzerainty, who inscribed the title *Kushanshah* on their coins but also had to tolerate the pretensions to independence of large landowners, as witnessed by the latter's strongly fortified strongholds. The Chionites – the Persian *Xyon* and Sogdian *Xwn*[77] – were presumably related to the horse nomads who, according to the Chinese chronicle *Wei Shu*, left their homeland in the Altai for the south around 360.[78] In any event, Hunnic tribes arrived in Sogdiana and Bactria around the middle of the fourth century, apparently under pressure from the expanding Xianbei, where they wrestled for supremacy.

Shapur's campaign ended in a double victory, for he not only succeeded in repelling the Chionites but even gained them as allies in his war with Byzantium. Ammianus Marcellinus witnessed how in 359 at the siege of Amida (Diyarbakir, in south-east Turkey) the Chionites under their king Grumbates advanced upon the walls of the city, and how a bolt from a Roman crossbow killed the king's son, whose body was cremated.[79] The custom of cremation makes it clear that the Chionites could not have been an Iranian people. But this participation in Shapur II's offensive against the Eastern Roman Empire did not prevent the Chionites from continuing their wars of conquest in the east of the Sassanid Empire, which for a long time forced the Shah to shift his court to Merv.[80] In the time of Kushanshah Varahran II (r. *ca.* 350–after 360) the Chionites[81] took Balkh, which they made their capital. According to Armenian sources, Shah Shapur II was defeated twice by the Chionites of Balkh, in 368 and between 374 and 378.[82]

While in the north of the contested areas a clear balance of forces was relatively quickly established – the Sassanids retaining control over Merv while the Chionites (or the Kidarites) prevailed in Sogdiana – in Bactria the Sassanids put up a tenacious resistance, leading to decades of war that would have devastating consequences for the region. The Buddhist monasteries in Termez were ravaged and destroyed by Shapur's troops in 368–370, irrigation schemes were neglected, the area under cultivation shrank markedly, and the cities suffered pillage and fire, which brought about an abrupt economic contraction and the depopulation of Bactria. Sogdiana, on the other hand, experienced under the late Chionites and the Kidarites – the equally Hunnic successors of the Chionites – an economic boom, a real 'Sogdian renaissance', that saw the fortification of Samarkand,[83] the growth of Bukhara, and the establishment or reconstruction of the cities and settlements of Paykend south-west of Bukhara, of Varakhshah, Uch Kulakh and Vardana north of Bukhara, Kushaniya east of it, and Panjikant east of Samarkand. The rapid construction of urban fortifications by the Kidarites in Sogdiana was intended to defend against not only the Sassanids to the west but also a new threat from the south. For another horse-nomad people, the Hephthalites, had appeared there, driving the Kidarites out of Bactria from around 456.[84] Also in the very early fifth century the Chionites and Kidarites began the construction of a 'long wall' system around the oasis of Bukhara, which was strengthened with fortresses and watchtowers and would ultimately reach a total length of *ca.* 400 kilometres. Possibly this wall system had a secondary, ecological purpose, namely to prevent sand from encroaching upon the agricultural zones. This intensive building activity marked the beginning of the Early Middle Ages (fourth/fifth–eighth century) in Sogdiana.

73. Ruins of the fortress of Kala-i Kahkaha on the northern bank of the river Panj, which here forms the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Like the neighbouring Zamr-i Atish Parast,[5] this fort stood on an important trade route, which linked the Tarim Basin with Sogdiana via Badakhshan. The fort also controlled a bridge over the Panj. The Russian archaeologist A.N. Bernstam found Hephthalite and early Sogdian ceramics in the fort and therefore dated its construction to the 4th to 5th c.[6] Gorno-Badakhshan Province, Tajikistan.



74. Drawing on one of the delicately carved Orlat bone plates from the later 4th c. CE. The eight heavily armoured warriors illustrate a battle between different Hunnic confederations, which probably took place in Sogdiana.[7] Jangar Ya Ilyasov, Dmitriy V. Rusanov, *A Study of the Bone Plates of Orlat* (Kamakura, 1997/98), p. 146.

2.2 The Kidarites

Around 390, gold coins bearing the name and title Kidara Kushanshah were starting to appear in Tocharistan and northern Gandhara.[85] It is very likely that a leader named Kidara was the founder of the dynasty of the **Kidarites** who were probably descended from the Chionites. The Kidarites first drove the existing Chionite rulers out of Bactria in the late 420s, then descended upon Merv, where they were beaten off by Vahram V (r. 421–438).[86] They then turned southward and conquered Gandhara. According to La Vaissière, Kidara left one of his sons in Gandhara while he crossed the Hindu Kush again before conquering Sogdiana not long after 440.[87] At the same time, the Kidarites invaded the Punjab, forcing the Gupta king Kumaragupta I (r. 413–455) to recognise their suzerainty.[88] But the new Kidarite empire was to enjoy no peace, as by 456 the Hephthalites had already appeared in their rear. The latter allied themselves with the Sassanid ruler Peroz I (r. 457–484) and that same year or one year later sent an embassy to China.[89] As the Byzantine historian Priscus (*ca.* 410/20–*ca.* 474) reports, Peroz defeated the Kidarites in 467/68 and occupied their capital Balkh. 'An embassy arrived [to the Byzantines of Emperor Leo I] from the Persians which announced that they had crushed the Kidarite Huns and had taken their city of Balaam.'[90] But the Sassanid rule over Bactria was short-lived, for in 474 Shah Peroz suffered a severe defeat against the Hephthalites, and ten years later, in another war against them, lost his life so that Bactria fell into the hands of Hephthalites. As early as 479 perhaps, and by 509 at the latest, the Hephthalites had extended their power over Sogdiana as well, as from then on Hephthalites would head the many embassies from that country to the Northern Wei capital of Luoyang, actually merchant expeditions in diplomatic guise.[91]

The intra-Hunnic power struggles in Sogdiana and Bactria may have found expression in the incised decoration of the fourth-century bone plaques famously discovered in 1982 in a kurgan at Orlat, 50 kilometres north of Samarkand. On the second plaque, which formed part of a belt, two groups of heavily armoured riders and foot soldiers represent a battle between nomad warriors, probably depicting the struggle between a Chionite king of Samarkand and other Hunnic warrior groups.[92] The special significance of the decoration of the presumably Chionite or Kidarite Orlat plaques lies in its unmistakeable similarity to the Sogdian wall painting that emerged in the fourth to fifth centuries to reach its apogee in the seventh and eighth; a painting exemplified in the murals that decorated the private houses of wealthy city dwellers, such as those of Panjikant, which show heroic epics, cavalry battles, and single combats.[93]

2.3 The Central Asian Hephthalites

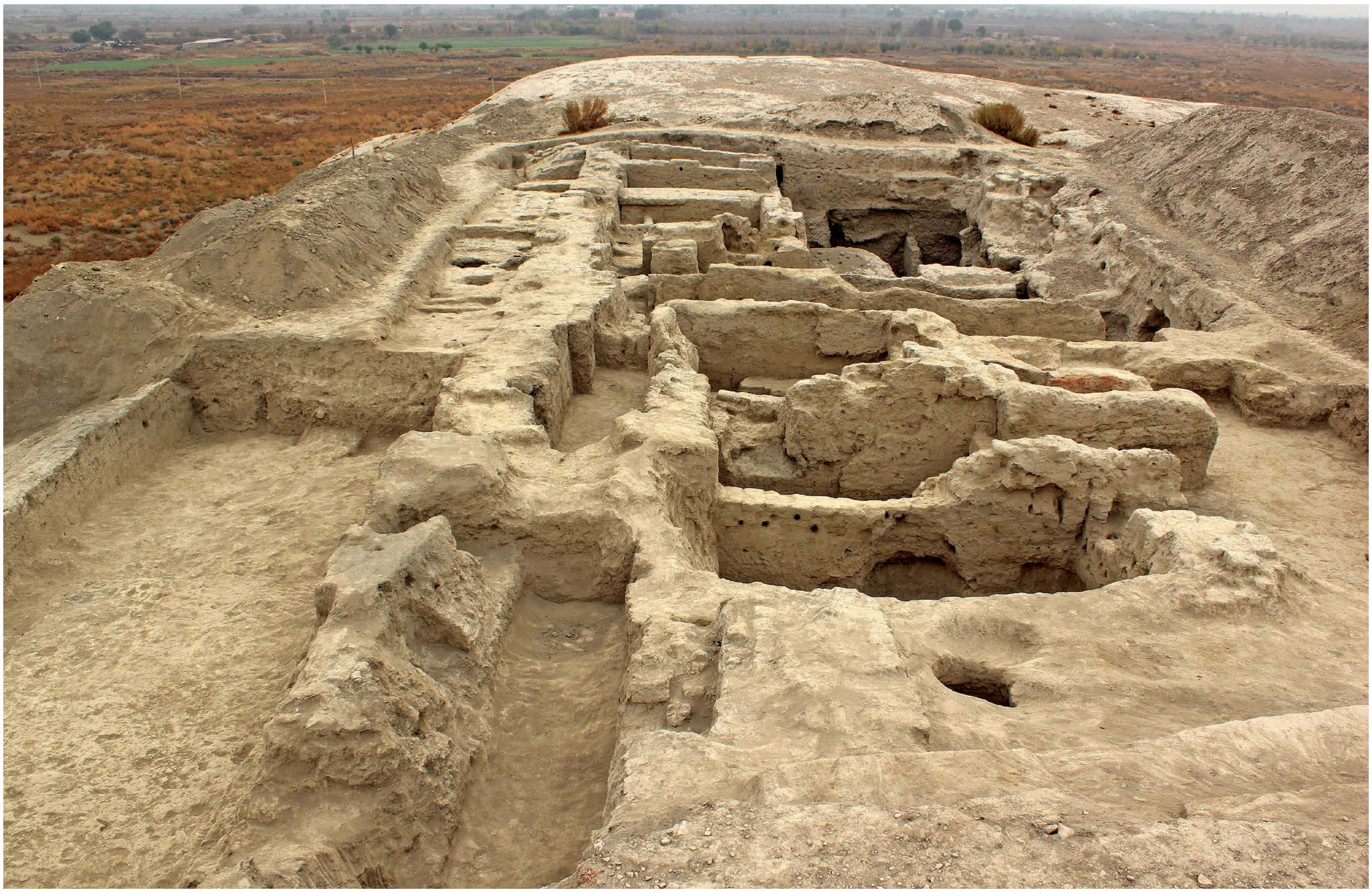
The geographical and linguistic origins of the Central Asian **Hephthalites** (*ca.* 450–*ca.* 560) are disputed.[94] They probably came from the Altai[95] or from the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) Delta.[96] Having arrived in Bactria, the Hephthalites, whose confederation was most likely made up of Altaic Gaoche and Hunnic groups together with Indo-European tribes, adopted the Eastern Iranian language Bactrian as their own.[97] To the north-east, the Hephthalites were allied with the Rouran, but they successfully extended their territory westward and eastward. The Islamic historian al-Tabari (839–923) tells us that the Hephthalites helped the Sassanid prince Peroz I (r. 457–484) regain his throne from his younger brother Yazdegerd II.[98] But when Peroz launched military offensives against them to halt their slow encroachment on Eastern Iran, he suffered three serious defeats. Peroz was twice taken prisoner by the Hephthalites and made to pay enormous ransoms; on the second occasion, in 474, he also had to leave his son Kavadh as hostage against full payment of the money. Al-Tabari reports that upon his release at a column marking the border[99] he had to swear before the Hephthalite king, who bore the Sogdian name of Akhshunwar,[100] that he would never again go beyond it. To protect his north-eastern frontier against the Hephthalite threat, Peroz began the construction of the Great Wall of Gorgan, which ran more than 195 kilometres from a place near today's city of Gomishan at the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea to the eastern outliers of the Elburz range. A moat at least five metres deep lay on the northward side of the defensive wall of burnt brick, which was reinforced by more than 30 forts set at regular intervals. Behind stood further strongholds with sizeable garrisons that in an emergency could be quickly sent to defend the wall. Peroz's successors Kavadh I and Khosrau I continued the construction of the wall, which would remain manned at least until the mid-seventh century.[101]

Ten years after his second capture, Peroz decided to avenge his earlier humiliation by embarking on a new offensive and led a 100,000-strong army to the border column that he had sworn never again to pass. Warned against breaking his oath by the highest Zoroastrian clergy, Peroz had the column placed on a cart, says al-Tabari, and commanded that it be pulled into Hephthalite territory by elephants: 'I am bound by oath not to pass beyond the column. Draw it therefore before me, that I and my army may follow it, and the oath be not broken.'[102] The Hephthalite Akhshunwar attempted unsuccessfully to halt Peroz before Balkh, and then laid a trap for him near Herat, digging a great number of pits that were then covered over. When Peroz attacked, many of the Sassanid horsemen fell into these pits, breaking up their formation; Peroz was killed, together with most of his soldiers, and the survivors were enslaved.[103] The Sassanids had to pay costly reparations and the Hephthalites were able to meddle more than ever in Iranian affairs. The Sassanids also lost control over Merv, which then enabled the construction of two Buddhist stupas there.[104] When Peroz's son Kavadh I (r. 488–496, 498–531) rebelled against his uncle Balash (r. 484–488), he was helped to the throne by a Hephthalite army. And when in 496 the Sassanid nobility rose up against him on account of his sympathy for the Mazdakites, a radical, even revolutionary religious movement among whose tenets were community of goods and of women, he again turned to the Hephthalites, finding refuge with them. When two years later a Hephthalite army returned him to the throne, the Sassanid Empire became tributary to the Central Asian Hephthalites, a vassal status that was only thrown off with the formation of the Sassanid-Turkic alliance that between 557 and 563 would bring the Hephthalite Empire to an end.[105] In the last two decades of the fifth century and the early years of the sixth, the Hephthalites extended their dominion to the north and east, conquering Sogdiana, the Pamirs, Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha, Turfan and Karashahr.[106]

Horse nomads by origin, the Hephthalites continued the urbanisation policy of their Kidarite predecessors, investing Sassanid tribute payments in expanding the cities and promoting trade and agriculture; a side effect of this was that Sassanid silver coins with Hephthalite counterstamps became one of the most common means of payment in Central Asia.[107] The Hephthalites were notably active in the Bukhara Oasis, where they established or expanded the city of Vardana (fig. 75). According to the central Asian historian Narshakhi, himself from Bukhara (*ca.* 899–959), the village of Vardana was allegedly founded by an otherwise unknown Sassanid prince named Shapur.[108] On the basis of the many finds of pottery, the two Uzbek archaeologists Adylov and Mirzaahmedov suppose that the small commercial town of Vardana was founded at the latest by the time Kavadh took refuge with the Hephthalites in the late fifth century. A re-analysis of the above-mentioned pottery suggests a foundation of the earliest architecture into the period of the Sogdian renaissance of the fourth to fifth centuries CE, which was also triggered by the economic success of Sogdian traders.[109] As Vardana lay on the northern edge of the Bukhara Oasis, on the road to the steppe, the town was from the fifth or sixth century onward strongly fortified, as evidenced by the excavations.[110] The rulers of Vardana, called the Vardan Khudahs, rivalled Bukhara's Bukhar Khudahs; in the years 689–709 the Vardan Khudah Khunuk – a prince of Turkic origin – even ruled both Vardana and Bukhara; he was one of the most dogged adversaries of the Muslim warlord Qutayba.[111]

Discovered in autumn 2012 by the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, a chalcedony seal amulet with a highly stylised, engraved figure of either Gayomard or the god Sesen, establishes another link between Vardana and Sassanid culture. In one of the Zoroastrian creation myths, Gayomard was the first mortal man, created by Ahura Mazda, a man with some animal attributes, who at the renewal of the world would be the first to be resurrected. Given this symbolic significance for mortals, Gayomard was probably particularly popular on amulets.[112] However, following a linguistic study by Martin Schwartz, an interpretation of this stylised 'figure with the sticks' as the east Mediterranean god Sesen seems more likely. Sesen was venerated as a deity protecting pregnant women and newborn children. Silvia Pozzi, head archaeologist at Vardana, believes that 'it would be more prudent to identify [the figure] with a demoniac antagonist of this divinity, rather than with the god himself. The existence of a complementary aspect of Sesen seems to be confirmed by the names of Sasan and Sasan Marg, carved on the famous amulet from the Metropolitan Museum of New York.'[113] As Rika Gyselen demonstrated, the Sassanid amulets often did not feature a benevolent deity, but its maleficent counterpart in order to conjure it.[114]

Narshakhi describes in florid prose the end of Hephthalite dominion in Central Asia. According to him the last Hephthalite king, Abruhi, was a tyrannical ruler, prompting many nobles and wealthy merchants to flee northward, founding the city of Jamukat in southern Kazakhstan. This area, however, belonged to the recently established first Turkic Empire that had overthrown the Rouran and in doing so had considerably weakened the position of the Hephthalites who had been their allies.[115] When Yabghu Ishtemi (r. 552/53–575), who governed the western half of that empire, received reports of the unrest among the Hephthalites, he struck an alliance with the Sassanid king Khosrau I Anushirvan (r. 531–579), who around 560 inflicted a heavy defeat on Abruhi at the Battle of Bukhara. 'When Shir-i Kishva [Ishtemi] came to

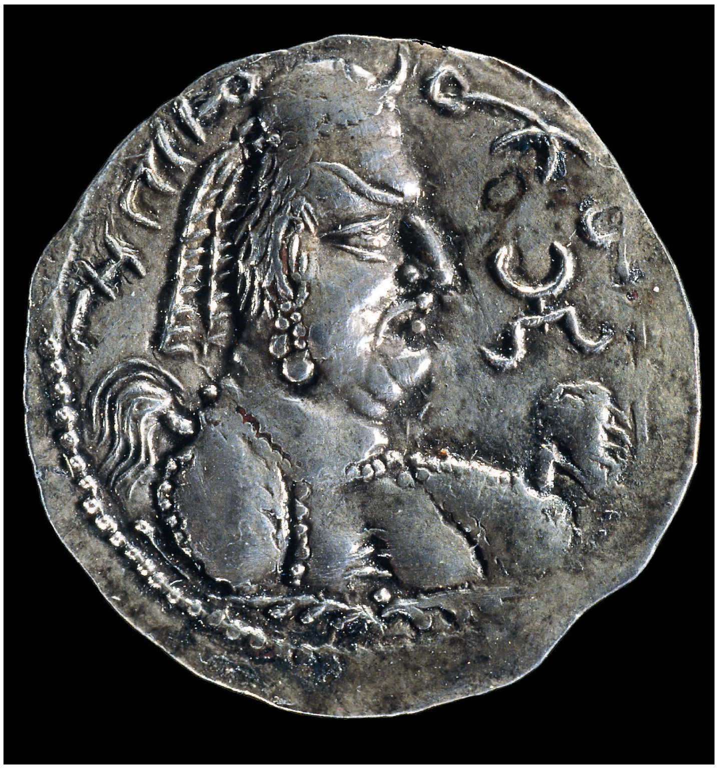


75. The excavation of the citadel of the city of Vardana, north-east of the Bukhara Oasis, Uzbekistan. The strongly fortified citadel was probably founded in the 5th c. during the Hephthalite period or even earlier, in the 4th century. Depicted here is what is presumed to be the palace of Khunuk Vardan Khudah (r. before 689–709), who offered stubborn resistance to the invading Arabs.

Bukhara, he seized Abruhi in Paykend and imprisoned him. He ordered a large sack filled with bees and then confined Abruhi in that sack until he died.'[116] Abruhi's regional capital of Paykend was turned into a 'free merchant city', the Oxus for a time forming the frontier between the two victorious powers, Sogdiana on the northern side of the river falling into the Turkic zone of influence, Tocharistan to its south into the Sassanid one.

Although the Hephthalite empire collapsed after the battle of Bukhara, the Hephthalites did manage to take advantage of the tensions, economic in origin, that rapidly emerged between the two victors. They established many semi-independent kingdoms and principalities that paid tribute to the one or the other, depending on the military situation. North of the Oxus there were two such principalities, Kuttal in south-west Tajikistan and Chaganiyan in the Zerafshan Valley, between Samarkand and Termez, which formed buffer states between the victorious powers. But when the Hephthalites, who had fled to Chaganiyan, chose Faganish as their ruler, the Sassanid king Khosrau I crossed the Oxus and laid both states under tribute. The Hephthalites of Tocharistan and Khotan then took advantage of Khosrau's death in 579 to rebel, but this attempt to resurrect a Hephthalite Empire in Central Asia was nipped in the bud by the Turks. The Turks then crossed the Oxus, expelling the Sassanids from the whole of Tocharistan. When they reached Herat in 588 or 589, the Sassanid general Vahram Chobin lured them into a trap, inflicting heavy losses on a numerically much superior enemy. According to al-Tabari, the general himself killed the Turkic commander with a well-aimed arrow before turning north to take Paykend.[117] The little principality of Chaganiyan, however, managed to stand its ground, as may be gathered from a Sogdian inscription from the Afrasiab palace in Samarkand. Incorporated into the palace murals created between 648 and 651, the inscription tells how Varkhuman, King of Samarkand, received the ambassador of Turantash, ruler of Chaganiyan.[118]

When the Sassanids planned a new campaign during the first quarter of the seventh century, the Turks intervened. In 616–17 a Western Turk army attacked the Sassanids, driving deep into Iranian territory to reach Isfahan and Rayy, south of Tehran. Yet for some unknown reason the Turkic khagan recalled his victorious army, and the Armenian-born Sassanid general Bagratuni went on to defeat the Hephthalite king, a Turkic vassal who had his residence in the region of Balkh. Only around 625 were the Western Turks able to take control of the whole of Tocharistan and Kabulistan, and some of the petty princedoms of Gandhara passed to Western Turk nobles.[119]



76. Silver dinar of the Hunnic king Khingila (r. 430/40–490) from the Alkhan dynasty, which ruled over Kabulistan and Gandhara. The coin was found in a Buddhist stupa near Hadda south of Jalalabad, Nangarhar Province, Afghanistan. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

2.4 The Alkhan

Around the end of the fourth century, coins bearing the tribal name αλχανο (alkhano) written in Bactrian, produced with modified Sassanid coinage dies, appeared in the valley of Kabul south of the Hindu Kush.[120] At the beginning of the fifth century, the Alkhan introduced a new, independent type of coin. The bust of a Sassanid king which had been on the earlier coins was replaced by portraits of their own rulers, which are characterised by high, artificially deformed skulls. The custom of artificially forcing the skull upwards in early childhood was widespread among the elites of Hunnic tribes. It can be concluded from numismatic research that the Hunnic Alkhan gradually drove the Kidarites out of Gandhara during the extraordinarily long reign of their ruler **Khingila** (r. 430/40–90). The Kidarites retreated to Uddiyana (Swat) where they prevailed until *ca.* 477. Khingila did not rule on his own, though, for mintings of the Alkhan with the names Mehama, Javukha (Zabocho) and Aduman suggest that he had to share the power with them, or that the last three were sub-kings.[121] In the second half of the fifth century the Alkhan penetrated further into the north-west of the Indian subcontinent.

77. Excavation in the western sector of the palace complex of Kazakly Yatkan, the first capital of Chorasmia, Uzbekistan, 1st c. CE.

Although King Skandagupta (r. 455–467) managed to stop their advance into the Punjab in exhausting wars, the Hunnic king **Toramana** (r. *ca.* 490–515) succeeded around 510 in conquering north-west India as far as Malwa, which is situated about 550 kilometres south of New Delhi.[122]

Toramana was succeeded by his son **Mihirakula** (r. 515–540), who between 528 and 532 suffered a crushing defeat by the king of Malwa, Yasodharman. This defeat brought an end to Hunnic rule in northern India. The clan of the Alkhan retreated to Kabulistan where they forced a dynastic alliance on to the Nezak who ruled there.[123] Unlike the Hephthalites north of the Hindu Kush, who were relatively tolerant of other religions, the later Alkhan, who were seen as followers of the Hindu god Shiva, entered history as cruel destroyers of cities and Buddhist monasteries. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Song Yun, who visited the Punjab between 519 and 520, mentioned that Gandhara had been devastated and depopulated 'two generations earlier', i.e. around 460. He described the ruler of Swat as a pious Buddhist and Mihirakula as a cruel and godless tyrant.[124]

2.5 The Nezak

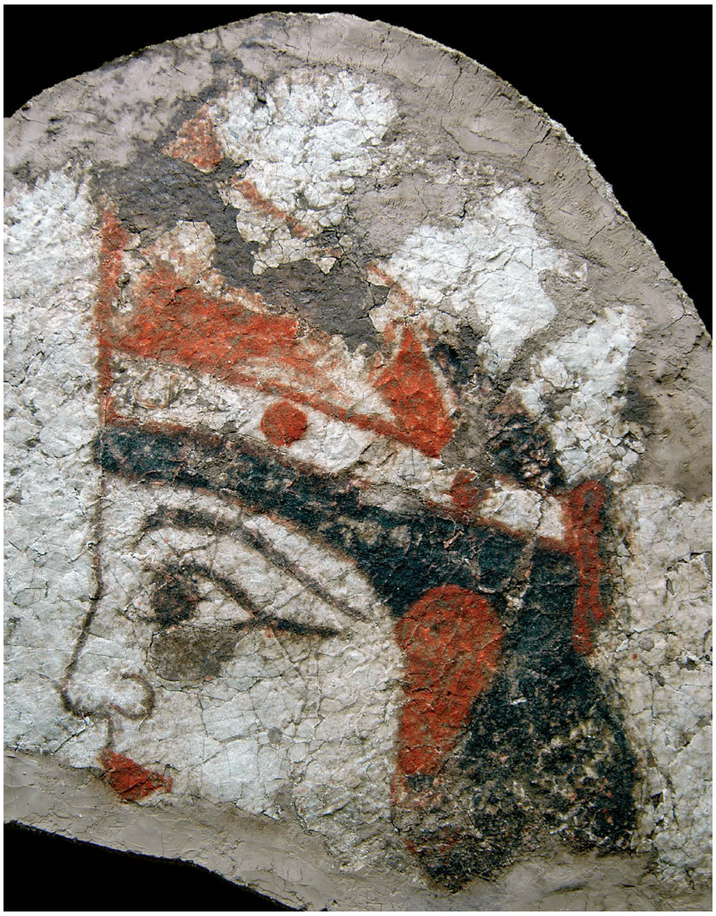
As a consequence of the historical defeats of Shah Peroz in 474 and 484, the Sassanids not only lost Bactria to the Hephthalites but also their zone of influence in Zabulistan, which extended from south-west of Kabul to Kandahar. Around the end of the fifth century, a new coin type emerged in Zabulistan, which carried the Middle-Persian inscription 'King of the Nezak', the Nezak perhaps being related to the Alkhan. Their mint probably stood in Ghazni, and in the first quarter of the sixth century the Nezak, who had extended their sphere of influence over Kabulistan, took over a second mint in Kapisa, about 80 kilometres north of Kabul.[125] In the late 530s or early 540s the Alkhan, who had been driven out of northern India, penetrated into Kabulistan where they forced their suzerainty upon the Nezak. This can be seen from the sudden appearance of coins which show the portrait of a king with tower skull and the tamga (an S-shaped identifying mark derived from the cattle-mark) of the Alkhan. After the Turkic-Sassanid victory over the Hephthalites around 560, Zabulistan became part of the Sassanid sphere of influence. In the late sixth century the Alkhan-Nezak succeeded in driving out the Sassanids again, but during the first quarter of the seventh century they came under Western Turkic suzerainty.[126] During the years 665 and 666 two successful Arab attacks on Kabul weakened the position of the last Nezak ruler so much that a Turkic warlord called Barha Tegin was able to overthrow him and found the new dynasty of the Turki Shahis with Kabul as their capital.[127]

3. Pre-Islamic Chorasmia

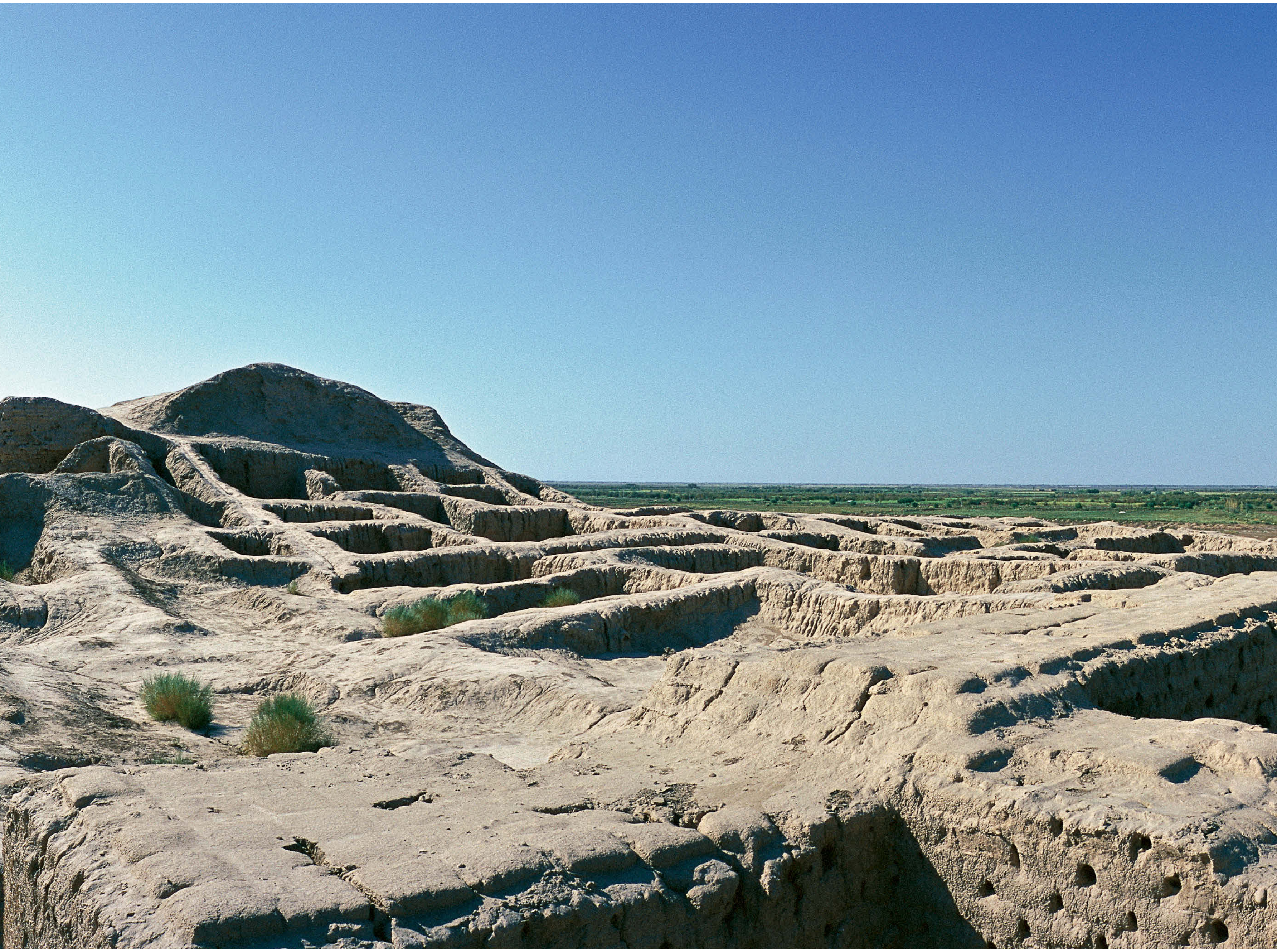
Although Chorasmia (also known as Khwarezm) on the lower Oxus was, like Sogdiana, in a zone of contention between Sassanids and Hunnic steppe peoples, its history in the early centuries of the millennium is practically unknown. Why this is so is explained by the Muslim polymath al-Biruni (973–1048), author of a lost Chronicle of Chorasmia: the Arab commander Qutayba ibn Muslim 'had [in 712] extinguished and ruined in every possible way all those who knew how to write and read Khwarizmi writing, who knew the history of the country and who had studied their sciences. In consequence these things are involved in so much obscurity, that it is impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of the history of the country since the time of Islam, not to speak of pre-Muhammadan times.'[128] Angered by the Chorasmians' resistance, Qutayba had irretrievably erased their historical memory in his destruction of manuscripts and slaughter of those who could read and write.

After regaining its political independence from Kangju in the second quarter of the first century CE, Chorasmia maintained a brisk trade with the Kushans, without, however, forming part of their empire.[129] As regards the post-Kushan period, al-Biruni tells of a King Afrigh, supposed to have been a descendant of the legendary Siyavushids, who in 305 founded the new Afrighid dynasty and moved the Chorasmian capital from Toprak Kala to al-Biruni's birthplace Kath.[130] Most of the pre-Islamic sovereigns on al-Biruni's list of 22 kings unfortunately find scant confirmation in numismatic or other archaeological data.[131] Chorasmia's first capital was, however, not Toprak Kala, but Kazakly Yatkan (fig. 77), 15 kilometres to the south-west, whose temple-palace and citadel date from the late third or early second century BCE, and its urban defences from a few decades later. The construction of such city walls and outworks (proteichisma) indicates the presence of some potential threat, and at the turn of the millennium Kazakly was indeed successfully besieged, as evidenced by the extensive traces of fire in the archaeological remains. While the identity of the attackers with the siege engines remains unknown, these can only really have been the Parthians. The city was rebuilt, but the second century saw the centre of power in Chorasmian shift to Toprak Kala. The murals discovered at Kazakly in 2006, around 100 portraits of people and animals that show clear connections with Parthian painting, underscore the importance of this early Chorasmian city (fig. 78).[132]

The transfer of the capital to Toprak Kala occurred at the time when the Kushans were playing a major role in the economics and politics of Central Asia. The Chorasmian rulers demonstrated their independence by countermarking Kushan coins with the S-shaped tamga associated with Siyavush, mythic founder of the dynasty, and from the early third century issuing their own coins with Chorasmian inscriptions.[133] In Toprak Kala the archaeologist Sergei Tolstov discovered not only a great quantity of Chorasmian coins, but also 140 documents of an administrative character, written on wooden tablets or leather sheets.[134] The Chorasmian script was developed from the Aramaic, introduced to Chorasmia by the Achaemenids.[135] Even when Chorasmia enjoyed a lively trade with



78. **Mural from the palace complex of Kazakly Yatkan, Chorasmia, Uzbekistan, 1st c. CE.**



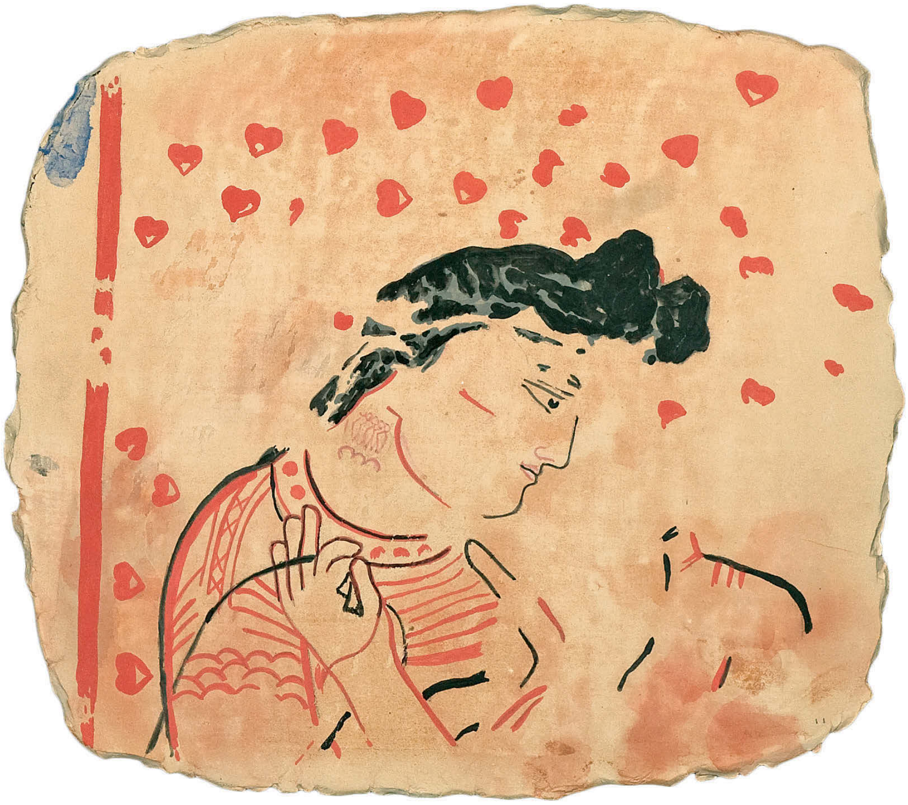
79. The upper palace of the citadel in the ancient Chorasmian capital Toprak Kala, which was built in the 2nd c. CE. To the left, the southern tower, to the right, the north-western one, between them in the foreground the royal hall. Uzbekistan.

the Sassanids, it succeeded for a time in maintaining its independence, for Shapur I's famed inscription at Naqsh-e Rustam makes no mention of it.

Probably built under King Artav in the second century CE, Toprak Kala, like Kazakly Yatkan, was a fortified town some 500 x 300 metres in extent with a citadel (the High Palace) in the north-west, which measured 180 x 180 metres and had three 25-metre-high towers. North of the town was another palace complex, measuring 320 x 300 metres, in whose southern half stood a three-storey temple. The faithful accessed the temple by the southern steps, and in entering the building they passed between two fires that burned in two small cubicles on either side of the vestibule, a form of ritual purification found among many peoples. So, for example, must the Byzantine ambassador Zemarchus have ritually purified himself before his audience with Yabghu Ishtemi of the Western Turks, whom he visited in 569: 'When they [the Turks] had chased away the evil beings, as they supposed, and had led Zemarchus himself through the fire, they thought that by this means they had purified

themselves also.'[136] Travelling in 1245, the papal envoy John of Plano Carpini noted that the Mongolians had the same custom: 'Which purification is in this wise. They kindle two fires, and pitch two javelins into the ground near unto the said fires, binding a cord to the tops of the javelins. And about the cord they tie certain jags of buckram, under which cord, and between which fires, men, beasts and tabernacles do pass.'[137]

As well as smaller painted chapels, the High Palace in the citadel had several splendid ceremonial halls, the most impressive of which was the so-called Hall of Kings. Along three walls ran long platforms divided into 23 or 24 walled bays in total, each occupied by a more than life-size clay figure, flanked by two female figures and one male; on the fourth wall were three alcoves with figures in low relief. The central figure in the middle (throne) alcove most probably represented a woman holding a child. Sergei Tolstov, the first archaeologist to excavate Toprak Kala, in 1945–50, interpreted the large clay sculptures as representations of kingly ancestors,[138] though Yuri Rapoport, who worked there in the 1970s, believed



80. Wall painting of the 'woman with a thread', room no. 85, Palace of Toprak Kala, Uzbekistan, 2nd–3rd c. CE. The State Museum of History, Tashkent.

them to be a depiction of the Chorasmian pantheon. He related the 26 or 27 figures and reliefs to the Chorasmian version of the Zoroastrian solar calendar, which had 12 months of 30 days each and five intercalary days. Every day of the month was dedicated to a divinity or personification of a religious concept, called by al-Biruni the 'angel of the day', Ahura Mazda presiding over four days. Rapoport therefore interpreted the 26 or 27 main figures as the 27 divinities of the month, the place of honour being occupied by the ancient Iranian goddess of the waters, Aredvi Sura Anahita, accompanied by the infant Apam Napat, whose name means 'grandson of waters'. Anahita was flanked by Adur, fire, to whom the ninth day was dedicated, and by the sun, Xwar, celebrated on the eleventh day.[139] As Rapoport surmised, both the High Palace and the extramural lower palace served as dynastic cult sites, but his hypothesis that the Chorasmians, like the later Khazars, had a form of dual rulership, with a sacred king residing in the High Palace and a war king who held the real power living in the other, remains just that. In any case, the two palace complexes were simultaneously abandoned in the late third or early fourth century, the High Palace being converted into an ordinary citadel, which might accord with al-Biruni's mention of a change of capitals.[140]

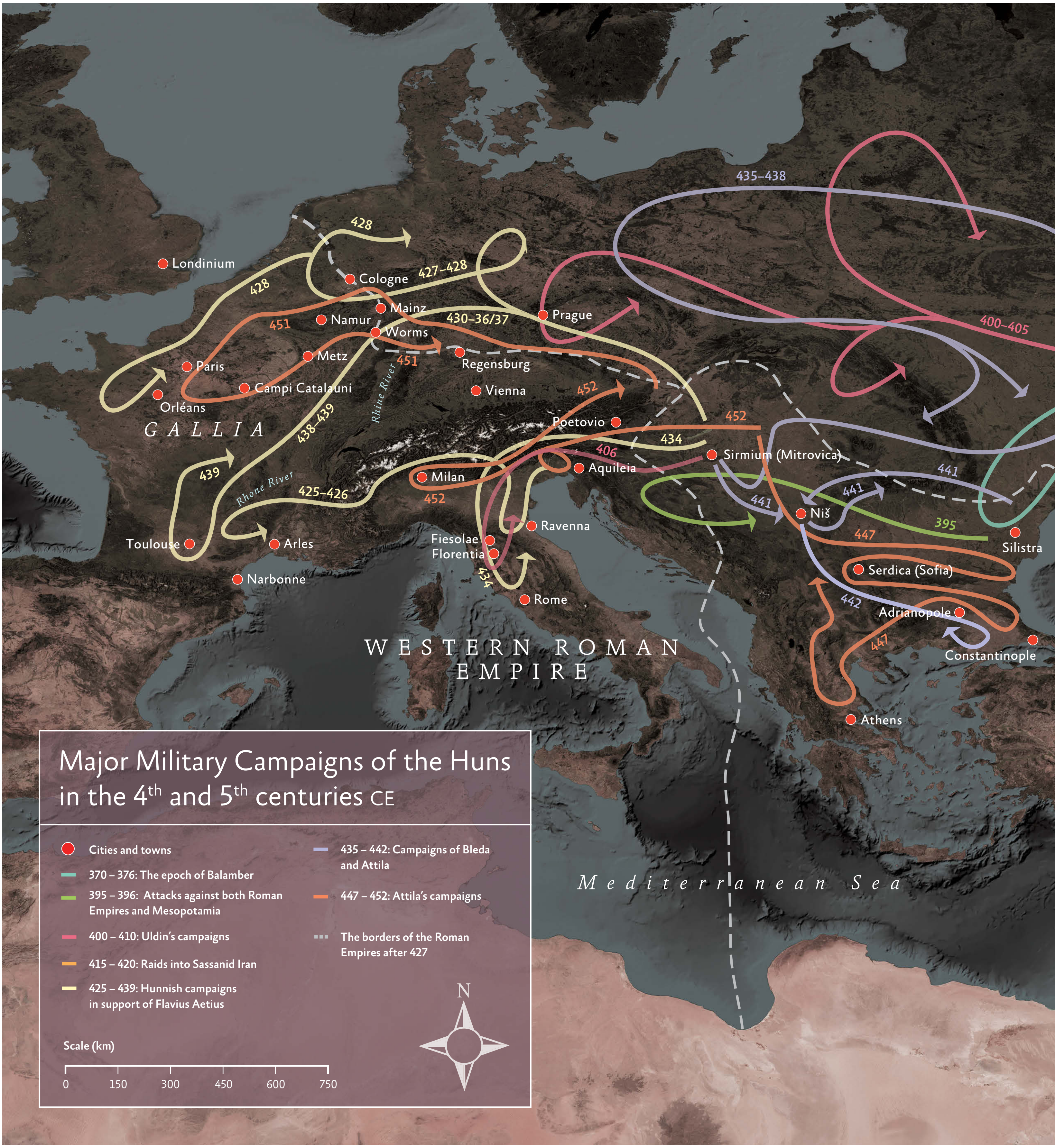
Although the extent of Sassanid or Hunnic political influence over Chorasmia after the end of the third century is unclear, there is evidence of significant social upheaval: the construction of mighty noble strongholds and fortified villages proliferated, cities such as Toprak Kala gradually lost their populations,[141] transregional irrigation systems suffered from lack of maintenance, the minting of money stagnated, and monumental, anthropomorphic representations of deities disappeared: all clues to a breakdown of centralised royal power and the rise of mutually hostile petty princedoms.[142] As a final result, the Chorasmians, like the Sogdians, were unable to put up a coherent defence against the invading Arabs, going down to defeat despite their martial prowess.

The most important religion in Chorasmia was Mazdaism, a Zoroastrianism of Central Asian stamp in which deities such as Anahita, Mithra, the fire god Adur, the wind god Vayu and the water god Vakhsh (Oxus) were held in high veneration alongside Ahura Mazda.[143] Soviet scholars correctly distinguished Mazdaism, the Central Asian form of an uncodified Zoroastrianism, from Zoroastrianism as defined by the Sassanid high priest Kartir.[144] The Chorasmians, too, departed from the Zoroastrian 'orthodoxy' of the Sassanids in not definitively abandoning the bodies of their dead to the vultures of the *dakhmas* or 'towers of silence', (fig. 83) but afterwards conserving the bones in ossuaries, on which were painted scenes of lamentation, an exhibition of grief equally unorthodox.[145] In this ritual lamentation an important role was played by the myth of the young hero Siyavush, supposed founder of the city of Bukhara and ancestor of the Chorasmian kings, who according to legend was killed by his father-in-law, only later to return to life. As Tolstov notes, the parallels between Siyavush and the Egyptian vegetation god Osiris are unmistakeable. This myth was also current in Bukhara itself, for, as Narshakhi reports, the Mazdaites of that city broke their clay statuettes of divinities every year to replace them with new ones, in commemoration of the death and resurrection of Siyavush.[146] While Buddhism hardly established itself in Chorasmia, there were several Christian communities. Among them were Byzantine-Orthodox Melkites and also members of the Assyrian Church of the East, the so-called Nestorians. The Nestorian presence is evidenced by the ossuaries bearing the Maltese cross they favoured, which were found at the necropolis of Mizdahkhan in western Chorasmia.[147]

4. The Huns of Eastern Europe

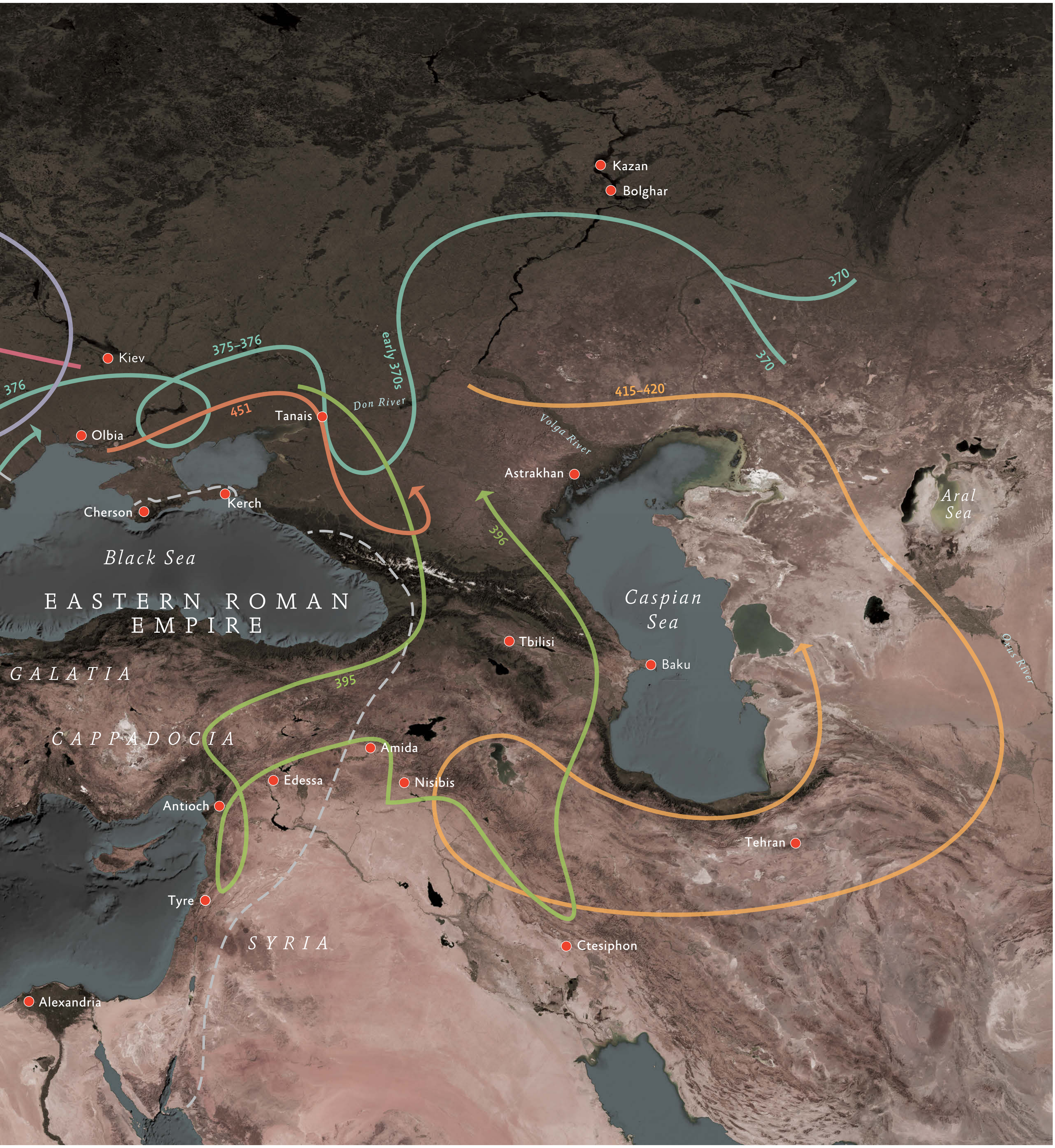
In the third quarter of the fourth century, Altaic horse nomads pressed forward to the Volga, their leading clans representing the western branch of the linguistic and cultural heirs of the Xiongnu. Referred to as Huns by Late Roman historians, these tribes formed a heterogeneous people that combined Mongolid and Europid characteristics. Their language is unknown, though their names

81. The fort of Guldursun Kala, Chorasmia, Uzbekistan, which was founded in the Middle Ages and much enlarged in the 12th c. It covered an area of 300 x 250 m, and its huge round towers were originally 15 m high; thanks to their size they could offer protection to thousands of people in the case of war. The storming of the city by the Mongols around 1221 gave birth to a notable legend: When the Kalmuks, the westernmost group of the Mongols, had besieged the city, which was then known as Gulistan, for many months, both besieged and besiegers were starving. The governor of Gulistan came up with a cunning plan: he had the city's best bull fattened up and then let it graze outside the city walls. When the Kalmuks saw the fat bull, they concluded that the city must still have ample food reserves, and they decided to abandon the siege. But the beautiful daughter of the governor, called Guldursun, had fallen in love with the young leader of the Kalmuks and wanted to prevent him from leaving. She sent him a secret message telling him that the city was about to capitulate because its citizens were starving. The Kalmuks immediately redoubled their assault, and the city surrendered. The victors set the city on fire, massacred the besieged or sold them into slavery. But Guldursun's treason did not pay off: When she stood expectantly before the Kalmuk prince, he told her: 'You have betrayed your tribe, your city and your own father because of a stranger – how quickly would you betray me if you fell in love with another? Guards, seize her and tie her arms and legs to two horses which you drive apart with whips. Thus she will never commit treason again.'[8]



Major Military Campaigns of the Huns in the 4th and 5th centuries CE

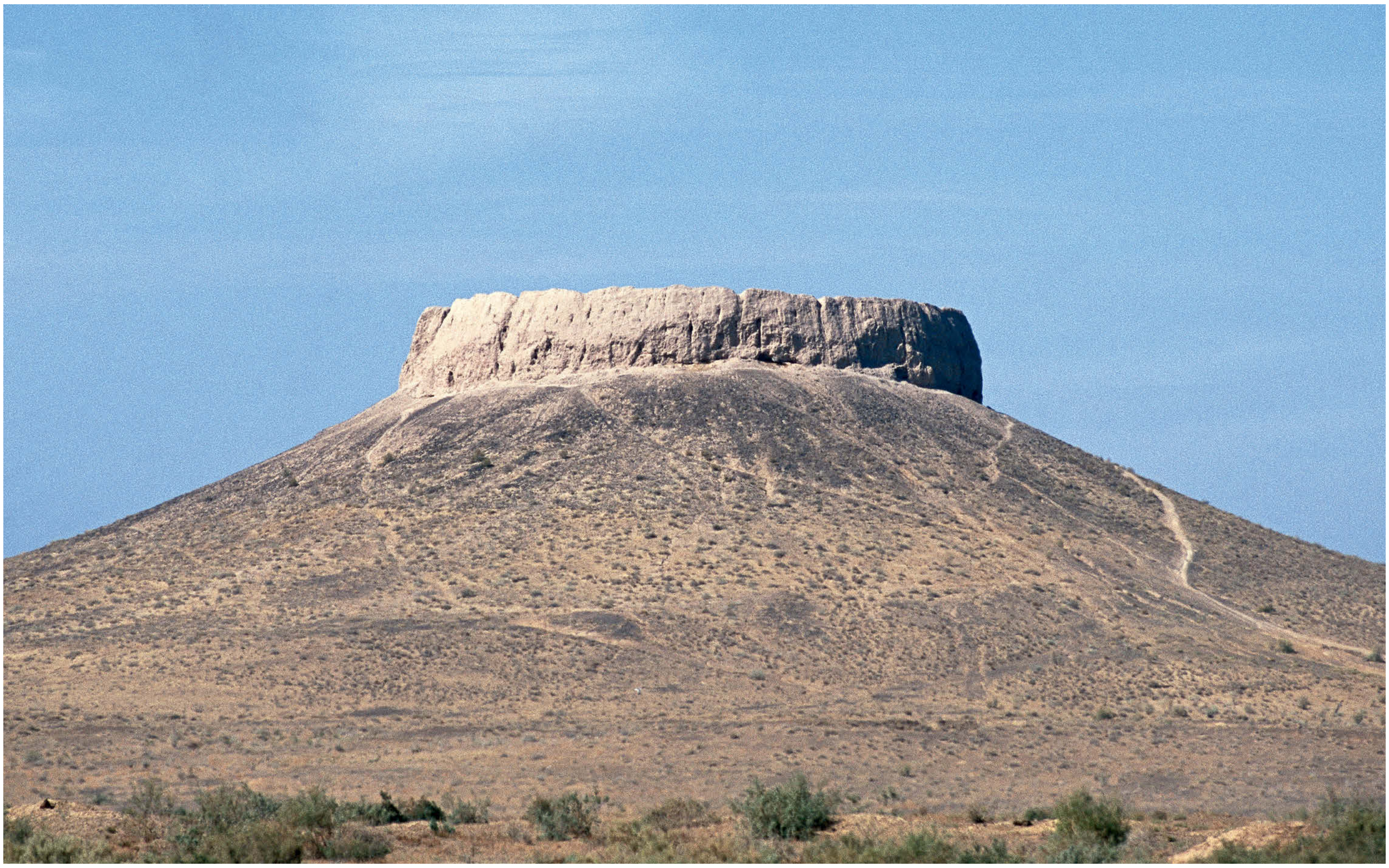
● Cities and towns
370 – 376: The epoch of Balamber
395 – 396: Attacks against both Roman Empires and Mesopotamia
400 – 410: Uldin's campaigns
415 – 420: Raids into Sassanid Iran
425 – 439: Hunnish campaigns in support of Flavius Aetius
435 – 442: Campaigns of Bleda and Attila
447 – 452: Attila's campaigns
The borders of the Roman Empires after 427
Scale (km)
0
150
300
450
600
750
N
Londinium
Cologne
Mainz
Namur
Worms
Metz
Paris
Orléans
Campi Catalauni
Regensburg
Vienna
Prague
Poetovio
Aquileia
Sirmium (Mitrovica)
Milan
Ravenna
Fiesolae
Florentia
Rome
Toulouse
Arles
Narbonne
Niš
Silistra
Serdica (Sofia)
Adrianopole
Constantinople
Athens
GALLIA
WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
Mediterranean Sea
Rhine River
Rhone River
428
428
427–428
430–36/37
451
451
438–439
439
425–426
452
452
452
406
434
434
435–438
400–405
441
441
441
395
447
447
442


Kazan
Bolghar
370
370
early 370s
375–376
376
Kiev
Don River
451
Tanais
Olbia
415–420
Volga River
Astrakhan
Cherson
Kerch
Aral Sea
396
Black Sea
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
Caspian Sea
Oxus River
Tbilisi
Baku
GALATIA
395
CAPPADOCIA
Amida
Edessa
Nisibis
Antioch
Tehran
Tyre
SYRIA
Ctesiphon
Alexandria

feature both Turkic and Iranian elements, with Germanic entering the mix with later victories over Germanic peoples.[148] Unlike the equally Altaic Chionites who took part in Shapur II's attack on Amida in 359, the Huns arrived not as an army on specific military business but as waves of population groups, in such a way that a Central Asian people came to play a key role in European history for a period of almost a century. On the other hand, it was no coincidence that within two decades Hunnic warriors crossed the Syr Darya in the south and reached the Oxus, while in the north they appeared at the Volga. It is likely that both groups had left their native pastures in the Altai to escape military pressure from the Xianbei.

In the early 370s the Huns defeated the Alans who lived on the Don, thanks not least to their superior weaponry.[149] The Huns were mounted archers, equipped with a 120-centimetre-long, asymmetrical, recurved bow with glued bone reinforcements, and their heavy, iron-pointed arrows penetrated even the Alan scale-armour. Although the Hun bow was clearly superior to that of the Sarmatian cataphracts, it did not prevail in western and central Europe, as it was vulnerable to wet weather. The wooden Hun saddle with its high pommel and cantle offered riders a safe and secure seat.[150] Some of the defeated Alans fled to the Caucasus, while others joined the Hun king **Balamber** (r. *ca.* 375/76–?) as auxiliary troops, so making their way west. In 375–76 Balamber then defeated Ermanaric, king of the Ostrogothic Greuthungi, whose homeland lay north-west of the Black Sea. Unable to halt the Hunno-Alan advance, Ermanaric killed himself in despair; his successor Vithimir fell in battle after three defeats.[151] Some of the defeated Greuthungi escaped to the lands of the Visigothic Thervingi, whose king Athanaric sought to resist the Huns. After a first defeat on the Dniester, Athanaric lost most of the Thervingi, who begged asylum of the Roman Empire.[152] Rome's agreement to allow the fleeing Thervingi on to its territory proved to be a catastrophic error. The Roman administration was overwhelmed by the problems of integrating these armed tribesmen, so that the latter soon rebelled. In 378 the Thervingi and their Alan allies inflicted a crushing defeat on Rome at the Battle of Adrianople,

82. The name of the fortified city Kirk Kiz means 'forty maidens' and refers to the legend according to which a young female warrior gathered forty virgins around her to fight against the advancing Kalmuks (Mongols). The 260 x 240 m city, which was founded in the 4th or 3rd c. BCE, was inhabited until the 8th c. when it was abandoned because of lack of water.



83. The Zoroastrian 'Tower of Silence', called *dakhma*, in Chilpyk, Chorasmia, Uzbekistan. Together with the two towers of Yazd in Iran, the *dakhma* of Chilpyk is one of the rare extant Towers of Silence of the mountain crest type. Other *dakhma* were actual towers, but in Chilpyk the *dakhma* consists of a circular mudbrick wall built right around the crest of a mountain, where the dead were left to the vultures. The *dakhma* of Chilpyk has a diameter of 80 m and possessed a room for an eternal fire, whose function was to protect the dead from demons.[9] Numerous petroglyphs from the Bronze Age show that the hill already had a cultic function more than 3,000 years ago.

at which Emperor Valens (r. 364–378) and all his senior officers were killed.[153] With their attacks on the Greuthungi and Thervingi the Huns had set into motion the first phase of the Migration Period, pushing before them like a wave the peoples who stood in their way, with those peoples in their turn displacing others.

The appearance of the Hun horse warriors inspired fear and terror in their European contemporaries, as witnessed by the account of Ammianus Marcellinus: 'The people of the Huns . . . are quite abnormally savage. [. . .] They have squat bodies, strong limbs, and thick necks, and are so prodigiously ugly and bent that they might be two-legged animals. . . . They have no buildings to shelter them, but avoid anything of that kind as carefully as we avoid living in the neighbourhood of tombs. [. . .] They are ill-fitted to fight on foot, and remain glued to their horses, hardy but ugly beasts. [. . .] Buying and selling, eating or drinking, are all done by day or night on horseback, and they even bow forward over their beasts' narrow necks to enjoy a deep and dreamy sleep. When they need to debate some important matter they conduct their conference in the same posture.'[154] Like the Huns, the Göktürks of the sixth to eighth centuries conducted important negotiations on horseback.

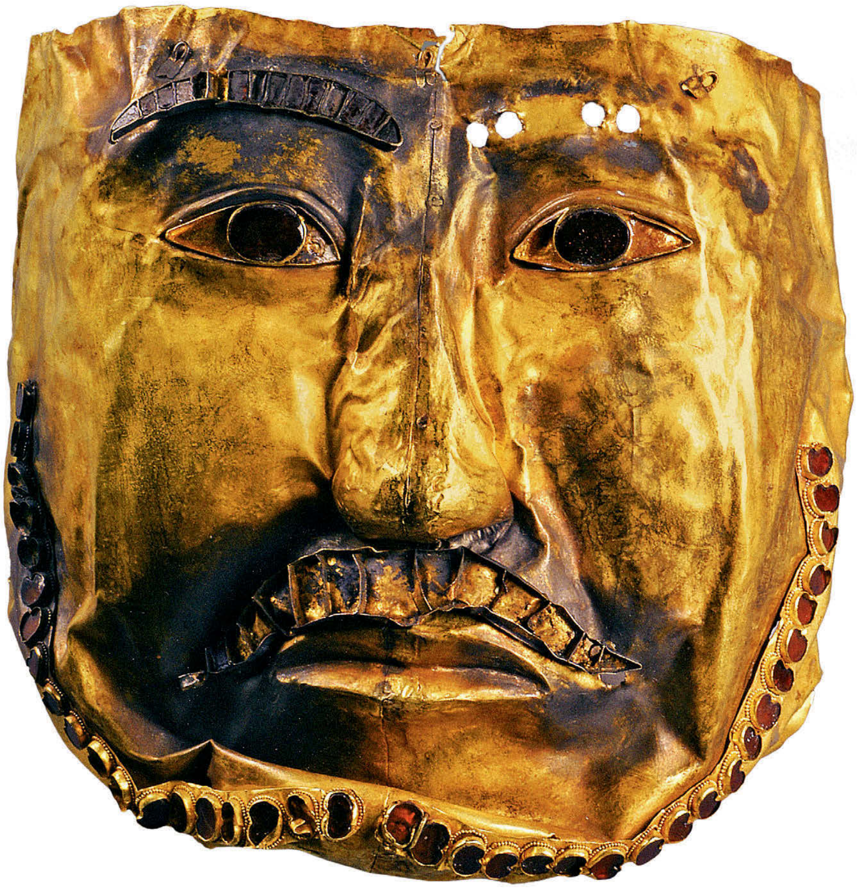
After their victories over the Greuthungi and Thervingi, the Huns consolidated their conquests. The civil war of 394 between the Eastern Roman emperor Theodosius I and the Western emperor Eugenius, which would conclude with the permanent division of the empire a year later, offered the Huns in 395 the opportunity to cross the now unguarded border on the lower Danube and plunder Moesia. Shortly thereafter Hunnic bands under **Basikh** and **Koursikh** crossed the Caucasus and laid waste to Syria, part of Anatolia, and Mesopotamia, where their foray was brought to a halt only before the gates of the Sassanid capital of Ctesiphon; it was after this that the two Hunnic leaders made their first contacts with the Western Roman Empire.[155] The next Hunnic leader whose name is known to us was **Uldin** (r. *ca.* 399–*ca.* 410), who first attacked the Gothic mercenary leader Gaina, a fanatical Arian, and sent the latter's head to the emperor Arcadius on 3 January 401, as a welcome New Year gift. With this victory Uldin established himself as the sole leader of all the 'barbarians' north of the lower Danube, as the Visigothic king Alaric escaped to north-west Italy to threaten Emperor Honorius. Uldin now set the Hunnic strategy with regard to the two Roman empires, a strategy that would govern Hunnic policy until Attila's abortive western campaign of 451–452: while the Huns would ally themselves with Rome and make their troops available against payment, they would exact ever higher tribute from Byzantium by military means. This friendship toward Rome and enmity toward Byzantium would prevent the two empires banding together against the Huns until 452.

Thanks to Uldin's strategy of friendship with Rome, the Roman general Stilicho was able with the Huns' help first to repel Alaric's Visigoths and then in 406 to defeat the invading Gothic king Radagaisus. On 31 December 406, however, the pressure of Hunnic expansion saw Alans, Vandals and Suebi cross the frozen Rhine near Mainz, Stilicho having withdrawn troops from that riverine frontier to fight Radagaisus, so leaving it undefended and thus initiating the second phase of the Migration Period, viewed by the Romans as a barbarian invasion. Uldin's attempt in 408 and 409 to exact annual tribute by attacking Constantinople failed miserably, though it did prompt praetorian prefect Anthemius to embark upon the construction of the 20-kilometre-long Theodosian Walls, named after Emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–450), then a minor, for whom the prefect acted more or less as regent. Completed in 413, and rebuilt and strengthened after an earthquake in 447, the walls withstood all land attacks for 1,000 years.[156] It would appear that Uldin's failure seriously weakened his position, for his name then disappears from the records. The years 412–413 indeed bring mention of a King **Kharaton**, mollified with rich gifts by a Byzantine embassy held responsible for the killing of a sub-king called **Donatus**.[157]

The Huns reappear in the historical record with Attila's uncle, King **Rua** (Rugila, r. *ca.* 422–434/5), who plundered Thrace in 422, exacting from the Eastern Empire an annual tribute of 350 pounds of gold (approx. 114 kg).[158] He ruled together with his brother **Octar** until 430, when the latter was killed in an unsuccessful war against the Burgundian kingdom on the Rhine, leaving him sole ruler over the Balkan Huns.[159] Two years later, he strengthened the relationship with Rome when he offered hospitality to Flavius Aetius (390–454) – a senior general stripped of his post in a power struggle, who in his youth had lived at Hunnic courts as a hostage – and then in 433 put an army at his disposal, allowing him to regain in Rome the power that he had lost. In thanks, Aetius granted the Hunnic kings **Bleda** (r. 434/5–444/5) and **Attila** (r. as sub-king 434/5–444/5, high king 444/5–453) the provinces of Valeria and Pannonia Prima. High king Bleda and sub-king Attila were brothers, the sons of Mundzuk, brother of kings Rua and Octar. The Huns soon hurried again to Aetius' aid when he was unable, despite his victory in 435, to hold at bay the southward advance of the Burgundians. In 436 or 437, helped by a strong Hunnic army, Aetius inflicted a devastating defeat on the Burgundian king Gundahar, who had his capital at Worms or Mainz, and resettled the few surviving Burgundians on the Saône in Savoy and the Rhône in western Switzerland. The destruction of the Burgundian kingdom on the Rhine provides the historic kernel of the *Song of the Nibelungs*.

Unlike the horse nomad empires of the Xiongnu or the Mongols under Genghis Khan, the 'Hun Empire' of Bleda and Attila enjoyed neither administrative structure nor national unity, remaining a 'mobile warrior coalition'[160] whose leaders had to satisfy a growing but unstable following with ever-richer booty. Power among the Huns depended on a vicious circle, in that every increase in power won by military victory necessitated even greater success and ever greater plunder. Ultimately, the Hun-led warrior coalition was doubly parasitic: the elite refused to engage in any form of economic activity in the way of production or trade, and it limited itself to the exploitation of vassals and the blackmailing of their Byzantine neighbours. Both Bleda and Attila would fall victim to this drive to ever greater gain. Although Bleda had in 441–442 inflicted telling defeats on the Eastern Empire, imposing a disadvantageous treaty on Constantinople in 443, the very next year the object of his exactions refused to pay the tribute due. It was probably this economic failure that gave Attila the pretext to kill his brother in late 444 or early 445 and make himself sole ruler of the Huns.

Attila was now under pressure not only to extract the payments agreed to in 443 from the Eastern Empire but to increase the tribute payable. When Constantinople was shaken by an enormous earthquake on 27 January 447 and parts of the Theodosian Walls collapsed, Attila decided to attack the city, already prey to hunger and epidemic, but having now incorporated bands of Germanic foot soldiers into his army, he could advance only slowly on the defenceless capital. The inclusion of these Germanic tribes negated the intrinsic advantage enjoyed by equestrian warriors – their speed of movement – so that it took the Byzantines only two months to rebuild the city walls and even reinforce these with an outer breastwork. Unable to seriously threaten Constantinople, Attila looted and destroyed dozens of cities already strongly affected by the earthquake, forcing Emperor Theodosius to accept harsh Hunnic peace conditions. Yet Attila's calculations did not pay off, for this weak emperor, much influenced by his eunuchs and his sister



84. Golden funeral mask decorated with garnets from Boma, Xinjiang, China. This male mask made of gold foil, discovered in a tumulus in the valley of the Tekes, a tributary of the Ili, in the extreme north-west of Xinjiang, shows a conspicuous similarity to golden cloisonné jewellery from Europe and the Near East from the 5th c. As argued by Alexander Koch, the mask and the grave find of a so-called 'Hunnic cauldron' near Urumqi have a 'pre-Turkic period connection' to 'horse nomad Hunnic groups of the 5th c.'. Perhaps these Hunnic tribes, which lived in the north-west of Xinjiang, had migrated back to Central Asia, in the 450s and 460s, after the destruction of their eastern European empire, and had settled north of the Tian Shan.[10] Ili Kazak Prefecture Museum, Yining.

Pulcheria, would die in 450, and his successor Marcian (r. 450–457), raised to the throne by the Alan-born Roman magister militum (general) Aspar, immediately refused any payment of tribute and made preparations for war.[161]

Marcian's decision would lead to Attila's downfall, for the latter desperately needed the Byzantine tribute to be able to provide the rich gifts that ensured the loyalty of his heterogeneous army. The nearby Balkans had been bled dry and could hardly offer any more booty, Constantinople with its strengthened defences could be neither besieged nor stormed by Attila's troops, and the wealthy provinces of the Near East lay beyond his grasp. When Rome itself stopped its subsidy, Attila decided to attack his earlier ally, invading Gaul in 451. As Attila's horsemen were supporting the Armenians against the Sassanids in the Caucasus, the invading force mostly consisted of slow-moving Germanic foot soldiers. But Attila's siege of Aurelianum (Orléans) gave Aetius enough time to strike up an alliance with the Visigoths of King Theodoric I (r. 418–451) and so be able to relieve the city, leaving Attila to make a slow retreat. It was on the *Campi Catalauni* near Châlons-sur-Marne or Troyes in eastern France (opinion is divided on the exact location) that in June 451 the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains took place, which brought heavy losses for both sides. Withdrawing much weakened and without having achieved his war aims, Attila was down, but not out. On the winning side, Theodoric had been killed in battle, and the Visigoths abandoned the alliance. Attila's northern Italian campaign of 452 also ended in humiliating failure: while he did succeed in taking the cities of Aquileia and Mediolanum (Milan), Emperor Marcian's successful diversionary attack on the Hunnic heartland north of the lower Danube and the outbreak of disease in the Hunnic army forced a hasty retreat.[162] Attila's two attacks on the Western Empire proved to be strategic errors, as he had overlooked the possibility of the two Roman empires banding together against him and of Marcian's being able to carry the war to Hunnic territory. Attila died in 453, on the night of his wedding to the Burgundian princess Ildico, either poisoned by her or from a haemorrhage of unknown cause.

The description of Attila's funeral by the Roman historian Jordanes (d. after 552) is highly revealing, showing how close Hunnic customs were to the traditions of Turco-Mongolian and Scythian horse peoples: 'Then, as is the custom of that race, they plucked out the hair of their heads and made their faces hideous with deep wounds, that the renowned warrior might be mourned, not by effeminate wailings and tears, but by the blood of men. [. . .] His body was placed in the midst of a plain and lay in state in a silken tent as a sight for men's admiration. The best horsemen of the entire tribe of the Huns rode around in circles, after the manner of circus games [. . .] and told of his deeds in a funeral dirge [. . .] When they had mourned him with such lamentations, a *strava*, as they call it, was celebrated over his tomb with great revelling. [. . .] Then in the secrecy of night they buried his body in the earth. [. . .] They added the arms of foemen won in the fight, trappings of rare worth, sparkling with various gems, and ornaments of all sorts whereby princely state is maintained. And that so great riches might be kept from human curiosity, they slew those appointed to the work – a dreadful pay for their labor; and thus sudden death was the lot of those who buried him as well as of him who was buried.'[163] All the funerary customs mentioned by Jordanes were to be found among other Asiatic horse nomads: the cutting of the face among the Scythians, Saka and Göktürks of the sixth to eighth centuries,[164] the cutting-off of the hair among the Saka of the Altai and the Xiongnu,[165] the circling of the bier on horseback and the funeral feast among the Scythians and ancient Türks,[166] and the killing of the grave diggers among the Scythians and the Mongols.[167] Like Genghis Khan's, Attila's grave remains undiscovered today.[168]

Lacking any state structure and strained by conflict between Attila's three sons, the Hunnic warrior coalition quickly fell apart. **Dengizikh** (d. 469) and **Ernac** (d. after 466) disputed the succession of their elder brother **Ellac** (r. 453–454), claiming a share in power for themselves. Jordanes tells us that 'the sons of Attila [. . .] were clamoring that [. . .] warlike kings with their peoples should be apportioned to them by lot like a family estate'.[169] As a result, many of the Huns' vassals and allies rebelled under the leadership of the Gepid king Ardaricus, who in 454 crushed the remaining Huns at a battle on the river Nedao in Pannonia, killing Ellac. Dengizikh's two attempts in 455/56 and 463/64–66 to expel the Goths, who were occupying Pannonia were a failure, and in 469 he died in battle against the Eastern Roman Empire. Ernac, however, submitted to Constantinople and was charged with the defence of the frontier in Dobruja, south of the Danube delta. With this the Huns ceased to exist as an autonomous federation and were absorbed into the Bulgar, Avar and Khazar confederacies. And after the defeat on the Nedao, other Hunnic groups had fallen back further east, even as far as Central Asia.[170]

Compared with Modu's Xiongnu and Genghis Khan's Mongols, Attila's Huns were no more than ephemeral. The German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel (1770–1831) described them as 'one of those purely Oriental phenomena, which, like a mere storm-torrent, rise to a furious height and bear down everything in their course, but in a brief space are so completely spent, that nothing is seen of them but the traces they have left in the ruins which they have occasioned'.[171] Unlike the Xiongnu, who built a stable empire and compelled China to make many innovations in the military and political fields, or the medieval Mongols, who reconnected Europe and China, the two ends of the Eurasian land mass that had grown far apart, making possible a thriving trade and a significant transfer of technology between East and West, the Huns left no long-lasting trace except in the chronicles of the peoples they afflicted. And unlike Modu and Genghis Khan, Attila neglected to provide people and army with clear structures, failing to establish an administration, introduce a common code of law or secure a predictable flow of tax revenue. Despite all the legends built up about him over more than 12 centuries, Attila was not, in fact, a far-sighted strategic thinker but rather an opportunist with an eye to quick spoils.

IV

The Kingdoms of the Tarim Basin and their Schools of Buddhist Art

An arhat, a Buddhist holy man, was ill treated by the inhabitants [of the rich city of Ho-lao-lo-chia] and refused water, because he had reproved them for their sins. He thereupon cursed the town:

'Seven days hence there will be a rain of sand and earth which will fill this city full, and there will in a brief space be none left alive . . .' [. . .] On the seventh day, in the evening, just after the division of the night, it rained sand and earth, and filled the city. [. . .] The town of Ho-lao-lo-chia [somewhere north-east of Khotan] is now a great sand mound. The kings of the neighbouring countries and persons in power from distant spots have many times wished to excavate the mound and take away the precious things buried there; but as soon as they have arrived at the borders of the place, a furious wind has sprung up, dark clouds have gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, and they have become lost to find their way.

XUANZANG, *SI-YU-KI: BUDDHIST RECORDS OF THE WESTERN WORLD*, *ca.* 643 CE[1]

1. The Archaeological Exploration of the Tarim Basin – An Overview

In his account of his travels, from which the story above is drawn, the Buddhist monk and pilgrim Xuanzang goes on to add that the natural catastrophe called down by the angry arhat had happened a long time before. So the seventh-century inhabitants of Khotan and other oases, where this legend was current in varying forms, did have some idea that in the Taklamakan Desert there were hidden ruins of ancient cities where fertile and prosperous oases had once flourished. In fact, the time between Emperor Han Wudi's opening of the Silk Road in the early first century BCE[2] and the re-conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Chinese Tang dynasty (618–907) is one of the most exciting periods in the history of the Tarim Basin. The flow of transcontinental trade, which only ever slackened for a brief period in the early fourth century, with the turmoil of war in northern China, made Eastern Turkestan the hub of the gigantic communications network that traversed Central Asia. Here came together not just the indigenous Saka and Tocharians, but also Chinese and Tibetans, descendants of the Xiongnu and representatives of the Turkic peoples, Indians, Sogdians, Bactrians, Parthians, Persians and Byzantines; they brought with them their religious beliefs, such as the sky cult now called 'Tengriism', Daoism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Mazdaism, Manichaeism and Christianity. These religions had their visual expressions in the form of paintings, miniatures and figural representations, and this led to the development of diverse cultures in the oases.

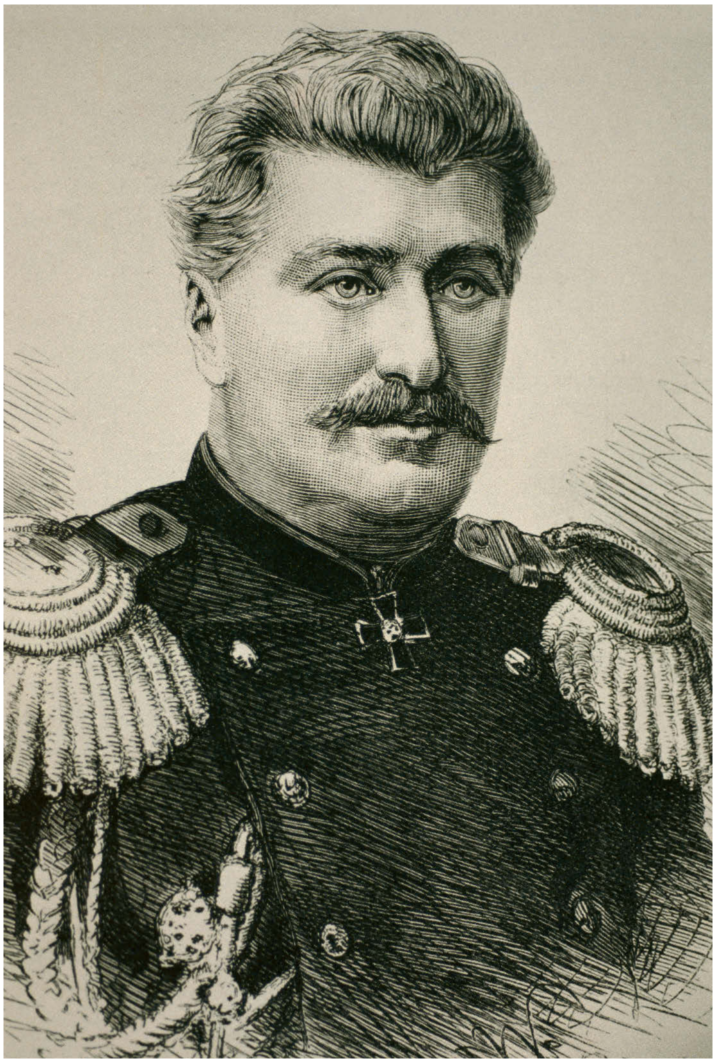
Following the decline of the Eastern Han dynasty in the mid-second century CE, the little states of the Tarim Basin escaped Chinese suzerainty, yielding again to the Chinese claim for hegemony only from 640. They were able intermittently to maintain their independence but often came under pressure from more powerful neighbours such as the Tuyuhun, the Rouran, the Hephthalites and the First Turkic Khaganate. Some of the oasis cities had already begun to depopulate since the fourth century for climatic, demographic and political reasons, and sunk beneath the wandering dunes of the Taklamakan. Already, then, the Tarim Basin must have made a similar impression on the trade caravans as it did on the German archaeologist Albert von Le Coq: 'Eastern Turkestan is like a gigantic bowl filled in the centre with moving sand.'[3] Of the two great east–west routes through Eastern Turkestan, one followed the northern and the other the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert. Changing climatic and political conditions saw them flourish at different times: while the Southern Silk Road was especially preferred in the first four centuries CE, being beyond the reach of the rapacious nomadic horsemen north of the Tian Shan Mountains, the northern route grew greatly in importance from the fifth century onwards, as the northern horse peoples curtailed their attacks on caravans so as to be able to profit themselves from the unhindered trade, and because sections of the eastern part of the southern route had become impassable.[4] Since Central Asian trade was dominated by Indian merchants during the first centuries CE, but by Sogdians from the fifth century onward, the Buddhist art of the Southern Silk Road shows the influence of Gandhara and the eastern Mediterranean, whereas that of the Northern Silk Road contains elements from Indian and Iranian cultures.

1.1 Early Explorers of the Southern Silk Road

The first treasure hunter and systematic 'excavator' of the old cities buried in the sand was **Mirza Abu Bakr Dughlat** (r. 1465–1514), ruler of the cities of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. As his nephew Mirza Muhammad Haidar recounted, 'he ordered the old cities to be excavated [. . .] by eighteen or twenty prisoners, more or less, secured together by a chain running from one to the other, at their backs, through a collar fastened around the neck of each'.[5] The earliest explorers of the Southern Silk Road were either adventurers such as **Adolf Schlagintweit**, executed as an alleged Chinese spy by Wali Khan, the ruler of Kashgar, in 1857,[6] or they travelled as diplomats, surveyors or spies in the employ of the government of British India, which hoped to establish a buffer zone to hold off the advancing Russians in Eastern Turkestan, and so had urgent need of exact topographical data. The Indian **Abdul Hamid** in 1863 was the first to reach Yarkand, staying there for half a year. In his report he notes that some inhabitants would search for treasure in ruins uncovered by sandstorms at the desert's edge.[7] Hamid was followed in 1865 by the British surveyor **William Johnson**, the first such explorer to reach Khotan, who, a five-day march north-east from there, not far from Chira, visited a ruined city buried under sand where locals would look for silver and gold objects.[8]

Johnson's report aroused the curiosity of the diplomat **Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth**, who in 1870 and 1873 travelled to Yarkand, where he bought ancient Bactrian and Byzantine coins.

▶85. Aerial view of the southern Tian Shan mountains between Kashgar and Urumqi, Xinjiang, China.



86. The Russian geographer and officer General Nikolay Przhevalsky (1839–1888).

87. The Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin (1865–1952) in 1894 in Kashgar. The Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm.

In 1874 his collaborator Kishen Singh acquired a Buddha figurine and a statue of Hanuman there, which possibly came from the ruined city that Johnson had visited.[9] Forsyth's report, published in 1878 in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* bore the programmatic title 'On the Buried Cities in the Shifting Sands of the Great Desert of Gobi'. The place where Kishen Singh's little Buddha figurine was found might be identical with the ruins of Uzun Tati north of Chira, which Sir Aurel Stein identified with Xuanzang's city of Pimo and Marco Polo's Pein.[10] As for Xuanzang's cursed city of Ho-lao-lo-chia [Pinyin: Holaolojia], it may be hypothesised that the most likely match among known ruined cities is either Niya or Karadong, both abandoned more than two centuries before Xuanzang passed through in 644.[11] Even before Forsyth, explorer **George Hayward** and government envoy **Robert Shaw** had visited Yarkand and Kashgar in 1868–69, though they had spent most of their time under house arrest. On his way there, Hayward heard a modified version of the legend reported by Xuanzang, in which a Muslim preacher punished a king, who had broken his word, with a terrible sandstorm. 'Many hundred years ago, all this wilderness was a flourishing province, possessing 160 towns and cities, now entirely overwhelmed with sand and buried.'[12] These various references to the hidden remains of pre-Islamic cultures were largely ignored by European archaeologists, since they were then preoccupied with Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia, and expeditions to the Tarim Basin were dangerous and politically delicate. Only with the acquisitions of the Bower manuscript in Kucha in 1890, and the Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript in Khotan in 1892, did the attention of European scholars turn to Turkestan, with Sven Hedin leading the way.

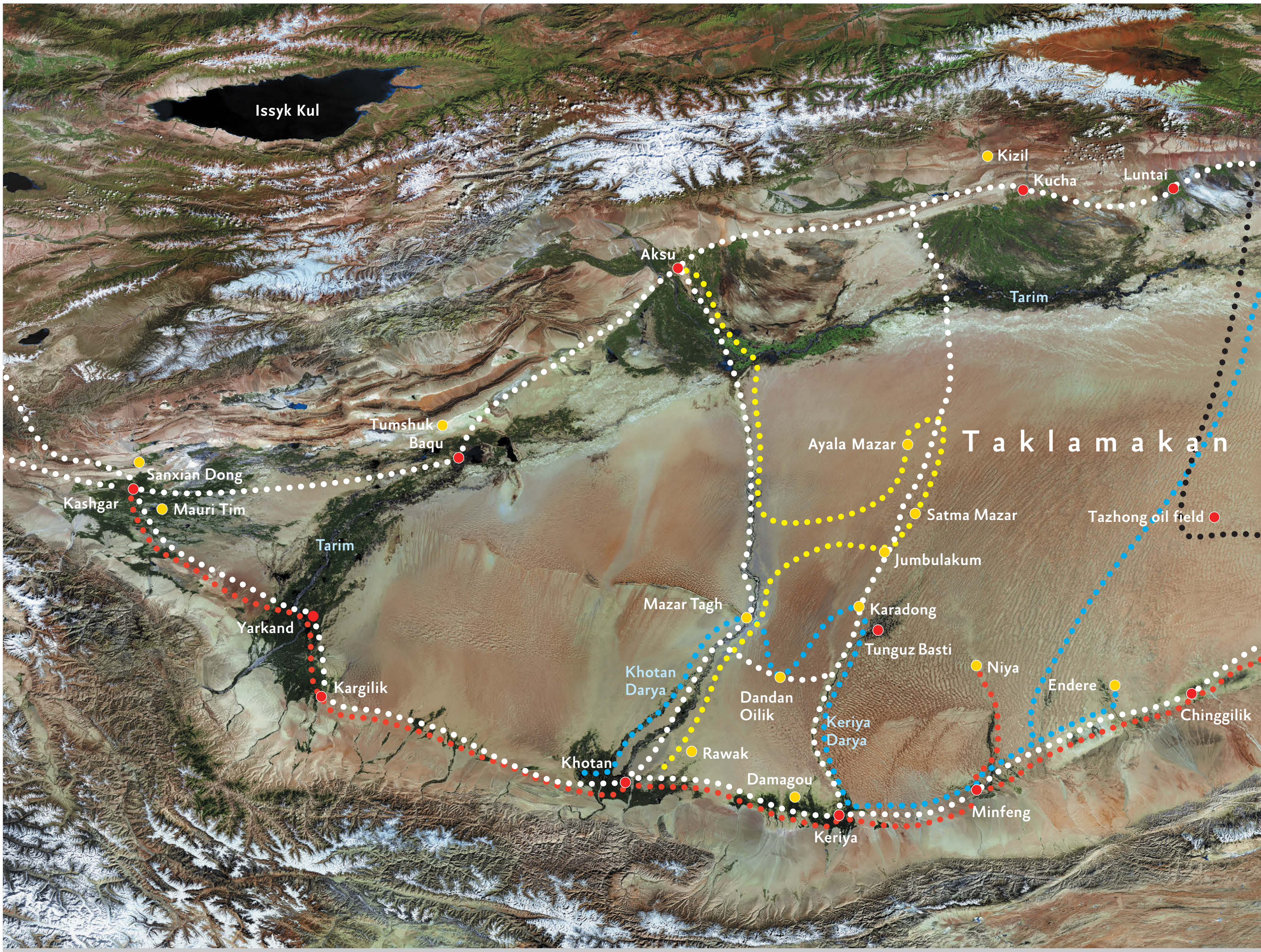
1.2 The Riddle of the Lop Nor Lake – Nikolay Przhevalsky and Sven Hedin

The Russian soldier and geographer **General Nikolay Przhevalsky** (1839–1888) felt a perennial attraction to Chinese Turkestan and Tibet and to Lhasa in particular. After spending two years exploring the Ussuri River in Eastern Siberia in 1867–69, he led four expeditions over several years to Central Asia, though he never reached the Tibetan capital. In early 1877, during his second expedition, he explored the 'new' Lop Nor Lake which was situated on the south-western edge of the Lop Desert and formed of the interconnected lakes Kara Buran and Kara Koshun.[13] Przhevalsky's claim to have discovered the ancient lake of Lop Nor was disputed by the German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen, as the lake he had discovered lay a degree further south than that on a Chinese map of 1862, a map based on ancient data.[14] Already in early 1878 Richthofen argued: 'This would involve the following, that the [River] Tarim had formerly only one easterly course to the true great Lob-nor, but later at the place where it is now joined by the Ugen-darya, it threw off a branch to the S.E. which became the main river; and that this branch discharged into the once isolated Khas-lake [Kara Koshun], enlarged it and made it the chief reservoir.'[15] It would be left to Sven Hedin to settle the scientific argument in favour of Richthofen. On his fourth expedition to Central Asia, Przhevalsky returned in 1885 to the 'new' Lop Nor, which he found to have shrunk.[16] He died in 1888 on the Issyk Kul Lake, at the start of his fifth expedition, whose leadership would be taken over by **Mikhail Pevtsov,** who continued with **Pyotr Kozlov** the exploration of the Tarim Basin.[17] Further pioneering work was done in 1885–86 by Bombay civil servant **Arthur Carey** and trader **Andrew Dalgleish**, who were the first to follow the Khotan Darya River downstream from Khotan to its confluence with the Yarkand Darya, and then proceed along the Tarim to Abdal on the Kara Buran Lake.[18] Four years after Przhevalsky's second visit to the Kara Koshun Lake, the local inhabitants told the French travellers **Gabriel Bonvalot** and **Prince Henri d'Orléans** that the lake had shrunk even further due to abstraction at Korla upstream, and also spoke to them of hidden ruins.[19]

88. During his river journey on the Tarim in 1899 Sven Hedin worked at an improvised desk. Sven Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet: Towards the Holy City of Lhasa* (London, 1903), vol. I, p. 83. The Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm.

The Swede **Sven Hedin** (1865–1952) was the first to take seriously the seemingly fantastical tales of cities beneath the desert sands, while he hoped at the same time to solve the still unresolved 'Problem of the Lop Nor'. As he observed in his biography, *My Life as an Explorer*, he had already decided to be an explorer at the age of 15: returning from the first voyage through the North East Passage, Nordenskjöld's ship, the *Vega*, 'steamed into the harbour of Stockholm, on April 24, 1880. The entire city was illuminated. Buildings near the water-front were lit up by countless lamps and torches. On the Royal Palace, a star, Vega, shone forth in bright gas-flames; and amid this sea of lights, the famous ship came gliding into the harbour. With my parents, sisters, and brother, I enjoyed a view of the city from the heights on the south side. I was a prey to the greatest excitement. All my life I shall remember that day. From the quays, streets, windows, and roofs, enthusiastic cheers roared like thunder. And I thought, "I, too, would like to return home that way."'[20]

After a short exploration of Kashgar and Sogdiana in the winter of 1890–91,[21] Hedin set off on his first Central Asian expedition, which would last from 1893 to 1897. In Tashkent he received a letter from his professor, Ferdinand von Richthofen, with the charge, 'You, I think, will finally solve the problem of the Lop Nor Lake'.[22] Crossing the border into China, Hedin had to open his luggage, for 'as we later learned, [the Chinese] at the fort believed [that] all my boxes were packed full of Russian soldiers, who in that way were being smuggled across the frontier.'[23] After several failed attempts to conquer the 7,546-metre mountain of Muztagh Ata, he undertook a partial traverse of the Taklamakan Desert in 1895. Lack of water and other planning errors brought the expedition to a disastrous end, costing the life of one of his companions.[24] Undeterred by this fiasco, Hedin penetrated into the deep interior of the desert, north-east of Khotan, in early 1896, accompanied by a treasure hunter familiar with the area, to search for the mysterious ruined cities. Luck was with him, and on 24 January he discovered the city of Dandan Oilik, abandoned in the late eighth or early ninth century, then known to the local inhabitants as

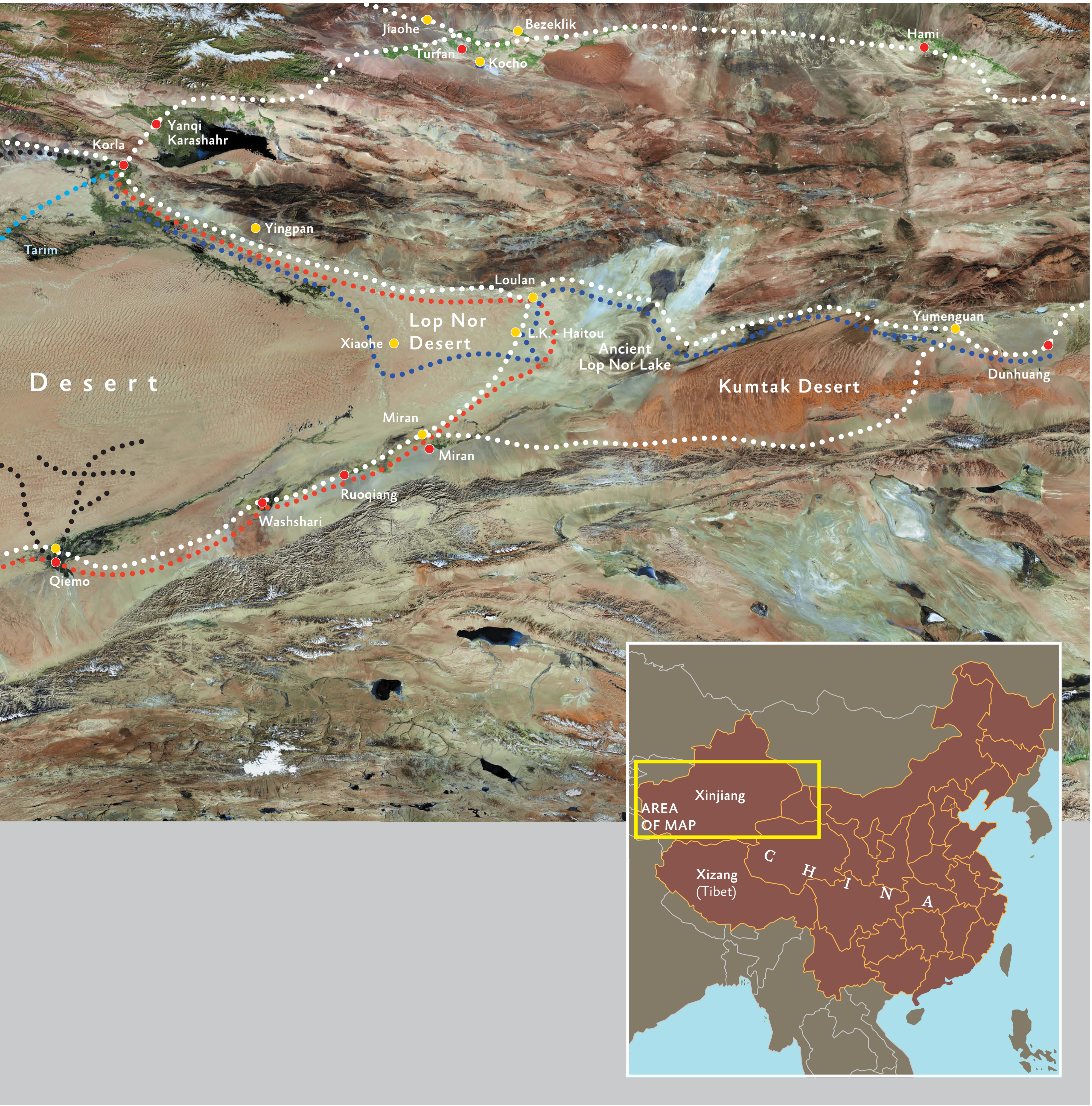

Issyk Kul
Kizil
Kucha
Luntai
Aksu
Tarim
Tumshuk
Baqu
Ayala Mazar
Taklamakan
Sanxian Dong
Kashgar
Mauri Tim
Satma Mazar
Tazhong oil field
Tarim
Jumbulakum
Mazar Tagh
Karadong
Yarkand
Tunguz Basti
Khotan Darya
Niya
Kargilik
Dandan Oilik
Endere
Keriya Darya
Chinggilik
Rawak
Khotan
Damagou
Minfeng
Keriya

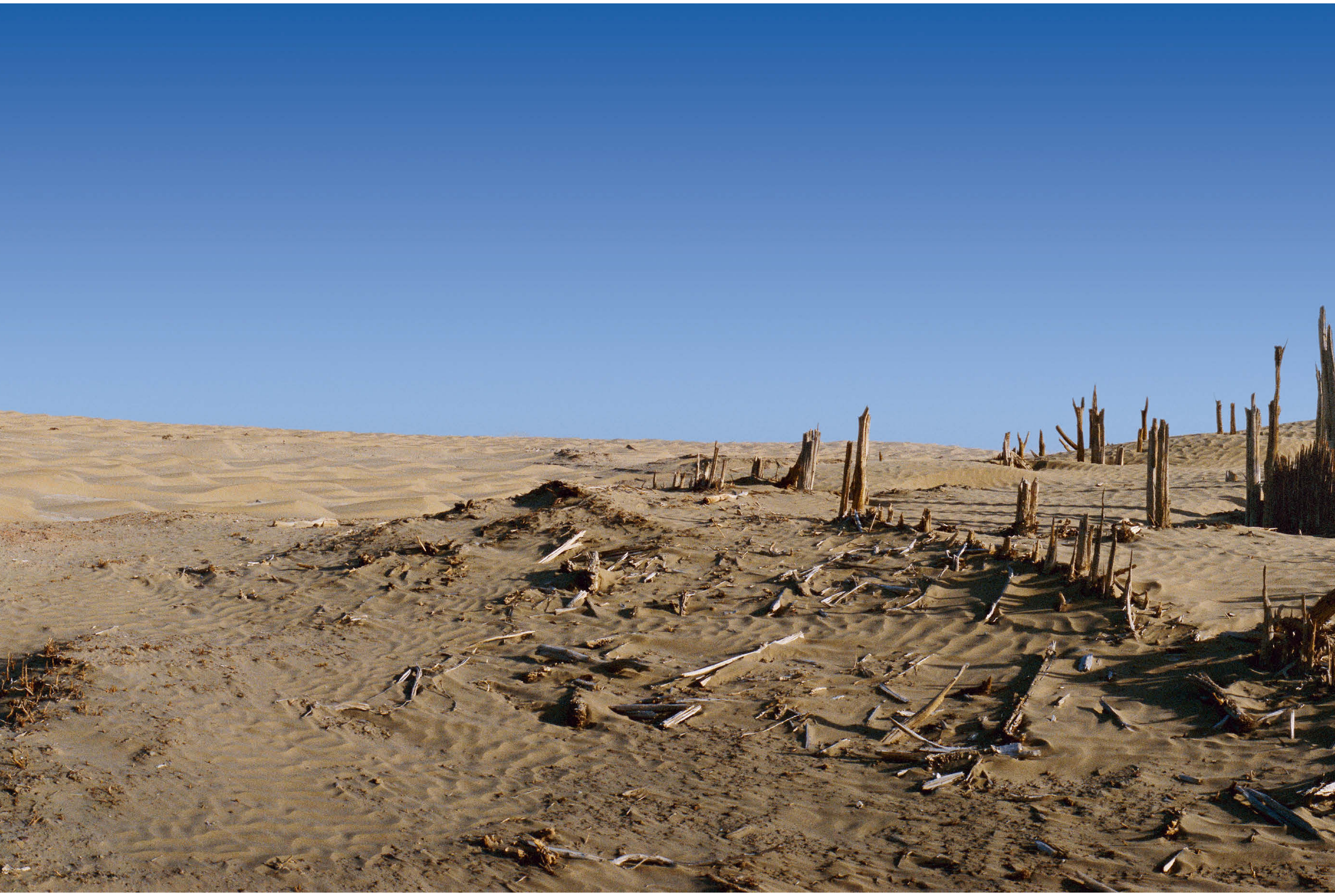
The major archaeological sites in the Tarim Basin in the first millennium CE

The five Sino-Swiss Taklamakan Expeditions, Xinjiang, China, 1994–2009

- ● Ruins | ancient sites
- ● Modern cities and villages
- • • • • Silk Road | Ancient trading routes *ca.* 500 BC – 900 AD
- • • • • Archaeological expedition route 1994
- • • • • Archaeological expedition route 1998
- • • • • Archaeological expedition route 2003
- • • • • Archaeological expedition route 2007–08
- • • • • Archaeological expedition route 2009

N
0 km
50
100
150
200
250

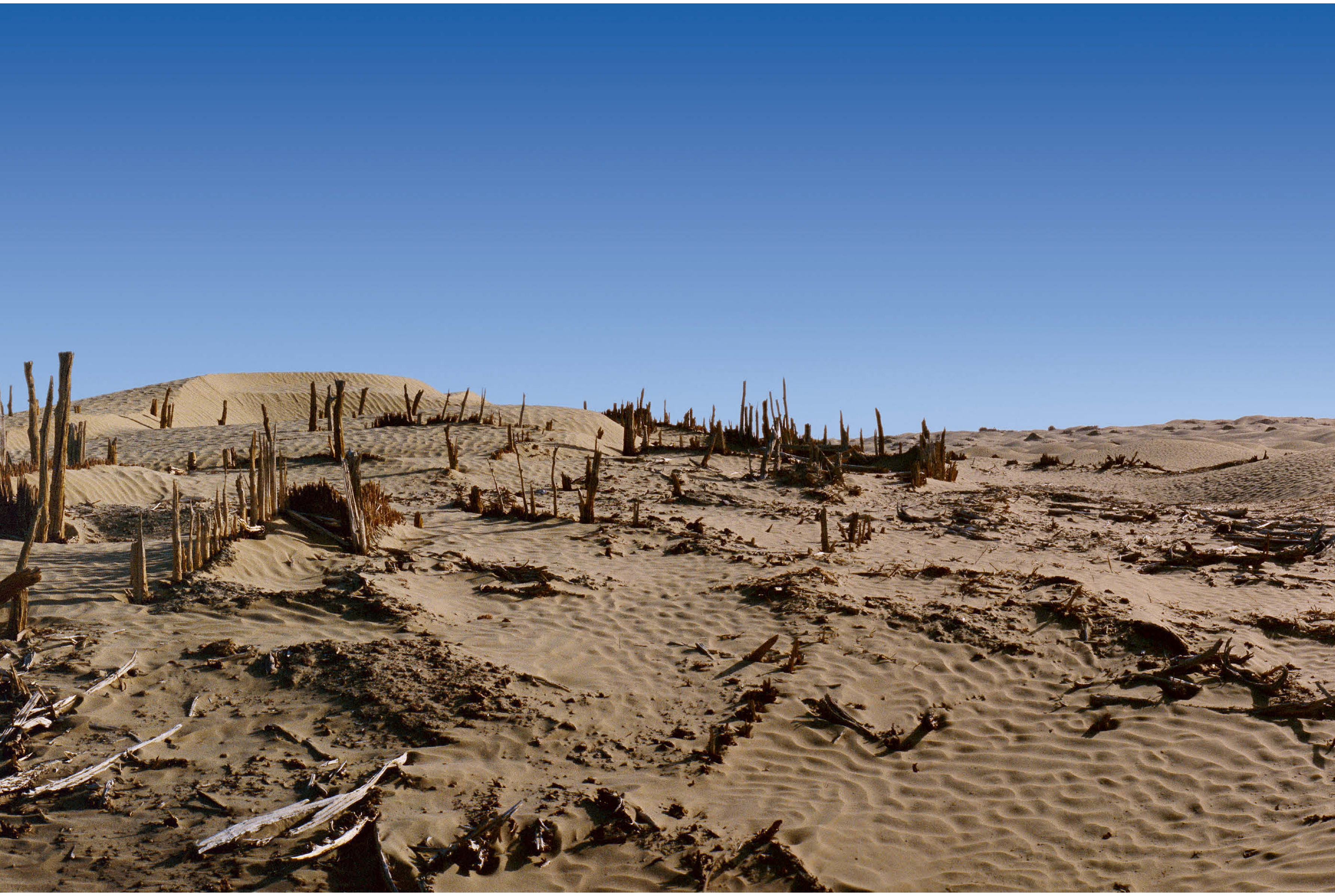

Jiaohe
Bezeklik
Turfan
Kocho
Hami
Yanqi
Karashahr
Korla
Yingpan
Tarim
Loulan
Lop Nor
Desert
Xiaohe
L.K.
Haitou
Ancient
Lop Nor Lake
Yumenguan
Dunhuang
Kumtak Desert
Desert
Miran
Miran
Ruoqiang
Washshari
Qiemo
Xinjiang
AREA
OF MAP
Xizang
(Tibet)
C H I N A



89. Ruin D 8 of the largest monastery of Dandan Oilik, 7th c. until *ca.* 802, Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang, China.

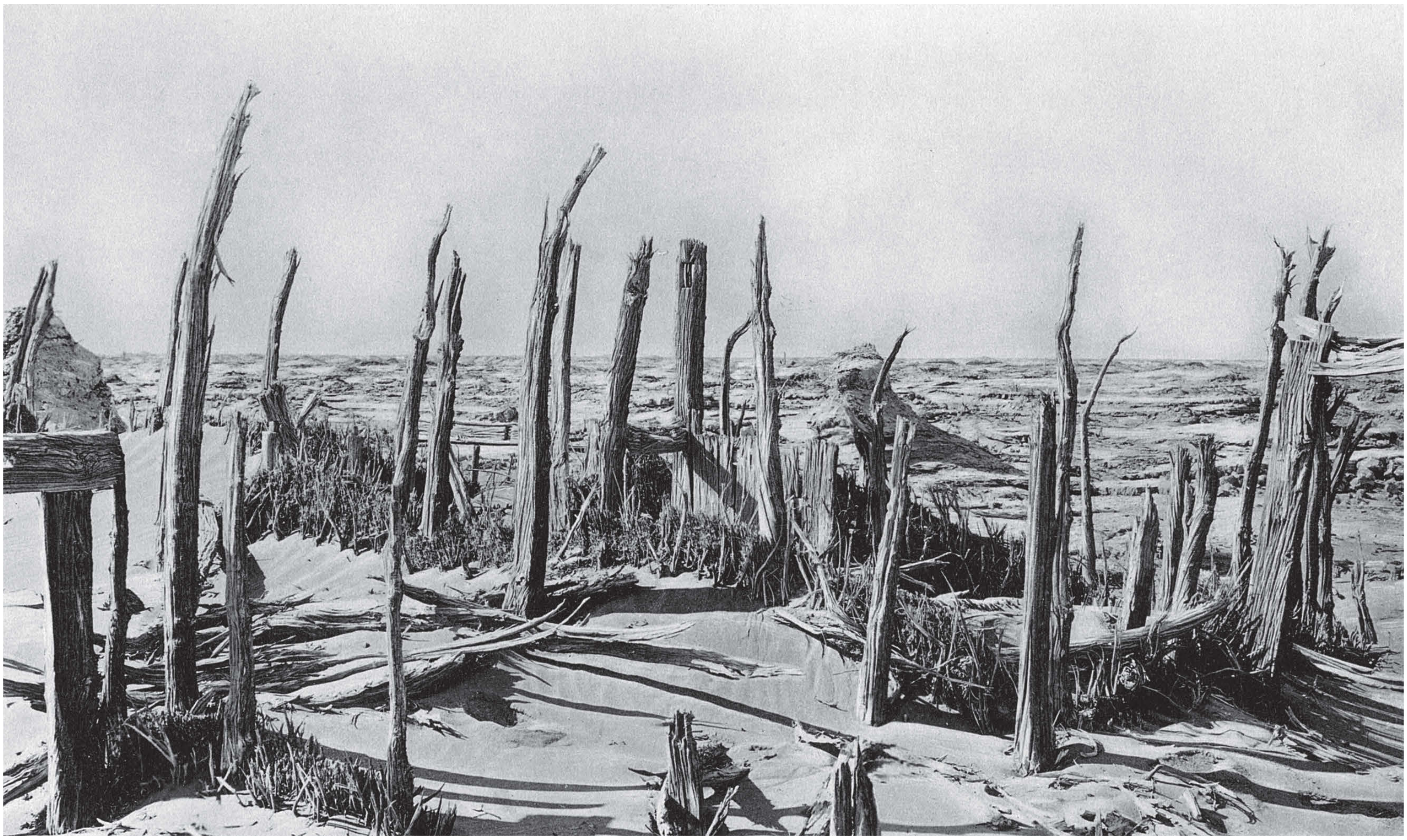
Taklamakan. Hedin was overcome: 'Who could have imagined that in the interior of the dread Desert of Gobi [as the Taklamakan was then called] . . . actual cities slumbered under the sand? [. . .] And yet there stood I amid the wreck and devastation of an ancient people, within whose dwellings none had ever entered save the sand-storm in its days of maddest revelry; there stood I like the prince in the enchanted wood, having awakened to new life the city which had slumbered for a thousand years.'[25] A few days later, on 2 February, he found the ruins of Karadong (fig. 110), whose wall-paintings (fig. 113), like the stucco figures of Dandan Oilik, he correctly identified as Buddhist.[26] As a non-archaeologist, Hedin was rightly proud: 'I consider this one of the most interesting discoveries ever made [in Chinese Turkestan]. No traveller ever expected to find anything here, and it was given to me to discover the traces of Buddhist civilization in a Mohammedan land.'[27] Continuing northward, Hedin narrowly missed the Iron and Bronze Age ruins on the dried-up course of the Keriya Darya.[28]

Hedin then went on to solve the riddle of the Lop Nor. He followed from Korla the course of the Konqe River, which once joined the Tarim River south of today's Yuli.[29] There he came across the dried-up bed of the Konqe Darya, today called the Kuruk Darya, or 'dry river', leading sharply eastward. This Hedin recognised as the old bed of the Tarim, concluding that the ancient Lop Nor Lake must have lain on this prolongation. He surmised that the Kara



Koshun lake, on the other hand, developed much later, in the early eighteenth century, when the Tarim had come to flow southward from Yuli, giving rise to Przhevalsky's 'new' Lop Nor. The old lake had thus changed position after the Tarim, its tributary, changed its course. Von Richthofen was right: Przhevalsky's 'new' Lop Nor was not the same as the ancient lake mentioned in the chronicles of the Han dynasties (202 BCE–9 CE and 23–220 CE) and those of the Western Jin dynasty (260–316), but a more recent body of water. But Przhevalsky had been right in that no other lake existed north of the Kara Koshun in the late nineteenth century.[30] And Hedin identified the cause of the accelerating shrinkage of the Kara Koshun as the development of new lakes south of Tikenlik, as a result of which the Tarim brought significantly less water to the Kara Koshun.[31]

In 1899 Hedin set off on his second Central Asian expedition (1899–1902), intending to settle any remaining doubts regarding his solution to the Lop Nor problem and then push on to the Tibetan capital of Lhasa, which was closed to Europeans. Using a converted ferry boat, he travelled from Lailik, some 70 kilometres north of Yarkand, down the Yarkand Darya and then along the Tarim, until on 7 December 1899 a thick barrier of ice brought his river journey to an end. Hedin then proceeded on foot along the course of the dried-up Kuruk Darya. He arrived at the ruins of Yingpan,[32] which Kozlov had discovered, before finding the traces of the ancient

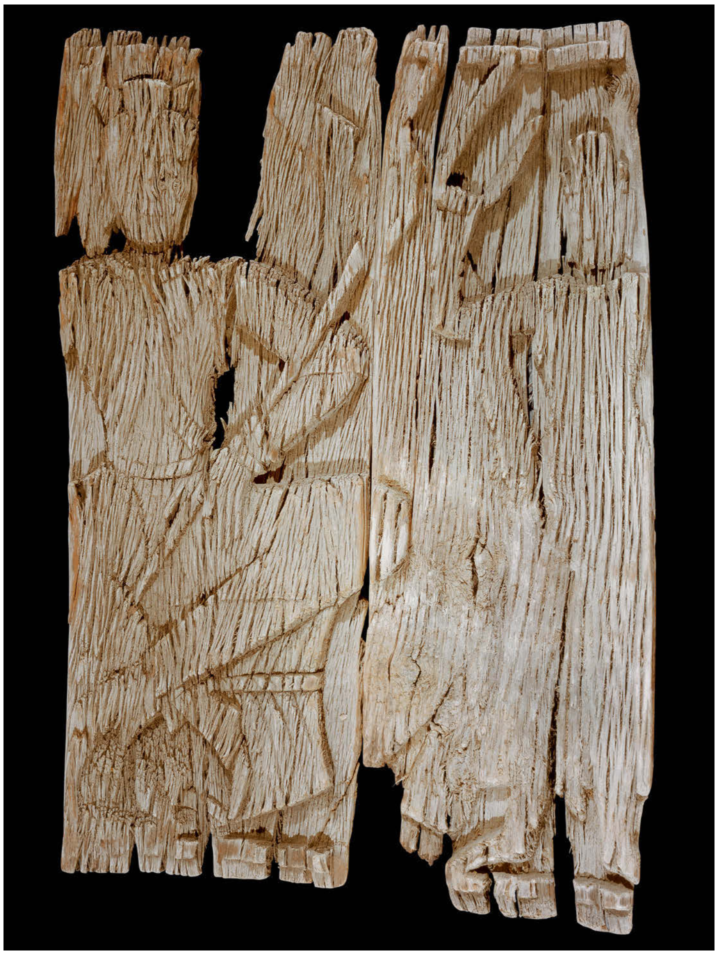


90. House M in Loulan L.A., photo 1901. Sven Hedin, *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia, 1899–1902* (Stockholm, 1905), vol. II, pl. 72. The Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm.

Lop Nor Lake not far from the ruined city of Loulan.[33] It was now clear to Hedin that the position of the Lop Nor depended on the course of the Tarim: when this flowed east along the Kuruk Darya, the lake formed north-east of the Lop Desert, and when it flowed south toward Ruoqiang, the lake lay in the south-west, giving the Kara Koshun. Hedin thus described the Lop Nor as a 'wandering lake',[34] declaring in 1903: 'I am convinced that in a few years' time the lake will be found in the locality where it was formerly placed by the Chinese cartographers, and where von Richthofen proved by an ingenious deduction that it must once have been.'[35] Hedin was fortunate enough in 1928 to see with his own eyes the result of the Lop Nor's 'return' to the north, which had taken place in 1921,[36] and then to travel by boat down the Konqe – the now 'wet' Kuruk Darya – to arrive at the lake on 9 May 1934.[37] However, Aurel Stein had shown that in the time of the ancient Lop Nor lake, and thus in the days of the city of Loulan (2nd c. BCE–4th c. CE), part of the Tarim flowed south to join the Cherchen river north of Ruoqiang and so to form a lake in the vicinity of the Kara Koshun.[38]

Having located the ancient lake, Hedin decided to cross the Lop Desert north to south. As early as 28 March 1900 he accidentally came upon the ruins of three houses and an ancient signal tower. Here Hedin found the unique wooden relief of a seated deity with trident (fig. 91). Lost in a sandstorm three days later, his camel driver Ördek discovered the ruins of several houses, 'richly decorated with carved panels. [. . .] The panels were exceptionally well preserved, and had on them flowers and garlands carved in relief.'[39] Short of water, Hedin could not tarry longer, but he did recognise the significance of 'Ördek's city' – which Stein later called 'L.B.' – and returned the next year, discovering not far from L.B. the ancient city of Loulan, Stein's 'L.A.' (figs. 90, 122).[40] There he found not only Buddhist wooden statues, carved wooden friezes[41] and a complete wooden wheel, indicating the use of wooden carts, but also dozens of wood, paper and silk documents, written in Chinese, Kharoshthi Prakrit and Sogdian, which later allowed the reconstruction of Loulan's history.[42] Although Hedin was unable to reach Lhasa, in 1905–08 he undertook a third Central Asian expedition, to Persia and Tibet. Between 1927 and 1935 he led an interdisciplinary and multinational Chinese-Swedish expedition with specialists in archaeology, astronomy, botany, geography, geology, meteorology and zoology from Sweden, Germany and China.[43] They worked in Inner

Mongolia, Gansu and Xinjiang, where civil war was raging and where Hedin and three of his collaborators found themselves caught between the forces of the Chinese governor Sheng Shicai on one side and Muslim rebels under Ma Zhongying on the other. On 5 March 1934, in Korla, they came within a hair's breadth of being shot by the rebels, when Hedin refused to hand over a motor car,[44] then six days later they were fired upon in the course of an abortive attempt at escape.[45] In the summer, the governor Sheng Shicai detained Hedin in the provincial capital of Urumqi.[46] Despite the turmoil of the civil war, Hedin's archaeologist **Folke Bergman** (1902–1946) discovered the spectacular Bronze Age necropolis of Xiaohe in 1934.[47] The final years of Hedin's life, after 1936, were overshadowed by his imprudent intimacy with the leadership of the Nazi regime, and he died, isolated from the outside world, on 26 November 1952.

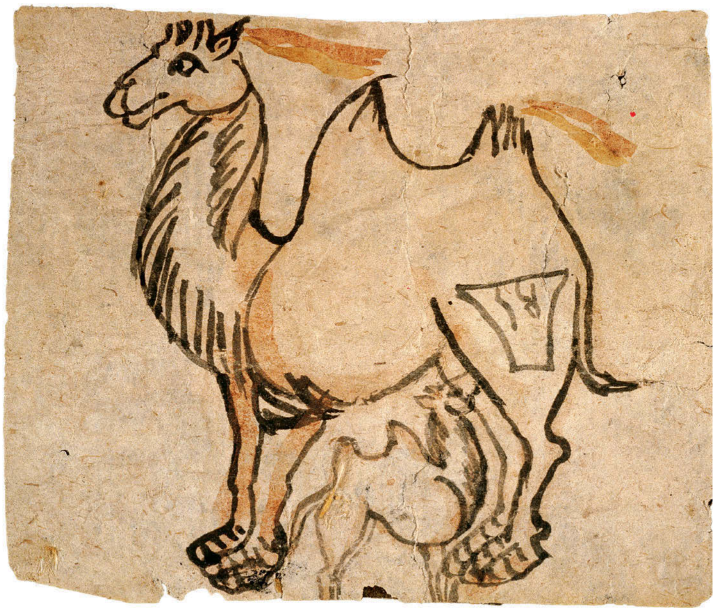


91. Hedin discovered this extraordinary wooden relief measuring 100 x 70 cm on 28 March 1900 in Loulan L.B. On the left a divine figure seated with crossed legs is holding a trident, on the right stands an accessory figure. The deity is entirely surrounded by a halo. As Folke Bergman has pointed out, the Buddhist pantheon includes several deities with a trident but they appear later than this relief from the 3rd c. CE.[11] Other hypotheses, rejected by Bergman, are representations of Shiva or Poseidon; neither can be excluded. The Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm.

1.3 Sir Aurel Stein, Pioneer Archaeologist of the Tarim Basin

While Hedin essentially thought of himself as a geographer and an explorer, the Hungarian-born Briton **Marc Aurel Stein** (1862–1943) was above all an archaeologist. After undergraduate and doctoral studies in Oriental languages, he worked as a professor at various British-Indian universities from 1888. Stein's interest in Central Asian archaeology was sparked by his reading of Arrian's *Campaigns of Alexander* and Xuanzang's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, and his encounters with Sir Henry Rawlinson, decipherer of the cuneiform Behistun Inscription, and Sir Henry Yule, translator of and commentator upon Marco Polo's travels. The writings of Arrian and Xuanzang convinced Stein that archaeological remains of the Ancient Greeks were to be found in Afghanistan, and traces of pre-Islamic Buddhism in the Tarim Basin. While Stein became the most important archaeologist of the Tarim Basin, the intrigues of French archaeologists, Alfred Foucher most prominent amongst them,[48] meant that Afghanistan would remain closed to him until a week before his death. It was growing doubts about the curious manuscripts which Islam Akhun was providing to Sir George Macartney, the British Consul in Kashgar, and which the orientalist Rudolf Hoernle was endeavouring to translate, and the reading of Hedin's *Through Asia*, published in 1898, that prompted Stein to mount his own expedition.[49]

Stein's first Taklamakan expedition of 1900–01 would be crowned with success. Following in Hedin's footsteps, on his approach to Kashgar Stein made an attempt to conquer the Muztagh Ata, but like Hedin he failed to do so.[50] He then turned towards Khotan and Dandan Oilik, the ruined city which Hedin had discovered in 1896, where between 18 December 1900 and 3 January 1901 he excavated 18 ruin complexes.[51] There Stein worked out for himself the typical ground plans of ancient Buddhist temples and private dwellings, together with their manner of construction and decoration. Still richer finds awaited Stein in Niya, where he was taken by a local treasure hunter. Stein not only identified more than 40 ruins and ruin complexes, but he discovered some 200 wooden tablets and leather documents inscribed in Kharoshthi or Chinese in the refuse tip of an ancient chancery.[52] Most of the tablets consisted of a pair of elongated pieces of wood – in extreme cases reaching two metres in length – inscribed only on the smooth inner sides. These paired tablets were closed together with a sealed cord. Stein was much surprised to find Hellenistic seal impressions on many of these documents which had never been opened: 'It was a delightful surprise when the first intact seal-impression that turned up here presented me an unmistakeable



92. Votive drawing in ink on paper of a she-camel with her young, late 7th/early 8th c. Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Temple E i of Endere. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

figure of Pallas Athene carrying aegis and thunderbolt.' Other seals showed Hermes or a seated Eros. Stein thus continues enthusiastically, 'In those [impressions] made from seals of purely classical design we have the most tangible proof as yet furnished how far towards China the use of Western art products had penetrated in the early centuries of our era.'[53] Stein's later finds in Miran and Loulan would show that Hellenistic cultural goods had reached as far as the Lop Nor.

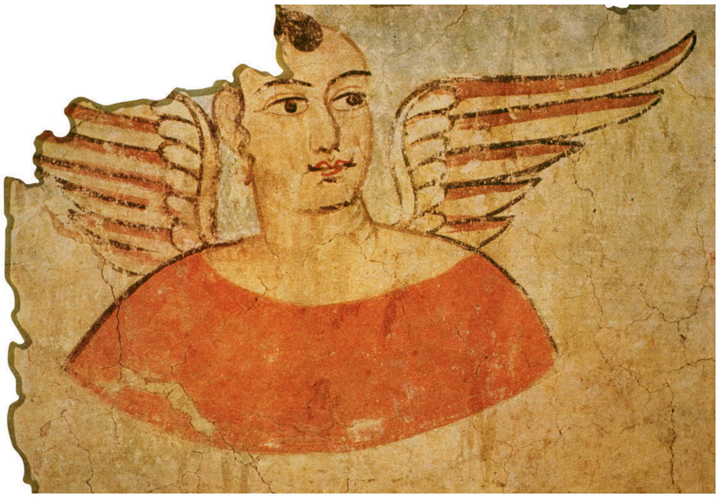
After Niya, Stein carried out excavations in the ruins of the city of Endere, visited by Przhevalsky in 1876.[54] In the principal Buddhist temple he discovered not only stucco figures in the Gandhara style[55] but also countless loose paper manuscripts and a number of painted wooden panels and articles of clothing, left by pilgrims as votive offerings.[56] After a somewhat disappointing excavation at the fortified caravanserai of Karadong,[57] discovered earlier by Hedin, Stein returned to Khotan. There, north-east of the city, he identified the debris field at Uzun Tati as Xuanzang's city of Pimo. Stein's concluding excavation of the great monastery stupa of Rawak represented an archaeological highlight. At the inner and outer perimeter wall, which measured 50 x 45 metres, Stein found 91 life-size, originally red-painted clay statues dating from the late third to the fifth centuries. There had originally been some 360 of these large figures.[58] Excavation of these statues, which were hollow inside, proved difficult, for the inner wood and straw armature upon which the clay was formed had perished, so that the statues threatened to collapse as soon as Stein's workmen had shovelled away the protecting sand. 'In some instances it was necessary to secure the heads, &c., of statues still intact by means of ropes while they were being photographed.'[59] Stein, who often allowed himself to be guided by Xuanzang's descriptions, was particularly pleased to discover on one statue the remains of small sheets of finely beaten gold. 'I could not have wished for a better illustration of the quaint custom which Hsuan-tsang has recorded of the miracle-working Buddha figure of sandal-wood he saw at Pimo. "Those who have any disease, according to the part affected, cover the corresponding place on a statue with gold-leaf, and forthwith they are healed."'[60] It was with a heavy heart that Stein finally had the statues covered again with sand: 'It was a melancholy duty to perform, strangely reminding me of a true burial.'[61] Yet it was all in vain, for when Stein returned to Rawak in 1906 he could only note, aghast, that local treasure seekers had left not a trace of the statues. Of these extraordinary examples of Khotanese sculpture there remain no more than Stein's own photographs.[62] To conclude it all, Stein then finally unmasked Islam Akhun as a sophisticated counterfeiter who had taken in renowned philologists.[63]

Though Stein's second expedition to the Tarim Basin in 1906–08 found itself in direct competition with the Germans Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq and the Frenchman Paul Pelliot, it resulted in finds even more spectacular than the first, and more than 100 years later their analysis has not yet been completed. After discovering further ancient archives with unopened wooden tablets at Niya,[64] Stein hurried through Endere and Cherchen to Charklik, today's Ruoqiang. On the way, he was obliged, like Hedin, to have his camels' feet attended to: Vash-shahri 'could offer . . . a stout ox-hide from which to prepare fresh soles for those of the camels whose feet had been worn sore by the hard salt-encrusted ground. . . . The new soles, alas, had to be sewn on to the live skin of the poor beasts' foot-pads. . . . it took hours for each of the injured camels to be duly "re-soled", and half-a-dozen men had to hold down the huge writhing patient.'[65] In competition with Le Coq and Pelliot, whose plans were unknown to him, Stein stayed only two days in Miran before hastening on to Loulan, which – thanks to Hedin's precise mapping – he reached on 17 December 1906. That evening he wrote to his friend Percy S. Allen: 'I found the whole site with its known ruins scattered over ten miles, clear of French and Germans and thus the 1,000 mile race from Khotan . . . is won for the present!'[66] He quickly realised that Hedin's 10-metre-high watchtower, which dominated the landscape of ruins, was no tower but a large stupa, like the one in Kashgar.[67] After discovering a quantity of written documents in Chinese and Kharoshthi he returned to Miran, where from

23 January to 11 February 1907 his excavations met with great and surprising success.

His first discoveries in the mighty citadel from the mid-eighth century, built by the Tibetans, were documents written in Tibetan and others in Old Turkic runic script, a reminder of the earlier period of Turkic occupation. He then found in Temple M. III Kharoshthi inscriptions on silk dating from the third to fourth centuries.[68] The real surprise, however, were the impressive third-century wall paintings that Stein discovered inside two small stupa complexes M. III and M. V: 'Yet when the digging there had reached a level of about four feet above the floor and a delicately painted dado of beautiful winged angels began to show on the wall, I felt completely taken by surprise. How could I have expected by the desolate shores of Lop-nor, in the very heart of innermost Asia, to come upon such classical representations of Cherubim! And what had these graceful heads, recalling cherished scenes of Christian imagery, to do here on the walls of what beyond all doubt was a Buddhist sanctuary?'[69] The unmistakeable influence of the eastern Mediterranean or western Asia on the Gandhara-inspired murals was confirmed by a Kharoshthi inscription in Temple M. V which read 'This fresco is [the work] of Tita, who has received 3000 Bhammakas [for it]', leading Stein to comment, 'I can feel no hesitation about recognising in *tita*, which is the painter's name inflected as a genitive, the familiar Western name of Titus'.[70] As he had done six years before at Rawak, Stein sought in vain to protect these unique murals, which he did not trust himself to safely remove. 'The final duty of all, the careful re-burial of the cella was accomplished by February 11. It was a sad business to watch those graceful figures, which had seemed so full of life to my eyes in the desolation of the wintry desert, as they slowly disappeared under the sand debris.'[71] 'It seemed like a true burial of figures still instinct with life.'[72] Stein's efforts were wasted: when he returned to Miran in 1914, more than half the M. V wall paintings had gone. In the winter of 1910–11, Zuicho Tachibana, a Japanese spy disguised as an archaeologist, had made an amateur effort to remove the paintings, and so destroyed them.[73]

93. Remains of three colossal Buddhist statues, Style II, from the 4th/5th c., Rawak, Xinjiang, China. Photo: Walter Bosshard, 1928. Archiv für Zeitgeschichte, ETH Zurich; Fotostiftung Schweiz.



94. Fragment of a fresco depicting a winged spirit, 3rd c., Temple M III, Miran, Xinjiang, China. National Museum New Delhi.

Stein's next and most important success was his acquisition of part of the 'hidden library of Dunhuang'. This cache of some forty-five to fifty thousand manuscripts[74] and scroll paintings was discovered in Cave 17 at Mogao near Dunhuang around 1900, by the Daoist priest Wang Daoshi, self-appointed 'guardian' of the complex. These had been sealed up as a precautionary measure not long after 1006, when the Muslim Karakhanids had invaded and ravaged Khotan, whose royal family was related by marriage to that of Dunhuang.[75] The enormous size of the Mogao complex, and the riches it contained, derived from its proximity to the Silk Road, which would truly lose its importance only in the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Unlike much Buddhist art in China, the caves survived the persecution and destruction under Emperor Wuzong in 843–845, as Mogao was under Tibetan rule from 759 to 848.[76]

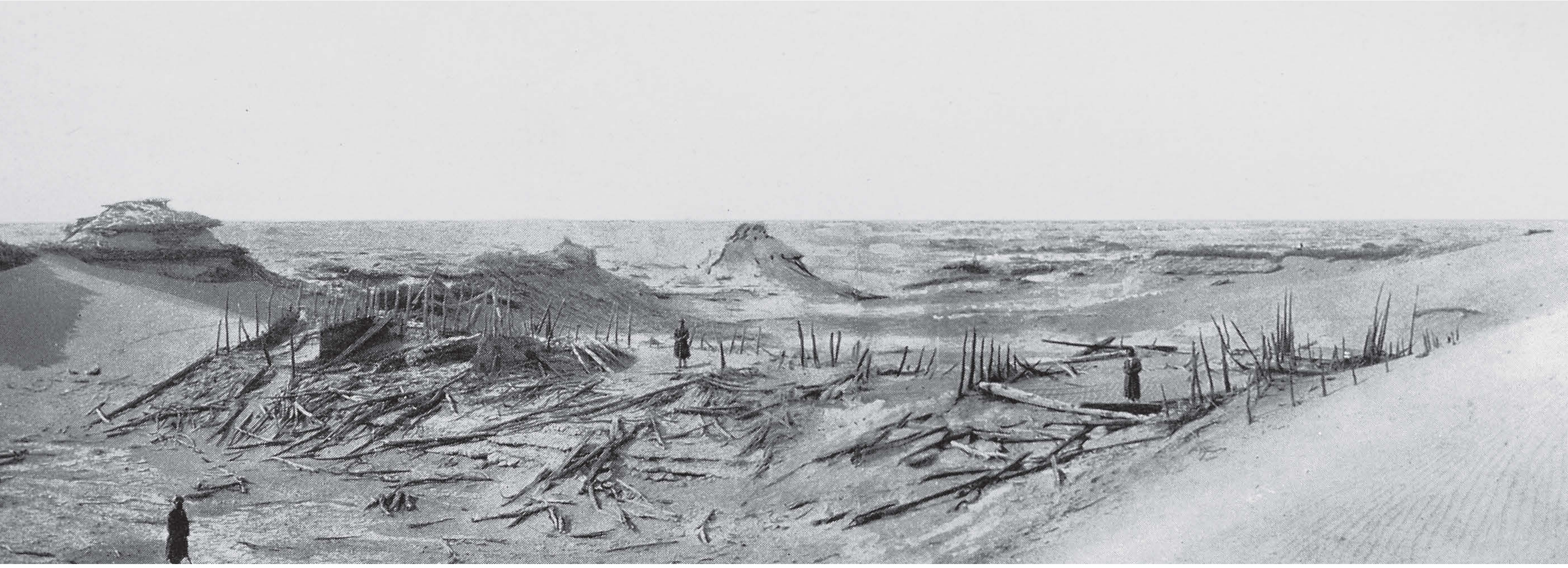
Stein's success must be attributed to his skill in negotiating with Wang and to errors by his rival Le Coq. While Dunhuang had already been visited by the Hungarian geologist Lajos Lóczy in 1879,[77] it was only the rumour of the 'hidden library' that had awoken the interest of Western scholars. In fact, Le Coq should have reached the library first, having first heard of it in summer

1905, almost two years before Stein. As he was planning to set off from Hami to Dunhuang, however, a telegram arrived from Grünwedel, the expedition's leader, instructing him to pick him up on his impending arrival in Kashgar. Le Coq was faced with a choice: either to obey or to ignore Grünwedel's instructions and to ride to Dunhuang, at the risk that the rumour might prove false. He hesitated, tossed a coin . . . and lost. He rode to Kashgar, where he discovered, much to his irritation, that Grünwedel was not expected until almost two months later. Only Stein and Pelliot were left in the field.[78]

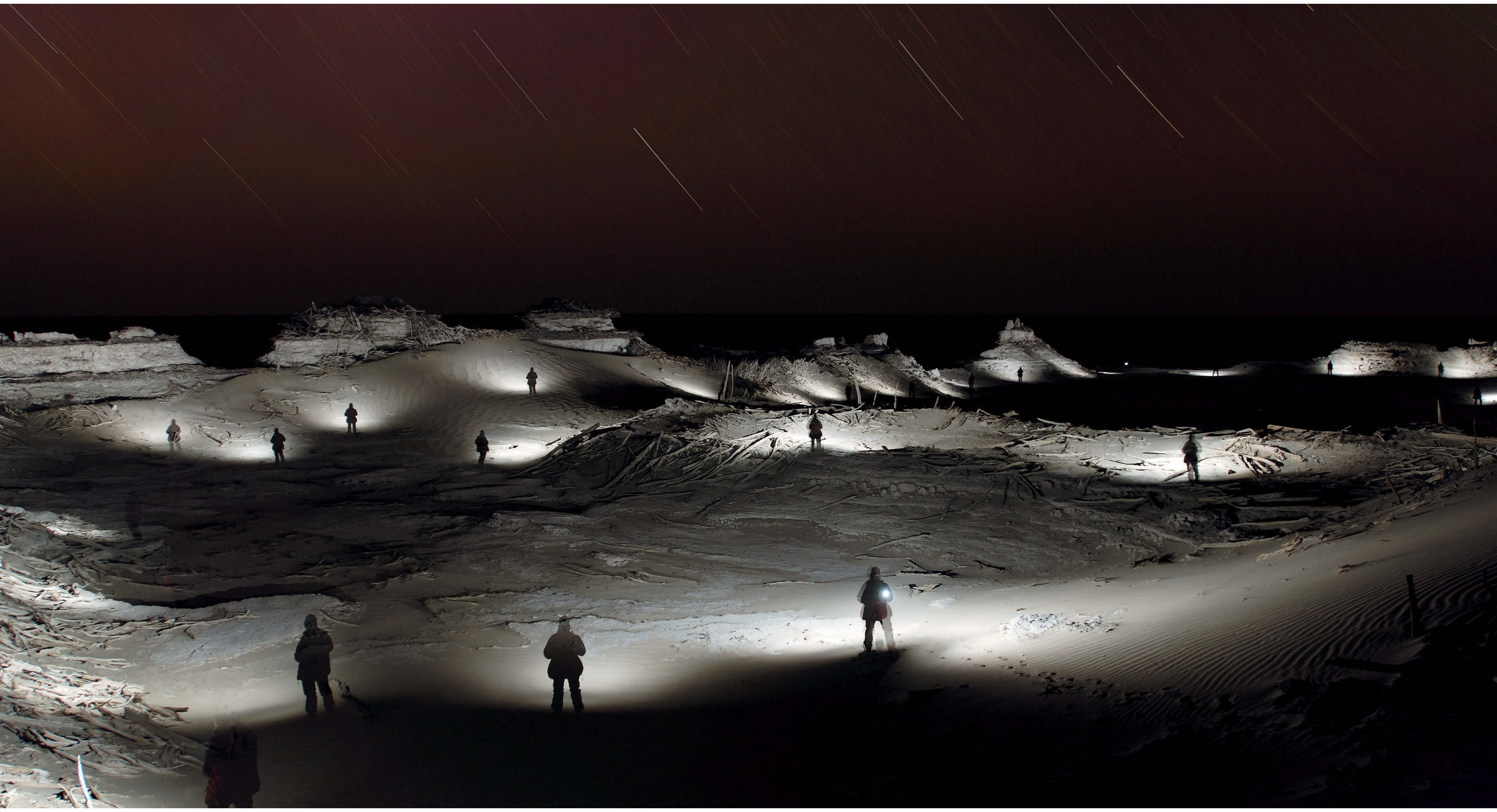
It was in Dunhuang, in March 1907, that Stein first heard of the hidden library, but Wang was away, so Stein used the time while waiting to investigate the Han dynasty border fortifications.[79] In his negotiations with Wang, Stein emphasised that in his research he was following in the footsteps of Xuanzang, whom the priest held in such high esteem, and that Xuanzang was indeed his own Chinese patron saint.[80] Wang was convinced 'that I was performing a pious act in rescuing for Western scholarship those relics of ancient Buddhist literature and art which local ignorance would allow to lie here neglected or to be lost in the end'.[81] Stein acquired some 7,000 scroll paintings and complete textual documents, including one of the oldest datable printed books to survive in its entirety, the Chinese Diamond Sutra of 868[82] – as well as 6,000 fragments. The following year, the Frenchman Paul Pelliot acquired almost 15,000 documents, fragments and scroll paintings,[83] and others were later acquired by Kozui of Japan, Oldenburg of Russia, and Stein again in 1914. After Stein and Pelliot, whose exploits are often described as spoliation by the Chinese, the central government ordered that the remaining documents be brought to Beijing, though many disappeared on the way.[84] Stein rounded off this successful expedition with an exploration of Jiayuguan and the Turfan Oasis, where he was unimpressed by German methods of excavation, as witnessed by a letter to Percy S. Allen: 'The places [in the oasis] most likely to yield finds had been reached by this system for which the German language supplies the expressive term of "Raubbau" ['rob-mining' – greedy and careless mining, or over-exploitation].'[85] Even if Stein was no neutral observer, his assessment of the removal of murals from Murtuk and other places, such as Kucha, was entirely understandable: 'Lecoq's & Grünwedel's assistant . . . had ruthlessly hacked the frescoes to the right and left of the pieces they had chosen.'[86] On the way back, Stein stopped again at Karadong,[87] where he was still unable to find the wall paintings Hedin had mentioned, though he did investigate the Tibetan fortress of Mazar Tagh. This almost impregnable citadel stands at the eastern end of a 100-kilometre-long chain of mountains, controlling the most important north–south line of communication through the desert, from Khotan to Aksu along the Khotan Darya. Here Stein discovered in stinking rubbish tips hundreds of Tibetan documents on wood and paper, testifying to the Tibetan military presence between around 798 and 860.[88]

Just as he had in 1906, in the autumn of 1913 Stein approached his third Central Asian expedition (1913–16) via northern Pakistan, following the route of the Korean-born Chinese general Gao Xianzhi. In 747 and 749, the latter had crossed the Wakhan Pamir and the Hindu Kush, in order to drive out the Tibetans, then occupying the strategically important region between the Oxus and Gilgit, an exploit that even surpasses Hannibal's crossing of the Alps.[89] After visiting Niya again, which he called 'my own little Pompeii',[90] and Miran, where he removed a number of wall paintings that had escaped the amateur attentions of Tachibana, in February 1914 he investigated the fortresses L.K. (Haitou) and L.L. and the settlement L.M. (all 1st–4th c. CE) in the middle of the Lop Desert.[91] A year later, Stein's camel driver Afraz Gul reported that he had discovered north-west of L.M. another settlement that Stein labelled L.R., but without ever having seen it.[92] This L.R. (fig. 105) remained a riddle until in December 2007 the present author found the site again and discovered the only ancient watchtower in the interior of the Lop Desert there.[93]

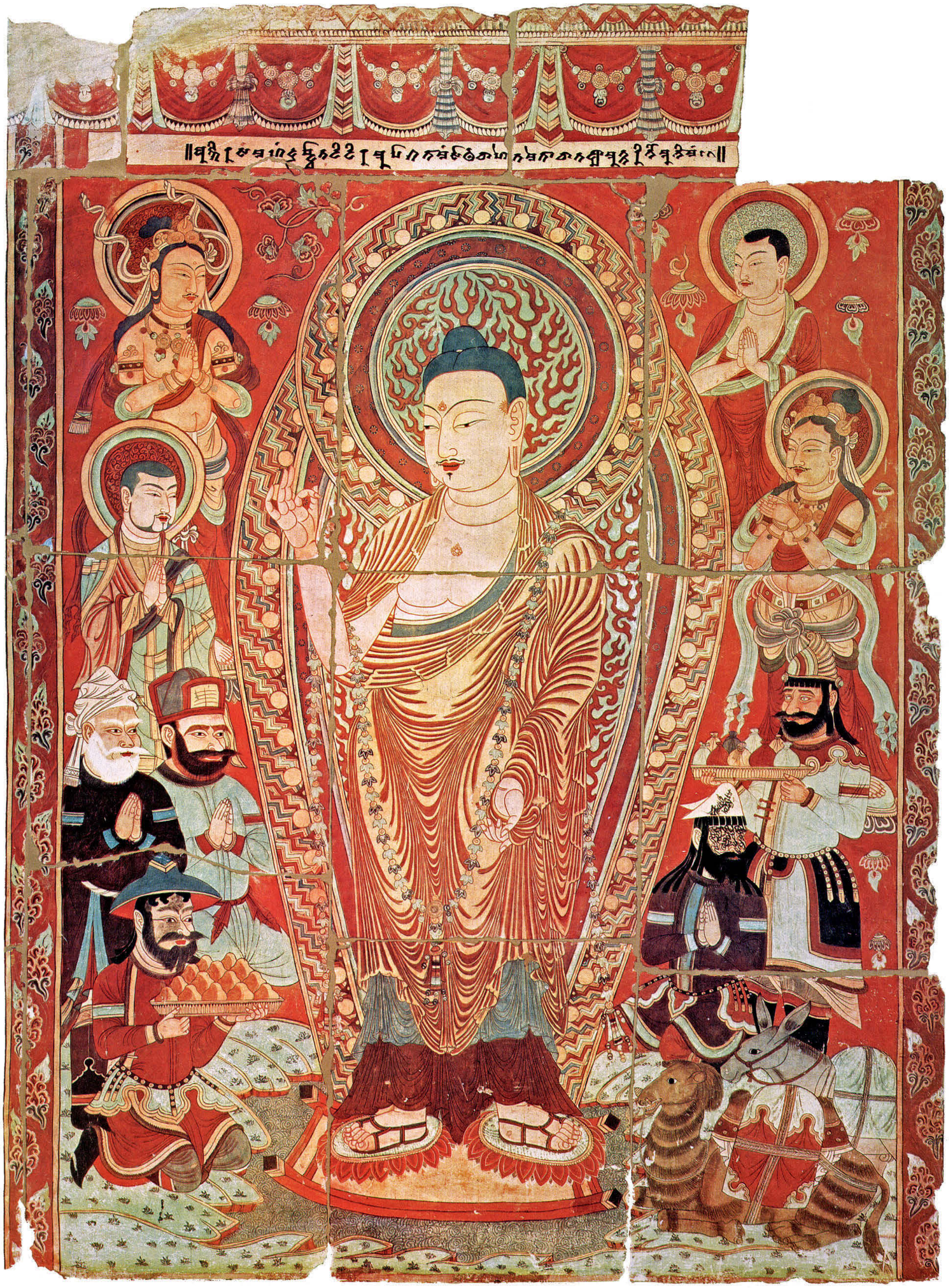
After a short stay in Dunhuang,[94] in May Stein set off north-east for the Etzin Gol (Ejine River), which from the second century BCE had served the Xiongnu as the gateway to north-west China, to investigate the walls, watchtowers and forts put up by the Chinese[95] and the ruined city of Kara Khoto, Marco Polo's Etzina,[96] discovered in 1908 by the Russian **Pyotr Kozlov** (1863–1935). As the German archaeologists had left the Turfan Oasis, Stein then spent the winter of 1914–15 there, carrying out productive excavations at Karakhoja (Gaochang), Toyuk (Le Coq's Toyok or Tuyok), Sirkip, Bezeklik, and especially the necropolis of Astana (3rd–8th centuries).[97] There he found evidence of distinctive funerary customs, such as the covering of the face of the deceased with silk masks with colourful Sassanid patterns, called *fumian*,[98] and grave goods in the form of token "paper money"[99] as well as Byzantine and Sassanian coins and Central Asian copies of the same. 'We found Byzantine gold pieces regularly placed, much in the fashion of the classical obolus, in the mouth of the dead, and Sassanian silver coins over their eyes.'[100] This custom recalled the Ancient Greek habit of placing a coin on the tongue



95. Interior of Fort L.K. (Haitou), view from the eastern gate. The fort was abandoned around the end of the 4th c. Lop Desert, Xinjiang, China. Photo from 1914, Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia* (Oxford, 1928), vol. I, fig. 133.



96. Night photo of the interior of Fort L.K. (Haitou). The photo was taken in 2007 from the same position as the one by Aurel Stein 93 years earlier. Lop Desert, Xinjiang, China.



97. Pranidhi scene no. 14 from cave 9 in Bezeklik (in Le Coq's counting), Xinjiang, China, 11th c. Particularly striking on this wall painting (measuring 360 x 230 cm) are the depictions of the Caucasian, probably Sogdian merchants with their pack animals. No longer extant. Albert von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, 1913, pl. 28.

of the dead, so that they could pay Charon, ferryman of the Styx. But it is also conceivable that it developed independently in the context of Chinese Buddhism.[101] In any event, these few Byzantine gold coins and their Central Asian copies were hardly ever used as means of payment in Eastern Turkestan. In Astana, Stein found several painted earthenware figures of guardian beasts, with the body of a seated dog or leopard, spiky bristles along the back, and the head of a human or a bird of prey (fig. 144).[102] Such guardians protected the dead from the dangerous spirits of the earth, which might be angered by the digging of a grave in their dwelling-place. The same concern saw the dead provided with fictive deeds of sale, testifying to their ownership for all eternity of the land occupied by the grave.[103] Excavations carried out at Astana and Karakhoja since 1959 have provided unexpectedly valuable information about trade and law in the sixth to eighth centuries. The dead were given items such as hats, boots, shoes and belts of paper, and because paper was dear, these were made from old paper documents such as administrative records, private agreements or lists of goods.[104]

On his way back, Stein investigated the early medieval forts along the north bank of the Oxus, in today's southern Tajikistan.[105] At Koh-i-Kwaja, in easternmost Iran, he discovered the ruins of a Buddhist sanctuary with fragmentary paintings of the Sassanid period (224–651).[106] Notable among these were wall paintings of a bearded, aristocratic man, most likely the hero Rustam of Sistan, and of a three-headed male figure. For in 1900 Stein had found in a temple at Dandan Oilik a double-sided, painted votive panel of the sixth/seventh century, on whose front was the three-headed Buddhist tutelary deity Maheshvara or the Sogdian wind god Weshparkar in the guise of the Hindu god Shiva (fig. 114), and on the back Rustam, or the silk god of Khotan.[107] Faced with this striking similarity, Stein was prompted to ask: 'Are we in presence of an import of Central-Asian Buddhist iconography derived from Iranian lore?'[108]

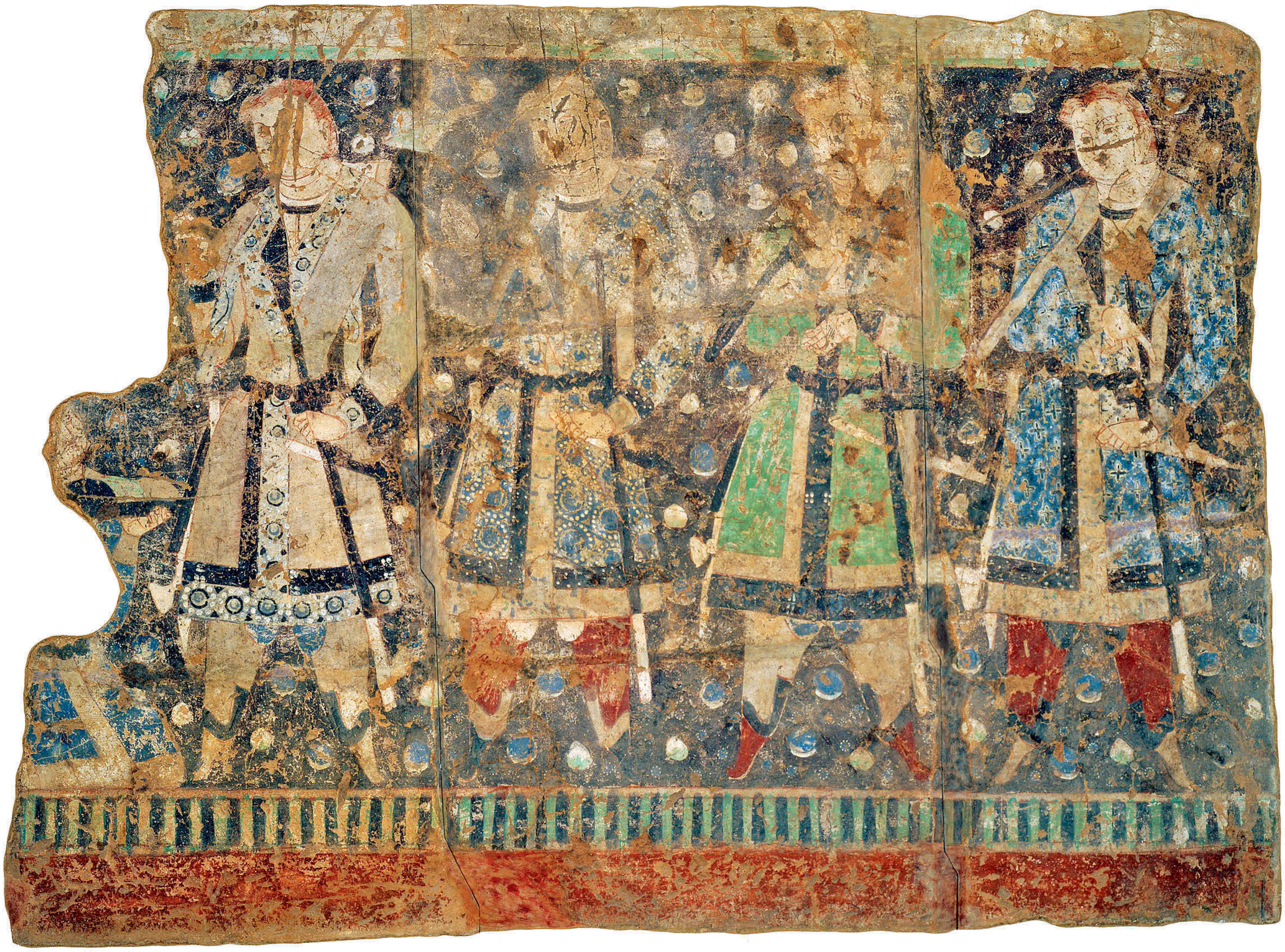
On his fourth Taklamakan expedition of 1930–31, Stein ran out of luck. Foreign expeditions were a thorn in the flesh of the increasingly powerful Chinese nationalists, all the more so in this case as Stein, unlike Hedin, involved no Chinese archaeologists in his undertakings. He was working in Niya again when the order came to stop all excavations. In the years that followed, he undertook four expeditions to Iran, and in 1938 and 1939 two extended campaigns of aerial archaeology in Jordan and Iraq. Invited to Kabul by the American ambassador Engert, he arrived in the city he had so long hoped to visit on 19 October 1943, only to die there a week later.[109]

1.4 The Exploration of the Northern Silk Road

The Swiss-Russian botanist **Albert Regel** (1815–92) was the first to explore the Turfan Oasis, in 1879, and to recognise in Gaochang the Buddhist character of its ancient culture.[110] Proper archaeological investigation of the Northern Silk Road began, however, with the Russian **Dmitri Klementz** (1847–1914), who worked in the Turfan Oasis in 1898, bringing back ancient manuscripts and fragments of paintings to St Petersburg. The results he presented at the 12th International Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1899 prompted other national institutions to join in the race along the Silk Roads: Stein set off in 1900; the German Grünwedel, and Otani's Japanese expedition, in 1902; and eventually a French expedition under the sinologist **Paul Pelliot** (1878–1945) in 1906. Pelliot's first target east of Kashgar was Tumshuk, where Hedin had indeed seen ruins, but had classified them as Muslim and thus of no interest. But these ruins turned out to be very much worthwhile, for Pelliot discovered two fourth-century Buddhist monasteries with a lot of stucco sculpture dating from the fourth and fifth century.[111] Both had been destroyed and set on fire by Muslim conquerors some time after the tenth century.[112] Pelliot then spent eight months in Kucha, where he found Buddhist manuscripts in hitherto unknown languages, among them Tocharian B, also known as Kuchean,[113] before concluding the expedition in Dunhuang, in the spring of 1908, where he acquired thousands of rare manuscripts from the hidden library of Mogao, among them the Nestorian *Book of Praise*, dated around 780–800.[114]

After British India, Germany had the strongest presence in the archaeological exploration of Eastern Turkestan, a presence focused entirely on the Northern Silk Road. Between 1902 and 1914 it sent four successful expeditions, which returned to Berlin with manuscripts in 17 languages and 24 different scripts.[115] The First Turfan Expedition of 1902–03 was led by the indologist and art historian **Albert Grünwedel** (1856–1935), whose work concentrated on the excavation of Buddhist sanctuaries in Gaochang (Kocho), capital of the Uyghur Empire (*ca.* 866–1209), also known as Idukutshari, and the nearby monastery of Sengim.[116] The enthusiastic response the finds encountered in Berlin led to the organisation of the Second Turfan Expedition of 1904–05. **Albert von Le Coq** (1860–1939) took over as acting leader since Grünwedel was ill. Le Coq was originally a businessman, who had studied ancient oriental languages in his forties and then joined the Indian Department of Berlin's Ethnological Museum as an unpaid volunteer in 1902. He and his assistant Theodor Bartus, who accompanied all four expeditions, were responsible for finds that were scientifically important as well as spectacular. Among the former was the discovery in Tuyok of a rich collection of Nestorian Christian manuscripts of the fifth to ninth centuries, written in Pahlavi, Middle Turkic, Estrangelo,[117] Sogdian and Greek, indicating the hitherto unsuspected importance of the Church of the East in Eastern Turkestan in the second half of the first millennium.[118] Equally spectacular was the discovery of Manichaean manuscripts in Tuyok and Kocho. These finds would prove to be of outstanding importance for scholarship, for the sometimes magnificently illuminated manuscripts represented the earliest original texts of the Manichaeans, whose religion and beliefs had been known only through the writings of their enemies until then.[119] Le Coq quickly saw the similarities between these Uyghur-Manichaean miniatures of the ninth to eleventh centuries and the later miniature painting of Persia.[120]

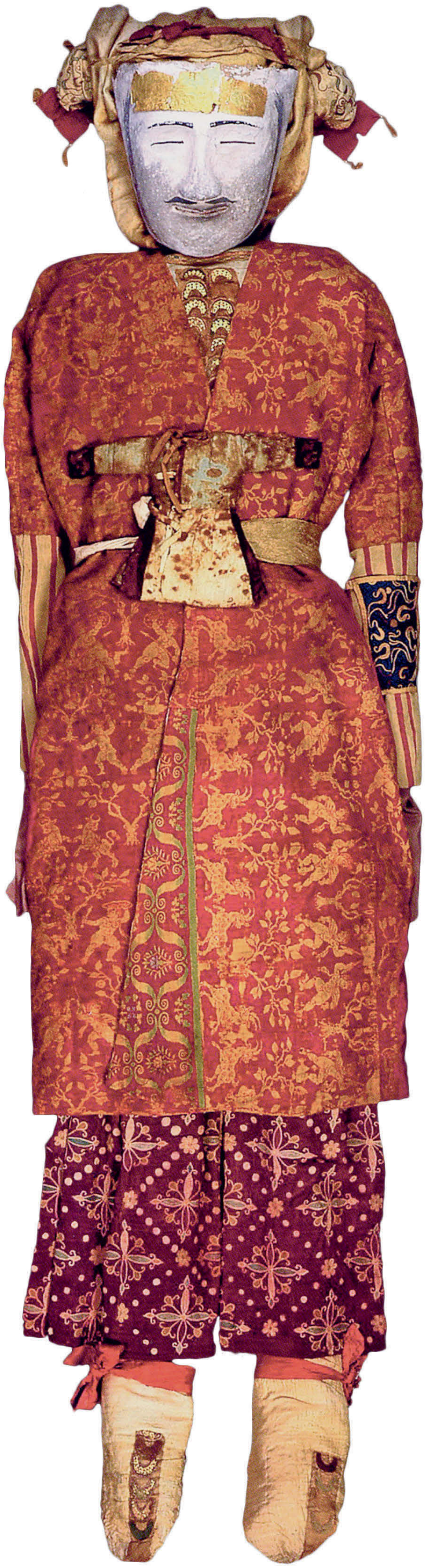
All the greater then was Le Coq's disappointment when the Manichaean library he discovered in the ruins of Shrine K in Gaochang proved to have been irretrievably damaged by water.[121] Even more maddening for Le Coq was the fact that just a year before Klementz's expedition, in 1897, an even more extensive Manichaean library had been deliberately destroyed. In the ruins of a temple pulled down to clear the land for farming, a farmer had discovered 'great cartloads of those manuscripts, ornamented with pictures in gold and colours. But he was afraid . . . of the unholy nature of the writing . . . so he straightway threw the whole library into the river!'[122] Le Coq mentions other reasons for the earlier destruction of Buddhist art, among them the suspicion of Buddhism on the part of Confucian Chinese administrators, the popular notion that wall paintings made good fertiliser, the demand for gold pigment, earthquakes, and certain beliefs about spirits: 'For the belief still exists that painted men and animals, unless their eyes and mouths at least have been destroyed, come



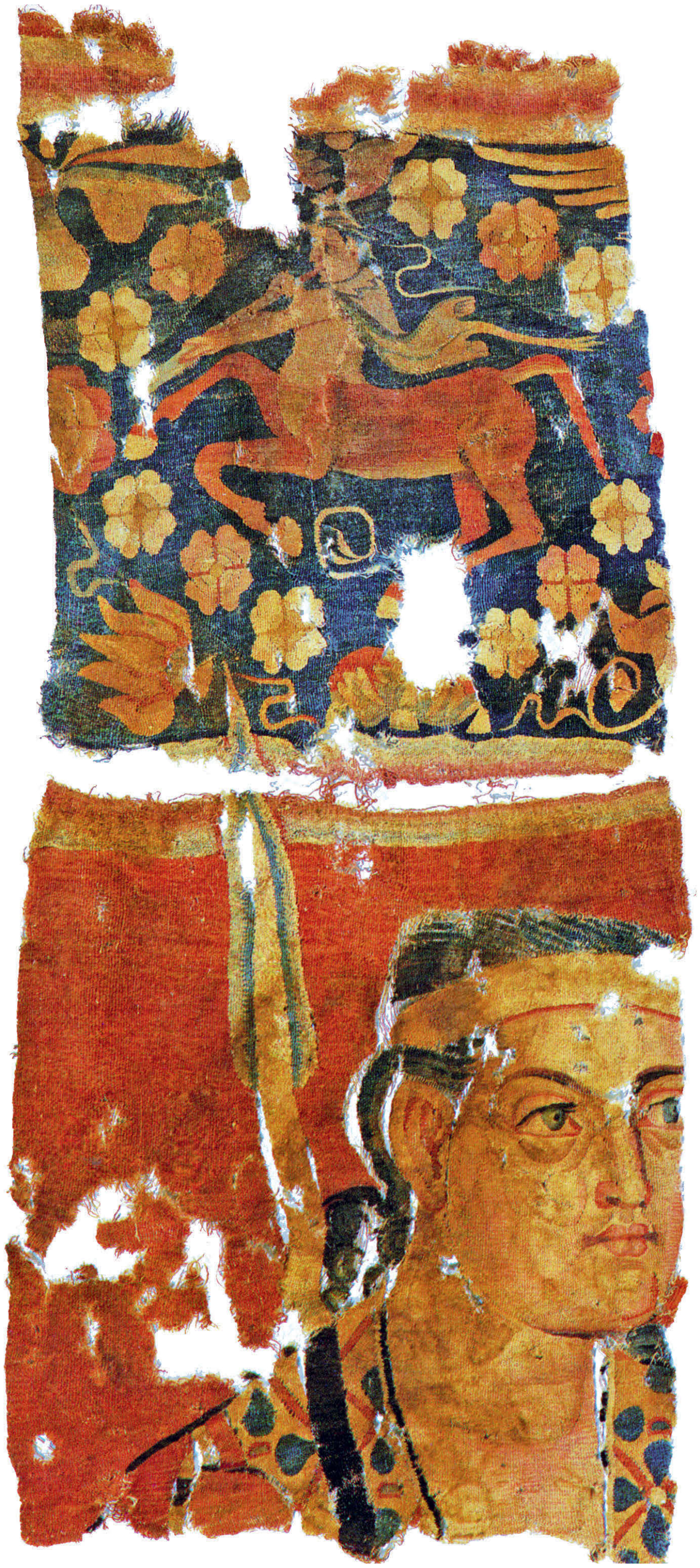
98. Wall painting of local Tocharian princes of Kucha from the 'Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearers' (cave 8) of Kizil near Kucha, Xinjiang, China, 5th/6th c. The princes carry long, straight Sassanid swords, and their kaftans have Sogdian-Sassanid patterns. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

to life at night, descend from their places, and do all sorts of mischief to men, beasts, and harvests!'[123] In Shrine K, too, Le Coq came across a macabre find: 'On the threshold [to the library lay] the dried-up corpse of a murdered Buddhist monk, his ritual robe all stained with blood.' And as if that were not enough, 'In one of the southern domed buildings, which we named "the corpse hall", we made a horrible discovery . . . came suddenly upon confused heaps of the piled-up corpses of at least a hundred murdered men. Judging from their clothing they were Buddhist monks.'[124] This massacre was most probably perpetrated by the Muslim invader Khizir Khoja Khan in around 1395, when he toppled the Buddhist ruling family and converted Gaochang to Islam by force. At the same Shrine K Le Coq discovered behind a more recent wall a rare Manichaean mural depicting a high-ranking member of the Manichaean elect, or religious, perhaps even the religion's founder Mani (216–*ca*. 276) accompanied by twelve male and nine female elect and a number of laypeople (fig. 252).[125] Together with half the murals brought back from Turfan and Kucha these paintings would be destroyed by seven Allied bombing raids between 23 November 1943 and 15 January 1945.[126]

As unique as these Manichaean paintings were the Nestorian Christian wall paintings discovered at a small temple outside the Gaochang city walls. Like the Manichaean painting of the Elect, these intact Christian frescoes were found hidden behind a wall not quite as old, put up when the temple was converted to another use. Le Coq was impressed by the religious tolerance that seemed to mark the realm of the first Manichaean and later Buddhist Uyghur rulers: 'This pious style of renovation – in our country the old picture would simply have been covered with a coat of colour wash – was used, so it seems, not only when a temple was to be dedicated to another god of the same religion, but also when a Manichaean or Christian Church was to be used for the worship of followers of another [Buddhist] creed.'[127] As the present author



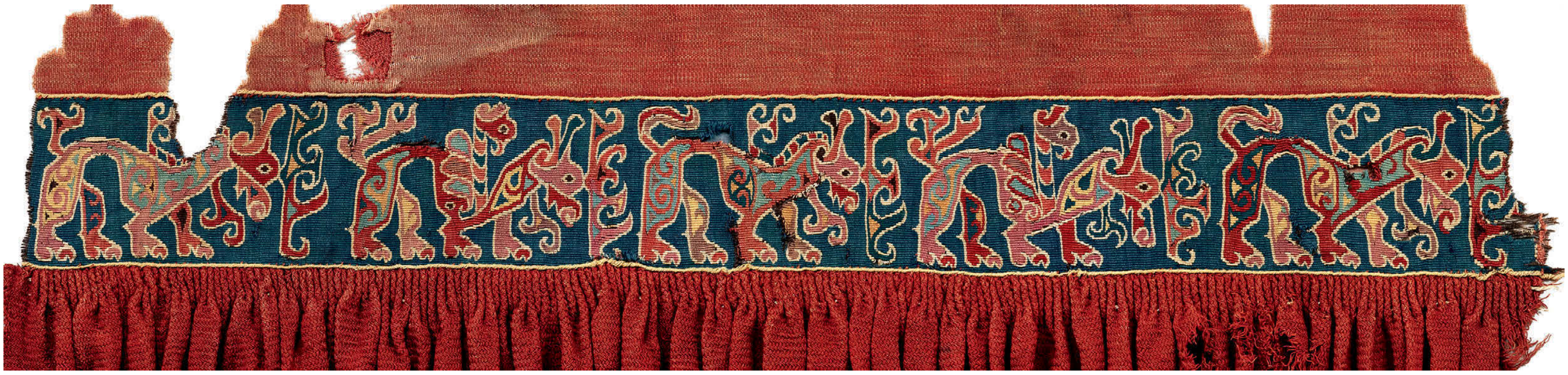
▶ 99. **A mummy, discovered in 1995, probably of a Sogdian merchant from the 4th to 5th c. The man was found in a wooden coffin, which was painted on the outside and covered with a woollen blanket with a lion pattern. On the face of the deceased lay a face mask made of a hemp fibre mass which was painted white, with eyes, eyebrows and moustache painted in black and lips in red; a gold foil covered his forehead. He wore felt boots covered with fine silk, and purple woollen trousers with floral and diamond-shaped patterns. Embroidered on the woollen kaftan are golden, naked putti fighting with short swords, as well as goats and bulls standing in pairs on both sides of pomegranate trees. The deceased was also given two miniature kaftans, one of which lay on his stomach, the other one next to his left hand. The motif of the fighting putti comes from the Roman-Hellenistic world, the one of the paired animals standing around a tree from the Iranian-Sassanid sphere. It is not known whether the kaftan was made in Sogdiana or produced locally under Sogdian instruction. Yingpan, grave 5, Xinjiang, China. Archaeological Institute, Urumqi.**



100. This woollen wall hanging, discovered in Shanpul near Khotan, was originally 4.8 m long and 2.3 m wide and has Hellenistic motifs: at the top a centaur playing the Greek war trumpet salpyx, below a warrior with lance. The wall hanging was made in the 3rd to 1st c. BCE in Greco-Bactria or in the Black Sea region and later cut up into leggings by a Saka warrior of Khotan. Plain weave tapestry, grave 1, cemetery, Shanpul, Xinjiang, China. Uyghur Regional Museum, Urumqi.

has shown elsewhere, this painting does not show Palm Sunday but is rather a depiction of hope in the Resurrection.[128] Such a relatively respectful conversion of a sanctuary for the use of another religion was no exception, as shown by the double-walled Caves 17 and 25 at Bezeklik (in Grünwedel's numbering), among other examples.[129] **Joseph Hackin** (1886–1941), a member of the Citroën Expedition of 1931, was the first to note that the late ninth and the tenth century had seen a period of Manichaean use between two Buddhist periods.[130] Gaochang's Ruin Group α had also served two different religions, first as the seat of the *možak*, the head of the eastern Manichaean church, and then from 1008 as a Buddhist temple. In the double-walled sanctuary Le Coq found many Manichaean manuscripts. The transformation of the seat of the *možak* into a Buddhist shrine marks the latest date by which the royal house would have converted from Manichaeism to Buddhism.[131]

The most spectacular find of the Second Turfan Expedition was Le Coq's discovery of the extraordinarily well-preserved eleventh-century wall paintings at the Bezeklik cave complex in the narrow Murtuk valley. While most cave sanctuaries had long served as shelters for goatherds and shepherds, and their walls were blackened by soot, caves which were more difficult to access, being filled with sand, gave occasion for hope. In Cave 9 Le Coq discovered 15 colourful Buddhist wall paintings, 3.25 to 3.60 metres high, depicting *pranidhi* scenes (fig. 97).[132] These would normally show a legendary episode, in which Buddha Shakyamuni in a former incarnation makes a vow before an earlier buddha, Dipamkara, for example, to become a buddha himself. In the *pranidhi* scenes at Bezeklik, it is the donors of the paintings, monks and laypeople, who vow before the Buddha to strive toward buddhahood. As all people have the seed of the Buddha nature within themselves, all may attain to buddhahood, and the *pranidhi* scenes here thus depict the donor's vow to follow Buddha's teaching.[133] It is a notable feature of these paintings that while the large Buddha figures are somewhat stereotyped, the minor figures are realistically rendered. Among these are the magnificently attired Uyghur ruler of Gaochang, younger goddesses, a demonic-looking Vajrapani – a tutelary deity – armoured warriors, Indian Brahmins, elderly Chinese monks and younger, European-looking red-haired monks, as well as black-haired Iranian and red-haired Europoid traders and caravan masters with their camels, donkeys and horses. These wall paintings give the impression that in the Uyghur kingdom of Gaochang all categories of the population – Turkic Uyghurs, Chinese, Iranians, Tocharians, Europeans and Indians, as well as the upper classes of rulers, warriors, merchants and monks – were united in the Buddhist state religion. Thirteen of the 15 *pranidhi* scenes were well preserved,



101. Fragment of woollen skirt edging with striding mythical creatures in the form of stags or elks. On every second stag sits a bird of prey or the bird forms a part of a mythological creature. Slit weaving, *ca.* 265–40 BCE, probably from Shanpul, Xinjiang, China. Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg, inv. no. 5137.

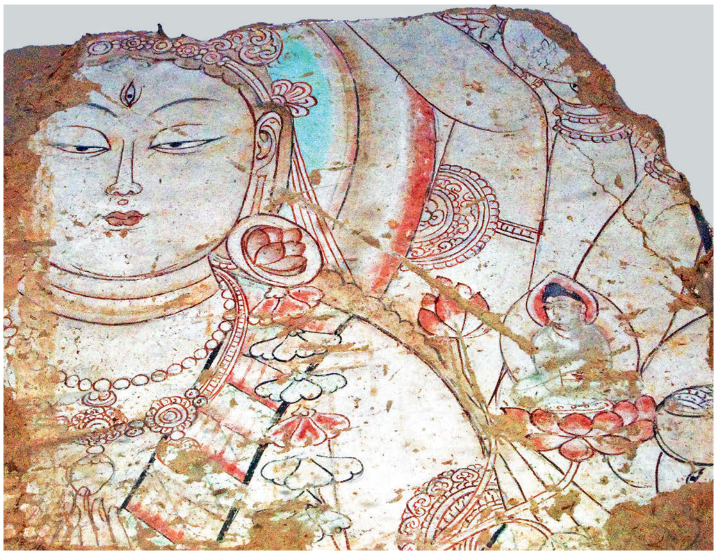
and these Le Coq and Bartus cut out and took back to Berlin. Unfortunately, these wall paintings were built into the walls of the Ethnographical Museum in Berlin, where they fell victim to the bombing of the Second World War, since no care had been taken to remove them to a safer place.[134]

With Grünwedel's belated arrival in late 1905 there began the Third Turfan Expedition of 1905–07, which made its way via Tumshuk to the Kucha Oasis, where the team concentrated on the cave complexes of Kizil and Kumtura. Le Coq was disappointed at having to hand over the leadership of the hitherto successful expedition to Grünwedel, who had neither leadership qualities nor experience of excavations. These he left to Le Coq and Bartus, contenting himself with the preparation of plans and drawings. His rejection of the large-scale removal of wall paintings as barbarism provoked further tensions with Le Coq.[135] In the older caves of the fifth to seventh centuries, Le Coq was surprised at the lack of Chinese stylistic influence: 'There was still not the slightest sign in the painting of an East Asiatic [Chinese] influence. Everything in sculpture and painting alike was Indo-Iranian, following late antique principles.'[136] This Indo-Iranian character was most evident in the representation of donors, as for example in the 'Cave of Sixteen Swordsmen' (today's Cave 8) (fig. 98). Depicted there are local Tocharian princes with short, red-brown hair and nimbus, each wearing a kaftan with a Sassanian-Sogdian pattern and a Sassanian longsword with elongated hilt at the waist.[137] Le Coq also noticed that in painting canonical figures such as buddhas and bodhisattvas, especially their faces, the artists used templates or grids, and followed the written instructions of those who had commissioned them: 'Sometimes, on these [grids] inscriptions were found in Sanskrit or Tocharian which seemed to be directions for the painter, such as "Here Buddha comes, here this or that saint" etc.'[138] In summer of 1906 Le Coq's health deteriorated to such a degree that he decided to return home. Riding alone from Turfan to Kashgar was so unsafe that he felt compelled to share his inn rooms with his horse.[139] Grünwedel and Bartus for their part continued their work into 1907.

Le Coq would lead the Fourth Turfan Expedition of 1913–14, which was intended to continue the work in Kucha and to further explore the Southern Silk Road.[140] After a short dig at Tumshuk the Germans hurried on to Kucha 'to retrieve the important paintings at Kyzil and Kumtura that Prof. Grünwedel had drawn in the course of the 3rd expedition but had neglected to recover'.[141] The danger of working in the Kizil caves was illustrated by the removal of the cupola from the 'Cave with the Ring-Bearing Doves' (today Cave 123), which only two days afterwards collapsed as the result of an earth tremor.[142] While the expedition completed its work in Kumtura and Sim-sim, a planned Fifth Expedition to the Southern Silk Road under the leadership of Albert Tafel was called off on account of the First World War.[143]

1.5 Latest Research

Modern research began with the Chinese archaeologist Huang Wenbi (1893–1966), once a member of Sven Hedin's Chinese-Swedish multi-national expedition, who discovered many wooden documents near Tuyin, east of Loulan, dating from the late first century CE.[144] As research was re-established on a systematic basis following the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), it quickly became clear that the Tarim Basin remained an archaeological Eldorado, where many finds still awaited discovery. Among the most significant finds are the Bronze Age 'Tarim mummies' of Europoid type that Wang Binghua has been unearthing in the northern Lop Desert since 1979, as for example at Gumugou and Towan, and at Zaghunluk near Qiemo.[145] In 2000 Wang Binghua



102. Wall painting of a bodhisattva from a temple in Damagou, 7th–8th c., discovered in 2002. During the Tang dynasty (618–907), the small Buddhist temples of Damagou belonged to the kingdom of Keriya (Yutian). On-site Museum of Damagou, Xinjiang, China.

also succeeded in rediscovering the Bronze Age necropolis of Xiaohe, first found by Folke Bergman in 1934, which would be excavated by Idriss Abdul Ressul between 2002 and 2005.[146] It was in the northern Lop Desert, too, that in 1995 Chinese archaeologists found – during a rescue excavation near Yingpan, 100 kilometres north-west of Xiaohe – the spectacular mummy of a two-metre-high man from the fourth or fifth century CE. This mummy, whose face was covered by a painted death-mask of hemp, was probably a Sogdian trader (fig. 99). The woollen kaftan displayed both Greco-Bactrian and Han Chinese patterns.[147] But the first discovery of a painted tomb in the Tarim Basin, in early 2003, happened by accident, when a research team was following strange tyre tracks some 25 kilometres north-east of Loulan L.A. and came across the freshly robbed third- or fourth-century tomb with two chambers and a 10-metre-long dromos. The painted banqueting scene shows bearded men in Iranian dress, suggesting that the tomb might have been made for Sogdians.[148] Finally, in late 2008, Chinese archaeologists discovered a fortified city of the fourth to fifth century CE near the Bronze Age necropolis of Xiaohe.[149]

In 1995–97, a Sino-Japanese team under Han Xiang and Yasutaka Kojima conducted a systematic survey and excavation of Niya, the ancient minor kingdom of Jingjue. The expedition not only excavated another 60 ruins to add to Stein's 40, but it also discovered a fortress of oval plan with three concentric rampart walls, a Buddhist temple with fragments of a late third- or early fourth-century wall painting and two necropoles of the first to third centuries CE, with a total of 21 mummies, 19 with Europoid facial features. In one grave lay a princely couple wrapped in silk brocade, probably rulers of Jingjue. Finally, the team discovered a presumably Bronze Age site 40 kilometres north of Niya, whose finds mirrored those in the nearby valley of the dried-up Keriya River.[150]

Rescue excavations between 1983 and 1996 brought to light unique woollen textiles at the three cemeteries of Shanpula, east of Khotan. In 1982, heavy rainfall had eroded the earth of the cemetery, immediately attracting grave robbers. The cemeteries held 69 graves and two horse burials dating from the third century BCE to the fourth century CE.[151] In one of three mass graves that yielded the remains of 494 people, many of whom had suffered violent deaths, the archaeologists found a unique woollen wall hanging, originally some 4.8 x 2.31 metres, with Hellenistic motifs: a galloping centaur playing a salpinx – a Greek war trumpet – and a warrior with a Hellenistic-looking face holding a lance (fig. 100). The tapestry was probably produced in Greco-Bactria or in the Black Sea region in the third to first centuries BCE, before coming into the possession of a Saka horseman from the Khotan Oasis, who made it into leggings. The owner would have been killed together with the other dead horsemen in a battle in the first century BCE, probably against attacking Xiongnu.[152] The gaily coloured braids on women's long woollen skirts with their spectacular motifs, however, derive from the Iranian culture of the Saka horsemen. One such braid (*ca.* 265–40 BCE) features pacing stags with mighty antlers, every other of these carrying a bird of prey on its back (fig. 101).[153] On another, mounted falconers pursue winged composite animals with horned and bearded heads

103. In 1994 in Miran the author met Kumran Banyas, who was born in 1886. Kumran, who was born near the Karakoshun lake, which has now disappeared, spoke Uyghur and a dialect related to Tibetan. He had worked for Sven Hedin and Aurel Stein, and in 1914 had helped the latter to pack up wall paintings from Miran in padded boxes.

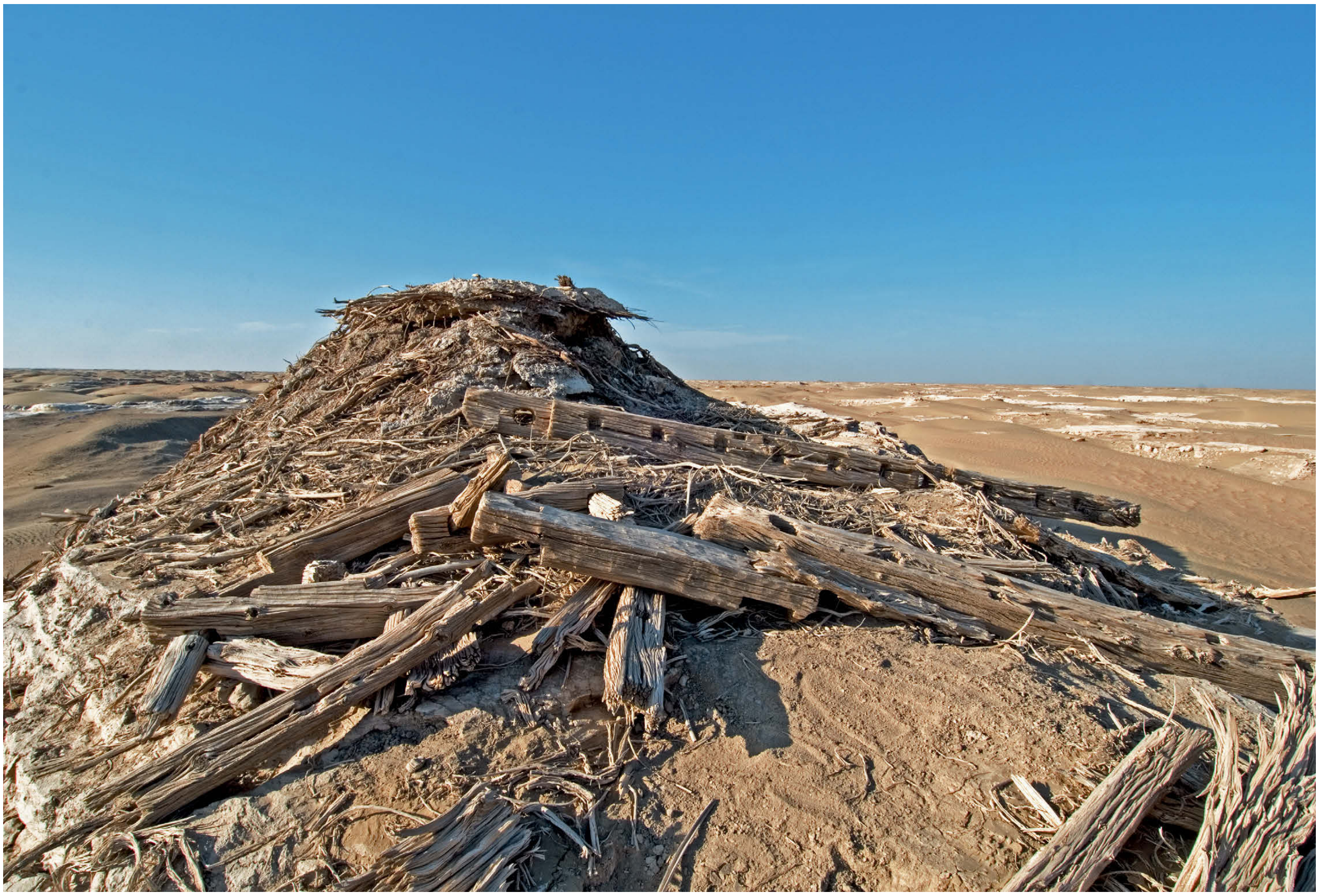
104. Two of the three special desert vehicles used by the author in the Lop Desert in 2007. The team leased Belgian MOL oilfield trucks equipped with Deutz engines. In the foreground is the tank lorry carrying 5,000 litres of diesel.

(*ca*. 8 BCE–234 CE) (fig. 109). This last scene recalls representations of the Iranian god Mithra, accompanied by a raven, pursuing a hybrid creature.[154] In 2008, five knotted wool rugs were found in the vicinity of the Shanpula cemetery when police arrested two treasure hunters and confiscated their booty. The largest of these, produced locally between the late fifth and the early seventh century, measures 256 x 150 centimetres and has more than 30 figures, probably portraying scenes from the life of the Hindu god Krishna.[155]

Important discoveries were made in the lower Keriya Valley in 1994, when the Sino-French Expedition (1991–2005) under Idriss Abdul Ressul and H.P. Francfort (C. Debaine-Francfort from 1995) found the fortified Iron Age city of Jumbulakum (second half of the 1st millennium BCE) together with, by 2001, dozens of intact graves.[156] This afforded the first evidence that settlements existed in the interior of the desert as early as the Iron Age. By then the expedition had also rediscovered the wall paintings in Karadong from the first half of the fourth century, already noted by Hedin, which, along with those of Miran, are the oldest Buddhist paintings in the Tarim Basin.[157]

In 1998 the present author discovered at Dandan Oilik a Buddhist temple (D 13)[158] with hitherto unknown Sogdian-Buddhist wall paintings from the early eighth century which attest that the Sogdians came to represent their own gods, Eastern Iranian in origin, in the guise of Buddhist and Hindu divinities (figs. 116f).[159] The years 2002, 2005 and 2006 saw further excavations carried out at Dandan Oilik by a Sino-Japanese team, bringing to light wall paintings in three other temples. The murals in Temples CD-4 and CD-10 are characterised by a flat, two-dimensional style of painting and motifs very similar to those found by the author at Temple D 13.[160] Other comparable seventh- to eighth-century wall paintings were discovered in 2002 in three small temples at Topulukdong near Damagou (fig. 102), east of Khotan.[161] Also found there were a number of small votive clay tablets called *tsha-tsha*, representing buddhas and bodhisattvas, notably similar to others found at Tholing in Western Tibet.[162]

In 1998 the author discovered at Endere the only known stone inscription in the Central Asian Gandhari language and the Kharoshthi script of the ancient kingdom of Shan-shan. The inscription indicates that in that kingdom Mahayana Buddhism



105. Ruin of the watchtower L.R.i discovered by the author in 2007 in the Lop Desert, Xinjiang, China. Similar to the watchtowers west of Dunhuang, from the 1st to 4th c. CE this tower stood on a 4-metre-high flat-topped elevation, and its lower half consisted of a massive block of pounded earth reinforced with poplar and tamarisk branches. On this platform stood a small building with an entrance door, which was *ca.* 6 m above ground level and accessed by a rope ladder. The body of the tower, which had one or two storeys, consisted of thick mud walls with loopholes, strengthened with wooden beams. From this tower, smoke and fire signals could be sent to the forts L.K. and L.L. or be received from them, since each one was visible from the next.

was officially supported by King Amgoka before 263 CE, a century earlier than previously believed.[163] In the winter of 2007, the author came across the fortresses of Haitou (L.K.) and L.L. (1st–4th c. CE) (figs. 95f, 125) in the Lop Desert, and then, almost 100 years after Stein, he investigated the settlement L.M. and documented for the first time the unknown site L.R. (fig. 105), whose rumoured existence was reported by one of Stein's camel drivers. There the author found the only Han dynasty watchtower in the interior of the desert.[164] Finally, in 2009, he discovered in the dried-up Keriya Darya valley the Iron Age cemetery of Satma Mazar,[165] the fortified Bronze Age settlement of Sebier[166] and the Bronze Age necropolis of Ayala Mazar. These discoveries prove that almost 4,000 years ago a unique culture concerned with fertility rituals extended from the Lop Nor to the centre of the Taklamakan Desert.[167]

2. The Southern Silk Road

2.1 Kashgar and Yarkand

Kashgar and Yarkand were both important trading cities sited below the difficult passes through the Pamir and Karakorum mountains, passes that connected China to the Indian subcontinent. **Kashgar** was additionally of strategic importance, as another trade route led from there via Fergana to Sogdiana, Merv and Iran. This oasis city was a nodal point on the most important trade network between China and Central Asia; China, the Xiongnu and the Kushans thus contended for control of it. Kashgar, the ancient Shule,[168] had belonged to the Chinese sphere of influence from the time of General Li Guangli's expedition to Fergana until the Wang Mang interregnum (9–23 CE), when the oasis fell under Xiongnu influence. Around 74 CE, General Ban Chao again secured China's suzerainty over Kashgar, though in 107 CE the oasis entered a loose vassal relationship with the Kushans, until 20 years later Kashgar's ruler Chenpan broke with the Kushans and submitted to China.[169] With the weakening of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE), the second half of the second century saw Kashgar regain its independence, but like Khotan, Kucha and Turfan, it came under Hephthalite influence in the last quarter of the fifth century. Following the Western Turks' victory over the Hephthalites, Kashgar became a vassal of theirs in the 560s, until in 658 the oasis finally fell to the Tang dynasty, becoming one of the 'Four Garrisons' of the 'Protectorate-General to Pacify the West'.[170]

Kashgar's brief political connection with the Kushans and the lively Kushan-dominated trade between the Tarim Basin and north India contributed decisively to the dissemination of Buddhism from about 100 CE onwards. Testimony to this early propagation of Buddhism via Sarvastivadin monks are the caves cut into the vertical cliffs at **Sanxian Dong** (early 2nd c.) (fig. 108)[171] ten kilometres north of Kashgar, the oldest Buddhist caves in China, and also, 30 kilometres east of the city, the almost 12-metre-high stupa of **Mauri Tim** (late 2nd–early 3rd c.) which belonged to a large monastery (fig. 43).[172] Like that at Zurmala near Termez, this stupa consists of three superimposed rectangular platforms, each smaller than the one beneath, with a cylindrical structure on top; a similar pattern is found in the stupas of Niya, Endere and Loulan, dating from the late third century onward. Six kilometres south of Mauri Tim stand the clay ruins of a fortified settlement with citadel constructed by the Chinese Tang dynasty (618–907) in the mid-seventh century, when it conquered Kashgar. According to tradition, it was destroyed in the mid-tenth century by the Karakhanid ruler Satuq Bughra Khan, who had recently converted to Islam.[173]

The oasis city of **Yarkand**, ancient Shahe, sought to exploit the weakening of China brought about by Wang Mang's usurpation to establish itself as the leading power in the Tarim Basin. Unlike other city states, Yarkand succeeded in not submitting to the Xiongnu, and was rewarded by China, in 29 CE, with nominal suzerainty over the 'fifty-five kingdoms of the Western Regions'.[174] Over the next 30 years, Yarkand grew into the strongest power in

106. Two merchants in the market place of Kashgar near the Id Kah Mosque, Xinjiang, China.

the area. It first conquered the kingdoms of Xiye (neighbouring Karghalik) and Yumi (Keriya), then in 46 CE Yarkand's king Xian defeated Khotan and Kucha, incorporating them into his realm as vassal states. Though Xian also defeated the king of Shan-shan in the eastern Tarim Basin, the latter preferred to place himself under Xiongnu protection. Yarkand then succeeded in subjugating Fergana, but 60 CE saw a rebellion by Khotan, whose king took Xian prisoner a year later and conquered Yarkand. In 88 CE, after a long resistance, Yarkand had to surrender to Ban Chao.[175] While the city lost political significance, it would remain an important centre of trade until the early twentieth century.

2.2 The Kingdom of Khotan

2.2.1 Origins and History

Unlike Kashgar and Yarkand, which in the first millennium had the character of cities of passage, **Khotan** (called Hetian in Chinese) developed into a solid political power with a strong manufacturing base, and a centre of Buddhist learning that also produced significant art, as witnessed by the ruins of Rawak, Balawaste, Karadong and Dandan Oilik. The population of early Khotan derived from three sources. Significant numbers of nomadic Saka horsemen arrived during the third and second centuries BCE. They raised livestock and brought with them elements of the textile art of the steppes, as witnessed by the fabrics from Shanpula.[176] Communities of Indian and Chinese immigrants and traders formed the urban element. This diverse population structure led to the development of unique hybrid cultural forms. So it was that in the fifth century the Indian Gupta script, a further development of Brahmi also called Late Brahmi script, came to be used in a cursive from to write the Middle Iranian languages of the Saka of Khotan and Tumshuk, the Tumshuk-Saka inventing 12 new signs and incorporating them into the Gupta alphabet.[177] Even more astonishing are the bilingual Sino-Kharoshthi copper and bronze coins of around 30 to 150 CE. On the obverse is a tamga, a tribal identifying mark from the world of the equestrian nomadic pastoralists, together with the value in Chinese characters. The reverse shows a horse or Bactrian camel, similar to those on Indo-Saka coins, surrounded by a Prakrit inscription in Kharoshthi script giving the name and title of the king of Khotan. Given that these coins' weights also matched those of the early Kushan coinage, whose Attic-weight tetradrachm

107. Potter in the old city of Kashgar, Xinjiang, China.

108. Buddhist cave monastery of Sanxian Dong north of Kashgar, Xinjiang, China. Traces of wall paintings can be seen in the interior of this monastery, which was founded in the early 2nd c. CE.

corresponded to the Chinese Han Liang, this bilingual currency was compatible with the north Indian and Chinese monetary system and circulated among both the Indian and the Chinese trading communities.[178] The use of a prakrit written in Kharoshthi script in the administration of Khotan and even of Shan-shan underlines the domination of the Southern Silk Road by the north Indian community during the first four centuries CE.[179]

The Indian and Chinese origins of the urban populations also find themselves reflected in the Tibetan *Annals of Li Yul* – composed in the mid-eighth century and preserved as part of the Tengyur – which list 56 kings.[180] Even though these annals are largely filled with legends, they are nonetheless very revealing. According to the tradition they record, which was older than the annals themselves and already known to Xuanzang in slightly different form,[181] Vaishravana, the Buddhist guardian deity of the north, impregnated the wife of Emperor Ashoka, whereupon a soothsayer prophesied to her husband that the boy would rule even in his lifetime. Angry and worried, Ashoka abandoned the baby, whereupon Vaishravana took him to China and had him adopted as an emperor's son. After some years, the young prince quarrelled with the sons of the Chinese emperor and set off west with a small army. At the same time, a discontented minister left Ashoka's India to look for a new homeland further north. When the Chinese emperor's adoptive son and the minister met, war threatened between the Chinese and the Indian migrants, but Vaishravana intervened to establish peace between them, and the two communities founded Khotan together. On the basis of this tradition, the kings of Khotan traced their ancestry to the god Vaishravana, and honoured him as the patron of the city.[182] The annals date the foundation of Khotan to 234 years after Shakyamuni's entry into Nirvana, and the introduction of Buddhism 165 years later.[183] If one follows the modern, 'short chronology' of Buddha Shakyamuni's life, he died around 368 BCE, giving 134 BCE as the date of the foundation of Khotan and 31 CE as the date of Buddhism's first arrival there. Both of these are plausible as rough approximations. It is significant that this tradition dates the migration of the Indians almost two centuries before the first contact with Buddhism.

109. **Fragment of woollen skirt edging showing hunters and mythical creatures, slit woven, *ca.* 8 BCE–234 CE. A rider accompanied by a hunting falcon is pursuing a winged composite creature with a horned, bearded head. Probably from Shanpul, Xinjiang, China. Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg, inv. no. 5138.**

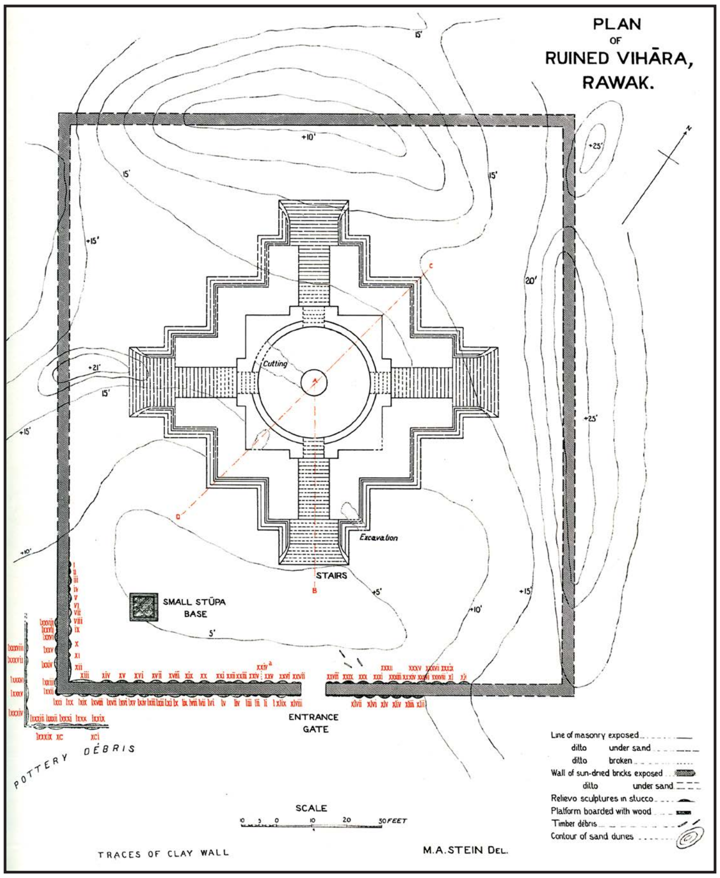
The *Hou Han Shu* reports that in 61 CE Khotan defeated Yarkand to become a regional power, holding 13 small states in subjection, one of them being Jingjue (Niya) on the eastern border of Shan-shan. Yet by 74 CE King Guangde had capitulated to Ban Chao and recognised Chinese suzerainty.[184] In 127, Ban Yong compelled the kingdom to recognise China's supremacy, but in 152 Khotan declared its complete independence, killed the king of neighbouring Jumi (Keriya), and 'Yutian [Khotan] became arrogant'.[185] About a century later, Khotan accepted the nominal suzerainty of China's Western Jin dynasty (265–316).[186] While the following centuries would see Khotan maintain its status as a kingdom, it was several times forced to accept the supremacy of various Central Asian great powers, which generally confirmed local rulers in office as vassals. Among such conquerors were the Tuyuhun under King Muliyan (r. 436–52), originally part of the Xianbei tribal confederation. When the Northern Wei drove them out of their then homeland north of Koko Nor lake (in northern Qinghai and southern Gansu) around 444–445, they withdrew westward to conquer Khotan, whose king they killed. With their conquest of Khotan and advance to Kashgar, the Tuyuhun turned their defeat by the Northern Wei into a triumph, for they now controlled the Southern Silk Road, and the Northern Wei had no option but to withdraw their troops from the Koko Nor region and pay tribute to the Tuyuhun so that they would return to their homelands. The Tuyuhun still retained control of the two trade routes through their kingdom, the one from Xining via Delingha to Dunhuang, the other via Dulan and Golmud to Shan-shan.[187] In Khotan, however, the Tuyuhun came into contact with Buddhism, which Muliyan's successor Shiyin (r. 452–81) introduced into the Koko Nor.[188]

In 471 the Tuyuhun were succeeded by the Rouran, who were followed in turn by the Hephthalites from 502 to 556, after which Khotan had to recognise the suzerainty of the Western Turks, from around 565 to 658 at the latest.[189] Yet Khotan's incorporation into the Chinese Tang dynasty's Protectorate-General to Pacify the West and its investment as one of the Four Garrisons brought no peace. On the contrary: from around 660 until 860 the two great powers of China and Tibet engaged in a fierce war along a more than 3,000-kilometre front, a war they also brought to the Tarim Basin. In 665 Khotan, together with a Chinese army, succeeded in repelling a Tibetan advance, but a decisive defeat by the Tibetans in the Koko Nor in 670 forced China to give up the Four Garrisons to Tibet.[190] During the first four years of Tibetan occupation, Gar Tsennyen Gungston, one of the Gar brothers who had taken over power in Tibet with command of its armies, was governor of Khotan.[191] In 692 the Chinese generals Wang Xiaozhi and Tang Xiujing drove the Tibetans out of the Tarim Basin, and set Fudu Jing (Vijaya Vikrama of the *Annals of Li Yul*) on the throne of Khotan.[192] In 725 the latter's successor Vijaya Dharma III (Chinese, Yuchi Tiao) sought independence from China and an alliance with the Western Turks, whereupon the Chinese Vice-Protector-General Tou Sien had him beheaded.[193]

Although Khotan was a centre of Buddhist learning and its many monasteries had enjoyed royal support, King Vijaya Sihya (Yuchi Kuei, r. *ca.* 737–746/47) expelled the monks from the kingdom. They found refuge in Tibet where they contributed to the development of the earliest style of Tibetan Buddhist art.[194] In 756 Vijaya Sihya's successor Yuchi Sheng (r. 746/47–756) demonstrated his loyalty to China, when he hurried with an army of 5,000 horsemen to help Emperor Suzong (r. 756–762) put down the dangerous An Lushan Rebellion (755–763).[195] In the late eighth century, Tibet increased the pressure on China's north-western flank, capturing Dunhuang in 786/87, Besh Baliq (Beiting) in 791,[196] and Kucha in 795. From Kucha the Tibetan army followed the Khotan Darya south, taking the fortress of Mazar Tagh, which it swiftly enlarged, and conquering Khotan around 798 or 802.[197] In 851 Khotan regained its independence and in 920 again allied itself by marriage with the Chinese ruling family of Dunhuang. After an initial victory in 970 against the invading Karakhanids, Turkic Muslims who now ruled Kashgar, Khotan fell to Yusuf Kadr Khan in 1006, so losing its independence.[198]

With the fall of Khotan the almost thousand-year-old history of Khotanese Buddhism came to an end. Monks of the Mahasamghika and Sarvastivadin schools of Hinayana Buddhism had brought Buddhism to the oasis around the turn of the second century CE, but by the third century they had reluctantly begun to tolerate Mahayana communities, as revealed by the experience of the Chinese scholar-monk Zhu Shixing. He had set off west from China in 260 because he had encountered the irreconcilable contradictions between Hinayana and Mahayana sutras and therefore wished to acquire the original Sanskrit texts. When he purchased a scroll of the *Pancavimsatisahasrika-Prajnaparamita-Sutra* (The 25,000-Line Sutra on the Perfection of Wisdom) and wanted to send it to Luoyang, Hinayana representatives tried to persuade the king of Khotan to confiscate this un-Buddhist 'Brahmin book'. The king had the scroll subjected to divine judgement in the form of a trial by fire, which it survived unscathed.[199] But by 400, when the Chinese pilgrim monk Faxian reached Khotan, which he

110. The fort or fortified caravanserai of Karadong from the 1st to the 5th or 6th c. stood on a former course of the river Keriya Darya. The fort, which measures *ca.* 76 x 67 m, had its only gate on the east side, just like Haitou on the Lop Nor. Xinjiang, China.



111. **Plan of Rawak, drawn in 1901 by Sir Aurel Stein. The archaeologist found the clay statues along the inner and outer surrounding wall; these are indicated with red Roman numerals on the plan. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford, 1907), pl. XL.**

described as a model Buddhist kingdom, Mahayana was clearly dominant: 'The priests [monks] number several tens of thousands, most of them belonging to the Greater Vehicle [Mahayana]. The people live scattered about, and before the door of every house they build small pagodas [stupas].'[200] And there he witnessed an annual procession: 'At a distance of three or four *li* [1 li = 416 m] from the city, a four-wheeled image-car is made, over thirty feet in height, looking like a movable "Hall of Buddha," and adorned with the seven preciosities,[201] with streaming pennants and embroidered canopies. The image of Buddha is placed in the middle of the car, with two attendant Bhôdisatvas and dêvas following behind. These are all beautifully carved in gold and silver and are suspended in the air. When the images are one hundred paces from the city gate, the king takes off his cap of State and puts on new clothes; walking barefoot and holding flowers and incense in his hands, with attendants on each side, he proceeds out of the gate. On meeting the images, he bows his head down to the ground and scatters the flowers and burns the incense.'[202] With this gesture, the king emulated the Bodhisattva Shakyamuni, who in an earlier age had greeted his predecessor Buddha Dipamkara by offering him flowers.

From the fifth century, the king of Khotan also claimed to adhere to the ideal of the *dharmaraja*, a royal defender of Buddha's teaching, as expounded in the *Suvarnabhasottama Sutra*, the Sutra of the Golden Light. By acting in accordance with the principles of dharma, he not only protected his entire country, but fulfilled divine will as a 'godly son'.[203] With this claim, the kings of Khotan sought to legitimate their rule.

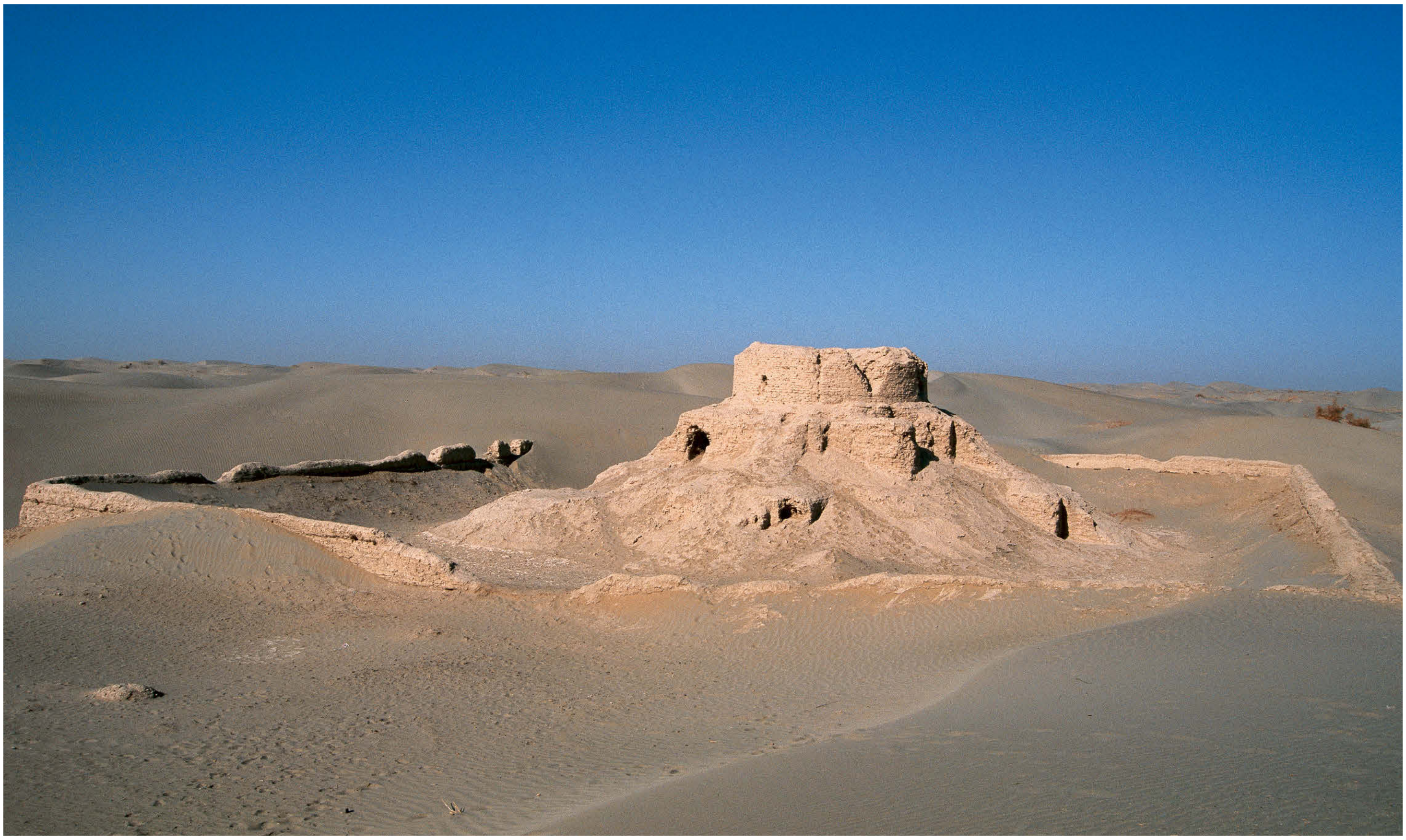
Sutras were not only translated from the Sanskrit in Khotan, but new, apocryphic sutras were composed, which contain invocations of tutelary deities, incantations, and Hindu deities, leading to the development of a 'proto-Tantric' sutra literature.[204] Khotan's importance as an international centre of Buddhist learning was further enhanced from the eighth century onward, as it became a refuge for persecuted monks and scholars, who were fleeing either the Arabs attacking Tocharistan or the anti-Buddhist campaigns of Wuzong in China (843–845) and Langdarma in Tibet (838–842). Like those of Shan-shan and the Northern Silk Road, the Buddhist monasteries of the kingdom of Khotan were knowledgeable not just in spiritual but also in economic affairs. They functioned as caravanserais and warehouses where traders could safely store their goods, and as credit institutions where merchants could borrow money at high interest. For private persons the conditions for obtaining credit were particularly demanding, for – as is revealed by an contract found in Dandan Oilik by Aurel Stein – they had to pay a monthly interest of ten per cent to the monastery providing credit, and also to pledge as security not only their movable goods but their close relatives, such as mother or sister, to be sold as slaves if interest or principal were not paid when due.[205] Monks in Niya might have been 'part-time monks', possessing homes of their own, having wives or slaves, and participating only sporadically in monastery ceremonies.[206] This contravened rules of the time, which prescribed a life of chastity and without possessions, as well as the prohibition on the owning of slaves. Perhaps it was such practices, which allowed well-off families to declare a member to be a bogus monk, so as to escape paying taxes, that moved King Vijaya Sihya to banish Buddhist monks from his land.

2.2.2 Artworks in the Sands

While the ancient capitals of the Khotan Oasis, **Malikawat**[207] (Han dynasties) and **Yotkan**[208] (3rd–11th c.), are no more than rubble today, and in the case of Yotkan, buried under agricultural land and some four metres of silt, in eastern and northern Khotan both religious and secular architecture and artworks still survive, not least because the sites were abandoned long before the conquest of the kingdom by the Turkic Karakhanids and had already fallen into oblivion, slumbering even then under the protective sand. Among them are the mudbrick fortress of **Aksipil**,[209] the temples excavated by Stein of **Balawaste**,[210] **Khadalik**,[211] **Farhad Beg-yailaki**[212] and **Uzun Tati**,[213] as well as the three small, well-preserved seventh-century to eighth-century temples at **Damagou**, whose wall paintings are similar to those of Dandan Oilik and Balawaste.[214]

Most impressive is the monastery stupa of **Rawak** (figs. 111f), 30 kilometres north of Khotan, which is surrounded by a 4-metre high, 50 x 45 metre perimeter wall. This late third- or early fourth-century stupa is cruciform in plan, and its cylinder rests on three superimposed rectangular platforms. Steps lead up to it on each side, so the pilgrim experienced the stupa as a three-dimensional mandala. On the inner and outer faces of the perimeter wall, Stein found 91 life-size, originally red-painted, clay statues, while in 1928 Emil Trinkler and Walter Bosshard found 39 in another sector.[215] As Stein already recognised, the figures were characterised by two different artistic styles. The older Style I was found in very large statues of the standing Buddha, whose harmonious naturalism recalls the styles of Mathura and Gandhara. Also in Style I are four figures of the guardians of the cardinal points and two representations of the cosmological Buddha, who appears endlessly multiplied. The absence of bodhisattvas points to a Hinayana context for this style, thus dating the work to the period of the stupa's construction. In Style II, the clothing of the figures is more elaborate, a certain mannerism is detectable, and bodhisattvas make their appearance (fig. 93). Smaller figures, including seated buddhas, were set between the older large buddhas, and some buddhas have a high, flammiform halo adorned with spirals and small buddha figures. Style II dates from around 350 to 450 CE, falling into the period when Mahayana was dominant. It would also appear that the construction was restored again in the mid-sixth century.[216]

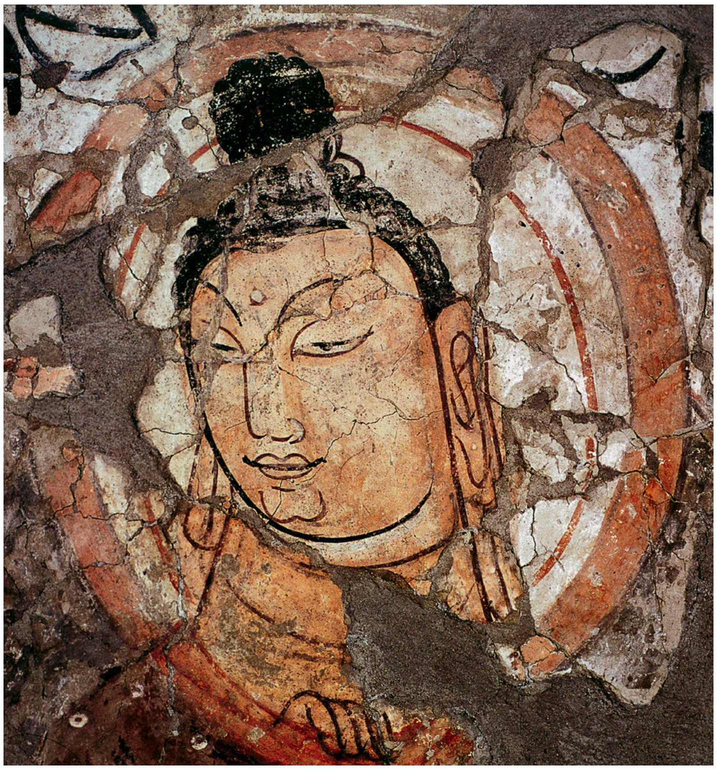
Around 210 kilometres north-east of Khotan stands the fort of **Karadong**, halfway along the north–south cross route from Keriya (Yutian) to Kucha, which followed the Keriya Darya. Although Karadong belonged to the princedom of Yumi (Keriya), culturally it fell under the influence of Khotan, as can be seen in its murals. The Hinayana-period wall paintings in the two two-storey temples feature only standing and seated buddhas (fig. 113). In contrast to the East-Mediterranean/West Asian impression given by the Miran paintings, the faces at Karadong have Indian/Central Asian



112. The monastery stupa of Rawak, north-east of Khotan, Xinjiang, China. The stupa, which was built around 300 CE, was surrounded by a double rectangular wall.

features; they can be dated to the first half of the fourth century.[217] The absence of any Tang dynasty coins suggests that Karadong was abandoned by the sixth century at the latest.

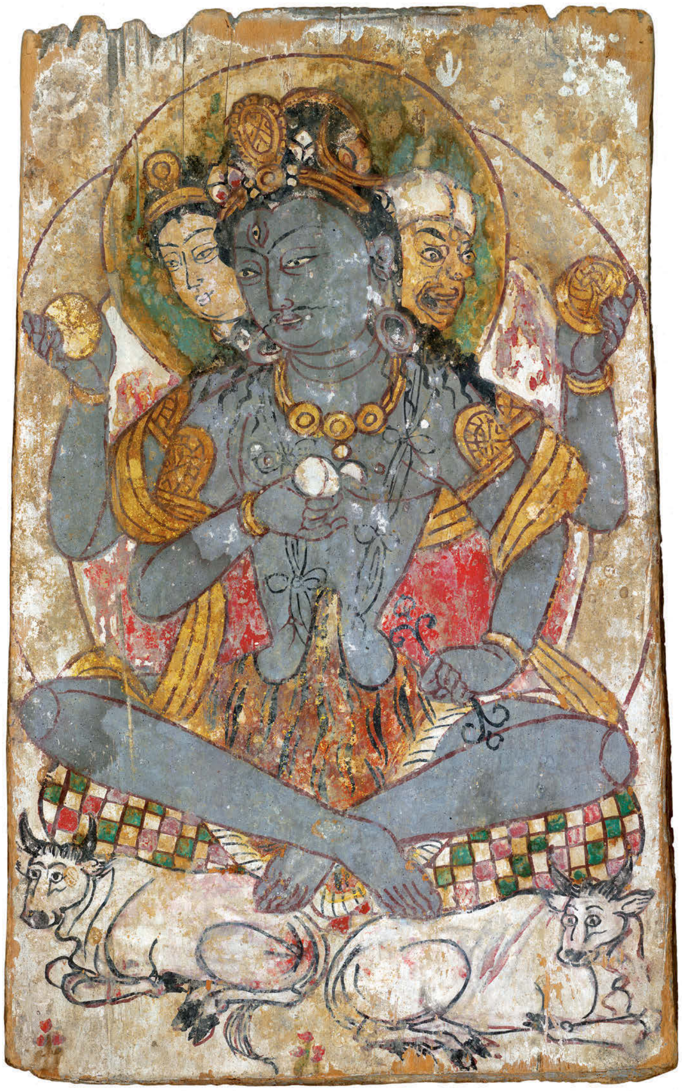
Dandan Oilik, 115 kilometres north-east of Khotan, was truly a city of temples and monasteries, for the majority of excavated buildings once had a religious function, in contrast to Niya, for example, where religious sites represent a tiny minority of the buildings. This oasis city measuring 4.5 square kilometres, whose name in Khotanese was Gayseta and in Chinese Lixie,[218] was probably founded in the late fifth or the sixth century, and it is the only known city of the region that did not lie on an important trade route. Manuscripts show that it formed part of the kingdom of Khotan, and, like the capital itself, by 768 at the latest it had come under pressure from marauding Tibetans, prompting some of the population to quit its isolated location. Dandan was definitively abandoned between 798 and 802, and fell victim to the encroaching sand dunes.[219] Excavations there have produced some unique finds: first, a late eighth-century business letter in Persian, written in a cursive Hebrew script;[220] then a number of sixth- to seventh-century painted wooden votive panels depicting either Vajrayana-Buddhist or Sogdian deities as well as legendary episodes mentioned by the pilgrim monk Xuanzang. On one oblong panel a man looks at a deity with a rat's head, identified by Stein as the Rat King of Khotan, who, according to legend, came to the aid of a Khotanese ruler threatened by a mighty Xiongnu army.[221] When the Khotanese army attacked the enemy camp before daybreak, 'the Xiongnu found that the leather of their armour, and their horses' gear, and their bow strings, and all the fastenings of their clothes, had been gnawed by the rats'.[222] The Xiongnu went down to a crushing defeat. But it is also possible that the votive panel depicts the wolf-headed god Mukhamanda, protector of children, who probably figures elsewhere in the Dandan Oilik wall paintings.[223]

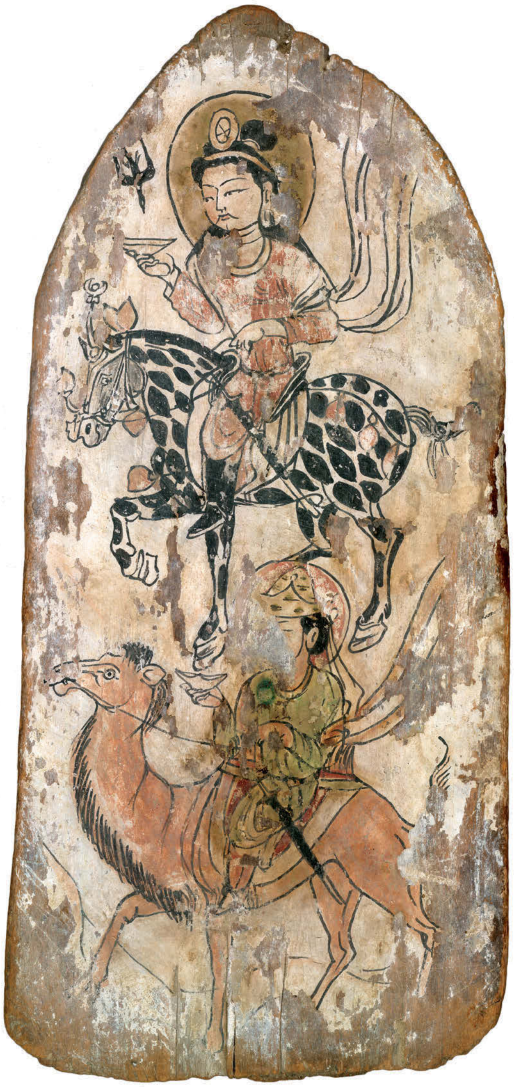


113. As was the case with forts L.K. and L.L., Karadong had a smaller settlement nearby, which contained two small Buddhist temples. Fragment of a painting of a Buddha head, 1st half of 4th c. Uyghur Regional Museum, Urumqi.

A second oblong wooden panel depicts another legend recounted by Xuanzang, which tells how sericulture was introduced to Khotan, when in the third century CE a Chinese princess smuggled silkmoth eggs and mulberry seeds out of China in her headdress (fig. 118).[224] Another panel shows two divine riders, the one below mounted on a camel, while the one above rides a piebald horse and holds a bowl out to a descending raven.[225] The divine camel rider with nimbus – whose image the present author discovered in 1998 as a wall painting in Temple D 13 – represents the Sogdian victory god Vashagn,[226] or Farn, personification of the divine glory,[227] whose image Stein also found at Farhad Beg-yailaki.[228] The rider on the piebald horse, a motif not only frequently found in the wall paintings of Dandan and Damagou[229] but which also appears in Yarkhoto (Jiaohe),[230] may represent the god Vaishravana mounted upon a heavenly horse, whose companion shot down Pekar, tutelary hero of the Uyghurs, when he had taken the form of a bird of prey.[231] Another portrait-format panel has on the front a three-headed, four-armed, ithyphallic god whose skin is painted in blue, seated upon two bulls, and on the back a crowned, seated, bearded man with green cloak and black boots.[232] In 1998 the author found in Dandan's Temple D 13 a wall painting of a practically identical three-headed figure, which at first glance might be taken to represent the Hindu god Shiva with his mount, the bull Nandi, but which in Tantric Vajrayana Buddhism stands for the tutelary deity Maheshvara.[233] Benjamin Rowland remarks that the 'the absorption of Hindu gods into the already Tantric form of Buddhism that flourished in Khotan' is echoed in 'pictorial representations of the *Lankavatara Sutra*, of the Buddha's assuming the form of the members of the Hindu pantheon'.[234]

Similar paintings are known, not only from Balawaste[235] but also from Koh-i-Kwaja (eastern Iran)[236] and more especially from the Sogdian cultural sphere, such as those from Panjikant[237] and Bunjikat,[238] both dating from the eighth century, and also from the stone sarcophagus of the Sogdian notable Wirkak (Chinese name Shi Jun, 493–579 CE), who died as the headman of a Sogdian

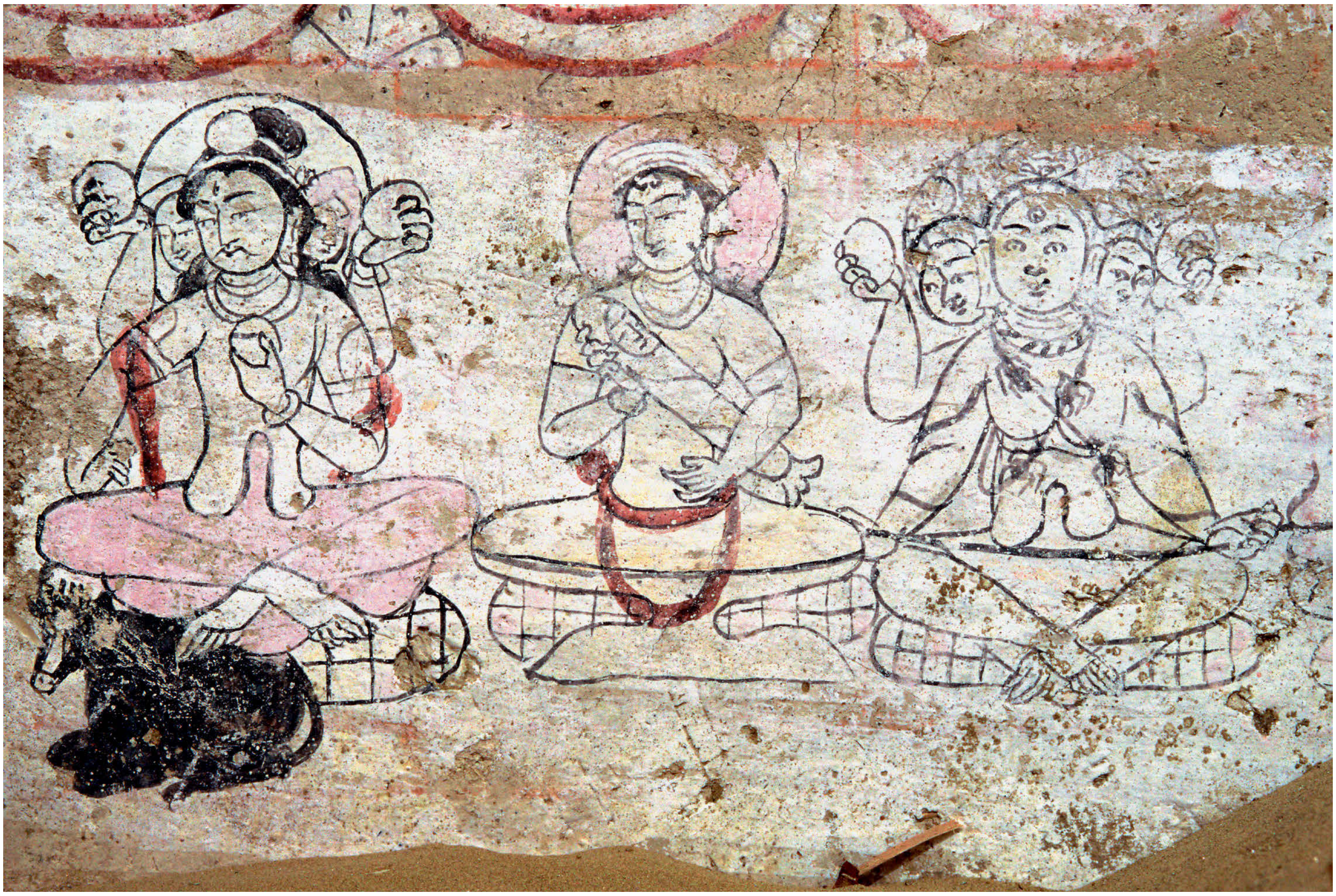




▲114. Votive panel from the 6th/7th c. discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in December 1900 in the temple Stein-D VII of Dandan Oilik. The deity which is depicted on the wooden, painted panel, which measures 33 x 20 cm, could be the ithyphallic Hindu god Shiva. But in the particular context of Dandan Oilik it is more likely that he is the Buddhist god Maheshvara (an aspect of Shiva), or more likely still the Sogdian wind god Weshparkar, whom the Sogdians represented in the guise of Shiva. On the reverse the God of Silk of Khotan is depicted. Xinjiang, China. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

◥115. Painted votive panel with two riders from Stein's Temple D VII in Dandan Oilik, 6th/7th c. The rider on the dappled horse in the upper portion represents the Buddhist god Vaishravana, the Guardian of the Northern Direction, the one on the camel in the lower portion the Sogdian god of victory Vashagn or Farn, the personification of divine glory. Xinjiang, China. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

community in Chang'an.[239] As the Panjikant painting is inscribed, we know that it represents the Sogdian wind god Weshparkar. The three-headed god of Dandan Oilik is therefore either the Maheshvara venerated in Tantric Buddhism or the Sogdian Weshparkar. An argument in favour of the second possibility is the fact that a notable community of Sogdian traders lived in Dandan, with a 'sabao' at its head. The Chinese word 'sabao' was derived from the Sogdian 'Sartapao' (s'rtp'w), meaning a caravan master. In China, however, 'sabao' was an official title within the administration, denoting the civil and religious leader of a Central Asian or Persian community within a district, the term for the most part appearing in connection with Sogdian communities.[240] The holder of the office was normally a prominent

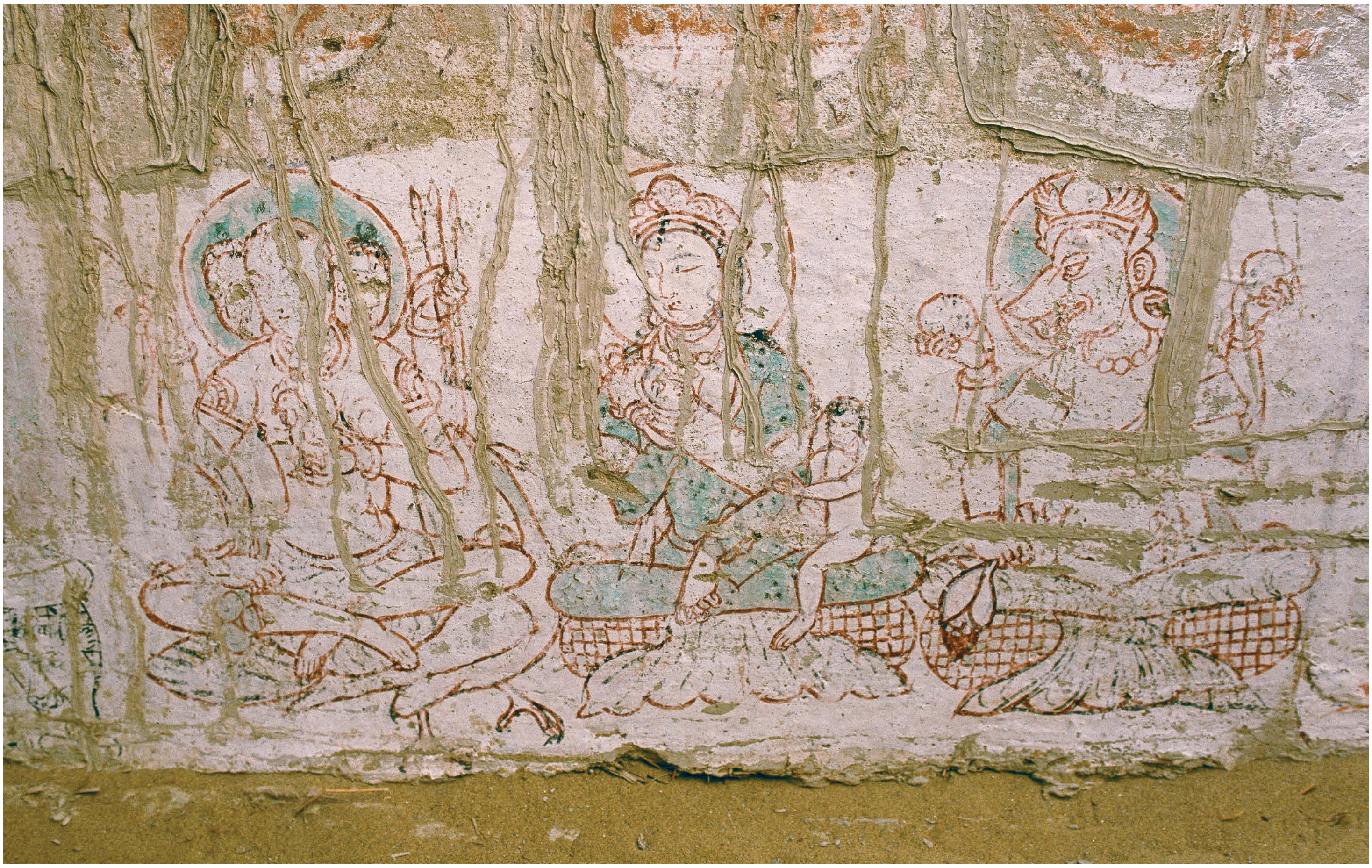


116. Wall painting from the early 8th c., discovered by the author in Temple D 13 of Dandan Oilik, Xinjiang, China. Three Sogdian deities are represented: on the left the wind god Weshparkar in the guise of Shiva, in the middle probably the fertility goddess Nana as Buddhist goddess Hariti, and on the right the god of time Zurvan in the guise of the Hindu god Brahma. Photo from the site, 1998.

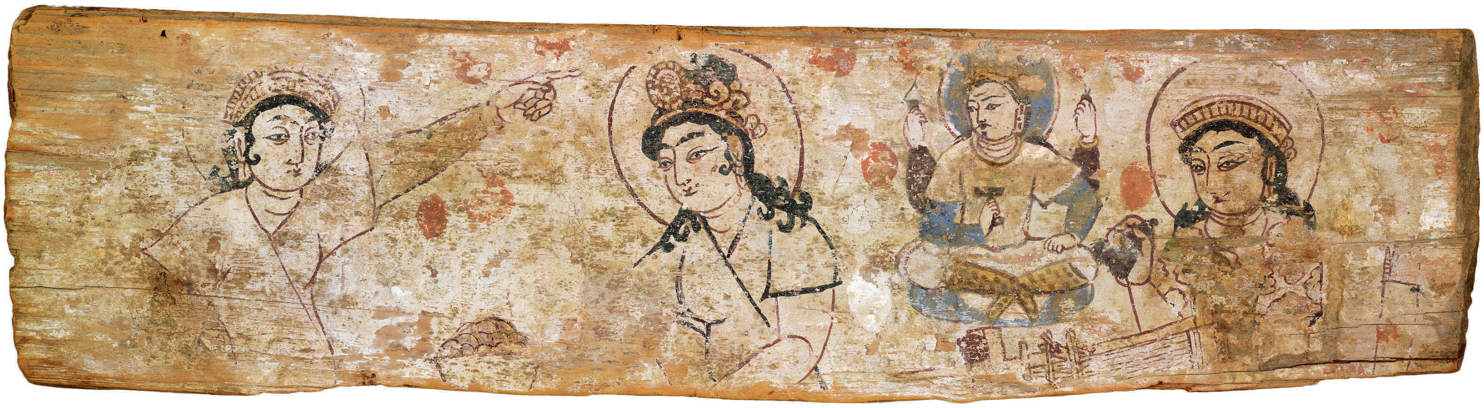
member of the foreign community in question, and so most often a Sogdian. As we know from a number of official documents, there was in Gayseta (Dandan Oilik) a sabao named Sidaka, which indicates the presence of a sizeable Sogdian community.[241] This is not surprising since Sogdian traders used to order the manufacture of textiles against advance payment in Gayseta.[242] And at the Loulan L.B. shrine Hedin found a metre-high carved wooden panel depicting a cross-legged god holding a trident – an attribute of both Shiva and Weshparkar (fig. 91).[243]

Just as once the Parthians had sometimes represented their gods in the forms of Greek deities and the Kushans had adopted models from the Hindu, Greek or Roman pantheons to visualise theirs,[244] so Sogdian Zoroastrians to some extent merged the visual representations of their own divinities with those of deities from Hinduism and Tantric Buddhism – cultures they were in close contact with through trade.[245] If we adopt the Sogdian reading of the three-headed god with bull, the two groups of three seated deities among the paintings of Temple D 13 discovered by the present author may be interpreted as follows:[246] In the first triad (fig. 116), the god on the left is the wind god Weshparkar, and on the right is another three-headed, four-armed god whose upper hands hold the sun and moon. Represented in the guise of the Hindu god Brahma, this latter is most probably a depiction of Zurvan, god of time. Between the two gods sits a goddess who in her arms holds a swaddled child; she represents Hariti, the protectress of children who was converted by the Buddha. In the Sogdian context she is likely to represent the fertility goddess Nana. In the second trio (fig. 117), we again have Hariti/Nana in the middle, with two infants. She must have been popular in Dandan, for Stein found a wooden panel with two images of Hariti in a neighbouring temple.[247] Left of her sits a three-headed god, holding a bow, three arrows and a young cock; next to him stands a peacock. He is either Vashagn, the Sogdian god of war, or the rain god Tishtrya,[248] represented in the guise of the Indian war god Karttikeya, also pictured in Cave 178 at Kizil. On Hariti's right is a four-armed god whose wolf's head bears a crown. This could be the wolf-headed Mukhamanda, both bringer of sorrow and protector of children. In India this divinity is one of the nine *grahas*, supernatural beings whom parents must propitiate. Should the parents entreat the help of a *graha*, it will protect the child from illness; should they ignore it, it will visit a nasty ailment upon the child.[249] The *grahas* are ambivalent divinities and as such are closely associated with Hariti, who before her conversion was a cannibalistic demon who fed on small children.

Two styles of painting were practised in the kingdom of Khotan, whereby the same subjects were rendered in different ways. One incorporated Indian, Sogdian and Sassanian influences to develop a discrete style that would not only influence the Early Buddhist art of Tibet but would also find recognition at the Chinese court. To this style belong paintings from Balawaste, the double-sided votive panel from Dandan with Weshparkar and the Khotanese silk god, and a number of individual paintings from Dandan Oilik. The vigorous outlining of contours brings vividness to the polychrome painting, a revolutionary technique at the time. The names of Khotanese painters working in the Tarim Basin remain unknown, though others left their mark on the central Chinese painting of the seventh and eighth centuries. Some of these, with the Chinese family name Wei Chi, corresponding to the Khotanese Vijaya, were descended from the royal family of Khotan. Around 700, a contemporary critic noted of Wei Chi Isheng that 'His brush-work was tight and strong like bending iron or coiling wire', while his father's was 'free and vigorously expressive'.[250] But the majority of temple paintings and votive panels at Dandan Oilik are characterised by rounded, almost disc-like faces, 'a strictly frontal presentation, highly developed stylization, a flat, almost two-dimensional design', and 'a peculiar technique of drawing on the colours', such that one must speak of a distinctive Dandan Oilik school.[251]



117. The second, probably Sogdian group of divinities in Temple D 13 of Dandan Oilik, early 8th c., Xinjiang, China. On the left the god of war Vashagn or the rain god Tishtrya in the guise of the Indian war god Karttikeya, in the middle Nana/Hariti, and on the right the ambivalent divinity Mukhamanda with a crowned wolf's head, who protects children or makes them ill depending on whether or not she receives offerings from their parents; her Sogdian equivalent is not known. Photo from the site, 1998.



118. This 66-centimetre-long painted wooden votive panel from the 6th/7th c. was discovered by Stein in the small temple D X of Dandan Oilik, Xinjiang, China. It illustrates the legends mentioned by Xuanzang which tell of how Khotan acquired the secret of sericulture. On the left a woman with outstretched arm points towards the headdress of the Chinese princess in which are hidden the eggs of the silk-moth and mulberry seeds. On the right sits the four-armed tutelary god of weavers, on the far right a woman works at a loom. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

Jade, Silk and Paper

Khotan was renowned not just for its Buddhist monasteries but also for its industry, and especially for the mining and working of jade, sericulture and papermaking. Since it is unchanged by time or wear, jade had been prized as a symbol of immortality in China since around 6000 BCE. The term jade refers to two distinct, monomineralic rocks: jadeite and nephrite. Nephrite, which is particularly hard, was used almost exclusively until the eighteenth century in China, whereas jadeite, which was imported from Burma, became popular only in the nineteenth century.[252] As Chinese nephrite deposits began to run out towards the end of the second millennium BCE, Khotan became China's main supplier. Khotan's enormous nephrite deposits lay in the Kun Lun Mountains, from where two parallel-flowing rivers, the *Yurung Kash* (White Jade) and the *Kara Kash* (Black Jade), ran north into the Tarim Basin. The annual snow and glacier melt brings vast volumes of water down to the plain, and with it nephrite boulders that were easily collected when the torrents had abated. The great importance of jade to China found expression in the name of the fort strategically located on the country's westernmost border, called the *Yumen Guan* or 'Jade Gate'.

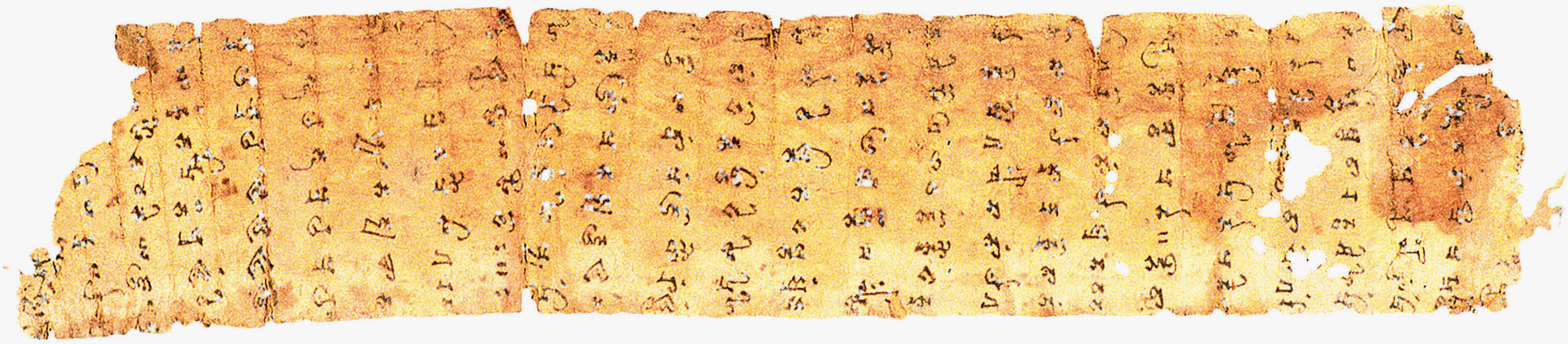
Another important branch of economic activity in Khotan was sericulture. While the production of silk thread and its weaving into fabric had been known in south-east China since the middle of the third millennium BCE, China had succeeded in keeping the process secret for almost 3,000 years. As the *Annals of Li Yul* and Xuanzang report, it was only in the third century CE that Vijaya Jaya, the fourteenth king of Khotan, succeeded in solving the mystery by means of a ruse. The king informed his Chinese bride-to-be, via a messenger, that there was no silk to be had in his kingdom and that she would have to make her own arrangements if she wished to have any. 'The princess, hearing these words, secretly procured the seed of the mulberry and silkworm eggs and concealed them in her headdress.'[253] Larvae of the domesticated silkmoth (*Bombyx mori*) hatched from the eggs, and plantations of mulberry trees could be grown from the seeds to provide leaves for the hungry silkworms. As a devout Buddhist, however, the princess forbade that the cocoons be thrown into boiling water to kill the pupae: 'It is not permitted to kill the silkworm! After the butterfly has gone, [thus breaking the cocoon] then the silk may be twined off.'[254] A third- or fourth-century date for the beginning of Khotanese sericulture is also made plausible by the fact that Aurel Stein discovered in Niya, abandoned towards the end of the fourth century, the traces of a mulberry plantation.[255] It is doubtful, though, that the killing of the pupae was really forbidden, for a burst cocoon yields shorter and therefore inferior threads. The by-products were also used – floss silk in clothes production, and the puparium inside the cocoon to make valuable silk paper. In addition, the excreta of the caterpillars could be used for fertiliser, and the killed pupae fed to livestock or used for the production of oils and soaps.[256]

Yet Khotan was not able to enjoy the monopoly of silk to the west of China for very long, since by the fifth century CE both Sogdiana and Iran had begun producing silk and silk fabrics.[257] Iran's Sassanids, more interested in the export of their own silk than in through transport, successfully blocked trade between Central Asia and Byzantium, prompting the latter to try and circumvent the obstacle, Iran. The historian Procopius reports that shortly after 540 CE, on request of Emperor Justinian (r. 527–565), Nestorian monks brought back silkworm eggs from 'Serindia', so that 'from that time onward silk [was] produced in the lands of the Romans'.[258] When not long afterwards, in winter 568/69, a Sogdian-Turkic embassy reached Byzantium, hoping amongst other things to establish direct trade relations, Justin II proudly showed them his domestic sericulture.[259] There were now five centres of silk production: Central China, the Tarim Basin, Sogdiana, Iran, and to a lesser extent, Byzantium. The secret of silk would reach Western Europe only more than 500 years later, when in 1147 King Roger II of Sicily (r. 1130–54) pillaged such Byzantine-Greek cities as Athens, Thebes and Corinth and while doing so kidnapped silk growers and took them back to Sicily to establish silk production there. Its later spread to mainland Italy would contribute to the economic expansion of that country's city republics.

From the fifth or sixth century CE onward, Khotan also had a thriving paper industry, a craft it adopted from China and still practises today. Paper had been invented in China in the time of the Western Han (202 BCE–9 CE). The oldest surviving paper in the world, dated to between 176 and 141 BCE, was discovered in Fangmatan, Gansu, in 1986, and may represent a small section of a map.[260] There are more than half a dozen known examples of paper from the pre-Christian era, of which that discovered at Xuanquan in 1990 and that found at the Jade Gate in 2006 are inscribed; dating from 8 BCE, this last has 20 legible Chinese characters.[261] Somewhat resembling felt, these early papers have a rough surface and were also used for wrapping. The pulp was made from hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) and similar plant fibres mixed with waste silk. Until recently celebrated as the inventor of paper, the administrator Cai Lun (*ca.* 50–121 CE) didn't so much discover as refine it. To give the paper a smoother and less porous surface, making it easier to write on, he developed the idea of preparing the slurry with bast or inner bark, hemp fibre, textile waste and old fishing nets. This finer pulp more easily entered into suspension, which made it possible to produce a stronger paper with a more consistent distribution of fibre.[262]

In China, at that time, short documents were written on thin strips of bamboo, on wood, or on silk; for books, bamboo strips would be bound together with thread. Bamboo, however, was hard to work, silk was expensive, and wood was unwieldy but easily sanded, which facilitated forgery. Paper was cheap, light, and forgery-proof. As is witnessed by finds of paper from Loulan, it came increasingly into use from the second half of the third century CE, even if wooden tablets were still used for local documents. Only with paper was it possible to satisfy Buddhism's enormous demand for an everyday writing material. The sutras were not just written down and circulated for the instruction of monks; it was also believed to be highly meritorious to have them copied many times and sealed within a statue or a newly constructed stupa. Furthermore, in Vajrayana or Tantric Buddhism extremely concise texts of great protective power, called *dharani*, enjoyed considerable popularity among monks and laypeople alike, not only encouraging the production of paper but also spurring the invention of block printing. The block print process, whose roots may be found in the 5,000-year-old cylinder seals of the Mesopotamians, the clay seals of the Chinese Shang dynasty (17th–11th. c. BCE) and the stone rubbings of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE), developed in China in the early eighth century CE, from where it rapidly spread to Korea and Japan.[263] The oldest complete and precisely dated Chinese woodblock book is the Diamond Sutra of 868, which Aurel Stein bought in Dunhuang. The sutra was printed on seven sheets of white paper that were pasted together to form a scroll over five metres long. The high quality of the printing indicates the early maturity of a printing industry established in the mid-seventh century.[264] Paper played another important role in Khotan's economy in the form of letters of credit, which in some respects prefigure paper money.[265]

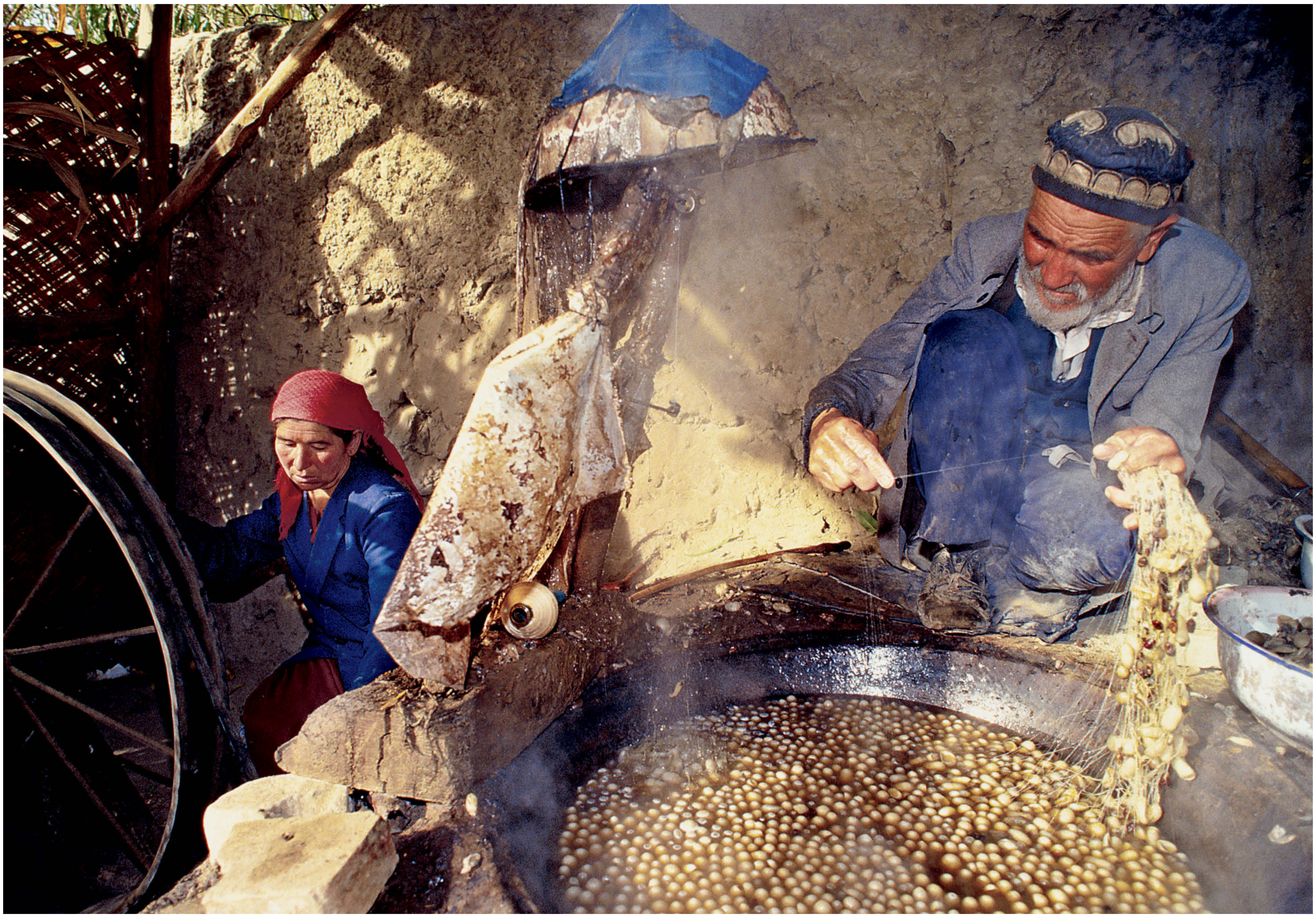
In 1620 Francis Bacon described paper, together with gunpowder and the compass in the form of a floating, magnetised needle, as one of the three inventions that changed the world.[266] When precisely the art of papermaking reached Sogdiana is



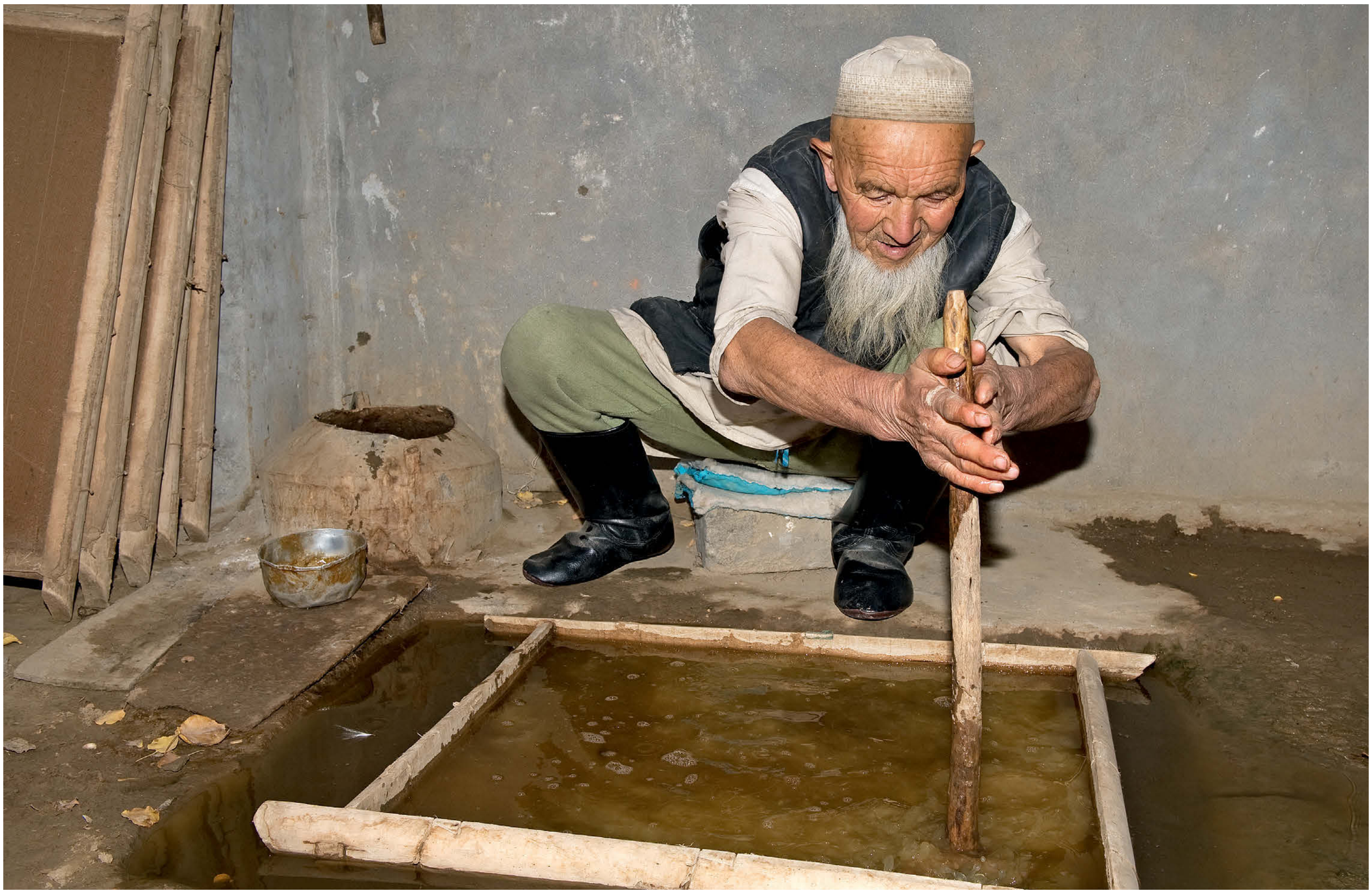
119. This paper document measuring 40 x 8 cm, inscribed on both sides with at least 27 lines of text, was found in 1998 near the ancient rubbish dump D 18 in Dandan Oilik. The document in Middle Khotanese, written in cursive, modified Brahmi script from the 7th/8th c., contains a Buddhist spell against illness and accidents.[12] Archaeological Institute, Urumqi.

disputed. In the early fifteenth century, the Muslim historian al-Tha'alibi cited the Persian geographer Ibn Khordadbeh (*ca.* 820–912) in this regard: 'Among the specialities of Samarkand is paper. The author [Ibn Khordadbeh] of *The Book of Roads and Kingdoms* [now lost] reports that paper reached Samarkand from China through prisoners of war. It was Ziyad bin Salih who captured them [at the Battle of Talas in 751 AD], and there were among them some who could make paper. From then on, papermaking increased and was soon an important article of trade for the inhabitants of Samarkand.'[267] If one credits this report, the Chinese army that Ziyad bin Salih defeated in 751 included papermakers who were taken to Samarkand as prisoners. It should be noted, however, that the author says explicitly that 'from then on, papermaking increased', signifying that paper was already being made in Samarkand. It is likely that Chinese traders had been exporting paper to Samarkand since around 658 or 659, when China established a nominal protectorate over Sogdiana.[268] From Samarkand, papermaking rapidly spread to the Abbasid Empire, whose capital Baghdad saw its first paper mill established in 794.

The tradition of artisan papermaking is still maintained today by a family in Moyu, a suburb of Khotan. Tokhti Beg, a papermaker of the seventh generation, uses the inner bark of the mulberry and produces his paper using the traditional pouring method (fig. 121). Like his predecessors, he pounds the inner bark by hand with a hammer, then boils the resulting mass in a wooden vat. Tokhti Beg produces his 120 x 80 centimetre paper in two qualities: the coarse one is bought by locals to close gaps around their windows in winter, while he sells the fine papers to the local imam for calligraphic purposes.



120. One of the steps in traditional silk production in Khotan, Xinjiang, China. By the time the silkworm has reached a length of *ca.* 70 mm, it has spun very fine and elastic filaments and enclosed itself in a cocoon. The filaments are produced by two salivary glands below the mouth, which secrete a viscous fluid. To prevent the moth from breaking through the cocoon, now weighing 3 g, when it is ready to emerge, which would tear apart the silk thread, the cocoon is immersed in boiling water which kills the pupa and at the same time softens the natural gum coating the filaments and holding them together. The cocoon can now be unravelled. The man in the photo is drawing up the filaments of some 30 silk cocoons, and the woman is winding up the resulting bundles on a reeling wheel.

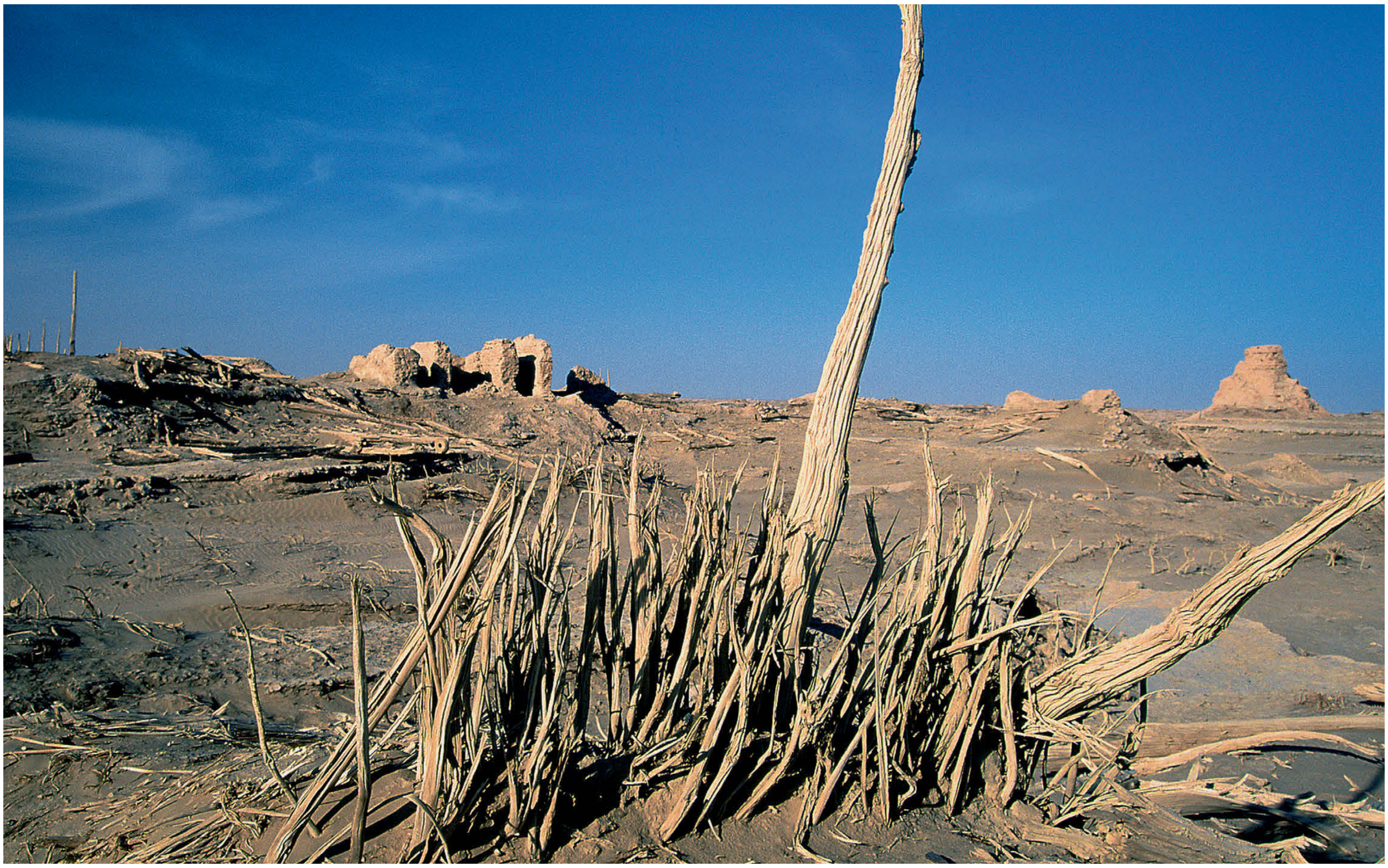


121. **The papermaker Tokhti Beg in Moyu, one of the last papermakers in the Khotan Oasis, produces his sheets of paper using the ancient pouring technique. For the pulp he uses the white innermost bark of the mulberry tree. After peeling off the bark, the fibres are boiled, beaten and suspended in about two litres of water. They are then poured into the frame lying in the water. With the help of a wooden stick Tokhti Beg distributes the pulp evenly over the whole frame, and the fibres cross over to form an interlocked web. Then he lifts the frame out of the water and stands it upright, leaving the paper to dry outdoors in the sun.**

2.3 The Kingdom of Shan-shan

In 175 CE the kingdom of Shan-shan, with its capital at or near today's Ruoqiang, regained the independence it had lost some 50 years earlier under pressure from China's General Ban Yong, though from 222 it had to pay sporadic tribute again to the Chinese Wei dynasty (220–265).[269] During this period, Shan-shan annexed the little kingdom of Cadota (Niya), and thus came to comprise the five princedoms of Kroraina (Loulan, including Miran), Calmadana (Chümo/Qiemo), Saca (Endere), Cadota (Jingjue, Niya) and Nina (today's Minfeng).[270] Shan-shan's ties to China were strengthened under the Western Jin (265–316), following General So Man's establishment of a thousand-man *tuntian* or military colony in Loulan not long after 260.[271] Many written documents, mostly dated from Loulan L.A. between 264 and 330, testify to this increasing contact between Shan-shan and the Western Jin.[272] China's growing influence also found expression in the fact that in the seventeenth year of his reign, in 263, King Amgoka (r. *ca*. 247–285) suddenly adopted an additional – Chinese – title, indicating his entering into a vassal relationship.[273] Equally revealing is a document dated from Loulan L.A. in 330, written in the name of the last emperor of the Western Jin, whose dynasty had fallen in 316! By 324 at the latest the Former Liang dynasty (320–76) had taken possession of the mighty fortress of Haitou (Stein's L.K.),[274] which stood between Loulan L.A. and Shan-shan's capital at Ruoqiang, so it is clear that the Loulan L.A. garrison was entirely cut off from both China and Shan-shan. Not much later, in 335, the Former Liang, with military bases at Haitou, Yumen near Dunhuang, and Gaochang (Turfan), launched an offensive against Shan-shan.

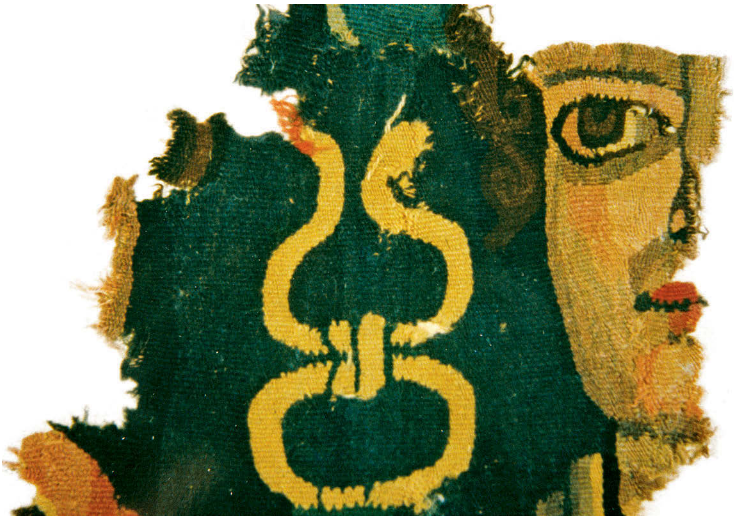
Given its location on the Southern Silk Road, easily reached from Turfan, Shan-shan was always in the sights of its more powerful neighbours. In 381 it had to submit to the Former Qin (351–394), and in 442 it was invaded by the Northern Liang, who



122. The important garrison town of Loulan, in Gandhari Kroraina, which was discovered by Sven Hedin in 1901 and named L.A. by Aurel Stein. In the foreground a former pounded-earth wall, which was reinforced with poplar and tamarisk branches, in the background the brick-built royal palace, and on the right the ten-metre-high Buddhist stupa, which Hedin misinterpreted as a watchtower. Xinjiang, China.

were in flight from the Northern Wei. Incapable of standing his ground and taking refuge at Calmadana (Chümo), King Bilong entrusted his son Zhenta with the defence of his kingdom against the invaders. But when a Northern Wei army approached in 445, King Zhenta capitulated.[275] With the gradual shift of trade to the Northern Silk Road the Shan-shan region declined in importance. The Northern Wei were very soon followed by the Tuyuhun, then by more or less light-handed foreign rule under the Rouran, the Hephthalites and the Western Turks. The seventh century did see a revival of trade on the Southern Silk Road, as is witnessed by the establishment of four new Sogdian cities by a Sogdian chief from Samarkand named Kang Yandian.[276] These four cities built between 627 and 649 in the area between Qiemo, Vash-shari and Charklik are a significant indicator that trade along the Southern Silk Road had grown in importance, not least because a trade route led from Charklik to Lhasa, capital of the rapidly growing kingdom of Tibet.

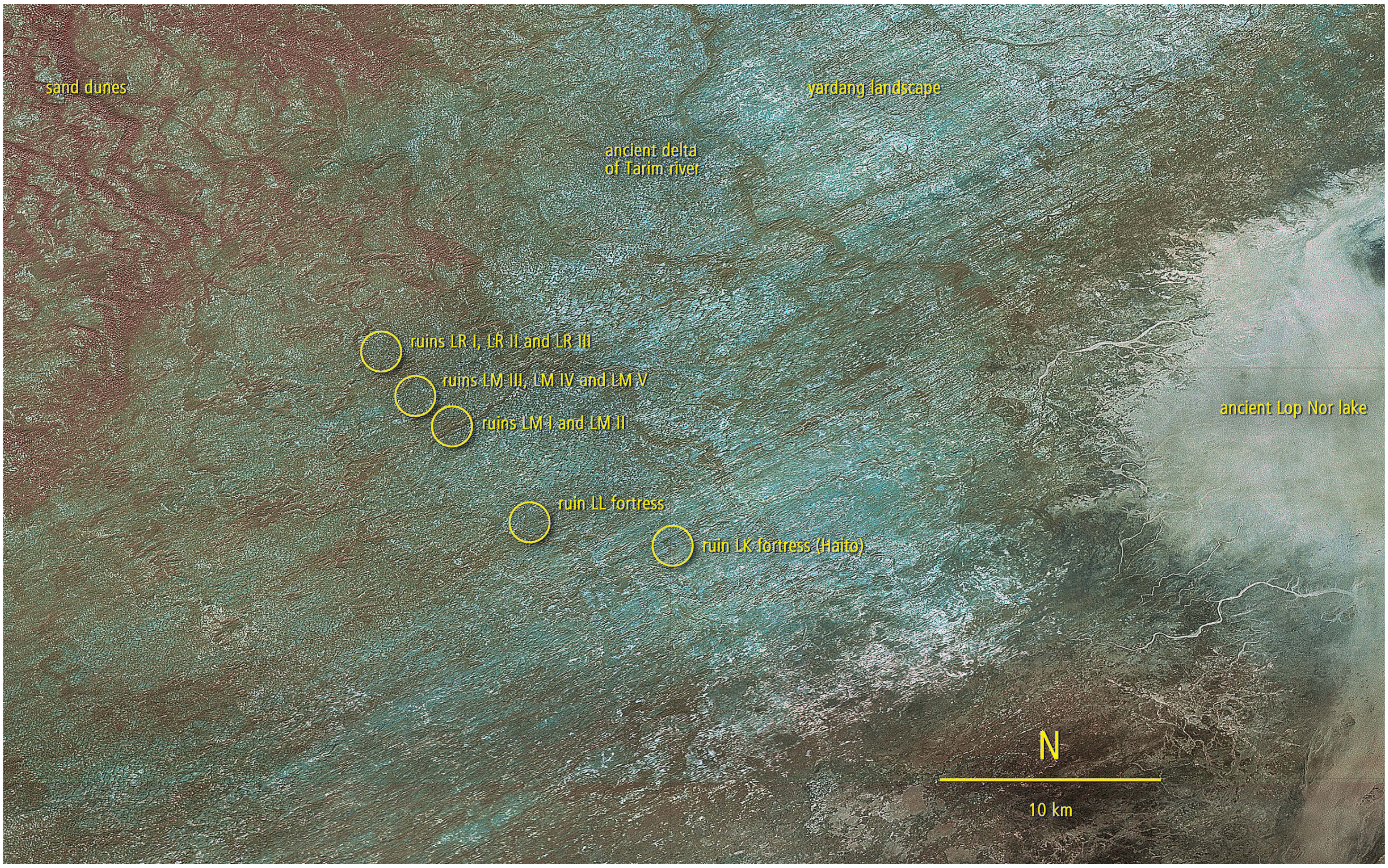
Shan-shan's politically unsettled history under the covetous gaze of both China and the nomadic horsemen of the north also finds



123. Fragment of a woollen shroud from the necropolis L.C. of Loulan, *ca.* 1st–3rd c. CE. Depicted on it is the Greek god Hermes with his staff, the caduceus; in Greek mythology Hermes was also the conductor of souls into the underworld. Xinjiang, China. National Museum New Delhi.

expression in its many fortresses and heavily fortified settlements, such as L.E. in the eastern Lop Nor, its first capital Loulan L.A., the two fortresses L.K. (Haitou) and L.L., Merdek and Miran. First mentioned in 176 BCE, the city of **Loulan**, whose Chinese name is probably a phonetic rendering of the Prakrit name Kroraina,[277] was transformed by General Ban Yong, around 123–24, into a substantial military colony controlling the Southern Silk Road. In the following century, Kroraina developed into an important centre of Buddhism, whose skyline was dominated by a massive stupa of three superimposed square bases surmounted by an octagonal drum. The central Buddhist administration for the whole of Shan-shan was probably located here.[278] Thirteen kilometres north-west of the fortified city there also stood the complex of L.B., with two Buddhist temples. Many architectural elements of carved wood, such as friezes, door lintels and decorated columns, show a significant similarity to comparable objects from Kushan-period Gandhara and Afghanistan.[279] The finds of woollen cloth imported from the eastern Mediterranean, which reminded Stein to some extent of Coptic textiles, underline the fact that Loulan, though politically subordinated to China, was culturally turned to the West. Outstanding among these finds of fabric is the fragment of a shroud with a classical-looking Hermes and caduceus, discovered at the cemetery L.C. (fig. 123).[280] This orientation to both West and East, characteristic not only of Loulan but of Shan-shan as a whole, was also reflected in a dual administrative structure: while the highest administrative and military bodies employed Chinese in their communications, the local authorities used Prakrit written in Kharoshthi script, like the merchants and the Buddhist monks.[281]

Loulan's survival depended on irrigation channels fed by the Konqe Darya, whose delta opened on to the endorheic old Lop Nor Lake. On the north-west coast of the lake stood **Tuyin** (Tuken), which Chinese archaeologists have interpreted as Loulan's harbour and terminus for river-borne traffic along the Konqe Darya.[282] The authorities were aware of the dangers of uncontrolled deforestation, for in the third century they issued the following decrees, drawn up in Kharoshthi: 'Whoever fells a tree with its roots will be fined one horse', and 'It is forbidden to fell trees in their growing period. Offenders will be fined

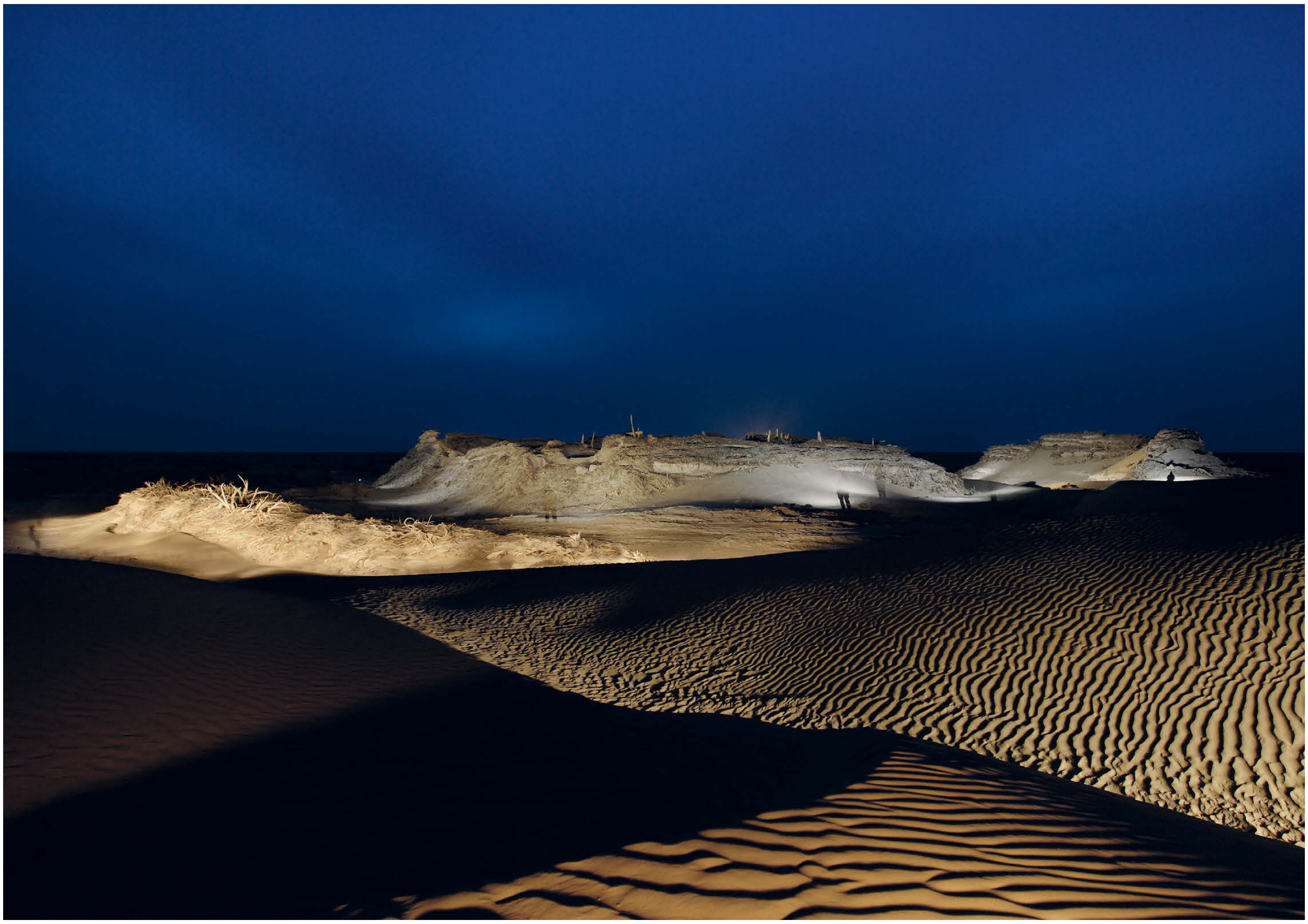


124. Satellite photo of the ruin complex of the forts L.K. and L.L. as well as the settlements L.M. and L.R. in the centre of the Lop Desert. In the upper portion, the former courses of the tributaries of the Tarim and the Kuruk Darya can be clearly seen. The diagonally hatched white areas are *yardangs*, and on the right, compact silt deposits on the bed of the former Lop Nor lake are visible.

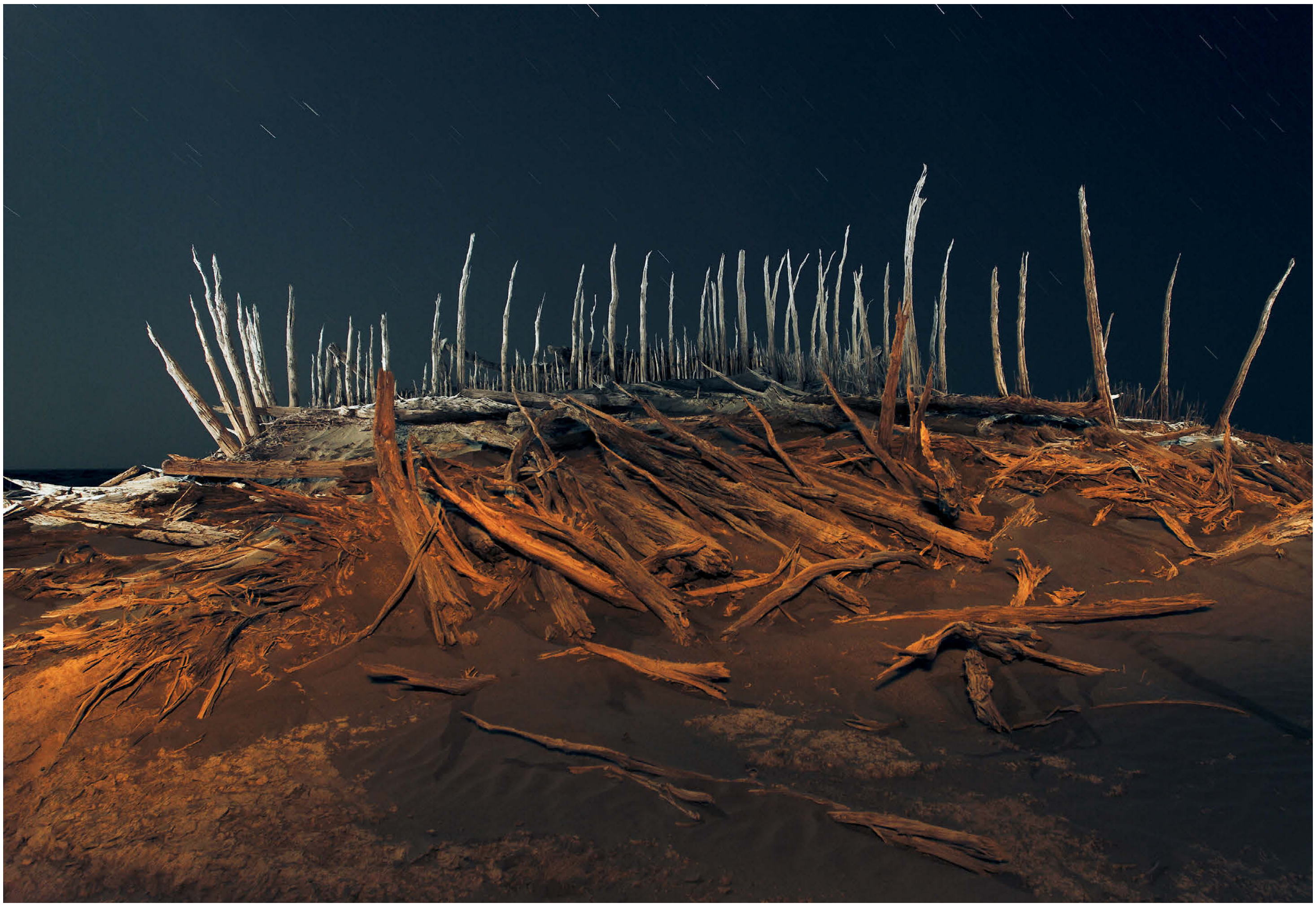
one cow.'[283] Towards the end of the fourth century, however, as an increasing proportion of the Tarim's waters began to flow southward along a different bed, the Konqe Darya ran dry, robbing Loulan of its essential conditions of existence.

Fifty kilometres south-west of Loulan, on the road to Miran, stood the fortresses of **Haitou**, Stein's **L.K.** (figs. 95f), and **L.L.** (fig. 125), together with the settlements **L.M.** and **L.R.** Like the Great Wall west of Dunhuang, the two fortresses were constructed of alternating layers of mudbrick and tamarisk branches, a technique that withstood the fierce sandstorms and continuous wind.[284] Extending over 15 kilometres, this fortress and settlement complex was located in the delta of a south-flowing tributary of the Konqe Darya, its banks covered in thick alluvial forest, whose existence is evidenced today by trees that died some 1,600 years ago. Why the two fortresses L.K. and L.L. should have been built within five kilometres of each other remains a puzzle. Both built in the same period as Loulan L.A., they represent significant garrisons on Shan-shan's eastern flank, lost to the Former Liang by 324 at the latest. The discovery of fragments of Sogdian letters at the fortress L.L. and the settlement L.M. shows that Sogdian merchants stayed there, as they did at L.A.[285] The fact that these four sites were also culturally oriented to the West is evident in the wooden volute capitals in the Ionic style discovered by both Stein and the present author, very similar to the Loulan capitals and those of the Miran pilasters.[286] Shortage of water led to the abandonment of both fortresses, probably in the late fourth century. The fortress of **Yingpan**, on the other hand, standing at the junction of two trade routes – the one from Dunhuang via Loulan to Karashahr and Kucha, and the other coming from Ruoqiang and Merdek – remained manned until the Tang dynasty.[287]

Miran, which was first visited by Przhevalsky in 1876, was settled twice, like Endere.[288] At first, it was an important city of



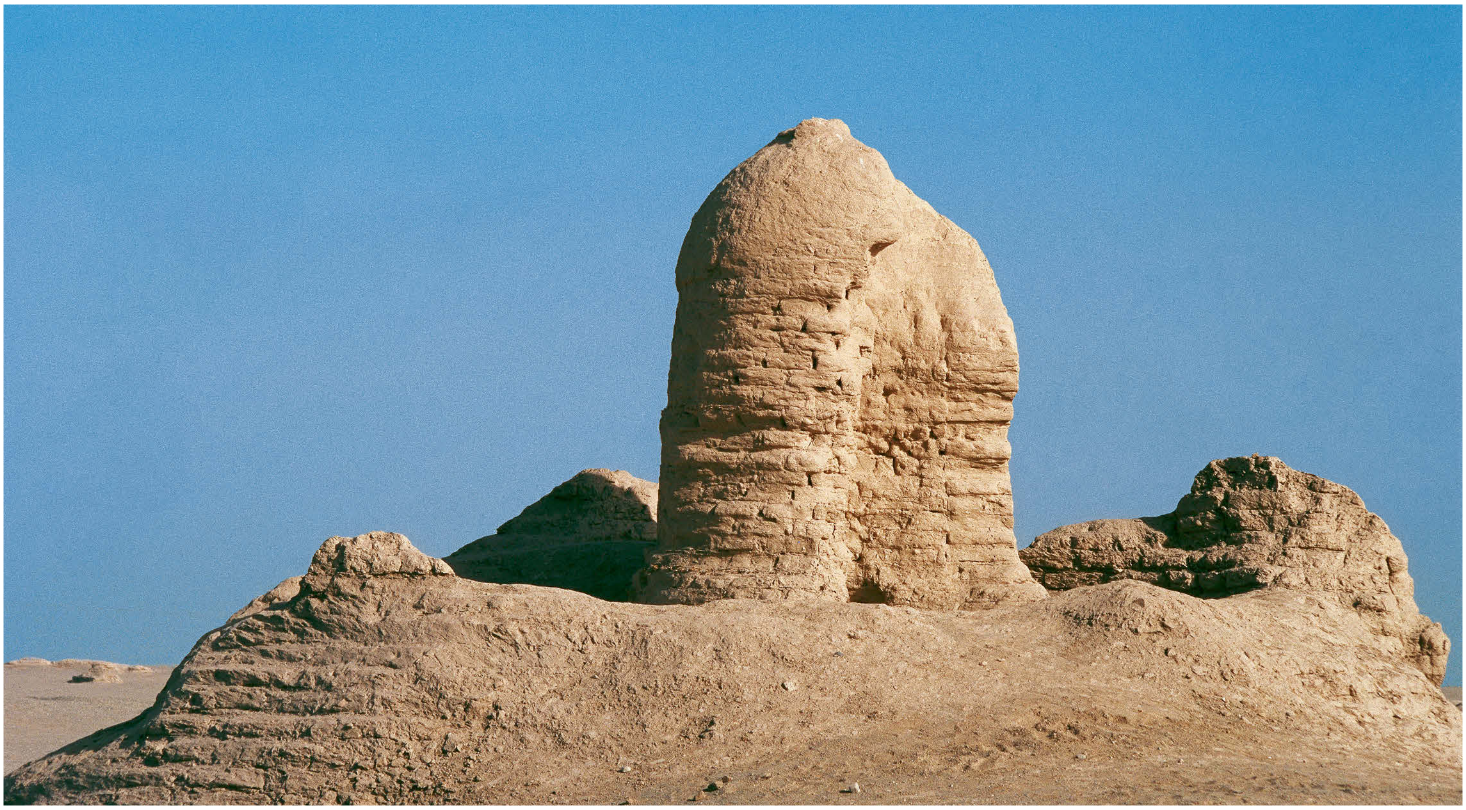
125. The south-east side of the fort L.L., which was abandoned around the end of the 4th c., Lop Desert, Xinjiang, China. The broad gap in the pounded-earth wall on the far right was caused by the wind.



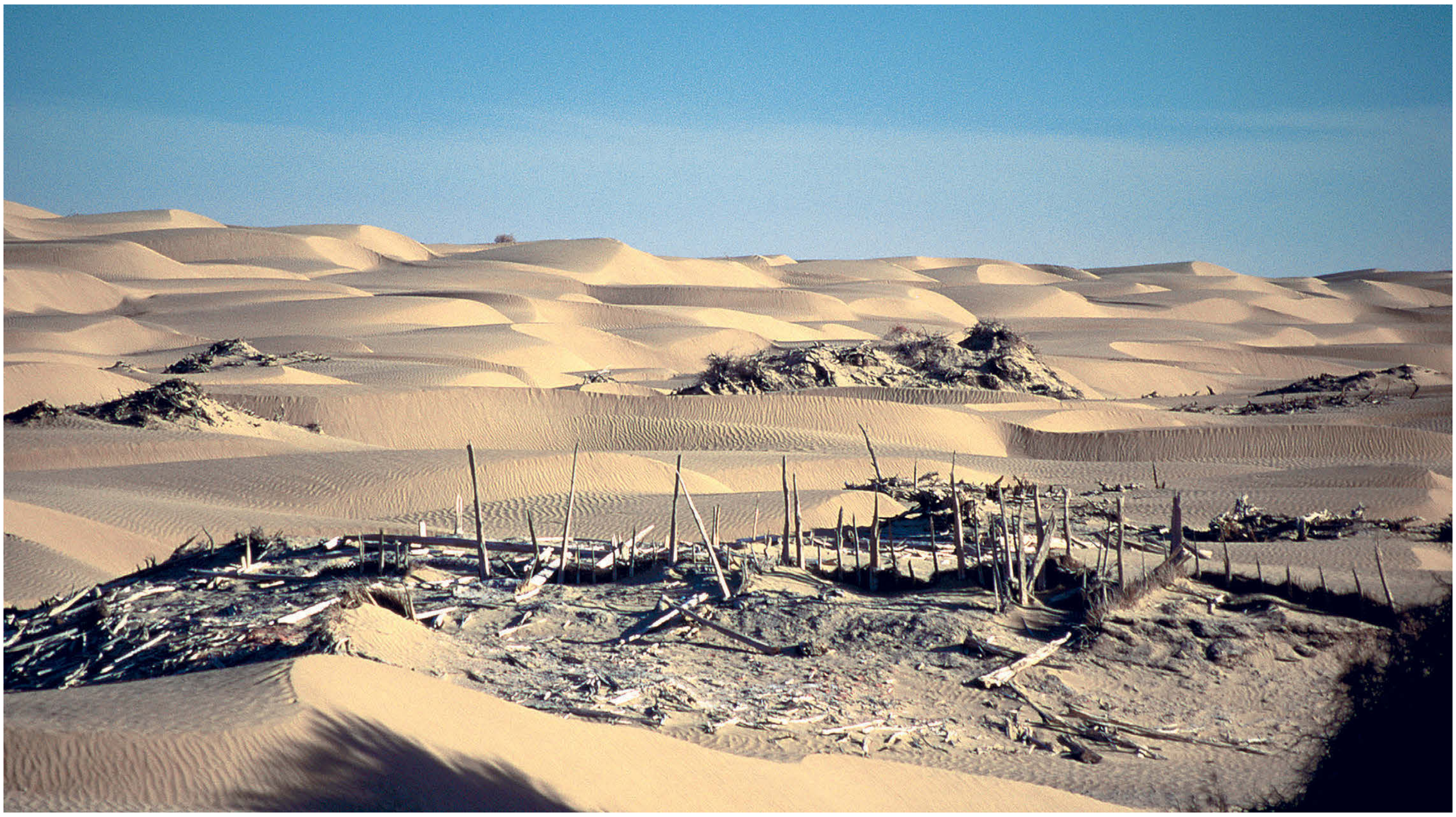
126. The ruin of the large house L.R.iii, Lop Desert, Xinjiang, China. Like the neighbouring settlement L.M. and the forts L.K. and L.L., the small settlement L.R. was abandoned around the end of the 4th c. The house stood on a natural elevation on the shores of a small body of water, as was established in 2007 by the find of dozens of freshwater snails of the species *Radix auricularia* (syn. *R. limnaea*). All that is left of the house are the internal supports made of poplar; those that remained standing were worn down to thin struts by the wind, whereas the ones that fell to the ground early retained their original circumference.

Shan-shan, perhaps even its capital, and a great centre of Buddhism, as evidenced by the dozen or so shrines, stupas and monasteries investigated by Aurel Stein.[289] He made his most outstanding finds at the small stupas M. III (fig. 127) and M. V and the monastery M. II. Each of the two stupas on circular bases stood within a domed rotunda whose inner wall echoed the circularity of the stupa, while the outer wall followed a square plan. On entering, the pilgrim could perform the ritual circumambulation and admire the wall paintings that formed at least three friezes on the inner wall. Amongst other motifs, these featured winged genii (fig. 94) and putti, groups of young men, either naked or dressed in tunics and Phrygian caps and bearing heavy garlands (fig. 129), scenes from the Visvantara-Jataka,[290] and the teaching Buddha with disciples.[291] With their strong eastern Mediterranean influences, these wall paintings of the second half of the third century[292] show a similarity to the art of Gandhara. At monastery M. II, Stein excavated the clay fragments of six colossal seated Buddhas[293] which seem to anticipate the colossal seated Buddha of Cave 20 in Yungang. They date to the first half of the fifth century, but it was not long after this that Miran lost its population, probably as a result of Shan-shan's collapse in 445.

It was the Tibetans who resuscitated Miran when after 756 they pushed forward into the Tarim Basin again, more forcibly this time, building a strong fortress at Miran and imitating the Chinese example by establishing a self-sufficient military colony. Soldiers and their families, traders and administrative officials lived in and around the fortress. This stood at a highly strategic location, at the junction of the routes to Lhasa and those to Dunhuang in the east, Turfan and Besh Baliq in the north, and Khotan and the Pamirs in the west. In the fort of Miran, Stein discovered 61 pieces



127. Stupa M III of Miran, where Sir Aurel Stein discovered in 1907 very well preserved Buddhist wall paintings from the 2nd half of the 3rd c. Xinjiang, China.

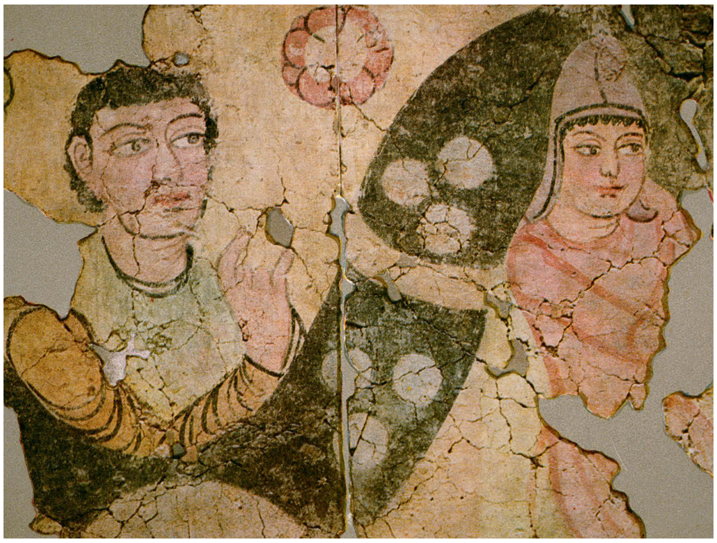


128. The house ruins N I in Niya, where Sir Aurel Stein found the first Kharoshthi wooden documents of Niya. A year earlier, the Uyghur treasure hunter Ibrahim had found several inscribed wooden panels in N I but had thrown them away since he did not know what they were. Another treasure hunter picked them up and sold two of them to one of Stein's camel drivers. As soon as Stein saw the Kharoshthi documents, he hired Ibrahim as guide and was thus taken to the findspot N I of Niya.

of carved and lacquered leather scale of oblong shape from the chest armour of Tibetan soldiers.[294] The body armour used by the medieval Tibetan soldiers 'is called lamellar armour. This type of armour is made up of horizontal rows of small overlapping plates joined by leather lacing. Two features of lamellar armour distinguish it from scale and other types of armour. First, the plates are laced to one another rather than to a lining or other kind of support material, and second, the rows of lamellae always overlap upwards. Lamellar armour was probably in use in Tibet from at least the seventh or eighth century.'[295] Stein also noticed the similarity between the Tibetan body armour and the armour worn by the small stucco figurine he had found at the site of Shorchuk (Mingoï) of Karashahr (fig. 131).[296] The collapse of Tibetan power around 860 then saw the fortress abandoned and left to ruin.[297]

West of Miran stood the two cities of **Calmadana** (Chümo/ Qiemo) and **Tuhuoluo** (Endere), which Xuanzang found abandoned when he travelled through in 644, but which were resettled not long afterwards by the resurgent Chinese.[298] By 660 there was again a garrison in Calmadana, which was renamed Po Xien around 674; arriving there around 1273, Marco Polo described a little town called Cherchen (Qiemo).[299] As at Miran, the first phase of settlement in Tuhuoluo extends from the first to the fifth centuries CE, as testified by a number of stupas (fig. 130) and temples with wall paintings for the most part now lost. After the Chinese drove the Tibetans out of the Tarim Basin in 692, they built a strong fortress in the eastern part of the abandoned city, 110 metres in diameter, whose walls still stand 8 metres high today. After 717, however, the Tibetans renewed their attack on the Four Garrisons, a fact reflected in a Chinese sgraffito at Endere that dates to 719.[300] Scratched into a wall of the commandant's palace there, a Tibetan sgraffito probably dating to after 756 boasts in colourful language of a Tibetan victory over a Chinese army: 'At Phygpag, province of Upper Jomlom, this [Chinese] army was outwitted, and a tiger's meal was obtained [i.e. many were killed]. Eat until you are fat (fig. 241).'[301] Endere would be abandoned at the same time as Miran.

In contrast to the mostly religious buildings at Dandan Oilik, those discovered by archaeologists at **Niya** (Jingjue) were almost exclusively secular. Of the hundred ruins in this city, which extended along part of what is now the dried-up bed of the Niya Darya, 45 kilometres long and on average 5 kilometres wide, a six-metre-high late-third-century stupa and two Buddhist temples were the only religious buildings found.[302] Most of the ruins stand on low silt or loess terraces, indicating that the area was subject to flooding, caused by the snow melt in the Kun Lun Mountains. As in other desert settlements, only specially constructed buildings have stood up to wind and sandstorm. These buildings have poplar wood piles rammed into the ground, between which were laid walls of silt interspersed with tamarisk branches and reeds. Niya had a heterogeneous population of Prakrit-speaking immigrants from the region of Taxila, in today's Pakistani Punjab,[303] Chinese administrative officials,[304] and probably an elite from a background of Saka nomadic horsemen, as may be supposed from the evidence of the princely graves M3 and M8, since both of them contained a Hunnic recurve bow and a combination bow case and double quiver.[305] Revealing in two respects is a wooden tablet Stein discovered in the 'ancient rubbish heap' in room N.xv, a legal document of the third to fourth century, which tells of a man called 'the *vasu* Yonu', from whom a slave was stolen when the north Tibetan Supi tribe raided Calmadana (Qiemo).[306] We learn from this that north Tibetan tribes were already conducting raids into the Tarim Basin by the third or fourth century, and that the robbed slave owner was Greek, or of Greek extraction, since his name is derived from the Sanskrit *Yavana*, the word used in the Kushan Empire for 'Greek'. Greek influence is evident not only in seal impressions showing Pallas Athene or Hermes but in a second-century CE wax-resist-dyed linen fragment showing a naked goddess holding a cornucopia with grapes tumbling out.[307] This is probably either Ardoxsho, the goddess of riches popular among the Kushans, or Hariti, similarly depicted with a cornucopia in Gandhara.[308] Niya was abandoned in the second half of the fourth century, presumably because of shortage of water.



129. The garland motif, painted by an artist called Titus, who probably came from the eastern Mediterranean, goes back to similar decorations of temple friezes, altars and stone sarcophagi from Asia Minor. Miran Stupa M V, Xinjiang, China. Buddhism adopted the Dionysian garland motif as the expression of a gift to a stupa. National Museum New Delhi.

3. The Northern Silk Road

3.1 The Kingdom of Kucha

According to the *Han Shu*, the kingdom of **Kucha** (Qiuchi) was the largest in the Western Regions, with 81,317 inhabitants, including 21,076 who were fit to bear arms.[309] It stood at the other end of the spaced chain of watchtowers that began at Dunhuang. Although the kingdom fell within range of the northern nomadic horsemen, it profited from its location on the Northern Silk Road, and its capital developed into a wealthy centre of trade and culture. Kucha's economic strength was also reflected in the fact that, faced with the threat of regional demonetisation due to the collapse of the Chinese Han dynasty in 220, it began to issue its own coinage. Kucha adopted the form of the Chinese *wuzhu*, a round coin with a square hole, whose name means 'five grains'. Like their Chinese models, Kucha's copper and bronze coins were not hammered but cast in moulds. Three types of small-denomination coins were circulated in large numbers: true copies of Chinese *wuzhu* coins with inscriptions, copies without inscriptions, and bilingual coins with Chinese and Kuchean inscriptions. Produced into the seventh century, Kuchean coins were accepted as means of payment throughout the Tarim Basin. Because of their low value, *wuzhu* coins would be assembled in strings of 100, 500 or 1,000, by passing a cord through the hole. As the coins remained in circulation for

130. The 8-metre-high stupa, the highest in Endere, from the later 3rd c. Xuanzang called the city Tuhuolo and described it as abandoned in 644, but it was rebuilt after 692 and conquered by Tibet around the mid-8th c.

centuries, they are not very useful for the dating of finds. Kucha's wealth, however, was based not only on trade, but on its great success in the raising of horses.[310]

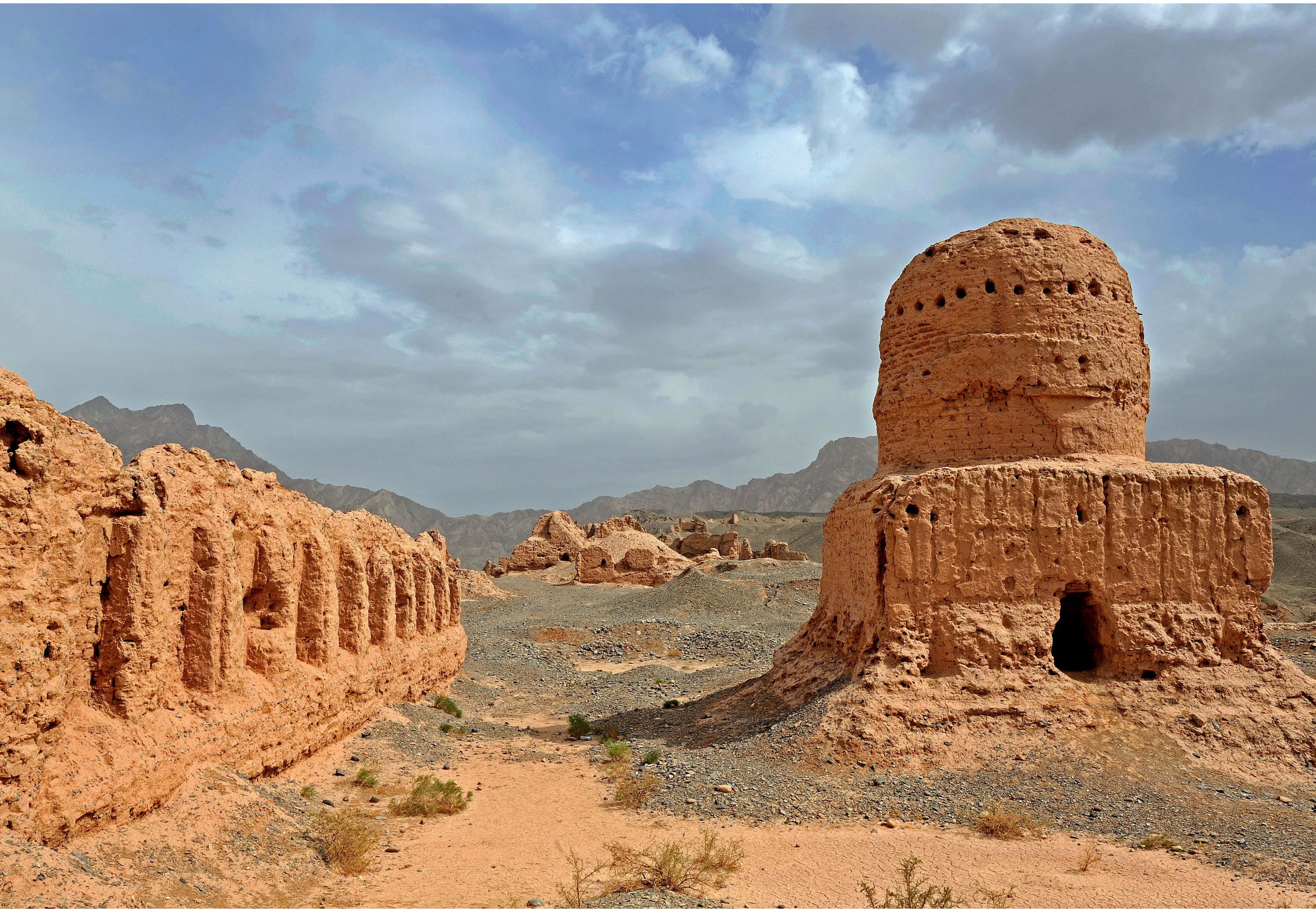
Kucha's wealth attracted envy, all the more as trade in the second half of the fourth century increasingly abandoned the Southern Silk Road for the Northern Silk Road, and Kucha threatened to capture the lion's share for itself. In 381 the kings of Shan-shan and Jushi (Jiaohe, Turfan) begged the powerful Former Qin (351–394) ruler Fu Jian (r. 357–85) to intervene and put Kucha and its ally Karashahr back in their place.[311] Committed to an expansionary foreign policy, Fu Jian sent General Lu Guang, who in 383 conquered Kucha after Karashahr surrendered.[312] Lu Guang's biography tells of Kucha's cavalry that 'they were skilful with arrows and horses and good with short and long spears. Their armour was like chain link; even if one shoots it, [the arrow] cannot go in.'[313] This description of riders in chain mail is confirmed by the wall paintings of Kizil and the clay figures of Karashahr, which show warriors with Sassanian chain mail and lamellar armour (fig. 131). When, however, General Lu Guang heard of the historic defeat that Fu Jian had in the meantime suffered at the hands of the Eastern Jin, he declared independence, founding in Gansu the short-lived dynasty of the Later Liang (386–403).[314]

Among the trophies Lu Guang took with him to Wuwei in Gansu were not only countless horses but also Kucha's most famous inhabitant, the Buddhist scholar and translator Kumarajiva (344–413). The latter's father was a nobleman from Kashmir,

his mother a Kuchean princess. He had first studied Hinayana Sarvastivadin Buddhism in Tibet, before immersing himself in the teachings of the Madhayamaka school in Kashgar[315] and returning as a celebrated Mahayana master to a Kucha, whose inhabitants were mostly followers of Sarvastivadin Hinayana. In Wuwei, Kumarajiva lived virtually in captivity, being freed only 17 years later by Emperor Yao Xing (r. 394–416) of the East Tibetan Later Qin dynasty (384–417), who brought him to Chang'an in 402. There this Kuchean monk, a speaker of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Chinese, undertook an extraordinary labour of translation. In his Chinese translation of more than 300 texts he avoided the earlier Chinese method of paraphrasing Buddhist concepts by using Daoist and Confucian terms, and his clear and comprehensible translations are still standard works today.[316] Kucha quickly recovered from Lu Guang's attack, as shown by the impressive cave paintings at Kizil and the programme of construction at Subashi; but the kingdom was obliged to pay tribute to whatever great power should dominate the Tarim Basin. While the tribute which the steppe empires exacted from Kucha and other city states was often very real, the demands of the Chinese dynasties represented rather a form of lucrative official barter, for the delegations bringing tribute to China would return home with generous imperial gifts. But when Kucha, a vassal of the Western Turkic Khaganate, responded to the threat of the expansion of Tang dynasty China by forming an alliance with rebellious Karashahr around 647, the emperor Taizong was enraged. In 648 he sent an army of Eastern Turkic, Tiele and Tuyuhun warriors, which overcame Karashahr and Kucha, and in 658 Kucha became the seat of the Chinese Protector-General of Anxi.

131. Painted stucco figure of a standing warrior wearing a long tunic of scale armour and a helmet, and armed with a lance and a shield, 6th c. CE. The long scale armour is similar to Sassanid armour and was widespread in Central Asia. Excavated by Aurel Stein in December 1907 at the findspot Shorchuk (also called Ming-oi and Shikshin); Shorchuk was an important religious centre of the Kingdom of Agni (Yanqi Karashahr) south-west of the Turfan Oasis, Xinjiang, China. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

Buddhism reached Kucha in the early third century, and it rapidly developed into a stronghold of the Sarvastivadin School, the oldest evidence of which is to be found in **Subashi**. This city of monasteries lay just 20 kilometres north-east of today's town, divided by the Kucha river; when Xuanzang visited it in 630, he called the two halves 'East Zhaokuli' and 'West Zhaokuli'.[317] As in Kashgar, he encountered the practice of infant cranial deformation there: 'The children born of common parents have their heads flattened by the pressure of a wooden board.'[318] He was not impressed, though, by Kucha's most famous Buddhist exegete, Moksagupta, his contemporary biographer noting that 'He despised him like dust'.[319] One of the oldest of Subashi's buildings is the South-West Stupa on the Eastern Site (fig. 132), consisting of a three- or four-stepped platform upon which stands a cubic base crowned with a parabolic dome; the form and construction of the stupa recall earlier examples in Swat and Taxila.[320] In West Zhaokuli, the stupa of the principal monastery with its mighty perimeter wall also dates from the early third century; another huge stupa with a square plan with four access ramps, which lead directly to the upper chapel dates to the sixth- to seventh century. Buddhism developed quickly in Kucha, for by the third century it was able to send many learned missionary monks and translators into China;[321] but it remained a bulwark of the Sarvastivadin School, and Xuanzang found Mahayana Buddhism almost unrepresented there.

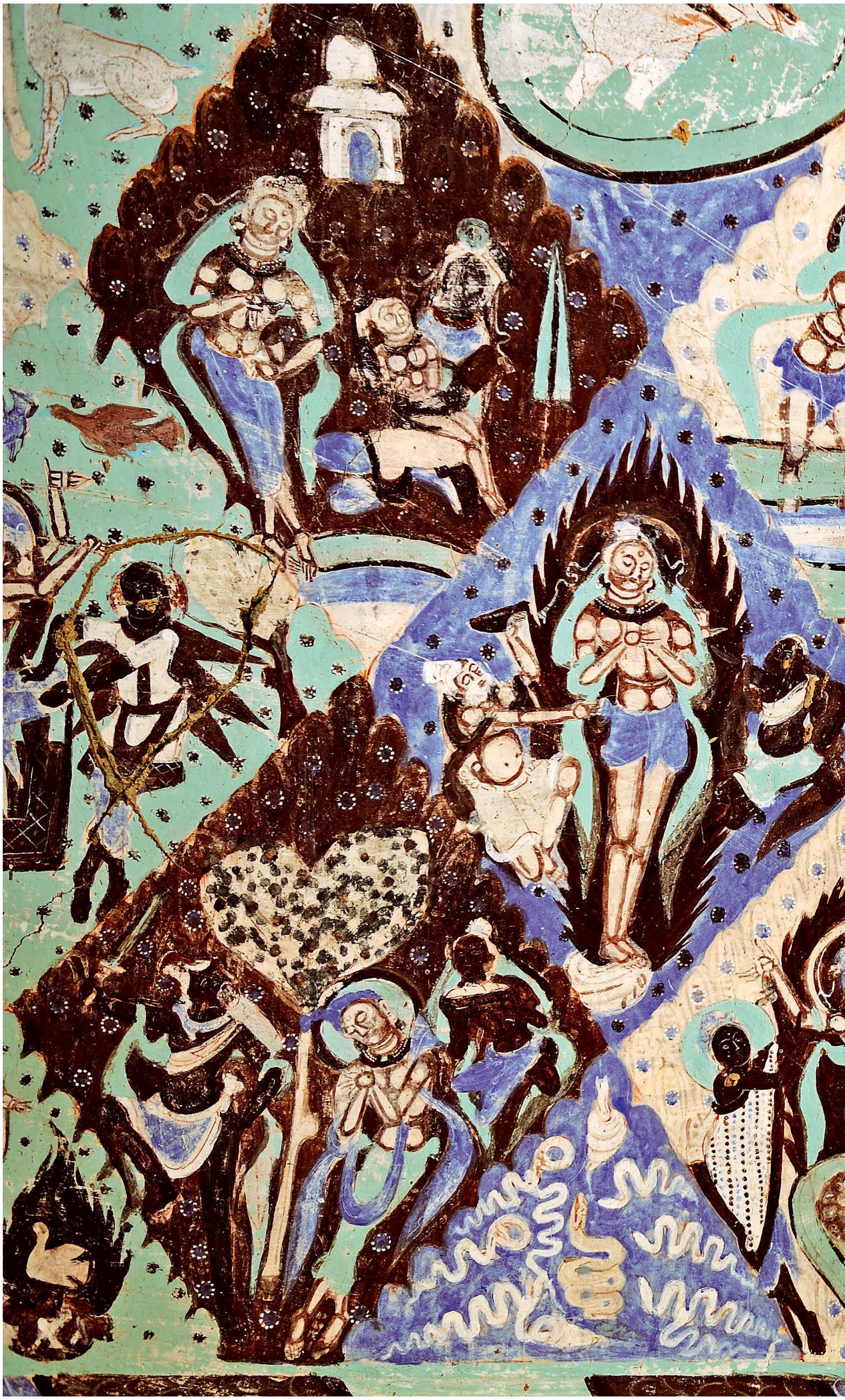


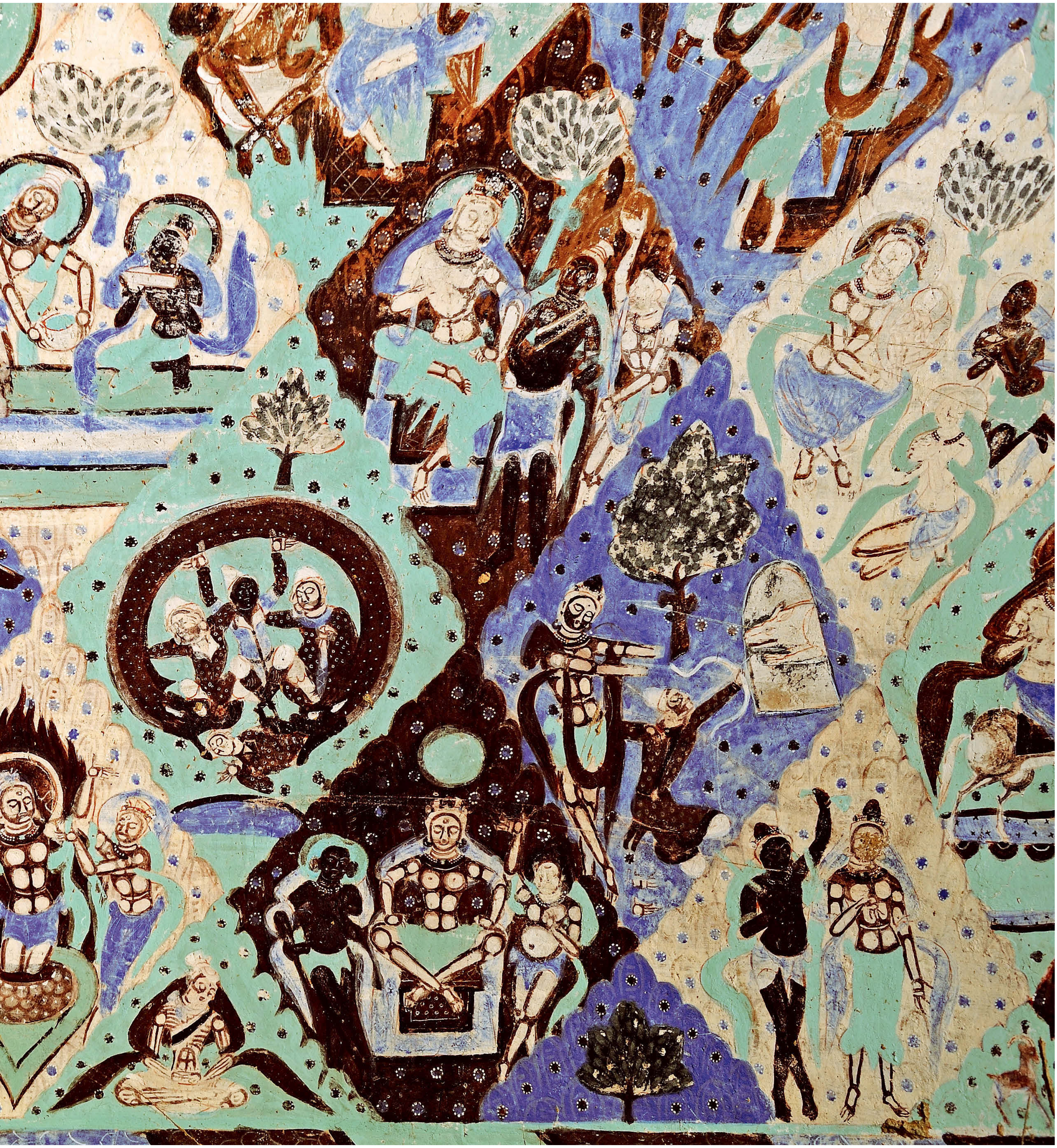
132. The stupa of the eastern Zhaokuli temple of the ancient city of Subashi near Kucha, Xinjiang, China. The stupa, which was built in the 3rd c. CE, consists of about three tiers, now eroded by the wind, a cube-shaped body and a domed, cylindrical structure. The niches on the inside of the western wall once contained statues; in the background another, slightly later stupa is visible.

This Sarvastivadin dominance is reflected in the iconographic programme of the caves at **Kizil**, the largest of Xinjiang's 14 Buddhist cave complexes.[322] Kucha's scholars rejected the notions of a multiplicity of buddhas or of an eternal buddha nature inherent in all beings. They emphasised the historicity of Buddha Shakyamuni and the meaning of his parinirvana, which in exemplary fashion rescinds forever the Law of Cause and Effect through the cessation of all ignorance and all desire for existence. As at the stupa at Gandhara, representations of Shakyamuni's parinirvana were much venerated in the Kuchean Sarvastivadin milieu, being taken, like a relic, as a symbol of the Buddha's presence.[323] In this philosophical context, the *Nirvana Sutra* and the *Dirghagama Sutra* were key to the iconography and the conceptual organisation of the Kizil caves as circumambulatory chapels with central pillar.[324]

On entering the caves, pilgrims first encountered Shakyamuni, Buddha of the present, on the central pillar; walking clockwise along the left-hand wall and left-hand corridor, they would then be taught vivid lessons by the jataka and avadana tales depicted there; and then on the back wall of the cave they would

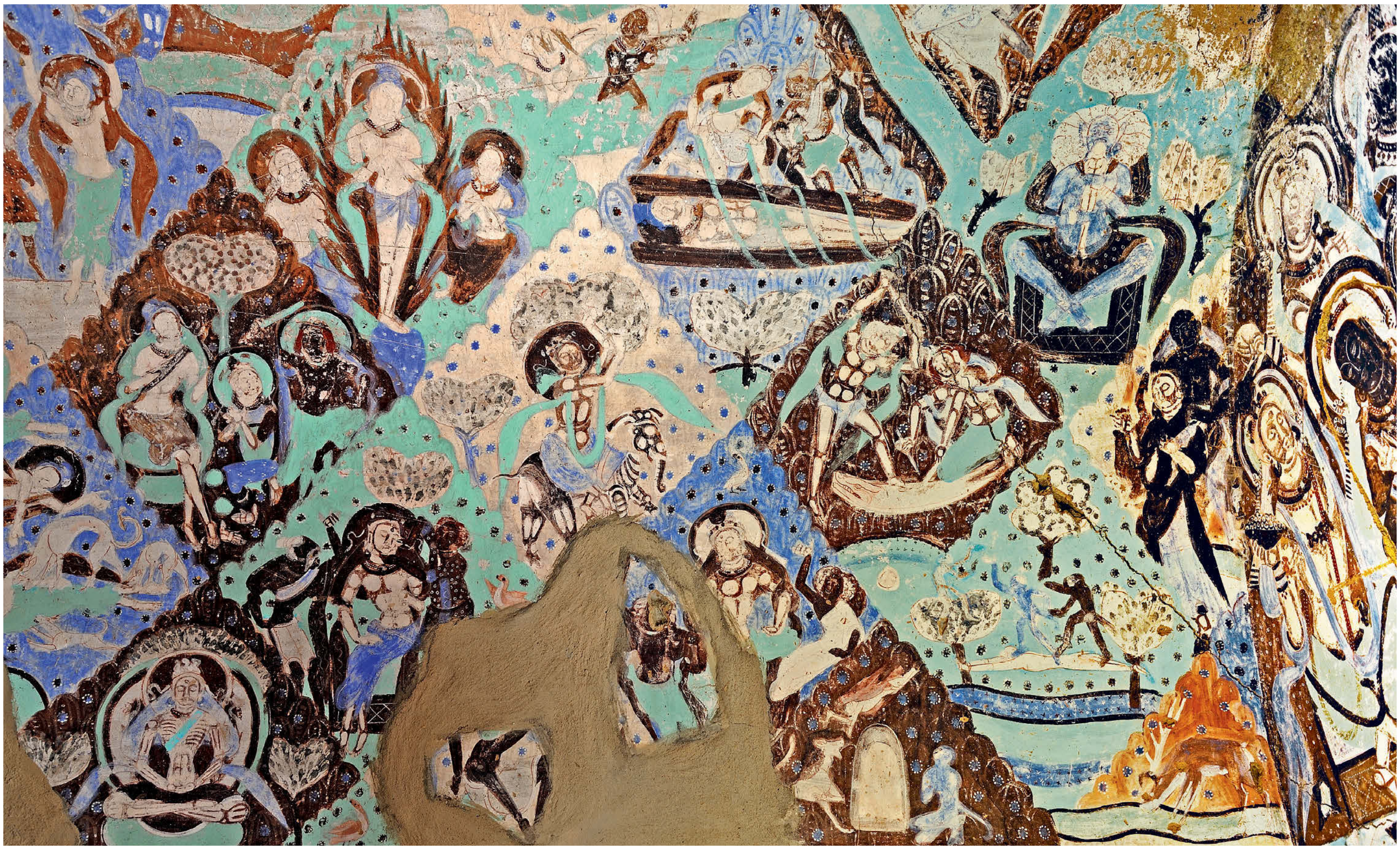
133. Cave 17 of Kizil near Kucha from the 4th to 5th c., Xinjiang, China. The paintings, which were executed in an Indian style complemented with Iranian elements, illustrate jatakas, edifying tales about previous incarnations of Buddha Shakyamuni, as well as avadanas. The areas which now look dark brown to black were originally red; the mineral pigments have oxidised over time. In the first scene at the top left, a queen is offering her breasts so that a hungry woman does not eat her newborn child, after which the queen is transformed into a man. In the third scene from the left in the upper row, a king hands himself over to a poor brahmin so that the latter can claim a valuable bounty from an enemy king. At the extreme right in the upper row, King Anaparadhimukha passes a Solomonic judgement on the question of which of two arguing women is the true mother of a child. In the third scene from the left in the middle row a bodhisattva allows himself to be eaten by a giant snake in order to save three merchants; further right is a hunting scene. In the first scene on the bottom left King Chandraprabha lets a brahmin behead him so that the latter receives a bounty promised by a neighbouring, jealous king. In the next scene Prince Dharmakama jumps into a burning pit to be instructed in the teachings of the dharma, and on his right the ascetic Udaka Ramaputra fasts until he is reduced to a skeleton. Further right the greedy king Mandhata sits down on a celestial throne to which he is not entitled, after which he is expelled from the sky and succumbs to a fatal illness.[13]



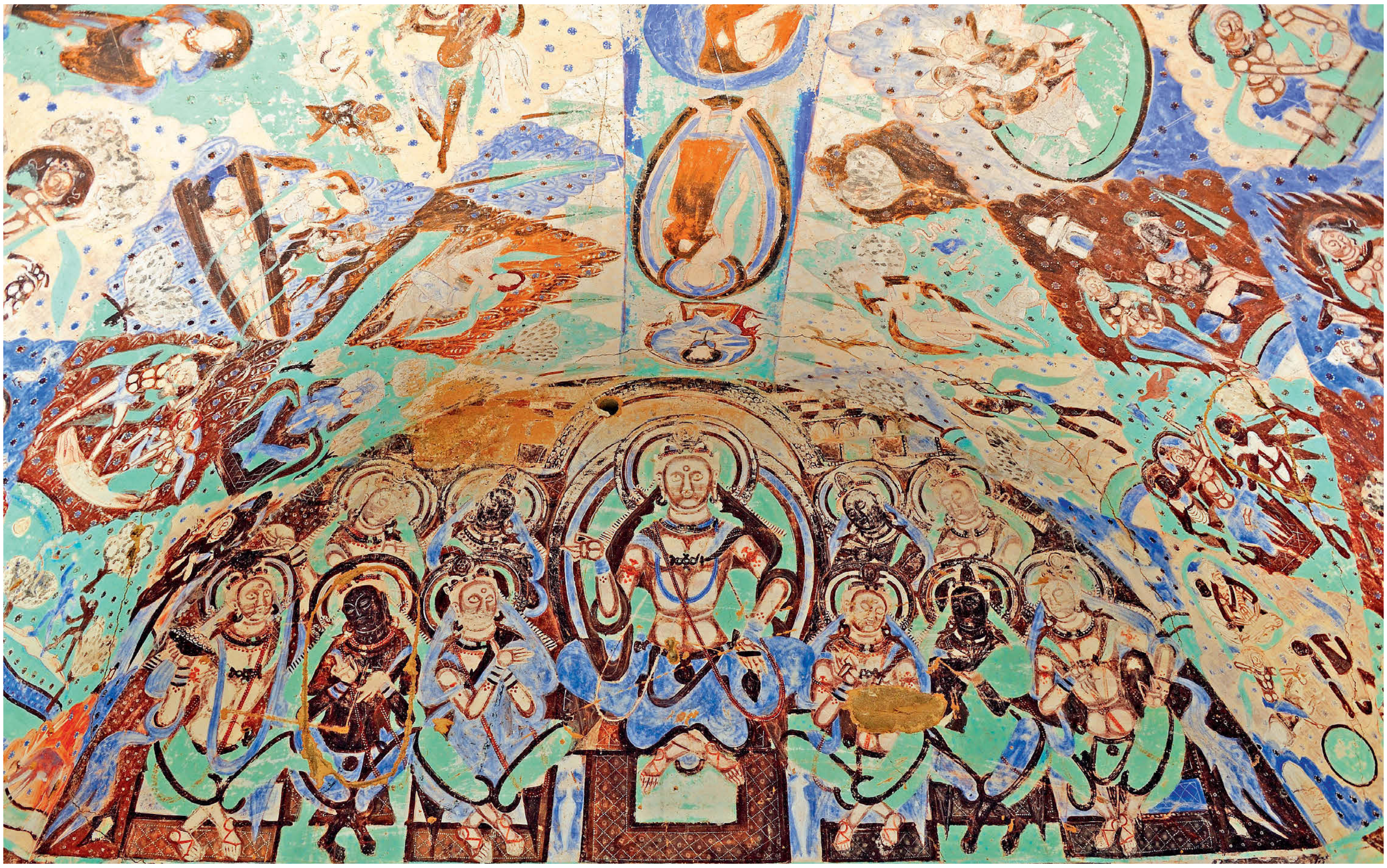


come to a sculpture[325] or painting of the departed Buddha in *Mahaparinirvana*, lying in his coffin. The images of grieving gods and of the death of Shakyamuni also show weeping laypeople, who in their grief are tearing their hair and lacerating their faces with sharp knives, customs not of Buddhist origin but deriving from the funerary rituals of Central Asian nomadic horsemen and Iranian Sogdians, as described on the 735 CE funerary monument to Bilge Khagan, in the chronicles of China's Sui dynasty, and in the work of historian al-Tabari.[326] These scenes of mourning are surrounded by flying heavenly beings called *apsaras* (in Chinese, *feitian*), borrowed from Indo-Aryan mythology. Finally passing along the second corridor and following the right-hand wall towards the exit, pilgrims would find edification in further jatakas. On the ceiling vault they would see countless meditating buddhas, and on the crown of the vault sky gods, such as the sun, moon or wind gods, whose representations recall the Kushan wind god Oado with his billowing cloak. On leaving the grotto, pilgrims would find hope and courage in Maitreya, Buddha of the future, painted in the lunette above the door lintel (fig. 135).[327]

In terms of their content, many jataka tales derive from the *Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*.[328] Particularly prominent is the theme of bodily self-sacrifice, as performed by one of the Buddha Shakyamuni's earlier incarnations on his path to perfection: the bodhisattva in Cave 17 (figs. 133f), for example, offers his body to be eaten by a hungry lioness;[329] with oiled, flaming hands he lights the way for merchants lost in a dark wood; or he allows himself to be swallowed by a gigantic snake so as to save the lives of three merchants. The theme of bodily self-sacrifice was as popular on the Northern Silk Road as it was in Gandhara and in Buddhist China. Monks, nuns and laypeople saw it as a highly meritorious path



134. At the top left, Sarthavaha sets his hands alight to show the way to two merchants who are lost at night; in the next but one scene the young prince of Benares (Varanasi) lies in a coffin because until then he has refused to speak. It is only once he is in the coffin that his voice returns. At the far right on the top, the King of the Sky, who appears as a ghost, tests a pious ruler, who is very eager to receive the true teaching. As a precondition for meeting his request, the King of the Sky demands that the ruler let him eat his wife and son. But it is also possible that this scene depicts the child-eating Hariti before her conversion. In the third scene from the left in the middle row, a king transforms into a giant fish so that his hungry subjects can eat him. In the third row on the extreme left, the bodhisattva lets himself be eaten by a hungry tiger and her two cubs. In the same row on the right, the monkey king Mahakapi rescues his people from the hunting king of Benares by using his body as a bridge, which is attached to two trees on each side of a river. At the very bottom on the left, the ascetic Sankhacarya meditates under a tree and dares not get up since a bird has started nesting in his hair and laid eggs. On the right, a lion sacrifices itself so that an eagle returns the young monkey to its mother, who is painted in blue. Cave 17 of Kizil near Kucha from the 4th to 5th c., Xinjiang, China.



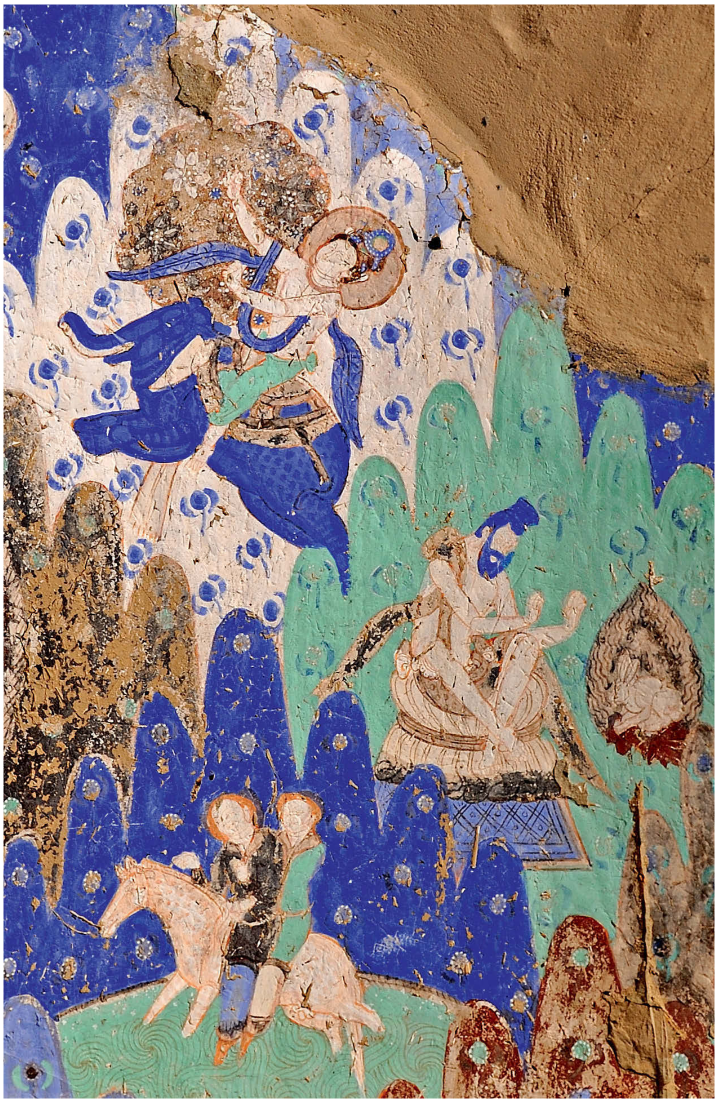
135. The Buddha of the Future, Maitreya, with other bodhisattvas, in his paradise Tushita. Tympanum lunette above the entrance door to cave 17 of Kizil near Kucha from the 4th to the 5th c., Xinjiang, China. In the scene at the very top right, a turtle rescues three merchants from the green ocean. On the evening after the rescue, the ungrateful leader of the merchants kills the turtle to eat it, and that same night a herd of elephants tramples him to death in his tent.

to Enlightenment, understood not simply figuratively and intellectually, but also concretely, in the form of self-mutilation and self-immolation.[330]

In the Kizil caves, which date from the late third to the late seventh centuries,[331] Indian-derived formal elements prevail until the end of the fourth century, as for example in the naked and half-naked bodies and the full breasts of female dancers and musicians (fig. 137). There follows a more vigorous style in which Iranian-Sogdian elements win the upper hand, particularly evident in portraits of Tocharian nobles, dressed in kaftans with typically Sogdian textile designs and carrying a Sogdian longsword at the waist (fig. 98). Among such Sogdian designs are pairs of ducks, lions or gazelles enclosed within pearl medallions. The Sogdian influence was long-lasting since Sogdian-Tocharian trade promoted cultural exchange. The Indo-Iranian imagination contributed the *apsaras*, the bird Garuda with a snake in its beak, the wind god Vayu, the sun god Aditya and the moon god Chandra. These last two were often represented standing or sitting in a quadriga, strongly recalling similar representations of Helios and Mithra. Such depictions are not unusual, being found also in Cave 23 at Kumtura,[332] at Bamiyan[333] and at Mogao.[334] The sun and moon held in the upper hands of many-armed examples are quite similar to representations of the Sogdian goddess Nana.[335] Towards the end of the cycle of paintings at Kizil, the jatakas tend to give way to representations of the Thousand-Buddha motif, and of groups of monks; that is, of the Sangha or monastic community.

In the depiction of jatakas the Kizil artists developed a distinctive style of landscape painting. Most individual scenes are surrounded by a quasi-crenellated frame that at first glance suggests a medallion of serrated leaves. These schematic zigzags, however, represent not leaves but stylised mountain chains. Also distinctive to Kizil is the prominent use of ultramarine pigment, obtained from lapis lazuli. This blue paint, also used to render the Buddha's hair, symbolised the blue light of universal compassion. Unlike at Dunhuang, where many anonymous wealthy merchants also contributed to the decoration of the caves, patronage at Kizil came mainly from members of the Tocharian royal house. An inscription discovered by Grünwedel records that a Tocharian king called Mendre commissioned a painter from India and another from Asia Minor, together with assistants, to paint some of the early caves.[336] In the Tocharian kingdom of Kucha the royal house was very close to the well-organised Sarvastivada School, for the kings showed the greatest respect to the higher clergy, whose members themselves often came from the royal milieu.[337]

Some 25 kilometres south-west of Kucha is the cave complex of **Kumtura**, whose wall paintings date from the fourth to eleventh centuries. The domed caves GK 20 and GK 21 are particularly outstanding.[338] Both are associated with Mahayana Buddhism, for the domed ceiling of GK 20, created around 400, is painted with five buddhas and six bodhisattvas, each standing within a trapezial field. In neighbouring GK 21 (fig. 1), dating from the early second half of the fifth century, are 13 different bodhisattvas, each again occupying a trapezial field. The assemblage of 11 and 13 painted figures is unusual and does not correspond to any known grouping; the numbers may perhaps have some astrological significance.[339]

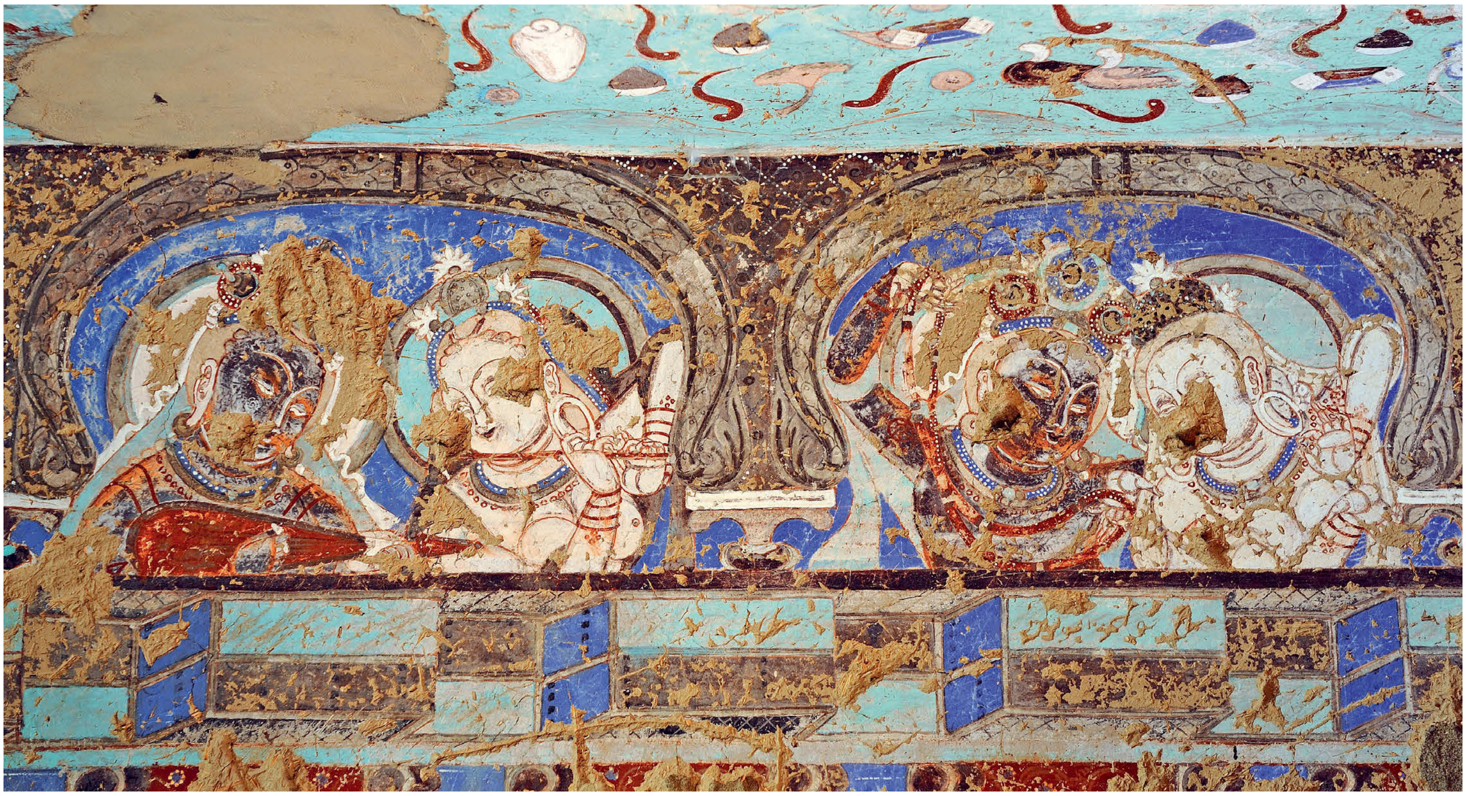


136. Detail from cave 14 of Kizil, 4th/5th c., Xinjiang, China. At the top, King Mahaprabhasa has to grab on to the branches of a tree as he attempts to stay on a bucking elephant; thus he understands the necessity of taming one's passions. In the middle on the right, the king of the hares is jumping into a fire to serve as food to a hungry ascetic. At the bottom, a bodhisattva, in the guise of the king of horses, saves merchants from female man-eating sea monsters. The radiant blue colour, unique in Kizil, came from lapis lazuli, whereas the azurite used in Dunhuang yielded a softer, less intense blue.

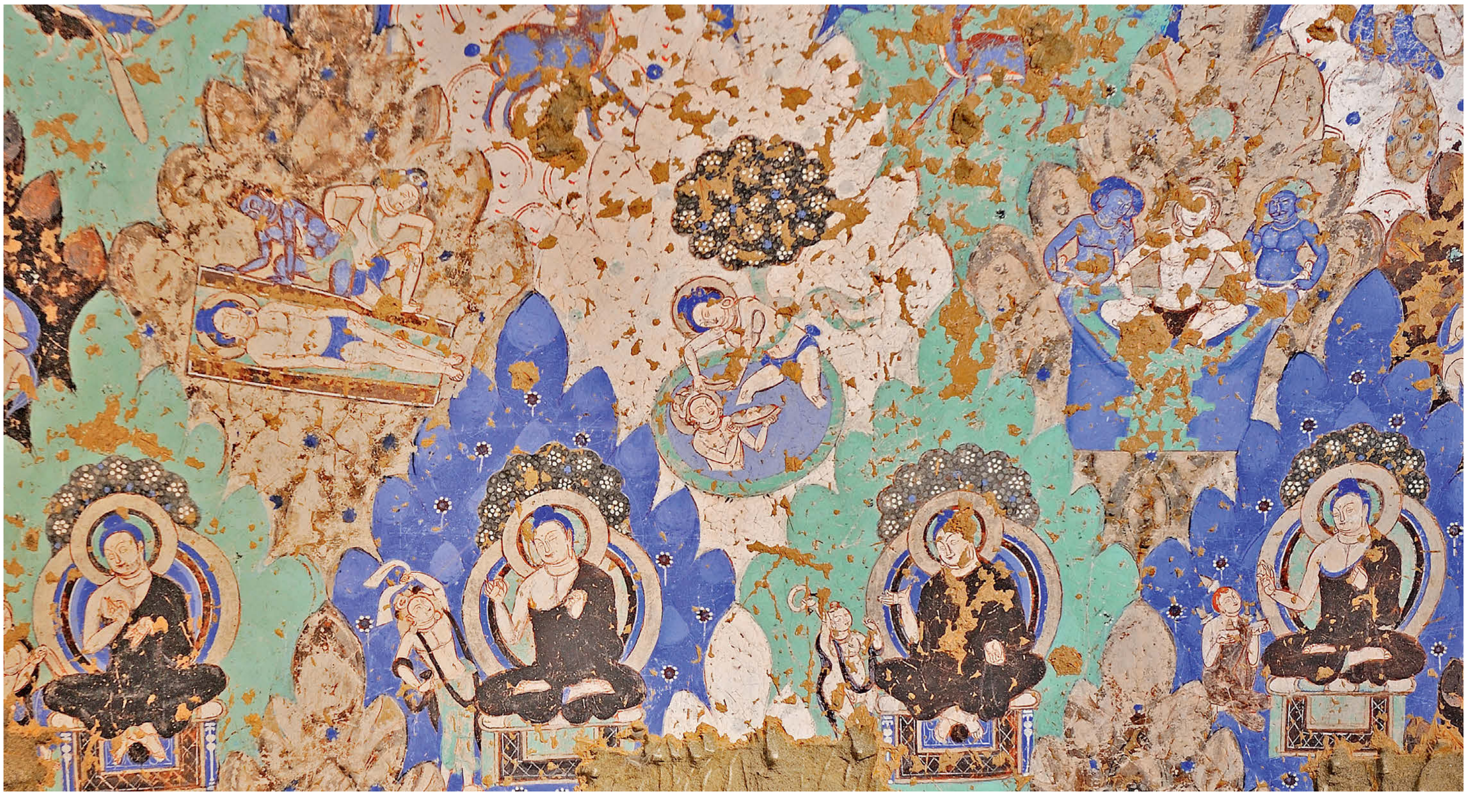
Lying to the west of the kingdom of Kucha, the ancient city of **Tumshuk** was the only major settlement on the Northern Silk Road to have a Saka population, for Tocharians dominated in Kucha until the seventh century and in the Turfan Oasis until the fourth, intermixed with others of Xiongnu or Turkic origin. Of particular cultural-historical interest in Tumshuk, which enjoyed its heyday in the fourth century and the first half of the fifth, is a further development of the Bactrian model of Buddhist temple. This consisted of a rectangular cella, surrounded by a passageway that was in turn enclosed by an external wall.[340] Examples are the early Temple J at Toquz Sarai in Tumshuk, the little Shrine 61 in Karadong and the earliest temples at Karashahr, as well as other temples and cave shrines with central pillar in Turkestan and northern China.[341] At Shrine B in Tumshuk's Toquz Sarai (fig. 141) (following Pelliot's designation) the outer wall of the cella, forming the inner side of the corridor devoted to ritual circumambulation, is decorated with a frieze of clay statues, like the perimeter wall of the stupa at Rawak.[342] The Buddhist shrines of Tumshuk remained active until the tenth century, when they were sacked and put to the torch by the Muslim Karakhanids.

3.2 The Kingdoms of Jiaohe and Gaochang in the Turfan Oasis

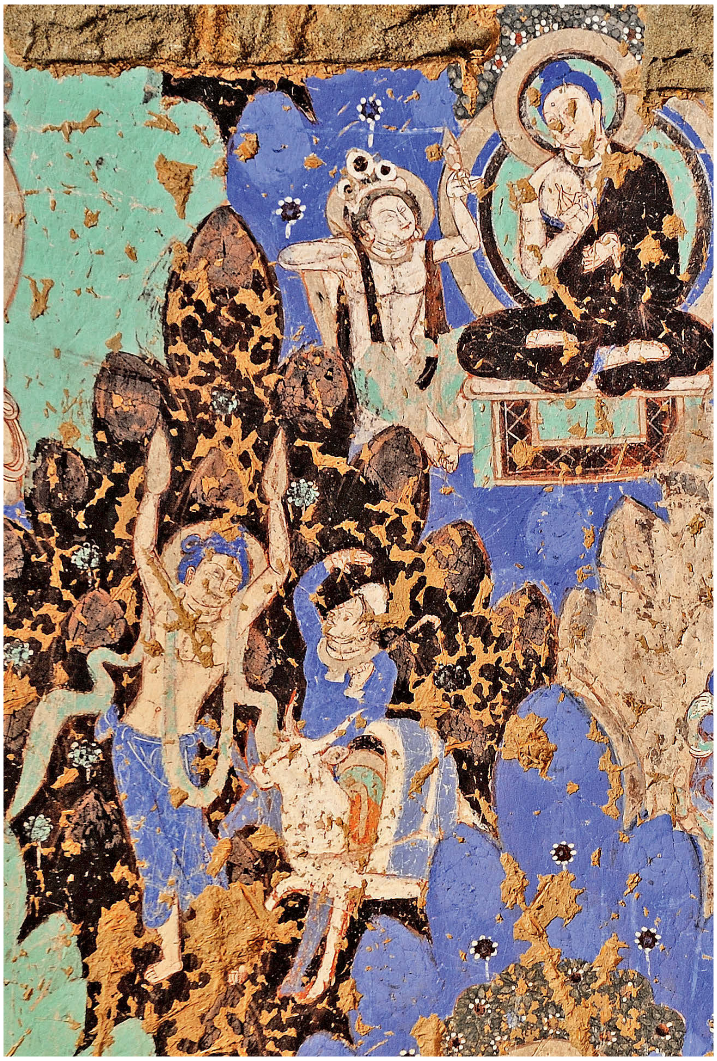
The two important cities of the Turfan Oasis were Jiaohe (Uyghur: Yarkhoto) and Gaochang (Karakhoja), which belonged to the 'Kingdom of Nearer Jushi'.[343] Hotly contested between China and the Xiongnu and the object of five wars between 99 and 60 BCE, the kingdom of Jushi had in 60 BCE been divided by the eventually victorious China into a 'Nearer Jushi' with **Jiaohe** as its capital and a 'Further Jushi' centred on Beiting, near Jimisar.[344] In the first century CE, Nearer Jushi first fell back into the Xiongnu sphere of influence, until it was regained by General Ban Chao around 89, and General Ban Yong stationed imperial troops there, at Lukchun, in 123.[345] Two years later Ban Yong subdued Further Jushi, north of the Tian Shan, which nevertheless fell again to a successor clan



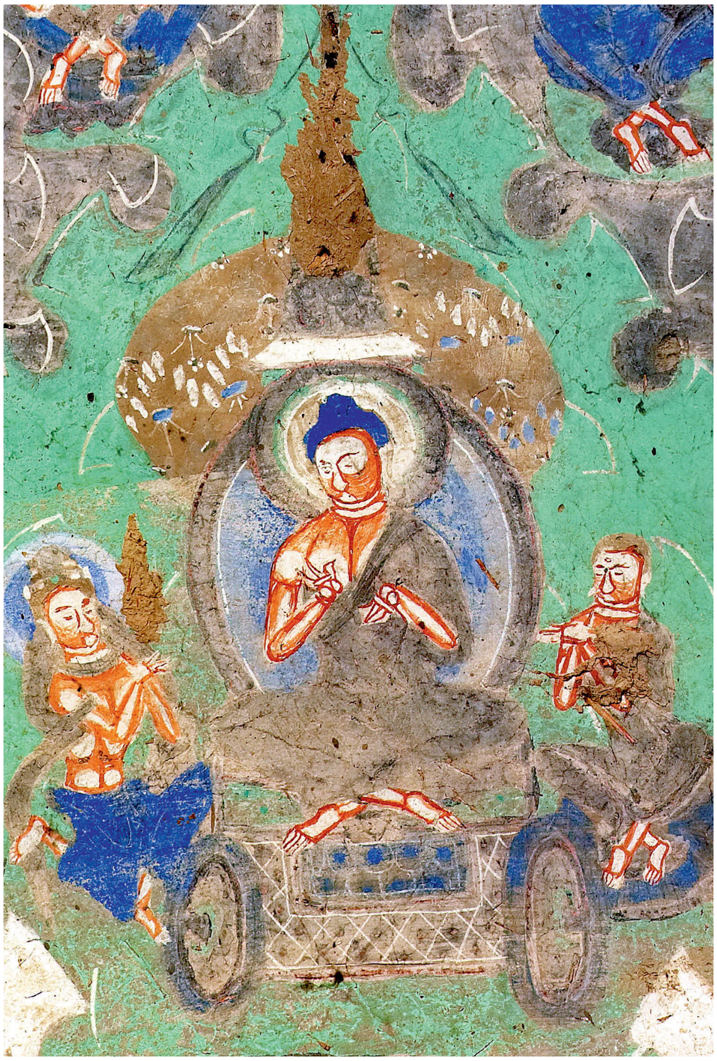
137. Frieze of celestial female musicians in cave 38, 2nd half of 4th c., Xinjiang, China.



138. Cave 38, dating from the second half of the 4th c., is one of the oldest of Kizil. Visible on the left is the Prince of Benares, who only started speaking when lying in his coffin. In the middle, a sea god rising from the water hands a precious pearl on a tray to King Mahajanaka after the king has tried to steal it from him in order to sell it and alleviate the famine of his suffering people. The king has attempted to empty out the ocean to reach the pearl. When a god takes pity on him and scoops up half of the ocean with a single movement, the god of the sea, fearing for his home, hands over the pearl.



139. Sarthavaha sets his hands and arms alight to show the way to merchants who are lost in the night. Detail from cave 38, 2nd half of 4th c., Xinjiang, China.



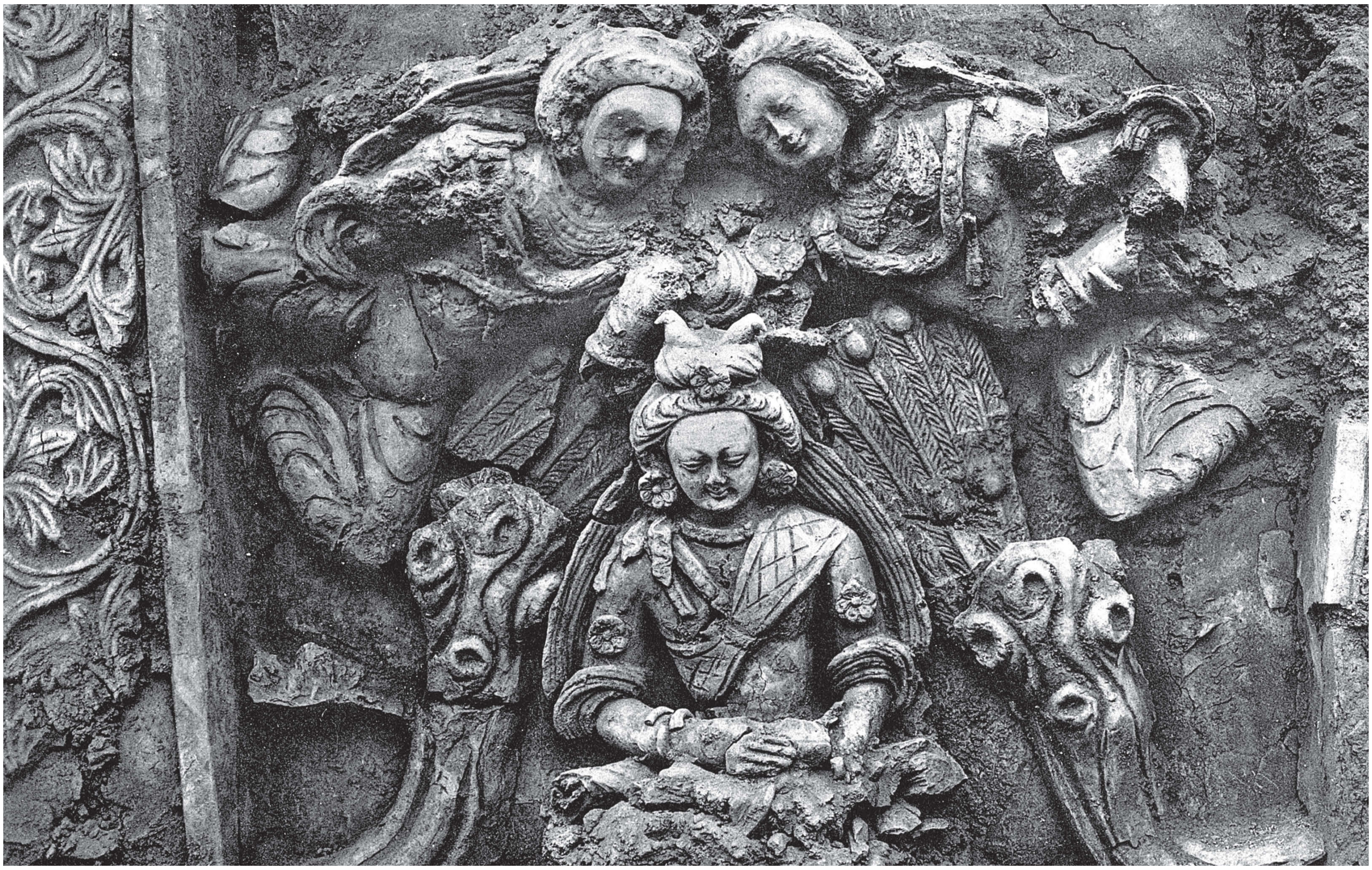
140. The sun god in the guise of a Buddha is represented in frontal view in his celestial chariot, in Hellenistic-Sassanid style. Although the sun god was a minor deity in the Buddhist pantheon, he was rather popular in Kizil and can be found in at least eight caves. Cave 175 of Kizil, 5th/6th c., Xinjiang, China.

of the Xiongnu in 135.[346] As is suggested by the names Jiaohe and Yarkhoto, which both mean 'fork in the river', the city stands on a more or less impregnable, 30-metre-high rock that rises almost like an island between two rivers (fig. 15). To protect its inhabitants from unbearable summer heat and icy winter winds, most of the streets were dug two to five metres into the ground, and the one- or two-storey homes and workshops were likewise sunk into the earth, each with an entrance from ground level and from the lower street level (fig. 71).

Even after the fall of China's Eastern Han dynasty in 220, Jushi remained loyal to its successors, the Wei (220–65) and the Western Jin (265–316), up to its conquest in 327 by the Han Chinese Former Liang (320–376). The latter established the prefecture of **Gaochang**, which saw Karakhoja develop into a second centre of power in the oasis. Gaochang had been established in the first century BCE as a Chinese military compound, serving as headquarters for the commander of the *tuntian* military colony.[347] As it lay on a flat plain, it needed reliably strong city walls. The Former Liang were followed by short-lived dynasties, until in 444 the elite of the Xiongnu Northern Liang dynasty, in flight from the Northern Wei, seized power in Gaochang. Six years later these descendants of the Northern Liang also conquered the neighbouring city of Jiaohe, bringing about the political reunification of the Turfan Oasis.[348] At the same time, the new rulers declared Gaochang the new capital of the kingdom, shifting the centre of political, economic and religious power from Jiaohe to Karakhoja. However, Juqu Anzhou, the last Xiongnu ruler of Jushi, was too weak militarily to hold his own in this strategically important oasis, and in 460 he fell in battle against his northern neighbour, the nomad empire of the Rouran, who installed the Han Chinese Kan Bozhou as a vassal king. Three decades later, the Turkic Gaoche, also called the Tiele, swept away the ruling Kan dynasty, which in 485 had broken with the Rouran and declared its independence.

Yet the two vassal kings installed by the Gaoche were unable to assert their authority in the face of resistance by the local population, whereupon, in 501, the probably Turkic Qu dynasty seized power in Gaochang, and managed to maintain its hold more or less successfully until 640 thanks to a more flexible policy towards its mightier neighbours. With the turkicisation and sinification of the oasis, the old Tocharian elite found itself eclipsed and its Turfanian language (Tocharian A) became extinct.[349] Pressure from Turkic tribes increased in the mid-sixth century, and when the Ashina Turks founded the powerful First Turkic Khaganate in 552, Gaochang recognised its suzerainty, though in 605 the Tiele would conquer Gaochang, Yanqi (Karashahr) and Iwu (Hami).[350]

With the rise of China's Tang dynasty (618–907), which in 630 defeated the Eastern Turkic Khaganate and compelled the princedom of Iwu (Hami) to Gaochang's east to recognise its overlordship, the Qu dynasty found itself faced with an enormously powerful adversary. King Qu Wentai entered into alliance with the Western Turkic Khaganate, conquered Yanqi and disrupted one branch of the Northern Silk Road, plundering Chinese trade caravans and detaining the merchants. But when a Chinese army, which included a substantial Eastern Turkic cavalry, advanced on Gaochang in 640, Qu Wentai is said to have died of fright, leaving his son Qu Zhisheng with no choice but to capitulate.[351] Four years later, Yanqi surrendered; in 719 it would replace Suyab as one of the Four Garrisons.[352] Immediately after the conquest of Gaochang, China reintroduced the office of Protector-General of the Western Regions, whose headquarters were first in Si, west of Turfan, and then in Gaochang from 651 to 658, when it was transferred definitively to Kucha.



141. **Clay sculpture from the 1st half of the 5th c., Xinjiang, China, excavated by Paul Pelliot at the end of 1906 in the temple 'B' of Toquz Serai near Tumshuk. The scene illustrates the Sankhacarya Avadana and shows the meditating ascetic Sankhacarya in whose hair knot a nesting bird is sitting on its eggs. The ascetic pledges not to move until the young birds fly off. Over this thoughtful ascetic two *apsaras* (female spirits of clouds and waters) levitate as a sign of divine recognition. Photo on site, 1906. Louis Hambis (ed.), *Mission Paul Pelliot*, vol. I: *Toumchouq, planches* (Paris, 1961), pl. LXVIII, fig. 170.**

Chinese sovereignty would be briefly interrupted in the 670s, when the Tibetans overran the Four Garrisons, though China would reassert its power in 692. In 727 the Turfan Oasis was raided by Suluk, the khagan of the Western Turkic Türgesh, who had his residence at Suyab, though he was nominally a Chinese vassal.[353] Although the rebellion of An Lushan (755–763) eased the way for another push forward by the Tibetans, it was only in 791 that they succeeded in taking Gaochang,[354] leaving the oasis to fall to the Uyghurs in 803.[355] Like Besh Baliq to its north, Gaochang found itself on the fiercely disputed border between Tibet and the Uyghur Empire, and while culturally affiliated to the Manichaean Uyghurs, it rather belonged to the Tibetan sphere of influence. Returning by 840 at the latest, the Tibetans were driven back in the winter of 851–52 by Zhang Yichao, the warlord of Shazhou (Dunhuang), and in 866 Gaochang finally fell to the Uyghur leader Pugu Jun.[356] Gaochang became the capital of the Uyghur kingdom of Turfan, which they called Kocho or *Idiqutshari*, meaning 'city of the Idiqut', the Uyghur ruler.[357] In 1209, the little kingdom voluntarily submitted to Genghis Khan, thereby escaping certain destruction. The Uyghur kingdom of Gaochang would enjoy almost five centuries of unparalleled cultural and economic well-being, partly because of its religious tolerance, which enabled the peaceful coexistence of Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. Only forcible Islamisation at the hands of Khizir Khoja Khan (r. 1389–99), a ruler of Moghulistan who had his capital at Balasagun (Burana), near present Tokmak, brought an end in 1395 to this period of religious tolerance which corresponded to the traditional cosmic outlook of pre-Islamic Turks and Mongols.

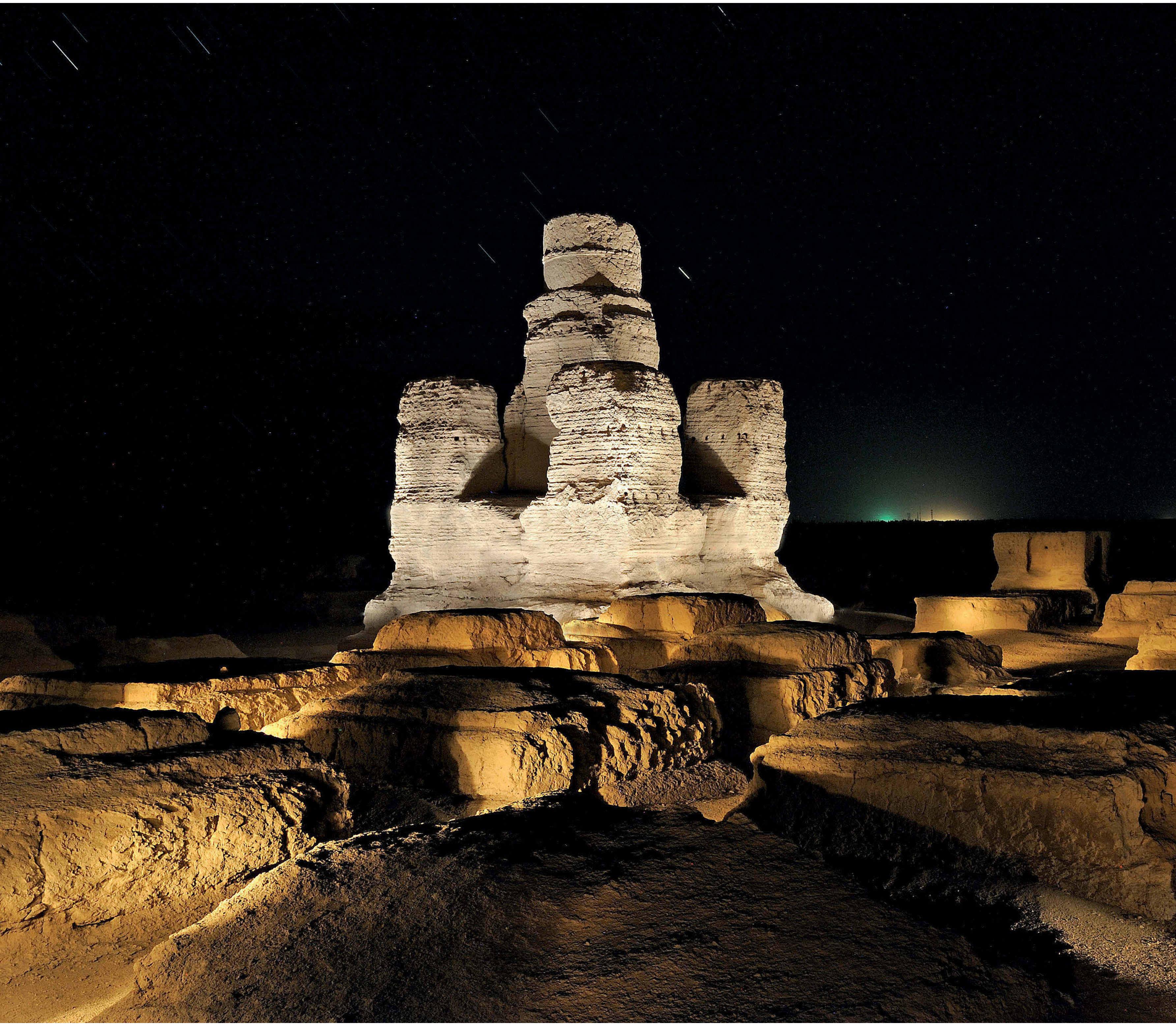
In the time of the Qu dynasty, Confucianism attracted a certain interest among some of the nobility, but Buddhism was the preferred religion of the oasis between the seventh and ninth centuries. Having set out from Chang'an in 629, intending to study at India's Buddhist universities, the Chinese pilgrim monk Xuanzang reached Gaochang in 630, where King Qu Wentai received him with much reverence. Several thousand Buddhist monks lived in Gaochang, and the king sought by all available means to keep Xuanzang there as a teacher. When he threatened to send him back to his own country if he would not stay, the monk replied: 'Only my physical body may be detained by Your Majesty; my mind can never be withheld'[359] and then began a hunger strike. After four days, Qu Wentai relented, providing a small escort under the leadership of his clerk of the palace to accompany him to the king's Western Turkic overlord, Tong Yabghu Khagan, who had his residence at Suyab, not far from today's Bishkek, capital of Kyrgyzstan.

The *Karez* Irrigation System

The *karez* irrigation system was in two respects an essential foundation for life in the Turfan Oasis, whose climate is characterised by extreme summer temperatures and limited precipitation. The oasis required much water throughout the year, not only for agriculture but to provide water and pasture to the camel caravans, sometimes hundreds or even thousands strong. The inhabitants knew how to make the very best of the topographical and geological peculiarities of the oasis, and by the time of the Western Han dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE) at the latest they had adopted the *karez* water system already proven in Bactria and Iran, whose name means 'well' in Persian. North of Turfan are the Bogdo Shan Mountains, eastern outliers of the Tian Shan, rising at their highest to 5,455 metres. The glaciers there feed numerous southward-flowing watercourses, the majority of which run down to a range of relatively low sandstone hills called the Flaming Mountains, which form an aquifer. The skilled artisans responsible for the construction of the system would dig a line of well-like shafts, up to 80 metres deep and 10 to 40 metres apart, running from the foot of either mountain system to the intended destination, these being connected at the bottom by tunnelled underground channels about a metre wide and up to two metres in height. Thanks to the downward slope to the floor of the basin, itself 156 metres below sea level, the water flowed by itself towards the oasis, while the underground channels reduced losses from evaporation to a minimum. At its height, the Turfan Oasis had 1,784 such channels for a total length of 5,272 kilometres; 614 are still in operation today, some of them now provided with a plastic lining.[358] Attempts to use open channels have proved unviable, on account of the very high level of evaporation. As long as the oasis, which has extremely low precipitation, uses only the water coming from Bogdo Shan, the relation between fluvial replenishment and use remains balanced. But if the subterranean resources of fossil water are harvested for irrigation purposes, the day can be foreseen when water, like mineral oil, will not be available any more.

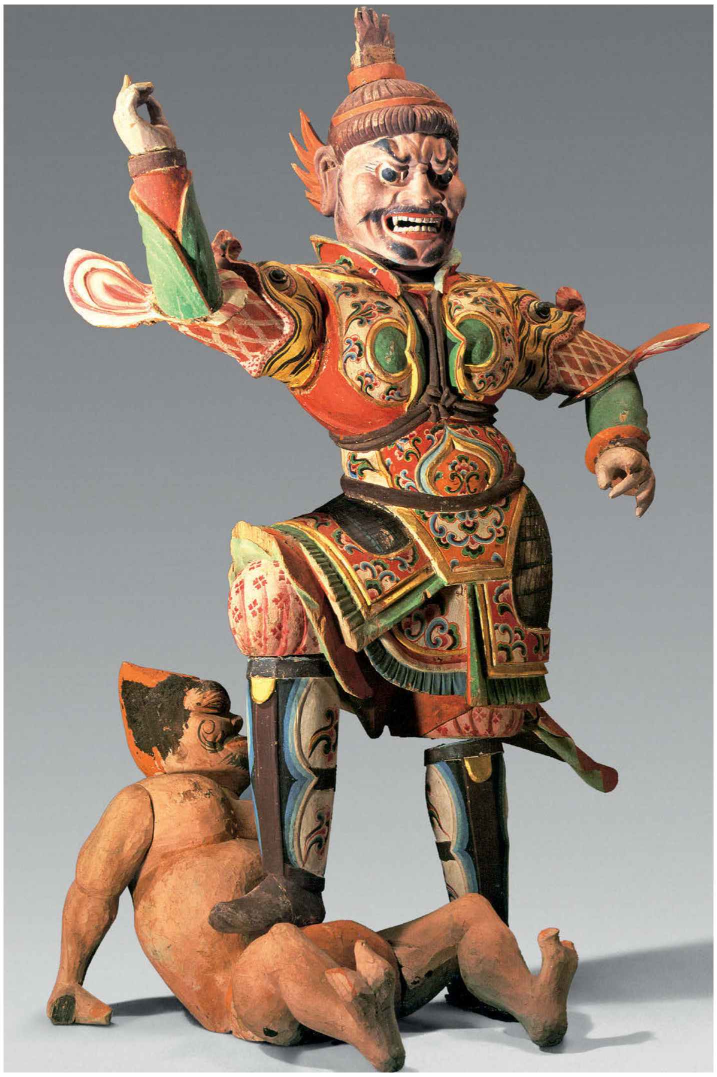
On his way to Kucha, Xuanzang set off first to **Karashahr** (Chinese: Yanqi), called Agni in Sanskrit. There occurred the first of the bandit raids that Xuanzang would suffer over the following years. He and his companions offered a number of gifts, the bandits left, and the caravan then struck camp. However, several dozen merchants who had been travelling with the caravan wished to reach the city before their colleagues, and so went on at midnight. 'After having gone about ten *li* [4 km], they met robbers who killed them all.'[360]

Like that of other oases in the Tarim Basin, the history of the kingdom of Yanqi, which lay between Turfan and Korla, alternated

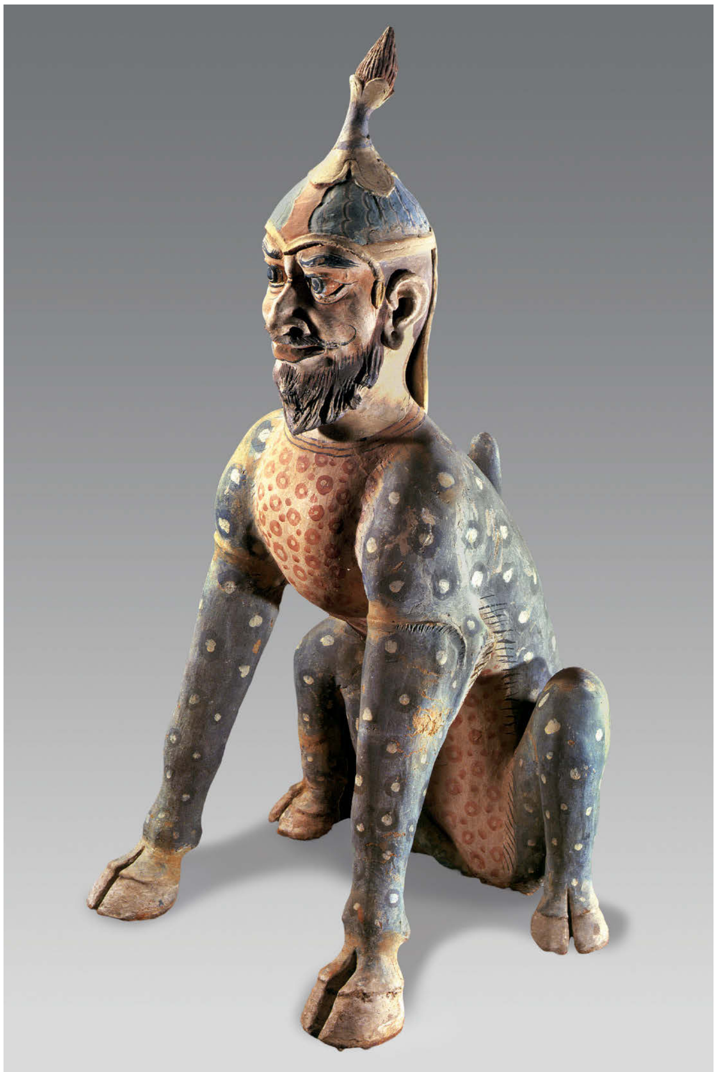


142. The religious complex of Jiaohe, Turfan Oasis, Xinjiang, China, consisting of 105 stupas. In the centre of this symmetrically arranged group, which was erected in the 4th or 5th c., an 8-metre-high stupa, flanked at each cardinal point by a nearly 5-metre-high stupa, stands on a 150-centimetre-high platform. Around this five-fold stupa construction stood – again directed to the cardinal points – four groups of slightly smaller stupas, probably around 3 m high, which were arranged in squares of 5 x 5, so that the whole complex contained 105 stupas. This unique construction symbolised the universal presence of the Buddha.

between independence and dependence on its powerful neighbours. After its definitive conquest by the Tang dynasty in 648, Yanqi grew in importance and in 719 it was made one of the Four Garrisons. After it fell, the region was fought over by Tibetans and Uyghurs. While Xuanzang stayed only one day in Yanqi, which was still scarred by its recent defeat by Gaochang, Faxian in 400 had spent two months in the city, home to some 4,000 Hinayana monks. In his account of his travels, Faxian complains of the natives' unfriendliness towards strangers, which may have been the reason why he did not continue his journey via Kucha but crossed the Taklamakan Desert to Khotan, which even today is a risky and difficult undertaking. 'Along the route they found the country uninhabited; the difficulty of crossing [the desert] was very great; and the hardships they went through were beyond all comparison.'[361] The time of Faxian's and Xuanzang's visits represented the high point of Buddhist temple architecture and cave decoration in Yanqi, as can be seen in the ruins at Shikshin, Mingoi and Shorchuk.[362] All the temples were burnt in the course of an attack by the Muslim early Karakhanids in the second half of the tenth century.[363]



143. A Buddhist guardian of the heavens, probably Vaishravana, crushes a demon with his right foot. The arm openings in his armoured cuirass are in the form of a gaping dragon's mouth. Such figures were placed into graves to protect them from demons. The two figures from the Tang dynasty (618–907) consist of 30 wooden parts which are glued together. Grave 216 of the necropolis of Astana, Turfan Oasis, Xinjiang, China. Uyghur Regional Museum, Urumqi.



144. Guardian figure from grave 224 of Astana, Turfan Oasis, Xinjiang, China. The composite creature has a leopard's body with paired hooves and the head of a helmeted, bearded warrior. The 90-centimetre-high clay figure dates from the Tang dynasty (618–907). Uyghur Regional Museum, Urumqi.

V

The First Turkic Khaganate

The strength of the Turks is that they rely solely on mounted archers. When they see an advantage they advance; when they know they will encounter difficulties they retreat. They gallop like the wind and turn like lightning; they have no permanent formations. They make bow and arrows their teeth and claws.

The Chinese general **LI YUAN**, later founder of the Tang Dynasty as Emperor Gaozu, 616 CE.[1]

Unlike the Rouran Empire, the Göktürks dominated for almost two centuries, with only brief interruptions, the northern half of Central Asia, from Manchuria to the Caspian Sea. Founded in 552, the First Turkic Khaganate[2] began with an initial period of nominal unity (552–581), after which it split gradually into an Eastern Khaganate (581–630) and a Western Khaganate (581–659). After a period of Chinese suzerainty, the east then saw the emergence of the Second Turkic Khaganate (682–742), which would be displaced by the Uyghur Empire (744–840). In 699 the west witnessed the birth of the Türgesh Khaganate, only for this to fall into civil war in 738 and be absorbed by the Karluks in 766. This chapter will be devoted to the First Khaganate, while the Second Turkic Khaganate and the Türgesh Khaganate will be dealt with in Chapter VIII.

1. A Two-in-One Khaganate

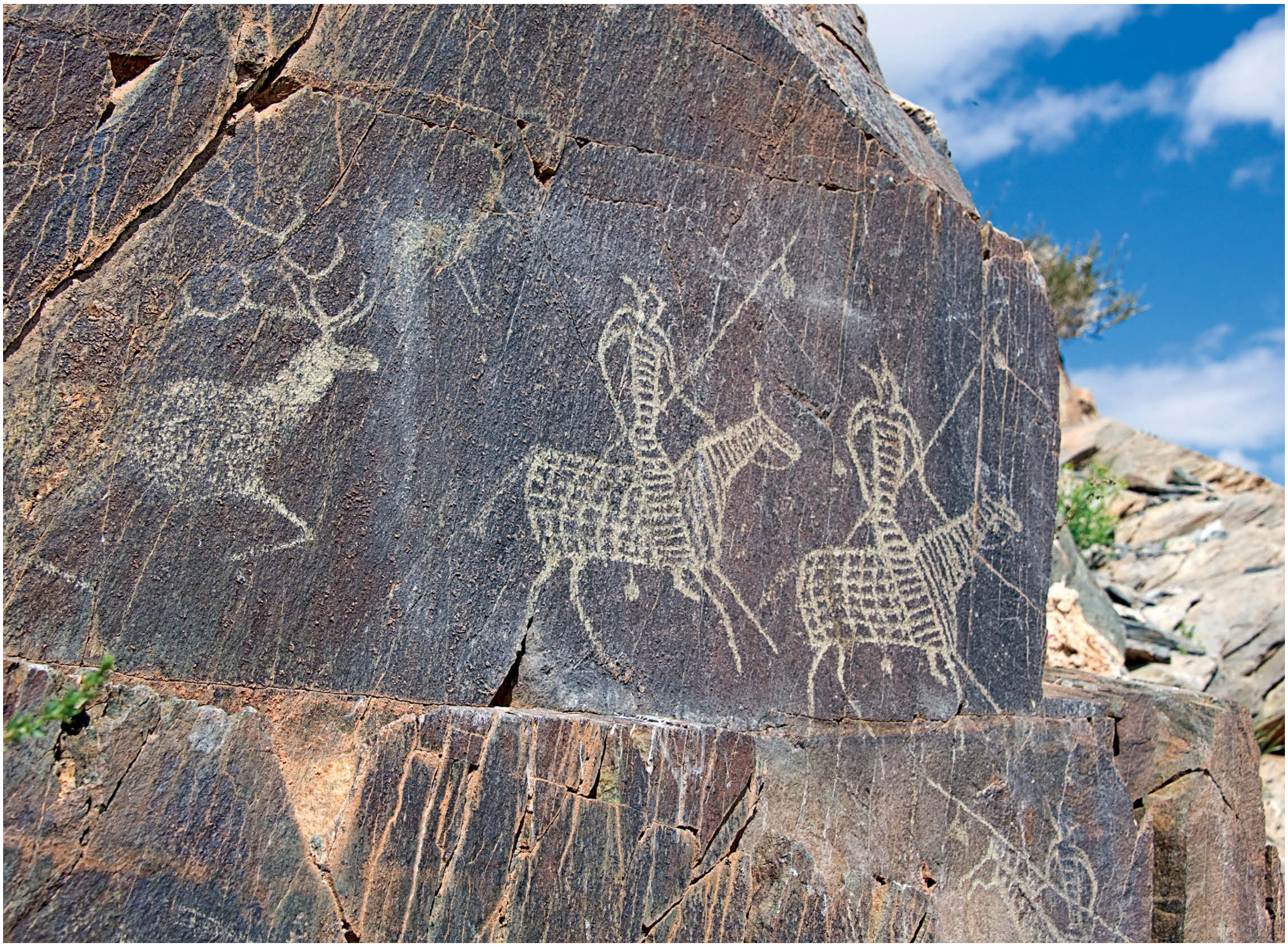
The ethnonym *Türk*, rendered *Tujue* in the Chinese sources, was originally the self-description of the small Ashina tribe;[3] its meaning is 'strong' or 'the strong'. In the early years of the new Turkic khaganate dominated by the Ashina elite, it was extended to cover those under their rule, such as the Oghuzes or Karluks, who were not related to the tribe of the Turks, so that the term took on a more political connotation. And when Muslim historians later used the term for all those peoples who spoke a Turkic language, it acquired a linguistic dimension. The Old Turkic spoken by the Ashina was a member of the Altaic language family, which also includes the Mongolic and Tungusic language groups. Like the Uralic and the other Altaic languages, the Turkic languages are agglutinative: each unit of meaning is expressed by an affix indicating, for example, tense, gender or case, which is added to the unchanging root of the word. Today, the Turkic language family includes 51 modern and 11 historic Turkic languages.[4] The name *Ashina* itself is the Chinese transliteration of an unknown Turkic word whose origin is to be sought in Eastern Turkestan, the putative homeland of the Ashina clan. Very likely related to the Saka-Khotanese word *āşşeina* meaning blue,[5] it was deliberately adopted by the tribal elite, for on the memorial steles to their khagans they refer to themselves as the *Göktürks*, the 'Blue Turks'.[6] As blue is the colour of the sky, which the Turks venerated, this self-description may also be understood as meaning 'Celestial Turks'.

Transmitted by Chinese historians, the two most important origin myths of the Ashina are related to those of the Wusun. According to the better known of these stories, the Ashina were a Xiongnu tribe whose members were all slaughtered by neighbours in the third century CE, all but for one ten-year-old boy. Although his life was spared, his feet and arms were cut off, and he survived only because he was adopted by a compassionate she-wolf. The youth later impregnated the animal, which, in the face of new dangers, fled to a den north of Gaochang, where she gave birth to ten boys, who would all become tribal chiefs. One of them, the leader of them all, was called Ashina.[7] In honour of their tribal ancestress, the khagans offered sacrifice at the ancestral den each year, and their standards bore a wolf's head in gold.[8]

Probably coming from the region north of the Turfan Depression, the Ashina Turks were resettled to the Altai by the Rouran around 460. They gradually developed into a powerful tribal confederation[9] and in 552, under their chief **Bumin** (d. 552), they rose in rebellion, and over the next three years they wrested control of north-east Central Asia from the Rouran.[10] Bumin, who named himself **Illig Khagan** after his victory over the Rouran, died shortly thereafter and was succeeded by his son **Issik Khagan** (r. 552–53), who survived him by only a few months. The Ashina now divided their newly established and rapidly growing empire into two parts: while Bumin's son **Muqan Khagan** ruled in the east (r. 553–72), choosing as his residence the Orkhon Valley in central Mongolia, which was sacred to the Turks, the west was ruled by **Ishtemi Yabghu** (viceroy) (r. 552/53–75), Bumin's brother and Muhan's uncle, who had his camp in the eastern Tian Shan mountains, some 200 kilometres north of Kucha.[11] The khaganate was thus bicephalous almost from the outset, with the Eastern Khagan enjoying nominal suzerainty over the ruler of the west. Muqan Khagan quickly succeeded in driving out the remaining Rouran, and forcing the Khitan to the east and the Kyrgyz to the north-west to recognise his suzerainty. In the west, Ishtemi formed an offensive alliance with the Sassanid Shah Khosrau I Anushirvan (r. 531–79), directed against the Rouran's former allies, the Hephthalites, and between 557 and 563 the allies succeeded in destroying the Hephthalites' Central Asian Empire.[12] With this, the important oasis cities of Sogdiana, such as Samarkand and Paykend, became vassals of the Turks, and the Sogdians who controlled their trade became their subjects. The border between Turks and Sassanids first lay on the Oxus, but their struggle over the silk trade soon turned to open war, and in 568 Ishtemi conquered part of Bactria. Advancing further south, the Turks suffered a serious defeat near Herat in 588 or 589, but they would return in 616–17, penetrating as far as Isfahan, deep in Sassanid territory, though they failed to gain any political advantage from this.[13]

1.1 A Military and Commercial Alliance with Byzantium

The defeat of the Rouran and the Hephthalites would, however, have serious consequences beyond Central Asia, in Byzantium and later the Balkans. As the Byzantine historian Menander reports, in 557 or 558 horse nomads called Avars came from the east to occupy parts of the Caucasus and the Pontic steppe. These Avars, whom Theophylact Simocatta described as ‘Var’ and ‘Chunni’,[14] hence as Varchonites, were in fact defeated Rouran tribes, together with Hephthalites who had joined them, all fleeing before the Western Turks. In the winter of 558–59 an Avar embassy arrived in Byzantium to propose a military alliance to Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565), asking in exchange for costly gifts and fertile land on which they might settle. Justinian’s representative Valentinus concluded an agreement with the Avar envoy Kandikh, whereupon the Avars attacked and defeated the three Hunnic tribes of the Onogurs, the Zali and the Sabirs, and also the Slavic Antes.[15] His search for a safe long-term home for his people led the Avar khagan Bayan (r. 560/62–82/83) to embark on two campaigns against the Frankish king Siegbert I. The first, in 562, ended in defeat; the second, in 567, in victory and an alliance with the defeated Siegbert. Despite this success, the Avars found themselves facing two fresh dangers: the new Byzantine emperor Justin II (acceded 565, abdicated 574, d. 578) refused to honour the agreement entered into by his predecessor Justinian. And after sending an embassy to Constantinople in 563 to warn Byzantium against concessions to the Avars, the latter’s Turkic arch-enemies had now crossed the Volga. Bayan thus concluded a military alliance with the Lombards, and together in 567 they defeated the Gepids, who lived in Pannonia, after which the Lombards moved on to northern Italy



145. Stone engravings of three Göktürk armoured horsemen and a stag near Khar Khanatyn Khad, Khovd Aimag, Mongolia. These petroglyphs from the 6th/7th c. show the full-body scale armour of Göktürk equestrian warriors and their horses, which is known from archaeological finds[14] and Chinese chronicles.

with their share of the booty, leaving the Avars to take occupation of the now vacated Hungarian Plain in 568.[16]

With the westward flight of the Avars, who originally came from Mongolia and who spoke a Turkic language, and whose leaders also spoke a proto-Mongolian dialect,[17] yet another Central Asian people – the fifth after the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Alans and the Huns – had projected their presence far into Eastern Europe. With the Avar occupation of Pannonia and the settlement of the Lombards in Italy, the mass migrations came to an end, and the Middle Ages began in Eastern Europe. In the Avars, however, Byzantium had nurtured an extremely irksome enemy, who would finally be defeated only by Charlemagne in 796. Byzantium and Western Europe adopted the iron stirrup from the Avars, which led to a renaissance of heavy cavalry.[18] Combined with a high pommel, stirrups made it possible for armoured bowmen to rise in the saddle and shoot an asymmetric recurve bow in almost any direction. Avar warriors had also very early adopted curved blades for their swords, which increased their cutting efficiency.[19] As the blade was still pointed at the end, the sword could still be used as a thrust weapon, the curve allowing a warrior to strike behind the opponent's shield.

Hot on the heels of the fleeing Avars were the Western Turks under Ishtemi, who like most steppe-nomad leaders defined his realm not so much in terms of territory as in terms of the peoples under his control. In escaping the newly established khaganate, then, the Avars were committing treachery, and whoever took them in was aiding and abetting it. In response to this, a Turkic embassy led by the Sogdian nobleman Maniakh came to Constantinople in the winter of 568–69. It had three objectives. First, Ishtemi asked that Emperor Justin II offer no land to the Avars, whom he considered to be no more than runaway slaves. Already during the war against the Hephthalites, he had declared: 'They [the Avars] are not birds that can take to the sky to escape the swords of the Turks, nor are they fish that they can take to the water and hide in the depths of the sea; but they must travel the earth. When I have ended the war with the Hephthalites, I shall attack the Avars and they shall not escape my might.'[20] Secondly, the yabghu Ishtemi was looking for any ally against his earlier partner Sassanid Iran, which not only stood in the way of further southward advance by the Turks, but had also had the temerity to seriously mistreat a Turkic embassy. This conflict between Turks and Persians arose from the enormous annual

146. The Citadel of Herat, Qala-e Iktyaruddin, Afghanistan, where the Göktürks suffered a heavy defeat in 588 or 589 on their southward advance. The hill on which the citadel stands has been settled since the time of the Achaemenids (550–330 BCE), and the current fort dates from the time of the Timurid Shah Rukh (r. 1405–47).

payments – in the form of bales of silk – which the two contending Chinese dynasties of the Northern Zhou and the Northern Qi were prepared to make to the Turkic Khaganate to ensure its neutrality.[21] With their existing networks in China and Central Asia, and a clear idea of the value of the Eurasian market for luxury goods, the merchants of Sogdiana had been quick to recognise the promising commercial opportunity now offered by Sogdiana's incorporation into the khaganate. For the two Chinese states sent some 200,000 bales of silk annually to north Central Asia, which the Turkic warrior elite was in no position to make use of itself. The Sogdians could buy this silk from their new masters and sell it to the west at a profit, without themselves having to pay the high cost of transport from central China.

The Sogdian merchants now needed unobstructed access to the Byzantine market, which meant a right of transit through Iran. And so in 567, on Maniakh's advice, Ishtemi sent two embassies to Shah Khosrau I. The first, led by Maniakh himself, the Iranian ruler merely snubbed: while he bought the proffered silk, he immediately had it burnt. When Ishtemi – whom the Byzantine historian Menander calls Sizabul – sent a second embassy, Khosrau then had most of the delegation poisoned, clear grounds for war.[22] As negotiation with the Sassanids had failed, Maniakh, Ishtemi's trusted counsellor, advised that direct negotiations be opened with the Byzantines, negotiations that led to a defensive-and-offensive alliance.[23] The agreement concluded in early 569 was historic, for this was the first time that a major east-Central Asian power had engaged in such negotiations with a powerful European state. The outcome was a strategic alliance, which – despite a war between the two parties in the late 570s – would be decisive in ensuring Constantinople's survival. But the Sassanid response was not long in coming, and in 570 Khosrau occupied the Yemen, in order to disrupt Byzantium's maritime trade with India.[24] The history of Turkic-Sassanid and Byzantine-Sassanid relations shows that even in the first millennium many wars had their origin in trade disputes.

The conclusion of the treaty was followed by regular diplomatic exchanges between Constantinople and the Turkic Khaganate. In August 569 the Byzantine ambassador Zemarchus travelled with the returning Turkic delegation, and there in the eastern Tian Shan Mountains, by the Tekes River – and so in

147. In the late 570s, during the war against the Byzantine Empire, the Göktürks conquered almost the entire Crimea. In their footsteps, Sogdian merchants, who had close trade relationships with the Göktürk elite, founded the port of Sogdaia, today's Sudak, on the southern coast of the Crimea around the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th c. From this port on the Black Sea, goods could easily be transported to Byzantium. The architecture seen in the picture dates from the time of the Italian trade republics, for between *ca.* 1204 and 1261 Sogdaia intermittently belonged to the Venetian trade empire, and from then until 1475, but also with interruptions, it was controlled by the Genoese.

north-west Xinjiang[25] – he was able to meet Sizabulos (Ishtemi), after having undergone a ritual purification by fire. They 'led Zemarchus himself through the fire [and] thought that by this means they had purified themselves also'.[26] Then he was ushered to Sizabulos. 'He was in a tent, sitting upon a golden throne with two wheels, which could be drawn when necessary by one horse.'[27] Ishtemi and Zemarchus reaffirmed their mutual friendship, and the khagan began preparations for an attack on the Sassanids. Since Maniakh had died in the meantime, Ishtemi appointed Tagma as his successor, who accompanied Zemarchus on his return to Constantinople, which they reached in late 571. There followed four other Byzantine embassies to the Turks.[28] In the meantime, in 572, Emperor Justin had thoughtlessly provoked – so says Menander – a war with the Sassanids that cost Byzantium dear and which would only be brought to an end by the emperor Maurice in 591. Justin, however, became mentally ill in 574 and abdicated in favour of his general Tiberius.[29] And nor did Ishtemi's half-hearted offensive bring any advantage to the Turks.

When in late 575 or early 576 the Byzantine ambassador Valentinus arrived in the khaganate on his second mission to the Turks, he found a changed political situation. Ishtemi had just died, his son Tardush was the new viceroy (with interruptions r. 575–*ca.* 603?), and the Byzantine representative was first taken to the camp of Turxanthus,[30] which lay west of the Caspian Sea.

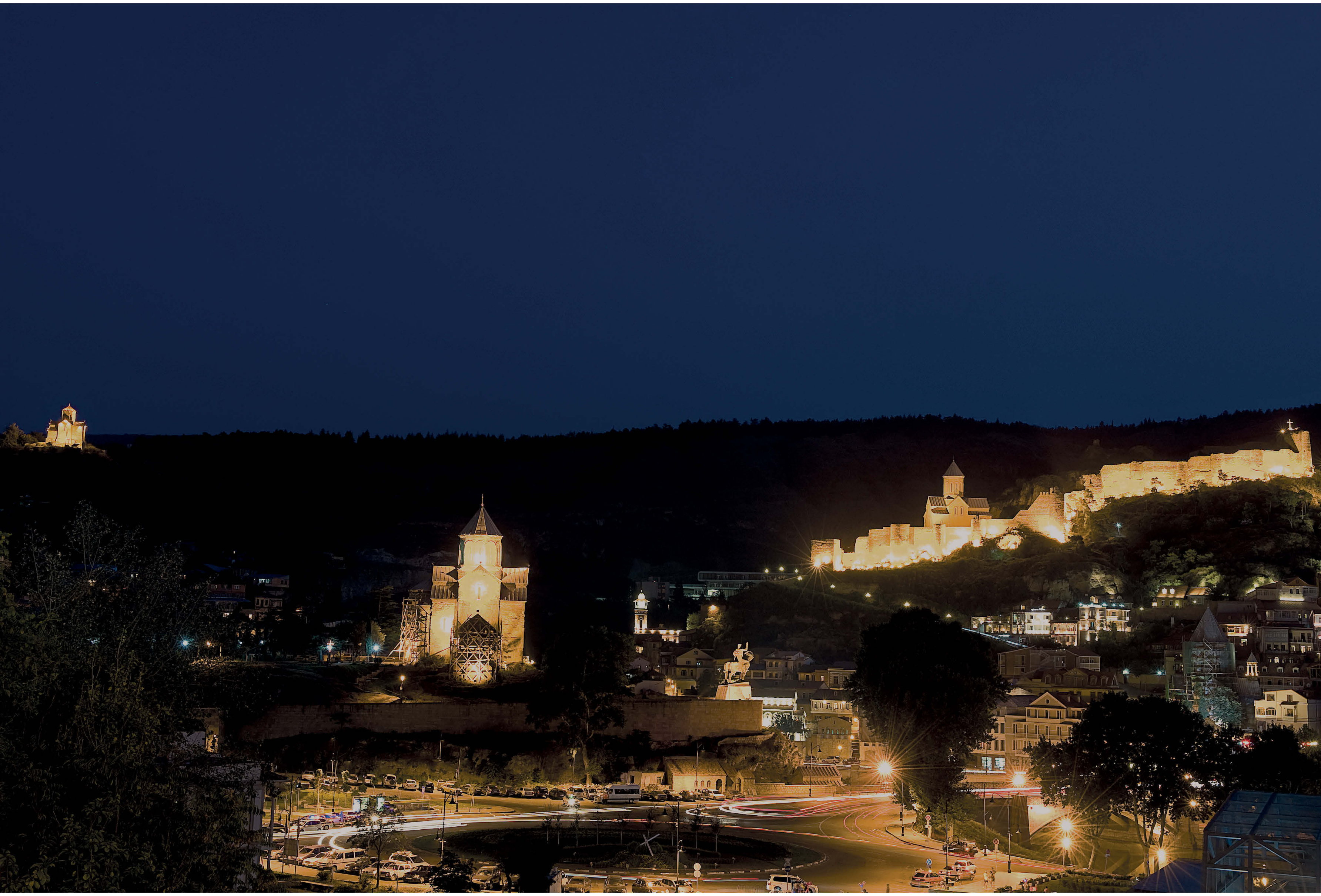
Turxanthus was a son of Ishtemi's, and brother or half-brother to Yabghu Tardush. When Valentinus asked Turxanthus to finally put some energy into the attack on the Sassanids, the Turkic leader angrily retorted that the emperor was a deceiver, for he had concluded an agreement with the Avars. He recalled the fate of the Caucasian Alans, defeated not long after 572, threatened Valentinus with death, and ordered his general Bokhan and his Utrigur vassal Anagai to attack the Crimea. Turxanthus concluded by compelling the Byzantine diplomats to express their condolences on the death of Ishtemi in the manner of the Turks: 'You must follow the custom which prevails among us for the dead and slash your faces with daggers.' Turxanthus then had four prisoners and Ishtemi's horses sacrificed in honour of the deceased, before sending Valentinus to Tardush in the eastern Tian Shan.[31] Turxanthus's talk of war had not been empty, for in the winter of 576–77 Bokhan crossed the probably frozen-over Cimmerian Bosporus and captured the Byzantine city of Pantikapaion (today's Kerch). The Turks then slowly made their way through the Crimea, towards the important Byzantine outpost of Cherson, whose eastern approaches were guarded by a series of strong mountain fortresses garrisoned by Alans and Goths. Though the Turks succeeded in reaching Cherson in mid-579, their siege proved fruitless.[32] With this advance, though, the khaganate had reached its maximum extent, stretching from

Manchuria in the east to the shore of the Black Sea: the Göktürks had not only constructed a state that spanned the entire Eurasian land mass, commanding the trade routes that went with it, but they also controlled much of the continent's horse breeding, giving them a significant strategic advantage over their Chinese and Sassanid opponents.

Twelve years later, the Byzantine emperor Maurice (r. 582–602) had a surprising encounter with Turkic prisoners of war. In 590, the Sassanid general Vahram Chobin, who had just defeated a Turkic army near Herat, had staged a putsch against Shah Hormizd IV (r. 579–90), forcing his son Khosrau II (r. 591–628) into Byzantine exile. Khosrau won the support of Maurice, who sent an army against the usurper, who was defeated at Urmia. Theophylact Simocatta tells of the fate of those taken prisoner: 'Khosrau handed some [prisoners] to the jaws of the sword, while others he presented as toys for the feet of the beasts [elephants]. When he learned that some of the captives were of Turkish race, he sent them to Emperor Maurice. On their foreheads was inscribed the sign of the Lord's passion, which is called a cross by the ministers of the Christian religion.'[33] These prisoners were Turkic and perhaps also Sogdian mercenaries from Bukhara, whose mothers had had the sign of the cross tattooed on their foreheads as children. Christian missionaries had told them 20 or 30 years earlier that such a tattoo would ward off the plague.

The Turkic-Byzantine alliance was revived in the mid-620s, ensuring Constantinople's victory over the hitherto unvanquished Sassanids. Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–41) wanted an ally to take the war to the Persian Empire, while the Western Turkic ruler Tong Yabghu (r. *ca.* 617–30) sought to secure the steppe trade routes against the threat of Sassanid attack. Tong Yabghu first sent Heraclius an elite unit of mounted warriors,[34] then in early 627 his nephew Böri Shad led a force from the North Caucasus southward into Sassanid territory. The Turks stormed the supposedly impregnable fortress of Derbent on the western shore of the Caspian Sea and advanced into the region of today's Azerbaijan. They then swung west to invade central Georgia, a small Sassanid

148. **The eastern casemates of Eski Kermen in the south-western Crimea. This fortified cave town, which was founded in the 6th c. CE by the Byzantines, was situated on a rock plateau 1,040 m long and 170 m wide. In the late 570s the fortress was unable to halt the Göktürk advance, and a century later Eski Kermen, like the neighbouring cave towns, had to recognise the suzerainty of the Turkic Khazars.**



149. From 626 or early 627, a Western Turkic-Byzantine alliance besieged the main fortress of Tbilisi, Georgia, which was held by the Persian Sassanids, but it only fell in 628. The fortress called Narikala in the right of the picture, which was founded by the Sassanids at the end of the 4th c., was always swiftly rebuilt by its conquerors because of its strategic importance. In 1827 a powerful explosion destroyed the fortress, since the Russian occupants had stored their gunpowder there. In the centre of the picture is the Metechi Church, which was built by the Georgian king Demetrius II between 1278 and 1289.

vassal state. The Turkic army, now perhaps led by Böri Shad's father Bagha Shad, or even by Tong Yabghu himself,[35] hurried to the capital Tbilisi, already under siege from Heraclius. There the Turkic and Byzantine rulers agreed an alliance by marriage, though this was never acted on. As the siege stretched on, the Turkic commander returned to Central Asia and Heraclius turned to the south, where in late 627, near Nineveh, he defeated a large Persian army, prompting unrest among the Sassanid nobility and officer corps, a disquiet that led in early 628 to the deposition and murder of Khosrau II by his own son Siroe.[36] Not long after, the Turks under Böri Shad's command took Tbilisi and massacred the Persian garrison. Heraclius managed to benefit from the victory of his Turkic ally by converting Iberia (central and eastern Georgia) into a vassal state; Lazica (antique Colchis, which is western Georgia) had already been a Byzantine vassal state since 562.[37] After the conquest of Tbilisi the shad sent his general Chorpan Tarkhan to Armenia, then occupied by the Sassanids. There Chorpan Tarkhan defeated a Sassanid cavalry army, bringing most of Armenia back into the Byzantine Empire as well.

1.2 Buddhism, Funerary Rituals, and the Splitting of the Khaganate

Residing in the east of the khaganate, Muqan Khagan not only quickly extended his authority to the Khitan and the Kyrgyz but in 554 surprised the Tuyuhun with a lightning attack, winning much booty. Ten years later, however, he failed in his attack on the Northern Qi in Shanxi.[38] Muqan was succeeded on his death by his younger brother **Taspar Khagan** (r. 572–81), the last universally recognised ruler of the united khaganate. Although Taspar succeeded by military means in forcing the mutually hostile states of Zhou and Qi to pay him substantial tribute, he did draw nearer to Chinese culture. He allowed the monk Huilin to convert him to Buddhism, built a monastery, and sent for Buddhist sutras from China,[39] though it is worth remembering that his predecessor Muqan Khagan had already asked the Northern Zhou to build a Buddhist 'Temple of the Turks' for him in Chang'an.[40] Erected shortly after Taspar's death around 582, the famous Bugut Stele, inscribed on three sides in Sogdian and on the fourth in Brahmi-Sanskrit, confirms Taspar's commitment to Buddhism in the following words: 'And he [most probably Taspar] ordered: "Establish a great new samgha [a Buddhist monastery]!"'[41] Taspar also invited the Gandhara-born Buddhist monk Jinagupta (*ca.* 528–605) to come to him, when the Northern Zhou banned Buddhism in 574, forcing Jinagupta to flee the court where he had been residing. Not long afterwards, 11 monks returning from India with the 260 Sanskrit sutras they had acquired there found refuge with Taspar.[42] That the inscription on the official memorial stele to Taspar Khagan should be for the most part written in Sogdian indicates the importance of Sogdian merchants and counsellors within the khaganate; Sogdians, in fact, held important posts in the civil service and Sogdian seems to have been used as the language of administration. Only towards the end of the seventh century does a Turkic script seem to have been adopted in the khaganate.[43]

The presence of a dozen or two Buddhist monks at the khagan's court left no archaeological trace and changed neither the attitudes nor the customs of the Turks. The most important deities of the

150. The David Gareja cave monastery complex, founded in the 6th c., was then an eastern outpost of Orthodox Christianity. It was destroyed several times by Central Asian conquerors, including the Seljuks, the Mongols and Timur Lenkh as well as by Muslim great powers such as the Persian Safavids and the Turkic Ottomans. Today five monks live in the cave hermitage of St David at the foot of the complex which once consisted of 13 monasteries.

151. The main church of the Udabno Monastery of David Gareja was partly destroyed by an earthquake. Its murals from the 11th c. feature episodes from St David's life, for example in the top right corner St David and his disciple Lukian encounter a herd of does which offer the two thirsty hermits their milk.

Göktürk pantheon were the sky god Tengri, the earth and water goddess Iduk Yer-sub, the fertility goddess Umay, and the god of death Erklig Khan.[44] And the Göktürks' creation myth figures on the memorial stele raised for Kül Tegin in 732: 'When the blue sky above and the brown earth below were created, between them a human being was created.'[45]

The Göktürk elite also retained their funerary rituals, described not only by Valentinus but also by the *Zhou Shu*, the chronicle of the Northern Zhou (557–81) composed in 636: 'If a person [from the ruling clan] dies, the deceased is laid in his tent. And his descendants and relatives kill and lay their own sheep and horses at the front of the tent and hold a kind of a funeral ceremony. They ride around the tent seven times clockwise, and whenever they reach the door of the tent, they cut their face with swords and cry each time. Thus, they shed blood and tears together. [. . .] They cremate and bury the deceased together with his horses and articles of every day use on a special day. Then they bury the ashes of the deceased on an appropriate day. If a person died in spring or summer, they dig the ground for burial of his ashes in the autumn when plants and trees wither. If a person died in autumn or winter, they dig the ground for burial the next spring when flowers or trees come into bud. On the funeral day, all the relatives of the deceased perform a ceremony riding around on a horse and cutting their own faces as mentioned above. After the funeral, they erect stones at the grave and establish the grave marker. As to the stones, their number depends on the number of enemies killed by the deceased in his lifetime.'[46] A little later the Göktürk elite replaced cremation by the earth burial that by then prevailed among the ordinary members of the tribe. The Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626–49) noted in 628: 'It was earlier the custom among the Turks to burn their corpses, but now they bury them and raise a grave mound'[47] – like the Chinese.

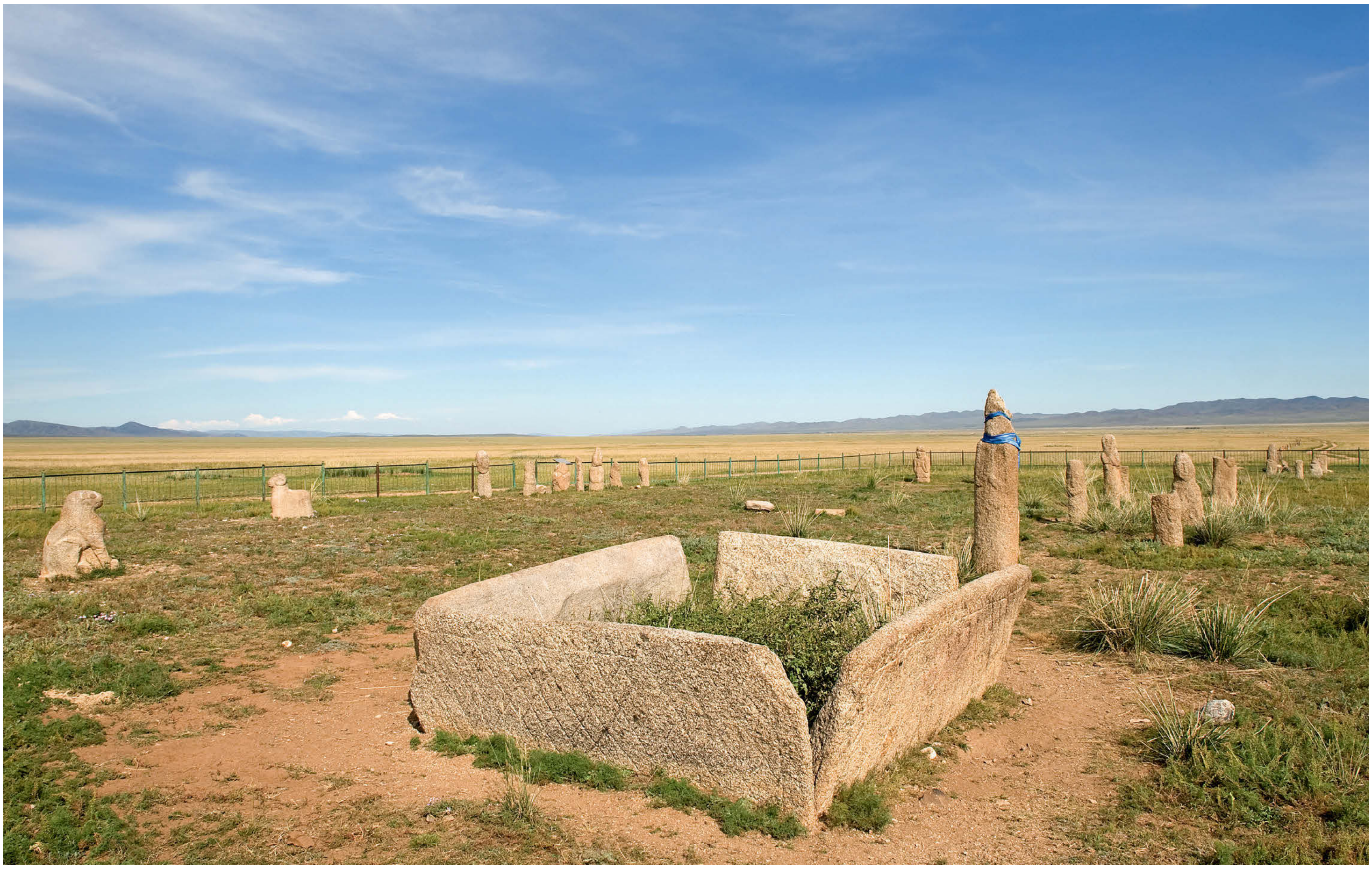
The funerary ritual for leading members of the tribe thus took place in three stages (fig. 222). The deceased was at first laid out and ritually mourned, then the body was cremated, and in the following autumn or spring the ashes were finally buried and a memorial was erected. In most of its aspects, including the burial with the deceased of a bridled and saddled horse and the less common human sacrifice observed by Valentinus, this ritual was

152. The Georgian rock-hewn town of Uplistsikhe, an important hub on a trade route which existed since the 5th c. BCE, attained great wealth in the Middle Ages. The destructions by the Central Asian Timur Lenkh between 1386 and 1404, as well as the loss of access to the Western European markets after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, led to the decline of the town. On the left, a late Hellenic complex with gable architecture, on the right a three-nave basilica from the 13th c.

very close to that of the Scythian and Hunnic nomadic horsemen. Grave and memorial were not, however, at the same location, and the site of the actual burial remained a secret.[48] Furthermore, the same number of stone steles (called *balbals*) were erected as of enemies the deceased had slain in his life. It is clear from both Chinese chronicles and Turkic runic inscriptions that each one of the *balbals* set out in a long row represented one adversary killed.[49] The number of such steles varied with the military career of the departed, ranging from just a few to more than 300, giving rows of up to three kilometres long. The rows generally extended eastward from the wall of small stones surrounding the memorial. This custom indicates how great a value the Göktürk elite attached to a warrior's performance in battle. The custom continued in the tenth century among the Turkic Oghuzes, who lived north-west of the Aral Sea, as witnessed by Ibn Fadlan, secretary to an Abbasid ambassador, in 922: 'If he [the deceased] has killed any one and has been a hero, then they carve statues out of wood in the number of those whom he has slain.'[50]

Distinct from the *balbals* are the anthropomorphic granite figures within the stone enclosure, generally standing, less often seated, with stylised faces, arms and hands, by which later descendants commemorated their ancestors and sought their protection.[51] In the days of the Göktürks, these figures are largely male, as can be recognised from their moustaches and war belts (fig. 155).[52] The central stone figure, up to two metres high, which generally represents the dead hero, is sometimes surrounded by short rows or groups of small anthropomorphic or zoomorphic stone figures representing high-ranking persons from the deceased's milieu or animals such as horses or lions. The largest complexes contained stone cists formed of four upright granite slabs, whose outer sides were decorated with geometrical and floral patterns, or, as at the mausoleum of Kül Tegin, with paired phoenixes. While these last were adopted from Chinese iconography, the bird here represents the soul of the deceased in flight to the beyond, for the inscription on the memorial stele says explicitly 'flown away' rather than 'dead'.[53] Containing neither an inhumation nor vessels for cremation ashes, these cists were not sarcophagi, and it is clear that these sites were pure memorial complexes.[54] Of the monumental Göktürk tombs of Mongolia, that of Öngüt, 90 kilometres south-west of Ulaan Baatar and dating from 645 or 646, is the best preserved in situ (figs. 153f). Some memorials, such as Taspar's at Bugut and those of the minister Tonyukuk, the commander Kül Tegin, and Bilge Khagan, also have inscribed stone steles celebrating the achievements and military successes of the deceased. Sometimes the complex included a building resembling a pavilion, whose walls are decorated with murals. 'The court painters of the Chinese emperor took part. I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum. They decorated the inside and outside with wonderful paintings and sculptures.'[55]

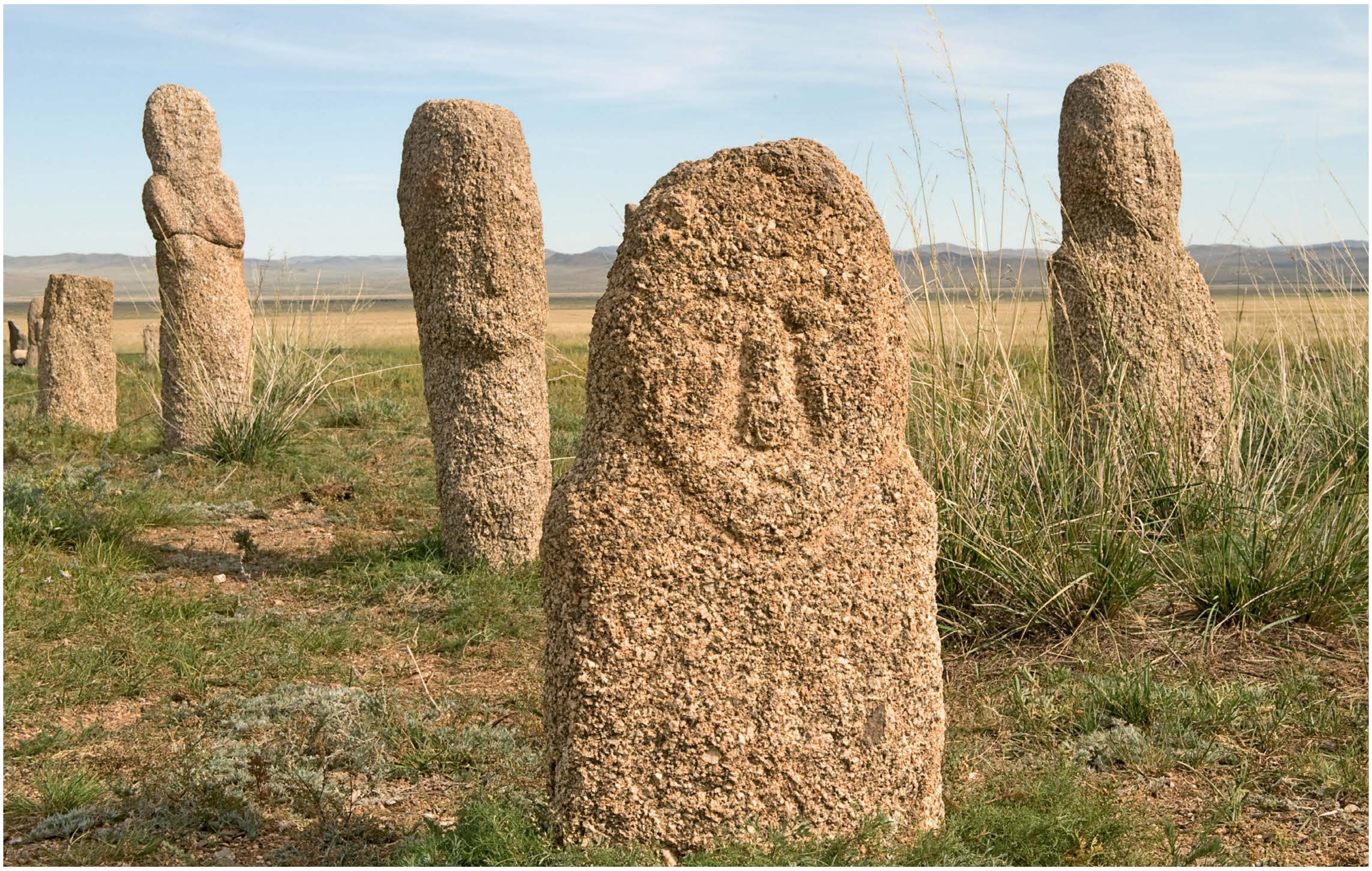
The inscribed steles standing on stone turtles, the rows of sculptures, and the pavilion-like building clearly all derive from Chinese models. Even closer to Chinese Tang dynasty examples are two recently excavated Göktürk graves, with a dromos leading down to the burial chamber, which contained typically Chinese grave figurines called *mingqi*. In a grave excavated in 2010 at Zaamar Sum in Töv Aimag, Central Mongolia, a military commander of the Göktürk Pugu tribe, who had died in 677, was buried, as was recorded on a stone slab with an inscription of 750 Chinese characters.[56] Even more exceptional is the 42-metre-long Shoroon Bumbagar grave complex, which was excavated in 2011 near Ulaan Kherem in Bulgan Aimag, Central Mongolia. This was the first Göktürk tomb with well-preserved wall paintings, showing both Chinese and Korean influences, that had ever been discovered. The 22-metre dromos, three of the four antechambers and the main chamber were all richly painted. In the dromos, a dragon and a white tiger are represented, in the first antechamber two grooms each holding a horse, in the second four Chinese dignitaries, and over the entrance to the third a dragon's head. In the burial chamber proper, in which stood a wood coffin containing an urn



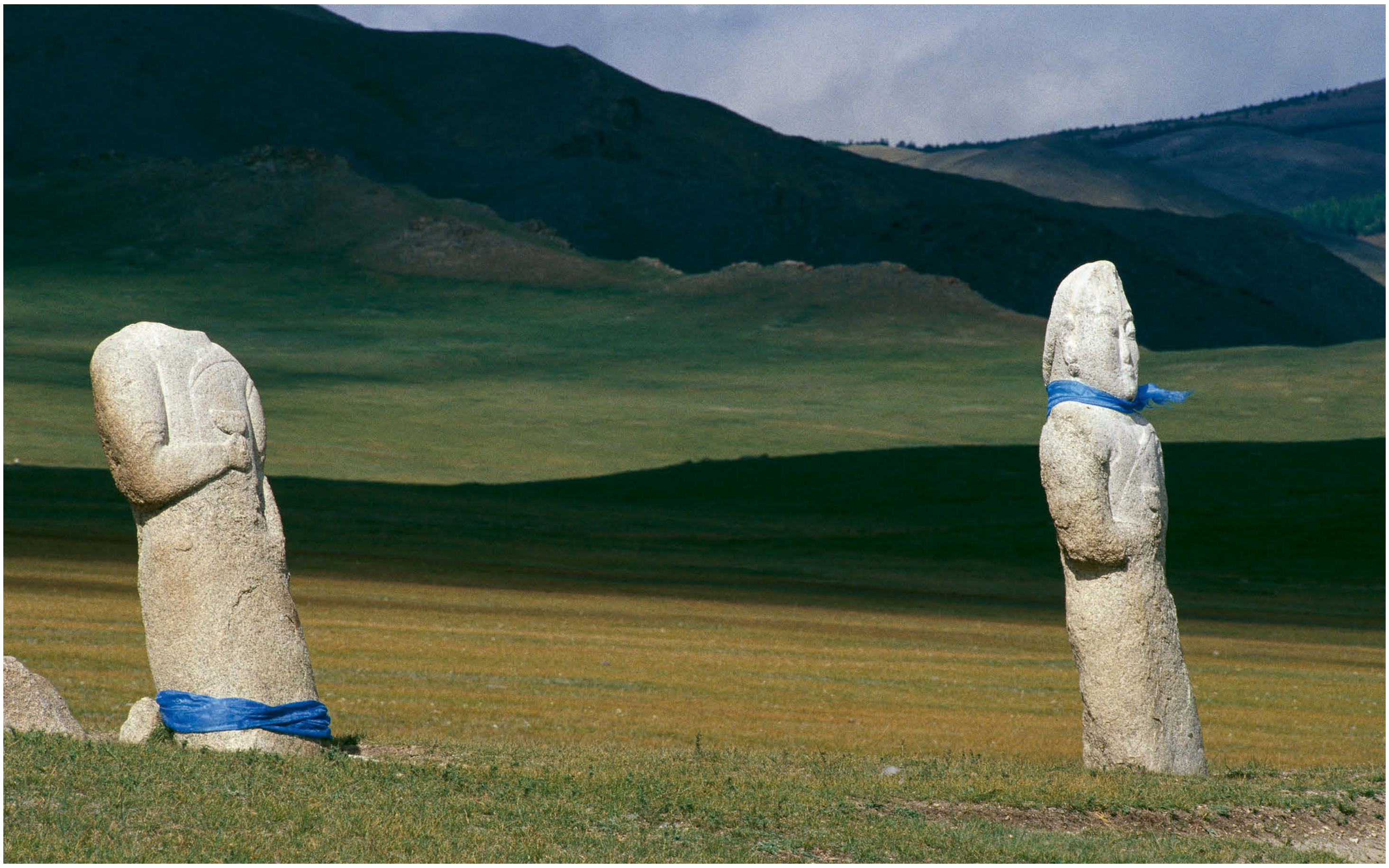
153. The Göktürk memorial complex of Öngöt, which was once surrounded by a wall measuring 55 x 38 m, Töv Aimag, Mongolia. In the foreground stands a stone cenotaph, decorated with diamond patterns, measuring 268 x 245 cm; behind it a 205-centimetre-high, anthropomorphic stone figure and 25 medium-sized additional humanoid granite statues. There are also sculptures of a ram and a lion. Extending the largest group of stone men is a row of 550 *balbals*, *ca.* 2 km long. As Mongolian runic inscriptions and Chinese chronicles report, each *balbal* stood for an enemy killed by the deceased. Given the very high number of *balbals*, the deceased must have been a khagan or a very important military leader. V.E. Vojtov hypothesises that the complex was built for the ruler of the Xueyantuo, Zhenzhu Khagan, who died in 645 CE.[15]

with ashes, the walls are decorated with eight persons either seated or strolling in a garden setting.[57] Of the 117 *mingqi* figurines found, most represent armoured horsemen, infantry soldiers (fig. 156), officials and noblewomen; there are also a number of Buddhist guardians of the four cardinal directions, represented in armour and standing on a cow or bull, symbols deriving from the Hinduism that Buddhism had superseded. There were also wooden figures of birds, fish, and human-bird hybrids. Together with jewellery, the burial chamber also contained 41 gold bracteates of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–41), some overstamped with Turkic runic or Sogdian characters. These give a *terminus post quem*, the earliest possible date at which the tomb complex was constructed. The identity of the person buried there has not yet been established, but he must have been a member of the highest strata of the tribal elite. Entirely foreign to the Chinese, however, was the kind of levirate marriage widely practised among the Göktürks and later the Mongolic peoples. 'After the death of the father, or of one of the father's brothers, a son, brother or nephew of the deceased would marry the step-mother [never the natural mother], aunt or sister in law as the case might be.'[58]

The year 581 saw decisive shifts in both China and the First Khaganate. In China, the Sui dynasty succeeded in reuniting the country politically, massively increasing its military power. In the khaganate, Taspar's death provoked a civil war that lasted from 581 to 603 and led to its division. This brought about a reversal of roles: while until 581 the united khaganate had secured its own advantage by playing the Northern Zhou and Northern Qi off against each other, now Emperor Sui Wendi (r. 581–604) succeeded in sowing discord among the Ashina chiefs and in setting the claimants to the Turkic throne at each others' throats. At the start of the Turkic power struggle, the emperor's foreign policy adviser, General Zhangsun Sheng had recommended: 'Tardush [the Western Turkic yabghu] has more soldiers than Shetu [Ishbara Khagan], yet ranks beneath him; outwardly, they stick together, but among themselves they are at enmity. Were one to stir up their passions, they would begin fighting each other without any ado! [. . .] Now one should ally with the one who lives afar [i.e. from the Sui] and attack the one who lives nearer, divide the power of the strong, and muster the weak.'[59]



154. Some of the anthropomorphic granite figures of the Göktürk memorial complex of Öngöt from the 7th c., Töv Aimag, Mongolia.

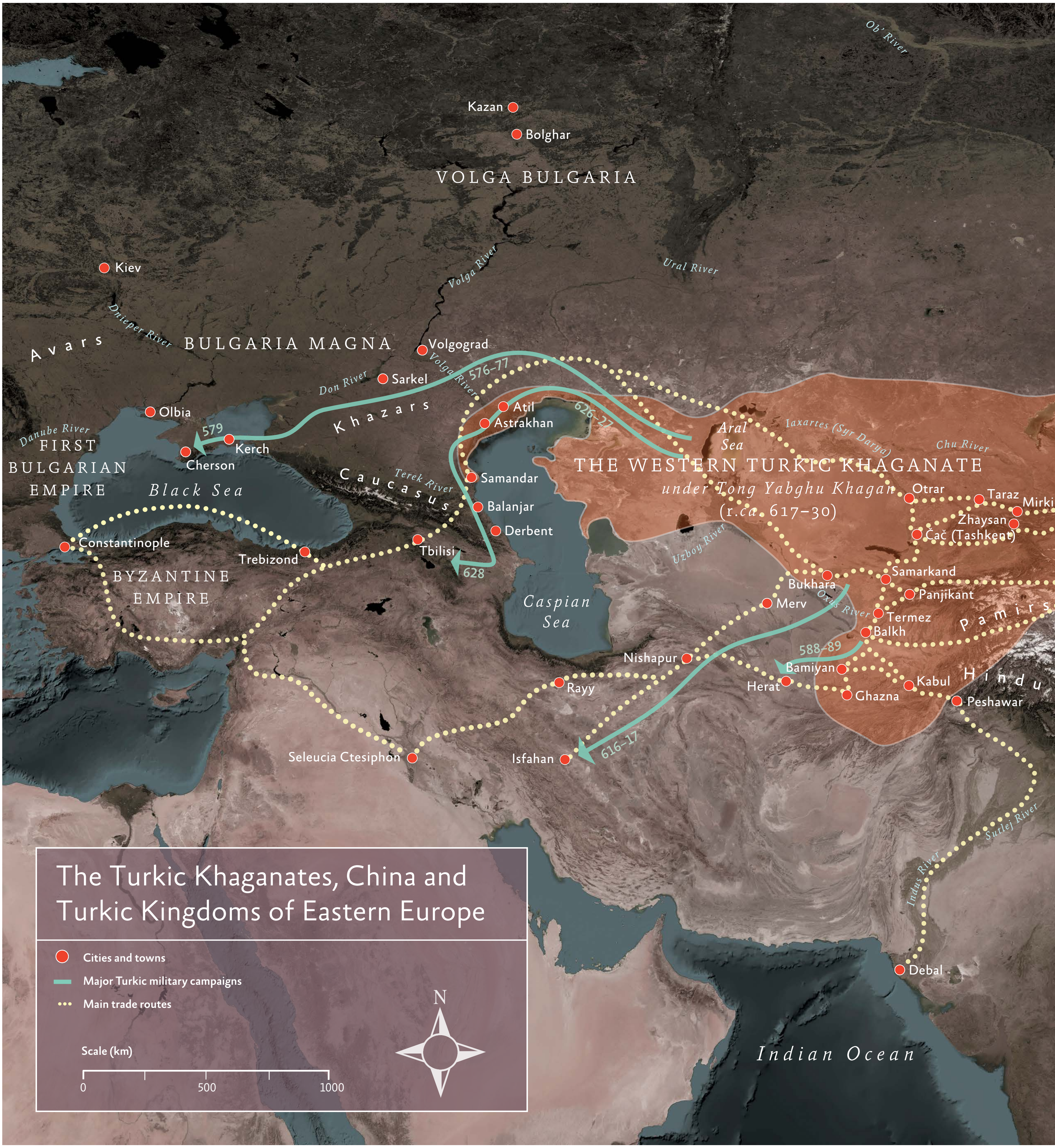


155. Two life-size Göktürk stone figures on the north-western shore of the Terkhin Tsagaan Lake, Arkhangai Aimag, Mongolia. It is a characteristic of Göktürk stone men that they hold their drinking vessels in their right hands in front of their chests, while their left hands rest near the belts with their daggers. Depictions of the vessel held in both hands and of belts with numerous straps, on the other hand, suggest a post-Göktürk dating, such as the time of the Uyghurs (fig. 250).

2. The Eastern Turkic Khaganate

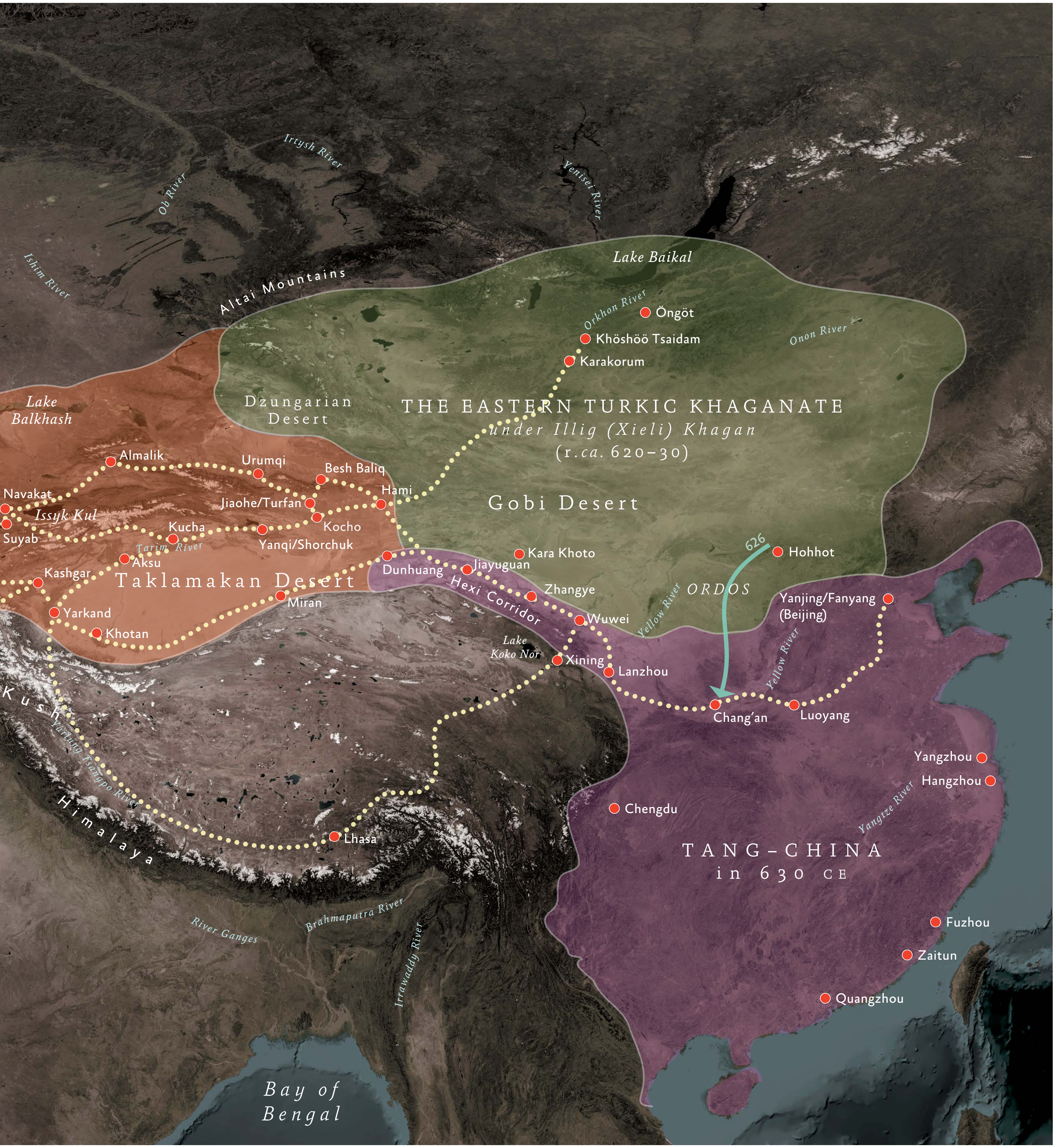
After Taspar's death four claimants contended for the khaganate: Taspar Khagan's son **Anluo**, Muqan Khagan's son **Daluobian**, later Apa Khagan, and Issik Khagan's son **Shetu**, who was then Nivar Khagan of the easternmost territory and who not much later would become Ishbara Khagan. They were joined by **Tardush** Yabghu, a son of Ishtemi's, encouraged to lay a claim to the whole khaganate by the machinations of Emperor Sui Wendi. The council of elders rejected Daluobian, whom Taspar had designated as his successor, appointing Anluo Khagan in 581. The latter was unable to establish his authority over the spurned Daluobian, and so abdicated in favour of Shetu, who ruled under the name of **Ishbara Khagan** (r. 581–87). He first conferred on Daluobian the title of Apa Khagan, but then launched a surprise attack on him in 583, fearing the possibility of an alliance against himself between Daluobian and Emperor Sui Wendi. Apa Khagan took refuge with Tardush Yabghu in the west, although Sui Wendi then managed to inflict a crushing defeat on Ishbara Khagan. Threatened by a coalition between **Apa Khagan** (r.? d. 587) and Tardush on his western flank, Ishbara Khagan recognised Sui suzerainty, thereby securing his southern border. He then attacked and defeated Apa Khagan in the west.[60]

Ishbara was succeeded by his brother **Baghan Khagan** (Chuluohu, r. 587–88), who may have been killed in battle against the Sassanid general Vahram Chobin at Herat.[61] He was followed by Ishbara's son **Dulan Khagan** (r. 588–99); his reign was marked by the discord provoked among the royal family by a Chinese policy of favouritism in the matter of gifts, and in 597 he stopped paying tribute to the Sui. Two years later he was assassinated, and the Western Turkic **Tardush Khagan** (r. 599–603?) seized the opportunity to assert his claim to a united khaganate. As Emperor Sui Wendi wished at all costs to prevent such a reunification, he bribed several Turkic chiefs to reject Tardush Khagan's authority.



The Turkic Khaganates, China and Turkic Kingdoms of Eastern Europe

Cities and towns
Major Turkic military campaigns
Main trade routes
Scale (km)
0
500
1000
N
Ob' River
Kazan
Bolghar
VOLGA BULGARIA
Kiev
Volga River
Ural River
Dnieper River
Avars
BULGARIA MAGNA
Volgograd
Volga River
576–77
Don River
Sarkel
Olbia
579
Khazars
Atil
Astrakhan
626–27
Aral Sea
Iaxartes (Syr Darya)
Chu River
Danube River
FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE
Kerch
Cherson
Black Sea
Caucasus
Terek River
Samandar
THE WESTERN TURKIC KHAGANATE
under Tong Yabghu Khagan
(r.ca. 617–30)
Otrar
Taraz
Mirki
Zhaysan
Čač (Tashkent)
Balanjar
Derbent
Constantinople
Trebizond
Tbilisi
628
Uzboy River
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Samarkand
Bukhara
Panjikant
Oxus River
Merv
Termez
Balkh
Pamirs
Caspian Sea
588–89
Nishapur
Bamiyan
Herat
Kabul
Hindu
Rayy
Ghazna
Peshawar
Seleucia Ctesiphon
Isfahan
616–17
Sutlej River
Indus River
Debal
Indian Ocean


Irtysh River
Yenisei River
Ob River
Ishim River
Altai Mountains
Lake Baikal
Orkhon River
Öngöt
Khöshöö Tsaidam
Karakorum
Onon River
Lake Balkhash
Dzungarian Desert
THE EASTERN TURKIC KHAGANATE
under Illig (Xieli) Khagan
(r. ca. 620–30)
Almalik
Urumqi
Besh Baliq
Hami
Navakat
Issyk Kul
Jiaohe/Turfan
Kocho
Gobi Desert
Suyab
Kucha
Yanqi/Shorchuk
Tarim River
Aksu
Kashgar
Taklamakan Desert
Dunhuang
Jiayuguan
Kara Khoto
626
Hohhot
Hexi Corridor
Zhangye
ORDOS
Yellow River
Yanjing/Fanyang
(Beijing)
Miran
Yarkand
Khotan
Wuwei
Lake
Koko Nor
Xining
Lanzhou
Yellow River
Chang'an
Luoyang
Kush
Yarlung Tsangpo River
Himalaya
Lhasa
Yangzhou
Hangzhou
Chengdu
Yangtze River
TANG CHINA
in 630 CE
River Ganges
Brahmaputra River
Irrawaddy River
Fuzhou
Zaitun
Quangzhou
Bay of
Bengal

156. **A Chinese-style painted clay figure with Central Asian features, *ca.* 70 cm high, of a Chinese officer. From the grave complex of Shoroon Bumbagar, Bulgan Aimag, Mongolia, which was discovered in 2011. Karakorum Museum, Kharkhorin, Mongolia.**

When the latter then launched a campaign against China and his renegade chiefs, Zhangsun Sheng poisoned the springs and wells along Tardush's line of march, decimating his army and forcing him to flee.[62] The unity of the Göktürk empire was now definitively broken, with **Yami Khagan** (r. 603–09) left to rule the Eastern Turks only, as China's vassal. The new khagan also seems to have preferred the comforts of Chinese life over the ruder amenities of Mongolia. In 608 Emperor Yangdi (r. 604–18) noted in an edict that the khagan had 'often expressed his wish to erect a house like those of his [Chinese] neighbours, with timbers and rooms, finding the felt walls and hangings [of the yurt] to be primitive'. The khagan was thus granted a house on the great loop of the Yellow River.[63]

The weak and dependent Yami was succeeded by his son **Shibi Khagan** (r. 609–19), who actively interfered in Chinese domestic politics. He began by strengthening his administration, introducing more Sogdian advisers and officials, a move which displeased the Chinese government. Counsellor Bei Ku advised the emperor that 'The Tujue [Turks] are essentially artless and uncomplicated, and one may promote discord among them; unfortunately there live among them many Hu [barbarians, Sogdians] who are cunning and shrewd and who instruct and direct them.'[64] In 615, on Bei Ku's advice, the Emperor lured the khagan's Sogdian chief counsellor Shi Shuhuxi (this being his Chinese name) into a trap, and had him executed. Upon this, Shibi Khagan ceased paying tribute and briefly besieged the emperor as he undertook a tour of inspection in the province of Shanxi. At the time, there was unrest in China as a result of an extremely costly war against Korea, and Shibi Khagan's success encouraged discontented Chinese princes to abandon the Sui and recognise his suzerainty. The khagan's dominion now extended from the Khitan in the east to the Tuyuhun and Gaochang in the south-west. In 617, determined to bring down the Sui dynasty, he formed an alliance with the rebellious Sui general Li Yuan, who would soon become the founder of the Tang dynasty. To help Li Yuan take the capital Chang'an, he sent him a contingent of mounted bowmen, who were rewarded by being allowed to thoroughly plunder the fallen city.[65]

Shibi's successor **Chuluo Khagan** (r. 619–20) ruled for just 18 months, and was succeeded by his brother **Illig Khagan** (**Xieli** in Chinese, r. 620–30), the last ruler of an independent Eastern Turkic Khaganate. Like Shibi, Illig Khagan pursued an active foreign policy in relation to China's Tang dynasty, seeking not territorial expansion but rather constant pressure on the first Tang emperor, Gaozu (r. 618–26), the former General Li Yuan, so that he paid regular tribute. It was to this end that between 621 and 625 he undertook yearly campaigns in the north of the Chinese Empire. As a first defensive response, Gaozu had a flotilla of warships patrol the Yellow River, but in the late summer of 626 events began moving very rapidly. While Illig Khagan and his nephew Tuli advanced into China at the head of a large cavalry army, Gaozu's second son staged a coup against his father, ascending the throne on 3 September, under the name Taizong (r. 626–49). Three weeks later, Illig arrived at the gates of Chang'an, demanding tribute.

Taizong had to yield, paying the khagan an enormous ransom, upon which the latter withdrew. The emperor, however, swore to avenge this humiliation, and was soon presented with an opportunity.[66] Firstly, though, he reformed the Chinese army, which consisted mostly of infantry and whose small, heavily armoured cavalry was badly trained. Taizong established separate units of mounted archers, whose training he personally supervised. Secondly, he ordered large-scale manoeuvres, in the course of which this new arm operated independently as light cavalry units, thereby familiarising his generals with the strategy of the highly mobile steppe war.

After his 626 campaign, Xieli Khagan seems to have taken up residence not far from the present city of Hohhot in Inner Mongolia, together with the numerous Sogdian advisers who controlled the Eastern Turkic administration. In that same year there was apparently an enormous volcanic eruption that saw ash fall as far away as Constantinople and caused years of dramatic climate change in Mongolia and northern China. Various Chinese chronicles report that the weather cooled markedly, with summer frosts in Mongolia, and that the Mongolian steppe saw unusually heavy snowfall in the years 627–629. The transformation of this snow cover into ice led to mass livestock deaths and famine.[67] Rather than helping the starving population, Xieli Khagan raised taxes to compensate for the foreseeable shortfall in income. This wrongheaded policy provoked the ire not only of the associated tribes but also the Ashina clan, already angered by Xieli's preference for Sogdian advisers. The first to rebel in 627/28 were the Turkic Xueyantuo, accompanied by the Uyghurs and the Bayegu, who defeated the armies sent against them by Xieli, including one led by Xieli's nephew Tuli. When Xieli upbraided his humiliatingly defeated nephew, he too rose in rebellion, together with part of the Ashina. In 629, Yinan, chief of the Xueyantuo, declared himself khagan under the name **Zhenzhu Khagan** (r. 629–45), and together with the Uyghurs and the Khitan, formed an offensive alliance with the Chinese emperor Taizong against Xieli Khagan. In the winter of 629–30 six separate Chinese cavalry formations attacked Xieli along a 1,200-kilometre front, and he was taken prisoner that year.[68] With this the First Göktürk Khaganate ceased to exist as an independent state, and Zhenzhu Khagan of the Xueyantuo took

157. Morning milking of the goats in Khovd Aimag, Mongolia. The animals are tied together with a long rope around their necks.

up the succession. This prompted Emperor Taizong to adopt for himself, on the request of several Turkic chiefs, the title of *Tian Kehan*, or 'Celestial Khagan'.[69]

Despite Emperor Taizong's triumph, the Turco-Chinese border region remained unsettled. In order to break the remaining power of the Ashina, Taizong fragmented their tribal organisation, dividing them into different hordes, which he settled in the Ordos, south of the Yellow River, in the hope of sinicising them. In 639, however, he only narrowly escaped assassination by the younger brother of the former Ashina commander Tuli, who was serving as an officer of the guard in the Chinese army. Taizong then forced the Ashina Turks to resettle in the region north of the Yellow River and south of the Gobi Desert and appointed **Qilibi Khagan** (r. 639–43, d. 645) as their puppet ruler. At the same time, he told the Xueyantuo to go and live on the grass steppe north of the Gobi; that is, in Central and Northern Mongolia, so that they were cut off from the remaining Göktürks by the desert. For Taizong, Qilibi Khagan's Eastern Turks were to serve as a submissive buffer state between China and the Xueyantuo, who were now growing dangerously strong. The plan failed when the Xueyantuo's Zhenzhu Khagan advanced southward in 642 and the Eastern Turks beat a hasty retreat across the Yellow River. For a few years, Zhenzhu Khagan would be the most powerful ruler north of that river. But when his son and successor **Duomi Khagan** (r. 645–46) made plans to attack China, Taizong made an alliance with Uyghur tribes, who in 646, combined with a Chinese army to inflict a crushing defeat on Duomi Khagan, prompting the dissolution of his clan.[70]

At the same time, Ashina Hubo, a member of a junior family of the Ashina clan, took advantage of the destruction of the Xueyantuo to make an attempt to revive the Eastern Turkic Khaganate, declaring himself **Chebi Khagan** (r. 646–50). On his refusal to recognise him as suzerain, Taizong again struck an agreement with Uyghur bands and in 650 took him prisoner. Two further attempts on the part of the Eastern Turks to escape Chinese tutelage and to win independence under **Nishufu Khagan** (r. 679–80) and **Funian Khagan** (r. 680–81) were both brought quickly to an end by Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–83).[71]

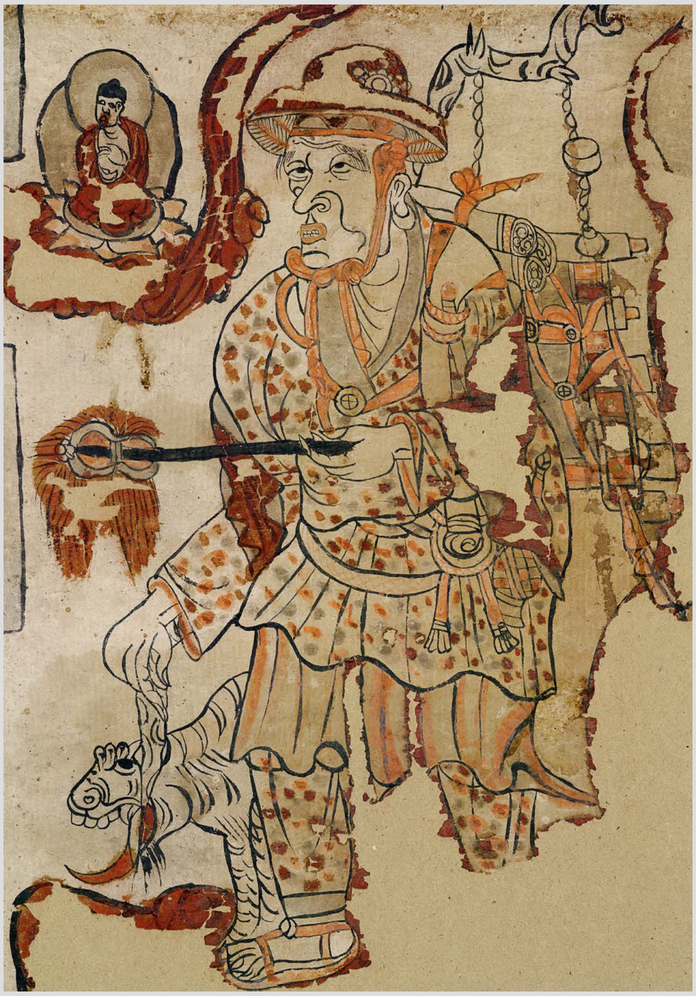
158. This path along the Afghan southern bank of the Oxus near Chechag, between Kala-i Kum and Vomar, Gorno-Badakhshan Province, Tajikistan, has been used until quite recently.

Chinese Pilgrim Monks

After the Chinese annals, the most important literary sources for the history of Central Asia are the travel writings of Chinese pilgrim monks. Between the third and the late tenth centuries, Buddhist monks from China would make the years-long journey to India, and their route would take them through Central Asia. Only three decades of destructive raiding by the Islamic warlord Mahmud of Ghazni, between 1001 and 1030, would bring these Indian pilgrimages to an end. Such journeys had three objectives: to make pilgrimage to sites associated with Shakyamuni's life, and others where his widely dispersed relics were preserved; to bring original Buddhist texts back from India to China; and to study at Buddhist monastery universities of India, this last being an especial concern of Faxian and Xuanzang. They might also have a diplomatic function. Some of these pilgrims diligently observed the political, cultural and religious life of the places they passed through, and the journals they kept thus represent historical sources of the first order, although it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish eyewitness reports from hearsay.

Among the earliest such travellers were **Zhu Shixing,** who in 260 travelled from Luoyang to Khotan, to study the Mahayana sutras in Sanskrit and to send copies of them home, and **Faxian** (d. *ca.* 418/23), who in 399 set out for India by the land route, returning in 413 by sea. Leaving Chang'an, he travelled to Dunhuang and crossed the dreaded Lop Desert to reach Shan-shan. Of the desert crossing he noted: 'In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds [. . .]. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides as far as the eye can reach in order to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way.'[72] In the years around 400, the road between Shan-shan and Khotan was apparently impassable, for Faxian went north to Yanqi, then crossed the Taklamakan Desert, probably following the Keriya river. From Khotan Faxian proceeded to Kashgar, traversed the 'hanging passages' of the Karakorum mountain range, and in the Darel Valley, not far from the Indus, he admired the famous monumental statue of the Bodhisattva Maitreya in gilded sandalwood. He then visited the many pilgrimage sites of Gandhara, amongst others the cliff caves at Hadda, where Buddha Shakyamuni was said to have left his shadow.[73] After visiting the Buddhist holy places of India, Faxian then returned to China via Sri Lanka and Sumatra.

Unlike Faxian and Xuanzang, **Song Yun** and **Huisheng** had more than religion in mind when they made their journey from 518 to 521. Huisheng was a monk, but Song Yun was a diplomat, asked by Empress Dowager Hu of the Northern Wei dynasty (who ruled as regent in 515–20 and 525–28), to reconnoitre and spy out the newly emerging Hephthalite empire. Song Yun reported that the ruler of Shan-shan was a member of the Tuyuhun royal family and that Khotan paid tribute to the Hephthalites. Their dead were cremated in accordance with Turkic custom, and mourners cut their faces with daggers, though the king was actually buried far out in the desert. From Khotan, the delegation travelled through Tashkurgan to the Wakhan and on into the Swat Valley. There Song Yun and Huisheng made pilgrimages to two places associated with jataka tales. At one place Shakyamuni in an earlier life had offered his body as food to a hungry tiger, and at the other had 'peeled off his skin for the purpose of writing upon it and extracted [broke off] a bone of his body for the purpose of writing with it'.[74] They then visited the king of the Alkhan in Gandhara, to whom they delivered a written communication from Empress Dowager Hu.[75]



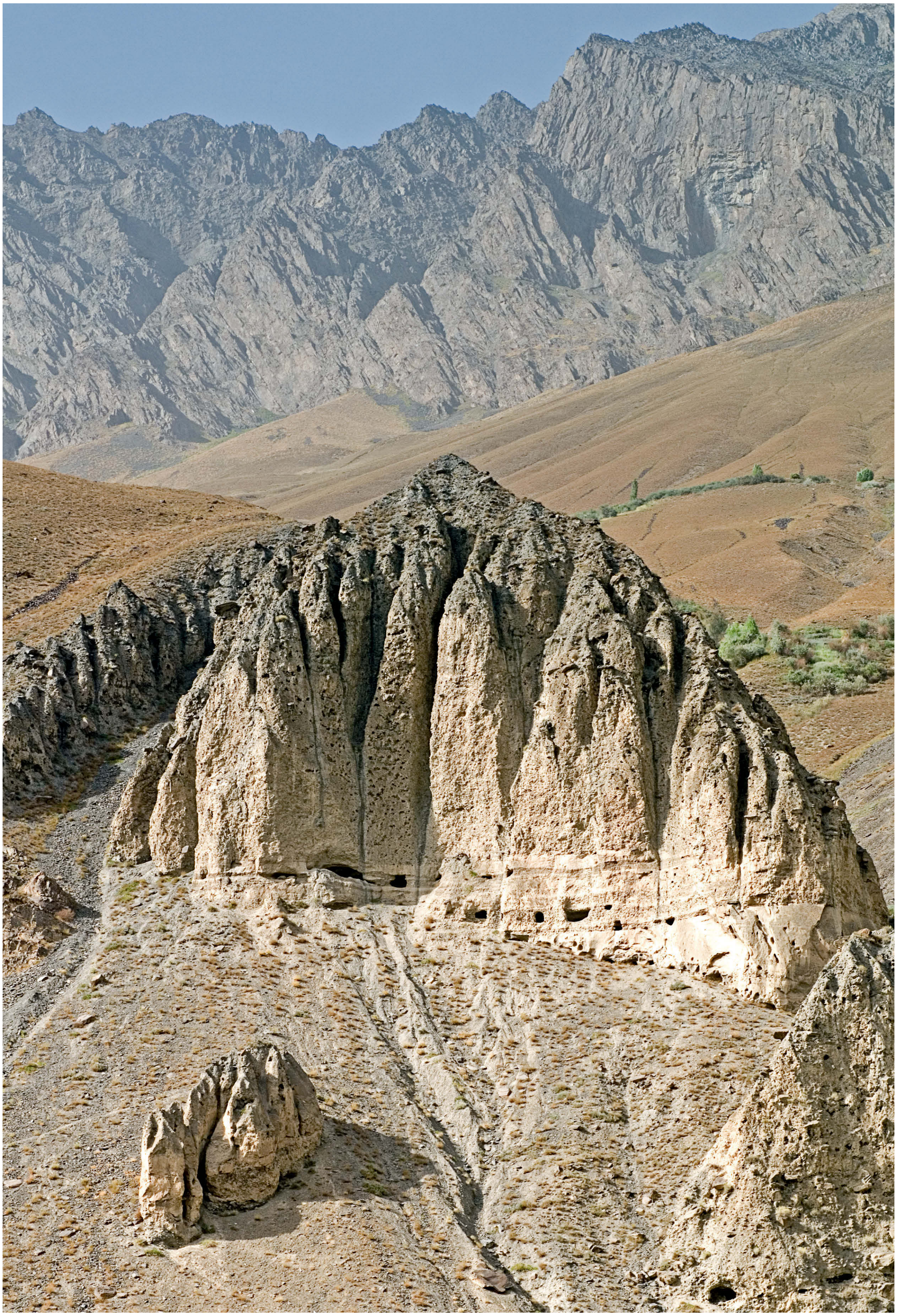
159. Drawing, ink and colours on paper of a travelling monk, late 9th c, Dunhuang, Gansu, China. The monk, with a back-carrier of Buddhist scrolls and a fly whisk, is accompanied by a tiger. Buddha Prabhutaratna, sitting on a cloud, is protecting him. Such pictures have remained popular to this day and appear either in connection with Xuanzang or with the boundless wisdom of Lohan (Sanskrit Arhat) Dharmatrata, from whose right knee sprang a tiger which protected him.[16] The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

The most famous of the pilgrim monks was doubtless **Xuanzang** (600–64), whose 15-year odyssey was the subject of a popular late sixteenth-century Chinese novel entitled *Journey to the West*. The circumstances of Xuanzang's departure were difficult, for he and his companions were forbidden by imperial decree to travel abroad.[76] Undeterred by this prohibition, Xuanzang secretly left Chang'an in 629 and made his way to the Wuwei prefecture in Gansu. As the governor there had launched a search for him, he went on, travelling only under cover of night, to Anxi, 100 kilometres east of Dunhuang. The road west was guarded by the border fort of Yumen Guan, and north of that by a chain of watchtowers, and these he had to do his best to avoid. He found himself a horse and a non-Chinese guide, most likely a Turk. The old horse proved more useful to him than the guide, as it had already done the journey to Hami 15 times and knew the way, while the guide, on the other hand, tried to kill his client. So Xuanzang continued alone with his horse, and after being twice shot at from a watchtower, he entered the Moheyan Desert, which lay between him and Hami. His description of crossing that arid waste recalls that of Hedin's fateful excursion in 1895. 'There was no bird flying above, nor any beast roaming below; neither was there any water or grass. Now the Master had only his lonely shadow travelling with him.' After some 50 kilometres he wanted to drink, but he dropped his water container from fatigue and his entire supply spilt on the ground. In his despondency, he first wanted to turn round, but then he braced himself: 'I would rather die on my way to the West than return to the East and live.'[77] After five days of desperate walking and agonising thirst, his experienced horse smelt out a pool of water and saved them both from death by dehydration. As Aurel Stein observed, camels and horses were able to sense water and forage from afar, and also remembered where they had grazed before.[78]

After Hami, the monk made his way to Gaochang, where he entered the realm of the Western Turks, travelling on to Kucha and then Suyab, where he was received by Tong Yabghu Khagan in a magnificently decorated tent. He then went on to Kunduz, where in 630 he was a witness to Ishbara Yabghu's violent seizure of power, when the latter had his father Tardush Shad poisoned. On his way to Gandhara, Xuanzang first visited the reputed hundred monasteries of Balkh, and also those of Bamiyan, whose three colossal Buddha figures he described in detail, before, like Faxian, seeking out the cliff-side cave with the Buddha's shadow.[79] In Peshawar Xuanzang marvelled at Kanishka's stupa and described a distinctive statue of the Buddha which seems to match the clay figure that Kozlov discovered at Kara Khoto in 1909.[80] 'There is a painted figure

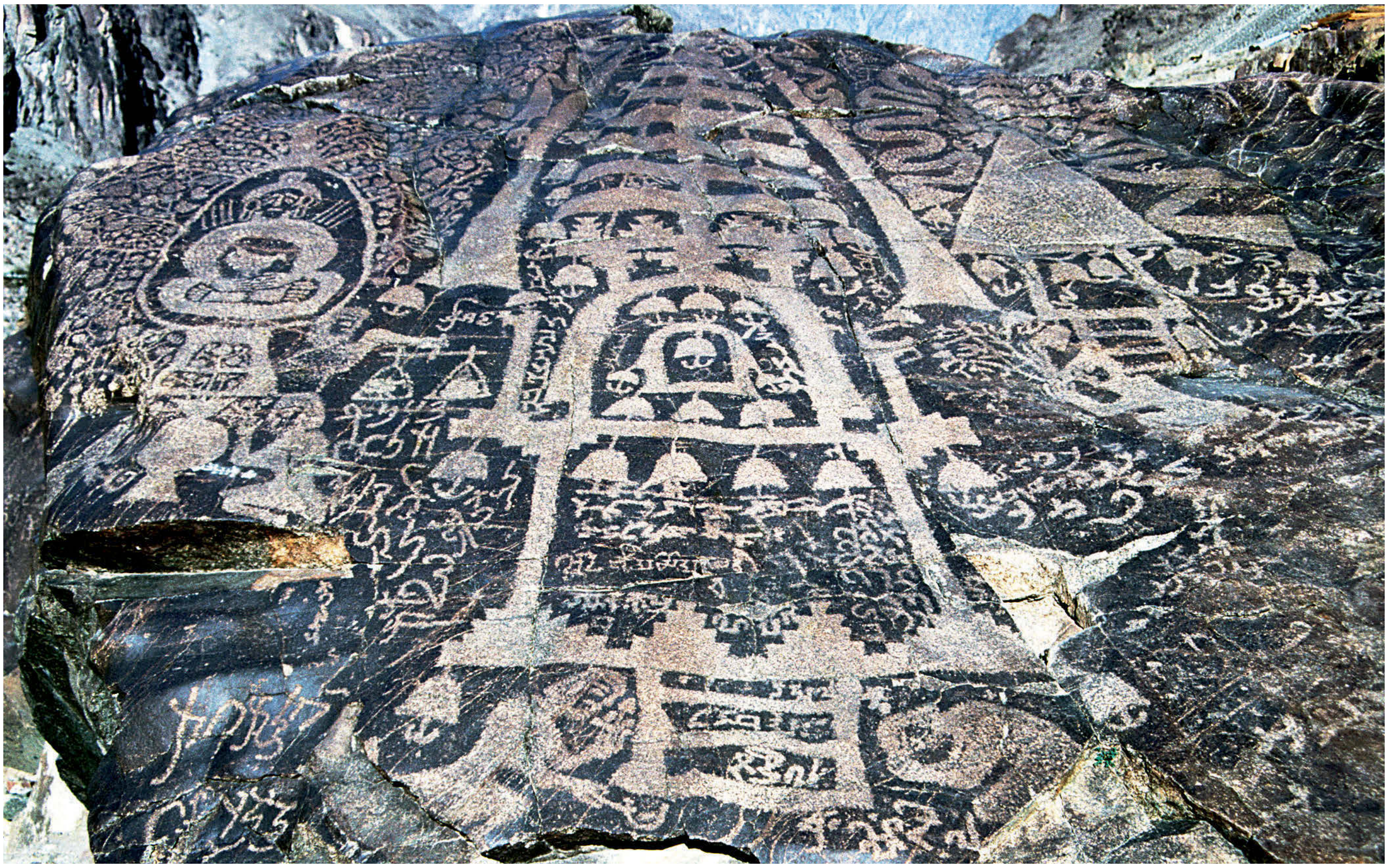
160. Ratm Fort, high above the Pamir, a tributary of the Panj. Together with the forts Kala-i Kahkaha and Zamr-i Atish-Parast, it belonged to a chain of strong forts which controlled the trade route from Badakhshan to Sogdiana. Gorno-Badakhshan Province, Tajikistan.

161. Cells of Buddhist monks above the right bank of the Panj near Vomar, Gorno-Badakhshan Province, Tajikistan. During the 18th and 19th c., these caves served as hideouts for bandits.

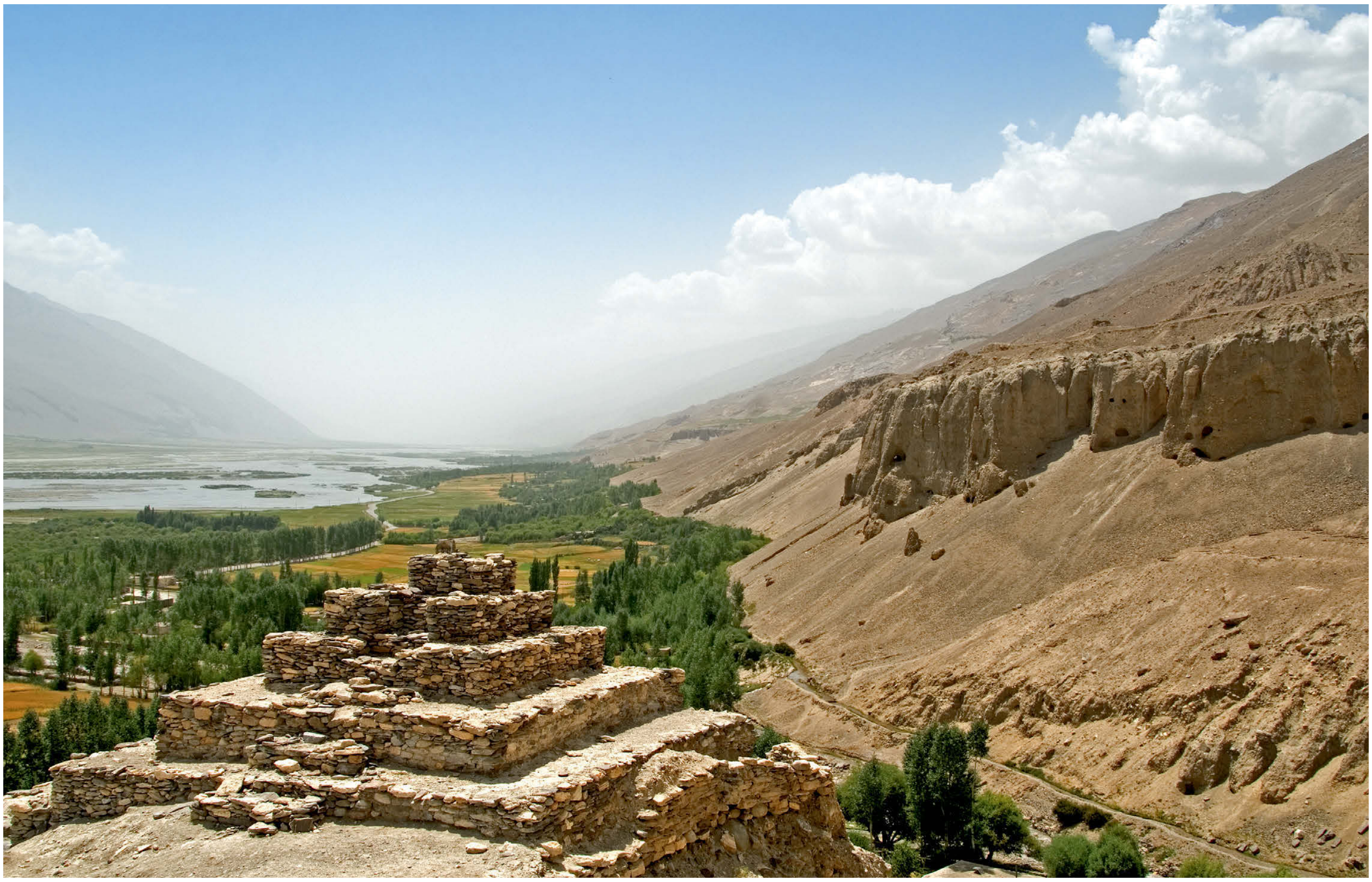


of Buddha about sixteen feet high. From the middle upward there are two bodies, below the middle only one.'[81] It was said that two poor believers had independently ordered a statue of the Buddha from the same sculptor, who for the little money produced only one single statue. As the two buyers stood before it, perplexed, it split apart from the middle upward, and light shone out from both halves. In Gandhara, as in Swat, Xuanzang had regretfully to record that Buddhist monasteries in their hundreds were neglected or abandoned.[82] On the ten-year tour of India that followed, he once narrowly escaped being sacrificed by devotees of the Hindu goddess Durga: while he was travelling on the Ganges, pirates attacked his boat and chose him as a sacrificial offering to the goddess. Only moments from death, Xuanzang prayed to Maitreya, who sent a storm down on the place of sacrifice, whereupon the pirates abandoned their deadly plans.[83]

Around 642, Xuanzang set off on his journey back, heavily laden with sutras. North of Taxila, he suffered an accident when crossing the Indus. The boat capsized and 50 manuscripts sank into the river. Arriving in Khotan a little later, he sent a messenger to Kucha to purchase new copies of the sutras lost in the Indus, which suggests that Kucha's monasteries must have had excellent libraries. First, though, he returned to Kunduz before turning east and following the river Panj upstream towards the Wakhan.[84] On his way, he was struck by the many fortresses intended to protect the land from marauding Turkic forces.[85] After an attack by bandits in the region of Sarikol, and eight months in Khotan, where he had to await imperial permission to return to China, Xuanzang returned to Chang'an in 644, bringing with him 657 Sanskrit texts. He immediately set about translating the most important of the sutras into Chinese, and founded the school of Buddhism that came to be known as *Weishi Zong*.[86]



162. **Petroglyphs and inscriptions on rock 34 of Shatial near the left bank of the Upper Indus, in the autonomous region of Gilgit-Baltistan, the former Northern Areas, in northern Pakistan. Between *ca.* 3rd to 7th c., the settlement of Shatial was a trade hub, for it lay on the crossroads of routes from Swat, Gilgit, the Wakhan and Chitral. In the middle and on the right, two unique pagoda-shaped stupas are engraved, and on the left sits a Buddha with flaming shoulders, holding a bird in his lap. This special representation of the Buddha illustrates the Sibi Jataka, which tells how the gods Indra and Agni put pious King Sibi's generosity to the test. First they transformed into a hawk and a dove, and then the hawk chased the dove, which fled in terror and sought protection in the lap of the king. When the hawk demanded that he hand over the dove, Sibi refused and as compensation offered the equivalent in weight from his own flesh. The hawk accepted but though the king cut several large slices of flesh from his body and threw them on to the scales, they never equalled the weight of the dove. Finally Sibi finally put his whole body on the scales, preparing to die. But even then, the dove was heavier – at which point Indra and Agni revealed their true identities and praised the king for his boundless beneficence. Thanks to the inscriptions in Kharoshthi, Brahmi and Sogdian, the petroglyphs can be dated to the first half of the 4th c.[17] Felsbild-Archiv, Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.**



163. **The restored Buddhist stupa of Vrang; in the background the River Panj, Gorno-Badakhshan Province, Tajikistan. Near the stupa stands a second, unrestored stupa (not visible in this photo), and west of this caves were cut into the loose rock, which were used as monks' cells.**

Quite different in nature were the three journeys undertaken by the Chinese diplomat **Wang Xuance**. On his first trip in 643–45 he formed part of an embassy to the North Indian king Harsha (r. 606–47), who was, as Xuanzang tells us, a great champion of Mahayana Buddhism. The second time, in 646–48, he led another delegation to North India only to discover on arrival that a minister of Harsha's had usurped the throne after the king's death, ruling under the name of Arjuna or Arunashwa (Chinese. Aluonashun). Arunashwa mistreated the Chinese delegation, and Wang Xuance fled to Tibet, which in those days maintained good relations with China. Wang returned to North India with Tibetan troops and defeated and captured the usurper.[87] On his third journey around 657–61, Wang visited Buddhist pilgrimage sites and afterwards took the monk Xuanzhao back to China with him. Another great traveller was the Chinese monk **Yijing** (635–713), who spent the years 671–95 in India and Sumatra. But as his journeys were all undertaken by sea, he never had any contact with Central Asia.

Almost a century after Xuanzang, the Korean-born monk **m**
, (*ca.* 700–after 780) made the pilgrimage to India. He set off on his journey by ship, around 723, and travelled back to China by the land route through Central Asia in 726–29.[88] He witnessed not only the decline of Indian Buddhism – finding both Shakyamuni's birthplace Kapilavatsu and Kushingara, where the Buddha entered Nirvana, abandoned and fallen into ruin – but also the advance of the Arabs. When he crossed Sindh in today's Pakistan, he was struck not only by the great piety of the Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhists but also by the devastation wrought by the Arabs in 712 and 725.[89] In the north of today's Pakistan, Huichao noted that the land of 'Greater Bolor' (Gilgit, Punial, Chilas) was under Tibetan control and that its king, expelled between 720 and 722, had fled to 'Lesser Bolor' (Yasin).[90] At that time the region between Tibet and China was fiercely contested, as the Tibetans saw it as a strategic springboard for launching attacks on the undefended south-west flank of the Four Garrisons. As in the 'Great Game' between Russia and Great Britain in the late nineteenth century, the area was a hotspot in the conflict of two great powers. After Huichao, **Bukong Jingang** (Amoghavajra, 705–74) would travel to India, Sri Lanka and south-east Asia between 741 and 746, founding on his return the Chinese school of esoteric Buddhism *Mi Zong*.[91]

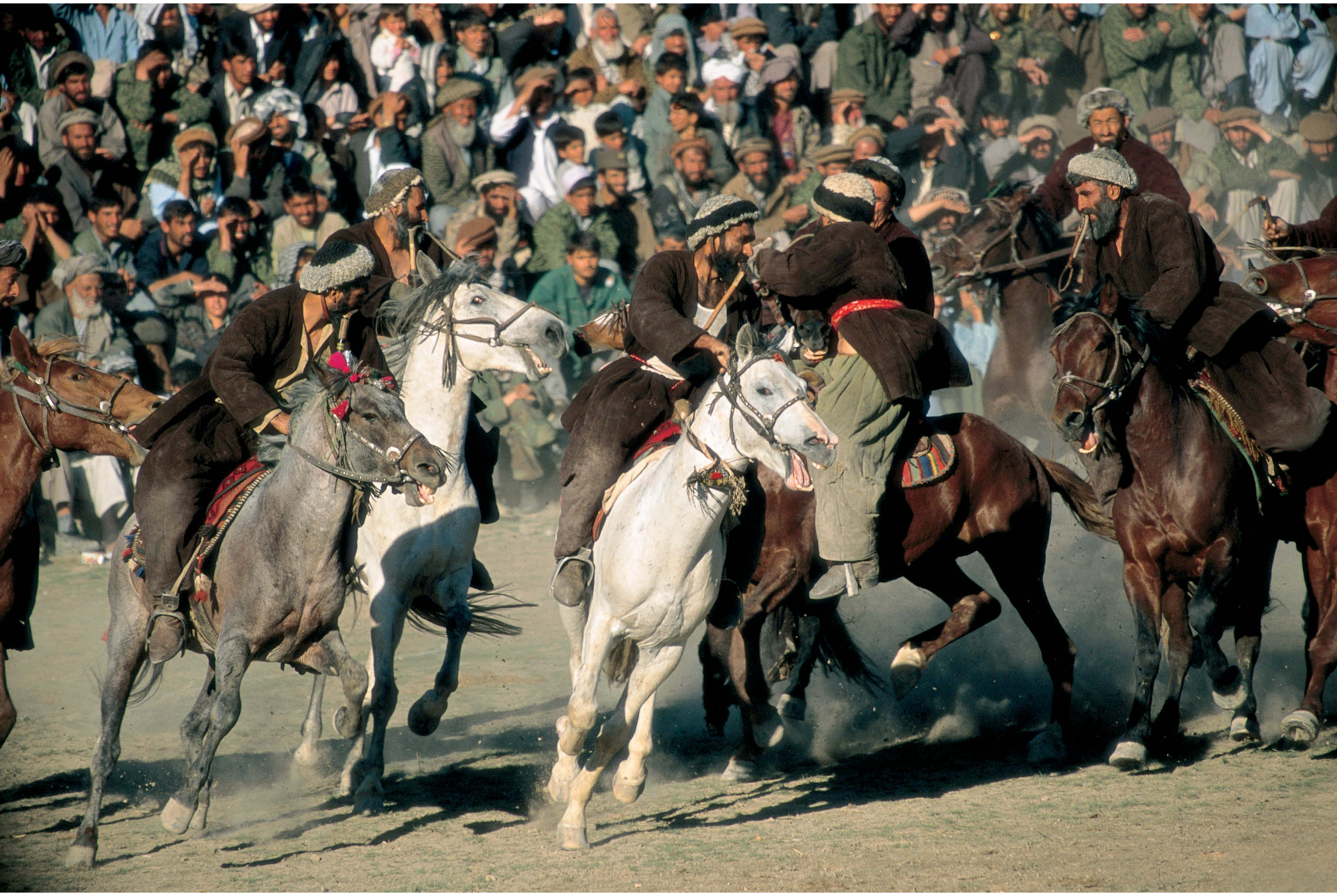
3. The Western Turkic Khaganate

Given the bicephalous organisation of the Göktürks, the western half of the empire enjoyed from the beginning a high degree of autonomy. **Ishtemi Sir Yabghu Khagan** (r. 552/53–75) owed only nominal obedience to the Khagan and followed an independent policy. As one of his camps lay on the River Tekes, the boundary between the two parts of the empire must have run through north-west Xinjiang, meaning that in 630 practically the whole of the Tarim Basin was under Western Turkic rule. Ishtemi's son and successor **Tardush Yabghu** (r. with interruptions 575–*ca.* 603?) not only brought about the definitive separation of the western half of the empire but in 581/82 also started to lay claim to the leadership of the whole khaganate. Towards the end of an only fragmentarily documented political career he succeeded around 599 in extending his rule over a number of Eastern Turkic tribes. But his claim to rule was very strongly resisted, and an eastern campaign around 603 ended in disaster, without a battle fought, after Chinese troops had poisoned the wells. Also obscure is the role that Apa Khagan played in the Western Turkic Khaganate, after taking refuge there in 583. After Apa's capture in 587, the *Sui shu* tells us, a grandchild of Muqan Khagan ascended the throne of the Western Turkic Khaganate as **Niri Khagan** (r. 587–*ca.* 602/03), which leaves Tardush's position at that time unclear.[92] The anthropomorphic stone stele with Sogdian text, raised in honour of Niri Khagan on the steppe north of the Tekes river, stands not far from Tardush Khagan's earlier camp.

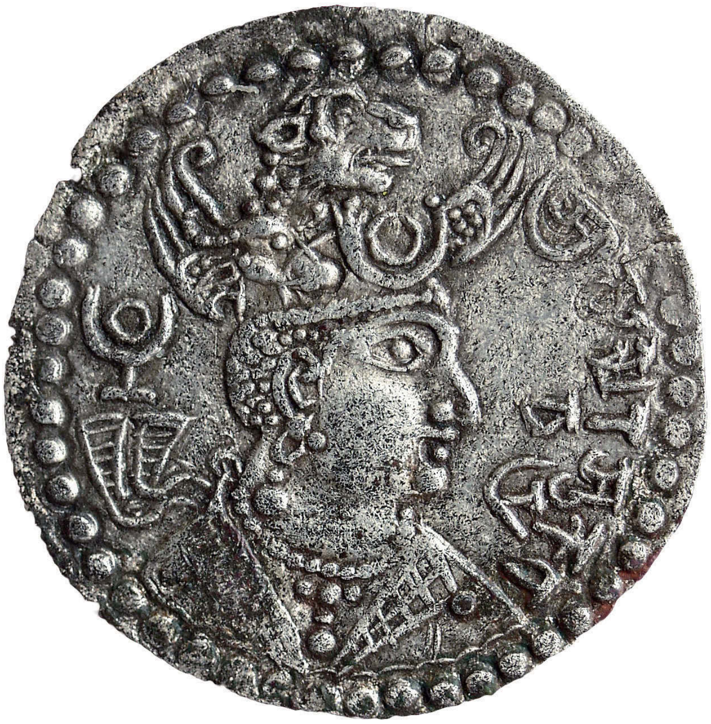
Niri Khagan was followed by his son **Heshana Khagan** (Chuluo, r. 602/03–11), who in 605 attracted the enmity of the Turkic Tiele by levying a heavy exceptional tax on them and having their chiefs killed. The Tiele formed an alliance with other Turkic tribes and drove him out of Dzungaria, west towards the former homeland of the Wusun on the Ili river.[93] In 610 **Shikui Khagan** (r. 610–17), a grandson of Tardush Khagan, acceded to the throne with the support of the Sui, inflicting such a heavy defeat on Heshana Khagan that the latter fled to Karakhoja, and a year later to Chang'an, where he was murdered in 619. Shikui Khagan incorporated the whole of the Altai into the khaganate, conquered the oasis of Čač (Tashkent), made a brief foray to Isfahan in 616–17, and resided north of Kucha.[94] Shikui was followed by his brother **Tong Yabghu Khagan** (r. *ca.* 617–30), who pacified the restless Tiele and expanded the Western Turkic Empire to its maximum extent, stretching in the east from the Tarim Basin to Karakhoja, and as far as the Caspian Sea in the west. His choice of camps reflected this turn towards the west, and he moved the summer residence from the Tekes Steppe to Čač, and chose Suyab, near today's city of Bishkek, as his winter residence.[95]

During the second half of the 620s, Turkic horsemen, as allies of Emperor Heraclius, undertook campaigns in the Caucasus and in Georgia and Armenia. While their military activity in Georgia and Armenia brought the Western Turks no long-lasting gains, benefiting mainly the Byzantines, in the northern Caucasus they laid the foundations for the Khazar Empire, whose khagans were descendants of the Ashina clan.[96] The same period, from 625 onward, saw the Western Turk conquest of Tocharistan and

164. Palace ruin in the circular fortress of Tar-o-Sar, Sistan, Nimruz Province, Afghanistan. The diameter of the fortress, which is also called Sar-o-Tar, was 515 m and it was the centre of a fortified city which measured *ca.* 1.3 km^2. Founded in the 2nd/1st c. BCE by the Parthians, the city remained inhabited until the 15th c. The spectacular shapes of the ruins have been created by the wind, which during the autumn and winter can reach speeds of up to 200 km/h. J. Hackin, J. Carl et J. Meunié, *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933–1940)* (Paris, 1959), fig. 65.



165. Buzkashi, an equestrian sport played in Kabul, Afghanistan. The name Buzkashi says it all: *buz* means 'goat' and *kasha* 'to take out', so this is a game of 'dragging a goat'. The sport can either be played by teams or lots of individual competitors. After a dead goat is placed in a chalk circle in the centre of the playing field, several dozen riders charge out and try to lift up the carcass at full gallop. The carcass must then be deposited in a second chalk circle in front of the judge. In the team sport version one team tries to protect their player, as he struggles to grab the dead goat, while their opponents do their best to kettle him in and snatch away the carcass. In the 'every man for himself' version, all the players charge at whoever has the goat to wrest it from him. The game is very rough, and the riders are allowed to use their whips on their horses and sometimes on other players.



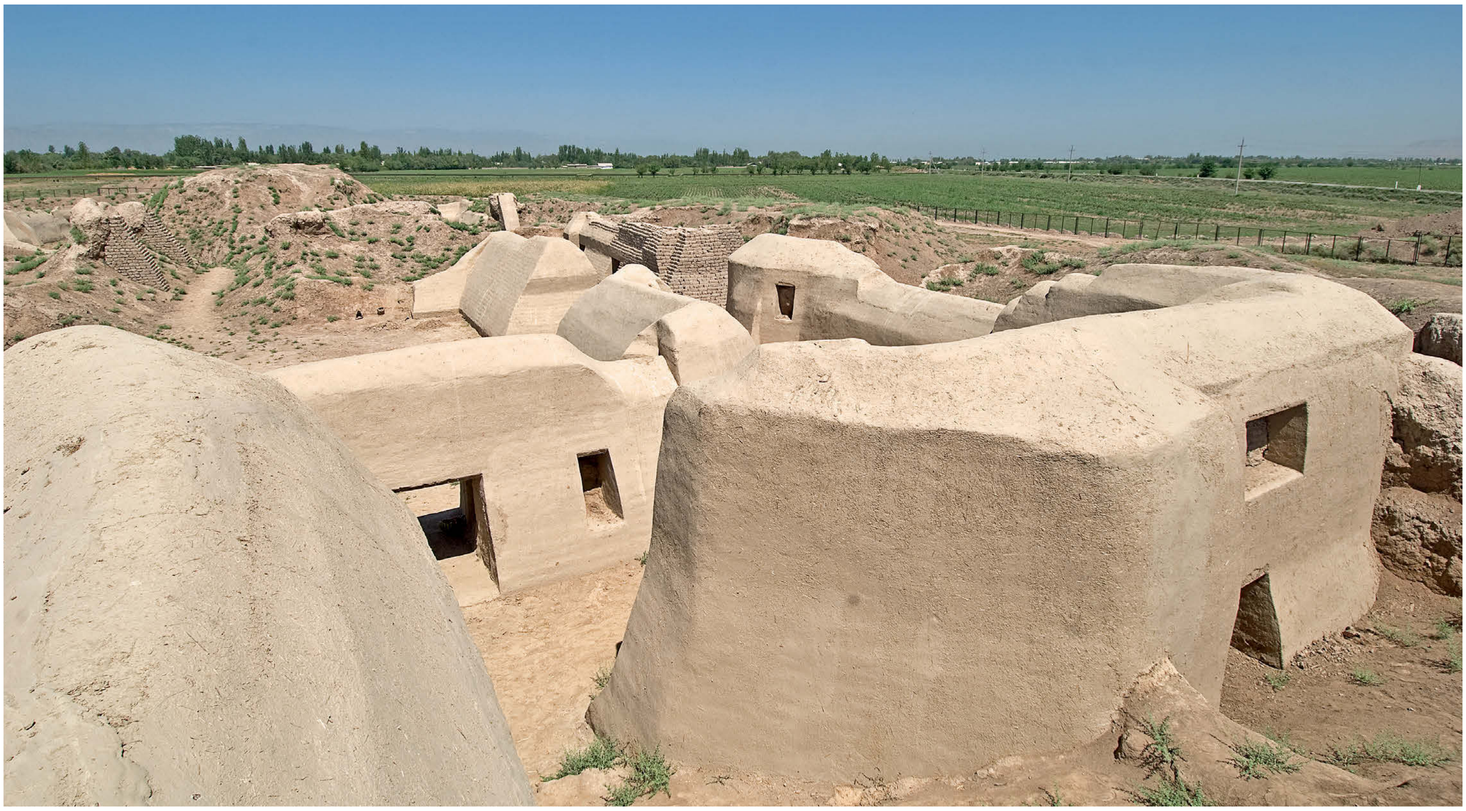
166. **Billon drachm of Sakadara, a ruler of the Turk Shahi of Kabulistan. First quarter of the 8th c. Collection Jean-Pierre Righetti.**

a number of expeditions to northern Gandhara under the leadership of Tardush Shad (d. 630), eldest son of Tong Yabghu Khagan, whose troops advanced as far as the Indus. As in Sogdiana, the Turks retained the highly fragmented political structures of Tocharistan and northern Gandhara but often installed Turkic nobles or officers as rulers over their petty states. As Xuanzang recorded, Tocharistan alone accounted for more than two dozen statelets: 'Thus they have constituted [in Tocharistan] twenty-seven states, divided by natural boundaries, yet as a whole dependent on the Turkish tribes.'[97] Among the more important vassal kingdoms, answerable to the Turkic governor who resided at Kunduz, were Zabulistan, Kapisa (Kabul), Gozgan (in eastern Turkmenistan), Bamiyan, Khuttal (Khatlon province in Tajikistan), Chaganian (the Surkhan Darya Valley in southern Uzbekistan), the trading city of Termez (important for being on the Oxus), Shuman (the area around Dushanbe), Shignan (part of Badakhshan), Badghis (northwest Afghanistan), Kobadian (the Kafirnigan Valley in southern Tajikistan) and Badakhshan.[98] To keep all these petty states under control, the yabghu adopted a mobile form of government, as noted by Xuanzang in 642/43: 'The king [yabghu] is of the Turkish clan; he governs all the little kingdoms to the south of the Iron Gates [between Samarkand and Termez]. He constantly shifts his dwellings like a bird, not constantly occupying this town [Kunduz].'[99] One of his most important means of control was the office of the *tudun*, who either acted as resident, collecting taxes and supervising the local ruler, or administered a province on his own account.

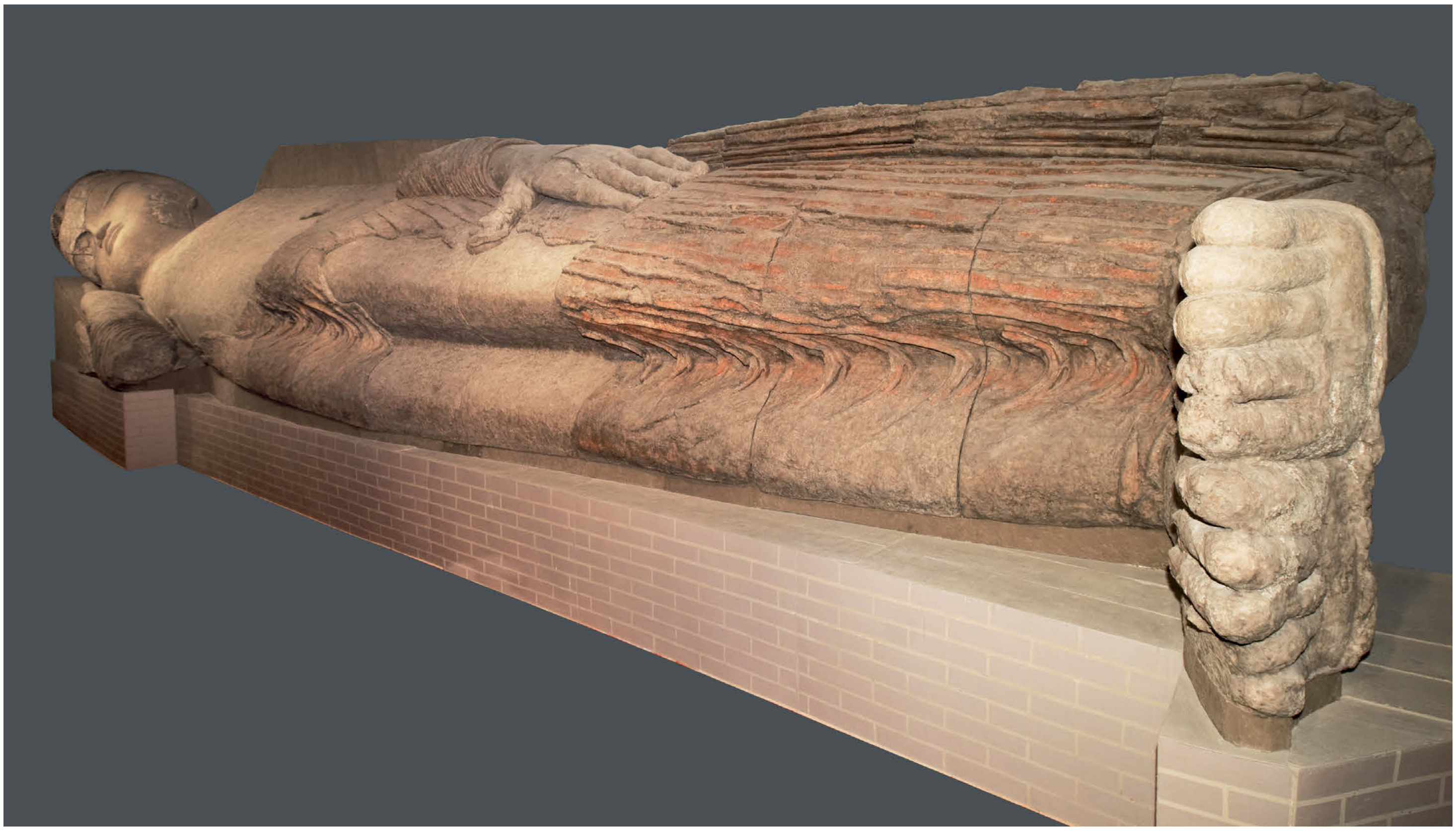
The yabghu Xuanzang referred to here was Ishbara Yabghu, who had come to power by killing his father. Xuanzang himself witnessed this terrible event in 630, when he spent some time in Kunduz, at the court of Tardush Shad. That ruler was then in mourning for the death of his wife, a princess from Karakhoja, which didn't prevent him from marrying the dead woman's younger sister. But this young woman poisoned her new husband immediately after the wedding at the instigation of Tardush Shad's son Ishbara, who then married his new stepmother.[100] Turkic rule over Sogdiana and Tocharistan then suffered a severe setback between 648 and 659, when the Western Khaganate collapsed under Chinese attack and both heartland and vassal states came under the actual or nominal suzerainty of China's Tang Dynasty. The following century was characterised by the changing alliances and conflicts between Sogdian and Turkic petty states on the one hand and the great powers of Türgesh, China and the advancing Arabs on the other.

Kabulistan in the late fifth century was ruled by the Nezak Dynasty, which recognised Turkic suzerainty.[101] When, however, Abd ar-Rahman bin Samurah – the governor of Sistan who had brought that province under Arab control in 653–54 – twice captured and plundered Kabul, in 665 and 666, a Turk called **Barha Tegin** (r. *ca*. 666–*ca*. 680) took advantage of the evident weakness of its Nezak ruler by occupying Kabul, killing the last of the Nezaks, and founding the ***Turk-Shahi*** dynasty (*ca*. 666–*ca*. 843). He immediately threw off the yoke of Arab suzerainty, expelled the Arabs from the city, and extended his authority to Zabulistan, southwest of Kabul.[102] A little later, in 671/72, Barha Tegin suffered a reverse when Ubayd Allah bin Ziyad, the Arab governor of Sistan, advanced into Zabulistan and also set fire to the great Kushan-era Buddhist shrine of Tepe Sardar south of Ghazna whose clay figures displayed distinct sinicised stylistic features typical of the early Tang dynasty.[103] Tepe Sardar was extensively rebuilt during the eighth century, and the manner of reconstruction suggests a religious syncretism. For in the famous chapel 23, next to a jewel-studded buddha figure in the style of Fondukistan, stood a figure of the Hindu goddess Durga Mahishasuramardini, who had entered the Buddhist pantheon.[104]

As early as Barha Tegin's death around 680, the kingdom split into two parts: when his son **Khorasan Tegin Shah** (r. *ca*. 680–738) took the throne in Kabul, an elder brother departed for Zabulistan, declaring himself an independent ruler and taking the title



167. In the foreground the extensively restored Buddhist monastery buildings of Ajina Tepe, in the background the unrestored monastery stupa, 7th/8th c., Chatlon Province, Tajikistan.



168. The 13-metre-long clay figure of Buddha Shakyamuni, who has entered Nirvana. Ajina Tepe, 7th/8th c., Museum of National Antiquities, Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

169. The fortress near Shaidan (Shahidan) west-south-west of Bamiyan, Koh-e Baba Mountains, Bamiyan Province, Afghanistan.

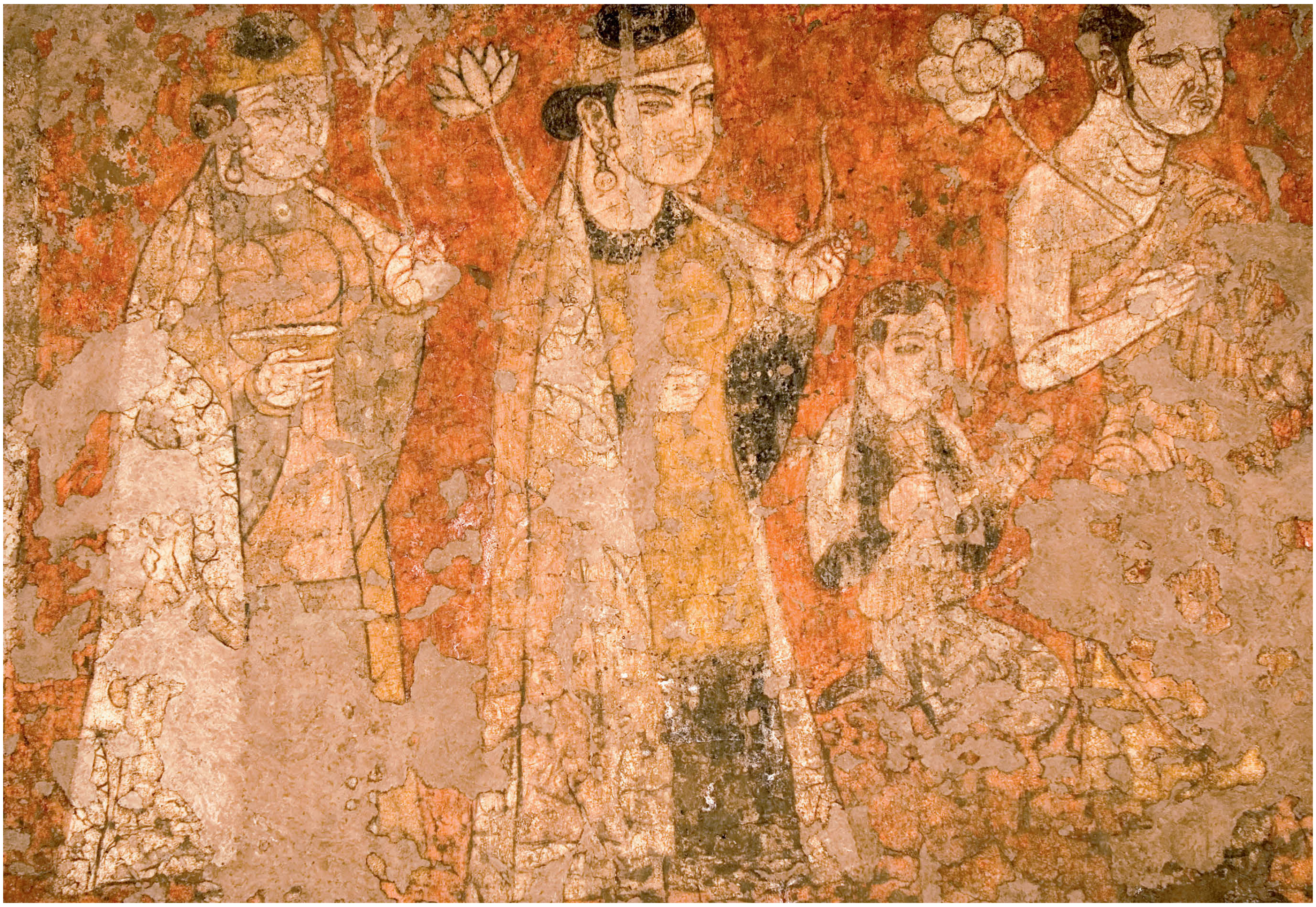
of ‘rutbil’ (in Turkic ‘Iltäbär’).[105] Despite this family rift, and probably with Kabul’s assistance, Zabulistan’s rutbil successfully defeated two invading Arab armies, one in 683 and the other in 698–99, allowing them to penetrate deep into his territory and then bottling them up in a valley between high passes.[106] Presumably Khorasan Tegin Shah, whose name means ‘King of the East’, shared power with sub-kings, who also minted their own coins. In 738 Khorasan Tegin ceded power to his son, who adopted the grandiose regnal name of **Phromo Kesaro** (r. 738–45), ‘Emperor (Caesar) of Rome’ and whose military successes against the Arabs provided one of the bases for the Tibetan epic of King Gesar.[107] That Kabulistan, Zabulistan and Bamiyan were ruled in the early eighth century by kings of Turkic origin, who promoted the Buddhist religion, is reported by the pilgrim monk Huichao, who travelled in 726–27 from Gandhara to Kucha. He noted that ‘All natives are Hu [aboriginals, barbarians] the king [probably Khorasan Tegin Shah] and the military however are Tu-chueh [Turks]. Though they are Tu-chueh, the king here and the great men greatly venerate the *triratna* [the Three Jewels of Buddha, Teaching and Community]. There are many monasteries and monks, and the Mahayana teaching is followed.’[108]

The Turk Shahi of Kabulistan managed to defend their independence until 813/14 or 814/15, when the Abbasid caliph al-Mamun sent his vizier al-Fadl ibn Sahl to Kabul to punish them for supporting the Tibetans in their successful resistance. Al-Fadl compelled the capitulation of the Turk Shahi, exacting enormous tribute.[109] Still obliged to pay vast sums to the Abbasids, **Lagaturman**, the last Turk Shahi, was overthrown around 843 by his Brahmin minster Kallar, who founded the ***Hindu-Shahi*** dynasty (*ca*. 843–1026).[110] On the obverse of their coins is a recumbent bull, the *vahana* or ‘mount’ of the Hindu god Shiva, suggesting that the Hindu Shahi were followers of that god. Until 870/71 the Turk Shahi of Zabulistan held their ground until they suffered several defeats by Yaqub bin Layth al-Saffar (840–79), Muslim Persian warlord and founder of the local Saffarid Dynasty. After his victory, Yaqub marched on Kabul and took it from the Hindu Shahi. In plundering the temples of Kabul he seized some 50 gold or silver statues of divinities and sent them to the Caliph

in Baghdad, who passed them on to Mecca, possibly re-enacting symbolically Mohammed's cleaning of the Kaaba of its idols in the year 630. Although the Hindu Shahi moved their centre of government to Udabhandapura to the south-west (today the village of Hund between Peshawar and Taxila), they recaptured Kabul in 879 and only lost it again to the Samanid Emir Ismail in 900. Ismail's victory set the seal on the Islamic conquest of Afghanistan, 'the little kingdom in the Hindu Kush' that had 'for 250 years successfully resisted the Arab expansion'.[111]

Although fire worship was practised among the Western Turks, Tong Yabghu himself was sympathetic towards Buddhism, as Xuanzang reveals. The khagan received him in 630, not far from Suyab, and listened attentively to his teaching. The khagan was killed not long afterwards, almost simultaneously with his son Tardush Shad.[112] In Samarkand, on the other hand, Xuanzang found a hostile environment, as its inhabitants were followers of Sogdian Zoroastrianism. When a pair of Xuanzang's companions wanted to visit the two abandoned Buddhist monasteries there, to venerate the Buddha, they were pelted with burning wood and driven off.[113] On the deaths of Tong Yabghu and Tardush Shad, the ruler of Samarkand immediately sought to regain his independence of the Turks, sending an embassy to Emperor Tang Taizong in 631 to ask if he might become a Chinese vassal. For Taizong this request came too early, for he had only just broken up the Eastern Turkic Khaganate, and the Western Turks were still a substantial military power. He did, however, agree to open diplomatic and trade relations with Samarkand, thereby granting its ruler equal status with the khagan.[114]

After the destruction wrought by the Sassanid campaigns of the third and fourth centuries and the Hephthalite invasion, Buddhism in Tocharistan experienced a veritable renaissance under Western Turkic rule. Xuanzang's account of Tocharistan's many monasteries but also the archaeological evidence indicate that Buddhism flourished again under the Turks, who were tolerant in matters of belief and unconcerned to impose a state religion.[115] Among the outstanding examples of seventh-century Buddhist temple architecture and wall-paintings discovered in the Tajik part of Tocharistan are the monasteries of Kala-i Kafirnigan (fig. 170), Kafyr Kala,



170. Wall painting from the Buddhist monastery Kala-i Kafirnigan. Two noblewomen, a monk and another man in the background hold lotus flowers. 7th to early 8th c. This motif, which is also widespread in Xinjiang, expressed the hope of rebirth in the paradise of Buddha Amitabha. Museum of National Antiquities, Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

Khisht Tepe and especially Ajina Tepe, whose Turkic royal family, nobility and population were all followers of Hinayana Buddhism in the eighth century.[116]

In 1959, archaeologists found not only a classic monastery complex in Ajina Tepe, consisting of monastery buildings and an adjoining temple with a central terraced stupa of cruciform plan, but also, in a covered lateral corridor, a 13-metre-long clay sculpture of the sleeping Buddha (figs. 167f). United here were the two most important symbols of the Buddha: the stupa and Shakyamuni entering Parinirvana. Monumental representations of the Buddha in eternal sleep were very highly esteemed in Buddhist Central Asia, and such figures are also to be found at Kizil (Xinjiang), Mogao (Gansu), Krasnaya Rechka (Kyrgyzstan), Bamiyan, Tepe Sardar near Ghazni[117] and Mes Aynak (all in Afghanistan). As has been noted by Boris Litvinsky, leader of the Ajina Tepe excavation, both parts of the complex, monastery and temple, are laid out on the classic four-iwan (an iwan being a vaulted hall, walled on three sides and open at the front) courtyard plan that would decisively influence the design of the Muslim madrasa. That the Buddhist four-iwan monastery served as the model for the madrasas that first developed in Central Asia, and then, indirectly, for the Iranian four-iwan mosque, had already been recognised by Vasily Bartold (1869–1939): ‘The higher Muslim schools, *madrasas*, appeared on the caliphate’s eastern fringes earlier than in its central and western parts. It seems that in this respect Islam was greatly influenced by Buddhism and that the *madrasa* was born on the banks of the Amu Darya, close to Balkh, where Buddhism remained the dominant religion until the Muslim conquest.’[118] The monastery complex, probably built in the seventh century, was transformed in the mid-eighth century into a centre for the production of glass, pottery and iron, after the little kingdom of Kuttalan, today’s Tajik province of Khatlon, was conquered by the Arabs in 737.[119]

The murder of Tong Yabghu Khagan by his uncle Baghatur (Moheduo) in 630 plunged the empire into a deep crisis. The Western Turkic confederation of the ten tribes of the *On Oq* (the name meaning 'ten arrows') broke up into the two wings of the Duolu in the east and the Nushibi in the west, from which by the end of the seventh century the Türgesh of the Duolu emerged as the strongest tribe.[120] When **Baghatur** (Qulipiqie) **Khagan** (r. 630) seized power, the Nushibi rebelled and installed on the throne a son of the murdered khagan called Dieli Tegin, who adopted the title **Si Yabghu** (Siyehu) **Khagan** (r. 630–32) and killed his father's murderer.[121] After a failed campaign against the Xueyantuo, the Nushibi rebelled again and forced him into Sogdian exile. His successor **Tughluq** (Duolu) **Khagan** (r. 632–34) also barely managed two years before a four-year civil war broke out among the On Oq, at whose end in 638 the Western Turkic heartland along the Ili river was divided into a northern and a southern half.[122] Three years later, **Illig Beg Tughluq** (Yipiduolu) **Khagan** (r. 638–42, d. 653) defeated his rival **Illig Beg Ishbara Yabghu** (Ashina Bobu) **Khagan** (r. 639–41) and briefly reunited the khaganate, upon which, according to the Chinese chronicles *Jiu* and *Xin Tang Shu*,[123] he despatched governors to the vassal states of Kucha, Yanqi (Karashahr), Shan-shan and Qiemo in the east; Čač (Tashkent), Kang (Samarkand), Kesh (Shahrisabz), Mu (west of the Oxus), Ho (south of the Zerafshan river) and Tocharistan in the west.[124] Unrest broke out again almost immediately and one of the rebel leaders asked Emperor Taizong for help, who seized the opportunity to intervene in the affairs of the crisis-torn khaganate. He appointed this rebel leader **Illig Beg Shekui** (Yipishekui) **Khagan** (r. 642–51), by this very act making him a vassal of China's. Probably with Chinese help, Shekui defeated Illig Beg Tughluq and forced him into exile in Tocharistan.[125] When Shekui sought a Chinese princess for his bride in 646, Taizong demanded as bride price – and reward for his help in taking power – five city states in the western Tarim Basin: Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar, Kugiar south of Yarkand, and Tashkurgan. On Shekui's refusal, Taizong attacked and conquered in 648 the cities of Yanqi and Kucha, and it was only Taizong's death the following year that spared Shekui from further attack.[126]

At the same time, another prince had risen up at Taizong's prompting: this was Ashina Helu, who briefly occupied Besh Baliq

171. The southern church of the Christian three-church complex of Suyab (Ak-Beshim) from the 8th to 11th c., east of Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.

north of the Turfan Oasis before toppling Shekui and declaring himself **Ishbara** (Shaboluo) **Khagan** (r. 651–658). Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–83), however, continued his predecessor Taizong's strategy of securing China's borders through the destruction of both great Turkic khaganates. He formed an alliance with the Uyghurs, and the military operations begun in 652 culminated in the capture of Ishbara Khagan in 658, the last resistance being crushed in 659.[127] China completed the integration of the territories of the former Western Turkic Khaganate into its own administrative structures, dividing both vassal states and the Western Turkic heartland – where it installed puppet khagans – between the two protectorates of Anxi, with its administrative capital at Kucha, and Beiting (Besh Baliq).[128] While China's suzerainty remained nominal in most vassal states west of Kashgar and Suyab, these states were theoretically incorporated into China's administrative machinery. So it was, for instance, that Emperor Gaozong sometime between 650 and 655 confirmed Varkhuman, the king of Samarkand (r. *ca*. 648-*ca*. 675), as 'Governor of Samarkand'.[129] Soon, however, two other great powers would challenge the Chinese presence in Central Asia: the Tibetans and the Arabs. While Tibet's foreign policy was focused on its strategic war with China and control of the trade routes, in the early eighth century the Arab raids, which had begun 50 years earlier in 654, developed into deliberate wars of conquest. When in 677 the Western Turkic commander Ashina Tuze (Chinese: Ashina Fuyan Duzhi) made an alliance with the Tibetans, who in 662 had joined with Turkic rebels to harry Chinese forces, the Chinese general Pei Xingjian took him prisoner by a ruse. Then, in 679, he constructed a Chinese fortress in Suyab (Ak-Beshim), which until 719 would be reckoned as one of the Four Garrisons, even if not always under Chinese control.[130]

The Western Turkic tolerance in religious matters manifested itself as much in their own heartland in the Chu Valley as elsewhere. While the elites practised a form of fire worship, they also permitted the spread of Buddhism and of the (Christian) Church of the East, commonly known as the Nestorian Church.[131] The close relations with China between 658 and 751 further encouraged the diffusion of Buddhism. Among the most important discoveries of Buddhist architecture are the monastery with two seventh- or eighth-century monumental clay sculptures (a 10-metre-long sleeping Buddha Shakyamuni and a 6.6-metre-high seated Buddha), and another eighth-century monastery, both at Krasnaya Rechka (ancient Navekath); and two temples at Ak-Beshim (Suyab), one dating from the seventh and the other from the seventh/eighth century.[132] In addition, many Buddhist objects have been found at Novopokrovka (Pakap) east of Bishkek and Novopavlovska (Djul), indicating the presence of as yet unexcavated Buddhist monasteries or shrines.[133] The most important Christian remains[134] are at Ak-Beshim (Suyab): a small mudbrick church of Mesopotamian type and a large complex consisting of at least three churches built next to each other with traces of wall paintings with floral patterns (fig. 171). Both churches were built in the eighth century. Written sources tell of other Nestorian churches in Merke and Taraz, both converted into mosques in around 893. There have also been finds of small Christian items such as pectoral crosses in Krasnaya Rechka and Kostobe, the ancient Sogdian city of Jamukat.[135] This age of religious tolerance, for Christians more especially, only truly came to an end in the mid-fourteenth century.

VI

Turkic Kingdoms of Eastern Europe

It is more painful to be the friends of the Avars – nomads and foreigners – than their enemies, since their friendship is treacherous.

EMPEROR JUSTIN II OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE (acceded 565, abdicated 574, d. 78)[1]

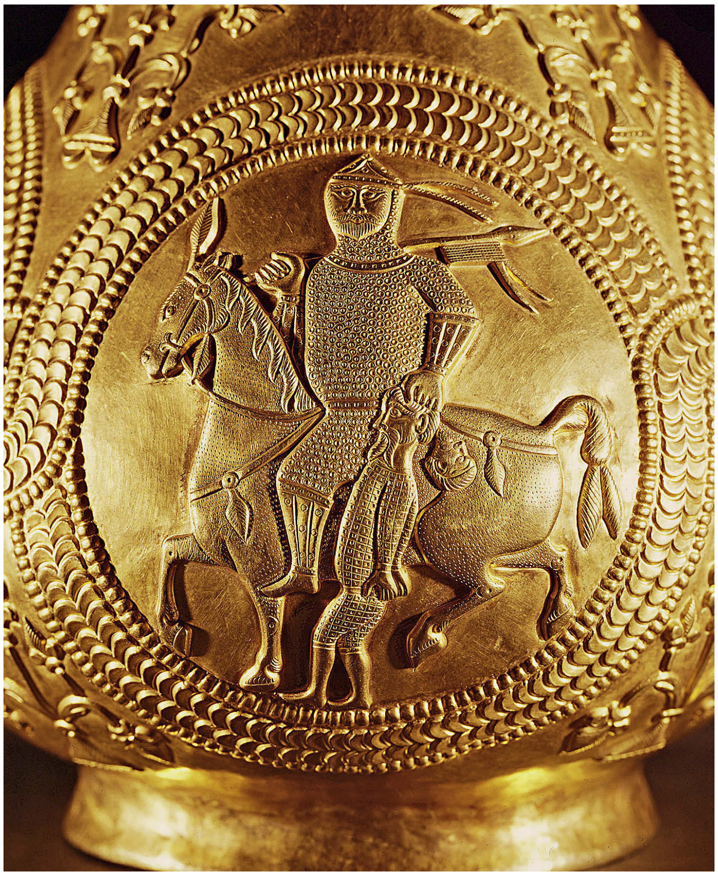
The words of Emperor Justin II reflect the ambivalence which reigned in the relations between the Byzantine trade empire and the neighbouring equestrian peoples of Central Asian origin. These peoples tended to be poor but were good warriors, which is why their mobile cavalries were their preferred 'means of production'. Rather than conducting trade themselves and producing an agricultural surplus which could be exported, they preferred to levy high transit taxes and extort enormous tribute payments from Byzantium. On occasions when Byzantium stopped paying tributes and was able at the same time to demonstrate military power, the economy of the equestrian peoples would often suffer considerably, and their rulers would lose authority, as the example of the Avars demonstrates so clearly. But despite their military strength, the equestrian peoples were no significant threat to the city of Byzantium. For Byzantium, on the other hand, which was also threatened by the Sassanids as well as the Muslim caliphates of the Umayyads and Abbasids, it was usually more beneficial to buy peace with Central Asian peoples than to go to war with them. Just as the Chinese general Ban Chao had been, the Byzantines were well versed in 'using barbarians against barbarians', setting bellicose neighbours against one another. In the case of the Khazars, Byzantium even succeeded in entering into a strategic alliance: by protecting their north-eastern borders against other equestrian peoples, the Khazars indirectly protected Byzantine borders, and thanks to their refusal to convert to Islam they, together with their neighbour, formed an anti-Islamic bulwark north of the Caucasus.

1. The Empire of the Avars (568–796)

The Avars were a heterogeneous people consisting of Rouran and Hephthalites as well as Turkic-Oghuric confederacies which all wanted to escape the rule of the Göktürks. After leaving their Central Asian homelands, they reached the Pontic grass steppe around 557 or 558. They sent a legation to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I who, by showering them with lavish gifts, persuaded them to attack the three Hunnic tribes of the Onogurs, Zali and Sabirs, as well as the Slavic Antes, and incorporate some of their warriors into their own army. Despite these victories, the Avars found themselves acutely threatened since they were followed by a Turkic army which marched towards the Pontic steppe. At first the Avar khagan **Bayan I** (r. *ca*. 560/62–582/83) led two campaigns against the Merovingian king of the Franks, Siegbert I. Although the second war of 567 ended with an Avar victory, Bayan orientated himself towards Pannonia rather than Western Europe, perhaps because the dense forests which covered large parts of the empire of the Franks were difficult territory for the Avar cavalry. In the same year Bayan allied himself with the Lombards to attack the Gepids, who lived in Pannonia. After their victory the Lombards went to Italy, taking part of the spoils with them. The Avars settled in the Great Hungarian Plain where they founded the Avar Empire.[2] Here, west of Byzantium, the Avars felt safe from the Göktürks.

When Emperor Justin II rashly started the 20-year war against the Sassanids in 572, the Avars took advantage of the military exposure of the Byzantine western border to force Byzantium, through campaigns into the Balkans, to pay ever higher tribute. Together with the beaten Slavs, whom they abused as a kind of 'cannon fodder', they invaded Greece in the 580s which led to a slavicisation of the Peloponnese.[3] Only Emperor Maurikos's peace with the Sassanids in 591 allowed Byzantium to renew its offensives in the Balkans. But his murder in 602 rekindled the war with the Persians, bringing the active Balkan policy of Byzantium to an abrupt halt. The Avars took advantage of the new situation two years later by contractually binding Byzantium to pay higher tributes. In 623 the khagan even tried to lure Emperor Heraclius into a trap and capture him. As described by Theophanes, the khagan agreed to a truce to enable peace negotiations in a place some 60 kilometres from Constantinople. But when Heraclius had left the Anastasian Wall, also called the Long Walls of Thrace,[4] he noticed enemy cavalry. He only narrowly escaped and managed to flee back to the city.[5]

In summer 626 the decisive turning point came not only for Avar relations to Byzantium but also in the development of the khaganate. Allied with the Sassanids, a huge Avar army led by Bayan's youngest son laid siege to the city of Byzantium, almost at the same time as Chang'an, which was just under 7,000 kilometres further east, was threatened by the Eastern Turkic khagan Xieli. But the Sassanid army could not overcome the strong Byzantine defence system, and the Byzantine fleet sunk the Avar boats in the bays of the Golden Horn. After this the khagan lifted the siege since he could not feed his war horses, which were useless in this situation.[6] Emboldened by the victory, Heraclius stopped the yearly tribute payments. This deprived the Avar Khaganate, whose tribes and clans depended on regular distribution of goods, of their economic basis. When Bayan's youngest son died in 630, a civil war broke out between the Avars and the Bulgars which led some Slavic tribes to break away and seek protection from Byzantium or Bavaria.[7] It was only thanks to heavy Arab attacks on the Byzantine



172. Depiction of an armoured rider on a gold pitcher from the treasure of Nagyszentmiklos, Romania, 6th to 9th c. The rider wears a long coat of chain mail and a *spangenhelm* (a type of strap helmet) as well as a lance with banner over his right shoulder. With his left hand the victorious rider holds a prisoner, also in armour, by his hair; a severed head dangles from his concealed saddle. The treasure, which was discovered in 1799, consists of 23 gold vessels, and 12 of the objects have short, incised inscriptions of runic signs similar to those used by the Avars and Bulgars. The rider on the pitcher probably represents an Avar or Bulgar prince or leader. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

Empire from 634, which forced Emperor Heraclius on to the defensive, that the Avar Khaganate survived this serious crisis.

Archaeological research shows that Avar material culture changed after 630, for in male graves the number of weapons as burial objects declined considerably.[8] The economy of the Avar Empire ceased to be based on wars and raids, being gradually replaced by agriculture; the former horse warriors exchanged lance and armour for the plough and now lived in houses with saddleback roofs which were dug into the ground. The Avars only rarely undertook regional campaigns within central Europe and only came into the focus of history again in 774, after Charlemagne, king of the Franks (r. 768–814) had been victorious against the Lombards and thus become the Avars' western neighbour. The first Frankish–Avar War of 791 ended inconclusively since a horse epidemic decimated Charlemagne's cavalry, after which the king had to postpone the attempt to crush the Avars because of a new revolt of the Saxons. In 794/94 an Avar civil war broke out between the khagan and his co-ruler, the iugurrus, which cost both their lives, whereupon the third in rank in the Avar Empire, the tudun, seized power. Conscious of his weak position, the tudun sent a legation to Charlemagne and offered his submission, which did not prevent a Frankish-Slavic force from taking in autumn 795 'the Ring', the residence of the khagan, in a surprise attack, capturing the famous Avar Treasure. During the following year, the remainder of the Avar Empire fell to the Franks without a fight; when the tudun surrendered in Aachen and was baptised, the newly elected khagan also capitulated. The once mighty Avar Empire of Central Asian origin had ceased to exist, for from 796 the former tudun reigned as a vassal of the king of the Franks. The Avar revolt of 799 was crushed by 803, after which the Bulgar khan Krum attacked from the east and integrated many beaten Avars into his own army. With the administrative reorganisation in the east of the Frankish Empire in 828, the Avar vassal state, which had been forced to adopt Christianity, was dissolved.

2. The Pre-Christian Bulgar Empires

2.1 Great Bulgaria on the Sea of Azov

The nomadic equestrian people of the Bulgars consisted mostly of Oghurs who spoke a Turkic language. They also included some people of Sarmatian and Alan origin and appeared for the first time in 480–81 as allies of the Byzantine king Zenon against Ostrogoth confederations. In the 630s, **Kubrat** (r. *ca*. 632–660?), who claimed descent from the West Turkic clan group of the Duolu[9] and who had spent part of his youth at the Byzantine court, succeeded in uniting the Onogurs, Kutrigurs and Bulgars who had remained on the Black Sea, to shake off the supremacy of the Göktürks and to found the short-lived empire of Great Bulgaria.[10] The centre of Great Bulgaria lay north-east of the Sea of Azov. This state foundation is also seen as the ethnogenesis of the Bulgars. The Turkic roots of the Bulgar elite manifest themselves in the fact that apart from the Greek and the Glagolitic alphabet they also used a runic script. A third of these runic characters were comparable with those of the Orkhon inscriptions.[11] But Great Bulgaria did not last long, for after the death of its founder Kubrat around 660 it quickly disintegrated.[12] Kubrat's eldest son and successor **Batbayan** (r. ?–*ca*. 667/8) was confronted by the Khazars shortly after coming to power and had to submit to them together with his horde around 667/68. As

Theophanes reports: 'The great Khazar people came from the far interior of Berzilia in first Sarmatia [north-western Caspian region] and became the masters of the whole northern coast of the Black Sea. They made Batbayan [. . .] their subject and have taken tribute from him.'[13]

2.2 The Empire of the Volga Bulgars

At the same time as Batbayan's capitulation, his four brothers, together with their hordes, left the area of Great Bulgaria. **Kotrag** marched towards the north-east and settled at the confluence of the Volga and the Kama where he founded the **Empire of the Volga Bulgars** (*ca*. 668–1236), on the territory which is today the Republic of Tatarstan. Although the Volga Bulgars had to recognise the Khazars as overlords in the early eighth century, they retained their autonomy. To emancipate themselves from the Khazars, whose elite had adopted Judaism, the Bulgar Elteber (a vassal king of the Khazars) **Almish ibn Shilki** converted to Islam by 921. By choosing Islam, Elteber Almish distanced himself both from the Jewish Khazars and their ally, the Christian Emperor of Byzantium, and won the Abbasid caliph as ally. At the same time he hoped to find an ideological cement to unite his diverse tribes and to optimise his relationship with Muslim traders. For this reason he asked Kalif al-Muqtadir (r. 908–32) for Muslim teachers and financial aid to build a fortress in 921. The caliph sent a legation with the scholar Ibn Fadlan as its secretary, and Almish formulated his concern clearly to him: 'This money [should] be brought to me, so that I might build a fortress which would protect me from the [Khazar] Jews who have enslaved me.'[14]

Despite this loose alliance with the caliphate, the Volga Bulgars remained subjects of the Khazars until the latter were toppled by the Kievan Rus' between 965 and 969. Shortly after gaining their

173. The south-western corner of the kremlin of Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan, Russia. On the left, the Kul-Sharif Mosque, which was dedicated in 2005, on the right the Spasskij (Saviour) Tower, which was built by Tsar Ivan IV after the conquest of Kazan in 1552. The city, which lies on the confluence of the Volga and the Kama, was founded by the Volga Bulgars in the 11th c. Through it they controlled an important section of the waterway, which was part of the trade route between Baghdad and Scandinavia.

full sovereignty, the Volga Bulgars suffered a setback, when in 985 Prince Vladimir of Kiev ravaged their capital Bolghar (fig. 174), some 90 kilometres as the crow flies south of Kazan,[15] but despite this and various raids by Russian rulers, their empire developed into a stable and wealthy state. As Ibn Fadlan reports, the wealth of the Volga Bulgars was based on a ten per cent transit tax which the Khan charged for all goods transported via land or water.[16] This movement of goods was enormous since all the northern trade routes through the steppes, which linked Chorasmia and Sogdiana with the cities of northern Rus and with Scandinavia, passed through Bulgar territory. In 1223 the Volga Bulgars even succeeded in luring a Mongolian army or its vanguard under the command of generals Subotai and Jebe as well as Genghis Khan's eldest son Jochi Khan into an ambush and to defeat it at the Battle of Kernek, but they were later defeated themselves. The Volga Bulgars had defended their independence for the last time. In 1236 Subotai advanced again and destroyed their empire which was then integrated into the Ulus of Jochi (realm of Jochi), which later became known as the Golden Horde.[17]

2.3 The First Empire of the Danube Bulgars

Another brother of Batbayan, **Kuber**, led his horde to Pannonia where he submitted himself to the Avars, and **Alcek**, together with his retinue, marched to the kingdom of the Lombards and later to the region of Benevento.[18] But **Asparukh** (r. *ca*. 668–*ca*. 695/700; as king of Bulgaria from 680), Kubrat's third son, chose Moesia as his destination. Together with his horde, he crossed the rivers Dnieper and Dniester and settled in the southern delta of the Danube, where he allied himself with the Slavs who had settled there and conducted raids into Byzantine territory. In 680 he inflicted a crushing defeat on Emperor Constantine IV (r. 668–85) and forced him to pay a yearly tribute to the Bulgars, which meant that Byzantium indirectly recognised the new **Kingdom of Bulgaria**.[19] Within the kingdom the freshly arrived Bulgar equestrian warriors were the ruling upper class, and the Slavs the lower class, as can be deduced from the strictly separated cemeteries with either rich Bulgar or poorer Slav burials.[20] During the reign of Asparukh's son and successor **Tervel Khan** (r. 695/700–721), a large Bulgar army strongly supported the Byzantines at the second Arab siege of Constantinople in 717–18 and won an overwhelming victory in the decisive battle.[21] The historical importance of this Byzantine-Bulgar victory over the Muslims who laid siege to Constantinople far surpasses Charles Martel's victory in the battle of Tours-Poitiers. The Frankish victory merely brought a bold raid to an end; if Constantinople, which was a strategic military goal of the caliphate, had fallen, the only strong Christian power would have been crushed, and the path to Europe would have been open to the Arabs. It was two Old Turkic equestrian peoples, Tervel Khan's Bulgars and the Khazars, who in the eighth and ninth centuries decisively supported the Byzantine bulwark against the Arabs.

Despite Tervel Khan's help, the eighth century saw a series of conflicts between Bulgaria and Byzantium. Emperor Constantine V (r. 741–75) alone led nine campaigns against the Bulgarian khans, with the aim of eliminating this dangerous neighbour. Whereas Constantine's campaigns against several Bulgarian khans, who reigned for very short periods, met with some success, the khans Kardam and Krum brought the decisive turning point. **Kardam Khan** (r. 777–before 803) inflicted a heavy defeat on Constantine VI (r. 780–97) in 792 and forced him to pay tribute.[22] In 811, **Krum Khan** (r. 803–14) crushingly defeated Emperor Nikephoros I (r. 802–11), who had led an expedition into Bulgaria, captured the capital, Pliska, looted its treasures and massacred its population. As Nikephoros was retreating to Thrace with the booty, the Bulgarians attacked his force in a mountain pass, overwhelming it and killing the emperor. The khan was said to have made a drinking cup lined with silver from Nikephoros's skull, following the example of the Xiongnu Laoshang Chanyu. Two years later Krum Khan annihilated the army of Emperor Michael I (r. 811–13) near Adrianople, forcing the emperor to abdicate and enter a monastery after such a humiliating defeat.[23]

During his relatively short rule Krum enlarged the Bulgar territory to the north-west and south, and it now included today's Romania, Belgrade and Sofia. Krum Khan's successor **Omurtag Khan** (r. 814–31) negotiated a 30-year peace with Byzantium, which established the Bulgar Khanate as a state which was equal to the empire.

The successful wars of self-assertion of the Bulgar khans against Byzantium are celebrated in various inscriptions, which were engraved next to the Madara Rider, a monumental rock relief on the Madara Plateau near Pliska, 350 kilometres north-east of today's capital, Sofia. The relief represents a horseman, probably Tervel Khan, fighting with a lion. It served as a dynastic cult site of the Bulgar khans. The inscriptions celebrate the victories of the khans Tervel, **Kormesiy** (r. *ca*. 721–38) and Omurtag and invoke Tangra as their highest god, which shows that the Bulgar elite followed the Old Turkic religion of Tengriism.[24] The preservation of the Old Turkic heritage can also be seen in the arrangement of one- to two-metre high upright stones, *devtaslar*, around Pliska, which are similar to Old Turkic *balbals*.[25]

With its territorial expansion, the 'heathen' Bulgaria now bordered on two major Christian military powers of different confessions: orthodox Byzantium in the east and the Catholic Frankish Empire to the west. For political and prestige reasons **Khan Boris** (r. 852–89, d. 907) decided to adopt the Christian faith. In 864, after consultations with the Roman Catholic Church, Boris decided – under military pressure from Byzantium – to join the Byzantine Orthodox church and to force his people to adopt the same faith. In 870 the Bulgarian church organised itself as an independent archbishopric under merely nominal canonical subordination to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Kingdom of Bulgaria, which continued expanding to the south-west by conquering the west of Macedonia and pushing as far as the Adriatic Sea, now constituted the equal western wing of Orthodox ecumenism. Despite this, hostilities between the two Christian Orthodox empires continued with unabated force. The bitter climaxes of these wars were the Bulgarian victory near Achelous in 917 and the Byzantine triumph a century later, in 1014, near Kleidion. After the battle of Achelous, which entered history as one of the bloodiest of the Middle Ages, the victor **Simeon I** (r. 893–927) was crowned Emperor of Bulgaria in Constantinople.[26] But following the battle of Kleidion, the triumphant Byzantine Emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025) carried out a particularly savage reprisal. According to the eleventh-century historian John Skylitzes, Basil divided more than 8,000 Bulgarian prisoners into groups of 100. He then ordered that 99 men in each group be blinded, while the last one had one eye pierced, so that each one-eyed man could lead the 99 blind men home.[27] Four years later the first Bulgarian empire collapsed and became a Byzantine province.

174. The Friday Mosque in Bolghar, which was transformed into a fortress by the Russians, and the 19th c. Church of the Ascension, Republic of Tatarstan, Russia. The city of Bolghar, on the Volga, was the capital of the Volga Bulgars (*ca.* 668–1236), where the Abbasid envoy Ibn Fadlan stayed in 922.

Ahmad ibn Fadlan's Journey to the Volga Bulgars

The letter of 921 from the Volga Bulgar ruler Elteber Almish ibn Shilki to the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir, in which he asked for religious instruction and financial aid for a fortress, was remarkable because the Volga Bulgar Khanate did not border on the caliphate and therefore offered the possibility of attacking the common enemy, the Khazar Khaganate, from two flanks. The secretary of the Muslim legation, Ahmad ibn Fadlan, left a unique account of his travels, which describes the customs of several different peoples. The delegation left Baghdad in June 921 and had to make a long detour via Merv and Bokhara, since the Khazars were blocking the direct route through the Caucasus. They reached the city of Bolghar in May 922. North-west of Old Urgench, the legation crossed the lands of the Oghuzes, who lived in yurts, sacrificed horses at the death of the leader and placed as many wooden statues near the burial mounds as the deceased had killed enemies. Ibn Fadlan was also surprised by the unusual punishment meted out to adulterers: two neighbouring trees would be bent right down and the victim tied to them both; the trees would then be released so they sprang back up again, tearing the condemned person apart.[28]

As Ibn Fadlan's party approached Bolghar, the khan went to meet them, and as a welcoming gesture poured coins, which he held in his sleeves, over the envoys, a custom which is maintained to this day at weddings in Central Asia. Bolghar lies 22 degrees of latitude further north than Baghdad, and Ibn Fadlan was surprised how long daylight lasted in summer: 'Their day is extremely long for a certain time of the year, while the night is short. Then [in winter] the night is long and the day short.'[29] The secretary also noticed that deceased men were not lamented by women but by men, who scratched their faces and arms with thorns. Ibn Fadlan was impressed by the size of the Varangian Rus' traders who encamped by the Volga, and he noted that their bodies were adorned with large green tattoos of figures and trees. He also witnessed the burial of a Rus' leader. The deceased was first put into a coffin and covered for ten days, while his family sewed special burial garments for him. On the tenth day the burial proper took place in the form of a cremation. The corpse was placed in a boat, which had been pulled on to land and placed within a wooden frame. While the mourners were drinking mead, often to the point of unconsciousness, the deceased was given his weapons, and sacrificed animals were placed with him in the boat. Then a young female slave, who had volunteered to be the victim, was also killed and placed into the boat beside the dead leader. Finally, the boat and its contents were set alight. At the end of the ceremony, the mourners erected a burial mound above the site of cremation.[30] Although ten years later a Bulgar legation paid a return visit to Caliph al-Muqtadir shortly before his death, the diplomatic contact remained without consequence, and the axis between Bolghar and Bagdad, which Elteber Almish had hoped to build, never materialised.

3. The Khazars and the Adoption of Judaism

The semi-nomadic Khazars, who lived in the Pontic steppe and in the Northern Caucasus, created a successor state of the West Turkic Khaganate, which began to break up after Tong Yabghu's murder in 630. Whereas most horse warriors were of Turkic descent, and the elite belonged to the Turkic clan of the Ashina, the Khazars also included Ugric, Sabir, Caucasian and Iranian tribes; the Khazars probably spoke an Oghur-Turkic dialect.[31] The Khazar confederation, which had become independent between 630 and 650 and whose Turkic ethnonym means 'freely wandering', subjugated Great Bulgaria in the 660s, after which some Bulgar hordes moved out towards the Volga and Danube. The Khazars swiftly extended their sphere of influence, eastward as far as the Kazakh steppe north-west of Chorasmia, and westward as far as the Dnieper and the Crimea. They occupied most of the trading cities in the Crimea but granted them considerable autonomy, except in the east at Kerch, the former city of Pantikapaion, which they turned into a stronghold of their power (fig. 175). In the west of the peninsula, in Cherson, a Khazar tudun was posted from the 690s, despite the fact that the city belonged to the Byzantine Empire, so that Cherson was effectively a Byzantine–Khazar condominium. But when the Crimean-Gothic population of Doros (Mangup), north-east of Cherson, whose table mountain Emperor Justinian I had turned into a fortress, rose up under the leadership of Orthodox Metropolitan John of Gothia in 787 and expelled the Khazar tudun and his garrison, the Khazars crushed the uprising ruthlessly.[32]

Cherson and the Khazar khagan also played an important role in Byzantine history at the turn of the seventh to the eighth century. The cruel Emperor Justinian II (r. 685–95, 705–11) was overthrown in 695 and exiled to Cherson after his nose had been publicly cut off in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. From Cherson Justinian fled to the Khazar khagan Busir (r. *ca.* 690–715), who gave him his sister as wife. But when Emperor Tiberius II (r. 698–705) demanded that Busir hand over or kill Justinian, Justinian was warned and fled to the Bulgar king Khan Tervel,

175. The Church of St John the Baptist in Kerch, in the easternmost corner of the Crimea, which was founded in the 8th c.

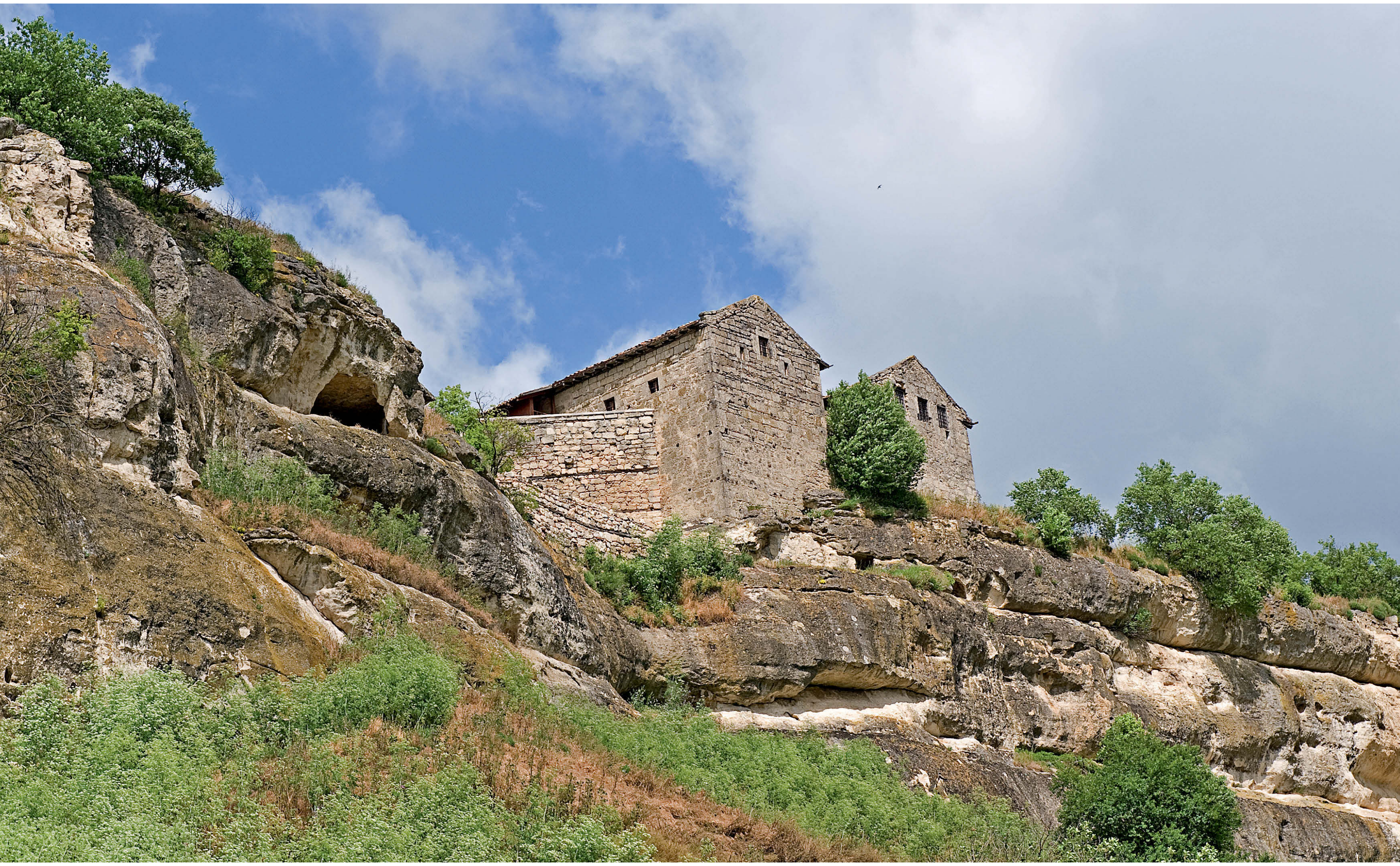
with whose help he regained power in Byzantium in 705. At first he established a reign of terror with mass executions in the capital, then he sent two fleets against Cherson to destroy the city. But the second fleet defected to the insurgents, returned to Constantinople with reinforcements and captured Justinian who was immediately beheaded.[33] Now Byzantium and the Khazars consolidated their alliance, with the khagan recognising Byzantine rule over Cherson, and Byzantium Khazar rule over the remainder of the Crimea. Faced with the growing threat of the Arab Umayyads, Emperor Leo III (r. 717–41) was keen to consolidate the alliance with the Khazars further by marrying in 732 his son, the future Constantine V (r. 741–75), to the daughter of the Khazar khagan; the Khazar princess Tzitzak was baptised Irene and gave birth to a son, the future Emperor Leo IV the Khazar (r. 775–80).[34]

From 626/27 to the second half of the ninth century the Khazars were quite loyal allies of Byzantium, first against the Sassanids,[35] and from 642 against the Arabs, who were pushing northward, when the latter overran the fortress of Derbent and attacked the first Khazar capital of Balanjar. The second Arab campaign against Balanjar ended with a Khazar victory.[36] A century later, in 722, the Umayyads attacked the city of Balanjar again, and this time they conquered and destroyed it. The Khazars rebuilt it but relocated their capital to Samandar, slightly to the north. In response, a Khazar army invaded Iraq in 730, reaching Arbil and Mosul.[37] But in 737 Marwan ibn Muhammed, the future caliph Marwan II, launched a surprise attack and penetrated deep into the Khazar Empire as far as the lower Volga, forcing the khagan to convert to Islam. Faced with political tensions within the Umayyad Empire, Marwan returned swiftly, and the khagan renounced Islam; the Khazars regained their independence, with the border now being north of Derbent. As a consequence of the Arab advance, the Khazars relocated their capital far to the north to Atil, which lay in the Volga delta, north of today's city of Astrakhan.[38]

The Khazars were strategic allies of Byzantium in two ways, for they were bitter and successful enemies of the Arab expansion, and they also protected the north-east of the empire from invasions of other equestrian nomads, so that they constituted its outer defence line. Thus it was in Byzantium's own interest to contribute to their defence costs. As recorded by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. nominally from 913, de facto 945–959), a scholar and author of important books on the history and administration of the empire and on court customs, Byzantium built the mighty fortress of Sarkel on the lower course of the river Don in 838–41. At the same time Emperor Theophilos (r. 829–42) raised the city of Cherson to the status of a *theme*, a military-civilian province under a military governor.[39] The fortress of Sarkel was to serve the Khazars first and foremost as a bulwark against the advancing Turkic equestrian people of the Pechenegs, and probably also to help them keep an eye on the movements of the Magyars. This Byzantine strategy is similar to the Chinese one of 'using barbarians against barbarians'.

Like the Danube Bulgars and the Uyghurs, who were also of Turkic descent, the Khazars were confronted with the question of a unifying ideology when they were trying to achieve a political concentration of power. Until the end of the Middle Ages, there were few comprehensive models apart from religions, so the Khazar rulers looked for a religion which would bind together their empire. Until then they had venerated Tengri as their supreme deity, along with a goddess of fertility, a sun and a thunder god, and ancestors and trees to which they brought sacrifices of humans or animals.[40] As so often in history, the choice between three or four monotheistic faiths which happened to be available was made according to political criteria. Adopting orthodox Christianity carried the risk of entering the zone of influence of Byzantium too deeply, and choosing Roman Catholic Christianity would have been a provocation to Byzantium without bringing any political gain; Islam as the religion of the arch-enemy was excluded from the start; therefore the remaining option was Judaism. This choice was not strange at all, for many Jews lived in the Khazar territory who had fled from Byzantine, Sassanid or Muslim discrimination and persecution. In addition, Jewish merchants, such as the Radhanites, who may have been organised in a merchants' guild, conducted an important part of the transcontinental trade on the northern steppe routes. Their wares included silk, furs, weapons, spices and slaves.[41] The exact time at which the Khazar elite converted to Judaism is disputed. A Khazar source from

176. The cathedral of Eski Kermen, a town and fortress carved out of the rock in the south of the Crimean peninsula. The cave settlement of Eski Kermen was part of the Khazar Empire from the second half of the 7th c. to the 10th c.



177. The double *kenesa* of the cave settlement of Chufut Kale in the south of the Crimea. The religious services of the Karaites, who spoke a Turko-Kuman dialect, were segregated: the larger *kenesa* on the left was reserved for men, the smaller on the right for women. This strongly fortified rock city was founded in the 6th c. by Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–65) and manned with Alan mercenaries. The city was mentioned by the 13th-century Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck and by the early 15th-century German slave soldier Johannes Schiltberger;[18] it remained inhabited by Jewish Karaites until the 1870s.

the mid-tenth century mentions a ruler called Bulan, who adopted Judaism around 740; according to the Muslim historian al-Masudi (*ca.* 895–957) the adoption of Judaism happened during the caliphate of Harun ar-Rashid (r. 786–809). In any case, in 2002 Khazar coins from the years 837–38 were discovered, bearing the inscription 'Moses is God's prophet', with which the Khazar rulers officially proclaimed their Mosaic faith.[42] In the second half of the ninth century, the relations between the Khazars and Byzantium began cooling noticeably, although the religious question only played a secondary role. As Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus noted in his political testament *De Administrando Imperio*, the decisive point was that from the tenth century Byzantium increasingly turned to the Pechenegs for military reasons and sought their friendship.[43]

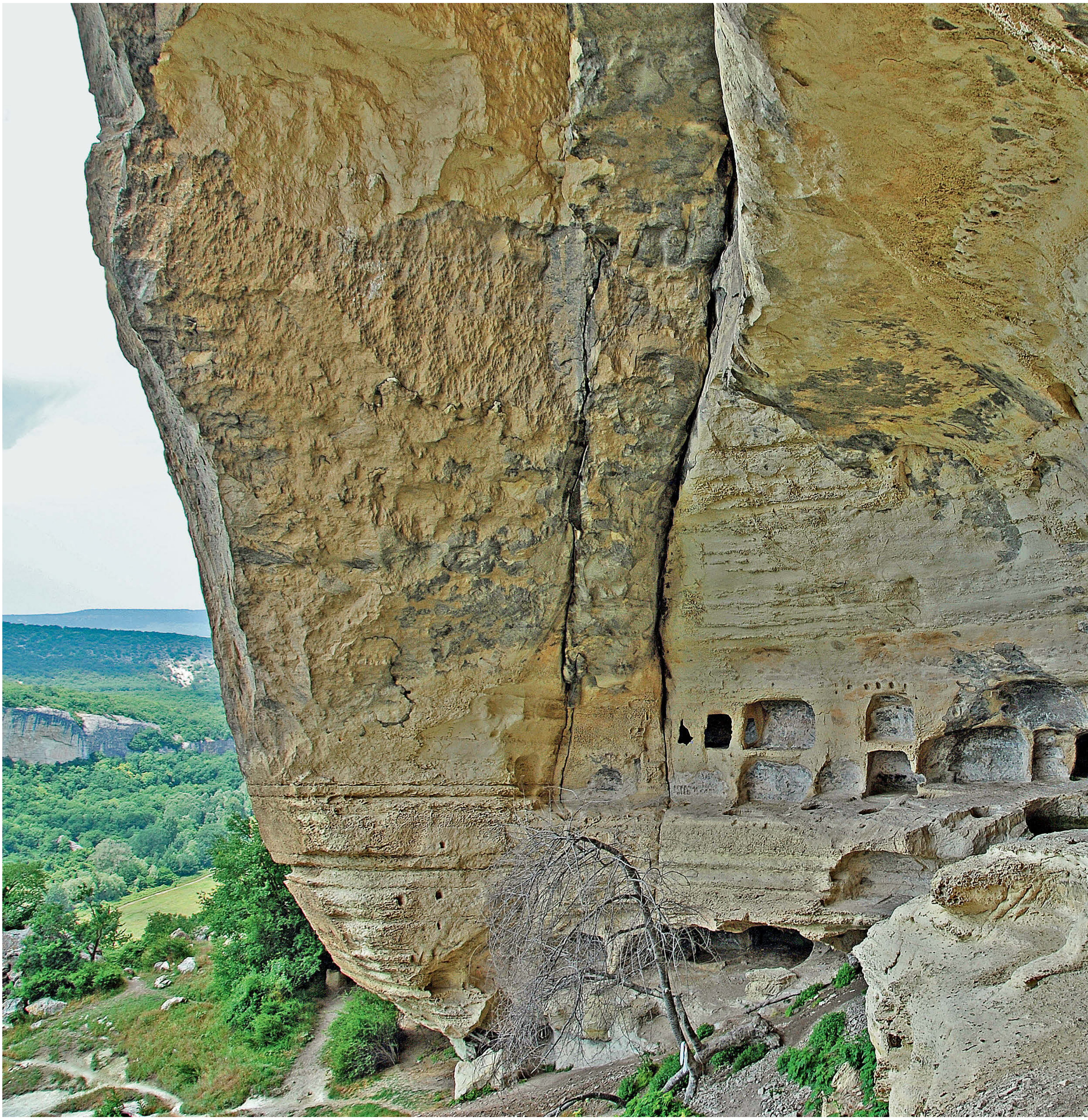
The conversion to Judaism never concerned the majority of the Khazar population, which remained Christian, Muslim or heathen. Al-Masudi, for example, highlights that in the capital Atil different judges imparted justice for members of different religions: two for Christians, two for Muslims, two for the Jewish Khazars and one for the various heathens.[44] The Islamic community had its roots in the numerous, constantly growing groups of Muslim merchants within Khazaria; the Christian group consisted of long-standing communities such as the one in the Crimea. It also included Byzantine iconodules (venerators of images), who in the eighth and ninth centuries had fled from persecution by the iconoclasts.

After the collapse of the Khazar Empire around 969 there remained in the Crimea the well-known Jewish community of the Karaites. Their legacy remains visible to this day in the medieval double *kenesa* (Jewish-Karaite synagogue) and the necropolis (fourteenth to twentieth century) of Chufut-Kale, or the extensive cemetery of Mangup-Kale (1456–1788). The Karaites follow the Pentateuch and reject the commentaries of the Talmud and the rabbinate. Although many Karaites venerate the Khazars as their ancestors, the Khazars themselves seem to have followed a form of Talmudic Rabbinic Judaism.[45] The Karaites, whose name means 'Readers', probably immigrated from the Iranian region between the ninth and twelfth centuries and adopted a Turko-Cuman dialect. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Karaites chose emigration, and today there are only some 1,000 left in the Crimea.

The early ninth century saw a struggle for supremacy within the Khazar elite, which led eventually to a form of dual power. Ibn Fadlan reported in 922: 'The king of the Khazars is called Khagan, and he only appears in public promenading once every four months. He is called the great Khagan and his viceroy is called Khagan Bek. It is the latter that leads and controls the armed forces [and] conducts affairs of the kingdom.'[46] The khagan, who probably represented the older line of rulers, now only had symbolic roles, while real power was held by the bek who led the state and the army. He came from a new line of rulers which had been victorious in the power struggle. The khagan mutated to a sacred figure resembling a demi-god and who – according to Old Turkic traditions – possessed a mandate from a higher power to mediate between the divine sphere and his people. As long as he possessed the divine charisma, *qut*, he was guarantor of the welfare of the Khazans, like a living amulet.[47] But if misfortune befell the state, in the form of droughts or military defeats, such catastrophes were interpreted as proof that the khagan had lost his *qut* because the higher power had withdrawn it from him. He was then executed.[48]

During the ninth century the Khazars came under increased pressure from equestrian peoples such as the Magyars, Pechenegs and Oghuzes, and their territory began to shrink. The Finno-Ugric Magyars, the later Hungarians, originally lived in the area between the Ural and the Kama rivers, then dispersed into the area of the

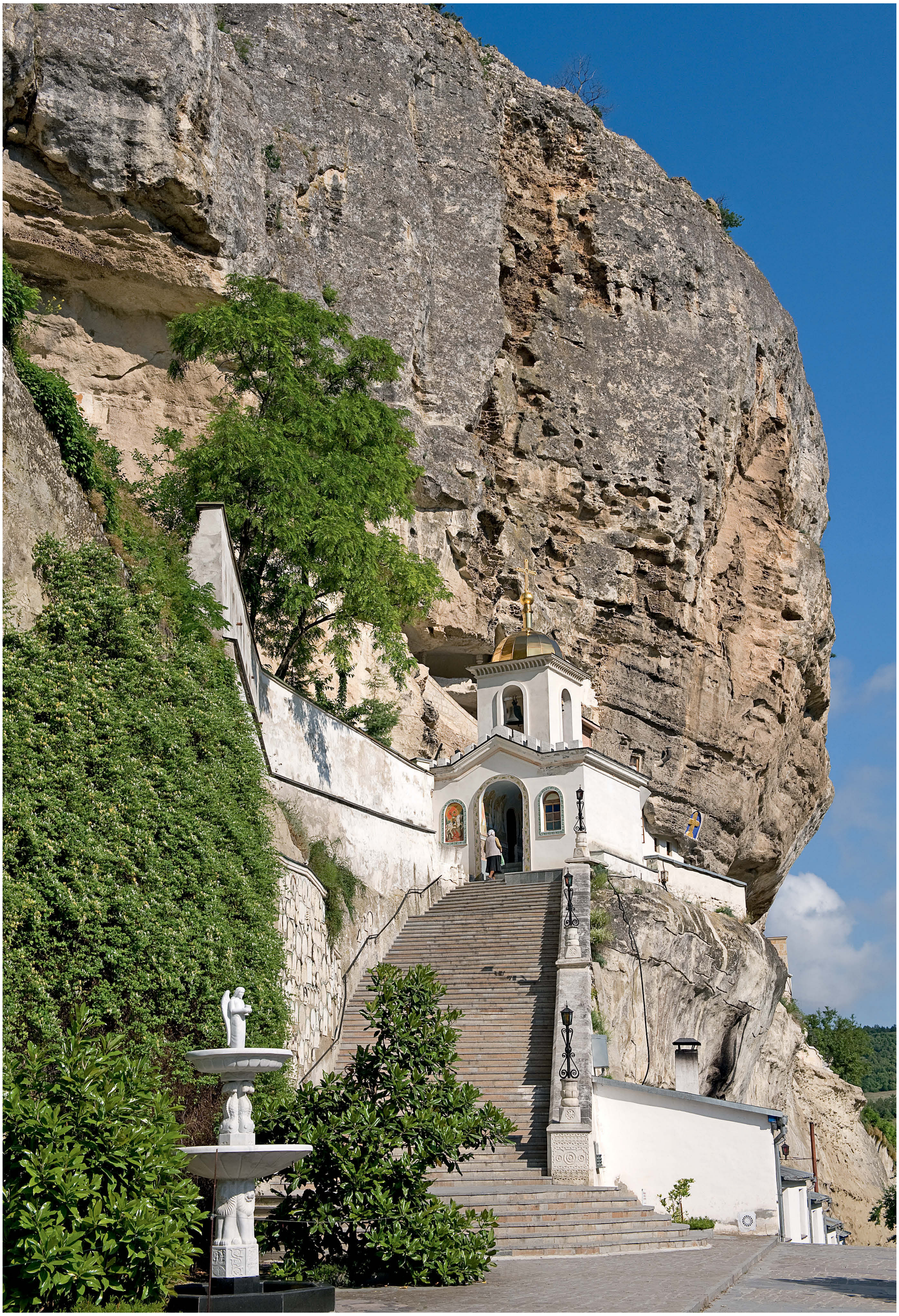
178. The necropolis of the Jewish Karaites of Mangup Kale in the southern Crimea. The picture shows a gravestone from 1707 with the following Hebrew inscriptions: 'This monument was erected on the tomb of the respected R. Yitzhak, the learned, son of the respected R. Yoseph the elder, of blessed memory, that left the wife of his youth. Passed away on Sunday, 4 of Adar, year 5467 from the Creation'.[19]



179. Like the Uspenskij cave monastery, the cave complex of Kachy Kalon in the southern Crimea was founded by iconodule monks, who had probably fled there in the 8th c. to escape the ban on religious images imposed by iconoclast Byzantine emperors. The Turkic Khazars of the Crimea practised religious tolerance. The picture shows the Hagia Sophia church.

Volga Bulgars and adopted Turkic cultural elements. In the second half of the eighth century, part of the Magyars went further southwest, first into the area between the lower courses of the Volga and Don, where they were subjects to the Khazars, and from the early ninth century further west, probably as far as the Danube. Here they settled from the 830s–40s in *Atelkuzu* (Etelköz), the 'land between two streams', which stretched from the Don to the Dniester or to the Danube, thus snatching control over this area from the Khazars.[49] Also at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century Oghuzes, Kimeks and Karluks drove away hordes of the Pechenegs from their homeland at the lower course of the Syr Darya, after which the Pechenegs settled between the Urals and the Volga. As Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus reports, an alliance of Oghuzes and Khazars attacked the Pechenegs around 889–93 and drove them westward. The Pechenegs crossed the Volga and the Don, formed an alliance with the Bulgarian tsar Simeon I and in 896 annihilated the Magyars of Atelkuzu, whose survivors fled westward to the upper course of the Tisza. The eight tribes of the Pechenegs, who did not form a united khaganate, settled to the west and east of the Dnieper, and the Byzantines used the weakened position of the Khazars to regain control over the merchant cities of the Crimea.[50]

Although the Khazars, in alliance with the Oghuzes, succeeded in driving away the Pechenegs from their borders, their Oghuz allies turned out to be an even more dangerous adversary, since they wanted to push forward to the fertile steppes at the Don and gain control over the trade routes there. After some border skirmishes, the Oghuzes formed an alliance with the Prince of the Kievan Rus', Sviatoslav I (r. nominally from 945, de facto *ca*. 959/963–72). Under Sviatoslav's leadership, the allies conquered the fortress of Sarkel in 965 and in 968 or 969 the capital Atil, after which the Khazarian empire broke up. The Rus' were originally Scandinavian 'war merchants', also called Varangians, who either conducted trade along the Russian rivers or went on raids by boat into the territories of the Volga Bulgars and the Abbasid Caliphate.[51] With the appearance of the Kievan Rus' around the end of the ninth century, the Varangians became rulers of an agrarian society. So the victory of the Kiev Rus' over the Khazars also constitutes a success of an agrarian-mercantile society over a former equestrian people. In 985 a Russian-Oghuz attack on Bolghar followed, which remained without consequences for the Bulgars since soon afterwards unrest and uprisings broke out among the Oghuzes, when their yabghu tried to impose a system of yearly taxes on the nomadic tribes.[52]



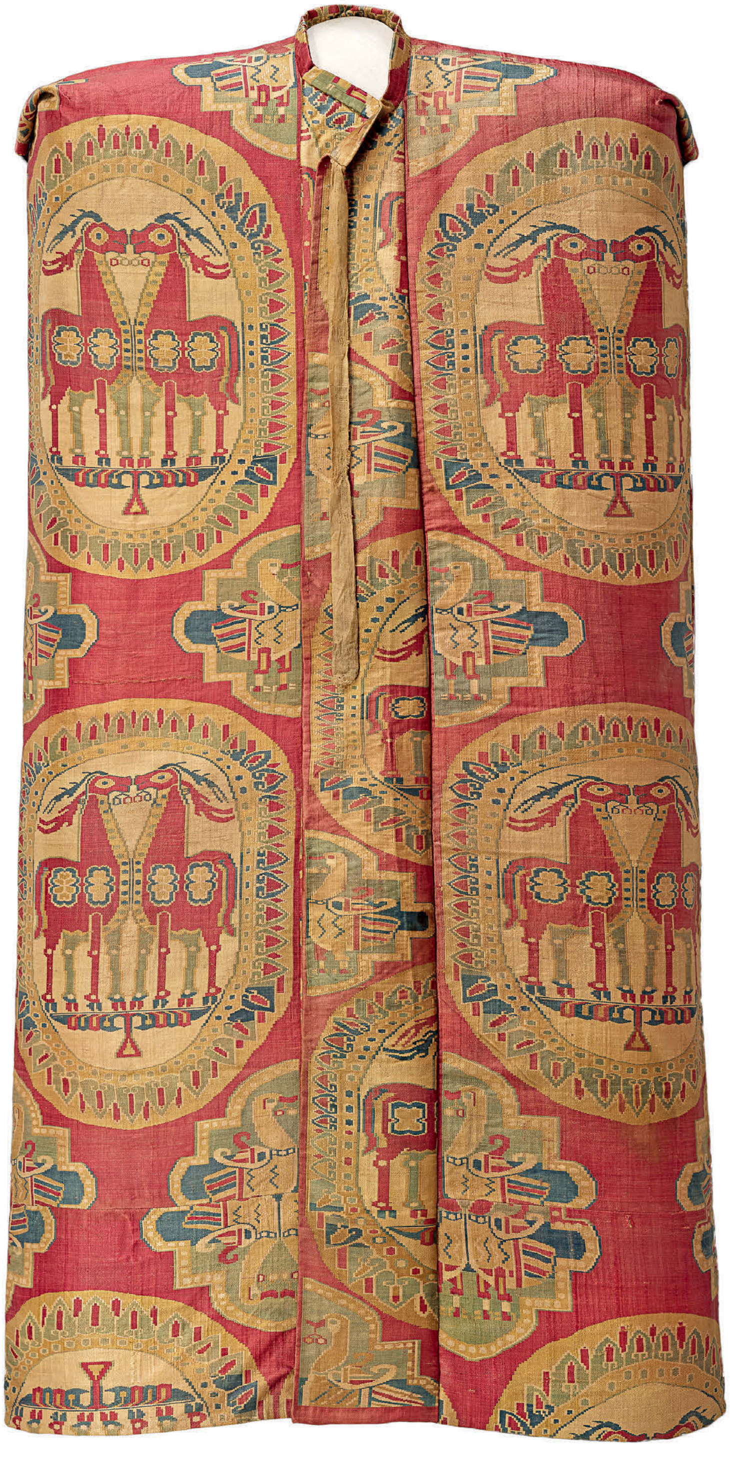
180. The Uspenskij (Church of the Assumption) cave monastery in the southern Crimea was probably founded at the time of the Khazar suzerainty in the 8th or 9th c. by iconodules, who had fled from the iconoclasts then dominant in Byzantium. In 1778 the Crimean Greek Orthodox Christians were forcibly resettled in the Asov region by the Russians, and the monastery fell into ruin. After being destroyed by the Bolsheviks in 1921, the monastery has been undergoing restoration since 1993, to the dismay of some local Muslim groups.

VII

The Sogdians

Oh, wise man, this is a lion! If you bring it back to life, it will kill us all!

Adapted from the Indian legend *The Story of the Brahmins Who Put Life into the Lion*, which was twice illustrated as a mural in the Sogdian city of Panjikant.[1]



181. Sleeveless coat with the post-Sassanid Sogdian motif of a medallion with dual animals facing each other, here with medallions of dual deer standing on the tips of their hooves, and paired ducks. The silk fabric is probably from Central Asia and can be dated to the 8th/9th century; the shape of the garment is similar to that of the painted coffin planks from the ancient Tibetan necropolis of Guolimu in the Dulan region (today's Qinghai province) which was then part of the Great Tibetan Empire.[20] Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg, inv. no. 5405, 5409.

1. A Trade Empire from the Crimea to China

1.1 Sogdian Trade before Old Turkic Rule

The Sogdians maintained an empire of commercial centres whose hub was Samarkand, the meeting place of several important trade routes. But unlike the Phoenicians or the British East India Company, the Sogdian trade empire was neither organised nor possessed a military arm to advance its interests abroad and acquire territorial rights. They lacked the structural basis for this, for Sogdiana had no central authority, only a large number of city states which were in competition with each other. Among them were cities in what is now Uzbekistan, such as Bukhara, Vardana, Varakhshah, Paykend and Uch Kulakh, all within the large Bukhara Oasis; Kushaniyya, Shahrisabz and Samarkand further east, and Tashkent north of these. In the north-west of Tajikistan there were also the city of Panjikant and, further north-east, Bunjikat. All built of mudbrick, they possessed – as is clearly demonstrated by the example of Panjikant which has not been built over since the eighth century – a princely citadel, called *kala* in Arabic, a walled part of the city called *sharistan*, and outer quarters known as *rabat*. In one respect the political structures of Sogdiana resembled the medieval trade republics of Venice or Genoa, whose leadership was recruited from their own wealthy nobility. The cities minted their own coins but these were only in circulation within Sogdiana; they used the Sassanid drachma and silk bales as international currencies.[2] It was not until the seventh century that some larger centres of power emerged, such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Čač (Tashkent), Panjikant and Bunjikat.[3] The achievements of the Sogdians in building a trade network and in diplomacy are comparable to those of the pre-Christian Phoenicians.

Despite their political fragmentation, the Sogdians succeeded in establishing a vast trade network and they maintained a quasi-monopoly of the trade in luxury goods for three to four centuries. The Sogdians compensated for the weakness caused by the lack of central political organisation by offering their services as administrators and advisers to nomadic equestrian peoples, especially the Göktürks, and making themselves indispensable during the establishment of a state and its administration. They also founded their own trading centres along the major trade routes, stretching from the Crimea in the west to the Chinese capitals Chang'an and Luoyang in the east. As surviving documents show, they also maintained a chain of numerous trade offices between Sogdiana

182. Ruins of Kala-i Kahkaha in the Sogdian city of Bunjikat, Ustrushana, which kept its sovereignty until 893. Northern Tajikistan.

and central China, especially in Semirechie (south Kazakhstan and west Kyrgyzstan), where there is archaeological evidence for 29 towns and settlements from the sixth to the ninth century; many of these were built according to similar grids, which suggests centralised planning.[4] Further Sogdian establishments were found in Xinjiang, Dunhuang, the Hexi Corridor, Ningxia, Datong[5] (Shanxi) as well as in Mongolia and the Ordos where the Sogdians bred horses for the Chinese market from the seventh century.[6] The different strongholds of the Sogdian diaspora were linked by their own postal service, as can be concluded from the *Sogdian Ancient Letters*.[7] Further west, the Sogdians, together with Chorasmian traders, were active on the so-called 'Fur Route' and ran trading posts on the Taman Peninsula on the eastern shores of the Cimmerian Bosporus[8] and the southern coast of the Crimea, where in the sixth or seventh century they founded the port of Sogdaia, today's Sudak (fig. 147). Sogdaia stood on Turkish-Khazar territory and was an ideal bridgehead to the Byzantine market.[9] Over what distances products could be traded can be seen from the example of a small bronze figure of the Buddha in the Late Gandhara style of the sixth or seventh century from Kashmir or Afghanistan, which was discovered in a Viking trading post on the island of Helgö in Lake Mälaren west of Stockholm.[10] Sogdian inscriptions in the Karakoram mountains from the fourth century, and inscriptions from the year 825/26 near Tangtse, beside the Pangong lake on the Ladakhi–Tibetan border,[11] are evidence for Sogdian trade activities reaching south to the Indus and to Tibet.

As early as the first century BCE, the Sogdian city-states were already adept at exploiting the vain desire of Chinese rulers to receive legations bringing tribute from distant countries. Traders mingled with the legations, or trade expeditions were disguised as diplomatic missions. Protector-General Guoshun (in office 16–12 BCE) warned Emperor Han Cheng Di: 'If in view of these considerations we ask why [Kangju] sends its sons to attend [at the Han court], [we find] that desiring to trade, they use a pretence couched in fine verbiage.'[12] The warning of the protector-general, which was ignored, was based on the fact that such legations, as soon as they had obtained a travel permit, called *guosuo*,[13] received free food and hospitality on the prescribed route within China,

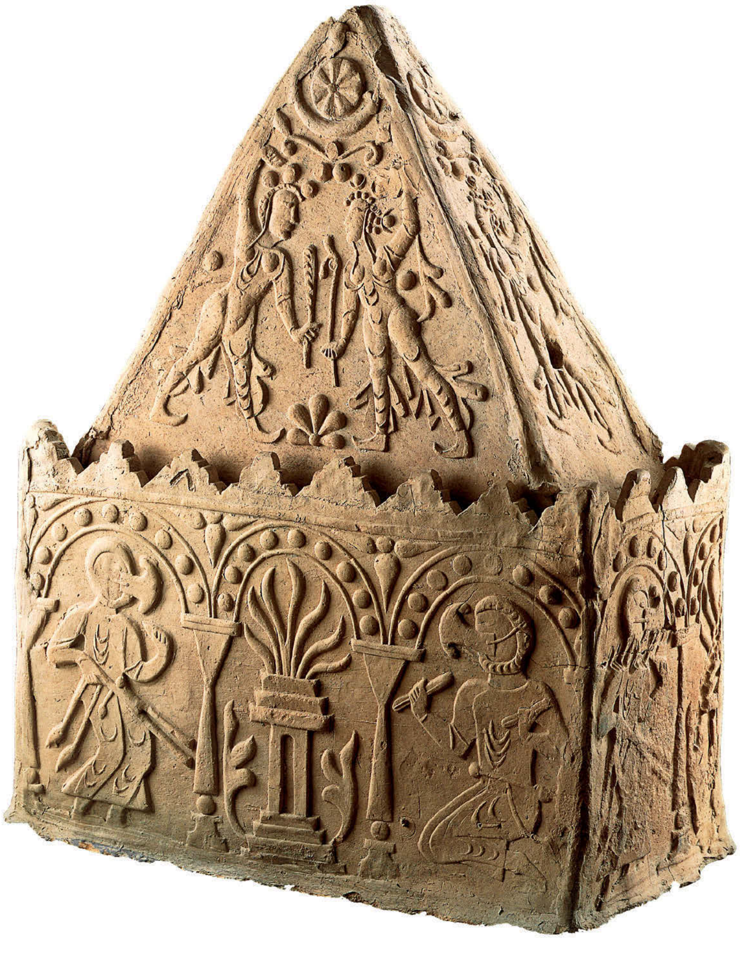
183. Gilded silver plate with the mythical primordial bird *senmurv*, which has the head of a dog with lion's claws, late Sassanid, 7th c. The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

incurring high costs. Sogdiana's economy was based primarily on irrigated agriculture, but since in the north and north-east its territories bordered on those of various steppe peoples, who needed many agricultural and craft products, the trade to the east started by the time of the Achaemenid Empire. The trade with Chinese wares began in the second century BCE, when China paid tribute to the Xiongnu in the form of silk bales and also used silk to buy the benevolence and services of semi-nomadic princes of Xiyu, today's Xinjiang. These petty rulers then acquired other goods from Sogdian traders in exchange for silk. Chinese envoys and officers, who were stationed in Xiyu, traded with the same precious textile; they were either paid their wages in the form of silk,[14] or they diverted a portion of the diplomatic silk gifts destined for nomadic equestrian princes for their own purposes. This form of trade was a boon to the Sogdians since it allowed them to purchase Chinese silk without having to travel to central China and establish their own infrastructure there.[15] Despite this advantage, the Sogdians did not miss the opportunity of building a network of trading posts and their own postal service in China as early as the third century CE.

At that time, Sogdians were still playing only a secondary role in international trade which was then dominated by Bactrians, Parthians and especially Kushans. One of the reasons for this was that the trade routes passed mainly through Bactria and Gandhara. After a downturn in the first half of the fourth century caused by the turmoil of the war in China, international Sogdian trade took off in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Four factors contributed to this: firstly, in China the political situation stabilised with the dynasty of the Northern Wei; secondly, in Bactria the war between the attacking Chionites and the defending Sassanids from the 360s to the 380s brought economic decline and a fall in population; thirdly, the Chionites, Kidarites and Hephthalites furthered the expansion of Sogdian cities and invested in urban as well as agrarian infrastructure. Finally, Sogdiana possessed its own sericulture by the end of the fifth century and so could export its own exquisite silk robes to the west and to the east.[16] The trans-continental trade in luxury goods, primarily silk, now shifted from the Bactrian Indus route mostly to the Sogdiana-Merv-Iran land route, and Sogdian traders gained a dominant position since they knew how to take advantage of their favourable geographic location between the large markets of China, India, Iran and the Pontic steppes leading to Byzantium. A Chinese tax register from the Turfan Oasis from 610–20 documents not only the dominance of the Sogdians in international trade but also the luxury goods that were traded: Sogdians exchanged gold, silver, brass, medicinal plants, saffron, amber, ammonium chloride, perfumes, musk and slaves against silk which they then sold on westwards.[17] Another document, from 553, reveals the huge size of their caravans, with some counting as many as 240 merchants and 600 camels carrying 10,000 silk bales.[18]

The Sogdians traded not only with foreign silks but, from the end of the fifth century, also exported their own silk fabrics to the Tarim Basin, to China and Tibet as well as to Byzantium. The new patterns soon became popular, and by the 580s at the latest, they were copied and adapted after Emperor Sui Wendi had been given a silk robe with golden leaf motifs in 581 by the Sassanid ruler Hormizd IV and then commissioned the Sogdian artist He Zhou to make a copy.[19] The motif found in many precious fabrics consisted of floral rosettes or roundels of the kind which can be found on the Sassanid rock relief of Taq-e Bostan near Hamadan (Iran)[20] from the early seventh century as well as on the Sogdian murals of Panjikant and Varakshah. Roundels and medallions on other fabrics had animal themes which in a Zoroastrian context originally possessed a religious symbolism. Birds holding pearl necklaces in their beaks symbolised the bird Varagan who is searching for light in the ocean and who in turn is an incarnation of Verethraghna; the humped zebu symbolised the deity of 'good mind' Wahman or the moon god Mah; the winged horse the young fire god Apam Napat, 'born of the waters'; the ram the majestic power and glory of Kwarnah; and the composite creature of a winged dog with lion's claws the mythical bird-like simurgh who mediated between heaven and earth (fig. 183).[21] This motif can be found in the boar hunt relief of Taq-e Bostan as well as on the robe of Great Shah Yazdegerd III in the wall paintings of Afrasiab.[22]

Apart from established centres of Sogdian silk weaving, there were competing workshops in the Tarim Basin, such as those in Khotan, Kucha and in the Turfan Oasis, as well as in Sichuan.[23] Here was created the new post-Sassanid motif of dual animals facing each other within a round, often pearled medallion. As Karel Otavský stresses, even though the animals themselves may have looked Sassanid, 'their representation in pairs is not a typically Sassanid textile motif'. This Sino-Sogdian innovation appeared in the seventh century in the Chinese cultural sphere thanks to the 'widespread use of the symmetrical harness repeat in weft-oriented looms which made it possible to double the repeat width'.[24] The harness system is a function of the draw loom.[25] For the formation of the shed each individual warp or each group of warps are lifted by a harness thread. The heddles, which are mounted in the harness, are lifted at the same time. The arrangement of the harness threads is determined by the wooden harness board, which lies horizontally over the loom and has one hole per harness thread. With this system it is possible to weave weft-faced patterned repeats independently of the total breadth of the fabric, and this can be repeated in symmetrical or asymmetrical order. The upper and lower wefts of the fabric hide the main warp threads so that these become practically invisible. The Sino-Sogdian medallions show symmetrically paired animals in profile, such as deer, peacocks, doves or pheasants on split palmettes, with the birds bearing a nimbus. Their outer rings are decorated with imitations of pearls or metal-coated boar fangs.

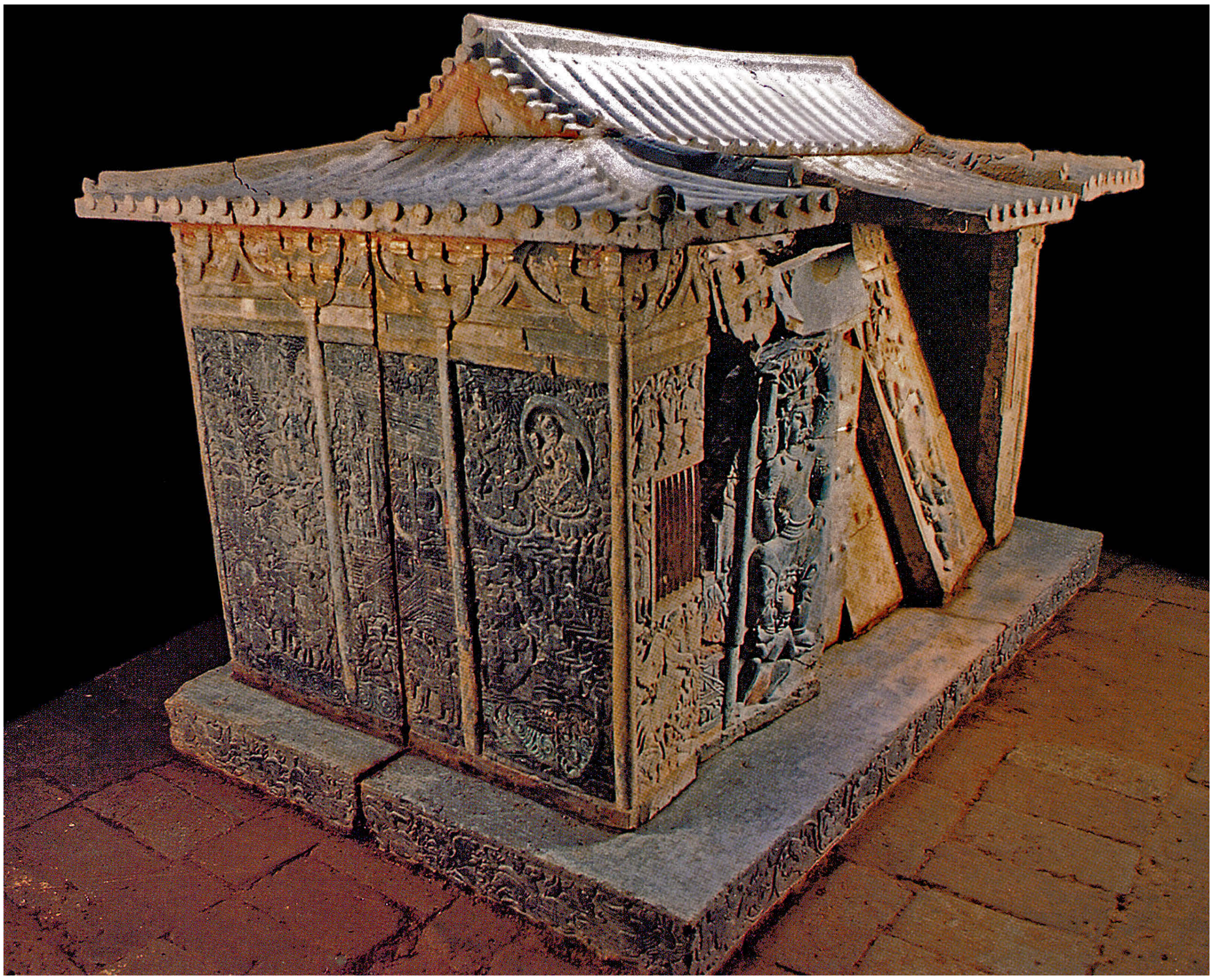


184. **Sogdian clay ossuary from Molla Kurgan, Uzbekistan, 7th c. Two female dancers are represented on the lid; on the long side of the vessel, two priests wearing *padams* stand in front of a fire altar. Samarkand Museum of History, Samarkand.**

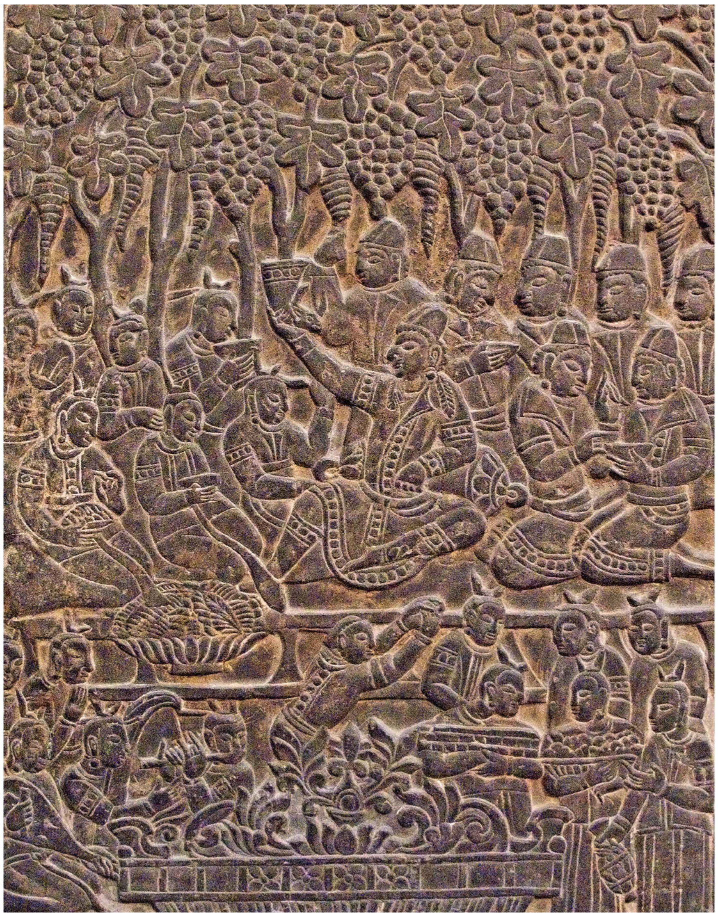
1.2 The Sogdian-Turkic Alliance

The Sogdians consolidated their leading role in the silk trade after 560 thanks to their close relations with their Turkic overlords. As a first step in this collaboration, the Sogdians sold on the enormous quantities of silk bales which the Chinese Northern Zhou and Northern Qi paid to the Turkic khaganate to safeguard the peace, to the west for a profit. In order to further these sales, Ishtemi Yabghu sent a Sogdian-Turkic embassy to Byzantium in the winter of 568/69. The Sogdian-Turkic bonds became closer still when the two Turkic khaganates and especially the Uyghurs (744–840) forced the Chinese Tang dynasty to buy horses and camels of inferior quality at inflated prices and pay for them with high-quality silk bales. The Turkic and Uyghur elite – in alliance with Sogdian traders – now had a quasi-monopoly in the trade of Chinese silk within Central Asia. At the same time Sogdian merchants used the Turkic patronage to found trading settlements in central China itself whose elite, like that of Sassanid Iran, regarded mercantile professions as inferior. The local communities were led by a Sogdian *sabao*, who fulfilled both administrative and diplomatic tasks in relation to Turkic delegations. To identify the Sogdian immigrants, the Chinese authorities preceded every Sogdian name, which had been transliterated into Chinese, by a prefix which designated his home town. The Chinese introduced nine prefixes, six of which were widely used: *An* for Bukhara, *Cao* for the region north of the river Zerafshan as far as Ustrushana, *He* for Kushaniyya between Bukhara and Samarkand, *Kang* for Samarkand, *Mi* for Panjikant, *Shi* 石 for Čač (Tashkent) and *Shi* 史 for Kesh (Shahrisabz).[26]

After Xieli Khagan's capitulation in 630, China's Sogdian population grew rapidly when many Sogdians, who until then had been in Turkic service, were relocated to the Ordos. On the lush pastures of the Ordos they bred horses, which they delivered to the Chinese army in exchange for silk bales. In 679 the areas in which these strongly turkified Sogdians lived were divided up into the *Six Barbarian Prefectures*. Under the Uyghurs, who between 762 and 831 had intermittently established a kind of protectorate over the Tang dynasty whose army was weak, the Sogdians succeeded in developing flourishing banking activities in China which were



185. House-shaped sarcophagus of the Sogdian Wirkak (Chinese, Shi Jun), who was buried in 579 near Chang'an (today's Xian). Shaanxi History Museum, Xian.



186. **Banqueting scene on a panel from the Sogdian funerary couch of Anyang, Henan, China, 6th c., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The panel did not come from a controlled excavation but was purchased on the antique market; further parts of the same funerary couch are in the Musée Guimet, Paris, and in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne.**

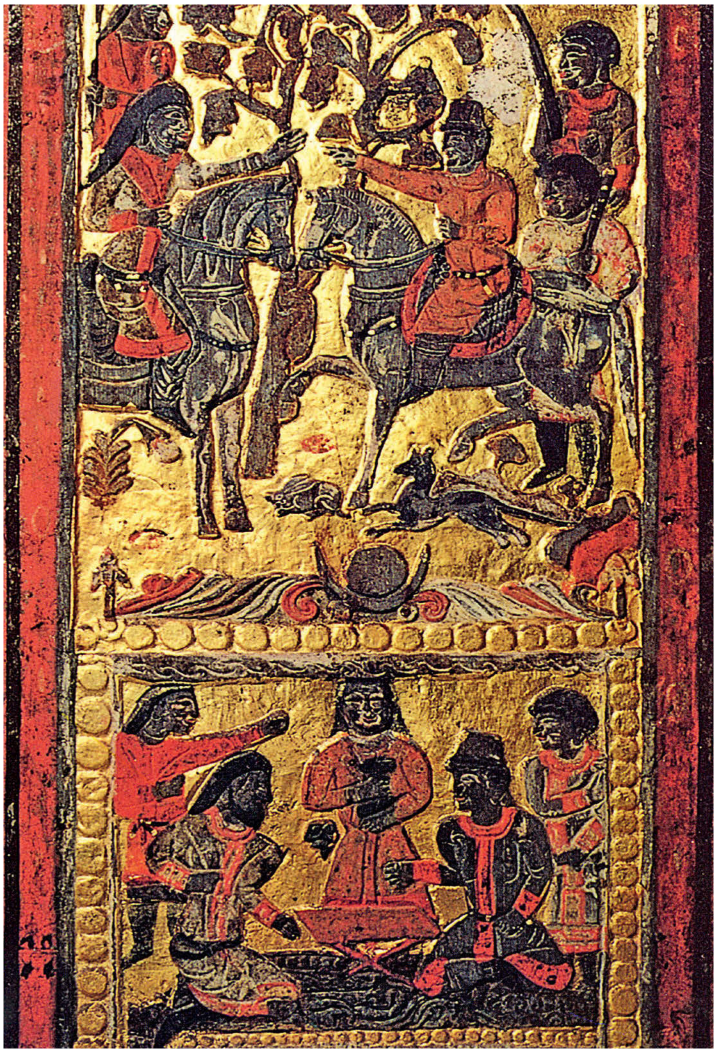
able to influence the Chinese financial system. The special position of Uyghur-Sogdian banks only came to an end in 831 when the rapidly declining political and military dominance of the Uyghur Empire enabled Emperor Wenzong (r. 827–40) to sharply curtail Uyghur activities within China.[27]

Spectacular testimony to these Sogdians is provided by the ten stone tombs from the sixth century which have been discovered in central China. They consist of seven funerary couches each of which has pictorial panels, painted on the inside, and three house-shaped sarcophagi.[28] These stone tombs in white marble, grey granite or black limestone not only illustrate Zoroastrian rituals and ideas, and the high status of the deceased, but also show how Zoroastrian Sogdians adapted to Chinese funerary practice. Zoroastrians neither bury nor cremate their dead, since they believe that earth and fire must not be contaminated. The corpses are either exposed in the open air, in places where birds and other animals of prey or specially trained dogs eat the flesh off the skeleton, or they are temporarily kept in niches or on stone benches of mausoleums; in both cases the bare bones are gathered and placed in an ossuary.[29] In Sogdiana, where neither stone funerary couches nor house sarcophagi existed, ossuaries consisted of mudbrick vessels which were decorated on the outside. But in China the exposure of a corpse was totally unthinkable since it negated the integrity of the body; burial alone, or cremation in the case of Buddhists, were customary. With the stone couches and house sarcophagi, the Sogdians found a solution which complied with the rules of both religions. The dead body was buried in an underground chamber with dromos according to the Chinese custom, but since it rested on a stone base, the earth was not contaminated.[30] Thus the funerary couch and the house sarcophagus served the same function as an ossuary. The custom of furnishing an underground tomb with a funerary couch or a house sarcophagus only emerged in the fifth century in northern China under the Northern Wei.[31] It is not known why the sinified Xianbei imitated earlier Han Chinese shrines for the dead, which at the time were used for the veneration of ancestors, for use in their own burials. At any rate the Sogdians consciously adopted the idea of the house sarcophagus as a sacred memorial, as can be seen from the inscription on the grave of Sabao Wirkak (Shi Jun), who died in 579, since it explicitly calls it 'house of the god' (fig. 185).[32] By furnishing their burial sites with *mingqi* burial objects, the Sogdians adopted another typically Chinese funerary practice.

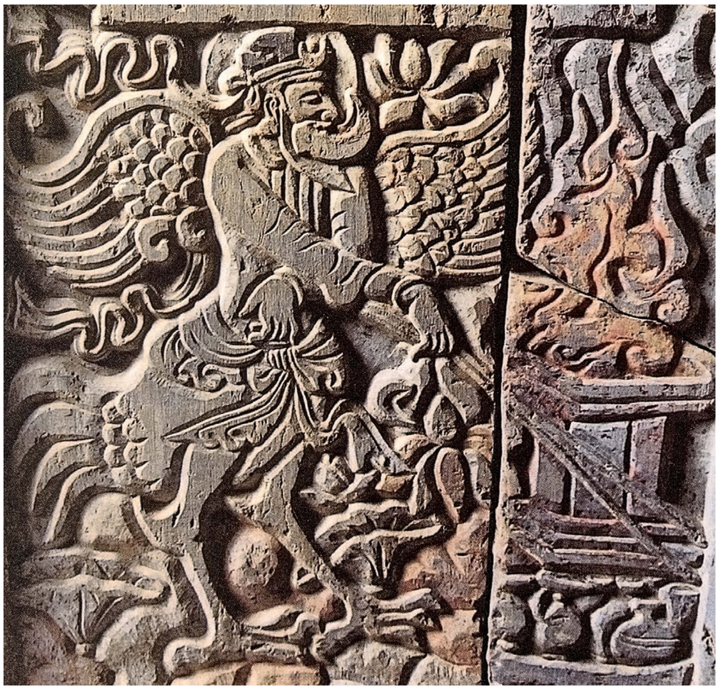
The outer sides of the stone sarcophagi and the pictorial panels of the funerary couches often show both secular and religious scenes. The former are of a biographical nature and illustrate important activities of the deceased (fig. 187). For example, the *sabao* greets a Turkic leader, negotiates with him on horseback and then offers him hospitality in a yurt, or, along with Turkic nobles, he hunts big game and gazelles, riding on a horse, camel or elephant. Other scenes show laden camel caravans, ox carts or a Turkic camp. The link between the secular and religious scenes is provided by the numerous banqueting images which show the deceased alone, with his wife or a Turkic guest. They are entertained by musicians, acrobats and men who perform the Sogdian whirling dance *Hu xuanwu*, which was very popular in China, and the leaping dance *Hu tengwu*. The theme of such Sogdian dance performances, which are accompanied by music, can also be found on water flasks made of stoneware and on the famous silver jug of Lhasa Jokhang, made during the eighth century in the Sogdian cultural sphere (fig. 189).[33] In the banqueting scenes the deceased are drinking from a chalice or a rhyton, and probably not only wine, but also *haoma*, the Zoroastrian sacred drink that bestows immortality; the scenes also evoke an image of the paradise, which the Sogdians imagined as an eternal banquet. The banqueting scene of the house sarcophagus of Yu Hong, who died in 592, clearly expressed the hope of entering paradise, for the deceased feasting couple is flanked by four Zoroastrian *yazatas*, divinities 'worthy of veneration': Ameretat (personifying immortality), Haurvatat (good health), Khshathra Vairya (hope) and Spenta Armaiti (serenity).[34]

Surprisingly, the content of the religious scenes is almost exclusively Zoroastrian although in Chinese sources Sogdians also appear as translators and promulgators of Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean texts. Zoroastrianism reached central China by the early sixth century[35] and was firmly established among the Sogdians of northern China. Dunhang alone had 20 Zoroastrian temples and shrines.[36] The religious representations remind us of the fact that Sogdian Zoroastrianism, with its multitude of gods, and its non-canonical customs, as for example the dramatic laments, differed strongly from Sassanid state religion, which is why it is more fittingly called Mazdaism.[37] The religious scenes include lamentations featuring face lacerations and striking hybrid creatures with human torsos and bird-like lower bodies. On the lintel at the tomb of An Jia (An Qie), who died in 579, the deceased and his wife conduct a fire ritual in front of a fire altar carried by three camel protomes, the camel being the attribute animal of the god of war and victory Vashagn.[38] On another representation, which is of the greatest importance, two priest-bird hybrids wearing white cloth coverings (*padams*) over their mouths, who were part of the retinue of the divinity (*yazata*) Sraosha, judge of the souls of the dead, help the deceased and their camel caravan with the crossing of the Chinvat Bridge which leads from life to death.[39] For the virtuous souls, who in their past lives have striven for 'correct thinking, correct speaking, correct action', this passage appears as a comfortable transition to paradise whereas to the sinful ones it is as narrow as a razor blade, which is why they will inevitably plunge into hell where greedy monsters await them.[40] Near the representation of the crossing of the Chinvat Bridge at the eastern outer side of the house sarcophagus, a deity on a throne can be seen at the top right, holding a trident, with three bulls lying at his feet. The deity who is observing the scene of the Last Judgement is the wind god Weshparkar, bearing the facial traits of the Hindu god Shiva who, according to a Chinese chronicle, was represented in the Zoroastrian temple of Chang'an as principal deity.[41]

How strongly Old Turkic culture adopted Sogdian elements can be seen from the development of the script. Initially, the First Khaganate took the Sogdian script for official proclamations, as is shown on the Bugut Stele in western Mongolia dating from the 580s. Then, during the Second Khaganate, Khagan Kapagan (r. 691–716)[42] introduced a separate Old Turkic alphabet, which had evolved over a long time. This runic alphabet consists of 38 signs of which four represent vowel sounds and can each signify two distinct vowels. Fifteen of the 38 signs were directly derived from the Sogdian alphabet; the remainder were new.[43] Johann von Strahlenberg, who was the first to draw these signs and published them in 1730, recognised that their runic script is not related to Germanic runes and surmised that they were a development of 'Parthic letters'; that is, Pahlavi, which, like the Sogdian script, derived from the Aramaic alphabet.[44] In late 1893, the Danish philologist Vilhelm Thomsen succeeded in deciphering this runic alphabet, usually written from



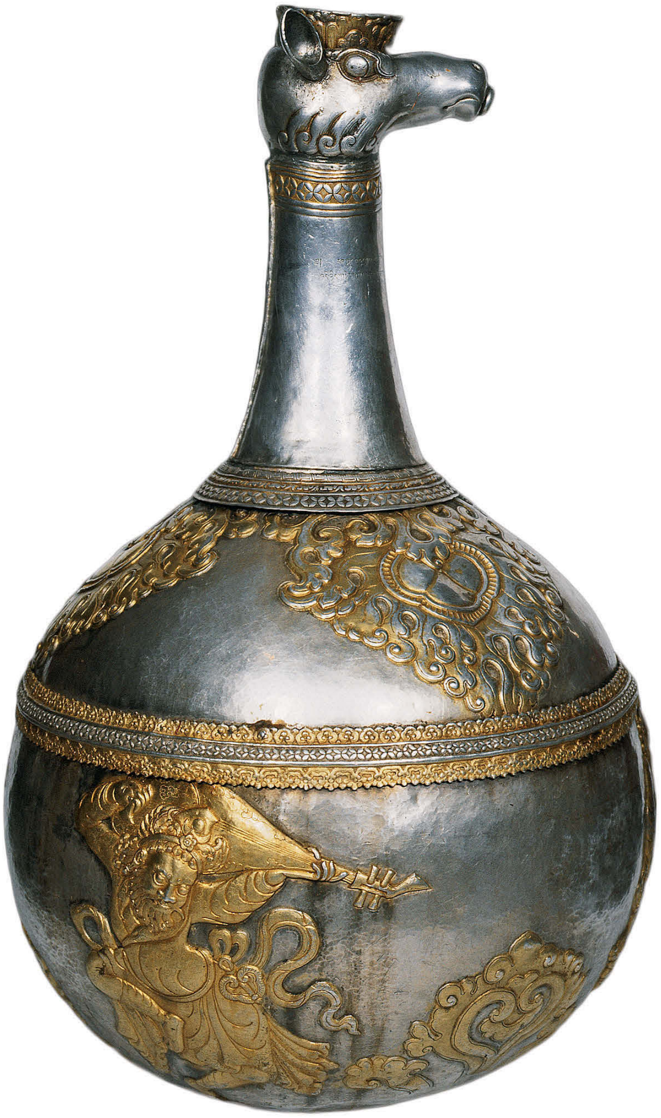
187. **Painted stone panel from the funerary couch of the Sogdian An Jia (518–579), who grew up in Gansu and died in Chang'an; as his first name An suggests, his ancestors came from Bukhara. In the scene at the top Sabao An Jia (right) greets a Turkic leader (left) on horseback, and at the bottom he entertains his Turkic guest, who can be identified by his long hair which is combed to the back. Xian, Shaanxi, China. Source: Karl Baipakov, *Zapadnotyorkckij i Tyorkckij Kaganaty: Tyorky i Sogdijtsy stepp i gorod* (Almaty, 2010), pl. III, p. 182.**



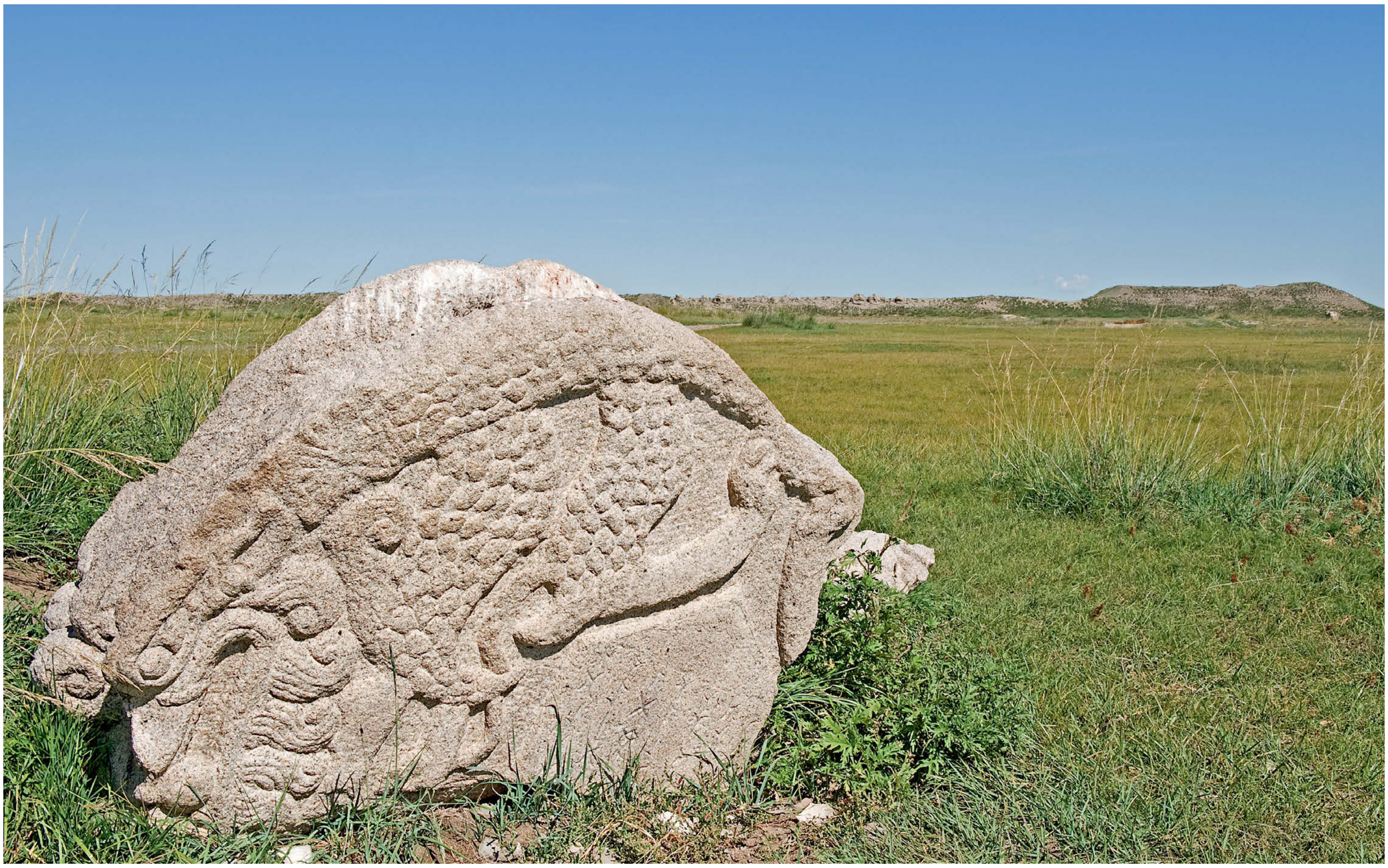
188. The Zoroastrian priest in the form of a human-bird hybrid creature wearing a *padam*, tends an eternal fire. He is part of the retinue of the Zoroastrian judge of the souls of the dead, Sraosha. Detail from the stone sarcophagus of the Sogdian Wirkak (Chinese, Shi Jun), who died in 579. Shaanxi History Museum, Xian.

right to left, and in 1894 the German founder of Turkology, Wilhelm Radloff, translated the memorial text in honour of General Kül Tegin (d. 731), inscribed on a stone stele in the Orkhon Valley in Mongolia.[45] The Old Turkic alphabet was also used in the Uyghur Empire on the Orkhon, and, in slightly modified form, in the Kyrgyz inscriptions on the river Yenisei. Other central and east Asian scripts developed from the Sogdian alphabet. In the mid-ninth century, the Uyghurs in Turfan derived their script, which is written from right to left, from the Sogdian, and, under the influence of the Syriac-Nestorian Estrangelo script, they also wrote it from top to bottom. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the vertical Mongolian script developed from the Uyghur script, and the Manchurian script, also written vertically, which served to write a Tungusic language, derived from this in the seventeenth century.[46]

The military advance of China into Eastern Turkestan from 640 had a decisive influence on the silk trade. The Chinese were now able to transport large quantities of silk to the west themselves, as gifts for vassal states or as wages for their own troops stationed in Xiyu. As a result the Sogdians lost the inner Chinese market. But they knew how to adapt to the new situation: on the one hand they strengthened their trade with Chinese border troops, on the other they moved into careers in the Chinese administration and army, or offered transport services for the army.[47] In the mid-eighth century, though, the situation changed dramatically and a period of turbulence commenced: the highest commander of the Chinese troops in the north-east of the country, General An Lushan (703–57), who had a Sogdian father and a Turkic mother, led the rebellion (755–63) which has come to bear his name. In the summer of 756, he conquered the capital Chang'an and plunged the ruling Tang dynasty (618–907) into its greatest crisis so far. It was only saved with the help of the intervention of Uyghur cavalry, and



189. Silver, partially gilt wine jug with a long neck surmounted by the head of a camel, total height 78 cm, *ca.* 8th century. Three Bacchanalian scenes are depicted on the lower part of the vessel; on one scene (not shown here) three drunken men support each other; on each of the other two a bearded man, who plays a lute which he holds behind his head, performs a wild dance. This dance is strongly reminiscent of the famous 'Sogdian whirl', called *Hu xuanwu* in Chinese. The silver vessel was probably produced in Tajikistan in the Sogdian style. It is not known how it came to Lhasa; perhaps it was brought from the Tarim Basin to Tibet as war booty.[21]



190. The upper part of the broken stele of Ordu Baliq (Karabalgasun), which was erected in 821, Övörkhangai Aimag, Mongolia. The stele was inscribed in Sogdian, Chinese and Old Turkic in Runic script which emphasises the important role that the Sogdians had in the Uyghur administration since the 6th c.[22] In the background, the ruins of the city of Karabalgasun.

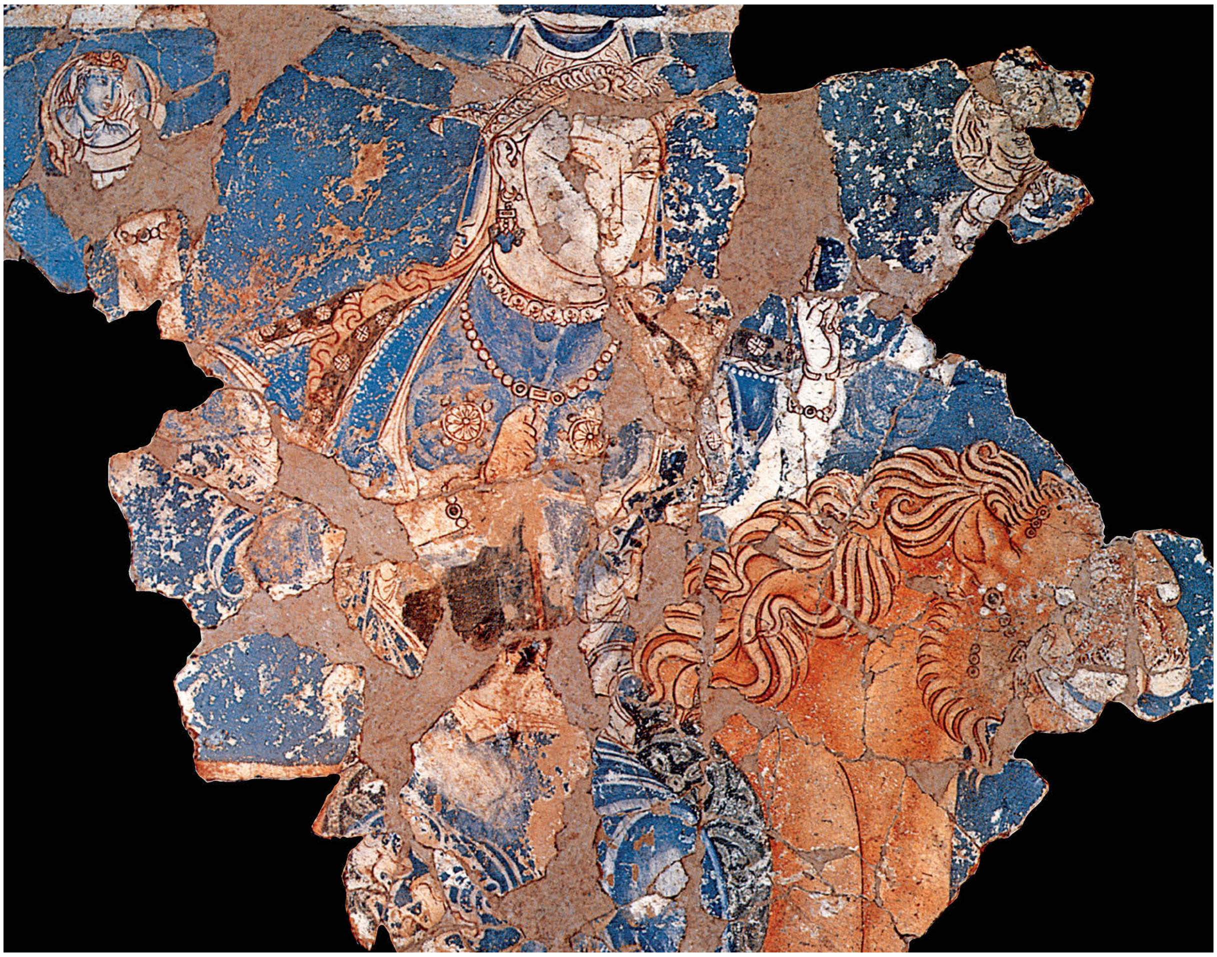
as a result China became dependent on the steppe empire of the Uyghurs.[48] But the Sogdians who lived in China paid a high price for An Lushan's revolt, for when the Chinese army reconquered the main cities, they massacred the Sogdians who lived there, and also encouraged pogroms against them by offering financial rewards for finding and killing Sogdians. To protect themselves, many Sogdians in China adopted Chinese names and forged birth certificates and family trees, thus vanishing from the sources and from history.[49]

The future of the Sogdians within China looked bleak towards the end of the An Lushan rebellion, but when the Uyghur ruler Muyu (Bögü) Khagan (r. 759–79) adopted the Manichaean faith in 763, their situation changed overnight. The trilingual stone inscription of Karabalgasun (fig. 190), the capital of the Uyghur Khaganate, in Old Turkic, Sogdian and Chinese from the first quarter of the ninth century explains how Muyu was converted by Sogdian Manichaeans in Luoyang, where he had helped to crush the rebellion, and soon afterwards elevated Manichaeism to a state religion. The khagan invited Sogdian Manichaean missionaries to Mongolia and entrusted the administration of his empire to educated Sogdians.[50] Since the Chinese Tang dynasty was dependent on Uyghur military support, they had to tolerate both Manichaeism and the activities of the Sogdian-Uyghur trade networks. Because of the continuing war in north-west China and the Tarim Basin between the Tibetans and the Chinese, who were allied with the Uyghurs, Sogdian trade routes moved further north through safe Uyghur territory. Despite the anti-Sogdian and anti-Manichaean putsch in 779 by Muyu's minister Tun Bagha Tarkan, who ruled under the name Alp Qutlugh Bilge (Dunmoho) Khagan until 789 and had numerous Sogdians massacred, the strong position of the Sogdians within the Uyghur Empire remained undisputed. As Colin Mackerras states, 'the roots of their [the Uyghurs'] later contributions in the fields of writing and art were planted through their adoption of Manicheism and absorption of Sogdian influence. In the social sphere, the empire period [. . .] witnessed a partial transfer from the totally nomadic existence of their ancestors to a more settled and sophisticated livelihood in which cities, commerce and agriculture played an important role.'[51]

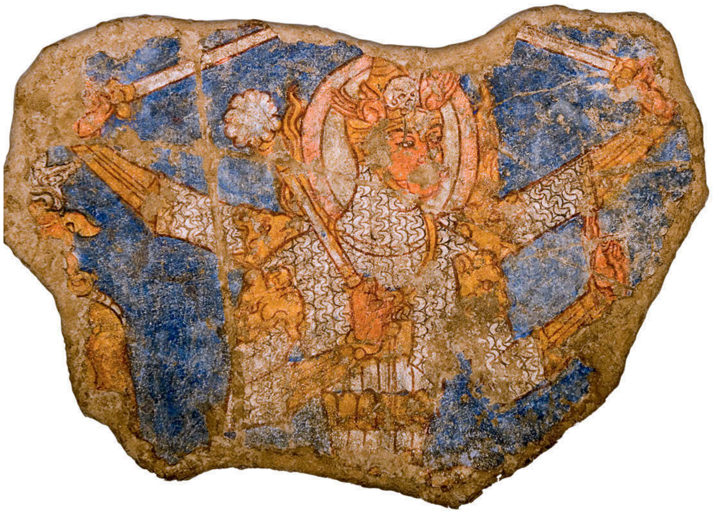
The destruction of the Uyghur Empire in 840 by the Kyrgyz and the simultaneous policies against foreign religions of Emperor Wuzong (r. 840–46), who did not have to fear Uyghur interventions any more, brought the privileged position of the Sogdians to an abrupt end. Sogdian merchants in China had already seen growing competition from Muslim Persians, who controlled the flourishing maritime routes, since the early ninth century. After the loss of the Chinese market, Sogdian merchants looked increasingly westward. They recovered from the destructive plundering and conquering wars of the Arabs, which started in 654 and only came to an end around 750, and seized the chance offered by the huge market of the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258). Among their most important exports were musk, paper and Turkic slaves, especially young men who were captured by the thousands every year in the north-eastern hinterland and who were sought-after military slaves in Baghdad. Parallel to the ascent of the Muslim dynasty of the Samanids (875–999),[52] the Sogdian elite lost its former cultural identity and integrated into the Sunni Persian culture of the Samanids.

2. Sogdian Religion and Art

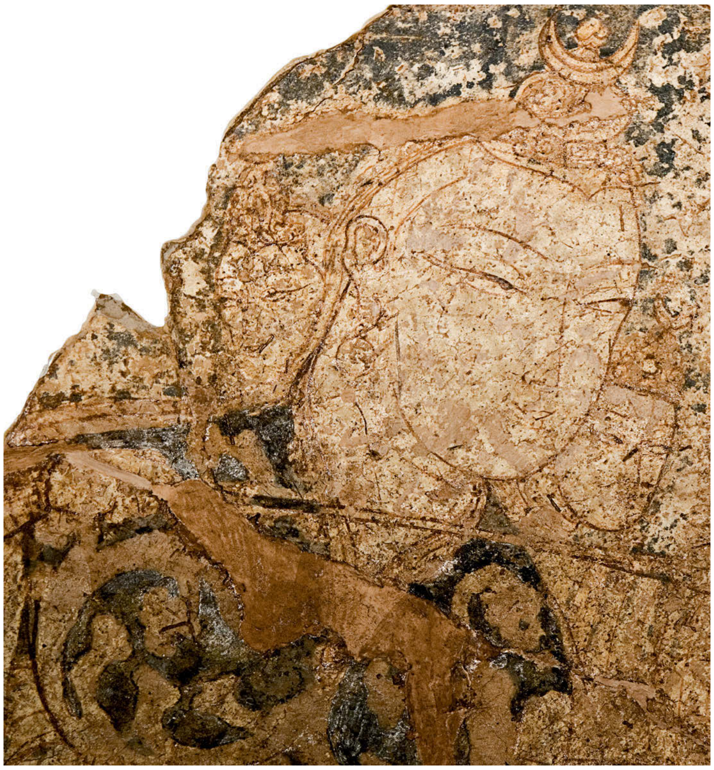
The special political constellation of Sogdiana is reflected in its religious diversity. Sogdiana did not form a unified state, and as a result had no state religion, no central control over the different faiths that existed, and no state clergy. Important Christian and Manichaean communities thrived in Sogdiana,[53] but so did Sogdian Zoroastrianism, called Mazdaism. This was very different from the puritan spirit of Sassanid orthodoxy[54] which would have shied away from a diversity of divinities, avoiding their visual representation. Indeed, some 23 or 24 divinities have been identified in Sogdian art.[55] The visual representations of these divinities took their models from the Hindu as well as the Hellenic or Irano-Mesopotamian pantheons; other images of gods were new creations. In each case the Sogdian divinities kept their identity. As Matteo Compareti observes, the adoption of Indian models for some of the most important Sogdian divinities took place in the sixth century, after the iconography of the Hindu pantheon in



191. Wall painting of the Sogdian goddess Nana from the Palace of Kala-i Kahkaha I, Bunjikat, Tajikistan, 8th–9th c. In her two upper hands, the four-armed goddess riding her lion holds anthropomorphic representations of the sun and moon, with flames blazing from their shoulders. State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.



192. Fragment of a wall painting from the 7th/early 8th c. discovered in 2003 in Panjikant showing a demon prince in the context of an epic or mythological battle scene.[23] The four-armed demon is wearing chain mail, and from his shoulders blaze flames, underlining his sublime status. He wields a sword in each of his two upper hands, and in his lower right hand he holds a mace. His head is surrounded by an aureole, and his helmet is decorated by two hands and a skull. Museum of National Antiquities, Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

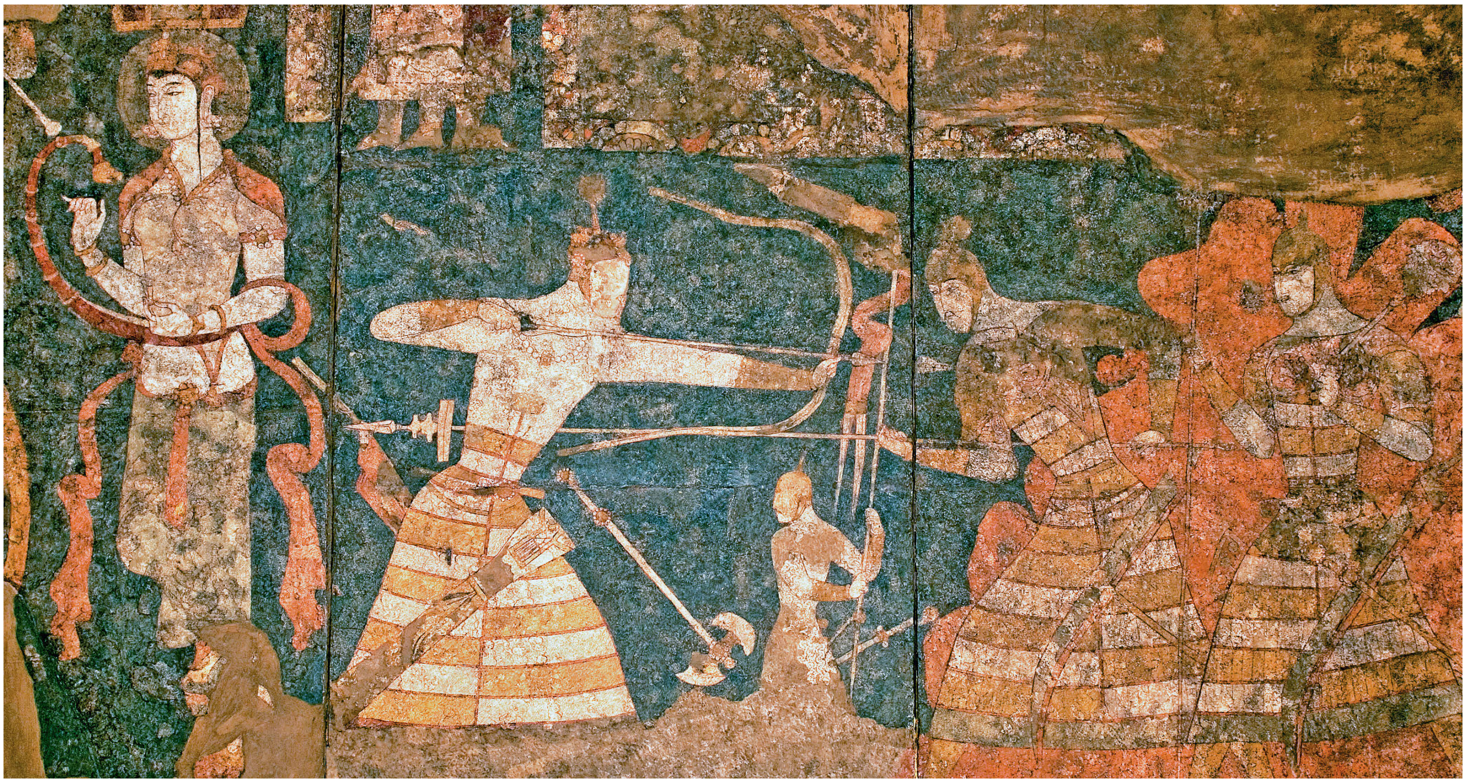


193. Fragment of a wall painting of the Sogdian wind god Weshparkar represented in the guise of the three-headed Hindu god Shiva shooting an arrow. The god wears the emblem of the sun within a half moon on his headdress and is depicted as a rider who turns in the saddle and shoots at enemies attacking from the rear.[24] Palace of Kala-i Kahkaha I, Bunjikat, Tajikistan, 8th–9th. c. Museum of National Antiquities, Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

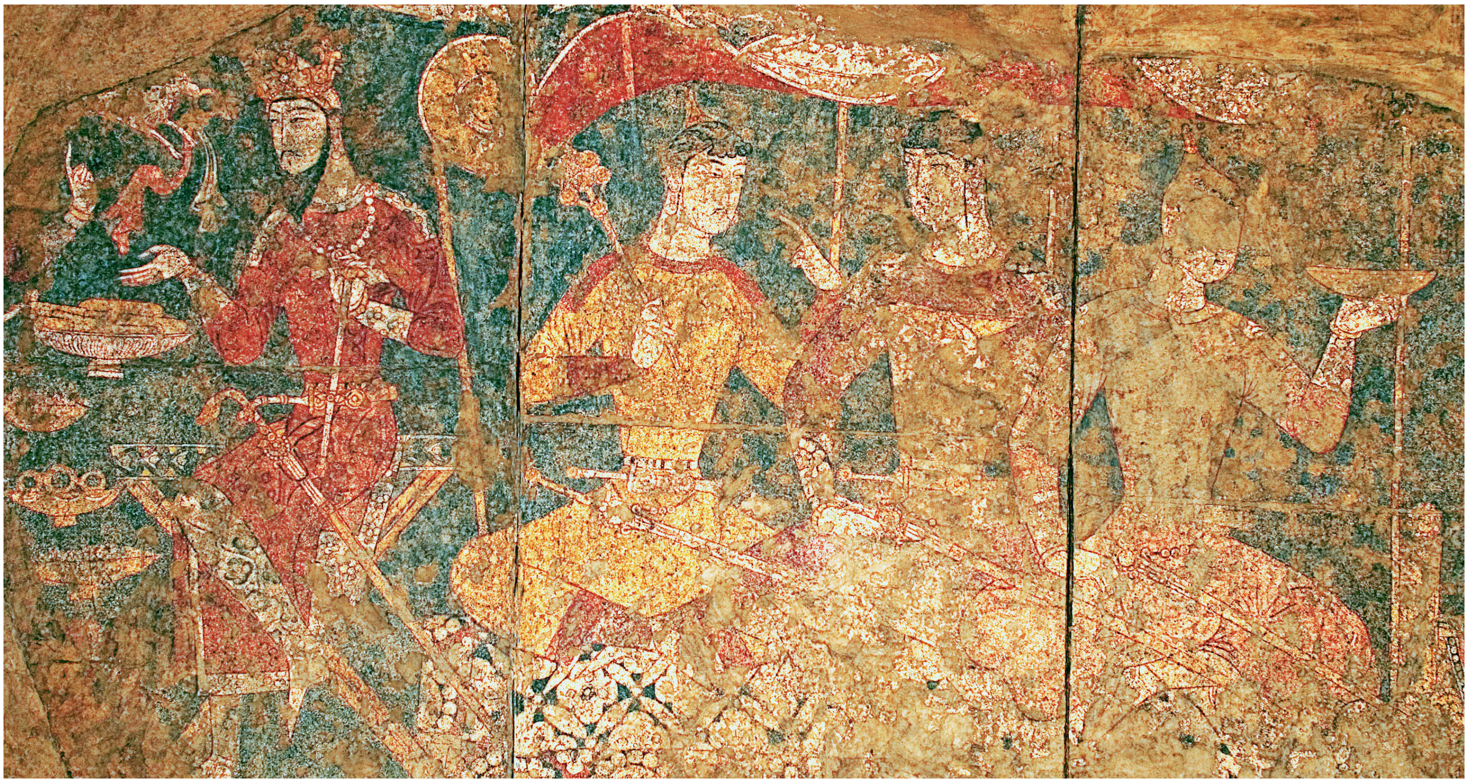
India had been initially established.[56] The latter had to some extent borrowed their representations of gods from the Kushans. The oldest Sogdian murals from Jar Tepe north-east of Urgut from the fourth or early fifth century suggest that Sogdian painting before the sixth century drew inspiration from Iranian models.[57]

The vitality of religious art was enhanced by the practice of venerating different divinities within the Sogdian pantheon in different communities and even individual families. In Panjikant the large two- to three-storey private homes of wealthy Sogdians were decorated with religious pictorial cycles, which prominently represented the tutelary deities of each house and included a variety of ritual scenes (fig. 198). These included banquets, battles and duels as well as episodes from epics such as the Greek fables of Aesop, the Iranian heroic epic about Rustam, slayer of dragons and demons,[58] as well as the Indian *Panchatantra* and *Mahabharata*. The broad palette of themes from different cultural spheres shows the Sogdians' wide-ranging connections and interests and also makes it clear that in Sogdiana painting was not so much serving religious or state propaganda as answering the demands of the wealthy class of noblemen and merchants. It is noteworthy, too, that this elite, whose wealth was directly or indirectly derived from trade, did not celebrate itself in painting but cherished educational parables and martial values from bygone times.

Most striking are those divinities who follow three-headed or four-armed representations of Hindu gods. They emphasise how far Sogdian Mazdaism had moved away from orthodox Zoroastrianism, for, as Frantz Grenet explains, 'three heads or four arms are attributes which are barely compatible with Zoroastrian ideas according to which physical abnormalities are demonic marks'.[59] The most important divinities of the Sogdian pantheon have been identified thanks to two Buddhist documents in the Sogdian language.[60] These gods in Indian garments all bear a nimbus[61] and some of them are represented in Temple D-13 of Dandan Oilik.[62] One was the supreme god **Ahura Mazda**, whose name the Sogdians avoided pronouncing and who was therefore called **Adbagh** (great god). He had the features of Indra, the highest Vedic deity and god of storms, whose mount is an elephant. In Hinduism each deity possesses a mount (Sanskrit, *vahana*) which can also embody the deity. Then there were the god of time, **Zurvan,** equivalent to the god Brahma whose *vahana* is a goose or swan, and the third god of the upper deity triad, the wind god **Weshparkar**, who had the features of the god of cosmic destruction, Shiva, whose *vahana* is the bull Nandi. Less clear is which Sogdian god was depicted with the features of the Hindu war god Karttikeya, who holds a bird in one hand and is accompanied by a



194. Wall painting from Panjikant, Tajikistan, first quarter of 8th c. On the left a female harpist, whose head is surrounded by a halo, and on the right a scene of combat between an armoured bowman, whose battle axe is falling to the ground, and another armoured warrior, who is fighting with a lance, his sword lying on the ground. Behind this foot soldier another warrior is waiting, his lance held upright and his mace on his shoulder. Museum of National Antiquities, Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

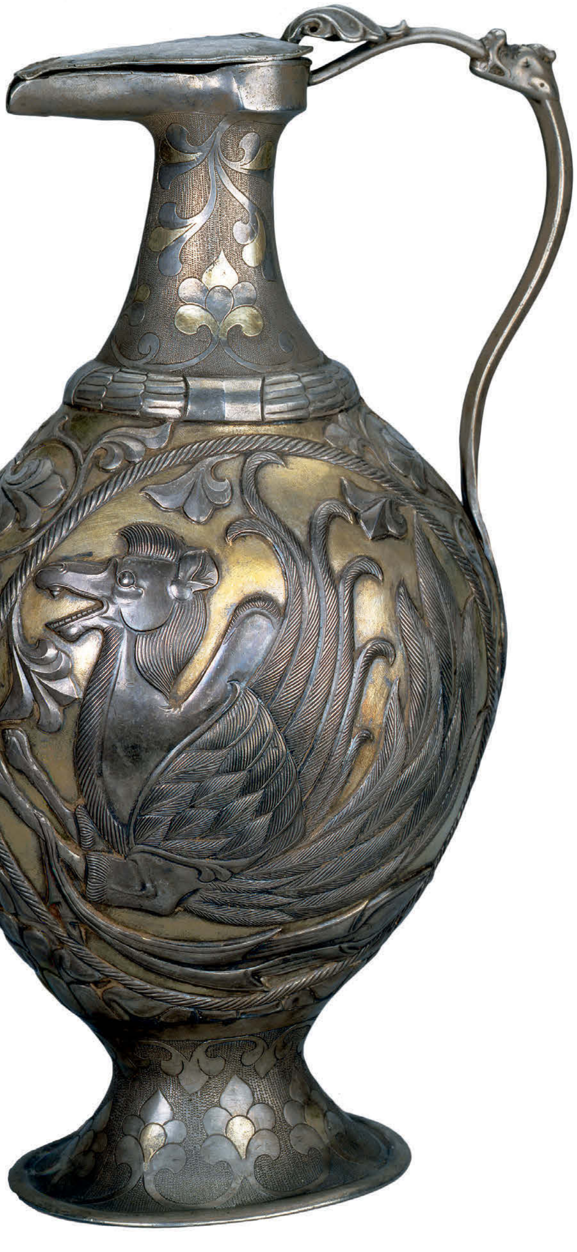


195. Wall painting of a banqueting scene from Panjikant, Tajikistan, first quarter of 8th c. All participants are armed with sword and dagger; the king also holds a sceptre and has a bow case by his left knee. In the middle of the king's crown are the symbols of sun and moon, and from the left a bird hands him a ring with long ribbons as a sign of divine confirmation of his authority. Museum of National Antiquities, Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

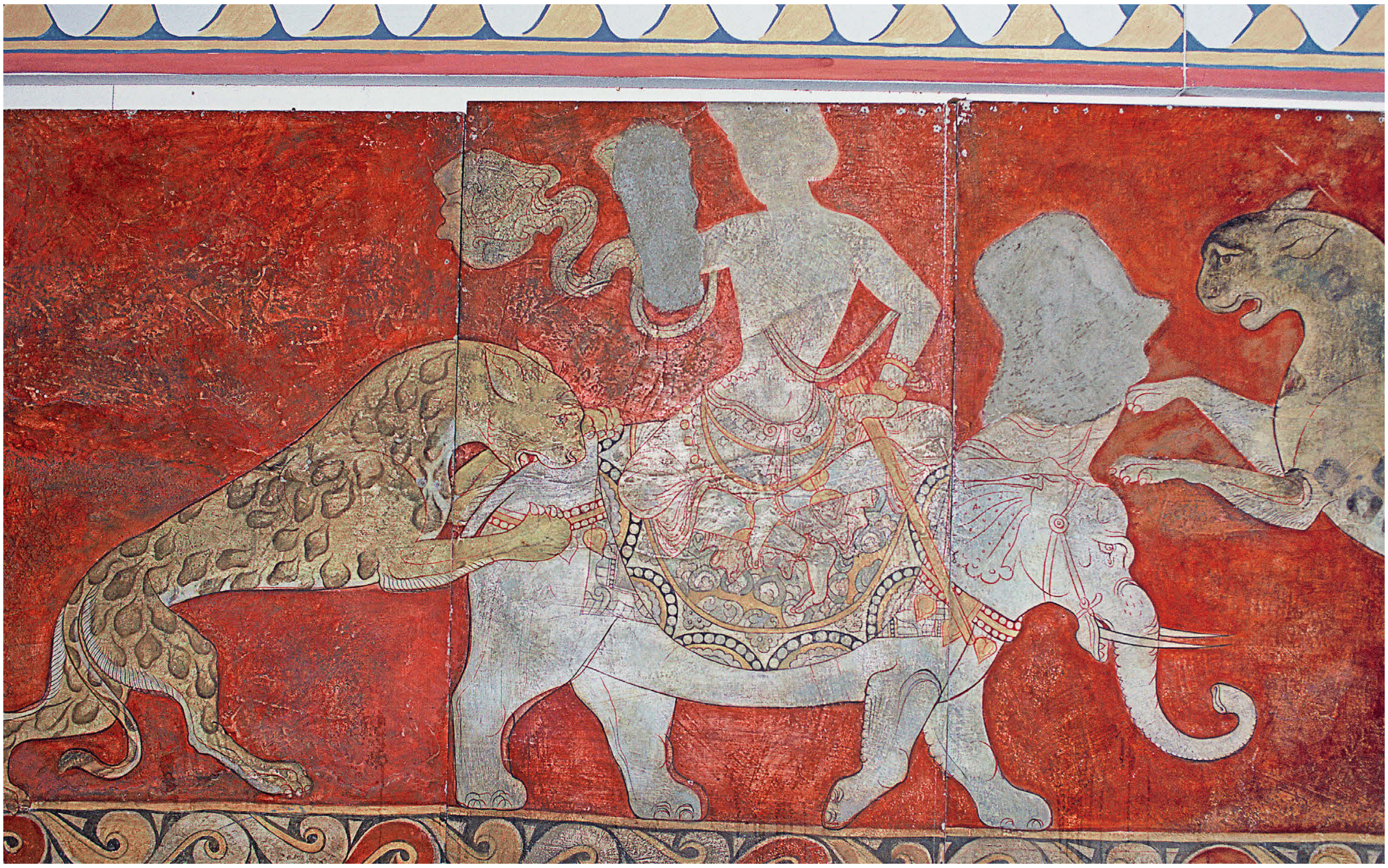
peacock. He probably represents the god of victory, **Vashagn**,[63] or the god of rain, **Tishtrya**,[64] although what speaks against the identification with Tishtrya is Grenet's and Marshak's suggested iconography of the rain god in which his mount is a white horse.[65] But if we assume that Karttikeya represents Tishtrya, then it is very likely that the camel god represents **Vashagn**.[66] Otherwise we should consider Grenet's interpretation according to which the camel god **Farn** was the personification of divine glory.[67]

A special place within the pantheon is held by the four-armed goddess **Nana** who rides a lion or sits on a lion throne and holds anthropomorphic representations of sun and moon in her upper hands (fig. 191). She was probably venerated as city goddess in Panjikant.[68] Nana was originally a Mesopotamian goddess named Inana, who took over many aspects of the goddess of fertility, love and war, Ishtar, who in the late Assyrian period was venerated as daughter of the moon god Sin and sister of the sun god Shamash.[69] Inana also adopted Ishtar's attribute animal, the lion.[70] Elements in Sogdian depictions of Nana that are not of Mesopotamian origin include her posture, which is that of a Sassanid king, her four arms and her conflation with the water goddess, Anahita.[71] Since in Sogdian and Chorasmian iconography Nana holds sun and moon in her hands, she was seen as mother of these two heavenly bodies in Sogdiana and Chorasmia. Whereas the most important deities were modelled on those from the Hindu pantheon, in Nana's case it is exactly the inverse. Nana figures on both pre-Kushan and Kushan coins as well as on the gold belt from Grave 4 of Tillya Tepe.[72] It can therefore be surmised that representations of the goddess Nana from pre-Kushan, Kushan and Sogdian times decisively influenced the iconography of the Hindu goddess Durga Simhavahini.[73]

The decoration of the sumptuous rooms of the citadel and of wealthy private houses in Panjikant from the late sixth or early seventh to eighth century resembled an illustrated compendium of Greco-Roman, Iranian and Indian legends and parables.[74] Among the best-known Hellenistic representations are the slaughter of the goose that laid golden eggs by its all too greedy owner, and the parable of the unbreakable bundle of arrows with which a dying ruler demonstrates the power of unity, which was also known to the Crimean Scythians.[75] Part of the heritage from Roman legends is the Capitoline Wolf from the Palace of Kala-i Kahkaha near Bunjikat, north-east of Panjikant.[76] The standing she-wolf, with her gaze directed behind her, suckles the two boys and later founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus. There is no doubt that what is represented here is the Roman state foundation myth and not the Old Turkic legend about the founder of the clan of the Ashina, for there are two boys with hands and feet in the image whereas in the Turkic fable there is a single boy whose arms and feet are amputated. Especially notable among the Indian parables in Panjikant are the one that tells of the clever hare who tricks the threatening lion into jumping into a well to fight his mirror image, and the one that concerns the resurrection of a beast of prey. In this parable, slightly adapted from the original tale in the *Panchatantra*, three learned brahmins and an uneducated brahmin come upon a pile of bones which are part of a lion skeleton. The three learned brahmins decide to try out their wisdom on the



196. Gilt silver jug with the depiction of a winged camel, produced in Sogdiana, 7th to 8th c. The winged camel very probably represents the Sogdian god of war and victory Vashagn or Farn. State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

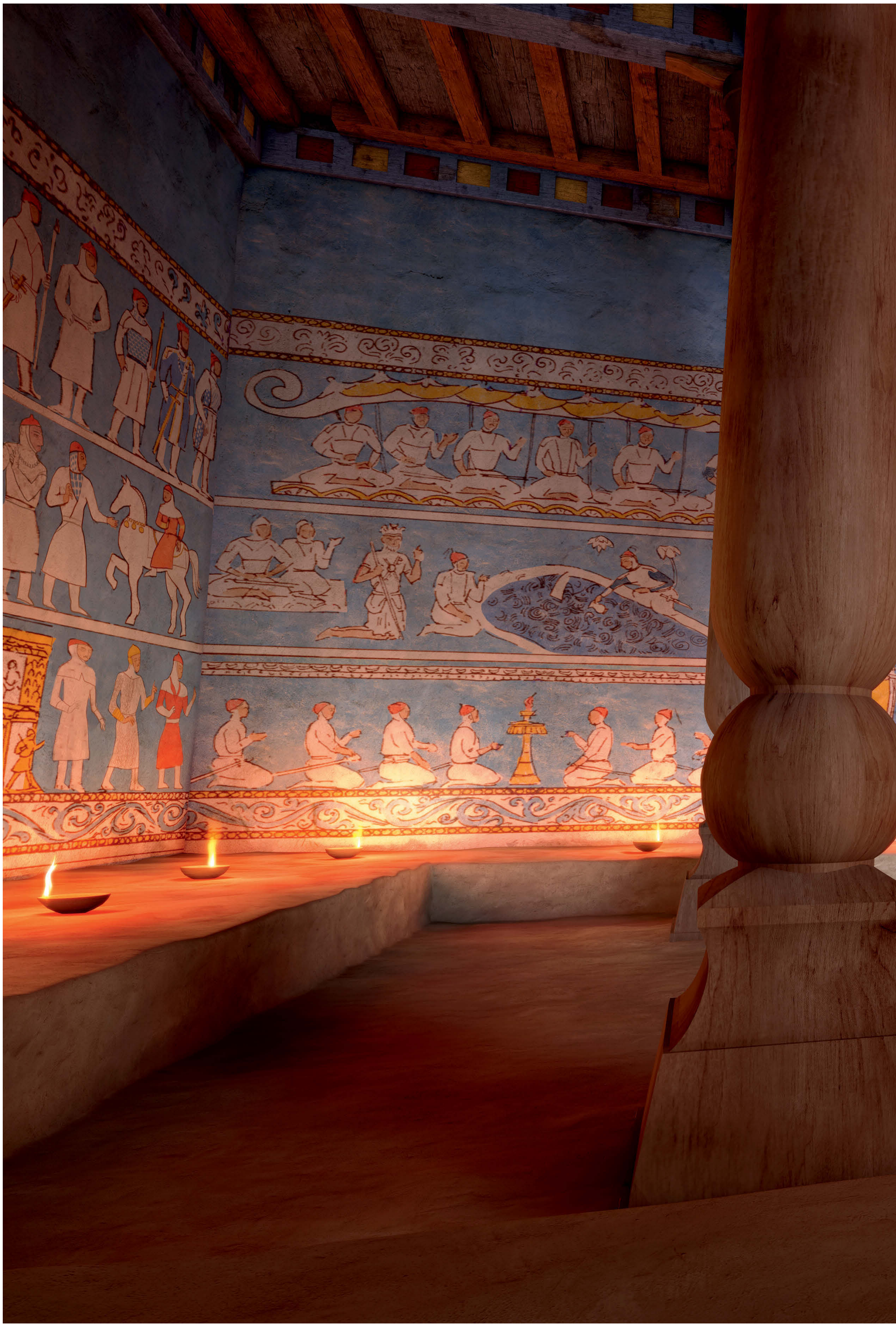


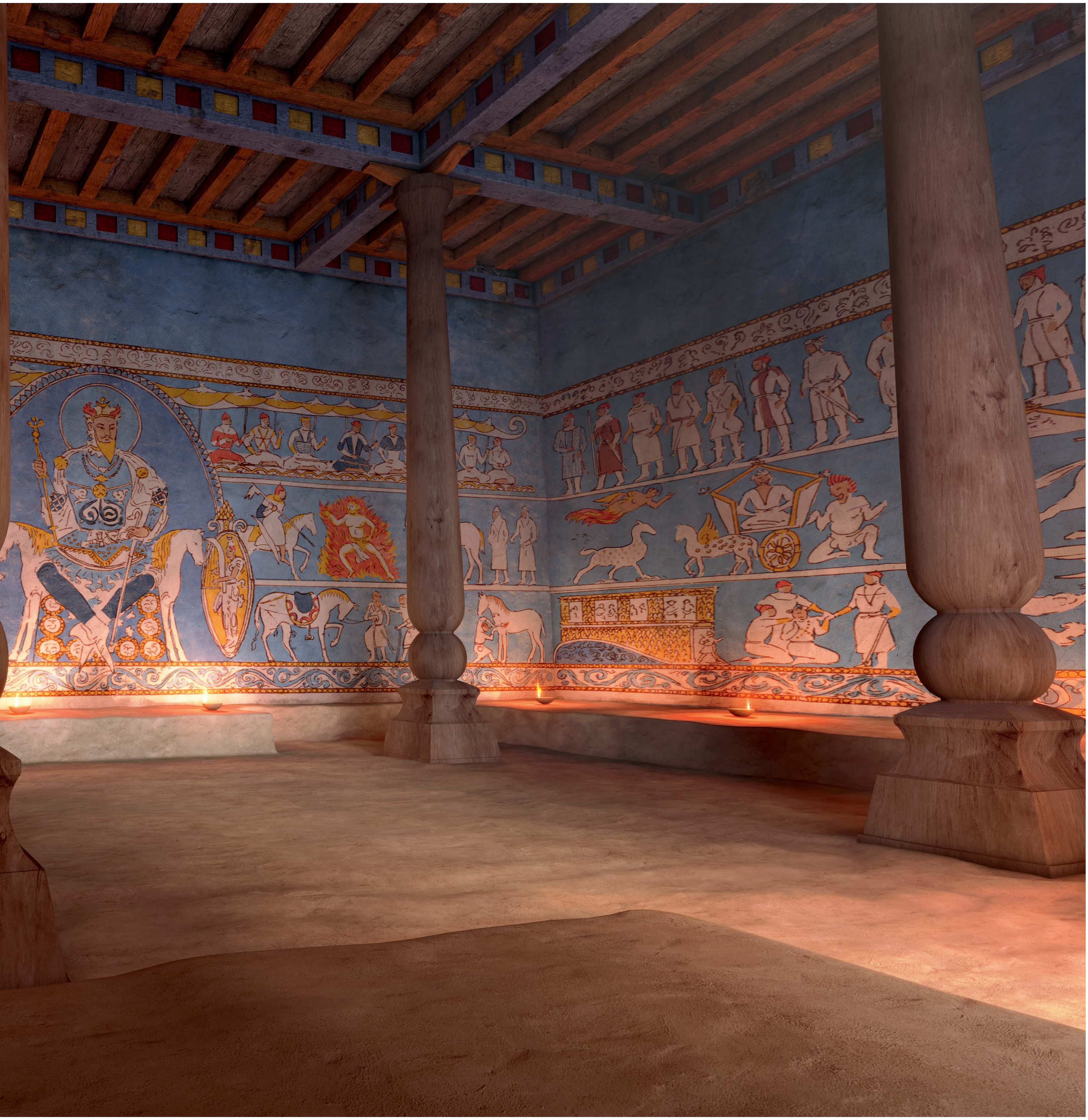
197. Sogdian wall painting from the palace of Varakhshah in the oasis of Bukhara, Uzbekistan. The paintings, which were produced in the 730s, contain encoded religious content; they either represent the supreme god of the Sogdian pantheon, Adbagh, in a battle with evil, or the victorious ruler himself who commissioned this painting. The faces were later scratched out. The State Museum of History, Tashkent.

bones. The first puts the bones back correctly as a skeleton, the second adds organs, flesh and blood, and the third is about to breathe life into the still lifeless lion, when the uneducated man, who nevertheless possesses good common sense, shouts a warning: 'This is a lion! It will kill us all!' The three learned brahmins call him an imbecile whereupon the uneducated brahmin swiftly climbs up a tree. The arrogant third brahmin then brings the lion back to life, and it immediately kills and devours him and the two others and goes away, its appetite sated.[77] Apart from fables, the murals also show ritual duels (fig. 194) in which both opponents are fatally injured, as well as equestrian battles, fighting women and refined banquets with female musicians. With the exception of the slightly standardised representations of deities, it is notable that most other figures, including ordinary warriors, are represented in a strongly individualised way.

The penultimate phase of Sogdian wall painting came after the Arab conquest, at the Palace of Varakshah (fig. 197) in the Bukhara Oasis. After King Tughshada ibn Bidun (r. 710–738/39) had submitted to the Arabs again in 728, he commissioned new murals for the Red Hall in his palace in Varakhshah in the 730s. The paintings consisted of monumental hunting scenes and friezes with saddled animals. Since Tughshada had converted to Islam for political reasons, Sogdian divinities could only be represented covertly in the shape of their saddled mounts. Depicted on the lower frieze, a prince rides on an elephant and fights tigers, leopards and griffins. These scenes represent either Adbagh, who fights evil, or the ruler himself as he allegorically battles with the enemies of his kingdom. Already in the early 720s, Tughshada commissioned paintings in the Blue Hall including a depiction of himself performing a fire ritual before the Sogdian god of war Vashagn.[78] From a slightly later period, the eighth to early ninth century, are the murals in the fortified palace of Kala-i Kahkaha near Bunjikat in the kingdom of Ustrushana, which until the end of the ninth century retained partial independence. The paintings, which show epic and cult themes, battle scenes and Sogdian divinities, are stylistically similar to the murals of Kizil and those from Chorasmia.[79]

198. Illustration based on archaeological finds of the painted small ceremonial hall in the palace of Kala-i Kahkaha I in the Sogdian city of Bunjikat, Ustrushana, northern Tajikistan, 8th–9th c.[25] Sitting on a throne in the centre of the western wall is the main figure of these murals, who is probably the supreme god in the Sogdian pantheon, Adbagh (Ahura Mazda). Shown beside him are a female harpist on the right and a female lutist to the left (hidden). The side supports of the throne are in the shape of horse protomes. Adbagh bears a crown with the emblem of the sun within a half moon, and has a long beard. In his right hand he holds a sceptre while his left is resting on the hilt of a sword. In the upper row, elegant Sogdian nobles are banqueting under canopies. In the middle, two men are kneeling in front of a pool, one of them wearing a crown. A man scoops water (?) out of the pond with a jug; on Adbagh's right stands a demon with an aureole of flames confronting an equestrian warrior. In the lower row on the left, men with long swords at their belts are sitting before a fire altar; on the right an armed man holds a saddled horse, and further right an animal surgeon pulls an arrow out of a wounded horse. On the northern wall at the top stand warriors armed with swords or lances. Below, a god sits in a chariot, and a winged creature with aureole is flying towards the chariot; to the right of the chariot a demon kneels. The god is probably preparing to fight the demon. On the bottom left the rock palace of the demon king is shown, with two crowned figures visible in the right-hand, upper window frame; below this a warrior is coming out of the door. On the right of the palace a hero, armed with sword and dagger, holds out his right hand to three men, one standing, two kneeling; they may be asking the hero for protection or thanking him. The scenes represented in this hall are probably episodes from a heroic epic.





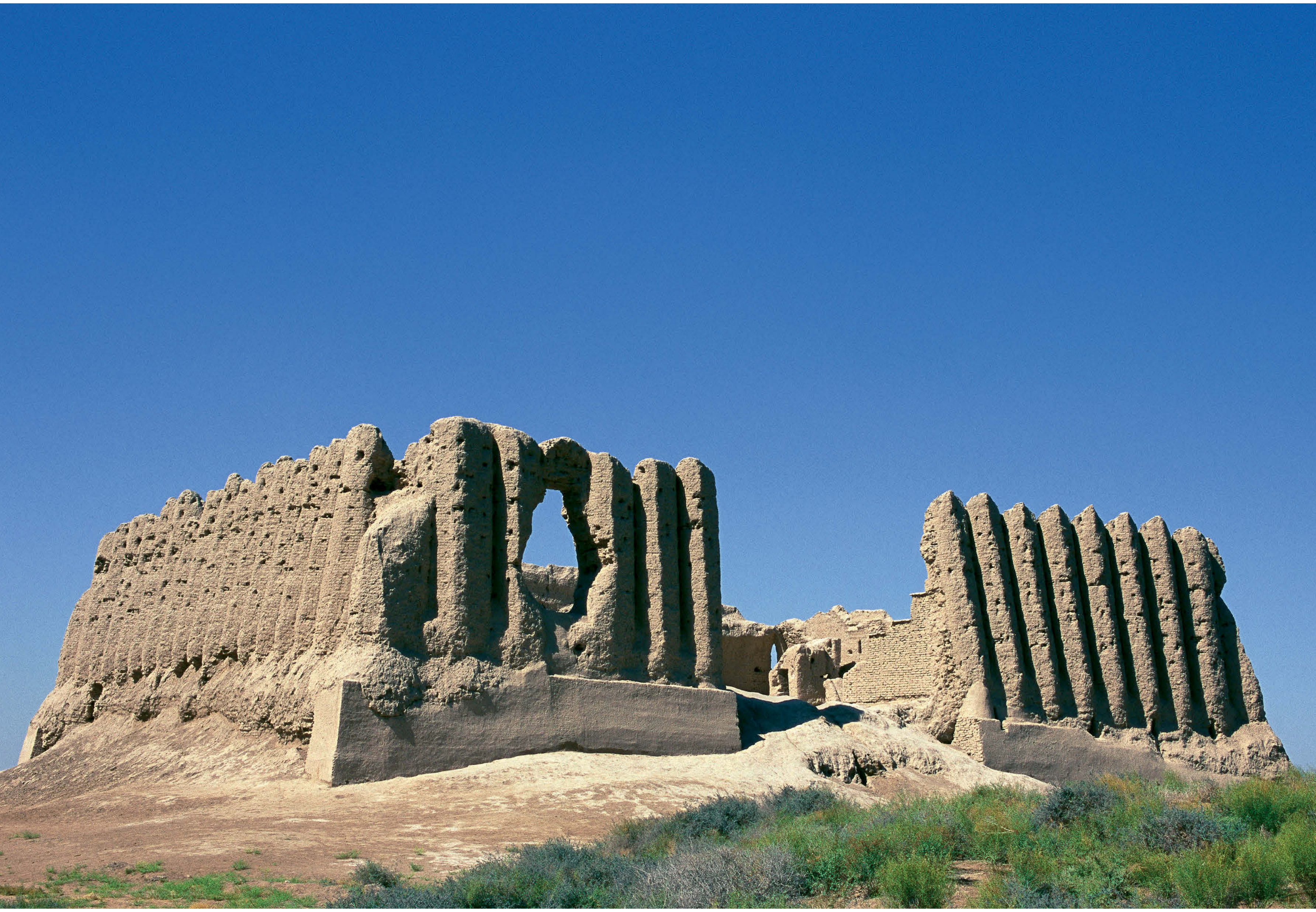
The Church of the East

Mazdaism and Manichaeism were not the only religions that flourished in Sogdiana; so, too, did the Christian churches, and in particular the Church of the East which is also often called the Nestorian Church.[80] But the term 'Nestorians' is wrong in several respects: Nestorius was Patriarch of the Imperial Church of Constantinople between 428 and 431 and was neither the founder of the Church of the East nor ever active in it. And the dogma of the Church of the East is not based on Nestorius' writings but on those of Diodore of Tarsus (d. 392) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (352–428). The Church of the East is an autocephalous and apostolic church which was based first in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, then, from 780, in the city of Baghdad, which had been founded in 762/63. At the synod of 410 it declared its independence, and at the synod of 424 it confirmed its autocephaly, according to which its patriarch conducted his office as a vicar of Christ on earth, just as St Peter had once done. These two declarations of independence did not include a schism in any way since they also confirmed the recognition of the Nicene Creed,[81] which formed their common ground with the Imperial Roman Church. But they equated the patriarch of the Church of the East to the western patriarchs; in this canonical vision the global Christian church did not consist of a single, hierarchically structured organisation but of an ecumenical community of independent churches.

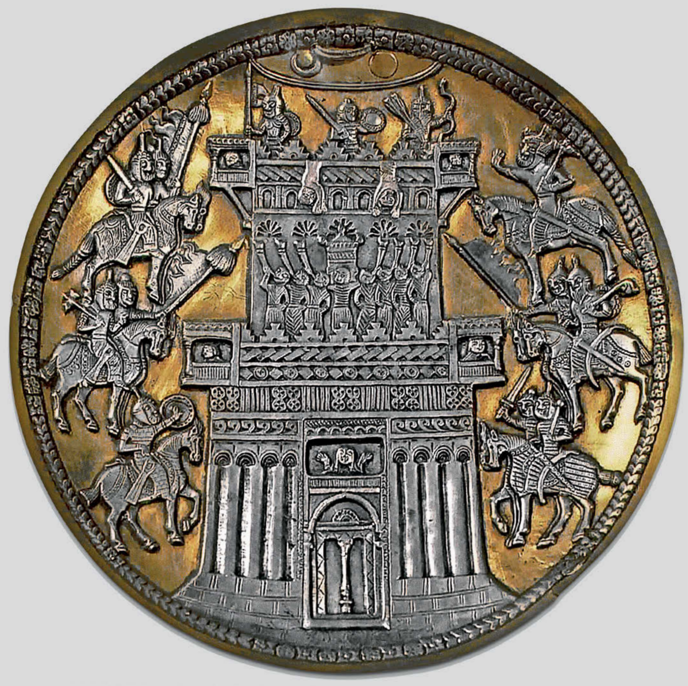
The Church of the East distinguished itself theologically from the Imperial church and the Miaphysite churches, such as the Copts and the Syriac-Orthodox Church, primarily by the way it defined the nature of Jesus Christ. Central to this was the question of how the divine and human are related in the person of Christ. The Miaphysites believed that the human nature and the divine nature merged in the person of Christ but that the divine nature dominated the human one. The Imperial Roman Church, on the other hand, maintained that the two natures remained separate but unite as hypostases, which are understood as concretisations of divine nature, as well as in the person of Christ. Finally, the theologian Babai the Great (551–628) formulated the creed of the Church of the East as follows: 'One is Christ, the Son of God, glorified by all in two natures; begotten by the Father without beginning before time; born of Mary in his humanity, united in the fullness of time in one body. His divinity is not of the nature of the mother, nor is his humanity of the nature of the Father. The natures are preserved in their qnome [hypostases] in one person of the one sonship.'[82] Thus Babai understood the essence of Jesus Christ as the union of two distinct and unmixed natures and two distinct hypostases, which is why this doctrine is called Dyophysite (from the Greek, 'two natures'). The only difference from the doctrine of the Imperial Roman Church was that Rome affirmed that there was a single hypostasis in which the divine and human nature were united, for which reason its Chalcedonian Confession was also called the Doctrine of the Hypostatic Union, whereas Babai positioned the union not at the level of the two hypostases but only in the person of Christ. What followed from this definition was that Mary could not be called *Theotokos*, mother of God, but had to be called *Christokos*, mother of Christ. The condemnation as heresy of the 'Nestorian' understanding of the nature of Christ, and the essence of Mary at the Councils of Ephesus in 431 and Chalcedon in 451 was not revoked by the Roman Catholic Church, the successor of the Imperial Roman Church, until 1994, in the joint declaration of Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Mar Dinkha IV. To this day, the Miaphysite Coptic Church refuses to recognise the Church of the East and continues calling it heretic in its teachings. The present patriarch of the church, Mar Dinkha IV (in office since 1976) lives in Chicago in the United States.

The Church of the East reached its zenith in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. At this time it consisted of 27 archdioceses with six to twelve dioceses each, and stretched from the eastern Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea. Since it had been a Persian church from its beginnings in the second century, it was unable to do missionary work in the west and oriented itself exclusively towards the east very early on. Rome was the arch-enemy of Sassanid Iran, so Christianity had been the state religion of the enemy for the Sassanid rulers since the Constantinian shift[83] in 313 and at the latest since the Edict of Thessalonica, *Cunctos populos*[84] of 380, which elevated Christianity to the state religion of the Roman Empire and abolished the freedom of religion decreed by Constantine. At the end of the third century, the Sassanids made Zoroastrianism their state religion and equated apostasy with high treason, so the Church was unable to convert Zoroastrians since both the converted ex-Zoroastrians as well as the converting Christians would face the death penalty. For this reason Nestorian missionary efforts in the Sassanid Empire concentrated on Jews, Manichaeans and members of other Christian churches, but especially on communities of other creeds who lived to the east of the empire. By the early third century, there were significant Nestorian communities south of the Caspian Sea and among the 'Kushans',[85] that is, in west Afghanistan and perhaps also in southern Uzbekistan or Turkmenistan.

There is evidence for the existence of a diocese in 424 in Merv, which had been home to a significant Christian community since 334, and for others in Tus, Herat and Sistan. There was also a diocese of the Hephthalites in 549 (probably in Uzbekistan or in the northwest Afghan province of Badghis), and around 644 Metropolitan Elias of Merv converted a minor Turkic ruler and his people and named for them priests and deacon.[86] A major conversion of Turkic people then took place at the time of Patriarch Timothy I (in office 780–823) who wrote in a letter in 792 or 793: 'The king of the Turkāyē, with more or less all of his territory, has left the godless



199. The ruin of the fortress 'Great Kyz Kala' in Merv, Turkmenistan, from the 6th to 8th c. The outer walls, which are still 15 m high today, possessed narrow loopholes and were windowless; light reached the living quarters via an atrium and light shafts. A Christian community had lived in Merv from 324, and by 424 at the latest Merv was a diocese of the Church of the East.



200. **This gold-plated silver platter of Verkhne-Nildino, made in a post-Sassanid style, was found in a small shamanistic shrine beside the River Ob in western Siberia, Russia. Like another, almost identical platter found in the district of Perm, it was probably produced in the 9th/10th century in the Talas Valley, north-western Kyrgyzstan and southern Kazakhstan. This valley was famous for its silver mines and silversmithing and was settled by Nestorians at that time. On the platter are depicted ten heavily armed horsemen, who surround two fortresses, standing one in front of the other. As the platter features no inscription, interpretations of the image remain hypothetical. The most probable one reads the scene as the siege of Jericho by King Joshua. In the upper right, the mounted military commander Joshua, with his arm outstretched, stops the sun and the moon, visible above the upper citadel. In the window of the lower fortress is the maiden Rahab, who hid Joshua's messengers; in front of the upper fortress, the Ark of the Covenant is being carried in the centre, and the seven priests are blowing the seven rams' horns, which will bring down the walls on the seventh day.[26] Museum of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences of Siberia, Novosibirsk.**

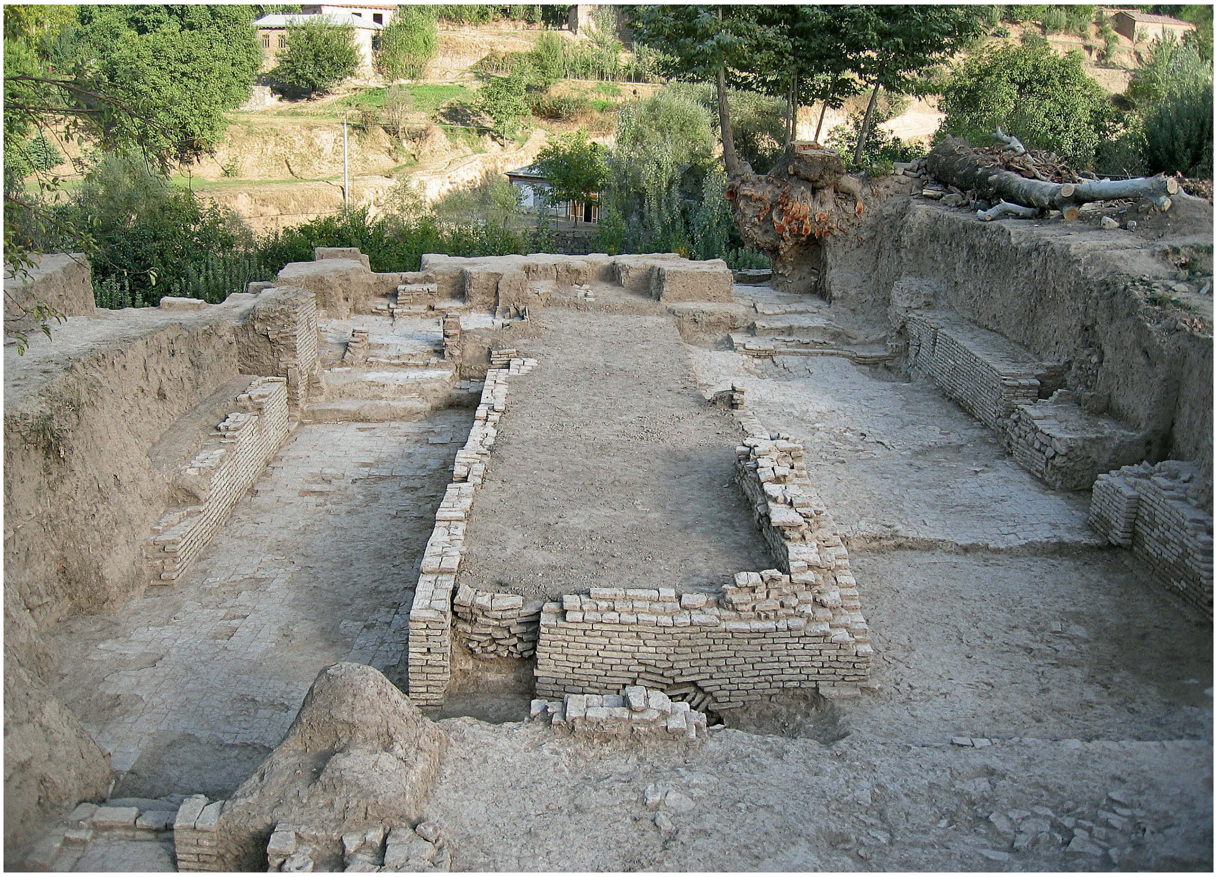
error from antiquity, for he has become acquainted with Christianity [. . .] and he has asked us how he might appoint a Metropolitan for the territory of his kingdom. This also we have done.'[87] In another letter the Patriarch confirmed: 'The Spirit has anointed in those days a Metropolitan for Beth Turkāyē and we are also preparing to anoint another one for Beth Tuptāyē', which is Tibet.[88] The Turkāyē mentioned in Timothy's letters are most probably the Turkic Karluks who had wrested power from the Türgesh over Semirechie in 766 and who had their winter capital in Taraz in today's southern Kazakhstan. That Karluk Semirechie had in the ninth century a significant Christian community we learn from the historian al-Narshakhi (*ca.* 899–959) and the geographer al-Moqaddasi (*ca.* 945/46–991), who mention that in 893 the Samanid conquerors in both Taraz and neighbouring Merke turned a large church into a grand mosque.[89] As Mark Dickens surmises, between 780 and 783 the Karluk yabghu chose Christianity for political reasons as new state religion: Buddhism and Manichaeism were the religions of his enemies, China and the Uyghur Khaganate, while Islam was the religion of the allied, yet threatening, great power of the Abbasid Caliphate. However, Christianity was recognised by the Caliphate and was hence not part of the *Dar al-Kufr*, the 'house (land) of the infidels' where plundering raids were permissible.[90]

During the time of Patriarch Saliba-Zakha (in office 714–28), at the very latest, the diocese of Samarkand was elevated to an archdiocese; further archdioceses existed in Herat and Balkh. In several Sogdian city states, including Samarkand, Varakhshah, Paykend and Kanka (in the Tashkent Oasis), coins dating from the sixth to the eighth centuries were discovered, which showed a cross or a ruler whose crown is decorated with a cross. These princes were probably Christians. Undoubtedly the most important archaeological find of the Church of the East in Sogdiana was made in the years 2004–07 when the double-naved monastery church of Urgut, south-east of Samarkand, dating from the late seventh to the early thirteenth century, was discovered.[91] This church had already been visited by the Muslim historian Ibn Hawqal (d. *ca.* 990) around 970 and described with the name Warkudah.[92] The second Christian community in Sogdiana mentioned by Ibn Hawqal, Weshgird in the oasis of Čač (Tashkent),[93] might be situated at Qarshovul Tepe, which has been archaeologically researched since 2010 and where Christian artefacts and tombstones have been discovered.[94] That the Church of the East was also represented in Chorasmia is shown by the ossuaries of Mizdakhan which are decorated with a cross.[95] And in Merv archaeologists have discovered a church, a monastery and a Christian cemetery.

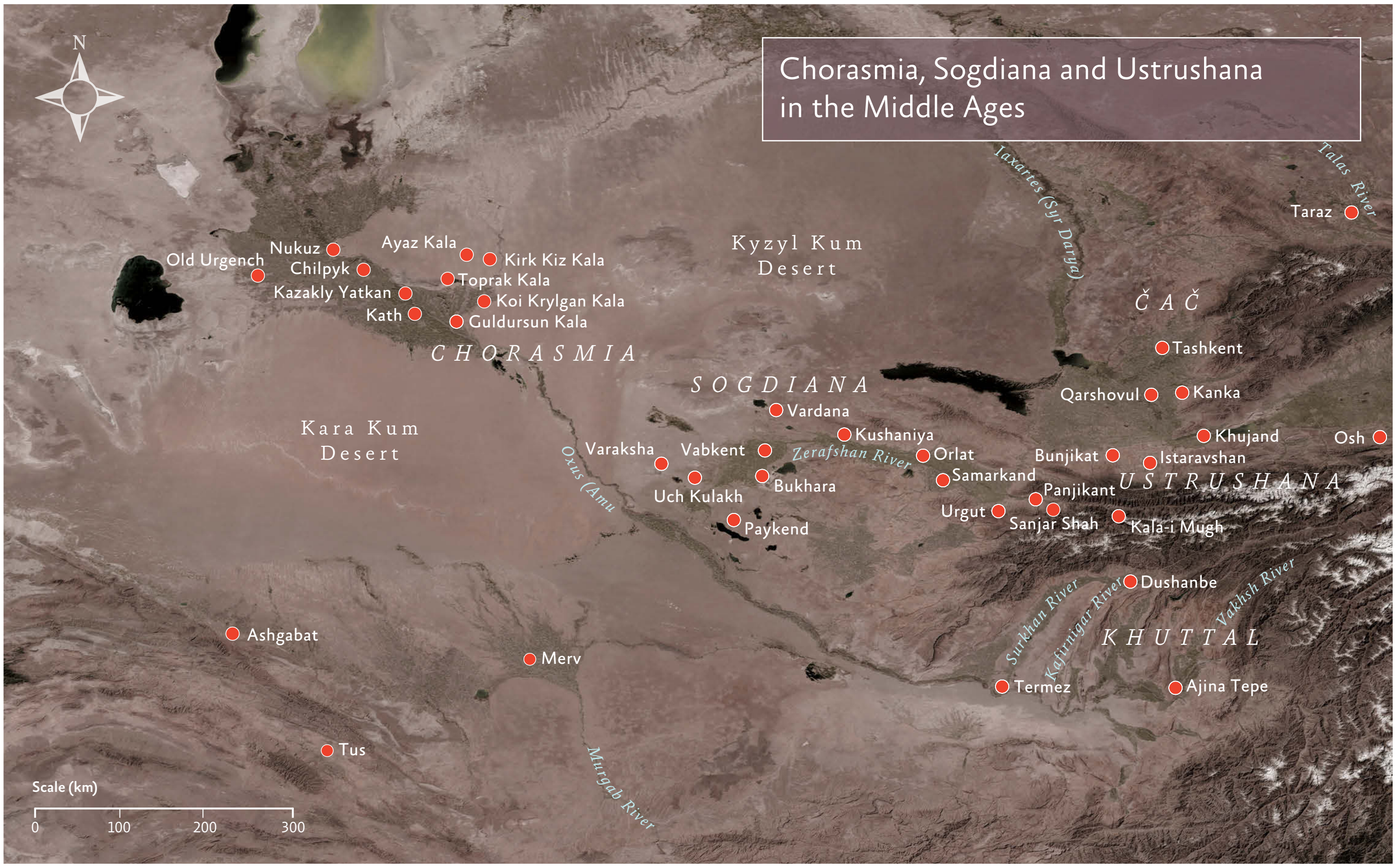
Within the Sassanid Empire two other churches also flourished: the Christian Syriac-Orthodox Church, also called the Jacobite Church, and the Byzantine-Orthodox Melkite Church.[96] Since the Jacobites were Miaphysites, who rejected the Chalcedonian Confession of 451, they were persecuted intermittently in the sixth century by Emperor Justinian, who supported the orthodoxy of the empire, and they also stood in sharp theological contrast to the Church of the East. In Iraq and Iran, the Syriac-Orthodox Church and, to a lesser degree, the Melkite Church grew rapidly because the Sassanids deported hundreds of thousands of Byzantine Jacobites and Melkites from Syria during their campaigns into the Byzantine Empire between 540 and 614. Both the Syriac-Orthodox Church and the Melkite Church proselytised in Central Asia, albeit on a smaller scale than the Church of the East. The Jacobites had dioceses in Khorasan, Sistan and Herat, and there were communities in Xinjiang; the Melkites had held the Catholicosate of Romagyris, based in the Tashkent Oasis, from 762 or 766 to the first half of the ninth century whereupon it moved to Nishapur in Khorasan.[97] This Catholicosate of Čač, as it was also called, was possibly first located at or near Qarshovul (see above), south-west of today's city of Tashkent.[98]

The Church of the East advanced much further eastward, to Semirechie in southern Kazakhstan and to western Kyrgyzstan;[99] to the Tarim Basin, to Kashgar, and to Khotan, which had two churches; to Turfan and Hami, and even further to Gansu. Further evidence for the spread of the Church of the East at this time was found in the monastery libraries of Bulayiq and Qurutqa in the Turfan Oasis, and in Dunhuang, where Nestorian manuscripts in at least eight languages were discovered. It is notable how much these texts emphasise Jesus's role as a healer and physician, and the resurrection of Christ and its consequences for believers. With the emphasis on the resurrection of the whole human being, including his body, and the affirmation of his physicality which is implied by this, the Central Asian church differed markedly from Buddhism and Manichaeism. The latter did not strive to spiritualise the body but to relinquish it as an obstacle which inhibited human development. For Buddhists and especially Manicheans, bodily life is a place of suffering and ruin whereas Central Asian Nestorianism sees it as a gateway for the return to prelapsarian physical perfection.

In 635 the Nestorian bishop Alopen, who was probably called Yaballaha or Abraham, reached the Chinese capital Chang'an. Emperor Taizong received him with great respect, invited him to stay in his palace and ordered that the manuscripts that he had brought be translated for the state library. These unusual honours from the emperor suggest that Bishop Alopen might have been part of a Sassanid embassy or even come himself as ambassador of King Yazdegerd III (r. 632–51). Three years later Taizong issued an edict which recognised Christianity as true and worthy of support and ordered the construction of a Nestorian monastery in the capital.[100] As the stele of Luoyang from the year 829 – which was illegally excavated in the 1970s and only officially presented in 2006 – seems to indicate, the Church of the East was also established in the second capital, Luoyang.[101] While it was hit badly by the wave of religious persecutions unleashed in 843–45 by Emperor Wuzong, it saw spectacular growth in adherents among various Turko-Mongolian peoples from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, even sometimes among the ruling families. Genghis Khan's protector and later rival, for example, the khan of the powerful Kerait tribe which had converted to Christianity in 1007, was a Nestorian, as was Sorghaghtani Beki, the mother of the two Mongolian Great Khans Möngke and Kublai Khan and of the founder of the Iranian Il-Khanate, Hulagu Khan. Around the end of the fourteenth century, the fall of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty, the aggressive islamisation among the Chagatai Ulus, and especially the persecutions by Timur Lenkh (Tamerlane), destroyed the Christian churches of east and Central Asia.[102]



201. The double-naved monastery church of Urgut south of Samarkand, Uzbekistan. The monastery, which belonged to the Church of the East, was active from the late 7th to the early 13th c.



Chorasmia, Sogdiana and Ustrushana in the Middle Ages

N
Talas River
Taraz
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
Kyzyl Kum Desert
Nukuz
Ayaz Kala
Old Urgench
Chilpyk
Kirk Kiz Kala
Toprak Kala
Kazakly Yatkan
Koi Krylgan Kala
Kath
Guldursun Kala
CHORASMIA
ČAČ
Tashkent
SOGDIANA
Qarshovul
Kanka
Vardana
Kara Kum Desert
Kushaniya
Khujand
Osh
Varaksha
Vabkent
Zerafshan River
Orlat
Bunjikat
Istaravshan
Oxus (Amu
Samarkand
Panjikant
USTRUSHANA
Uch Kulakh
Bukhara
Urgut
Sanjar Shah
Kala-i Mugh
Paykend
Dushanbe
Vakhsh River
Surkhan River
Kafirnigan River
KHUTTAL
Ashgabat
Merv
Termez
Ajina Tepe
Tus
Murgab River
Scale (km)
0
100
200
300

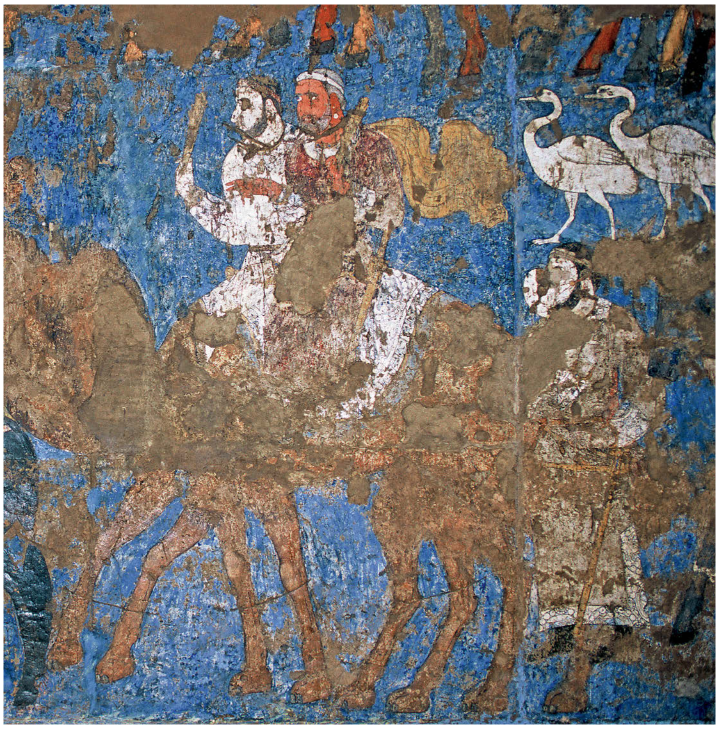
3. De Facto Independence under Nominal Chinese Rule

The decline of the Western Turkic Empire offered Sogdian cities, above all Samarkand, the possibility of new independence. After Emperor Taizong had declined Samarkand's request for Chinese protection in 631, and the city had been brought under Western Turkic control again by Illig Beg Tughluk (Yipiduolu) Khagan (r. 638–42, d. 653) in 642, Samarkand's king Varkhuman (r. *ca*. 648–*ca*. 675) was confirmed as 'Governor of Kangju' between 650 and 655 by Emperor Gaozong.[103] In 658 Emperor Gaozong sent an envoy to Samarkand.[104] Varkhuman hoped that by submitting himself to Chinese suzerainty he would gain military support if needed; he probably feared the Western Turks. But he was wrong in several respects, since over the next decades not the Turks but the Arabs were the attackers, and the Chinese protectorate remained merely nominal; China did not provide any military support to his beleaguered vassal state, but the Turks did. When, for example, the Samarkand King Ghurak (r. *ca*. 710–37/38) revolted against the Arab occupiers and asked China for military help, China refused,[105] and the Arab commander Qutayba ibn Muslim conquered and plundered the city in 712, putting an end to the short period of Samarkand's de facto independence.[106]

With the recognition of formal suzerainty of China, Samarkand, the nearby city of Panjikant and the cities of the Bukhara Oasis also hoped to be better connected to the Chinese luxury goods market. Sogdian cities, especially Samarkand and Panjikant, documented their new economic and political orientation by issuing their own Chinese holed coins which were destined for local use. As in China, these bronze coins with a high copper content were not minted but cast, and they adopted the typical shape of a round coin, which in China symbolises the sky, with a square hole symbolising the earth. Contrary to the western currency system, to which, for example, Sassanid silver coins belonged, and which was normally based on the intrinsic value of the coin – in other words, on the value of the precious metal that was used, such as gold or silver – the Chinese currency system was based on a kind of credit money. Chinese bronze coins were of a very low intrinsic value and required the trust of society as means of payment, and their value was fixed by the state. Older Chinese coinage, such as spade- or knife-shaped 'coins' or cowry shells constituted credit money. This is why the circulation of Chinese coins was restricted to China's sphere of political power and was useless for international trade. Since Chinese society was already accustomed to credit money, it is less surprising that the dynasty of the Northern Song issued paper money, which had no material value, as early as the eleventh century.[107] Imitating the most important coinage of the Tang Dynasty, the first series of these Sogdian coins bore the inscription 'Kai yuan tong bao' in Chinese characters. The characters 'Kai yuan' mean 'new beginning', while 'tong bao' means 'circulating treasure', or coin. On the next series of coins from Samarkand and Panjikant a tamga sign was depicted on one side, and the name of the king of the city on the other. Although the name of the ruler was written in Sogdian script, the Sogdian title for king, 'Ilkshid', was rendered by the Aramaic heterogram 'MLK'.[108] A total of ten Ilkshids have been identified on Samarkand holed coins, beginning with Varkhuman's predecessor Shishpir (r. 642–47/48).[109]

A vivid snapshot of the political situation of Samarkand in the mid-seventh century, when King Varkhuman had to position his precarious de facto independence in a tricky balancing act between the still dangerous Western Turks and the great power China, which was expanding its territory, is provided by the murals which were discovered by chance in 1965 in a great hall of the royal palace of Afrasiab, the pre-Mongol Samarkand.[110] The paintings, created between *ca*. 648 and 651, show on the western wall different embassies, including some from the neighbouring kingdom of Chaganian, from Čač, China, Korea, Tibet, southeast Asia and Persia. It is likely that these embassies are paying homage to King Varkhuman and Western Turkic Khagan Shekui, who, like Varkhuman, was also nominally a vassal of China. The presence of numerous Turkic officers and courtiers seems to allude to the superior position of the khagan. Highly remarkable is one sumptuously clad member of the Persian delegation, whom Markus Mode identifies as the Sassanid Great King Yazdegerd III (r. 632–51), who is fleeing from the Arabs.[111] After Yazdegerd had lost the battles of Qadisiya (*ca*. 637) and Nihawand (642), he fled to Khorasan and was, as most historians assume,[112] murdered in 651 in Merv, like the Achaemenid king Darius III some thousand years earlier.[113] The historian al-Tabari, however, reports an alternative version according to which Yazdegerd did not wait passively in Merv after his defeat near Nihawand but sent envoys to the Turkic khagan, to the 'King of Sogdiana' (Samarkand) and to the Chinese emperor, asking them for military support. Then Yazdegerd is said to have gone to the 'King of the Sogdians' himself as a supplicant, and he might have met the khagan. After a further defeat near Balkh, Yazdegerd was killed in Merv.[114] At any rate it is conceivable that Yazdegerd went to see King Shishpir or Varkhuman to ask them for help.

The northern wall is dedicated to the nominal overlord, China; as well as Emperor Taizong on a hunt, it shows a Chinese princess or the empress on a journey to see Shekui Khagan, a journey which never took place. The eastern wall is too badly damaged for the murals to be clearly reconstructed. On the southern wall, King Varkhuman leads a grand funeral procession including animals that are to be sacrificed, including a horse[115] and four geese, to the supposed mausoleum of his predecessor (and father?) Shishpir. Varkhuman's palace was destroyed by the Arab general Said bin Uthman between 675 and 677, when according to al-Narshakhi there was no king of Samarkand.[116]



202. Wall painting in the ceremonial hall of the Palace of Afrasiab near Samarkand, Uzbekistan, made between *ca*. 648 and 651. The scene on the south wall is a detail from the funeral procession led by King Varkhuman in honour of his predecessor Shishpir. In the picture two bearded men, each carrying a ceremonial staff, are riding camels at the front of a group consisting of a priest with *padam* (right), who leads a saddled and riderless horse (not visible) as well as four white birds and another priest (not visible in this picture). The saddled, riderless horse symbolises the deceased king Shishpir.[27] Afrasiab Museum, Samarkand.

203. **The entrance gate of the citadel of Bukhara, Uzbekistan. The current structure of the citadel, which is called Ark, dates from the 18th and early 19th c., but since the 6th c. the fortress of the local princes of Bukhara had stood here.**

4. The Arab Conquest of Sogdiana

While the paintings in Varkhuman's great hall were being created, the Arabs appeared 500 kilometres south-west of Samarkand and in 652 occupied Merv,[117] which they chose as capital of the bordering province of Khorasan. To strengthen the Arab power base in Merv, governor Ziyad ibn Abi Sufyan (in office 670–73) resettled in the city 50,000 families from Basra and Kufa (in today's Iraq). Merv now possessed a reliable Arab core which also supplied the troops for future conquests.[118] From here the Arabs first undertook raids and then, from 705, strategic campaigns of conquest in Central Asia. In the first four decades of these raids, the aim was neither conversion of the local populations nor integration into the Umayyad caliphate, but rather plunder and the extortion of 'protection money'. The forces were recruited from Arab tribes which, in the more or less pacified caliphate, no longer had any outlet for their warrior arts, for Islamic law divided the world into the *Dar al-Islam*, the '(house) land of Islam', where peace shall reign, and the *Dar al-Harb*, the 'house (land) of war' which is inhabited by stubborn

infidels. An intermediate position between faithful Muslims and infidels was occupied by the two other 'peoples of the book', called *Ahl al-Kitab*: Christians, Jews and – in Iran – Zoroastrians. The followers of these three religions were tolerated as *dhimmis*, who were protected by the Muslims but had to pay a high capitation tax called *djizya*. Depending on where they lived and when, they were often victims of intense discrimination. Plundering and pillaging within the *Dar al-Islam* was forbidden whereas in the *Dar al-Kufr*, the 'house (land) of the infidels', it was not only allowed but seen as pleasing to God.[119]

All of this created a serious dilemma for the Arab conquerors: if, according to the instructions of the Prophet, they converted the people that they had subjected to their rule, they lost the income of the *djizya* and the permitted plundering targets moved further and further away. Already the second Caliph Umar (r. 634–44) is said to have tried to restrict conversion to the Arabs.[120] In the same context the governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (in office 694–714) later intermittently banned conversion to Islam in his sovereign territory for financial reasons.[121] In Sogdiana, however, in the first half of the eighth century, the conquerors chose a dishonest solution: they allowed Sogdians to convert but forced these non-Arab converts, called *mawali*, to continue paying the capitation tax and refused them access to higher military and government offices. As Richard Frye argues, 'any desire to convert non-Arabs to Islam [. . .] was almost non-existent in Central Asia at the beginning. On the contrary, conversion to Islam was discouraged, if not actually forbidden, in order to preserve the revenues coming to the state. The Umayyad caliphate was not a brotherhood of faithful but almost a business enterprise.'[122] As a consequence of this strategy, Sogdian society was de facto divided into four classes: Arab Muslims, non-Arab Muslims, tolerated non-Muslims, and slaves. The discrimination against the Central Asian *mawali* contributed significantly to the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty by the Abbasids in 750. The appointment of the general Qutayba ibn Muslim as governor of Khorasan by al-Hajjaj in 705 marked the transition from the previous raiding campaigns to a concerted war of conquest in Sogdiana, with the economic aim of finding new sources of tax in this rich territory. But in Central Asia true power lay not with the Umayyad administration but remained with the Arab tribes that had migrated there, until the Abbasid reorganisation of the caliphate after 750. As in their original homeland of Arabia, the tribes waged war against each other in Khorasan, and it was only the promise of booty which managed to unite them.

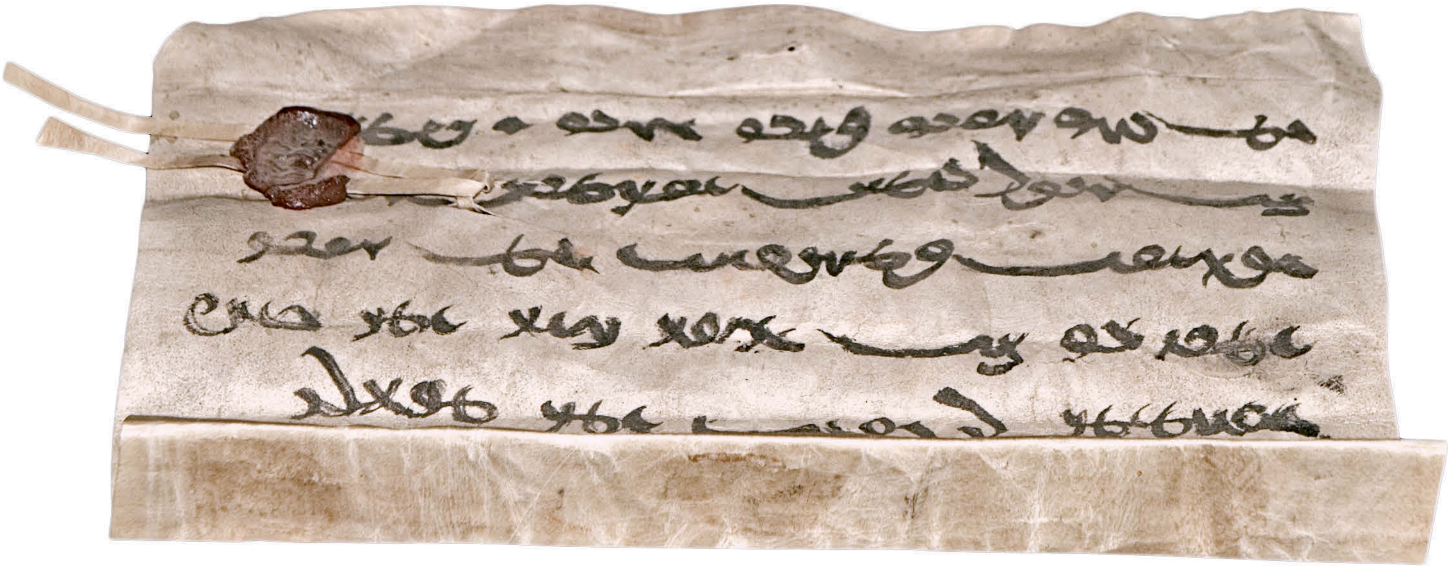
The first Arab attack on Transoxania, which the Arabs called Mawarannahr,[123] began in 654, and then in the winter of 53/54 AH (673/74 CE)[124] the governor of Khorasan, Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad (in office 673–80), attacked the Bukhara Oasis, where Khutak Khatun, widow of Bukhar Khudah *Bidun* (r. ?–*ca*. 673) and mother of the then minor Tughshada ibn Bidun, ruled as regent (*ca*. 673–89). As Narshakhi reports, she paid a high price for Ziyad's withdrawal.[125] Two years later, Ziyad's successor Said bin Uthman bin Affan crossed the Oxus and plundered the trading town of Termez,[126] and then defeated a smaller army from Bukhara, Samarkand and Čač and extorted ransom as well as hostages from Bukhara and Samarkand. In 680/81 another campaign ended with the same result; the divided Sogdian rulers preferred to buy the withdrawal

204. Rear wall of the Sher Dor Medrese in the Registan (public square) of Samarkand, with a modern metal sculpture of a camel caravan. Samarkand, Uzbekistan.

205. Equestrian statue of Dewashtich, ruler of Panjikant (r. *ca.* 706/08–722) and King of Sogdiana in front of the reconstructed citadel of Istaravshan, Tajikistan.

of the invaders rather than fight them in decisive unity. It was only when Khunuk Vardan Khudah (r. before 689–709), the ruler of the nearby city of Vardana, won power over Bukhara around 689 that the Arabs faced a decisive adversary, and until his death in 709 he led the resistance to the Arab invaders.[127] Based on an analysis of local coins with a broad-footed cross, Aleksandr Naymark has suggested 'that Vardana had been ruled by a Christian dynasty and that Vardan Khudah [. . .] had been a Christian'.[128]

In 705 al-Hajjaj, who was also responsible for Khorasan, appointed the general Qutayba ibn Muslim (in office 705–15) as governor of Khorasan, with the brief to conquer Mawarannahr and integrate it into the caliphate. For this reason Qutayba did not limit himself to extorting payments but demanded the submission of the conquered cities, where he appointed Arab governors and established garrisons. At first he followed the appeal of the northern Bactrian ruler of Chaganian to punish his rivals in Akharun and Shuman on his behalf, and subjected all three small principalities to his rule. He then won Nezak, the Hephthalite prince of Badghis in north-west Afghanistan, as his ally, and in 706 they joined forces to attack the Bukhara Oasis, where they plundered the rich city of Paykend and razed it to the ground. He sent a silver statue of a god, which he had captured, to al-Hajjaj. But Qutayba's and Nezak's attempts to conquer the city of Bukhara in 707 and 708 met with fierce resistance by Khunuk Vardan Khudah and failed. Only when the latter died in 709 did Qutayba succeed in taking possession of Bukhara. A year later he placed on the throne Tughshada ibn Bidun (r. 710–738/39), who had been driven away by Khunuk, and began to convert the population of the city to Islam by force while at the same time burdening them with high taxes. To make sure that the inhabitants of Bukhara did not continue to worship Mazdaist divinities, he installed Arabs in every house to monitor them. Since Islam did not enjoy much popularity among the population, Qutayba began to entice them with money and issued the following proclamation: 'Whosoever is present at the Friday prayer, I will



206. **Letter written in Sogdian from the archive of King Dewashtich from the fortress Kala-i Mugh, the last refuge of the ruler who was captured in 722. The fortress, whose name means 'mountain of the magicians', lies 70 km east of Panjikant, and in 1932 a shepherd found a basket with dozens of Sogdian letters and documents in its ruins. The State Museum of History, Tashkent.**

give him two dirhams.'[129] As soon as Bukhara had been subdued, Qutayba marched towards Samarkand in 709. King Tarkhun surrendered, offered hostages and promised tribute. But when he paid the tribute the following year, the population of Samarkand rebelled, deposed Tarkhun and elevated Ghurak (r. *ca*. 710–37/38) to the throne.[130]

Before Qutayba could react to the rebellion in Samarkand, he defeated the rebelling Nezak, and then, in 712, laid waste to Chorasmia, massacring the elite and anybody who could read or write.[131] Then he led his army to Samarkand where he besieged King Ghurak. An army, possibly led by the Eastern Turkic commander Tonyukuk or Kül Tegin, with additional troops from Čač and Fergana, hurried to Samarkand's aid but was defeated by Qutayba before it reached the city. Qutayba forced Ghurak to capitulate, plundered the city and destroyed its temples.[132] After this punitive action, Qutayba sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 713, probably to secure the continuation of good trade relations.[133] During the next two years Qutayba led a campaign against Čač and Fergana, and according to al-Tabari he forced Kashgar to pay a symbolic tribute. When Qutayba's envoy allegedly warned the ruler of Kashgar that Qutayba had sworn war if he was not allowed to ride on Kashgar soil, the king of Kashgar presented him with a golden box filled with earth, whereupon Qutayba returned to Merv.[134] When Sulayman ibn Abd al-Malik (r. 715–17) became caliph in 715, Qutayba, a bitter enemy of Sulayman, rebelled. But his officers deserted him and he was killed.[135] His death gave the Sogdian cities the chance to cast off the Arab yoke again, and offered Western Turkic Türgesh the possibility of reconquering the territory which had once belonged to the khaganate.

The trigger for the revolt was a decree by the governor of Khorasan, al-Jarrah ibn Abdallah al-Hakami (in office 717–19), stipulating that only circumcised *mawali* (non-Arab Muslims), who had also successfully studied the Koran, could be dispensed from the capitation tax, the *djizya*. In the hope of receiving Chinese military aid, a joint embassy from Bukhara, Samarkand and Chaganian went to see Emperor Xuanzong in 718. Apart from words, the emperor offered his nominal vassals nothing at all.[136] Despite this, the population of Samarkand rose up in 720 with Western Turkic help, destroyed the Arab garrison and expelled the Arabs from the city. Although in 721 Khorasan's governor Said ibn Abd al-Aziz (in office 720–21) succeeded in driving back a Western Turkic army which had been sent by Suluk Türgesh Khagan (r. 716/17–738), he suffered heavy losses. and the rebellious Samarkand population kept the upper hand. Governor Said ibn Abd al-Aziz was replaced by Said ibn Amr al-Harashi (in office 721–23) who was notorious for his brutality. When King Ghurak, rather than leading the Sogdian rebellion, called upon the population to capitulate, numerous dissatisfied Sogdians fled into the mountain regions east of Sogdiana. The majority went to Fergana where the king led them into a trap and in summer 722 had them massacred near Khujand by al-Harashi.[137] The second group of Sogdian rebels sought refuge in the territory of the ruler of Panjikant and Ustrushana, Dewashtich (r. *ca*. 706 or 708–722), who since the summer of 721 had also been calling himself 'King of Sogdiana' and 'Ruler of Samarkand', a direct challenge to King Ghurak. It seems that the Arabs initially recognised his comprehensive claims.[138] But since Dewashtich's rival Ghurak had surrendered to the Arabs and Dewashtich had accommodated Sogdian rebels, he now became an enemy of the Arabs. Al-Harashi marched southwards from Khujand in 722 and surprised Dewashtich in his mountain fortress Kala-i Mugh. In 1933 a shepherd discovered Dewashtich's archive here, which consisted of more than 80 documents of which 74 were written in Sogdian, mostly on parchment.[139] Dewashtich had to capitulate and was crucified by al-Harashi.

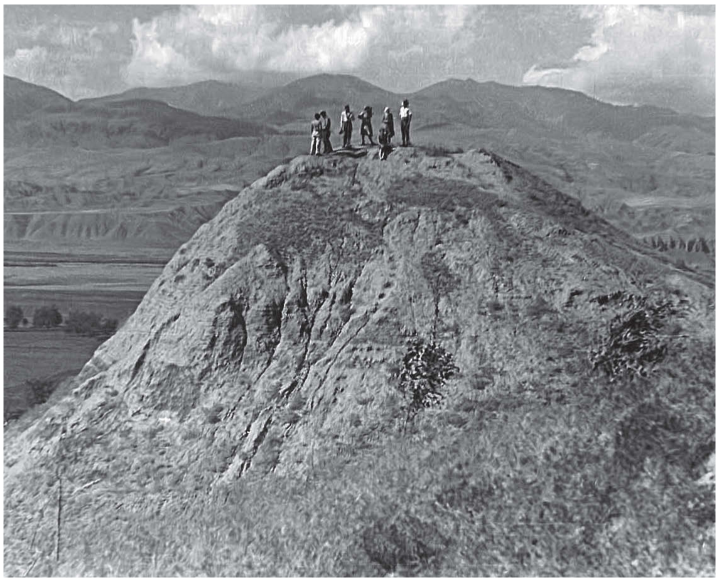
After his victory over Dewashtich, al Harashi destroyed the palace in Dewashtich's capital Panjikant and burnt down the fire temple. The city, which had been founded in the fifth century[140] and whose name means 'five' (panj) 'cities' (kant), stood on a trade route which linked Fergana with Samarkand and was the easternmost city of Sogdia. Even today the classical plan of an early medieval city is easily recognisable. The city centre, *sharistan*, had a strong rampart wall; the citadel with the prince's palace, the *ark,* was not situated within the *sharistan* but, as in Bukhara, outside it and possessed its own defence system (fig. 208). East of the *sharistan* were the suburbs, *rabat*, and south of there a necropolis which consisted of small mudbrick buildings in which people placed the ossuaries of their deceased family members.[141] The city and its suburbs were surrounded by agricultural settlements called *rustak*. The city possessed two temples which were near each other; one was dedicated to the city goddess Nana, the other served as a fire temple in the late fifth and early sixth century and was decorated with murals of Mithra and Druvasp, the tutelary goddess of horses.[142] Soon after the destruction of Samarkand in 712, a lot of

207. The two-storey Sogdian fortress of Kum stood 4.5 km south-west of the castle of Kala-i Mugh at an altitude of 1718 m. In 722 the Arab governor al-Harashi, after a rapid advance, surprised a Sogdian army in the mountains above Kum, destroyed the castle and then swiftly conquered Kala-i Mugh.

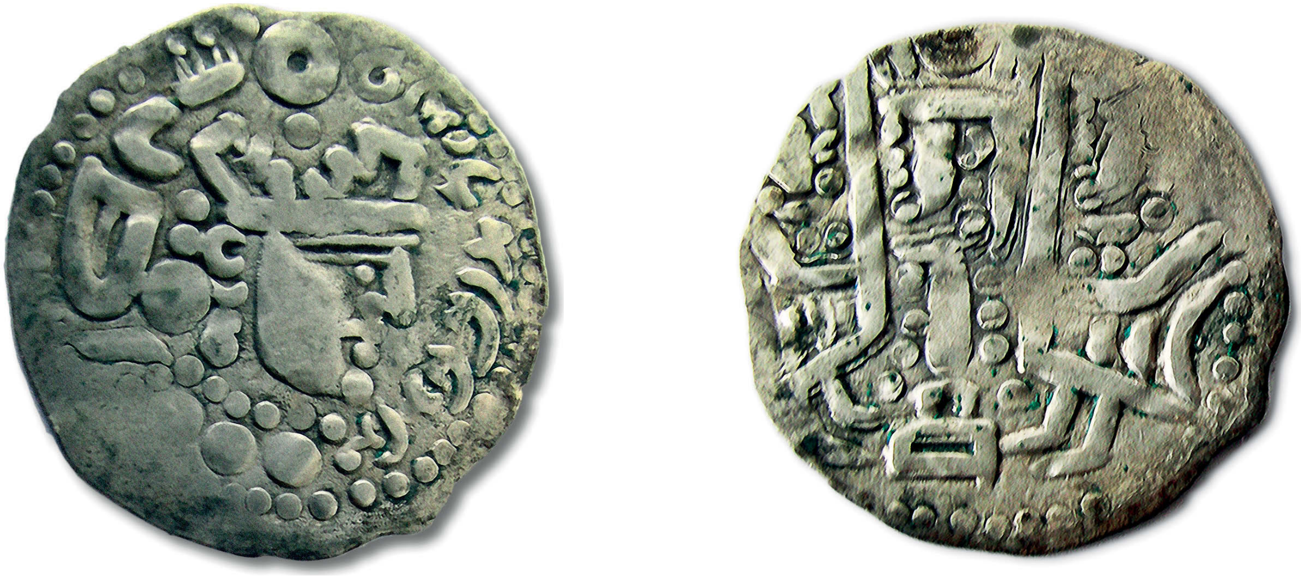
208. The citadel of Panjikant, which was burnt down in 722 by al-Harashi, was situated west of the city and separated from it by a small ravine.

new construction work began in Panjikant because wealthy inhabitants of Samarkand were fleeing there.

Besides Dewashtich, only two other rulers of Panjikant are known, thanks to imitations of Chinese bronze holed coins. They are two 'lords of Panj', one called Gamaukyan (or Amogyan, r. ?–691/93), and his successor Bidyan or Chekin Chur Bilge (r. *ca*. 691/93–706/08), whose second name sounds Turkic, as well as a 'lady of Panj', called Nana. Since these last were minted at the time of Dewashtich, the name either designates the city goddess Nana or the wife of Dewashtich, who as alleged daughter of Bidyan legitimated his rule.[143] The reconstruction of the city which had been deserted in 722 began in 741, when the governor of Khorasan, Nasr ibn Sayyar (in office 738–48) offered an amnesty to those Sogdians who had fled into exile. But soon after this, once the Umayyads had been overthrown in the winter of 749–50, the ruler of Khorasan and Mawarannahr, Abu Muslim (d. 755) brutally crushed a revolt of the Shiite Shari bin Shaykh, who had joined some princes who strove for independence. The revolt started



209. Russian archaeologists explored the Sogdian citadel of Sanjar Shah, 12 km east of Panjikant in 1951, more than half a century before the start of the excavations. Archival photo courtesy of the Historical Museum in Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

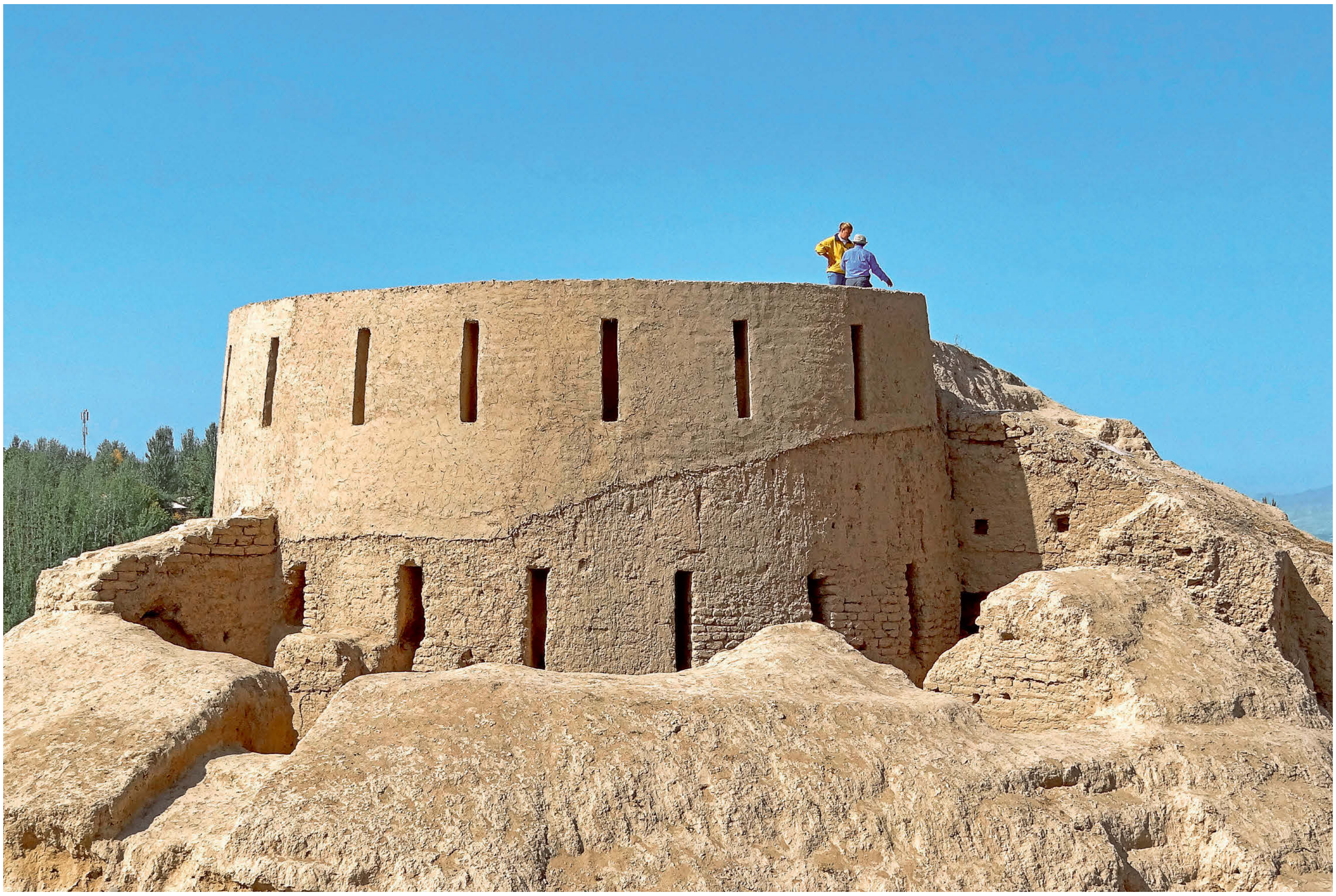


210. **Silver Dirham from Bukhara, possibly issued by Bukhar Khudah Qutayba ibn Tughshada (r. 738/39–51), excavated in 2010 at Sanjar Shah, Tajikistan. The obverse displays the profille of the ruler with an inscription in Pahlavi reading "Bukhar Khuda". The higly schematized reverse shows a fire altar with flames flanked by a priest on both sides.[28]**

from Bukhara in 750, but, as Narshakhi reports, Bukhar Khudah Qutayba ibn Tughshada (r. 738/39–51), together with his army, took the side of Abu Muslim and his general Ziyad bin Salih. The latter razed Bukhara and had the resisting population hanged.[144] But the decisive military help that the Bukhari ruler Qutayba ibn Tughshada gave the Arabs did not save him from the henchmen of the first Abbasid governor Abu Muslim, who had him killed. Also around 750, the fire altars and temples of Panjikant and elsewhere were destroyed and the murals were vandalised by scratching out the faces. Panjikant remained partially inhabited until the 770s. Then the population was resettled into the valley below the city.[145]

A similar fate overtook the small city[146] of Sanjar Shah, 12 kilometres east of Panjikant, whose Sogdian name is unknown. It was perhaps one of the 'five cities' of Panjikant. But unlike the citadel of Panjikant, the citadel of Sanjar Shah in the shape of a two-storeyed circular tower with a diameter of 27.5 m, which has been undergoing excavation since 2008 by the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, remained untouched and is the best-preserved example of Sogdian military architecture in the whole of Sogdiana (fig. 211).[147] Ceramic finds indicate a construction of the citadel in the late fifth or early sixth century and its circular groundplan is comparable to those of Sangyr Tepe in the oasis of Shahrisabz and of Hodzha-Adzhvandi Tepe in the oasis of Bukhara.[148] Coins found on the site suggest that Sanjar Shah, which is situated on a high plateau, was abandoned after 785[149] when there was no longer any need for fortified cities, and the inhabitants settled in the fertile valley of the river Zerfshan below the city. The principality of Ustrushana, on the other hand, whose rulers of Iranian origin bore the title *Afshin*, managed to preserve its political and religious independence for a considerable time. It was only in 820 that Afshin Kavus had to convert to Islam, after which his son Afshin Haydar (d. 841, executed) served as a general in the Abbasid army. In 893 Ustrushana lost its remaining autonomy and was integrated into the Samanid Empire. With the overthrow of the Samanids towards the end of the millennium, Ustrushana fell to the Karakhanids, initiating the turkification of the region.[150]

Dewashtich's death still brought no respite to Sogdiana and Fergana, and in 724 Suluk Türgesh Khagan inflicted a humiliating defeat on governor Muslim Ibn Sa'id al-Kilabi (in office 722–24) in Fergana on the 'day of thirst', *Yawm al-'Atash*, as the battle is known in Arabic. Although the Arabs found themselves on the defensive until Suluk's death in 738, the Türgesh Turks did not succeed in expelling them, not least because the Sogdian towns could not agree on a common resistance strategy. King Ghurak of Samarkand, for example, changed sides again in the critical year 728, when governor Ashras ibn Abdallah (in office 728–29) forcefully demanded that *djizya* be paid by all non-circumcised Muslims, and this triggered another revolt among Sogdian *mawali*.[151] Ghurak's joining the Arabs allowed them to gain a foothold in Samarkand and reconquer Bukhara from there two years later. Although Suluk Khagan beat a strong Arab army near Kesh (Shahrisabz) in 731, he failed to prevent the surviving Arab

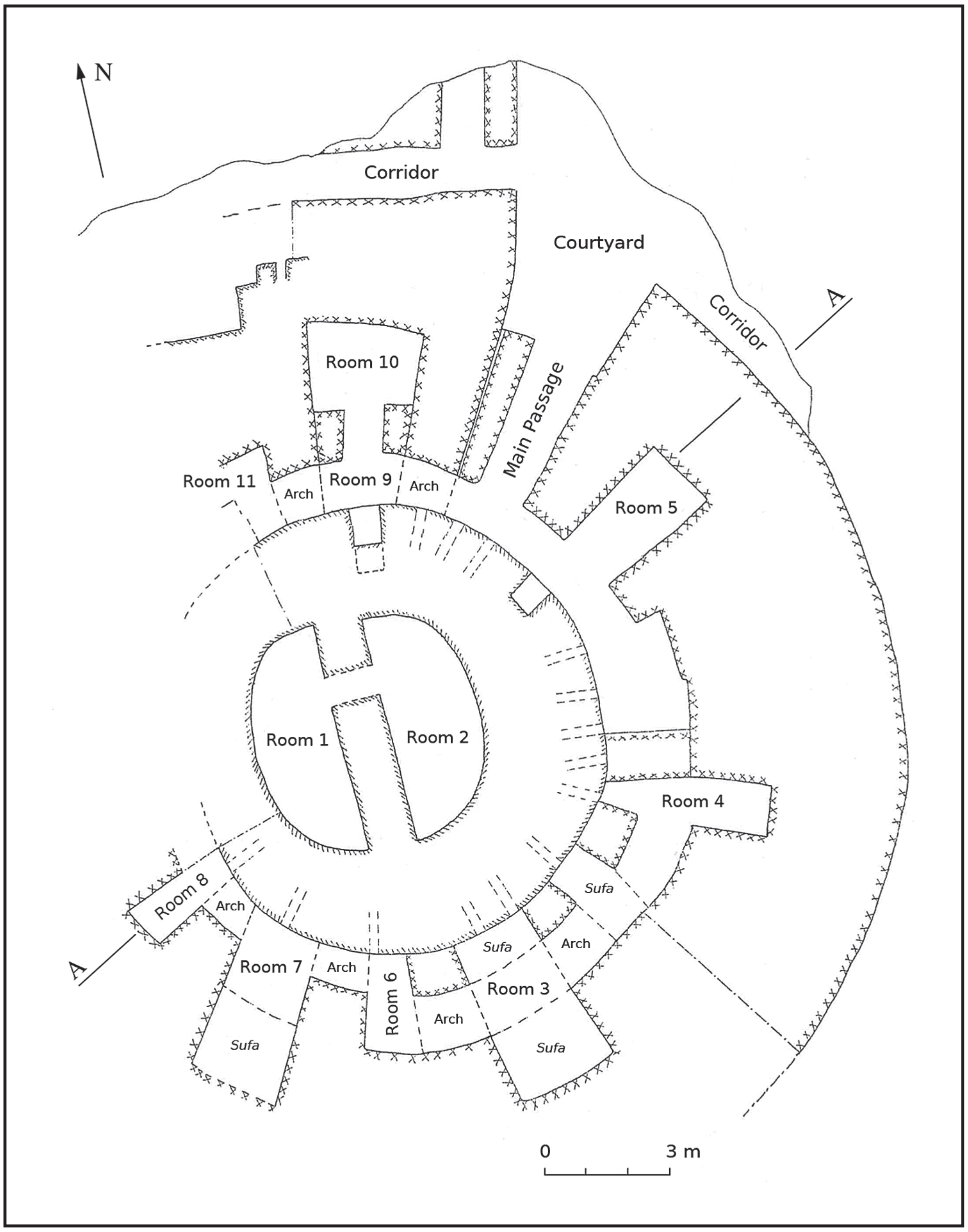


211. **The excavated citadel tower in the north-west of Sanjar Shah, Tajikistan, 5th/6th to 8th c. The tower, which was restored in 2010/11, is the best-preserved military building of the Sogdians. In Sanjar Shah, the citadel tower in the west of the site and a possibly religious complex including a kiln in the east were excavated and researched until 2013. Particularly remarkable are the finds of a terracotta figurine which could represent the goddess Anahita, and of a movable ceramic fire altar. But, 'so far, Sanjar Shah has revealed no traces of an early medieval town proper, i.e. living quarters, streets, residential houses, etc. This suggests that it was the residence of a feudal lord (*dihqan*) along with the nobility and priests.'**[29]

contingents retreating into the safety of Samarkand.[152] Since the Türgesh army consisted mostly of light cavalry, it was powerless in front of fortified cities such as Samarkand. Here lies the main reason why the Türgesh could not drive the Arabs out of Sogdiana. Unlike the later Mongols of Genghis Khan, who very quickly learnt from their adversaries that it was necessary not only to produce and use siege machines, but that foot soldiers had to be recruited from subjugated peoples to storm the fortifications, the armies of the Türgesh consisted solely of equestrian nomads. At the same time the Türgesh troops were clearly outnumbered by the Arabs; they owed their success to Suluk Khagan's tactical skills. Despite this, Ghurak restored Samarkand's independence for a short time after 733 before he died in 737 or 738.

A turning point in the war, in favour of the Arabs, came in in 737, when Suluk Khagan, after a first defeat near Beiting (Besh Baliq) was surprised and defeated again at the Battle of Kharistan by governor Asad bin Abdallah (in office 735–38) during an initially successful but later incautious raiding action near Balkh. When the unsuccessful khan returned to his residence in the Chu valley, he was murdered by his relative Bagha Tarkhan.[153] With Suluk's murder the danger coming from the Türgesh was largely removed, and the Sogdians, who had been resisting for more than a generation, lost their last ally. China, which had intermittently supported the Türgesh, had never answered the appeals for help from Sogdian princes, and the strategic ambitions of the second great power in east Asia, Tibet, did not focus on Central Asia but on containing China while expanding to the east and north. For these reasons governor Nasr ibn Sayyar found the war-weary Sogdians receptive when he proclaimed a tax reform and amnesty in 741.[154] To secure and further trade with China, ibn Sayyar sent large embassies composed of Arab diplomats and representatives of the Sogdian cities to Emperor Xuanzong in 744, 745 and 747.[155]

Despite all this, there was still no peace in Sogdiana, for it now became the stage for intra-Arab political and intra-Muslim religious conflicts. One of these conflicts was a putsch by the Abbasids, who harnessed popular discontent throughout the caliphate and legitimised their action by invoking Mohammed's uncle, Abbas. Since in Khorasan and Mawarannahr resentment of the Umayyads was especially strong because of continuous discrimination against non-Arab Muslims, in 745 the conspirators charged the *mawali* Abu Muslim, who was probably a freed Persian slave, with the mobilisation of all the local anti-Umayyad forces in support of the Abbasid revolt. Abu Muslim succeeded in mobilising Muslim Sogdians and Khorasanis, angry at being regarded as second-class citizens, as well as groups of frustrated southern Arab tribes and Shiite sympathisers. He called for a rebellion against the last Umayyad governor of Khorasan, Nasr ibn Sayyar (in office 738–48), who had tried to win over the *mawali* for the Umayyad regime with a tax reform. Abu Muslim expelled the governor from Merv in early 748 and sent his army in the direction of Damascus; the Abbasids succeeded the Umayyads as caliphs in the winter of 749–50.[156] The takeover of the Abbasids fundamentally changed the nature of the Muslim empire and even of Islam itself. As highlighted by Richard N. Frye, the Umayyad caliphate was not an egalitarian community based on



212. Floor plan of the citadel tower of Sanjar Shah, Tajikistan. All 11 extant rooms are trapezial to rectangular in shape, their walls are finished with thin clay plaster 1–3 cm thick, and the floors are covered with 2–3 cm of gypsum. All rooms are connected by arched doorways. © Alexei Savchenko and Sharofuddin Kurbanov.

Islam, but a conquered land which was dominated by certain Arab tribes who refused to compromise on the earnings from the *djizya*.[157] For the Umayyads Islam was basically the religion of the Arabs; for the Abbasids, however, it represented the fundament of the state in which the Arab and non-Arab faithful were equal.

When China ineptly intervened in a conflict between two nominal vassals, Čač and Fergana, and General Gao Xianzhi had the city of Čač plundered and its ruler deported to Chang'an, the latter's son, who had fled to Samarkand, asked General Ziyad bin Salih for help. The general seized the opportunity to bring the city state of Čač, which until then had served the Western Turks as a bridgehead to Mawarannahr, into the Arab zone of influence. In July 751 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chinese army of Gao Xianzhi in the valley of the river Talas (Taraz, Chinese. Daluosi) because Gao's Karluk mercenaries defected to the Arabs during the battle and then attacked the Chinese from the rear.[158] Gao escaped to Xiyu and made preparations for a counter-offensive. At that moment the revolt led by An Lushan broke out, and Gao and his troops were ordered to central China. The defeat near Talas and An Lushan's rebellion ended China's advance into Central Asia for a whole millennium. The Battle of Talas, which took place near Artlakh, finally ended the dreams cherished by a section of the Sogdian elite of a non-Muslim independence, all the more so since Sogdian merchants had long recognised the huge potential of Umayyad and later Abbasid markets. The commercial reorientation away from China in the east towards the caliphate in the west was followed by a shift in the cultural focus of Sogdiana towards the Abbasid centres of Merv, Nishapur and Baghdad. The vision of an independent state of Iranian culture within the Muslim faith community was realised in the glorious dynasty of the Samanids (875–999), with Bukhara as its capital.[159] During this period the west Iranian language Persian replaced the east Iranian Sogdian, a language which was now only spoken in rural areas. Today a language which is very close to Sogdian, Yagnobi, is still used in a remote valley in Tajikistan but, with only 3,000 people still speaking it, is under grave threat of extinction.[160]

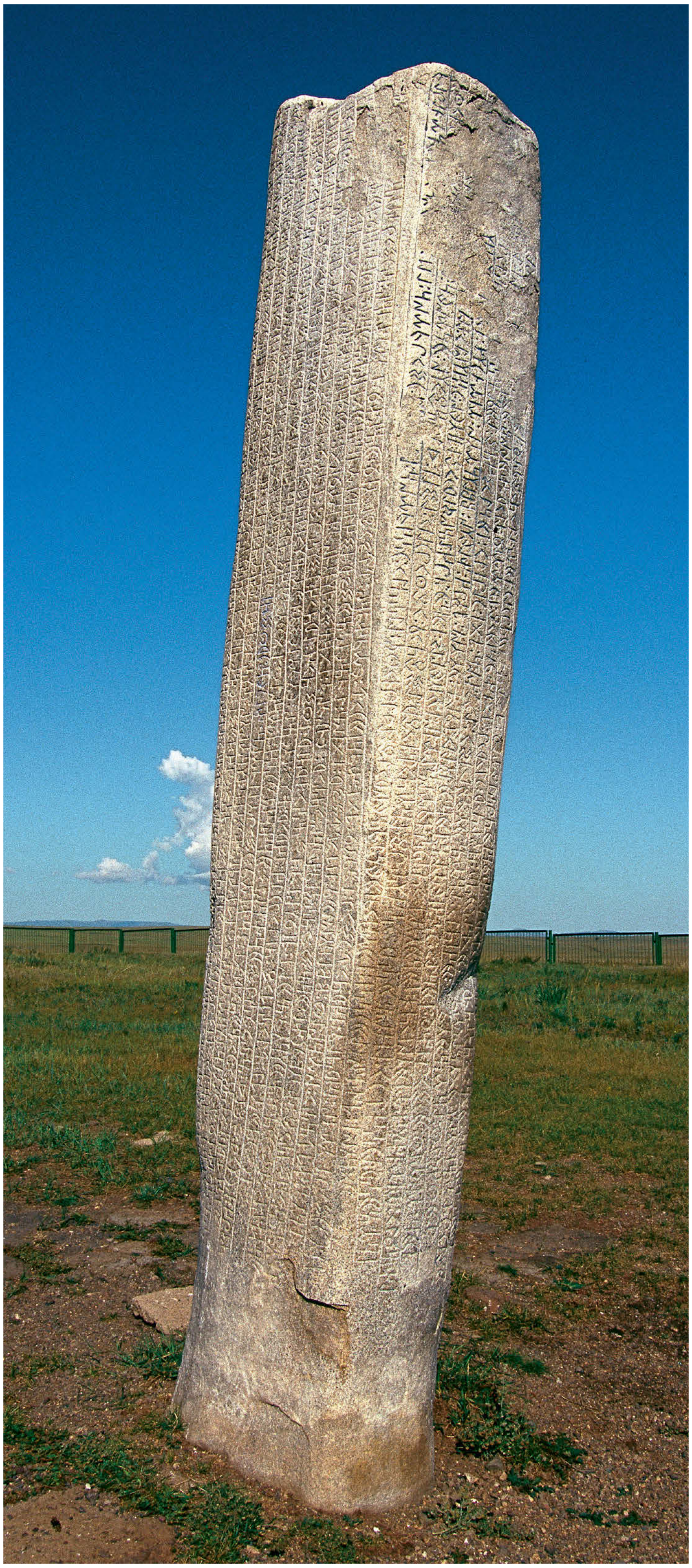
213. Corridor within the tower of Sanjar Shah, Tajikistan.

VIII

The Second Turkic Khaganate and the Türgesh

The words of Chinese people, who give us gold, silver, alcohol and treasures in abundance, have always been sweet and silks have always been soft. Deceiving by their sweet words and soft silks, they attract people to come from remote places. After people have settled close to them, they make people to be addicted to them even more. [. . .] If you go towards those places, oh Turkish people, you will die! If you stay in the land of Ötükän [the Orkhon Valley in central Mongolia], and send caravans from there, you will have no trouble. If you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live forever dominating the countries!

Political testament of **KÜL TEGIN** (D. 731), Turkic General and Brother of Bilge Khagan.[1]



214. **The memorial stele for the Göktürk general and adviser Tonyukuk (*ca.* 646–*ca.* 725), who was instrumental in the establishment and success of the Second Turkic Khaganate. The memorial inscription in Old Turkic runes was written by Tonyukuk. The memorial complex, which was built after 725, stands 60 km south-east of the Mongolian capital, Ulaan Baatar.**

1. The Unification of the Turkic Tribes

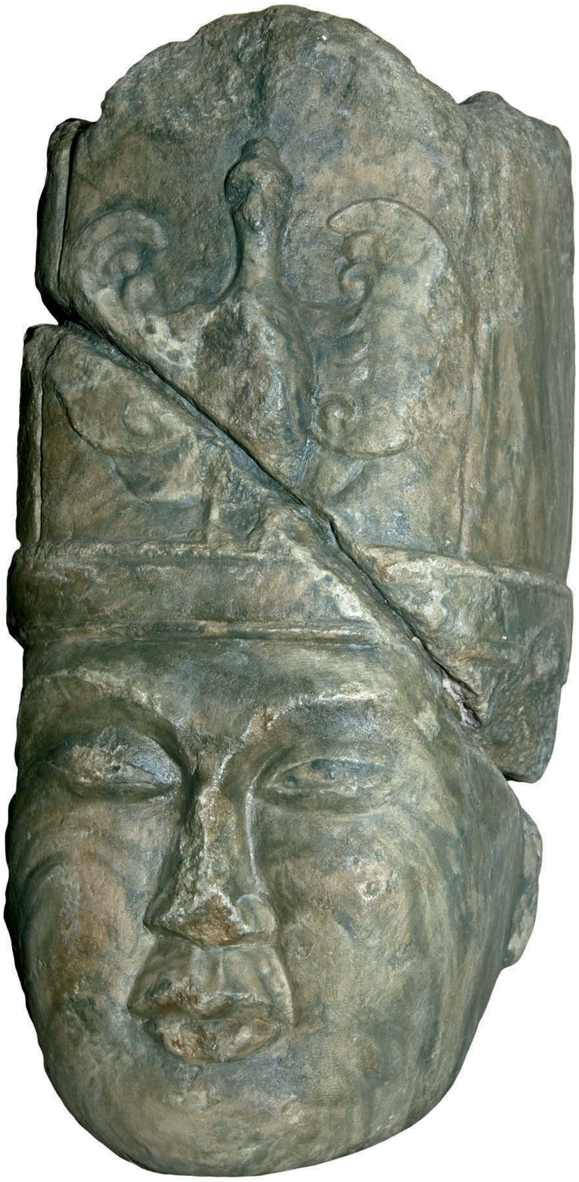
Kül Tegin's admonitory words to the Turkic people reflect the strategy of the Chinese emperors towards their dangerous northern neighbours, which remained valid until the twentieth century. Emperor Taizong summarised it as follows in 642: 'Against the [Turkic] Xueyantuo we only have two options: If we cannot exterminate them by force of arms, we have no choice but to placate them through intermarriage policy [and lavish gifts].'[2] This doctrine was based on understanding that it was extremely difficult for Chinese armies to achieve any decisive victory in an offensive war against a horse nomad people who could easily retreat into the almost infinite vastness of the Mongolian steppes in the case of a defeat. This is why, from an economic point of view, it was better and less hazardous to placate the horse nomads with rich gifts such as Chinese princesses and luxury goods and thus sap their strength in the long term. Later the Chinese Qing dynasty (1644–1911) would become masters at promoting Buddhism among their northern neighbours as an ideology which undermined the Mongols' warrior traditions.

After Emperor Taizong's victory over Xieli Khagan, China used this strategy successfully for 50 years. In alliance with the Uyghurs, the Chinese destroyed the short-lived empire of the Xueyantuo and captured the rebel Eastern Turkic Chebi Khagan (r. 646–50). The puppet khagans of the Eastern Turks either bowed to Chinese sovereignty or were toppled by Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–83).[3] The systematic sinicisation of the Eastern Turkic elite, whose members nominally occupied Chinese offices and military posts and were paid handsomely for this, plunged the wider population into poverty. For the leaders, who had been bought by China, no longer raided Chinese territory and kept the Chinese gifts for themselves instead of distributing them, as was the tradition. As deplored by Kül Tegin, a painful alienation of the rulers from the population and its traditional values had set in: 'The unity of Turkic people had broken. [. . .] The Chinese made slaves of your noble sons, and slaves of your beautiful daughters. Turkic Beks [tribal leaders] refused their titles and admitted Chinese titles. So they served Chinese Khagans. They [Khagans and Beks] served fifty years. [. . .] The common people said then: 'I had a state, where is it now? Which country do I serve?''[4]

In the years 682 to 687 the *Idat Shad* called **Ashina Qutlugh**[5] (r. 682–91) and his military commander and adviser Tonyukuk (*ca.* 646–*ca.* 725) succeeded in achieving something which Nishufu

Khagan (r. 679–80) and Funian Khagan (r. 680–81) had both failed to do: they made themselves leaders of discontented Turkic tribes and threw off the Chinese yoke. The time was fortuitous for a Turkic revolt, for China had been defeated several times by Tibet since 670 and had lost control over the Tarim Basin in 677. On top of this, there was discord within the Chinese leadership. Emperor Gaozong had been weakened by a second stroke that he had suffered in 675 (or perhaps by being poisoned by his wife Wu Zetian) so that power shifted towards this scheming empress (r. de facto from 675, at the latest by 684–705).[6] Qutlugh and Tonyukuk gathered Funian Khagan's dispersed troops and subjugated the confederation of the *Toquz Oghuz*, the Nine Tribes, one of which was the Uyghurs. The Second Khaganate of the Göktürks also comprised the tribal confederations of the Sir, who were loyal to the Ashina clan, as well as the often rebellious Basmils and Karluks.[7] Ashina Qutlugh then appointed himself **Ilterish Khagan** – the honorary name *Ilterish* means 'unifier [or refounder] of the empire' – and not only defeated the Chinese armies that had been sent out against him but also undertook raids into Chinese territory. Ilterish and Tonyukuk chose the mythical Ötükän in the Orkhon Valley as the centre of the resurrected Turkic khaganate. The driving force for the renewal of the khaganate was Tonyukuk, who had been trained in China and therefore knew the strategies and weaknesses of the Chinese adversary. His role was decisive not only for the regained independence but also in the wars of the brothers Bilge Khagan and Kül Tegin. Proud of his achievements, before his death he wrote the inscription on his own tomb in front of which stood a row of 289 *balbals*: 'I was the one who rose [installed] the Khagan, I, the wise Tonyukuk Boyla Bagha Tarkhan. In alliance with Ilterish Khagan, [I] killed a lot of Tabgachs [Chinese] in the south, in the east a lot of Khitans, in the north Oguzes. [. . .] If Ilterish Khagan did not rule the country, and I myself did not rule, there would be neither country nor people! [. . .] In Bilge Khagan's country I ordered to write [this]. I am – the wise Tonyukuk.'[8]

While China could not prevent the defection of the Eastern Turks, in 685 it succeeded, with Western Turkic help, in crushing a local rebellion of impoverished Oghuz Turks and Uyghurs north of the Etzin Gol and in resettling these rebels affected by a famine into the Etzin Gol (fig. 216). A year later an army inspector, who was staying in the fortress of Datong Cheng (Aduna Khure) in the Etzin Gol, reported that thanks to artificial irrigation, the inhabitants of this desert area were successfully growing crops and keeping livestock. But he warned that the region could be a dangerous gateway to Central China for the Turkic horse nomads and denounced the incompetent war preparations at the time of Empress Wu Zetian: 'The chief generals are not chosen [carefully] and the officers and soldiers are not drilled; only the city dwellers are driven on to the battlefield so that it happened again and again that [the army] collapsed of its own accord and dissolved.'[9] Some of the Uyghurs who lived in the Etzin Gol and in northern Gansu took part in the rebellion against the Eastern Turkic Khaganate in 742; others remained there and formed the core of the Uyghur kingdom of Gansu, which was founded at the end of the ninth century.[10]



215. Head of a statue made from green marble, attributed to General Kül Tegin (*ca.* 685–731) and excavated near the memorial complex of Khöshöö Tsaidam, Arkhangai Aimag. On the crown a bird of prey with outspread wings is depicted, very similar to the bird on the gold diadem of Bilge Khagan (*ca.* 683–734), Kül Tegin's brother. The bird of prey was probably a totem of the highest princely family. National Museum of Mongolia, Ulaan Baatar.

2. A Short-Lived Great Power

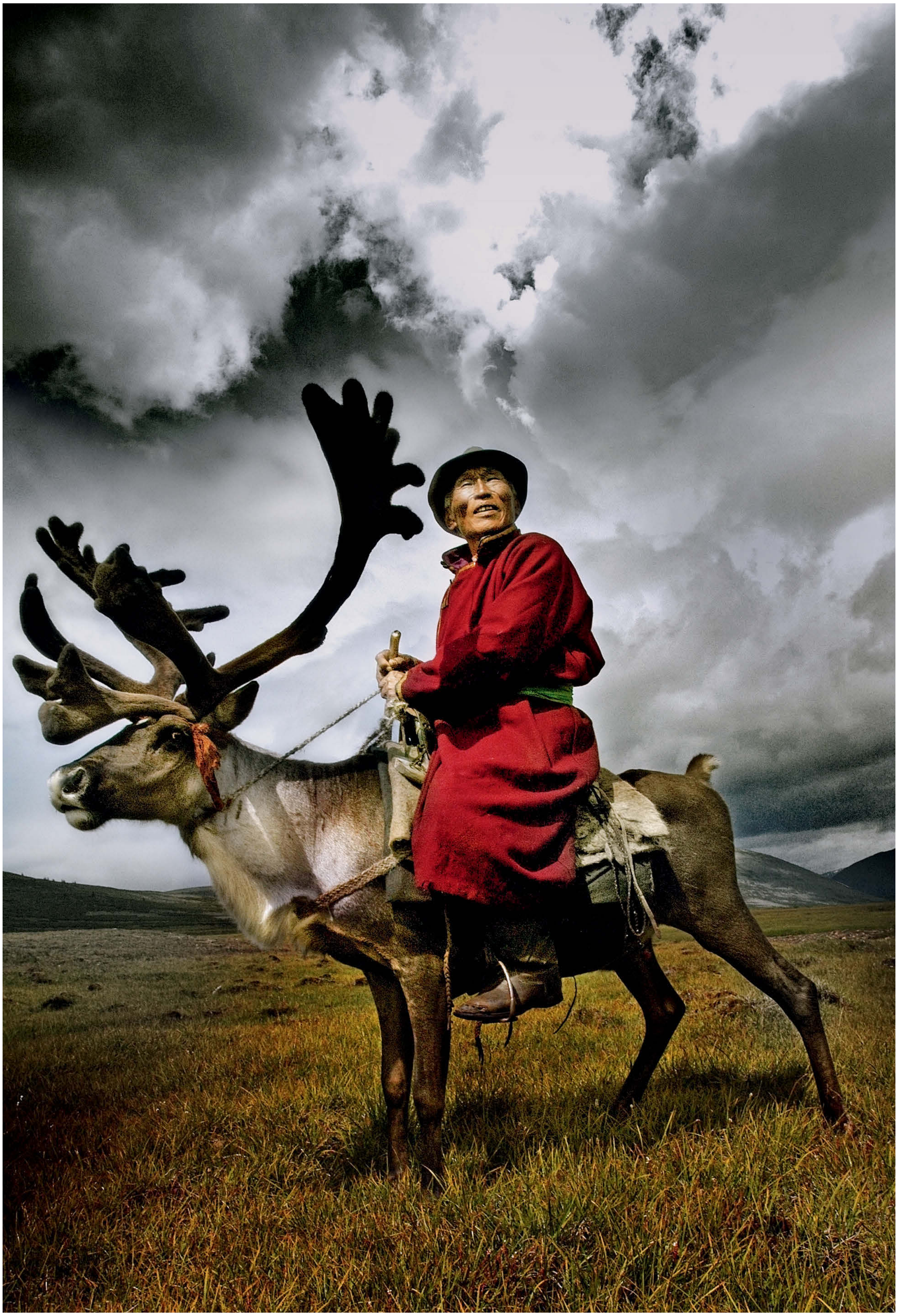
Ilterish Khagan, who died in 691, was succeeded by his brother **Kapagan Khagan** (Chinese: Mochuo, r. 691–716) as leader of the khaganate. Under Kapagan Khagan the Eastern Turkic Empire rose to the height of its power. In the East he subdued the Khitan, and he also led devastating raids to the south into China, against which Empress Wu was powerless. She had to pay high tribute each time to make Kapagan withdraw. In 698 the khagan demanded and obtained from China 3,000 agricultural tools, some tonnes of iron and '100,000 hu seed millet'[11] (*ca.* 10,000 hectolitres); it seems that in the Eastern Turkic Khaganate there was also agriculture, probably carried out by prisoners of war, slaves and abducted Chinese farmers. At the same time Kapagan Khagan forced Empress Wu to bring back her son Li Xian, the later Emperor Gaozong (r. 684, 705–10), from exile and make him crown prince.[12] When Empress Wu tried to form an alliance with Western Turkic tribes against Kapagan Khagan, the latter attacked and defeated the Western Turks in 699, thus seemingly re-establishing the former unity of the First Turkic Khaganate.[13] In the years 709–10 the commanders Kül Tegin and Tunyukuk subdued Tuva, as well as the Kyrgyz who lived north of the khaganate, and defeated and killed Türgesh Khagan Saqal (Chinese: Suoge, r. 708–10/11). As the memorial stele in honour of Kül Tegin records, the Eastern Turks found allies in the tribal confederation of the Kängäräs, who lived between the Aral and Balkhash lakes in what is today central and southern Kazakhstan.[14] The Kängäräs were identical with the Kangars mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whose three tribes formed the elite of the Pechenegs towards the end of the ninth century.[15] But when the Eastern Turks advanced again south-westward, they suffered a heavy defeat in 712 near Samarkand at the hands of Qutayba, and two years later their siege of Besh Baliq (Beiting) also failed, and a son of the khagan was killed in battle. With this defeat and the withdrawal from Sogdiana and Semirechie, Kapagan's attempt to resurrect the First Khaganate in its original size came to an end.[16] As was often

216. At the time of the Tang dynasty (618–907), the Chinese fort of Dzun Kure in the delta of the Etzin Gol was part of a wider defence system built to prevent the Göktürks and other northern equestrian groups from invading China. Inner Mongolia, China.

217. **A Turkic tomb complex in the Bodonch Gol Valley, Khovd Aimag, Mongolia, 6th to 8th c. The rows of stones beginning at the edge of the complex symbolise the enemies killed by the buried.**

the case in horse nomad empires, defeats gave the signal for secessions. Although Kapagan Khagan succeeded in defeating the rebellious Toquz Oghuzes between 715 and 716, he was careless as he returned to his main camp, and was killed in an ambush.

Ilterish Khagan's son Kül Tegin, who was held in high esteem by the military, took advantage of the short power vacuum after Kapagan's death to stage a putsch. He killed his cousin, Kapagan's son and successor **Inel Khagan** (r. 716) as well as his brothers and close relatives, and liquidated the former advisers of his uncle Kapagan. The only adviser he spared was Tonyukuk, now in his early seventies, whose daughter was married to his elder brother **Bilge Khagan** (r. 716–34) whom he installed on the throne.[17] Now a triumvirate directed the destiny of the khaganate: Khagan Bilge, whose name meant 'wise', his brother Kül Tegin, and Tonyukuk. In the following three years, Tonyukuk managed to bring the rebellious Uyghurs, Toquz Oghuz, Tatabi and Khitan back under Eastern Turkic control; only the Türgesh under Suluk Khagan succeeded in defending their newly gained independence. When in the winter of 719/20 Bilge Khagan followed Tonyukuk's advice and offered to negotiate peace with the Chinese emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–55, retired 755–62), Xuanzong declined the offer, underestimating his adversary and overestimating himself. He hoped that he would be able to crush the weakened khaganate, just as Taizong had once done. The Chinese army, whose offensive strength depended on the cavalry of the Turkic Basmils, advanced towards the Orkhon Valley in 720 but the Eastern Turks were prepared. Tonyukuk defeated the Basmils and, after pursuing them and seizing the fortress of Besh Baliq, reached Gansu, while the khagan crushed the rebellious Khitan and Tatabi. In 721 Xuanzong decided to buy peace via 'gifts'; that is, tribute payments. The economic consequences of the peace were so advantageous for the khaganate that in 727 Bilge Khagan refused to enter an offensive alliance with Tibet against China.[18] Even the grand councillor of the palace chancellery in Chang'an, Zhang Yue, was impressed by the Turkic leadership and warned Emperor Xuanzong against provocations: 'The little *Shad* [Bilge Khagan] is merciful and loves his people. [. . .] Kül Tegin is



218. Reindeer herdsman from the Tsaatan people, north-east of Lake Khövsgöl, Khövsgöl Aimag, Mongolia. The Tsaatan are of Tuvan origin and lived as semi-nomadic reindeer herders in the mountain taiga on the border between Mongolia and Russia. But today only 44 families still do so: the majority of the Tsaatan have moved to the cities.

brave and an expert in the art of war, and no adversary is a match for him. Tonyukuk is very much in control and full of plans and intrigues. [. . .] These three barbarians live in harmony with each other. When they undertake something, it is precisely planned.'[19]

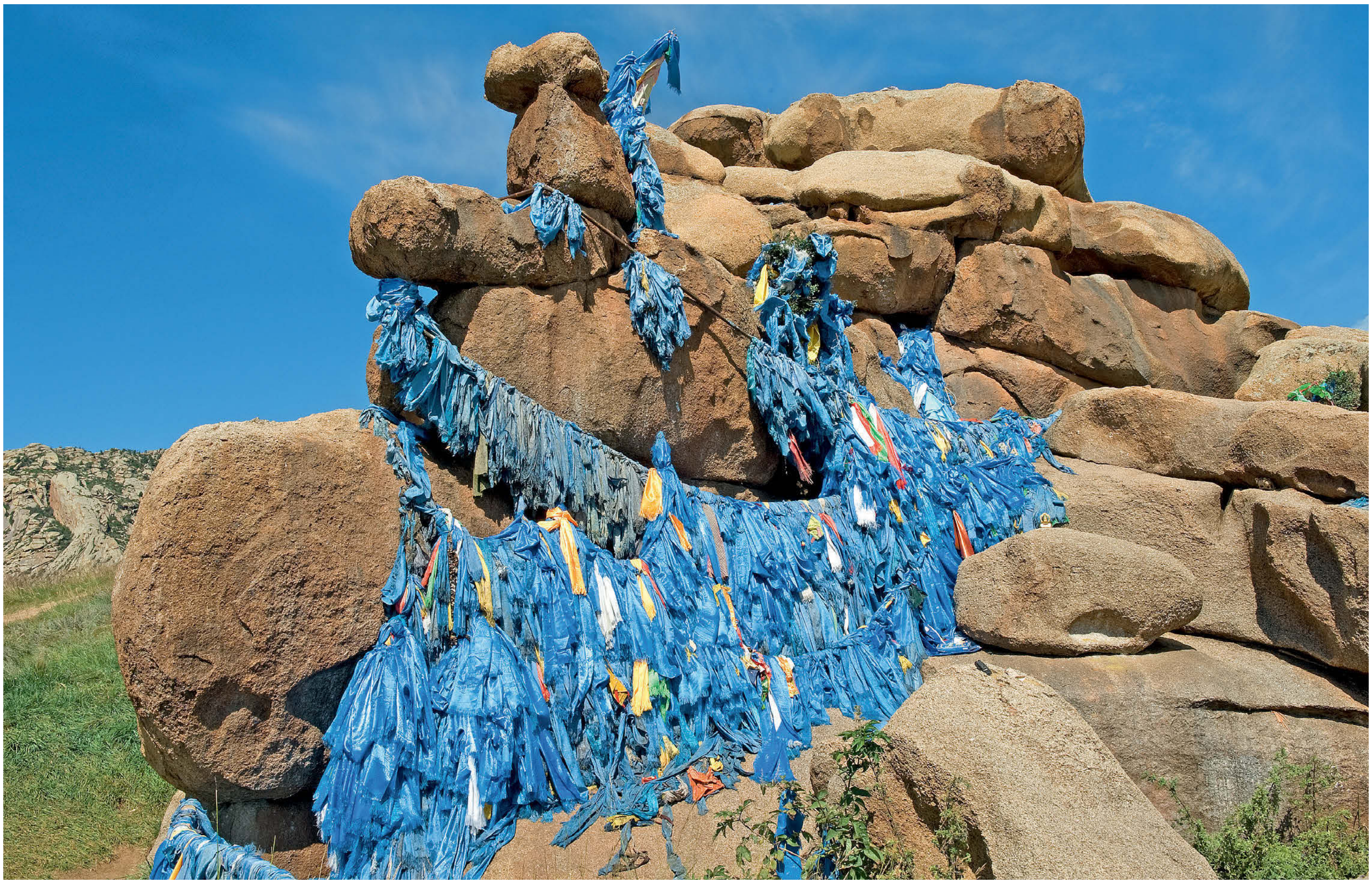
Tonyukuk was not only a brilliant commander but also a perspicacious adviser who understood the weaknesses and strengths of his people. When shortly before 720 Bilge Khagan wanted to adopt important elements of Chinese culture and build fortified cities as well as Buddhist and Daoist temples, Tonyukuk strongly disagreed: 'This must not be! The number of the T'u-küe [Türken] is very small and equals not even a hundredth of the population of the Tang. That we [nevertheless] are always able to resist we owe to the fact that we roam around, seeking water and grass, that we do not have a permanent home and live off the hunt! All our people are trained in the art of war. If we are strong, we let our soldiers go out on raids; if we become weak, though, we flee into the mountains and forests and hide. [. . .] But if we build fortresses to live in them, and change our old habits, then one day we will be beaten and we will be annexed by the Tang with certainty! Besides, the teachings in the Buddhist and Daoist temples only make people gentle and submissive. This is not the way to conduct wars and acquire power. This is why we must not build temples!'[20] The khagan followed Tonyukuk's advice, for his words got to the heart of the unbridgeable dichotomy between nomadic and sedentary forms of life and mentality. At a time when there were no firearms, nomadic pastoralism offered an ideal and permanent training for war: people were physically and mentally highly adaptable, and apart from their herds they had nothing immobile to defend: no walled city or fortress in which the enemy could besiege them or crush them with their superior numbers. For Tonyukuk, walled cities, which would confine the comparatively small numbers of Turkic soldiers to a few places, were potential traps from which the Turks would not be able to escape. What made Tonyukuk object to Buddhism was not only its pacifist ideology, which was diametrically opposed to a warrior mentality, but also to the monastic ideal which took young men out of productive life.[21]

The Göktürks had two different belief systems at that time: a religion of the people and a quasi-religious imperial ideology. In cases of illness, infertility, animal epidemics and evil spirits, and before the hunt, the people turned to shamans, who made contact with the spirits involved in each case and performed whichever placatory measure was appropriate. The shamans worked as mediators between humans and animals of the visible world, and the invisible spirits. Shamanism functioned as a religion for ordinary people which took care of their everyday concerns. The imperial religion, on the other hand, concentrated on the myths of origin of the rulers and the ancestor cult of their heroic forebears. The khagan and the supreme elite of the Ashina clan and the related Ashide clan focused their thoughts and hopes on Tengri, the Sky-Father, from whom the khagan derived the legitimisation of his rule. Like Chinese emperors, the khagans of the Second Khaganate and of the Uyghur Empire called themselves *tängridä*, 'son of the sky'. Every year at the time of the summer solstice, the ruling elite gathered at the holy Ötükän Mountain for grand sacrificial ceremonies in honour of Tengri. Shamans, along with women and children were excluded from these rituals.[22] Other divinities venerated by the imperial elite included the divinity Iduk Yer-sub, 'Sacred Earth and Water'; the fertility goddess Umay and the god of the underworld Erklig Khan.[23] Since the khagan claimed to possess a mandate from the almighty Tengri, thanks to his divine charisma, *qut*, he stood in direct competition to the

219. Silver statuette from the 730s with gold painting of a stag, excavated in 2001 at the memorial for Bilge Khagan. Khöshöö Tsaidam, Arkhangai Aimag, Mongolia. The statuette is probably a Sogdian work. National Museum of Mongolia, Ulaan Baatar.

shamans. This latent conflict between shamanism and state cult which Turko-Mongolic peoples were facing, escalated at the time of Genghis Khan (r. 1189–1227), when the supreme shaman Kokuchu Teb Tengri directly challenged Genghis Khan around 1210; the latter resolved the power struggle by having Teb Tengri killed.

As observed by Grand Councillor Zhang Yue, the strength of the khaganate was dependent on the leading triumvirate. Tonyukuk died around 725, and Kül Tegin in 731, depriving the khagan of his two strongest supporters. Despite Tonyukuk's warning not to adopt Chinese customs, Bilge Khagan allowed Emperor Xuanzong to participate in the building of a memorial site for his deceased brother where he had a small temple built and decorated with murals. In 734 Bilge Khagan was poisoned by a confidant. But because the poison was slow-acting, the dying khagan still had sufficient time to kill the murderer and his followers. The memorial complexes for the brothers Kül Tegin and Bilge Khagan and steles, which were erected in 732 and 735, stand next to each other at Khöshöö Tsaidam, not far from the Orkhon River. When the French explorer Henri de Bouillane de Lacoste (1867–1937) visited them in 1909, he recorded: 'Here and there we discover, stretched out in the grass like the dead after the battle, several large stone figures. There are seven of them who sleep like this on the desert heath, all seven decapitated.'[24] Such memorials were always erected one year after the burial of the deceased, which took place at another, secret place. At the entrance stood two marble ram figures opposing each other, and at the side of each one was a standing stone figure. This was followed by a stone stele which stood on the back of a tortoise.[25] The stele was inscribed with small Turkic runes on its front and two narrow sides, and with Chinese signs on the back. The Chinese text recorded the letter of condolence from Emperor Xuanzong, the Turkish texts the deeds of the deceased and his proclamation to the people. Above the text on the front is the carving of an ibex, the tamga (emblem) of the ruling clan, the Ashina. At

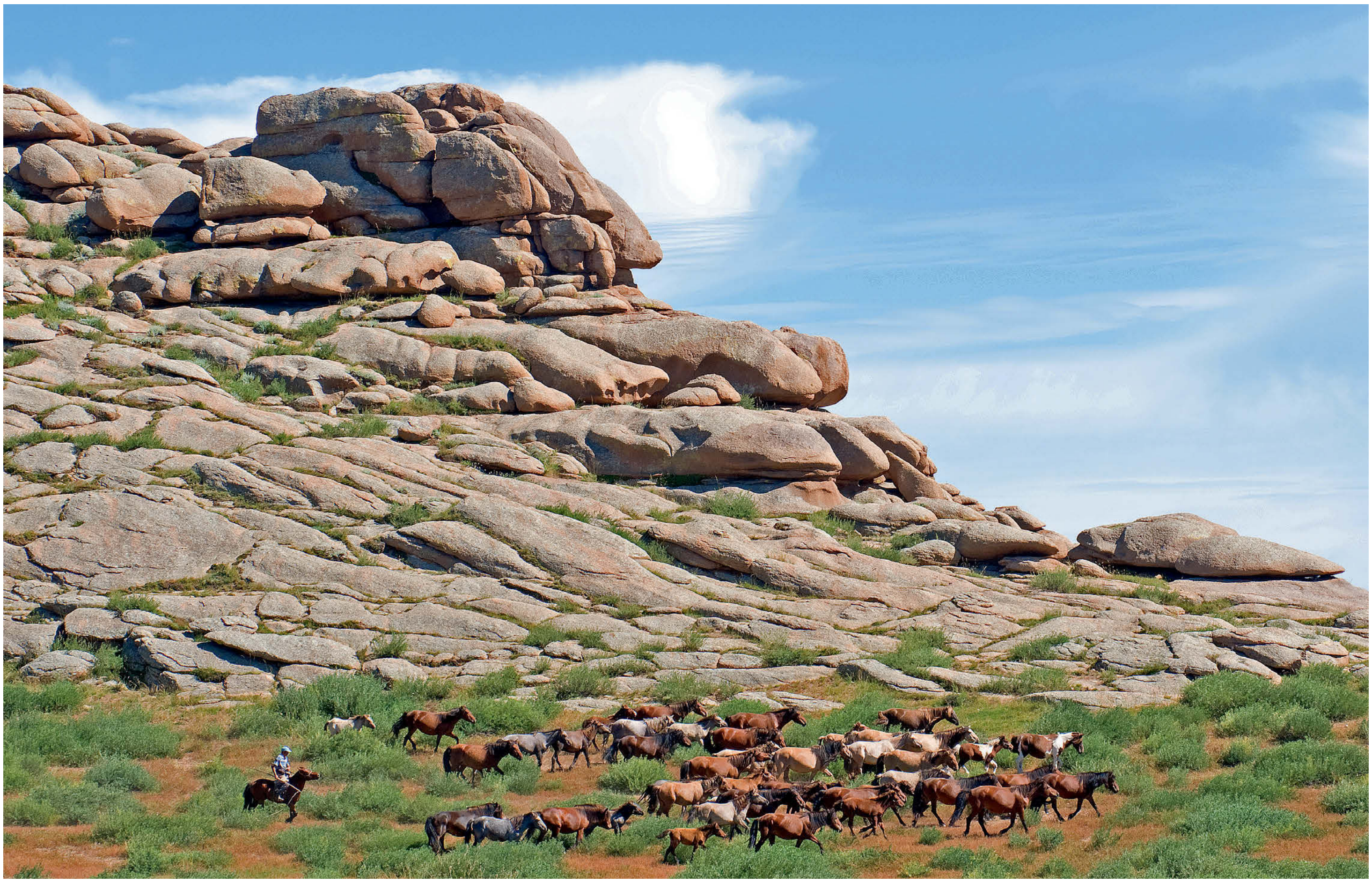


220. Many of the rocks near the Shamano-Buddhist temple of Khadagt Khoshu in the Högnö Khan mountains have long ropes stretched across them, to which blue *kathas* are attached. The *katha*, a ceremonial scarf offered as a mark of respect, gratitude or greeting in Tibetan Buddhism, is blue in Mongolia, symbolising the eternal sky, Tengri. Although some small, wind-driven, Buddhist prayer wheels and Buddha figurines can also be found here, people mostly venerate Tengri and the spirits and bring them offerings like sweets and vodka. At the holy temple neither his name nor that of the mountain must be spoken. Bulgan Aimag, Mongolia.

221. A Mongolian shaman invokes the spirits at the *obo* on the top of a mountain. *Obos* are sacred piles of stones laid out by people at special places such as mountain passes or peaks. Branches or wooden crutches are added to the stones, and they are decorated with *kathas*. People come to them primarily to call up the mountain spirits or to ask for their blessings. The figures painted on the shaman's drum are very similar to Mongolian petroglyphs.

the memorial complex for Bilge Khagan, next on the processional street, after the stele, were six pairs of marble figures and finally a Chinese-style chapel with the granite cenotaph (fig. 222). In both memorials long rows of *balbals*, which indicate the numbers of the enemies killed by the deceased, conclude the complex; Kül Tegin's row was 2.3 kilometres long, Bilge Khagan's three kilometres.[26]

After Bilge Khagan's death, the empire was plunged into internal strife, for the organisation of the Eastern Turkic tribal confederation, which in comparison with the Xiongnu was loose and decentralised, only functioned when it was led by the three leaders who had ruled since 716. Whereas the Xiongnu had had a small but meritocratically organised government and military elite which superimposed itself on the tribal structures, the Eastern Turks lacked this except for Sogdian advisers. Among the Göktürk rulers, only Ishtemi Khagan had tried to divide the tribes, which he ruled according to the decimal system, into the *On Oq Bodun*, the 'ten arrow nation' but, as Sören Stark remarks, 'the original military organization gradually turned into tribal groups'.[27] Although Bilge Khagan's son **Yiran Khagan** (r. 734–?) quickly ascended the throne, neither he nor his successor, his brother **Tengri Khagan** (r. ?–741)



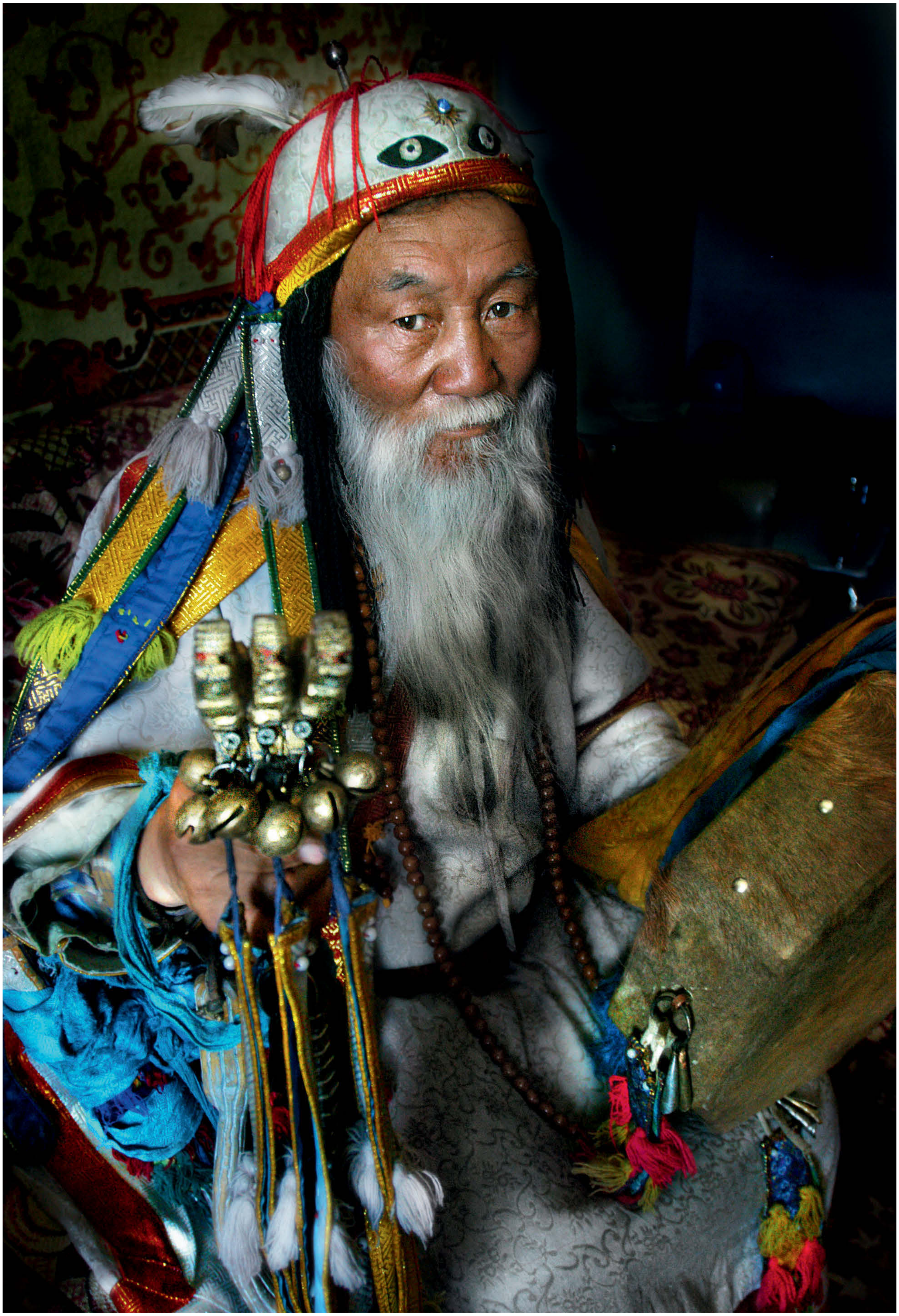
223. A herd of horses with their herdsman in the Högnö Khan Mountains, Bulgan Aimag, Mongolia.

managed to gain control over the rebellious Turkic tribal leaders.[28] The main reason for the dissatisfaction of the leading Turkic aristocrats was the fact that Tonyukuk's daughter, the mother of Tengri Khagan, who was still a minor, had usurped power and shared it with her lover, a lower-rank tarkhan. During the ensuing power struggles Tengri Khagan was murdered, and by 742 three more khagans had lost their lives. The last of these three, **Qutlugh Yabghu** (r. 741–42) was killed by a great alliance of Basmils, Karluks and Uyghurs.

In a successful rebellion, the Basmils, who lived in the south-west of today's Mongolia and in Dzungaria, and who had now advanced as far as Ötükän, held the leading role so that their leader, who belonged to a branch of the Ashina tribe, proclaimed himself **Ilterish Khagan** (r. 742–44) of a new **Empire of the Basmils**. In this constellation, the leaders of the Uyghurs and Karluks declared themselves the left (eastern) and right (western) *yabghus* (vice-kings). These proclamations, which were also directed towards China, show how much importance the new rulers attached to imperial recognition. In 744 Basmil Ilterish Khagan killed the penultimate Eastern Turkic **Khagan Ozmysh** (r. 742–44), who had been struggling for recognition, and sent his head to Xuantong in Chang'an. Soon after this he in turn was killed by the attacking Uyghurs and Karluks, and his head was also sent to Chang'an. But the new division of power, between an Uyghur khagan, who resided in the sacred Orkhon Valley, and a Karluk yabghu was also short-lived. The first ruler of the Uyghurs, Qutlugh Bilge Kül

---

◀**222.** Illustration of the memorial for Bilge Khagan (r. 716–734) near Khöshöö Tsaidam, based on historical sources and archaeological finds, Arkhangai Aimag, Mongolia. The illustration shows one of the most important rituals to commemorate the dead ruler. While armoured horsemen mount a guard of honour at the entrance to the mausoleum, a horse is sacrificed on the stone altar inside the surrounding wall, and riders gallop clockwise around the inner complex with its chapel and granite sarcophagus. The banners held by the guards bear the totem animal of the Ashina, the ibex, which is also engraved in the upper part of the stele. At the entrance to the complex stands an inscribed stone stele mounted on the back of a stone tortoise, celebrating Bilge Khagan's achievements and his fellow warriors and ancestors, and proclaiming his views on the world. Between the stele and the chapel, six pairs of stone figures stand, sit or kneel in homage. In front of the complex, at the entrance to the sacred enclosure, begins a three-kilometre-long row of stone *balbals*, which symbolise the enemies killed by Bilge Khagan.

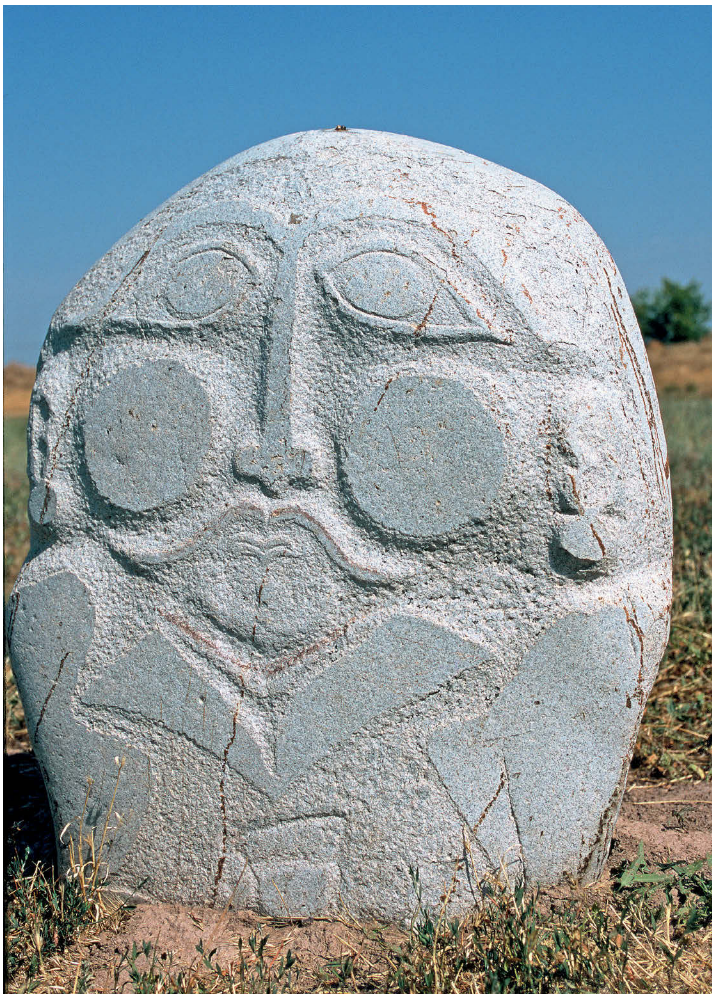


224. Elderly Mongolian shaman with drum and bells used for the invocation of the spirits.

Khagan (Chinese: Guli Peiluo, r. 744–47) from the Yaghlaqar clan, displaced the Karluks to the west into the area between Tian Shan and Lake Balkhash, from where the Karluks took Semirechie from the Türgesh in 766. The Karluks who had remained and the subjugated Basmils were then integrated into the Uyghur confederation. Qutlugh Bilge Kül Khagan consolidated his rule in 745 by killing **Bomei Khagan** (r. 744–45), the last khagan of the Eastern Turks, whose head he sent to Chang'an as proof of his victory.[29] Thus ended the Second Khaganate of the Göktürks, and the Ashina clan, which had controlled the eastern steppes of Central Asia for almost two centuries, lost its supremacy. Although Emperor Xuanzong, like Emperor Taizong before him, could be proud of that fact that with skilled diplomacy he had contributed to the destruction of the Turkic khaganate, and that with the Uyghurs he had won a new neighbour who had traditionally been an ally of China, the Tang dynasty suffered a precipitous decline during the following decade which degraded it to a quasi-vassal of the Uyghurs.

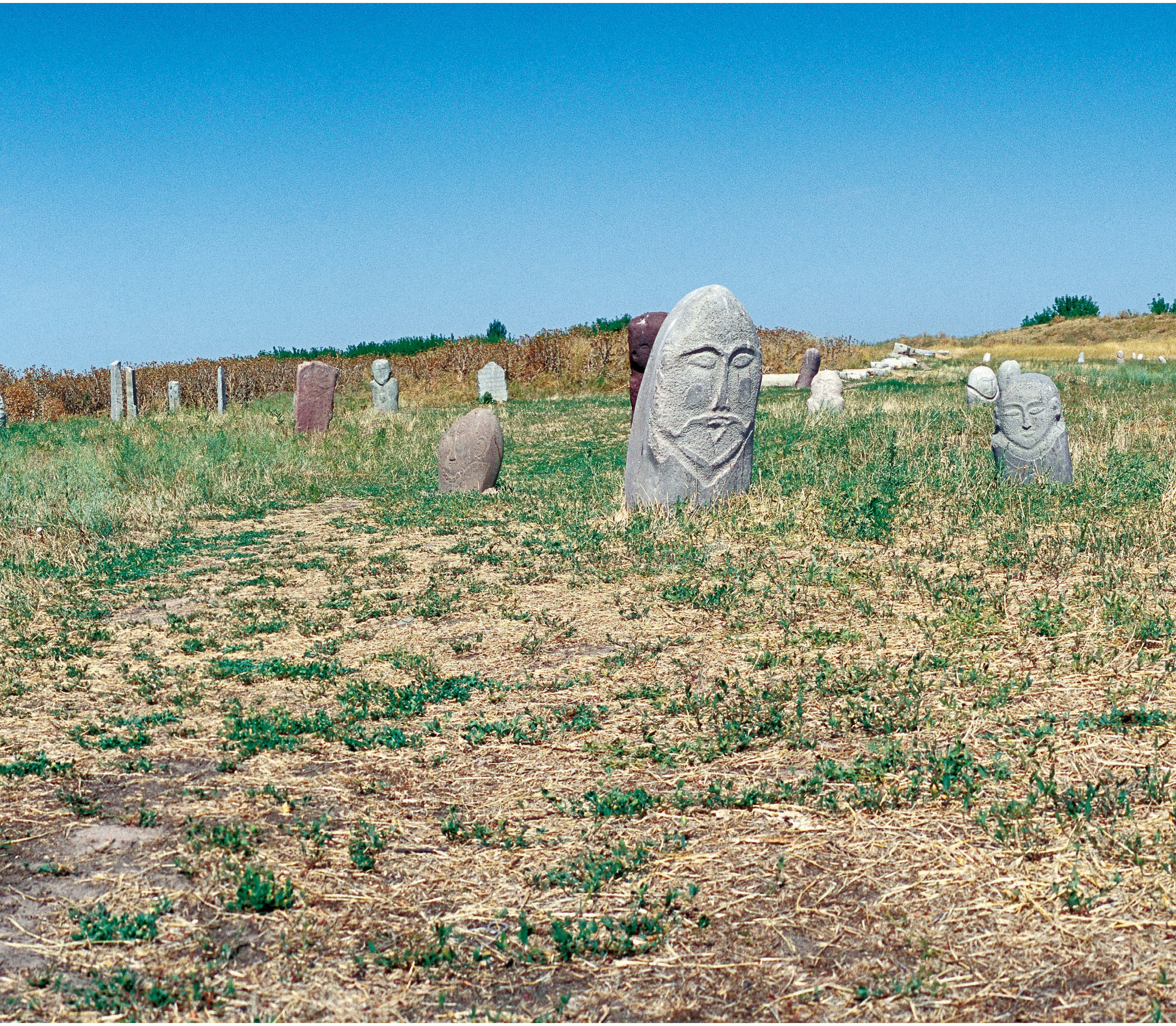
3. The Western Turkic Türgesh

Soon after China had defeated the Western Turkic Khaganate in 659 and divided up the administration of their new zones of influence, various powers challenged the Chinese claim to leadership within Central Asia. From the winter of 673/74 the Arabs attacked the oasis settlements of Bukhara and Samarkand, and even earlier, in 659, a Western Turkic tribe had formed an alliance with Kashgar and occupied Khotan. After a successful Chinese counter-attack, an alliance of Köngül Turks and Tibetans advanced in 660, conquered Kashgar and two years later forced an exhausted Chinese army to withdraw without a fight. At the same time Tibet, which was ruled by the Gar clan, grew into the main adversary of the Tang and forced China to abandon the Four Garrisons of the Tarim Basin in 670; only Turfan and Beiting remained in Chinese hands.[30] Within the Western Turkic heartland, China also failed to pacify in the long term the two wings of the Duolu and Nushibi by appointing puppet khagans; there were repeated rebellions. But in 679 the Chinese general Pei Xingjian managed to capture in a surprise attack Ashina Tuze (Chinese: Ashina Fuyan Duzhi), an ally of the Tibetans, and the ten tribal leaders of the On Oq,[31] after which China, in 692, regained control over the Four Garrisons and two years later defeated the Western Turkic Khagan Ashina Tuizi, who had been appointed by the Tibetans.[32]

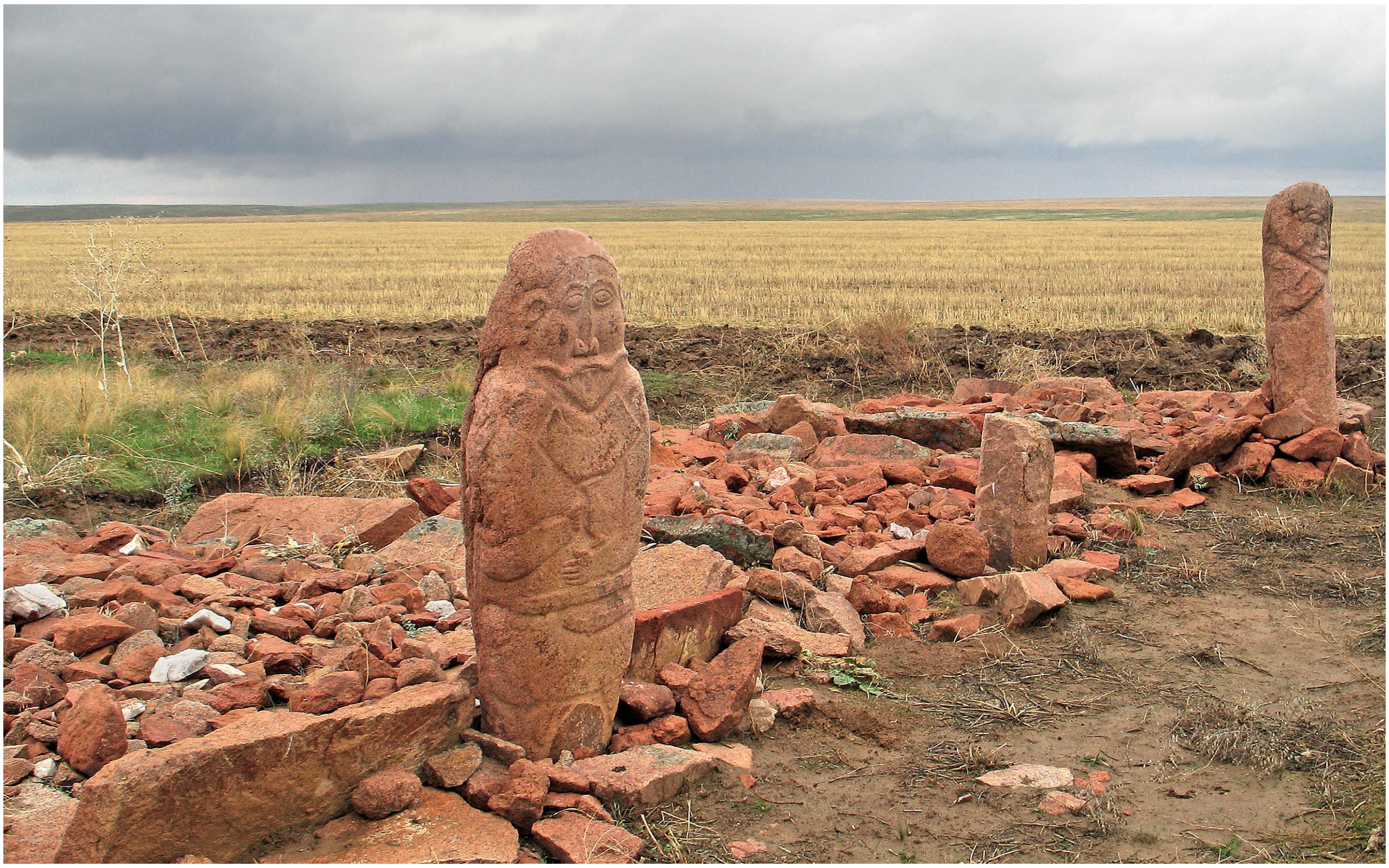


225. Post-Göktürk stone figure in honour of a dead warrior in the open-air museum of Burana, east of Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The deceased probably belonged to the Turkic people of the Karluks, who dominated the region between the western Tian Shan and Lake Balkhash in Kyrgyzstan and eastern Kazakhstan. 8th–11th c.

Around the year 699/700, the Türgesh, who belonged to the Western Turkic Duolu, rose up in rebellion, led by **Ocirliq** (Chinese: Wuzhile, r. *ca.* 699/700–708), and forced Khagan Ashina Khusrau (also known as *Puli Shad*), from the Nushibi, who had been appointed by the Chinese, to flee into Dzungaria. In 703 Ocirliq conquered the Chinese fortress of Suyab and organised the territory over which he now ruled into 20 military districts. Each of these was run by a commander appointed by him who led 7,000 warriors. As Ishtemi had once done, Ocirliq tried to replace the old tribal structures by a military administration which would be loyal to him.[33] To further legitimise his rule, Ocirliq issued copper coins of the Chinese holed type bearing the Sogdian inscription 'god-like Türgesh Khagan'.[34] On Ocirliq's death his sons **Saqal Khagan** (r. 708–10/11) and Zhenu seized power and found themselves confronted with an enemy alliance consisting of a



226. Post-Göktürk stone figures from the cultural sphere of the Karluks, 8th–11th c., open-air museum of Burana, east of Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.



227. The Karluk memorial of Zhaysan 14 stands 100 km south-west of Merke in southern Kazakhstan. Of the more than two dozen memorials of Zhaysan, with a total of 38 extant stone figures, the Zhaysan complex 14 is the best preserved; it probably dates from the 8th or 9th c.

rebelling Türgesh general, China and Tibet. When a spy of Saqal Khagan, who had been posted in Chang'an, found out about a secret plan of attack, the brothers launched a surprise assault in the Tarim Basin in the winter of 708/09, destroying a Chinese army near Kashgar and conquering Kucha. During the ensuing negotiations China recognised Saqal's rule, and Saqal withdrew. Soon after this the khagan's younger brother, Zhenu, rebelled and fled to the Eastern Turkic Khagan Kapagan. Kapagan sent out Kül Tegin and Tonyukuk who defeated the Türgesh and occupied their land. But Kapagan Khagan had the two feuding Türgesh brothers executed.[35]

Now that the Western Turkic empire of the Türgesh seemed firmly in the hands of the Second Göktürk Khaganate, the fortunes of war suddenly deserted the Eastern Turks. In swift succession they suffered two devastating defeats, in 712 near Samarkand and 714 outside Beiting, after which China reconquered the Western Turkic 'capital' Suyab, and the Eastern Turks retreated. This withdrawal offered the opportunity to a former general of Saqal to re-establish the rule of the Türgesh over the On Oq and to rule as **Suluk Khagan** (r. 716/17–738). The 20-year-long ascendancy of the Türgesh was made possible by two factors: the deaths of Qutayba, whose army was stronger, and of Kapagan Khagan. After the failed siege of Aksu by a Türgesh-Tibetan army in the Tarim Basin, Suluk occupied Suyab in 719. During the following decade, Suluk achieved spectacular victories over the Arabs in Sogdiana, such as in 724 in Fergana and 731 in southern Uzbekistan, but without being able to completely drive them off. After a failed siege of Kucha in 727 in a new alliance between Türgesh and Tibetans, Suluk succeeded in marrying into the family of the Tibetan king Tride Tsugtsen (Meagtsom, r. 712–54) and the Western Turkic line of the Ashina, who lived in exile in Chang'an. Two defeats sealed the fate of the ageing Khagan Suluk: in 736 before the strategically vital fortress Besh Baliq (Beiting) and in 737 near Balkh. When he returned to the heartland of the Türgesh, he was murdered by his relative Bagha Tarkhan.[36] On his death the unity of the Türgesh broke up and the two wings of the Yellow and Black Türgesh fought each other until in 748 China brought Suyab under its control again.[37] The Karluks, who had immigrated in 744, seized power from the feuding Türgesh in 766.

IX

China, Tibet and the Arabs: The Struggle for Supremacy in Central Asia

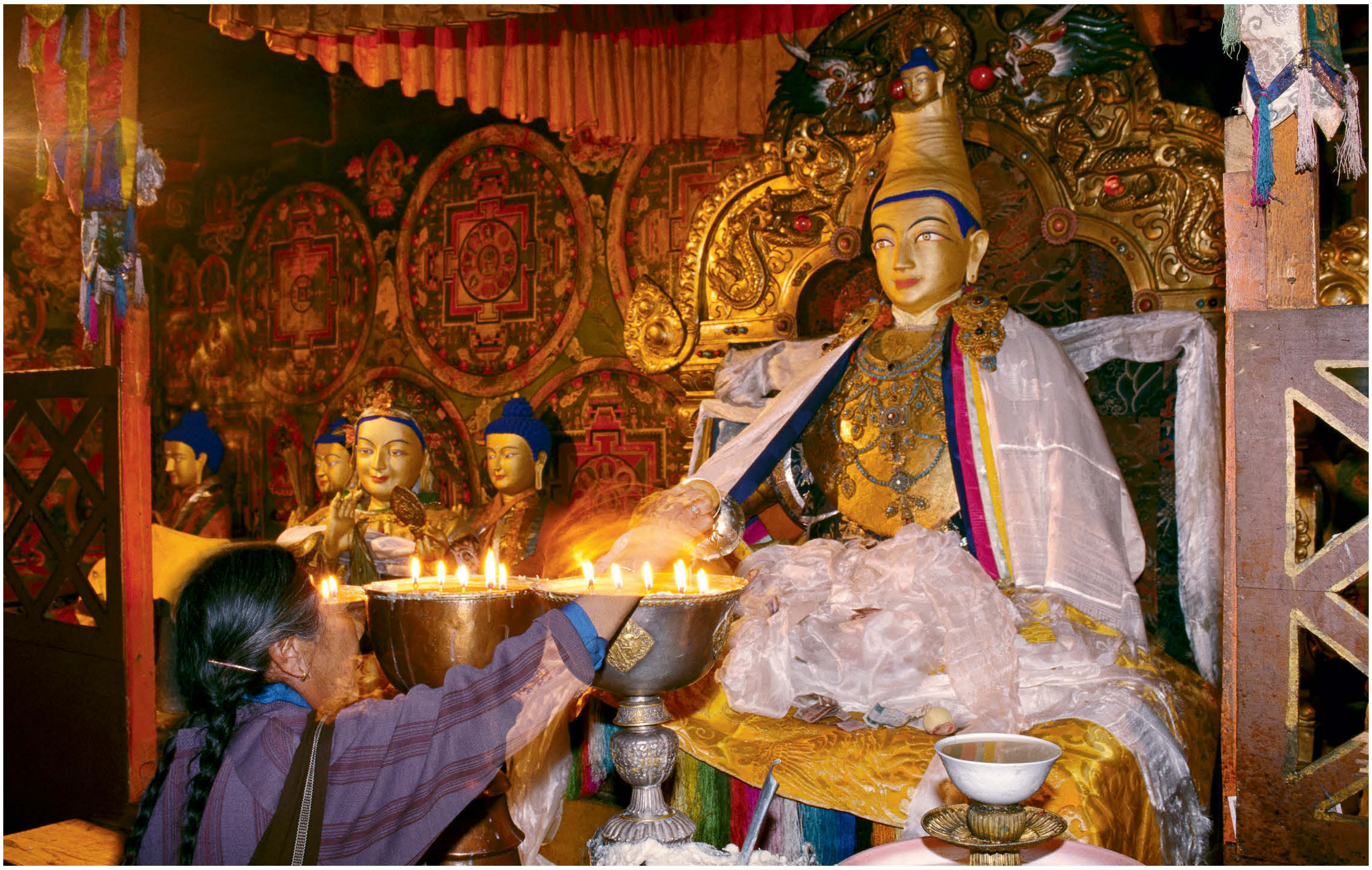
Their [the Tibetans'] territory bordered on the [prefectures of] Song, Mao and Suei [in Sichuan] in the east; in the south it reached [the land of] the brahmins [India]; in the west they had conquered the Four Garrisons; in the north they abutted on the T'ou-kiue [Turks]. [Their territory] extended over more than 10,000 li; it was [there a territory] like the western barbarians under the Han and the Wei had not had.

The *XIN TANG SHU* or *NEW BOOK OF TANG* on the extent of the Tibetan territories in 680.[1]

The second half of the seventh century saw the almost simultaneous emergence of three great powers, with the foundation of both China's Tang dynasty and Tibet's Pugyel dynasty in 618 and the establishment of the Muslim Caliphate in 632. As all three pursued an expansionary foreign policy, maintaining powerful armies and seeking control of important trade routes, it was inevitable that they would clash in Central Asia. In fact, three distinct zones of conflict quickly revealed themselves: the first outside Central Asia, on the border between eastern Tibet and central China in today's province of Qinghai, the second in the Tarim Basin, and the third in the Pamir Mountains. This three-way conflict would come to a conclusion in the mid-eighth century with the Battle of Talas and the An Lushan Rebellion that forced China to withdraw its troops from the Western Regions. The Arabs of the Caliphate brought Sogdiana and Bactria under their long-term control, while Tibet occupied the Tarim Basin, the Turfan Oasis and Dunhuang. The mid-ninth century then saw two upheavals with far-reaching consequences. In 840, the Kyrgyz defeated the Uyghur Empire, forcing many tribes to take refuge in Gansu and Xinjiang, while two years later the assassination of Tibet's king Langdarma plunged that country into civil war, bringing about the collapse of the empire and the loss of all territories north of the Kun Lun Mountains.

1. The Emergence of Tibet as a Major Central Asian Power

The political unification of Tibet and its rapid development into a major power were the work of Emperor Songtsen Gampo (r. *ca*. 618–49/50, with possibly a temporary abdication 641–46).[2] A conflict with China that would continue, with interruptions, from 637/38 to 821/22, began when in 634–35 Emperor Taizong conquered the Tuyuhun kingdom of ʻAzha (in today's Qinghai), thus eliminating what had been a buffer state between China

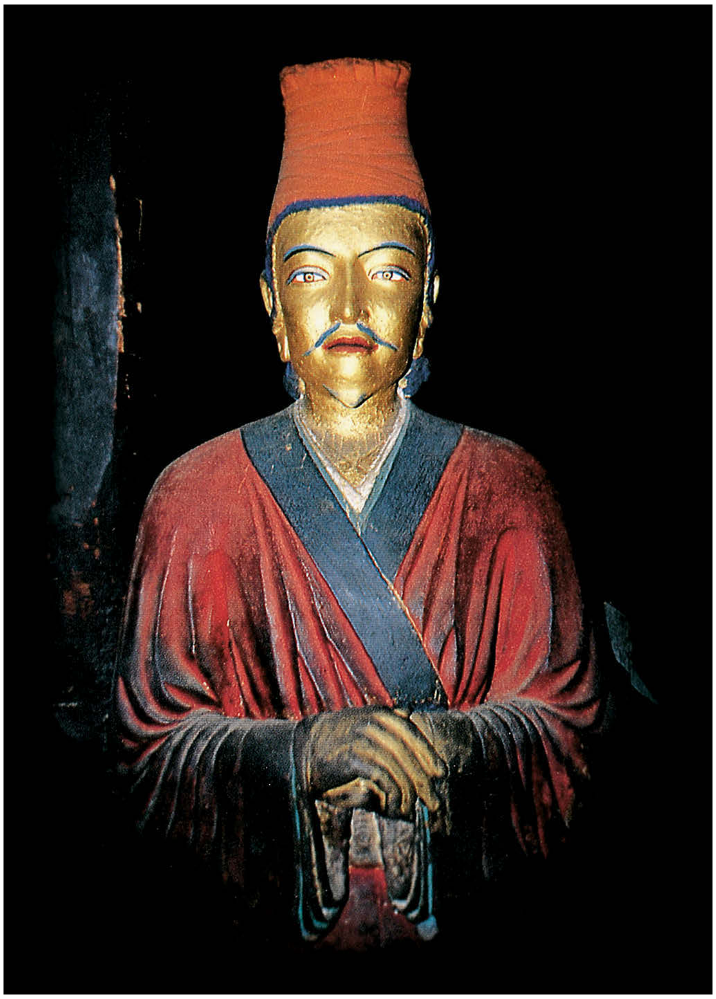


228. Statue of the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo (r. *ca*. 618–49/50) in the Chögyal Songtsen Lhakhang (King Songtsen Shrine) on the second floor of the Jokhang Temple, Lhasa. In the picture, a woman devotee is adding more butter to a burning butter lamp. Since Songtsen Gampo had been venerated since the 11th c. as an incarnation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, who is considered to be an emanation of Buddha Amitabha, his headdress is crowned by a small Amitabha figure.

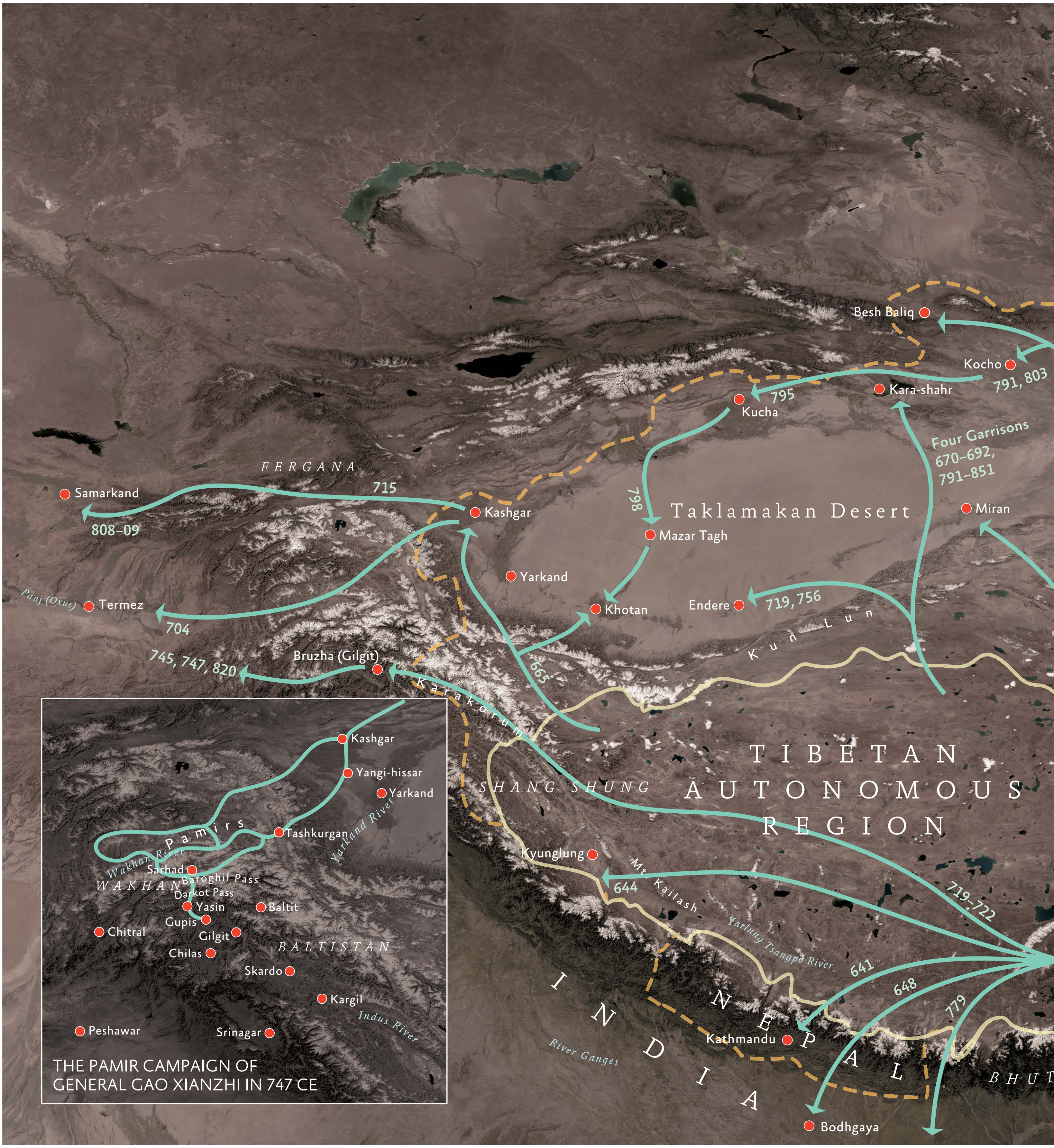
and Tibet.[3] When a little later Taizong snubbed Songtsen Gampo, refusing him a Chinese princess for a wife, the latter took ʿAzha and Sumpa and pressed on into Chinese territory proper, issuing an ultimatum to the Chinese emperor: either Songtsen Gampo would get his Chinese princess, or the attack would go on.[4] In the winter of 640/41 Taizong yielded, and Tibet began to consolidate its rule over ʿAzha.[5] The Tibetan ruler then intervened in the Nepalese war of succession in 641, making the kingdom of Licchavi in the Kathmandu Valley his vassal. In 644 he subjugated the west Tibetan kingdom of Zhang Zhung, which in the east extended far over the Changtang plateau of northern Tibet, almost as far as Sumpa.[6] The two Zhang Zhung rebellions of 647–49 and 677–78 both failed, and Zhang Zhung – believed to be the heartland of the pre-Buddhist Bön religion – remained part of the Tibetan Empire.[7]

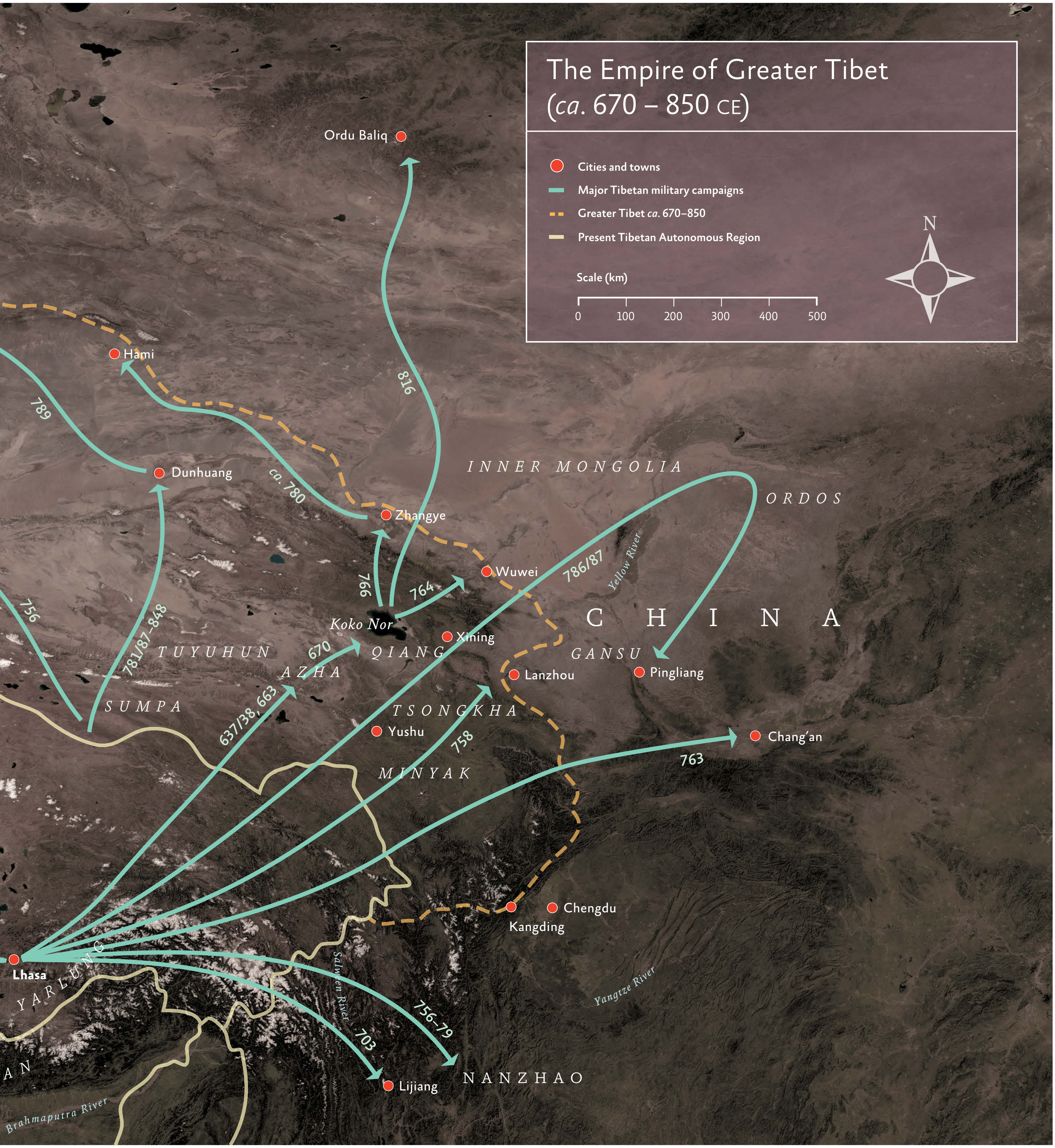
The complete absorption of ʿAzha in 663, followed by that of Zhang Zhung, allowed Tibet to open a new trade route – and military road – westward from the Koko Nor Lake in today's Qinghai province, via Dulan[8] and Golmod to Draknak, north of Nakchu, where it divided. One branch continued via Lhasa and Sakya into the Kathmandu Valley and India beyond, the other followed the Changtang Corridor to reach Rutok.[9] From there, armies and caravans followed the shore of Lake Pangong, through Ladakh to Baltistan and Gilgit, where several routes converged: from Yarkand and Kashgar in the north, from the Indus in the south, and from the Wakhan Corridor and Badakhshan in the north-west. As became clear in the first half of the eighth century, Greater Bolor (Gilgit) was of great strategic importance to the Tibetans, as from there they could launch attacks on the Four Garrisons. Finally, in 648, following the death of the north Indian king Harsha, the usurpation of his kingdom and the subsequent mistreatment of the Chinese ambassador Wang Xuance, Tibetan forces advanced southward from their Nepalese base, capturing the usurper Arjuna in Kanauj (in today's Uttar Pradesh) and ensuring that the trans-Himalayan trade route connecting central China to the Kathmandu Valley and on into India remained open.[10]

Although northern and eastern Tibet were home to numerous nomadic tribes, Songtsen Gampo's empire was not a nomad state, nor did it wage war in the manner of the nomadic horsemen. The many Tibetan fortresses mentioned in the Chinese chronicles suggest rather a settled mode of life in which agriculture and semi-nomadic pastoralism played an important role. A sedentary economy and culture is also indicated by the *Jiu Tang Shu*'s account of Songtsen Gampo's requests to China for silkworm eggs, watermills, wine growers, paper and ink.[11] The Tang chronicles also make it clear that the Tibetans fought as heavily armoured foot soldiers, even though they rode horses: ʻThe men and horses all wear chain mail armor. Its workmanship is extremely fine. It envelops them completely, leaving openings only for the eyes. When they do battle, they must dismount and array themselves in ranks. When one dies, another takes his place. To the end, they are not willing to retreat. Their lances are longer and thinner than those in China. Their archery is weak but their armor is strong. The men always use swords.'[12] Like the equestrian peoples of Mongolia, Tibet was militarily handicapped because its population was smaller than China's, which meant it tried to wage war in accordance with the seasons, campaigns ideally being started after the harvest and ending before sowing.


229. **Painted clay sculpture of Gar Tongtsen Yülsung (sTong brtsan),** ***ca.*** **14th c. (?) with restorations. Gar Tongtsen Yülsung was prime minister from 646/47 to 667/68, and became de facto ruler of Tibet on the death of Songsten Gampo around 649/50.**[30]

When Songtsen Gampo died around 649/50, his heir was his underage grandson, Mangsong Mangtsen (r. nominally 650–76), and the country was therefore effectively ruled by prime minister


Besh Baliq
Kocho
791, 803
Kara-shahr
795
Kucha
Four Garrisons
670–692,
791–851
FERGANA
715
Samarkand
808–09
Kashgar
798
Taklamakan Desert
Mazar Tagh
Miran
Yarkand
Panj (Oxus)
Termez
704
Khotan
Endere
719, 756
Kun Lun
745, 747, 820
Bruzha (Gilgit)
665
Karakorum
SHANG SHUNG
TIBETAN
AUTONOMOUS
REGION
Kyunglung
Mt. Kailash
644
719–722
Yarlung Tsangpo River
641
648
779
INDIA
NEPAL
Kathmandu
River Ganges
Bodhgaya
BHUT
Kashgar
Yangi-hissar
Yarkand
Yarkand River
Pamirs
Tashkurgan
Wakhan River
Sarhad
WAKHAN
Baroghil Pass
Darkot Pass
Yasin
Baltit
Gupis
Chitral
Gilgit
BALTISTAN
Chilas
Skardo
Kargil
Indus River
Peshawar
Srinagar
THE PAMIR CAMPAIGN OF
GENERAL GAO XIANZHI IN 747 CE



The Empire of Greater Tibet (*ca.* 670 – 850 CE)

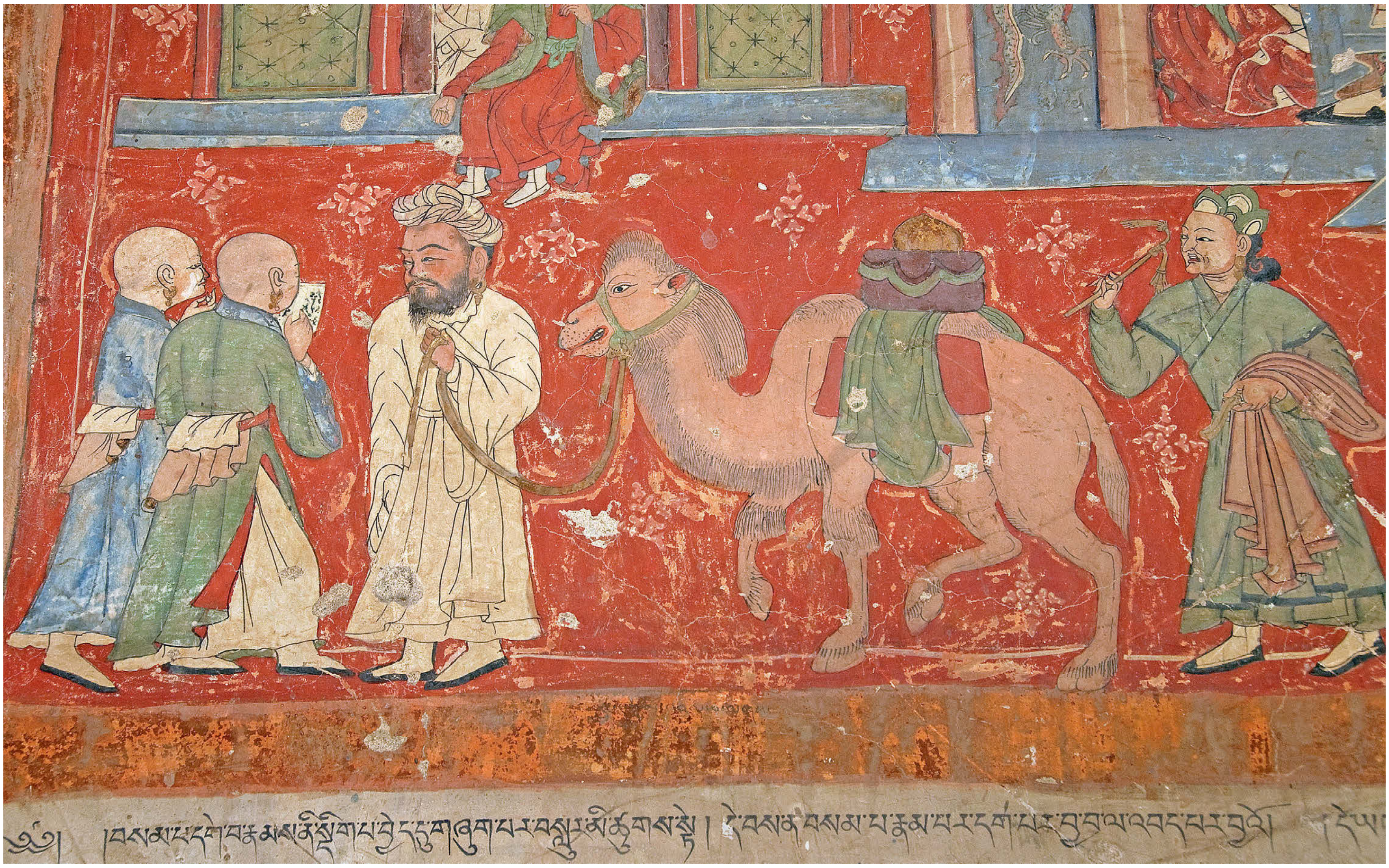
● Cities and towns
Major Tibetan military campaigns
Greater Tibet *ca.* 670–850
Present Tibetan Autonomous Region
N
Scale (km)
0
100
200
300
400
500
Ordu Baliq
Hami
789
816
Dunhuang
ca. 780
INNER MONGOLIA
ORDOS
Zhangye
Wuwei
786/87
Yellow River
766
764
756
781/87–848
Koko Nor
Xining
C H I N A
TUYUHUN
670
QIANG
GANSU
AZHA
Lanzhou
Pingliang
SUMPA
637/38, 663
TSONGKHA
Yushu
758
Chang'an
763
MINYAK
Chengdu
Kangding
Lhasa
YARLUNG
Salween River
756–79
Yangtze River
703
AN
Lijiang
NANZHAO
Brahmaputra River

230. In the Tibetan cultural realm, annual horse races such as the week-long Litang Horse Festival, held at an altitude of 3,900 m, keep alive the old tradition of horsemanship. As can be seen from the leading rider on the grey, monks, too, may take part. Litang Horse Festival 2000, Sichuan, China.

Gar Tongtsen Yülsung (appointed 646/47, died 667/68),[13] who had delivered the Tibetan ultimatum to Emperor Taizong in 640 (fig. 229). He would die in office, and his appointment laid the foundations for the Gar family's half-century of hegemony from 650 to 698. As head of government and supreme military commander, Gar Tongtsen continued Songtsen Gampo's strategy, which aimed at two interlinked goals: if Tibet were to become an empire equal to China, it had first to gain control over sections of the transcontinental trade routes, and secondly it had to take possession of the horse-rearing country in today's Qinghai province. In the years 660 to 663, Gar Tongtsen consolidated Tibet's rule over 'Azha and absorbed the once mighty Tuyuhun Empire into the Tibetan one.[14] At the same time, Tibet attacked China's recently acquired possessions in the Tarim Basin, so as to bring under its control the most important of the westward trade routes. In 660 the Tibetans made a surprise appearance in the Chinese rear when, in alliance with the Köngül Turks, they captured Kashgar and then two years later forced a Chinese army into a humiliating retreat.[15]

On the death of Gar Tongtsen Yülsung, the reins of government were taken over by his son Gar Tsennya Dembu (in office 668–685/86), who sent his brother Gar Thriding Tsandrö to 'Azha. In 670 the Tibetans surprised the Chinese when they defeated a Chinese army near the Koko Nor Lake and captured the fortress of Aksu in the Tarim Basin.[16] China then abandoned all the Four Garrisons, moving the Protector General's residence from Kucha to Kocho. With this, the Chinese lost control of most of the westward trade routes, only the northern route to Semirechie via Beiting remaining in their hands. Tibet, however, exercised direct rule only over Kashgar and Khotan, answerable to Governor Gar Tsennyen Gungston (in office 670–74),[17] contenting itself in the other oasis cities with the collection of taxes – an approach that allowed these petty states to reclaim their independence. So to consolidate Tibet's colonial rule in the Tarim Basin, Gar Tsennya Dembu advanced there himself at the head of a military expedition and brought it under direct Tibetan control.[18] Despite another devastating defeat on the Koko Nor in 678, China did not give up in the west. It still had Beiting and Kocho, from where in 679 a fast-moving expeditionary force under General Pei Xingjian struck out for Semirechie, capturing the Western Turkic tribal leadership and establishing the fortress of Suyab, thereby securing for China at least one major transcontinental trade route and a military bridgehead in Central Asia. Despite this minor success, the political situation remained dangerous for China, as is revealed by the quote from the *Xin Tang Shu* at the head of this chapter. Tibet had conquered most of China's western colonies,[19] was forming an alliance with Western Turkic clans, and had extended its sphere of influence as far as the Ganges. In the east, the Tibetans had not only conquered Qinghai but had penetrated deep into Sichuan, capturing north of Chengdu the great fortress of An Jung, which controlled the direct route between Chengdu and Chang'an.[20]

In the early 690s, two factors favoured China's efforts at reconquest. On the one hand, Tibet's limited population hampered the effective colonisation of its newly conquered territories, and it found it impossible to keep large armies in the field for long without risking mutiny. On the other, the young Tibetan emperor Dusong (r. 676–704) began to shake off the tutelage of prime minister Gar Thriding Tsondrö (in office 685/86–698, d. 699), and he had several leading members of the Gar clan killed, thus weakening the military leadership. In 692 the Chinese generals Wang Xiaozhi and Tang Xiujing speedily recaptured the Four Garrisons and moved the Protector-General's residence back to Kucha.[21] Gar Thriding Tsondrö's attempt to regain the Tarim Basin in the winter of 693/94 was a failure, hastening the end of the Gar ascendancy. Emperor Dusong came to recognise that the Gar were acting as independent warlords, threatening the unity of the empire, and although Gar Thriding won another victory against China north of 'Azha in 696, in 698 Dusong put an end to Gar military rule. Taking advantage of the absence of Gar Thriding, he invited all the other leading members of the clan to join him in a hunt, where he had them killed, and within a year of this Gar Thriding took his own life.[22] This marked the end of Tibet's first attempt to win control of transcontinental trade from China.



231. Between the 7th and the 9th century there were close contacts between Tibetan, Central Asian and Chinese merchants. Painted in the early 14th c. and forming part of the depiction of the tenth jataka in Aryasura's *Jatakamala*, this is a scene from the wall paintings of the ground-floor *khorlam* or circumambulatory of the Serkhang Temple, the main temple at the Buddhist monastery of Shalu in Central Tibet. A product of the Aniko school of painting (1244–1306), which worked for the Mongolian imperial dynasty of the Yuan, it shows clear Central Asian influences.[31]

232. The power base of the Gar clan, which dominated Tibetan politics in the second half of the 7th century, lay in the eastern regions of Amdo and Kham. In the picture, Sertha Golok nomads offer *lungta* papers to a sacrificial fire at dawn. New Year Festival, 2000, at the Bönpo monastery of Nangzhig in Aba (Ngawa), Amdo, in today's Sichuan Province, China.

233. After the 660s, the fortress of Tashkurgan in the little kingdom of Sarikol, which commanded the southern approach to the western Tarim Basin, often found itself at the heart of the conflict between Tibet and China. In 747 General Gao Xianzhi used Tashkurgan as the starting point for his lightning attack on the Tibetans in the Pamirs (in today's northern Pakistan). The ruins visible today are remains of the restoration of 1895. Xinjiang, China.

2. Sassanid Princes Seek Chinese Military Assistance

The early Tang dynasty enjoyed such great prestige in Central Asia that it was to China that the descendants of Iran's toppled Sassanids turned for protection and military assistance. The *Xin Tang Shu* reports that not long after Iran's defeat by the Arabs at Qadisiya, in *ca.* 637, Shah Yazdegerd III sent a delegation to Chang'an, presumably seeking military help. After Yazdegerd's death in 651 his son Peroz (d. after 677) fled to Tocharistan and despatched an embassy to Emperor Gaozong, who refused the military support he was asked for, evoking the great distance from China. With the help of a Turkic ruler of Tocharistan, Peroz was nonetheless able to settle for a while at Sistan in south-west Afghanistan, from where he sent further delegations to China between 661 and 663. From Emperor Gaozong, however, he received no more than symbolic recognition, in the form of the title of *Bosi Dudufu* or 'Persian Governor' in 661, and that of *Bosi Wang* or 'King of Persia' in 662.[23] Driven out by the Arabs around 663, Peroz took refuge in Chang'an sometime between 670 and 674; there in 677 he requested permission of the emperor to build a 'Persian temple'.[24] According to Paul Pelliot and Antonio Forte, this would not have been a Zoroastrian temple, but a second Nestorian monastery.[25]

Two years later, Peroz's son Narses,[26] who lived as a hostage in Chang'an, could take new hope when General Pei Xingjian was ordered to march west with a 'Persian army', supposedly to attack Persia and set Narses on his grandfather Yazdegerd's throne. This declared objective, however, was no more than cover for China to send an expeditionary corps to Semirechie without arousing the suspicion of the Western Turkic commander Ashina Tuze (Chinese: Ashina Fuyan Duzhi), who had an alliance with Tibet. The ruse succeeded, for when General Pei, who had simply requested free passage, reached Suyab, he caught Ashina Tuze off guard and took him prisoner. General Pei then deployed another ruse to eliminate the leadership of the Ten Tribes, sending each of the chiefs a message in

Ashina Tuze's name, summoning them to Suyab without delay. One of the khagan's arrows was sent with each as proof of authenticity. General Pei took all of them prisoner, and sent them to Chang'an together with Ashina Tuze. He then turned Suyab into a strong Chinese fortress. As the general had achieved his objective and the 'Persian army' had been stopped in its tracks, Narses had no option but to proceed to Tocharistan with only his Persian supporters. There he remained until 706, fighting a running battle with the Arabs, before returning to Chang'an in 707.[27]

Sassanid efforts to recapture the Persian throne were doomed to failure, for four reasons. Firstly, the Arabs had managed to speedily establish themselves in the Sassanid heartland of Mesopotamia without too fiercely oppressing the adherents of non-Muslim religions, such as Zoroastrianism and Christianity, and so provoking rebellion. Secondly, the population of what had been the Sassanid Empire was weary of the fighting, yearning only for peace after its costly wars against the Byzantines and the Arabs. Thirdly, Zoroastrianism and its clergy, which had served the Sassanid rulers as a state religion, had lost much of their following among the broader population, which meant that Zoroastrianism could not serve as an ideology of liberation from the Muslim Arabs. And fourthly China, already engaged in a protracted war with Tibet, was neither willing nor able to intervene in Iran, let alone Mesopotamia, in favour of an unpopular regime.

3. The Tibetan–Chinese War in the Pamirs

With the Chinese reconquest of the Western Regions the zone of conflict with Tibet shifted south-west. As Tibet had lost the trade routes through the Tarim Basin, it had to secure alternatives through the Pamirs and Tocharistan; in addition, the Chinese garrisons of Kashgar and Khotan could be conveniently attacked from Sarikol, which was most probably accessible to the Tibetans

234. Advancing to Termez in 704, the Tibetan forces may have followed the Panj River. The picture shows the Afghan south bank of the Panj, south of Khorog, Tajikistan.

235. It was over difficult passes like these that the Tibetan and Chinese forces had to travel as they battled for the Wakhan and Great and Little Bolor. Wakhan, Afghanistan.

even after the losses of 692.[28] China for its part had at all costs to prevent Tibet from extending its supremacy to Baltistan and Great Bolor. For this rugged mountain region in northern Pakistan not only represented the southern gateway to the Four Garrisons, but it also controlled the trade routes to Kashmir and the Indus, offering the Tibetans the opportunity to enter an alliance with the Western Turks or the Arabs. It was therefore inevitable that the next Tibetan–Chinese war would be fought in the Pamir Mountains.

The first, albeit indirect military collaboration between Tibetans and Arabs occurred in 704, when the Tibetans and Western Turks together made an unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Termez on the Oxus, then held by the Arab rebel Musa bin Abdallah bin Khazim. It would eventually be taken later that year by the newly appointed Arab governor.[29] The year 715 saw direct cooperation, when Qutayba conquered Fergana with Tibetan assistance, installing Alutar as its new king. The death of Qutayba, however, allowed the Chinese to drive Alutar out and end Tibetan/Arab control. Two years later, an alliance of Türgesh, Tibetans and Arabs tried to besiege Aksu in the western Tarim Basin, but they were driven away by a Chinese army entirely composed of Turkic mercenaries.[30] Conflict also continued in the south of the Basin, for a Chinese graffito of 719 in Endere notes the death of a Chinese cavalry commander.[31]

At the same time, the situation in the Pamirs was approaching a critical point. Tibetan sources report that by 704 Tibet had conquered Ladakh, on its western border, and Baltistan,[32] and by around 719/20 at the latest these two mountain regions formed part of the Tibetan imperium. Between 720 and 722 the Tibetans launched an attack from there on Great Bolor (Gilgit), which they called Bruzha, driving out its king and then also forcing King Mojinmang of Lesser Bolor (Yasin) to take flight. The Tibetans had invaded the Pamirs only in order to capture the Chinese western colonies in the Tarim Basin, as they explained to King Mojinmang, according to the *Xin Tang Shu*: 'We do not covet your kingdom, we are using its roads to attack the Four Garrisons.'[33] Mojinmang, however, turned to the military governor of Beiting, who put a 4,000-strong army at his disposal. This first captured Sarikol from the Tibetans before crossing the Wakhan and driving them out of Yasin. So it was that Greater Bolor fell within the Tibetan sphere of influence, and Lesser Bolor within the Chinese.[34] Five years later, Tibet made another attempt to recapture China's western colonies. In 727, Tibetan troops occupied the city of Guazhou in Gansu and then advanced further westward to besiege Kucha with their ally, the Türgesh khagan Suluk. This siege was unsuccessful, not least because the Eastern Turkic ruler Bilge Khagan refused to join the alliance. But the Tibetans did succeed in taking the Wakhan between 730 and 733, so that they not only threatened Lesser Bolor from the north-west as well as the east, but were in a position to attack the Four Garrisons from the Wakhan.[35] To relieve Tibetan pressure in the Pamirs, China successfully launched an unexpected attack 2,000 kilometres further east, in Eastern Tibet, in 737,[36] which did not prevent Tibetan forces in the Pamirs from conquering Lesser Bolor between 745 and 747. Now the whole area extending from western Tibet, over Baltistan, Gilgit and Yasin to the Wakhan and the Oxus, was in Tibetan hands. To secure their conquests to the north, the Tibetans built the fortress of Sarhad on the southern bank of the Panj river, at the north-western foot of the 3,798-metre-high Baroghil Pass.[37]

China immediately recognised the danger represented by an Arab-Tibetan alliance, should Tibetan and Arab forces ever meet at Sarhad to advance on Kashgar, Aksu and Kucha. In 747, General Gao Xianzhi was appointed Vice-Protector-General and ordered to ensure that the threatened Arab-Tibetan collaboration never happened. Using the accounts in the *Xin Tang Shu*, it was Chavannes who was the first to reconstruct the course of Gao's campaign, which Aurel Stein would then partly follow on foot.[38] General Gao proceeded with 10,000 men from Kucha to Kashgar and Tashkurgan, where for logistical reasons he divided his army into three columns. These then reunited in mid-August before the Tibetan fortress of Sarhad, which they took by storm. In 1906, Aurel Stein identified the ruins at Kansir as the remains of the Tibetan fortress, noting that the Tibetans had copied the characteristic wind-resistant military architecture of the Chinese.[39] Gao Xianzhi then crossed the Baroghil Pass and the difficult, 4,650-metre-high Darkot Pass and invaded Lesser Bolor, whose king capitulated without a fight. Fearing a Tibetan counter-attack from Great Bolor, Gao then destroyed the suspension bridge over the Ghizer river at Gupis.[40] With this lightning campaign that caught the Tibetans unprepared, General Gao had driven a wedge between the Tibetans and the Arabs, for the Wakhan and Yasin were now under Chinese control again. In 749–50 Gao took advantage of the new situation to advance once more into the Pamirs, where he again defeated a Tibetan army to reach Chitral.[41] With this, China reached the zenith of its power in Central Asia. As Beckwith notes, China exercised direct colonial power over the petty states of Dzungaria and the Tarim Basin, maintained garrisons in the vassal states of the Pamirs, and manipulated the mutually opposing fractions of the Türgesh.[42]

What is remarkable in these Chinese and Tibetan military campaigns is not just the physical endurance of the soldiers in this demanding terrain but also the detailed geographical knowledge and the mastery of logistics displayed. These spectacular campaigns, which saw armies traverse a Darkot Pass covered in snow and ice all year round, still haunted the strategists of British India 1,000 years later, who feared that a Russian army might likewise cross the Pamirs to invade India. Such a feat was indeed theoretically possible, but only without heavy artillery. In the late nineteenth century, however, Russia could have developed a much more practicable route for an invasion of India, from Merv via Serakhs, Herat and Kandahar to the Indus Plain.

Although China's forward strategy received a setback in 751, when General Gao Xianzhi was crushingly defeated by the Arabs at the Battle of Talas, the initiative in Central Asia remained in the hands of the Chinese. In 753, General Feng Chang Qing invaded Greater Bolor, driving the Tibetans from their last major outpost in the Pamirs. Not long before, between 748 and 751, Gao Xianzhi and King Yuchi Sheng of Khotan (r. 746/47–756) had captured from the Tibetans two fortresses south of the Lop Nor, in the north-west of the Tsaidam Basin.[43] Everything suggested that China would be able to recover its earlier supremacy over the eastern part of Central Asia. In the north, the Uyghurs, who traditionally often allied with China, had brought down the Göktürk Empire, in the west the petty states of the Tarim Basin were firmly in China's grip, the Türgesh no longer represented any danger, and the Abbasids were preoccupied with consolidating their power in Sogdiana. In the south, the Pamirs had been cleared of Tibetans and the latters' advance on Sichuan was halted. And what was more, the Tibetan emperor Tride Tsugtsen (Meagtsom) was assassinated in 755. Yet on 16 December 755 General An Lushan, the commander of three garrisons in north-eastern China, rose in rebellion, bringing the seemingly all-powerful Tang dynasty to the brink of collapse and allowing Tibet to take not only the Tarim Basin but also Gansu under its control.

236. Bridge on the 3,798-metre-high Baroghil Pass, leading from Badakhshan in Afghanistan to northern Pakistan. In 747 General Gao defeated a Tibetan army at the Baroghil Pass before advancing on Little Bolor (Yasin).

237. **Braving the biting cold, Wakhani women with a camel fetch water from a frozen river in the Wakhan, Afghanistan. To reach the running water beneath the ice, the women must break a hole with an iron rod.**

3.1 The Turkic-Sogdian Insurrection of An Lushan

Although An Lushan's seven-year-long rebellion took place not in Central Asia but central China and so falls outside the scope of this book, a short sketch will be offered here, as many of those involved were Central Asians – whether Sogdians, Turks, Uyghurs or Arab mercenaries. Given this, the early historians of the Tang dynasty classified the insurrection neither as a civil war nor as a military rebellion, but rather as a struggle between 'barbarians' and Chinese over who would rule China.[44] Furthermore, the war also had far-reaching consequences for eastern Central Asia. What is notable about the conflict is that here it was not foreign people such as the Xianbei, for example, attempting to conquer China from without, but rather Central Asians living inside China endeavouring to seize power and establishing a counter-dynasty. The conditions for the rebellion were laid down by Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–55, 'retired emperor' 755–62) himself when he gave command of the armies stationed in the north-east to Turkic and turkicised Sogdians. These foreign generals built up their own power bases, appointing officers from among their own clans and recruiting mercenary soldiers from among their own people.[45] As these Sogdian and Turkic generals commanded armies that were loyal to them it was easy for them to emerge as independent warlords.

The most powerful of these Turkic-Sogdian generals was An Lushan (703–57), whose mother was a Turkic noblewoman of the Ashide clan, his father a Sogdian from the Hexi Corridor.[46] An Lushan grew up in Mongolia until 716, when with other Sogdians he took refuge in China upon the violent seizure of power by Kül Tegin and Bilge Khagan. In his career as a successful military

238. **Erected in 764 by order of King Trisong Detsen (r. 756–*ca.* 797), the *shöl* stele below the Potala Palace in Lhasa, Central Tibet, honours his minister Nanlam, who was instrumental in the conquest of Chang'an in 763.**

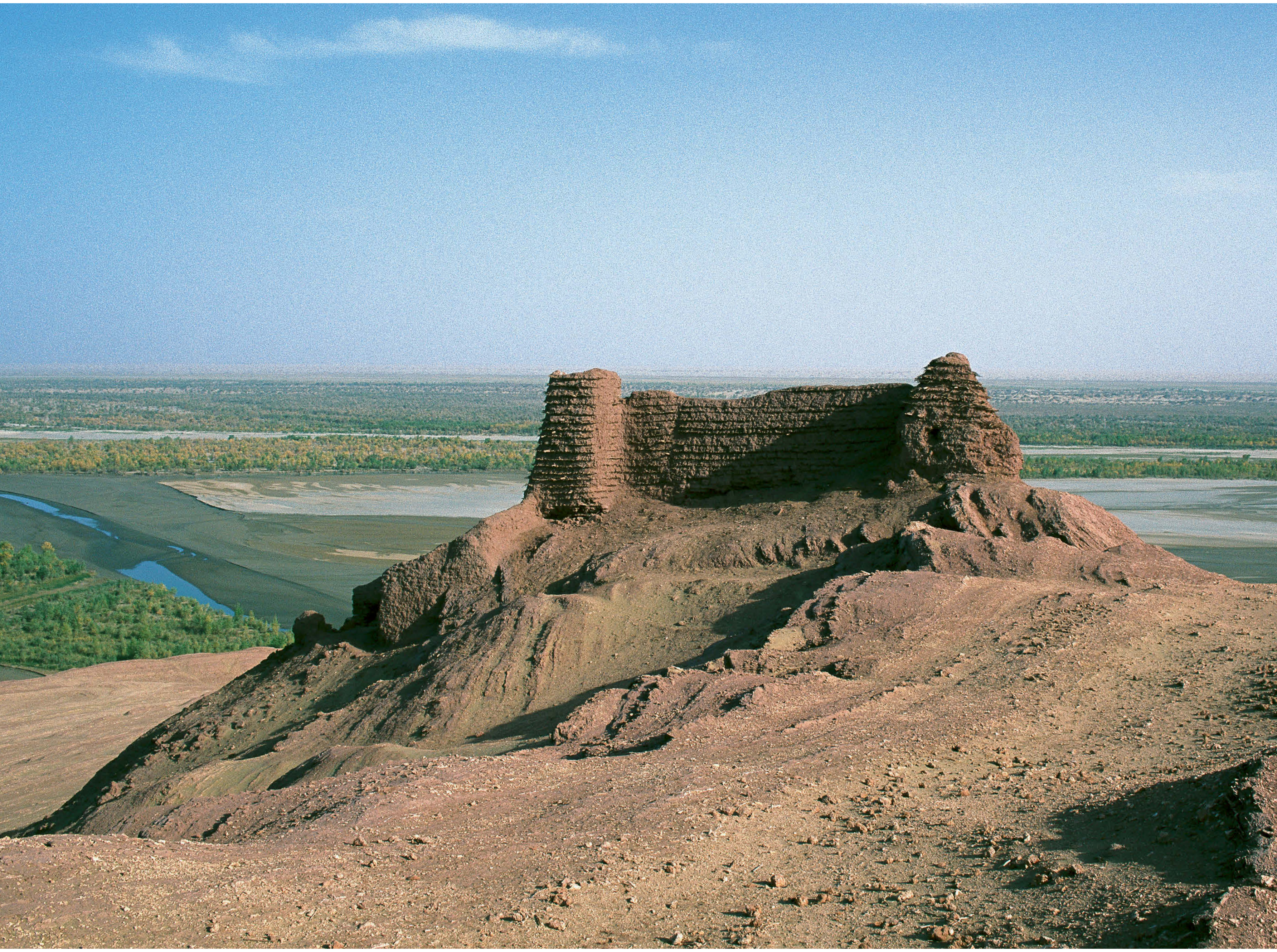
officer, he managed through bribery to gain access to the imperial court, where he won the favour not only of the ageing emperor but also of his concubine Yang Guifei (719–56), who even adopted him as her son. This gave An Lushan unimpeded access to his adoptive mother, who exercised an ever-growing influence on government business, and wielded it to protect her new 'son'.[47] Thanks to her intercession, in 751 An Lushan was awarded the overall command of the three border armies in north-eastern China, based at Hedong (Taiyuan in Shanxi), Fanyang (Beijing) and Pinglu (Chaoyang in Liaoning). This put An Lushan at the head of 184,000 men, 150,000 of them 'barbarians' personally loyal to him, representing nearly 40 per cent of China's entire military forces.[48] He then set about making systematic preparations, accumulating substantial reserves of weapons, horses and grain.

On 16 December 755, An Lushan rallied his 150,000 barbarian troops and set out to conquer China. He defeated the imperial generals Gao Xianzhi and Feng Chang Qing, who had been sent against him, crossed the frozen Yellow River, and on 18 January 756 he captured the Eastern capital Luoyang, where he declared himself emperor of the new Great Yan dynasty. After a series of battles with heavy casualties on both sides, on 18 July the rebels took the western capital Chang'an, from where the emperor had taken flight for Sichuan a week earlier – his bodyguard forcing him en route to have his hated concubine killed. With the two capitals and the best troops in China under his control, it seemed as if the Sogdian-Turkic An Lushan with his non-Chinese army would have no problem in establishing his power over the whole country, or at the very least over its northern parts. This rebellion by An Lushan's Turkic-Sogdian professional army recalls the seizures of power by Turkic and Caucasian soldier-slaves (mamelukes) in northern India (13th c.) and Egypt (13th and 18th c). The crown prince, however, took refuge in the north-western province of Gansu, compelled his father's abdication, and declared himself Emperor Suzong (r. 756–62). He immediately pulled back the Chinese troops stationed in the Western Regions and the Pamirs in order to launch a counter-attack. Lacking battle-hardened forces, especially cavalry, he internationalised the war. He requested military assistance from the Uyghur khagan Bayanchur (r. 747–59), who sent him a cavalry formation under the command of the Uyghur crown prince Yehu, that soon swung the military balance in favour of the Tang. In addition, the Abbasids sent a mercenary army and the king of Khotan contributed a strong cavalry unit.[49] Now Central Asian peoples were engaged on both sides of the battle in China with Turks and Sogdians making up the army of the Great Yan dynasty, while Uyghurs, Khotanese and Arabs supported the Tang. And while this was going on, the Tibetans took advantage of the Chinese withdrawal from the Western Regions to regain the territorial power they had lost.

At the head of the rebel camp, a process of self-destruction started to set in. In January 757, An Lushan's second-eldest son An Qingxu killed his father, who had been showing increasing signs of paranoia. Towards the end of the same year, An Qingxu lost both capitals to Emperor Suzong and his allies, and in February 759 he was himself killed by one of his Turco-Sogdian generals, Shi Siming, who declared himself the third emperor of the Yan dynasty, choosing both a Chinese and a Sogdian regnal name,[50] laying a claim to be emperor not only of China but also of the Sogdians.[51] Though Shi Siming succeeded in retaking Luoyang, in 761 he was strangled by his son Shi Chaoyi, who in turn declared himself emperor but was not recognised by many Yan generals. He would take his own life in spring 763, after Luoyang was lost once again.[52] For in 762 Emperor Daizong (r. 762–79) embarked on the recapture of the eastern capital Luoyang, having asked Muyu Khagan of the Uyghurs (r. 759–79) for military assistance again. Towards the end of 762 the Uyghurs captured that unfortunate city for the second time and cruelly put it to the sack, prompting the collapse of the Great Yan dynasty in the spring of 763. In Luoyang, some 10,000 people fled before the 'liberators' to the monastery of Beima Si. The Uyghurs then put the monastery to the torch, burning them alive. So great was the ensuing poverty, it is said, that in the winter people had to dress in scrolls sewn together.[53] There was also a systematic persecution of the Sogdians, which forced them to adopt Chinese names or to go into hiding. The conclusion of the war, however, is to be understood less as the Tang dynasty's victory over a rebel army than as the triumph of the Uyghur equestrian warriors over an enfeebled China and its rebellious Turco-Sogdian mercenary army.

The Tang dynasty paid a very high price for its political survival. It remained dependent on Uyghur military assistance and was increasingly indebted to Uyghur lenders. In addition, the dynasty lost not only its colonies in the Tarim Basin but also control over the transcontinental trade routes. It also lost control over the north-east of the country. The wealthy, silk-producing provinces of Shandong and Hebei were ruled by local dynasties and autonomous warlords who no longer paid taxes to the central government. The 'Three Garrisons of Heshuo' in Hebei, in particular, which were ruled by former generals under An Lushan and Shi Siming and had become a refuge for many former rebels, would remain independent and hostile to central authority into the ninth century.[54] There thus emerged within China enclaves governed by turkicised Sogdians, more than 4,000 kilometres from Sogdiana itself. No more than an insignificant episode, however, was the Tibetan occupation of the capital Chang'an in 763, which installed a new, pro-Tibetan puppet-emperor. As the *Old Tibetan Annals* for Trisong Detsen (r. 756–*ca*. 797) record: 'At that time [763] China did not wish to pay the Tibetan tribute and give lands . . .' so Tibetan generals 'led an army against Kengshi [Chang'an]. The Chinese King [Daizong] fled and the Tibetans appointed a new Chinese king [Li Chenghong, r. 18–30 November 763], and then the Tibetan troops returned to Tibet.'[55] Only two weeks later, General Guo Ziyi (697–781) drove the Tibetans out of the capital, and in 765 he repelled another Tibetan invasion with the help of Uyghur forces.[56] More successful were Tibet's advances towards Sichuan in 756 and 779 after making an alliance with the kingdom of Nanzhao (today's province of Yunnan in southern China).[57]

239. **The eastern walls of the city of Kocho in the Turfan Oasis, Xinjiang, China. Tibetans and Uyghurs engaged in a fierce struggle over Kocho between the late 8th c. and 856.**

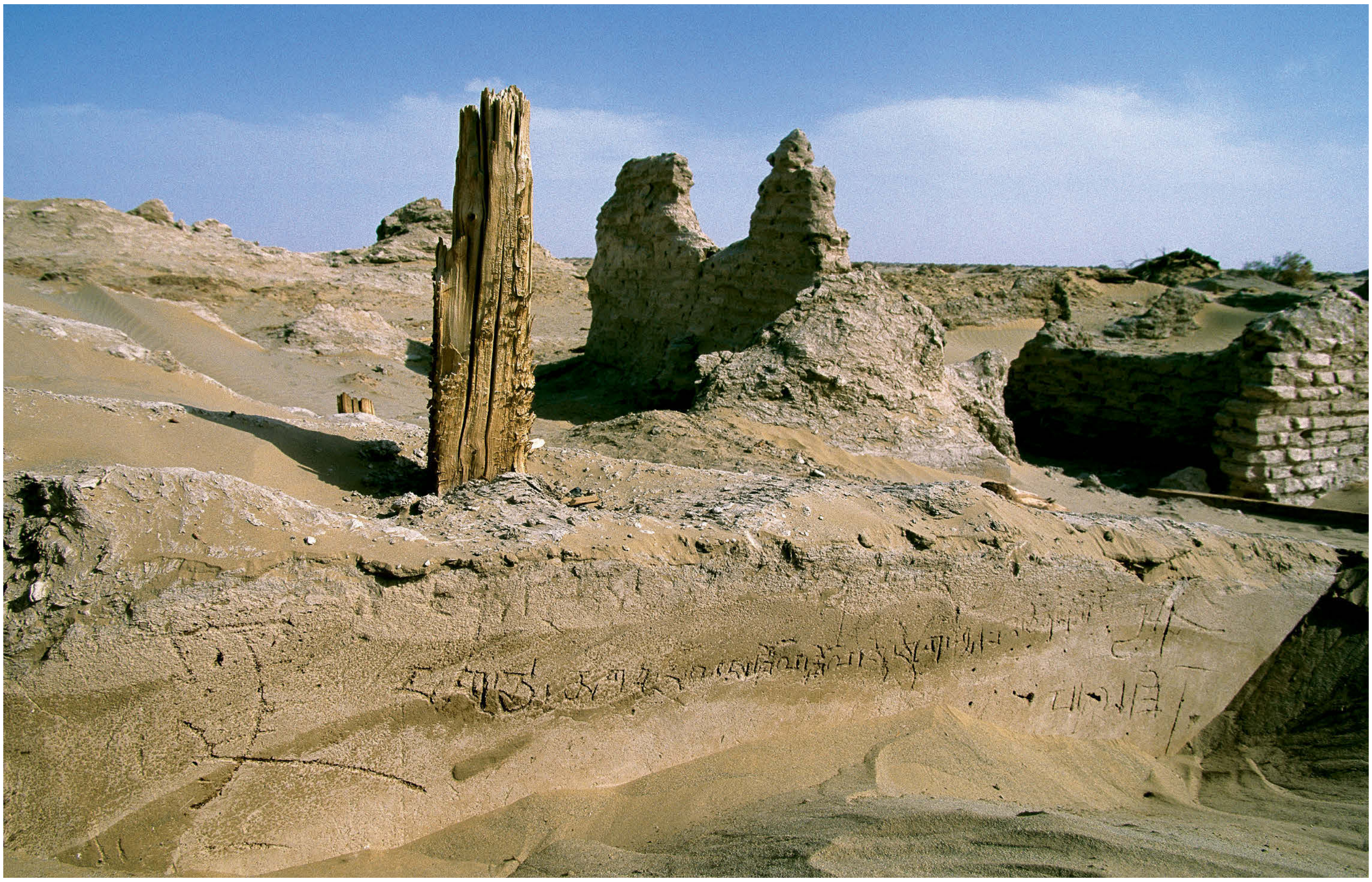


240. The fortress of Mazar Tagh, captured by the Tibetans not long after 795 and much extended, with the bed of the Khotan River in the background. Xinjiang, China.

4. East Turkestan and the Pamirs under Tibetan Suzerainty

4.1 The Tibetan Reconquest

Tibet quickly re-established its influence in the Pamirs, and more particularly in the Wakhan, a Tibetan vassal from 758 to around 815/16, while Gilgit, Yasin and Shughnan (southern Tajikistan) also recognised Tibet's suzerainty at one time or another.[58] This provided Tibet with an excellent starting point for attacks on the now defenceless Four Garrisons, and at the same time served as a bulwark against the Muslim Abbasids. The start of the ninth century saw the beginning of a long war against the latter, which culminated in 808–09 in Tibetan military support for Rafi bin Layth's rebellion in Samarkand.[59] The Tibetans were joined in their struggle by the ruler of Kabul and by the Karluks. The situation was so threatening to the Abbasids that Caliph Harun ar-Rashid (r. 786–809) himself set out for Khorasan and Sogdiana, though he died on the way. In accordance with his wishes, his son al-Amin (r. 809–13) succeeded to the Caliphate while the new caliph's elder brother al-Mamun (r. 813–33) became viceroy in the east, with his seat at Merv. Al-Mamun crushed the rebellion, defeated and succeeded his brother, who had made war on him, and around 813/14 or 814/15 ordered his vizier al-Fadl ibn Sahl (d. 818) to undertake a punitive expedition against the former allies of the rebel Rafi bin Layth. Al-Fadl first conquered Kabul, whose king sent to the caliph, as a sign of his subjection to him, the golden statue of a man, probably a statue of Buddha Shakyamuni or Maitreya.[60] Al-Fadl then advanced to Kashmir, and drove the Tibetans out of the Wakhan, sending the captured Tibetan commander to Baghdad as trophy. According to Tibetan chronicles, however, the Tibetans were back in Gilgit by around 820, remaining there until the break-up of their empire after 842.[61] In combination with the reconquest of the Four Garrisons and Gansu, this westward extension of the Tibetan sphere of influence from the late 750s onward meant



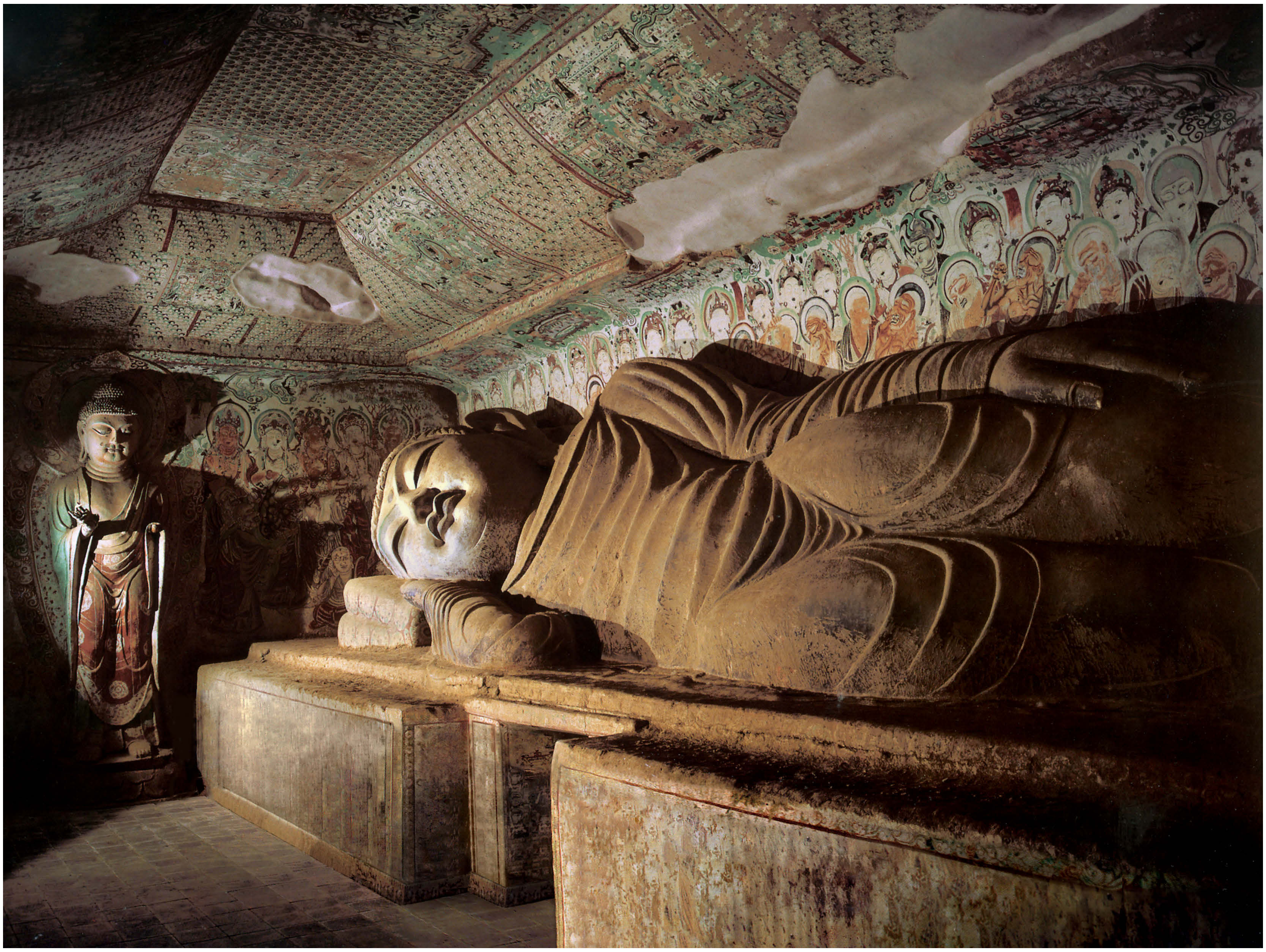
241. This Tibetan grafitto at the commandant's palace inside the fortress of Endere celebrates a Tibetan victory sometime after 756: 'At Phygpag, province of Upper Jomlom, this [Chinese] army was outwitted, and a tiger's meal was obtained [i.e. many were killed]. Eat until you are fat.'[32] Xinjiang, China.

that Tibet controlled the established trade routes between China and northern India and the Abbasid Empire. Only the Uyghurs were in a position to challenge the quasi-monopoly position enjoyed by the Tibetans.

In Gansu and the Tarim Basin, the Tibetans gradually drove the Chinese out of their colonies. Around 756/57 they forced the Tuyuhun elite, which was exiled in Gansu, to flee to the Ordos[62] and conquered Liangzhou (Wuwei) in 764, Ganzhou (Zhangye) and Suzhou (Jiuquan) in 766, Guazhou (Anxi) in 776, Qumul (Hami) before 781, Souchang (60 kilometres south of Dunhuang) in 781 and finally, around 786/87 Shazhou (Dunhuang), which would remain in Tibetan hands until 848.[63] With these conquests Tibet interrupted direct communications between China and the few isolated Chinese garrisons remaining in the Tarim Basin; the only way of reaching them now was through Uyghur territory from Beiting. From the desert steppe of Tsaidam the Tibetans also advanced to the Southern Silk Road, building a strong fortress and a military settlement at Miran around 756,[64] before capturing the fortress of Endere further to the west.[65] The winter of 783/84 saw a brief reorganisation of alliances between China, Tibet and the Uyghurs. When the Chinese general Zhu Ci rose in rebellion towards the end of 783, taking the capital Chang'an and declaring himself first emperor of the new Qin dynasty, the Uyghurs took the side of the rebels against the Tang. In his adversity, Emperor Dezong (r. 779– 805) asked Tibet for military assistance, undertaking in exchange to cede to the Tibetans the two Western Region garrisons of Kucha and Beiting. Yet after a Tibetan army under Chinese command had defeated Zhu Ci's forces in early summer 784, China refused to hand over Kucha and Beiting as promised.[66]

242. The central Buddha statue in the Kachu temple was created in the late 730s under the direction of Khotanese monks, after they had been invited to Tibet by Kim Sheng, queen of the Tibetan king Tride Tsugtsen.

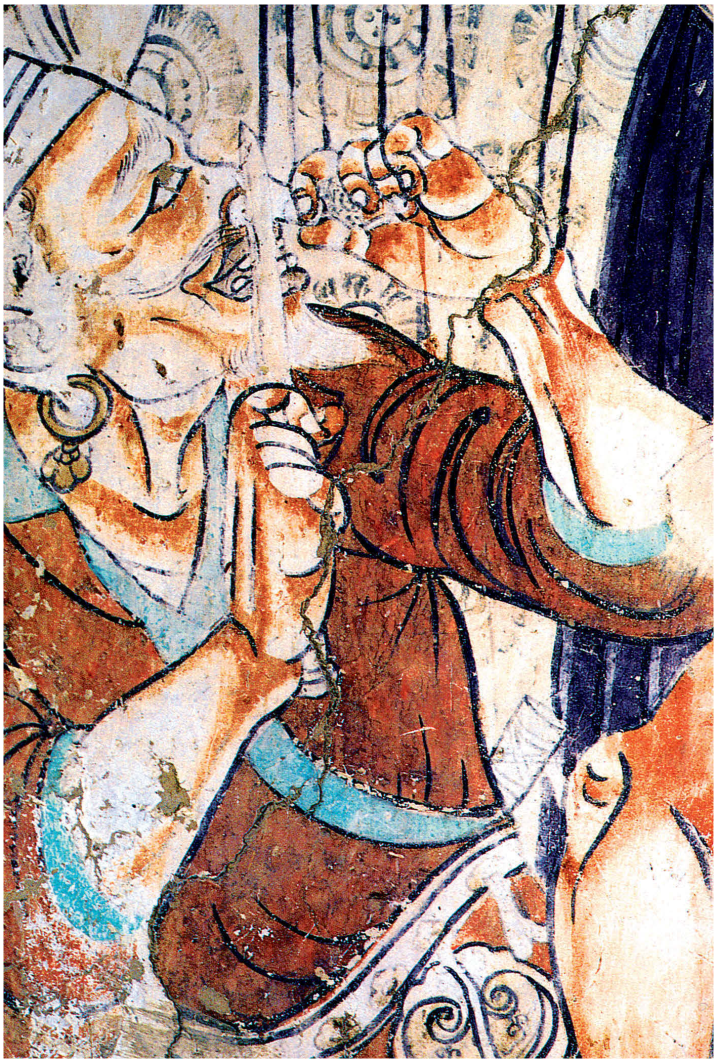
Tibet's reaction to this breach of agreement was fast. In 786 Tibetan forces advanced into today's Ningxia province and the Ordos, where they briefly occupied the city of Xiazhou. China was now threatened by encirclement on the landward side by Tibet, which had platforms from which to launch attacks in the south, west and north, and it was in response to this danger that the Chinese minister Li Mi developed the strategy of a 'Grand Alliance': 'I would like His Majesty [Emperor Dezong] to make peace with the Uyghurs in the north, come to terms with Nanzhao in the south, and unite with the Arabs and Hindustan in the west. In this way the Tibetans would themselves be in trouble, and horses would be easy [for us] to obtain.'[67] This strategy proved successful, embroiling Tibet and the Uyghurs in a long-lasting war of attrition that eventually led to the Sino-Tibetan peace of 821/22. The Tibetans began in 789 with a siege of Beiting, which still housed the headquarters of a Chinese protector-general. The following year they took the fortified city, having defeated two Uyghur armies sent to its relief; in 791 they captured Gaochang; and in 795, most probably, the now completely isolated garrison of Kucha. In late 791 or in 792, however, Uyghur forces inflicted a defeat on the Tibetans at Beiting, and there began a war of attrition lasting several years between Uyghurs and Tibetans in the region between Beiting and Gaochang.[68] The Uyghurs certainly held Gaochang in 803.[69] From Kucha, the Tibetans followed the Khotan Darya upstream, captured the little fortress of Mazar Tagh,[70] which they strengthened substantially, and then conquered Khotan around 798 or 802.[71]



243. **The 15.6-metre-long clay figure of the sleeping Buddha Shakyamuni in Cave 158 at Mogao, Gansu, China, Tibetan Period (786/87–848). On the left, standing by Shakyamuni's head, is Prabhutaratna, one of the Buddhas of the past, while at his feet sits the Buddha of the future, Maitreya (not shown); together they represent the 'Buddhas of the Three Ages' (Chinese: *sanshi fo*). Among the mourners is the Tibetan emperor Tritsu Detsen (Ralpachen, r. 815–38).**[33]

It was at this time that the last inhabitants left the city of Dandan Oilik, which the Tibetans had been raiding since at least 768.[72] Kashgar may also have fallen into Tibetan hands by then.[73]

The renewed alliance between the Uyghurs and the Tang dynasty was of great advantage to the latter, for the Uyghurs maintained the pressure on Tibet. In 808 they penetrated into the region of Etzin Gol and briefly occupied the strategically important city of Liangzhou (Wuwei). But the Tibetans continued their encirclement of China and built a bridge over the Yellow River north-east of Lanzhou, making it possible for them to threaten Chang'an from the north as well. In 816 Tibetan forces carried the battle deep into Uyghur territory; they negotiated the Gobi Desert and got to within two days' march of the Uyghur capital of Ordu Baliq (Karabalgasun) in the heart of Mongolia. As the Tibetan commander-in-chief Shang Qixiner (in Chinese transcription) later reported, he was planning the destruction of the city when he heard of the death of Tibetan emperor Tride Songtsen (Sanalek, r. 799– 815) and so turned back. Tibet was at the height of its power, with the capitals of both its enemies within striking distance of its forces.[74] Tibet's capital, on the other hand, was quite beyond the reach of those enemies, since it was very far from either the Sino-Tibetan or the Uyghur-Tibetan border. Yet the Uyghurs were capable of striking back, and in 821 an Uyghur army even turned up in Ustrushana (in the north of today's Tajikistan). However, when that same year the Uyghurs' northern neighbours, the Kyrgyz, stepped up their military



244. A man cuts the tip of his nose as a sign of grief in accordance with Uyghur and Göktürk funerary custom. Detail from Cave 158 at Mogao, Gansu, China, Tibetan Period (786/87–848).

operations against them, and war-weariness came to prevail in Tibet, the time for peace negotiations had come. Tibet and China concluded a comprehensive peace, ratified in Chang'an in 821 and in Lhasa in 822. The bilingual stone stele that stands in front of the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa declares that 'Both Tibet and China shall keep the country and frontiers of which they are now in possession. The whole region to the east of that being the country of Great China and the whole region to the west being assuredly the country of Great Tibet.'[75] The treaty recognised both states as equals and set the seal on the status quo; that is, Tibet's possession of its conquests in the Tarim Basin, Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan. The peace lasted 20 years, until the collapse of Tibet. In 822, Tibet also made peace with the Uyghurs and the kingdom of Nanzhao.[76]

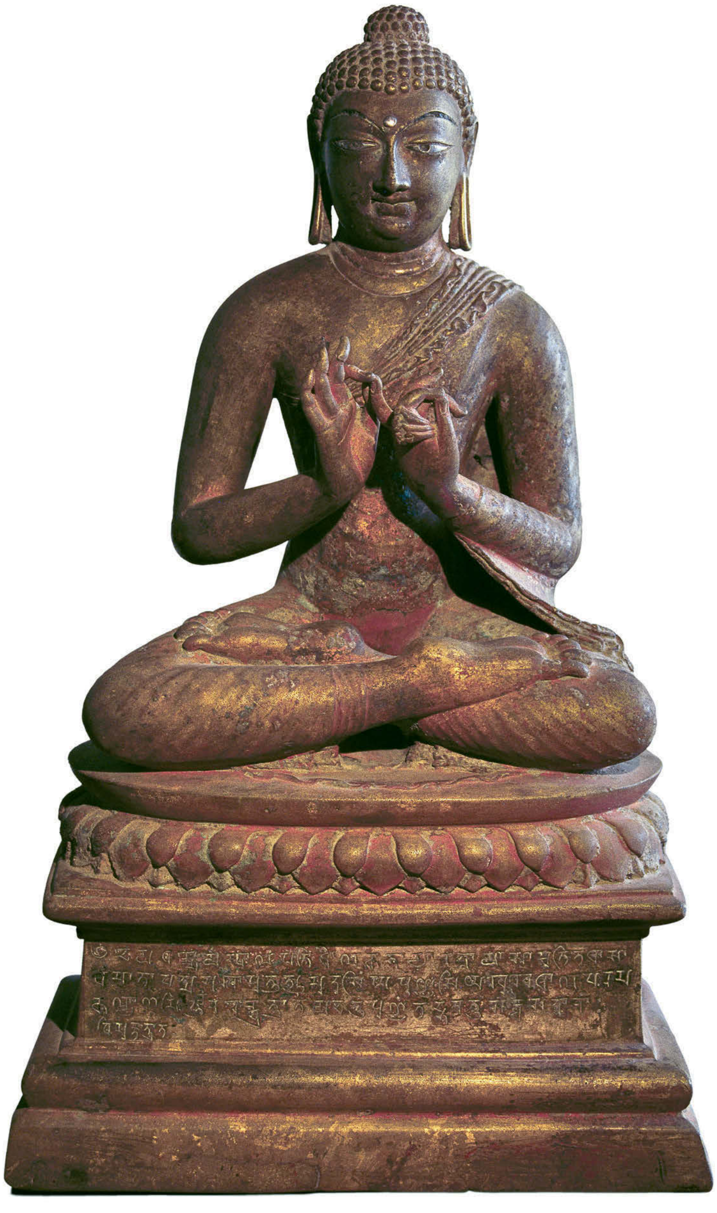
4.2 Central Asian Influence on Tibetan Culture

As Tibet in the first half of the seventh century was part of the transcontinental trade network, it is no surprise that valuable art objects should have been introduced there from Central Asia, and from Sogdiana in particular. Among these, for example, are silver and gold wine cups and the great silver jug in the Jokhang Temple,[77] as well as polychrome court garments with post-Sassanid medallions enclosing dual animals facing each other. Some of the 'post-Sassanid' silk dating from the seventh to ninth centuries excavated at the east Tibetan necropolis of Dulan and its environs was manufactured for the Tibetan market in Sogdiana, probably in Bukhara, some in the Tarim Basin, where the two great silk-producing centres of Khotan and Kucha were situated, and some at an imperial workshop in Sichuan.[78]

Somewhat more long-lasting was the Central Asian influence in terms of Buddhism and its art. It was in the time of Songtsen Gampo, and perhaps even a century earlier, that Tibet came into contact with the Buddha's teaching, when Buddhist missionaries came from China and Nepal, countries actively engaged by Songtsen Gampo's foreign policy.[79] A further impulse was given to Buddhism in Tibet when upon his accession the Khotanese king Vijaya Sihya (r. *ca*. 737–746/47) expelled the Buddhist monks from his kingdom, and they sought refuge at the court of the Tibetan emperor Tride Tsugtsen (Meagtsom, r. 712–55). It was Meagtsom's Chinese wife Kim Sheng Congjo, a devout Buddhist herself who had already invited Buddhist monks from China to the Land of Snows, who took in the Buddhist monks from Khotan and built the temple of Kachu (fig. 242) in central Tibet for them around 737 to 739.[80] These events were decisive for the dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet, says the Tibetologist Roberto Vitali: 'The possibility that the Khotanese monks were instrumental to the presence of Buddhism in Tibet and to the founding of temples finds final and decisive confirmation in the most reliable source available to us.'[81] This public promotion of Buddhism by the Chinese princess Kim Sheng, who also had further temples constructed, angered the country's army leadership and powerful families, followers of Tibet's native religion, Bön. They and the Bön clergy were irked by the spread of this foreign religion, which enjoyed the support of pro-Chinese circles. In 739 Kim Sheng died, probably poisoned, and Meagtsom was forced to expel the Khotanese monks, who fled to the Buddhist-friendly ruler of Kabul.

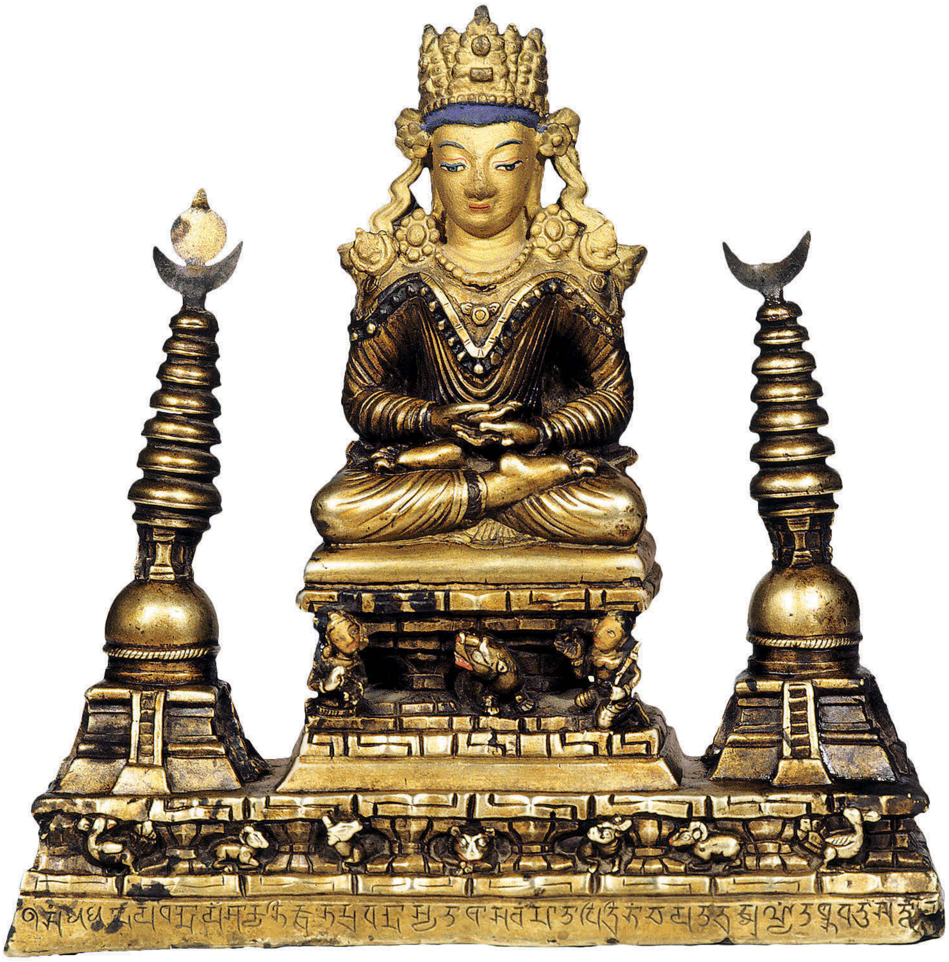
The temple of Kachu and its sculpture still exist, despite the anti-Buddhist edicts of 755 and 840 and the Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1966–76. The central six-metre-high statue of Buddha Shakyamuni in particular shows strong Khotanese influence: 'The Kachu Buddha is an example of the balance between Indian and

Chinese modes of expression achieved by the Khotanese idiom. [. . .] The art of post-Gupta India and that of Tang China found in Khotan a fresh and innovative meeting point. The Kachu Buddha combines post-Gupta spiritual aesthetics with the solemnity of certain Tang models.'[82] Although the facial features are somewhat degraded by a thick layer of applied gold, this is not only one of the oldest Buddhist clay statues to have been produced in central Tibet but also the only surviving monumental sculpture in the eighth-century Khotanese style. The two muscular guardian divinities in the temple show evident affinities with the sculpture of Dunhuang, while the eight somewhat stiff and solemn bodhisattvas that flank the Buddha Shakyamuni show parallels with temple banners from Dunhuang in the period of Tibetan occupation (787–848), the style having its roots in Indo-Nepali art.[83] Another important Central Asian contribution to the culture of Tibet may perhaps be found in the Tibetan script. While it is undisputed that this derives from the Indic Brahmi script, its precise geographical origin is uncertain. Though Tibetan tradition ascribes its introduction to Songtsen Gampo's minister Thonmi Sambhota, who is said to have spent time in Kashmir, it now seems more likely to have come from the Tarim Basin.[84]



245. Bronze figure of Buddha Shakyamuni with traces of gilt, late 7th to 8th c. The Sanskrit inscription in proto-Sharada script on the front of the pedestal indicates that the statue was donated by the wife and relatives of a General Dholaka, who bore the Iranian title of *spalapati*.[34] The statue was discovered around 1990 in Damagou, east of Khotan, Xinjiang, but its unambiguously Kashmiri character, together with the inscription, places it among the so-called Gilgit bronzes of the local Palola Shahi Dynasty (late 6th–mid-8th c.). Photo from 1994, Regional Museum, Khotan, Xinjiang, China.

Outside the Tibetan heartland, the period during which Dunhuang formed part of Greater Tibet saw masterpieces of Buddhist wall-painting created in the Mogao Caves. Although these were produced by artists from the local school of painting, they display specific characteristics which can be clearly traced back to the Tibetans who commissioned them. One such feature is the emphasis on the narrative character of the sutras represented: key episodes were depicted in separate panels that divided up the wall surface, giving the story contained in the sutra a stage-by-stage visual representation. A second innovation is the emphasis given to the figures of the donors, the Tibetan emperor in particular. In Cave 159 for example, painted not long after 824, the east wall shows the famous scene in which the wise layman Vimalakirti debates doctrine with Manjushri, bodhisattva of wisdom. Bodhisattvas, heavenly kings, monks and laymen, the Chinese emperor among the latter, all listen in, but the place of honour among the auditors is taken by Tibetan emperor Tritsu Detsen (Ralpachen, r. 815–38), who stands in front of all the rest, alone on a platform.[85] In Cave 158, too, with its 15.6-metre-long clay statue of the sleeping Buddha Shakyamuni, the Tibetan emperor is given a prominent place among the grieving laity (figs. 243f). A remarkable feature in the representation of the mourners is the depiction of the Göktürk and Uyghur funerary custom of self-laceration, and even of a suicide.[86] Donors continued to be accorded prominence at Mogao even after the expulsion of the Tibetans, as can be seen in the depiction of the triumphal parade of General Zhang Yichao in Cave 156 (fig. 247). That the emperor of Tibet should figure as a donor in Dunhuang is not so surprising considering that Emperor Trisong Detsen had done everything he could to promote Buddhism in the face of the resistance of the Bön clergy and nobility. In 791 he formally committed



246. Crowned seated Buddha between the stupas of Prabhutaratna and Shakyamuni (?), Palola (Patola) Shahi of the Gilgit Valley, northern Pakistan, dated 'year 55' = 679/80 CE. Cast brass figure with face and crown painted in cold gold. 'On the same rock-shaped stand are two Stupa reliquaries with square pedestals and stair cases on all four sides. The domes (*anda*) are surmounted by seven umbrellas (*chattra*) topped by "sun in the crescent moon" emblems. The sun emblem of the stupa on the proper left is broken off. The shape of the two Stupas appears to follow an architectural type based on the Kanishka-Stupa built by the Kusana ruler Kanishka I in Purusapura (modern Shah-ji-ki Dheri near Peshawar). Around the lower edge of the pedestal is a single-line dedicatory Sanskrit inscription in *Proto-Śarada* script: "In the year 55. This is the pious gift of the Sakya monk Bhadradharma together with his parents. Whatever merit is [created] should be for beings to reach the highest knowledge"'.[35]

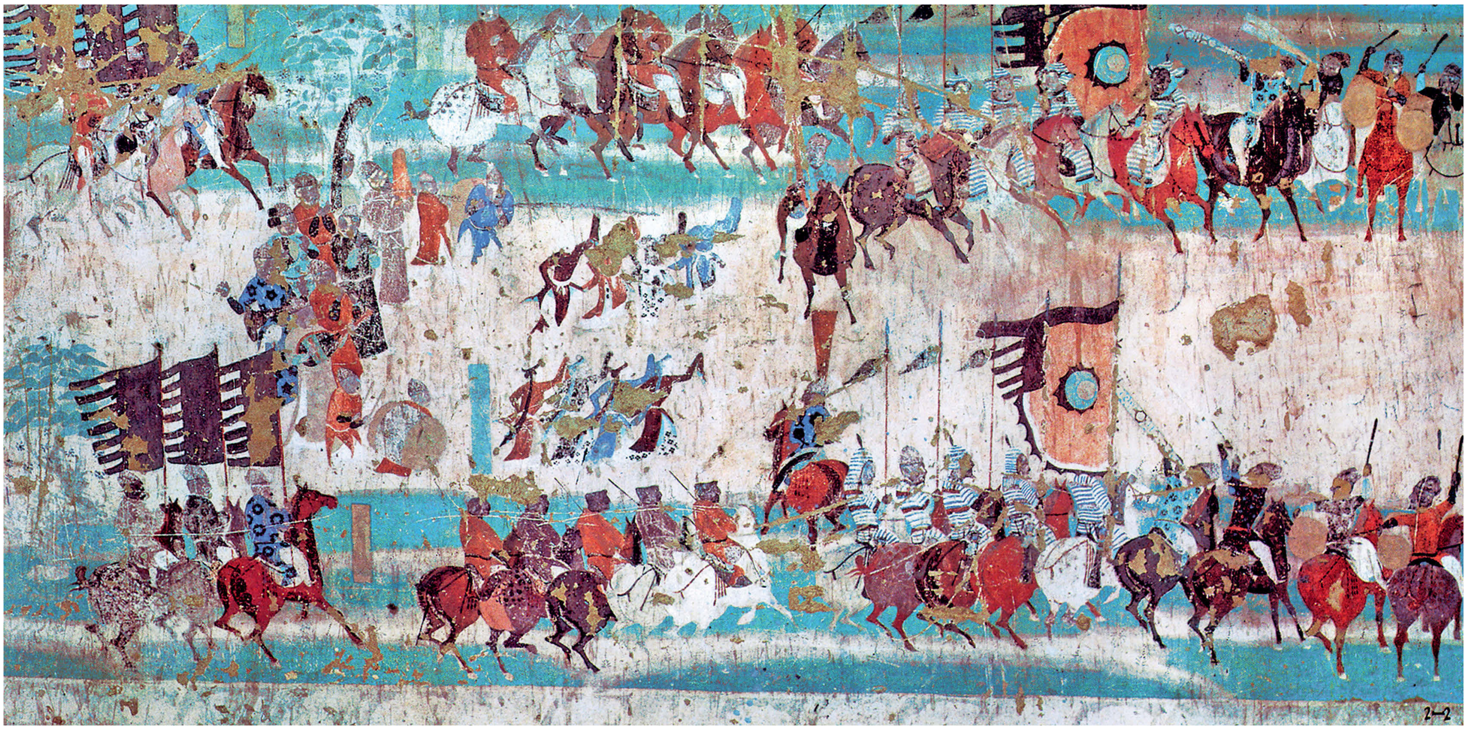
himself and his successors to support the Buddhist religion and had his oath inscribed on a stone stele that still stands today at the entrance to the Samye monastery, founded in 779: 'May the shrines of the Three Jewels established in the temples of Ra-sa [Lhasa] and Brag-mar [Kachu] and this practice of the religion of the Buddha never be abandoned or destroyed. [. . .] From now onwards each generation of the *btsan-po* [emperor], fathers and sons, shall make a vow in this way. And [. . .] the supramundane gods, the gods of the world, and the spirits are all invoked as witnesses.'[87] Noteworthy here is that the non-Buddhist gods and spirits of Bön are called to witness the edict in favour of Buddhism. In the years 792–94, it is said, a disputation was arranged between an exponent of Indian Buddhism by the name of Kamalasila and a representative of Chinese Chan (Zen) Buddhism called Heshang Moheyan, from Dunhuang, at whose conclusion the king declared for the Indians.[88]

More difficult is the question of the origins and authorship of those Buddhist metal sculptures which are preserved in Tibet, for the often gilded, early Buddhist works of this kind could either have been brought into the country as booty[89] or as devotional objects, or produced in Tibet itself, whether by domestic or foreign artists. Possible Central Asian sources for bronze figures of the sixth/seventh to ninth centuries in Tibet could be the region of Gilgit and the kingdom of Khotan, which itself imported such sculptures from Gilgit, Gandhara and Swat. A special case are the more than 20 Buddhist bronze figures from the Gilgit region, most of which bear dedicatory inscriptions. With the help of the Buddhist birch-bark manuscripts accidentally discovered at Gilgit in 1931, most of these bronzes can be assigned to rulers of the local Palola[90] Shahi dynasty, which ruled from the late sixth to the mid-eighth centuries. Given that these rulers appear as donors of sutras, stone inscriptions and metal sculptures, they may be said to have presented themselves as true protectors of the Buddhist legacy and its teachings.[91] These bronzes, all of exceptionally high quality, seem to represent 'a bridge between the art of Gandhara, of which only a few bronzes survive, and the gradually emerging bronze-casting of Tibet'.[92] The Tibetologist Ulrich von Schröder assumes that Tibetan artists were themselves producing Buddhist metal sculpture in brass, bronze, copper and silver from the seventh and eighth centuries onwards, 20 examples of which he has identified in Tibet. Of those, eight are attributed to Central Tibet and 12 to Zhang Zhung in present western Tibet.[93] In terms of style, metal sculptures produced in Tibet find their models in Nepal, North India, Kashmir, Swat and Gilgit, while iconographically they represent idiosyncratic hybrids between domestic deities and Buddhist conceptions.

4.3 Tibetan Withdrawal from Central Asia

The forcible promotion of Buddhism and its monks by emperors Trisong Detsen and Ralpachen at the expense of old noble families and native adherents of Bön provoked a split in the Tibetan ruling elite that led to the collapse of the empire. The discontent of the anti-Buddhist factions was prompted not only by the preferential treatment of Buddhism and the marginalisation of Bön, but also by the creeping takeover of power by the Buddhist monastic elite, from whom prime ministers under Ralpachen were sometimes drawn. The noble-dominated state seemed to be slowly turning into a theocracy. This led to the murder of Ralpachen in 838 and his replacement by his brother Langdarma (r. 838–841/42). Two years later, the collapse of the Uyghur Empire destabilised Tibet's northern border, as tens of thousands of Uyghurs fleeing the victorious Kyrgyz crossed into the northern regions of the empire. According to Buddhist tradition, Langdarma pursued an anti-Buddhist policy, which supposedly led to his being shot with bow and arrow by a Buddhist monk in 841 or 842. Immediately after Langdarma's death, civil war broke out between two clans struggling for power and the central government collapsed. In today's provinces of Gansu and Xinjiang two of Langdarma's former generals fought each other: Shang Kongruo, who had declared himself as the new king of Tibet, and Shang Beibei, who supported one of the two clans.[94] While the defeated Shang Beibei withdrew around 849, Shang Kongruo pushed forward into the eastern Tian Shan mountains, driving out the recently arrived Uyghurs from some areas; he captured and plundered Hami and Gaochang, among other places. In 866 he was taken prisoner by Shang Beibei's former deputy, the Tibetan Tuopa Huai Guang, who had had him executed and sent his head to Chang'an.[95]

After the Tibetan self-destruction in the north, it was easy for local potentates, Uyghur confederations and the Tang to drive out the remaining Tibetans for good. The kingdom of Khotan, which had retained its administrative structure under the Tibetans, regained its independence around 851[96] and by 920 at the latest had entered the first of many alliances by marriage with the rulers of



247. Triumphal parade of General Zhang Yichao with heavy cavalry, light horsemen and mounted standard-bearers, musicians on foot and on horseback, and dancers. Wall painting in Cave 156 at Mogao, in honour of General Zhang Yichao, who drove the Tibetans out of Dunhuang in 848. The cave was donated in 865 by the general's nephew Zhang Huaishen.[36] Gansu, China.

Dunhuang.[97] The abandonment of Miran around 860 ended the Tibetan presence on the Southern Silk Road. While Kashgar had earlier fallen into the Karluk sphere of influence, Uyghurs expelled the Tibetans from Kucha around 856.[98] In Dunhuang, the Han Chinese Zhang Yichao drove the Tibetans out in 848, appointing himself acting prefect, and in 851 he was able to inform the Chinese emperor Xuanzong (r. 846–59) that he had gained control not only of Dunhuang but of Gaochang, Hami and the Hexi Corridor. To legitimate his rule, he asked to be recognised as a Chinese vassal, and his wish was granted. In 866, the Uyghur leader Pugu Jun captured the city of Gaochang, which would soon after be chosen as the capital of the kingdom of the Turfan Uyghurs.[99]

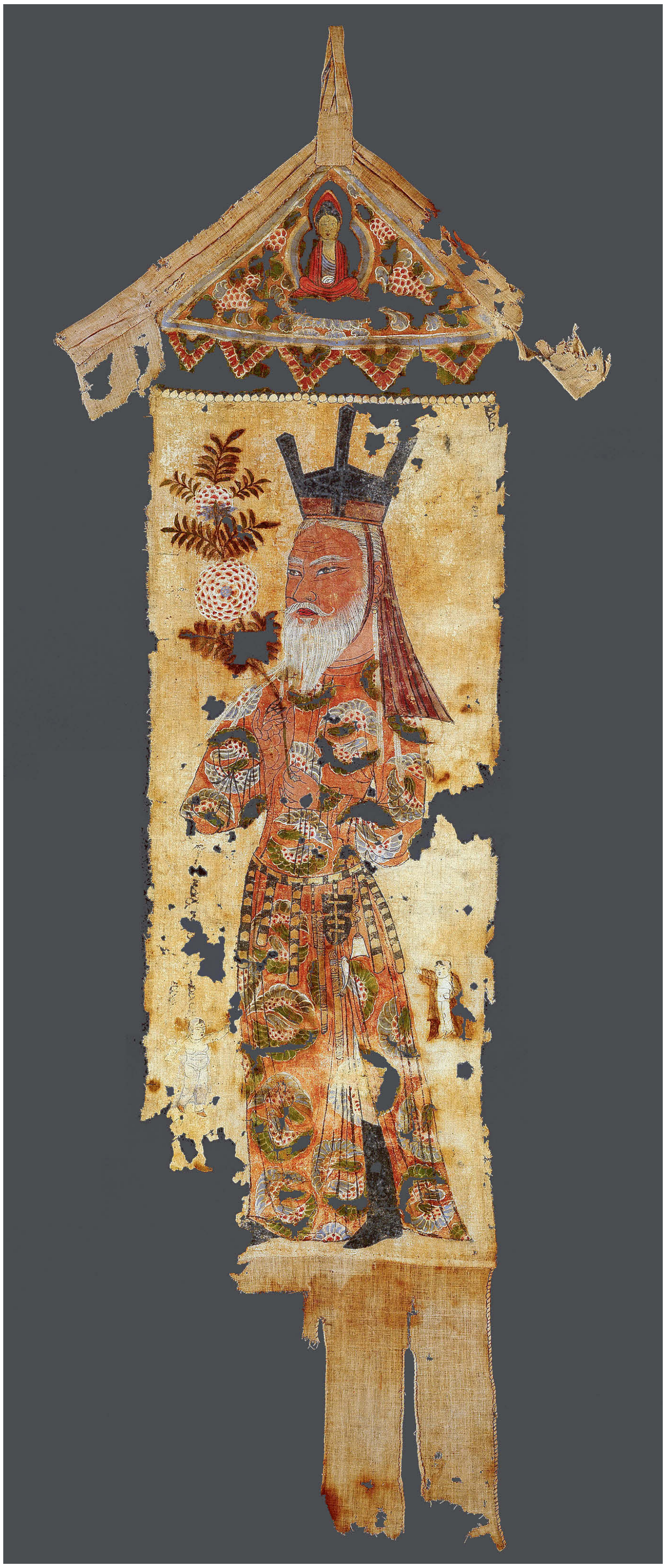
With this, Tibet's part in the history of Central Asia came to an end. It remained no more than an episode, leaving behind it hardly any trace, except in Dunhuang and in the fortresses built in the Tarim Basin. The reason for Tibet's limited influence on east Central Asia was not only its relatively brief presence, but also its small population. The country was in no position to settle large groups of families in the conquered territories, maintaining only garrisons and small military colonies. In this they were unlike the Uyghurs, who after 840 made a new homeland for themselves in east Central Asia, and developed a distinctive culture. And there lies the irony of this more than a century-long three-cornered struggle for control over east Central Asia. The Abbasid caliphate sought only to consolidate its power in Sogdiana and Tocharistan, but was nevertheless unable to prevent political fracture in the East and was forced to recognise the de facto sovereignty of the Samanids as a regional power. The Tibetan Empire collapsed, while China lost all its Western Regions and the Tang dynasty was unable to halt its own decline. The final winners in this conflict, able to take advantage of the resulting power vacuum, were the Samanid dynasty and the Uyghur and Karluk peoples.

X

The Uyghurs

The great king, he who has received from the sky the gift of charisma, the heroic, majestic, glorious, wise Uyghur khagan, the son of Mani.

Self-description of TÄNGRIDÄ KHAGAN (BÖGÜ) after he had converted to Manichaeism in 763.[1]



248. Temple flag with the portrait of an Uyghur prince holding a peony. The Uyghur inscription reads: 'For the soul of my father Qara Totoq'.[37] Painting on ramie, height 144.5 cm, Kocho, Xinjiang, China, 10th c., Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

The medieval history of the Turkic-speaking Uyghurs can be divided into three phases. In the initial phase they were allies of China and fought against the Göktürks, who were related to them, while in their second, imperial phase they dominated the north-east of Central Asia and rose to be military protectors of the Chinese Tang dynasty. In the third phase the Uyghurs formed smaller states in Gansu and in the north of the Tarim Basin; the cultural achievements of one of them, the kingdom of Kocho, influenced other Central Asian cultures long after its demise.

1. The Early Period

The ancestors of the Uyghurs, who belonged to the tribal confederation of the Tiele and lived on the banks of the Selenge River, first gained their independence when, under the leadership of **Ay Uzhru** (r. *ca.* 487–508), they left the confederation of the Rouran, and went south-westward.[2] It was in the seventh century that the Uyghurs themselves, who belonged to the Turkic tribal confederation of the *Toquz Oghuz*, the 'Nine Tribes', entered history. They called themselves *On Uyghur*, 'Ten Uyghur Tribes', being divided into ten clans who were led by the Yaghlaqar clan.[3] In terms of power and prestige, the position of the Yaghlaqar, who dominated the Uyghur tribal confederation until 795, was comparable to that of the Ashina within the Göktürks, but the two leading clans, who were not related, were hostile to each other. Around 627/28 the Uyghurs, under their ruler **Pusa** (r. *ca.* 627–before 646),[4] formed an alliance with the Xueyantuo and the Bayegu against the Göktürk Khagan Xieli, whose armies they defeated. In 629 the rebel alliance made a pact with the Khitan and with Emperor Taizong, under whose leadership the First Khaganate of the Göktürks was brought down.[5] In the following decades the Uyghurs acted as loyal brothers in arms of the Tang emperors. In 646 the Uyghur-Chinese alliance destroyed the rising power of the Xueyantuo, after which the Uyghurs, who had returned to the province of Selenge, under **Khagan Qutlugh Tumitu** (r. before 646–648), annexed the tribal territory of the Xueyantuo.[6] Soon after this, the Uyghur-Chinese alliance defeated the Western Turkic Khaganate,[7] but the Uyghurs under **Khagan Borun** (r. 648–*ca.* 661/63) were not yet strong enough to become the leading power in eastern Central Asia. For when they faced the strengthened Göktürks under Ashina Qutlugh and Tonyukuk they could not count on China's help, since the Chinese leadership was weakened by the intrigues of Empress Wu, and they were forced into submission. Their rebellion of 717–19 also failed.[8]

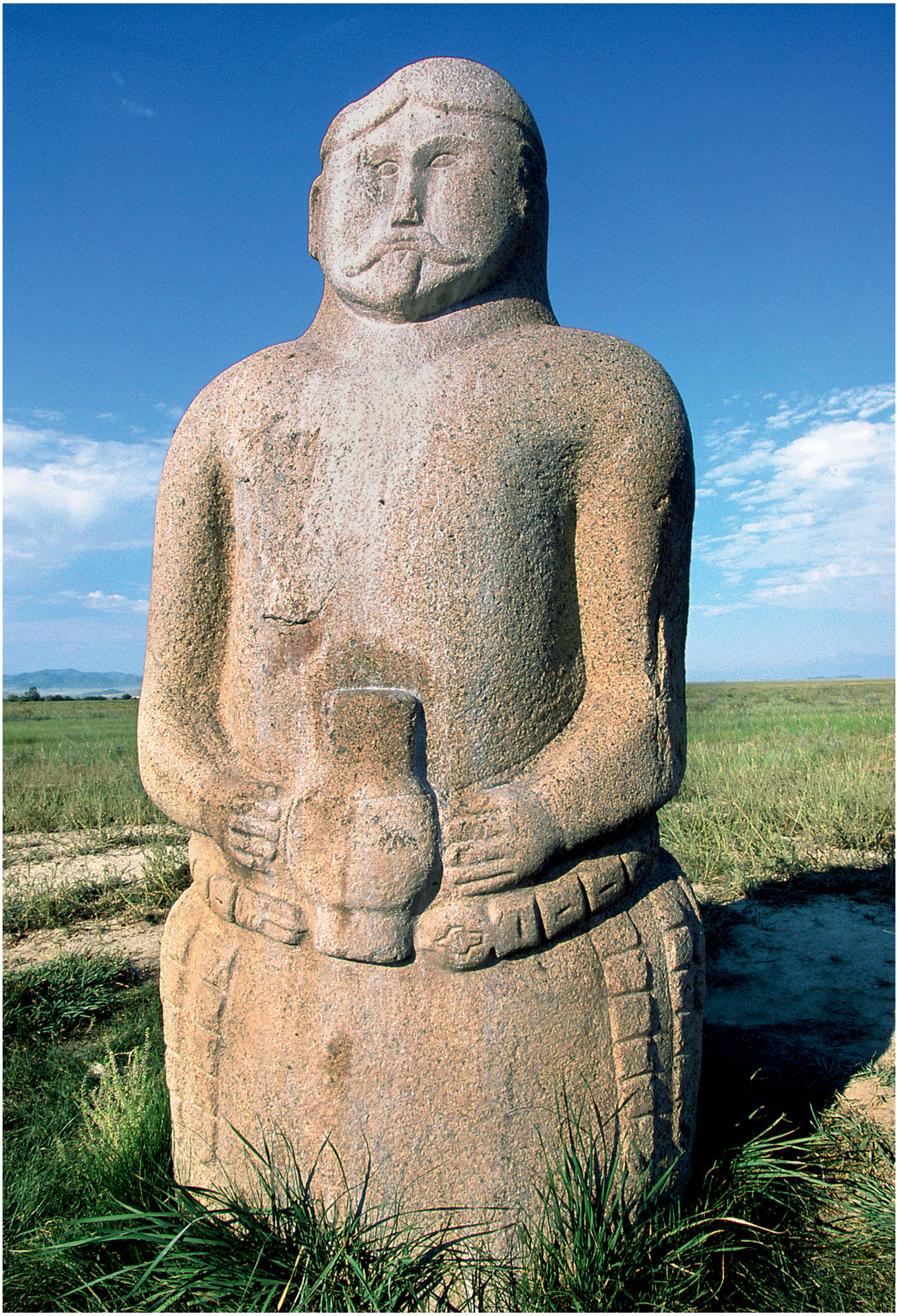
It was only after the death of Bilge Khagan in 734, when the leading elite of the Second Göktürk Khaganate was divided by intrigues and internal power struggles, that an alliance of Uyghurs, Basmils and Karluks succeeded in 742 in toppling the Ashina clan for good. But the empire of the Basmils, which was created as a result, was destroyed two years later by their main subordinates, the Uyghurs and Karluks. Their alliance of convenience was also short-lived, for the founder of the Uyghur Empire, Qutlugh Boyla from the Yaghlaqar clan, who reigned under the name **Qutlugh Bilge Kül Khagan** (r. 744–47), expelled the Karluks westward in 745.[9]

2. The Uyghur Empire

On the face of it, it might seem that the Uyghur Empire (744–840) simply represented the shift in political power from the Ashina clan to the Yaghlaqar clan, and was really nothing other than a 'Third Turkic Empire'.[10] But this is certainly not the case: although the Uyghurs spoke a Turkic dialect and used a runic script, they differed from the Göktürks in a number of important aspects. Instead of extorting tribute from China through raids, they turned China into their protectorate, which they skilfully exploited through trade conducted under their own terms that they forced upon China, as well as through financial credit. In addition to this, they built cities and mighty fortresses, and they adopted Manichaeism as their state religion.

The founder of the empire was succeeded by his son **Bayanchur** (Chinese: Moyanchuo), who adopted the title **Tängridä Bulmish El Etmish Bilge Khagan** ('Wise Khagan, builder of the empire', r. 747–59). Bayanchur and his son and successor **Bögü**, who ruled under the name **Tängridä Qut Bulmish El Tutmish Alp Külügh Bilge Khagan**, also called **Muyu Khagan** (r. 759–79), mapped out the political and cultural development of their empire. They laid the foundations for its economic growth and prosperity by destroying an army of their mortal enemy, the Kyrgyz, in 758,[11] and in 756/57, 762, 763 and 765 by intervening in the Chinese civil war of the An Lushan Rebellion on the side of the Tang dynasty, which they saved from collapse.[12] Since in the following decades China depended on their military support in its fight against Tibet, the Uyghurs succeeded in making China their de facto protectorate. They forced the Chinese to agree to trade contracts which

249. South side of the fortified palace of Ordu Baliq (Karabalgasun), Övörkhangai Aimag, Mongolia. Ordu Baliq was the capital of the Uyghur Empire from *ca.* 760 to 840. At the right is a quite well preserved stupa.



250. Stone figure from the Uyghur period near Kizil Mashalik, Tuva, Russia. The man holds the vessel with both hands, and his belt has several straps hanging down from both sides. 8th/9th c. Since birds use the statue's head as look-out, whitish guano has formed on its face and chest.

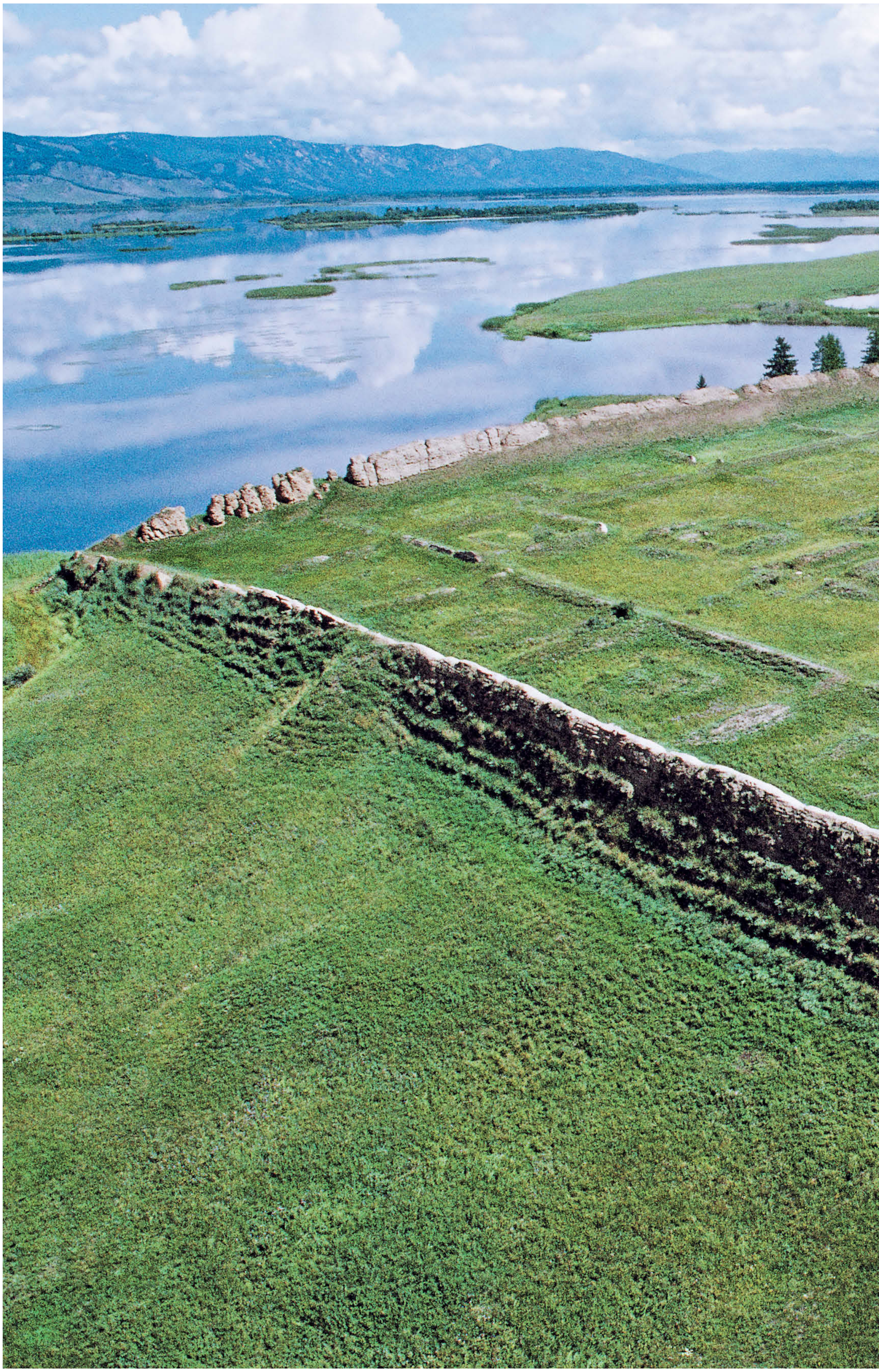
were very advantageous for the Uyghurs: China had to buy tens of thousands of second-rate horses every year at an inflated price, initially 40 bales of silk per horse, and from the early ninth century as much as 50 bales. The *Xin Tang Shu* recorded 'Every year they [the Uyghur officials] sought to sell tens of thousands of horses and the messengers followed one upon the other staying in the [Palace] of Diplomatic Reception. The horses were inferior, weak and unsuitable.'[13] China was also obliged to offer free hospitality and gifts to the Uyghur horse merchants, who acted like official diplomats. Thus China had to receive over 100 embassies, many of which included more than 1,000 members, until the collapse of the Uyghur empire.[14] The silk bales were exported to the west by Sogdian and Uyghur merchants, who purchased other luxury goods with the proceeds. Sogdian lenders acting on behalf of the Uyghurs also succeeded in controlling a part of the flows of Chinese capital, which the Chinese called *Huihu Jian*, 'Uyghur money'. As Moriyasu remarks, 'Sogdian money' would have been the more appropriate term.[15] Finally, Sogdian and Uyghur traders and lenders also enjoyed important trade privileges within China and even legal extraterritorial protection,[16] through which they remained out of the reach of Chinese law, similar to the Western and Japanese concessions within China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In contrast with the Second Göktürk Khaganate and their influential adviser Tonyukuk, who attached great importance to the preservation of the traditional values of a nomadic equestrian society, the two Uyghur khagans Bayanchur and Bögü supported the construction of at least two walled cities and numerous fortresses. As the inscription of Shine Usu from 759 or 760 records, Sogdian and Chinese architects built two cities in northern central Mongolia, Ordu Baliq and Bay Baliq.[17] Bay Baliq lies on the Selenge River, and Ordu Baliq, the capital of the Uyghur Empire, whose name means 'city (Baliq) of the royal camp (Ordu)', *ca.* 225 kilometres further south on the western bank of the Orkhon River. The two mudbrick settlement complexes are the oldest reliably dated cities from the Turkic-Uyghur period of Mongolia, for the dating of Khukh Ordung, the walled complex which lies south of Ordu Baliq, to the mid-seventh century was made according to a single 14C radiocarbon dating analysis and therefore, with no excavation so far, remains hypothetical.[18] While it is still unclear how far Bay Baliq, which consists of three ruined complexes,[19] fulfilled other functions apart from those of a princely residence and two fortifications, Ordu Baliq, which is today called Karabalgasun, 'black city', is a city of huge dimensions. The surface area of the settlement, 30 kilometres north-west of the Mongolian capital Karakorum, measured *ca.* 32 square kilometres, and the city consisted of several quarters and open spaces which might have served for erecting *ger* (yurts). It was the result of central planning and probably functioned not only as residence for the ruler and seat of government but also as a trade centre and for the storage of tribute and weapons. Traces of irrigation systems point towards extensive agriculture. In the northern sector of the city, which was first thoroughly explored by W. Radloff and D.A. Klementz in the 1890s, stood the walled palace of the khagan. Its mudbrick walls, still seven metres high today, formed a rectangular enclosure of approximately 420 x 340 metres. A moat surrounded the defensive walls, and along each of the two long sides stood eight stupas.[20]

In the south-eastern corner of the palace, the 12-metre-high platform of the citadel rose up, on which stood the golden tent of the khagan, which was described by the traveller Tamim ibn Bahr in 821. 'From [a distance of] five farsakhs [*ca.* 28 km] before he [Tamim] arrived in the town [of the khaqan] he caught sight of a tent belonging to the king, [made] of gold. [It stands] on the flat top of his castle and can hold 100 men.'[21] Within the palace complex stood a 13-metre-high stupa and a Manichaean temple with murals from the late eighth or early ninth century. Some 300 metres south-west of the palace a second Manichaean temple stood in the 'house of the nation' (Uyghur: 'il äbi'), a walled complex which was a temple, palace or central administrative complex. The architecture of its Chinese roof construction was based on Sogdian models.[22] Tamin mentions that the majority of the city's inhabitants were Manichaeans.[23] Near the 'house of the nation' stood the famous trilingual stele of Karabalgasun (fig. 190), which celebrates the military successes of Khagan Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Bilge Khagan (r. 808–821) and his predecessors in Old Turkic, Sogdian and Chinese and reports how Khagan Bögü converted to Manichaeism in 763.[24] Ordu Baliq was destroyed in 840 by the Yenisei Kyrgyz. Not far from the city, archaeologists have been excavating several Uyghur tombs since 2005. Their vaulted entrances and the grave dome were constructed with fired bricks.[25]

Another centre of important building activity was in the north-west of the Uyghur Empire where it bordered on the territory of the enemy Yenisei Kyrgyz. In Tuva, in the region of Shagonar, the Uyghurs commissioned architects, who were probably Chinese, to build 17 fortresses with square or rectangular plans, of which 14 have been rediscovered. Unfortunately most of these are today flooded by the Sayano-Shushenskoe Dam.[26] They formed a chain of fortresses against the Kyrgyz, not only offering protection to military garrisons but probably also serving as trade centres. The only one of these little researched complexes which has been explored archaeologically – between 2007 and 2008 – is the

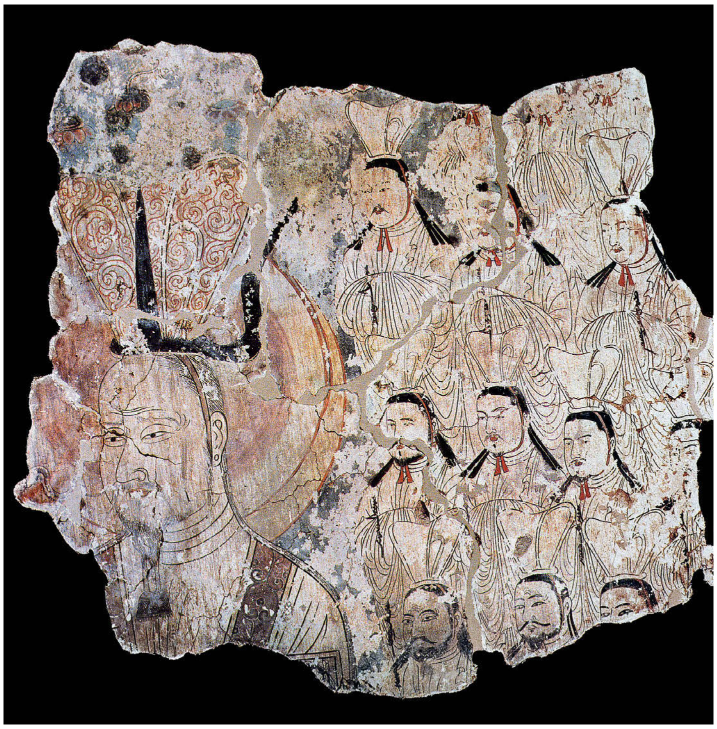
251. Aerial view of the Uyghur fortress of Por-Bajin on the Tere Khol Lake, Tuva, Russia. The fortress, built between 770 and 790, may have served as summer palace; the symmetrical arrangement of the buildings around the central structures can be clearly seen.



spectacular fortress of Por-Bajin (fig. 251), which stands on an island in the Tere-Khol Lake. The rectangular fortress measuring 215 x 162 metres had a 12-metre-high rampart wall, which in some places is still preserved to a height of nine metres. The fortress was built using the typically Chinese *hang-tu* technique, in which thick layers of pounded clay were reinforced with interspersed tree branches and posts rammed vertically into the ground. This gave the compounds good resistance to high winds and earthquakes. Inside the fortress the arrangement of the buildings and courtyards, built along the east–west axis, also followed a typically Chinese symmetrical construction plan.[27] Rather like the Forbidden City in Beijing, which was built much later, the grand entrance gateway led into two interior courtyards, separated from each other by a gated wall. After this a stairway led to the main complex, which consisted of a two-part central structure and two flanking pavilions. This central complex was surrounded on three sides by strictly symmetrical smaller courtyards and buildings. The Chinese character of the complex was completed by Chinese roof constructions and Chinese roof tiles with typical ridge-end tiles decorated with symmetrical patterns or apotropaic masks.

The precise function of the fortress, which was erected between 770 and 790, remains mysterious even after the excavations. The defensive character of the complex is obvious from the strong ramparts, but almost no weapons and few everyday objects, which would have suggested a garrison, were found. Since there was no evidence of traces of a heating system,[28] Por-Bajin might have been a summer palace.[29] The complex was abandoned after only a few years and was heavily damaged by two later earthquakes.

Khagan Bögü (Muyu) made his third important decision when he converted to Manichaeism in 763. In 762 the khagan was staying in the city of Luoyang, which had been ruthlessly plundered by his troops, and there he encountered Manichaean priests. In the following year he invited Manichaean missionaries to Ordu Baliq, became a convert and compelled his followers to adopt the new religion, thus making Manichaeism a state religion for the first and only time, albeit on a limited scale. Manichaeism enjoyed this status from 763 to 779 and from 795 to 840 in the Uyghur Empire, and later in the Uyghur kingdom of Kocho from *ca*. 866 to *ca*. 1008.[30] In this respect the Uyghur Empire on the Orkhon marks an exception in the tradition of Central Asian steppe empires, for neither the Xiongnu nor the Rouran, the two Göktürk khaganates or the Mongolian empire of Genghis Khan knew state religions. To enforce Manichaeism, Bögü, who called himself 'Emanation of Mani' after the founder of the religion, ordered that people should be divided in groups of ten, and each group should appoint a religious leader, who would be responsible for teaching and for the observance of the religious rules.[31] The khagan thus applied the concept of the decimal organisation of the people to a permanent campaign of indoctrination of a kind that was repeatedly employed by totalitarian states in modern times.



252. Part of a fragment of a Manichaean wall painting from the Complex K of Kocho, Xinjiang, China, 9th/10th c. On the left a high-ranking Manichaean 'Elect', maybe Mani himself, is represented, on the right further male and female Elect. Lost in World War II.

At first sight the choice of the distinctly pacifist Manichaeism by the ruler of one of the most bellicose peoples of his time may seem bizarre. For Manichaeism, which saw matter as the source of all evil, demanded that believers forego procreation, abstain from eating meat and drinking wine and do no physical work. Such prescriptions contradicted the way of life of horse nomads, for whom it was vital to keep up the numbers of their rather small population, and who for climatic reasons needed animal proteins. We can only speculate about Bögü's motives: the choice of a universal religion probably did not only serve to legitimise his power over his heterogeneous tribal confederation as a ruler sanctioned by the founder of that religion, but also demonstrated his supremacy in relation to the Sogdians and Chinese, who played an extremely important role in the administration, the finance system and trade of the Uyghur empire. We can also assume that the khagan, similarly to the Jewish elite of the Khazars, did not want to adopt a religion of the enemy, which ruled out Chinese

Buddhism or Islam. What spoke against Christianity was that it had a relatively low rate of acceptance in Sogdiana; Manichaeism, on the other hand, was relatively well established there, and for Manichaean Sogdians the empire of the Uyghurs was an attractive alternative to their islamicised homeland. Perhaps the ascetic, even life-denying spirit of Manichaeism spoke to Bögü's soldier nature, since good warriors are not attached to life and do not fear death. Finally, as 'emanation of Mani', Bögü could position himself far above all other khans of the Uyghur tribal confederation and did not have to content himself with the role of a *primus inter pares* like, for example, the khagans of the Göktürks.

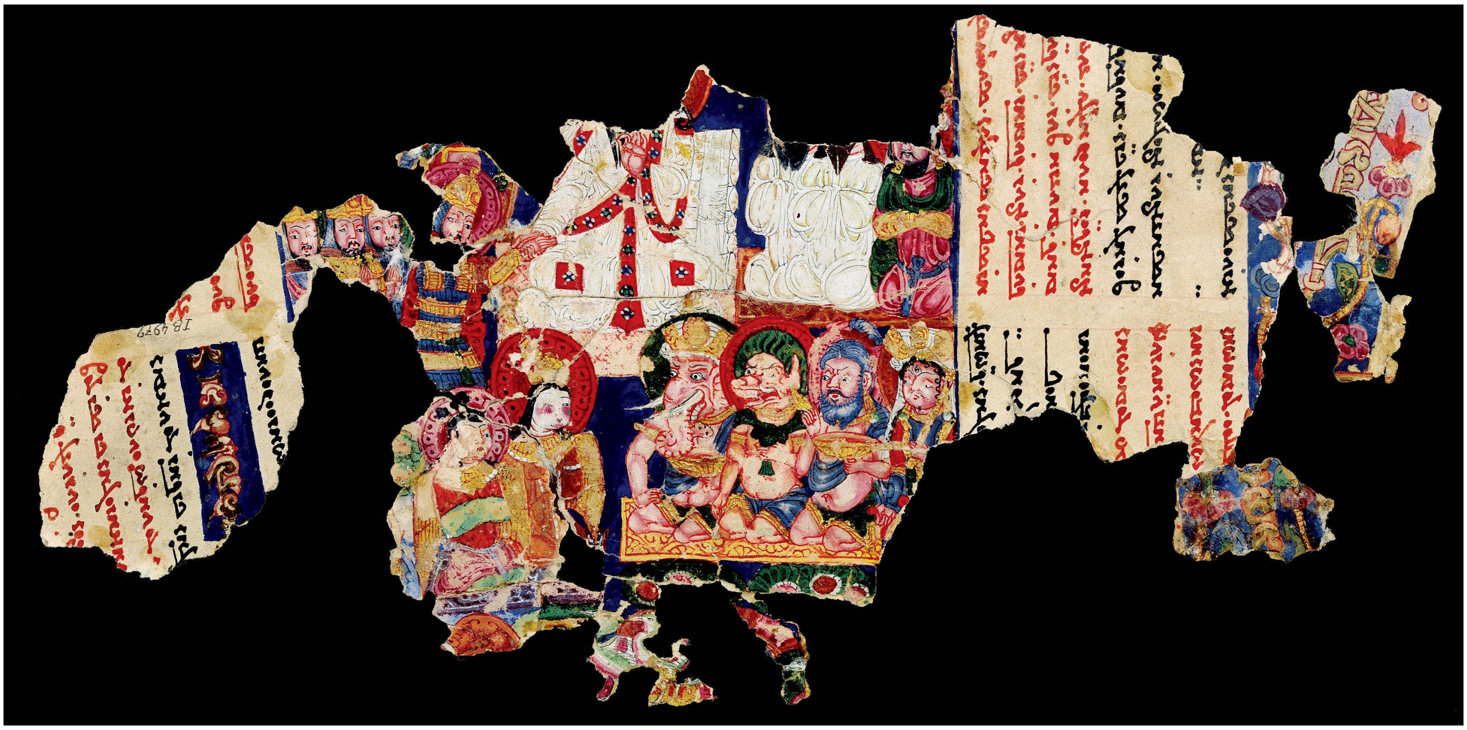
The adoption of Manichaeism by Bögü Khagan had pleasing consequences for Manichaean Sogdians who lived within China. Manichaeism had not gained an official foothold in the Turfan Oasis until 635, with the arrival of a *možak*, a high-ranking Manichaean teacher, who was also the head of the Manichaean clergy east of the Pamirs. In 694, some 60 years later than the Nestorians, the first Manichaean missionaries reached Chang'an, and in 719 the Sogdian king of Chaganiyan sent a *možak* to Chang'an.[32] After Emperor Xuanzong had allowed the teaching of Manichaeism in 731, he revoked his tolerance edict in 732 and forbade the practice of this religion to all but the Sogdians. Manichaeism, he proclaimed, is 'a basically evil doctrine which deceives the people by falsely calling itself Buddhism'.[33] Manichaeism, which understood itself as the synthesis and perfection of the 'true, unadulterated' elements of the teachings of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Buddhism, tried indeed to fit into the religious context in which it found itself and to adopt its vocabulary. The Byzantine apologist Petrus Siculus came to a similar verdict around 870: The Manichaeans 'are as changeable as a chameleon and as adaptable as a polypus'.[34] But after Bögü's conversion, the Manichaen Sogdians had a powerful advocate, which prompted China to lift the ban on missionaries in 768 and allow the construction of Manichaean churches and monasteries.[35]

Manichaeism

Manichaeism, which died out at the beginning of the seventeenth century in southern China,[36] was practised from North Africa to Syria, Iran, Central Asia and as far as China in the first millennium. Its founder Mani (216–*ca.* 276) came from the Jewish-Christian baptismal sect of the Elcesaites, who lived in Mesopotamia, led a strictly ascetic life and followed numerous purification rituals. It is said that Mani left the Elcesaites at the age of 24 because they regarded the body as needing and being capable of redemption, whereas he condemned the body as a fundamentally corrupted obstacle on the path to redemption, one which had to be shed. Mani understood himself to be the paraclete whom Jesus Christ promises in the Gospel of John, the Holy Ghost, the bringer of help and comfort whose task lies in the teaching of a final world religion. By this time Mani, was familiar with Iranian Zoroastrianism and with some currents in Christian thought[37] such as the *Diatessaron* by Tatian (created *ca.* 170), and the teachings of Bardaisan (154–222) and Marcion (*ca.* 85–160). The latter was particularly close to Mani since he opposed the wrathful creator god of matter of the Old Testament to the loving and forgiving god of the New Testament and his saviour son.[38] Mani began to spread his new doctrine around 241/42, initially in the south-east of the Sassanid empire, in the Indus Valley and in Balochistan, where he encountered Buddhism, and integrated some of its elements into his religion. When Mani returned to Mesopotamia, Shapur allowed him to teach his doctrines, but when the Zoroastrian high priest Kartir rose to be the highest representative of the Zoroastrian clergy around 272/73, he had Mani arrested, and he later died in a dungeon.

Mani regarded himself as the 'Apostle of the Light', and like Mohammed four centuries later, as the 'Seal of the Prophets',[39] but, unlike Mohammed, Mani recognised not only the Semitic faiths but also oriental world religions. Mani regarded these religions not as false but as degenerate. He saw his mission as being to extract all the truths of previous religions, which had been falsified over time, and to eradicate the errors which had accumulated. To guard against any eventual falsification of his message, Mani was the only founder of a world religion to record his teachings in writing. He wrote several books, some illustrated with miniature paintings. Since Mani saw his doctrine as a synthesis of the truths of Jesus, Zoroaster and Buddha, Manichaeism was extremely syncretistic and tended to adapt strongly to its surroundings so that one can speak of Roman-Byzantine, Sassanid, Uyghur and Chinese Manichaeism.

At the core of the Manichaean doctrine were the axioms of the two antagonistic principles of good/light/spirit and evil/darkness/matter and the three cosmic periods: the original separation of light and darkness, their present 'mingling', and their final separation again, when darkness will be defeated. Contrary to Zoroastrianism, in Manichaeism, the opposition of the two principles does not constitute a 'mere' ethical dualism but also a fundamental, ontological and never indissoluble one, for it is the importance attached to matter, to the material, which radically separates Manichaeism from Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism the antagonism between Ahura Mazda, the god of goodness and light, and Ahriman, the 'anti-god' or demon of evil and of darkness, runs right across the spiritual



253. **Paper fragment of a leaf from a Manichaean book, painted on both sides, Ruin ά of Kocho, Xinjiang, China, 8th–9th c. Between two blocks of text in mid-Persian language and Manichaean script, a high-ranking Manichaean Elect, clothed in white, stretches out his right hand towards an armoured warrior kneeling before him. Human and supernatural beings witness this scene, which can be interpreted as an allegory of the granting of salvation to the kneeling noble warrior, perhaps an Uyghur king of Kocho. The painting might also represent Bögü Khagan's conversion to Manichaeism in 763. On the right, below the cleric, four Hindu-like deities observe the scene, two with animal heads. These four deities might correspond to the tutelary divinities of the four cardinal points. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.**

and material world. The omnipotence of Ahura Mazda is limited in time, and humanity has the duty to help restore it. For this reason Ahura Mazda created the universe – and it follows that material creation is a work of the god of light – which becomes the battlefield for the titanic struggle between the two principles. Humans, who are endowed with free will, are themselves actors in the cosmic struggle and have to decide which party to side with. Through righteous attitude, truthful language and good deeds humans support Ahura Mazda. This means that both human spirit and human body participate in the redemption process; spirit and soul fight for the good *with* the body, not *against* the body as in Manichaeism and in ascetic, early Christian monasticism.[40] Since creation, with the exception of the works of some demons such as snakes and vermin, comes from Ahura Mazda, it is the duty of humans to preserve life through procreation, agriculture and livestock herding.

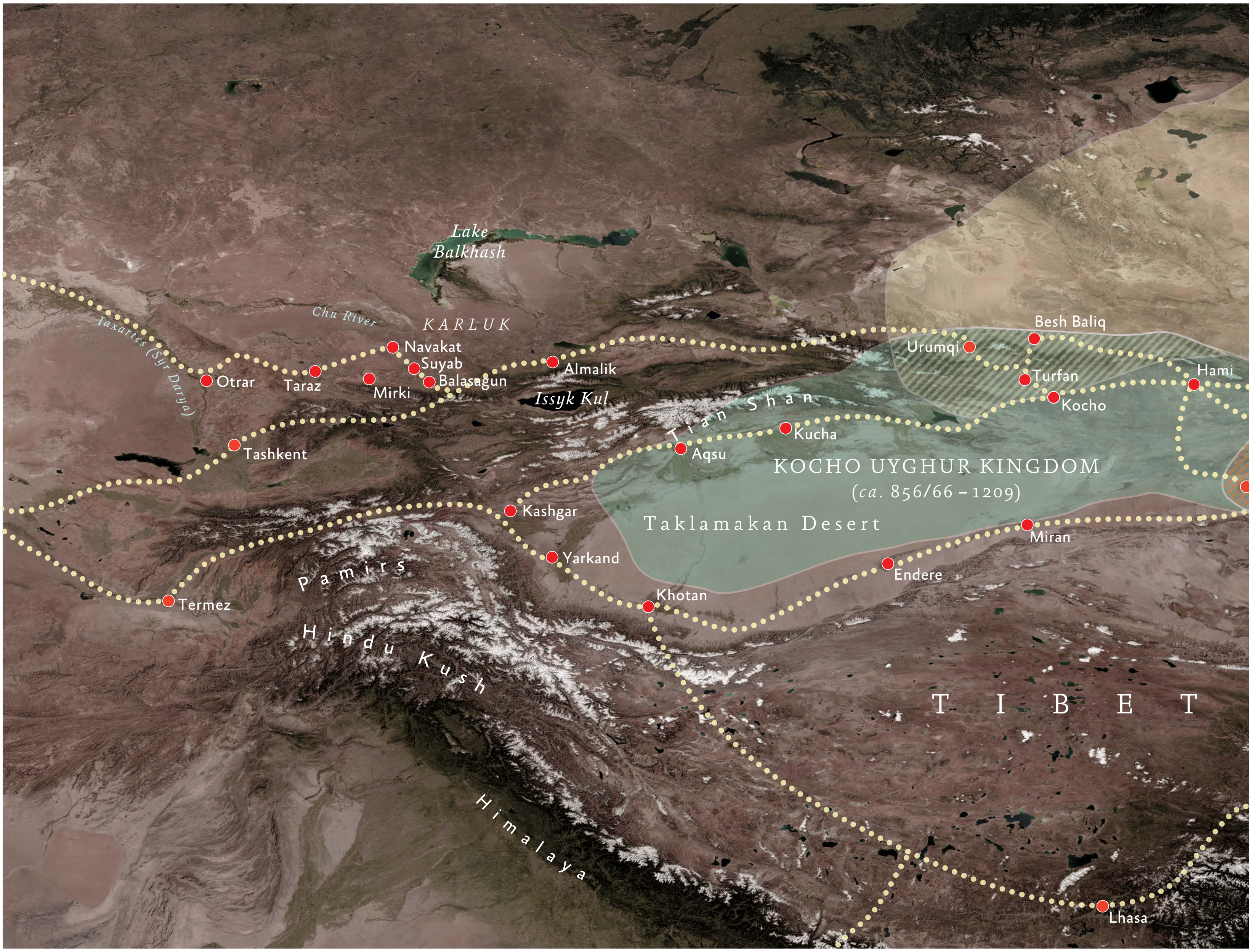
Manichaeism on the other hand, identifies the good with the spirit and soul, and the evil with matter. In the beginning, the two principles of good and evil were separated from each other. But in a long struggle, the forces of evil succeeded in capturing parts of the light and binding it to matter. Since creation with its materiality is a work of evil, the cosmic process of redemption consists in the liberation of the light particles which are imprisoned in matter, so that light and darkness can once again be separated. The 'Apostle of Light', Mani, was driven by the mission to explain all these connections to people and to show them how they should contribute to the liberation of the trapped light particles. Since matter is bad on principle, redemption cannot be attained by an active way of life with right thinking, speaking and acting but only through the fundamental negation of the body and the renunciation of sustaining life and preserving the species. This is why Manichaean rules of behaviour banned the killing of animals, the consumption of meat, human procreation, agriculture and the harvesting of vegetables, the consumption of wine and milk, the use of medical care and the taking of medicine as well as the possession of material goods and the performance of any kind of manual work, with the exception of religious calligraphy and painting miniatures.[41] But Manichaean monks were allowed usury, as evidence from the Manichaean monasteries of the Turfan Oasis shows.[42] The cult consisted of purely verbal actions such as preaching as well as communal lectures and the singing of hymns.

Since the devotees who followed such ideals were unable to survive independently, and the overwhelming majority of believers neither wanted nor were able to adhere to them, Mani divided his community into the Elect and the catechumens, the Hearers.[43] The Elect were to free their light-soul, and the Hearers were to serve them, in the hope that after several rebirths they themselves would be reborn as Elect. But those who did not strive would face eternal damnation at the last judgement since not all light that is caught in matter will be freed. The Manichaean community was divided into five hierarchies. At its head stood Mani's representative, the *yamag* (Parthian), called *archegos* in Greek. Subordinate to him were 12 apostles and teachers, *možak* (Middle Persian), 72 bishops, *ispasag* (Middle Persian), and 360 presbyters, *mahistag* (Middle Persian). The fourth level of the hierarchy comprised the male and female Elect, *ardawan* (Middle Persian) and the fifth, lowest, of the Hearers, *niyoshagan* (Middle Persian).[44]

According to Manichaean sources, the spread of the religion to Central Asia can be attributed to Mani's companion and disciple Mar Ammo, who preached in Nishapur and Merv, perhaps also in Balkh and Sogdiana.[45] At any rate, the conspicuous adoption of Buddhist content and terms started with Mar Ammo and was evident, for example in hymns addressing Mani as 'Buddha Shakyamuni', 'Maitreya', 'Buddha Maitreya' or even as 'Jesus, Virgin of Light (!) Mar Mani'.[46] It also seems that the Manichaean communities of the East expected Mani to return as Maitreya on the Last Day.[47] Given such a 'buddhisisation of Manichaeism'[48] it is not surprising that in 732 the religious examining authorities in China issued an edict condemning the doctrine as a deceptive plagiarism of Buddhism. Because of the intermittent anti-Manichaean persecutions in the Sassanid Empire, many Manichaeans fled from Mesopotamia to Khorasan and Sogdiana so that the Manichaean community in Central Asia expanded rapidly. At the end of the sixth century, a schism occurred there when a leading cleric named Ormazd founded the Eastern church of the *denawars*, 'the pure ones', and broke away from the *yamag* in Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Although the schism was overcome at the beginning of the eighth century and the *yamag* reconciled with the *denawars*, the Central Asian community, whose *možak* resided in Kocho, kept its autonomy and pursued a more conservative and stricter interpretation of the Manichaean laws than the Mesopotamian sister community.[49] The latter enjoyed milder minority legislation under the Umayyads, but under the Abbasids persecutions restarted so that the head of the Manichaean Church transferred his seat from Baghdad to Samarkand in the tenth century.[50]

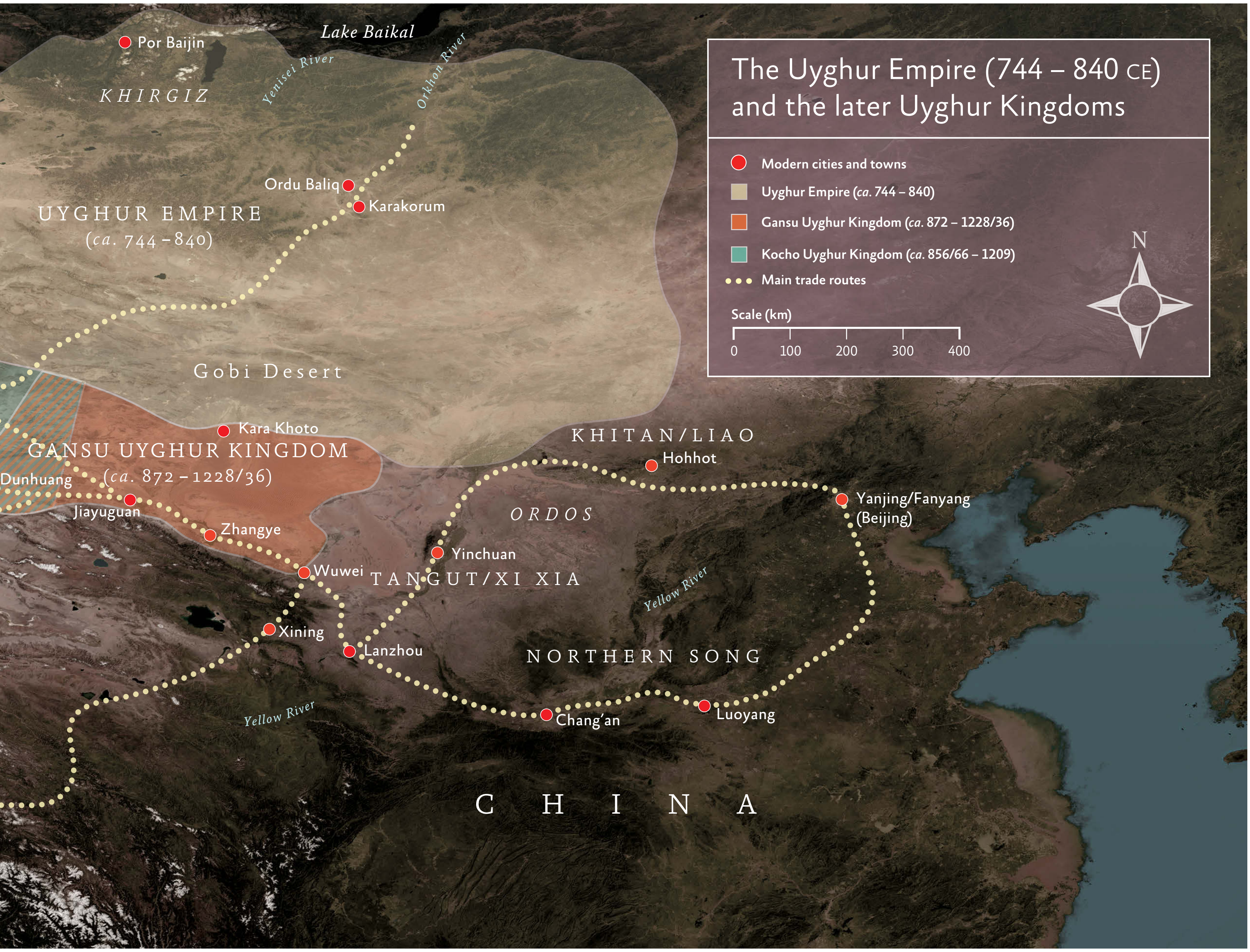
Just as Göktürk Khagan Xieli's dependence on Sogdian advisers and administrators had led to his downfall, so Khagan Bögü was toppled in 779 when the Sogdians intervened too obviously in the foreign politics of the empire. When Emperor Daizong (r. 762–79) died, Khagan Bögü's Sogdian adviser proposed taking advantage of the official mourning period to launch a surprise attack on China. Bögü's chief minister and cousin, Tun Bagha Tarkhan, argued against this audacious plan but the khagan took the side of the Sogdian war party. As the *Jiu Tang Shu* reports, Tun Bagha then profited from widespread anti-Sogdian resentment and 'attacked and killed him [Bögü Khagan], and at the same time killed his relations and confidants and those of the Sogdians who had tried to entice him into invading China, in total 2,000 people'.[51] This massacre and Tun Bagha's measures to stem Manichaeism[52] immediately unleashed anti-Sogdian pogroms in China. But after the murder of his predecessor, Tun Bagha ascended the throne under the name **Alp Qutlugh Bilge Khagan** (r. 779–89) and initiated pro-Chinese policies. In 787 these led to a relationship by marriage with the Chinese imperial family but, more importantly, to the 'Grand Alliance' against Tibet, which had been Minister Li's aim, resulting in a protracted struggle with Tibet for possession of Beiting and Turfan.[53] Qutlugh Bilge Khagan was succeeded by his son **Tängridä Bulmish Külügh Bilge Khagan** (Chinese: Duoluosi, r. 789–90), who, after a mere year in power, was murdered by his younger brother, whose name is unknown. But the usurper was swiftly executed[54] and his son Achuo (Chinese), still a minor, put on the throne under the name **Qutlugh Bilge Khagan** (r. 790–95). Power, however, lay in the hands of the chief minister and commander from the Ädiz clan, who after the death of the childless Achuo had himself proclaimed new khagan, under the grandiose name **Tängridä Ülüg Bulmish Alp Qutlugh Ulug Bilge Khagan** (Chinese: Guduolu, r. 795–805/08). This name meant 'consecrated by heaven, brave, blessed, great, wise khagan'.[55] With this khagan, power shifted from the Yaghlaqar to the Ädiz clan. The new khagan supported Manichaeism and appointed Sogdian administrators while continuing rather pro-Chinese policies. At the same time Tängridä Ülüg Bulmish Khagan succeeded in bringing the Turfan Oasis, which he visited in 803, under Uyghur control. In Kocho he met the Manichaean *možak*.[56]

Under the next ruler, **Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Bilge Khagan** (r. 808–21), in whose honour the trilingual stele of Karabalgasun was erected, the Uyghur empire flourished one last time, although the Tibetan advance of 816 on Ordu Baliq demonstrated dramatically how vulnerable that empire had become. Under the rule of **Kün Tängridä Ulugh Bulmish (Alp) Küchlügh Bilge Khagan** (r. 821–24) the decline first became obvious when the ruler of the Yenisei Kyrgyz declared war and proclaimed that he would seize the golden tent of Ordu Baliq, the symbolic power centre of the Uyghur empire.[57] Then, in 822, the Chinese emperor Muzong (r. 820–24) turned down the military help offered by the


Lake Balkhash
Chu River
Iaxartes (Syr Darya)
KARLUK
Navakat
Suyab
Balasagun
Mirki
Otrar
Taraz
Almalik
Issyk Kul
Tashkent
Tian Shan
Urumqi
Besh Baliq
Turfan
Kocho
Hami
Kucha
Aqsu
KOCHO UYGHUR KINGDOM
(ca. 856/66 – 1209)
Taklamakan Desert
Kashgar
Yarkand
Miran
Endere
Khotan
Pamirs
Termez
Hindu Kush
TIBET
Himalaya
Lhasa

Uyghurs for crushing insubordinate provincial governors, and as a result China left Uyghur suzerainty once and for all.[58] The decline accelerated when a violent power struggle broke out within the ruling clan to which two khagans fell victim: **Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Bilge Khagan** (Hesa Tegin, r. 824–32) was murdered, and his successor **Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Külügh Bilge Khagan** (r. 832–39) was driven to suicide by the rebellious minister Kürebir.[59] It was probably this same rebellious minister who ascended the throne as Prince **Esa Tegin** (no regnal name, r. 839–40).[60] The winter of 839–40 was as devastating for the Uyghurs as those of 626–29, two centuries earlier, had been for the First Göktürk Khaganate: extremely heavy snowfall was followed by famine and epidemics. In this crisis another Uyghur general rebelled, defected to the Kyrgyz and encouraged them to attack the weakened khagan. The Kyrgyz stormed the Uyghur fortifications in 840, killed Esa Tegin and set fire to Ordu Baliq, thus putting an end to the Uyghur Empire and its culture in what is now Mongolia.[61] Tonyukuk's warning, from a century earlier, that fortified cities would become deadly traps for mobile horse nomads, was proved prophetic.[62] The Uyghur tribes dispersed in four directions, to China, to Gansu, into the Tarim Basin and to the lands of the Karluks.

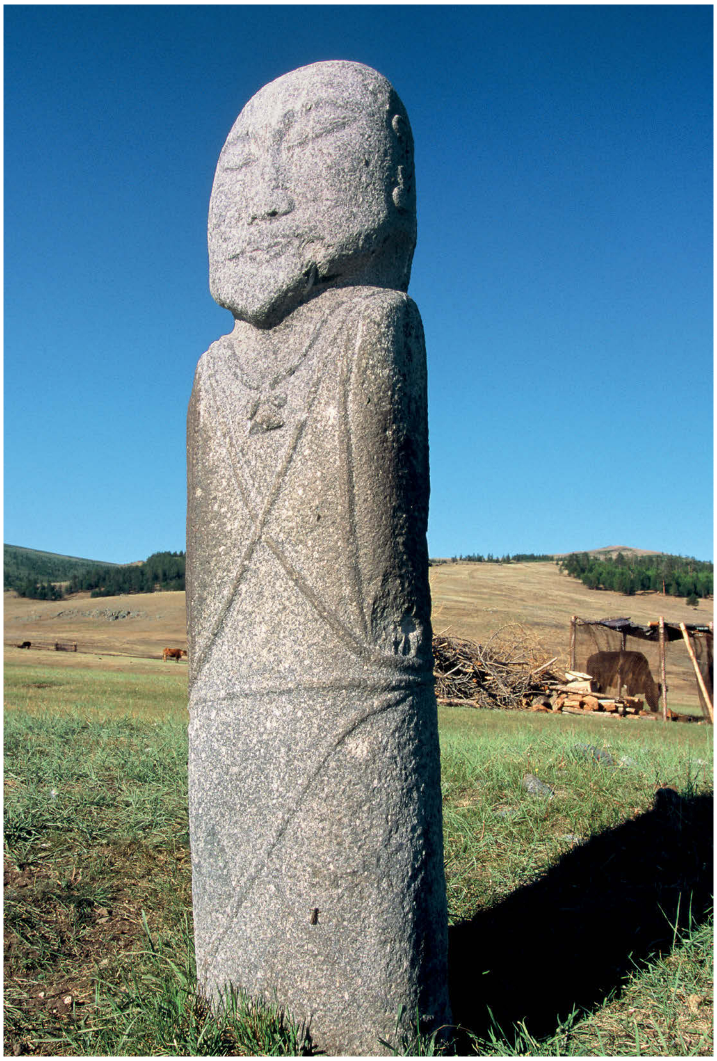
The Kyrgyz, who lived on the Yenisei River, differed from the Uyghurs in a number of ways. Although they, too, spoke a Turkic


The Uyghur Empire (744 – 840 CE) and the later Uyghur Kingdoms

Modern cities and towns
Uyghur Empire (ca. 744 – 840)
Gansu Uyghur Kingdom (ca. 872 – 1228/36)
Kocho Uyghur Kingdom (ca. 856/66 – 1209)
Main trade routes
Scale (km)
0
100
200
300
400
N
Por Baijin
Lake Baikal
Yenisei River
Orkhon River
KHIRGIZ
Ordu Baliq
Karakorum
UYGHUR EMPIRE
(ca. 744 – 840)
Gobi Desert
Kara Khoto
GANSU UYGHUR KINGDOM
(ca. 872 – 1228/36)
Dunhuang
Jiayuguan
Zhangye
Wuwei
Xining
Lanzhou
Yinchuan
TANGUT/XI XIA
ORDOS
KHITAN/LIAO
Hohhot
Yanjing/Fanyang
(Beijing)
Yellow River
NORTHERN SONG
Yellow River
Chang'an
Luoyang
CHINA

dialect, their language also contained non-Altaic, Uralic elements. They were not so much nomadic steppe warriors as hunters, who lived in the forests, and also herded cattle and horses. Their funeral rites were unlike those of the Göktürks and Uyghurs, and they did not lacerate their faces during burial ceremonies.[63] Whether a small minority of the Kyrgyz were Buddhists, as finds of small bronze plates from the ninth and tenth centuries suggest, is not certain – the plates could also have served as amulets.[64] Since the Kyrgyz were not numerous and kept their traditional residences in Tuva as their centre of power instead of transferring them into the Orkhon Valley, they soon came to possess only limited sovereignty over the territory of what is today Mongolia, and this was restricted to collecting tribute. By the ninth century, some individual groups of Khitan began to infiltrate Mongolia from Manchuria, and around 924 they seized power definitively.[65] Thus supremacy in this region passed from the Turkic tribes to the Mongolian peoples. But the Kyrgyz only left their homeland on the Yenisei in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries for today's Kyrgyzstan and the north-eastern Pamirs.

China's political unity had been increasingly fragile for more than three decades before it disintegrated completely with the fall of the Tang dynasty in 907. That same year saw the emergence in northern Manchuria of the empire of the Khitan, founders of the Liao dynasty (907–1125). Within China, the Tang were succeeded by the turbulent period of the 'Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms' (907–960/79) during which five dynasties in the north quickly succeeded one another while, mostly in the south, ten smaller kingdoms were founded. In northern China, the Turkic people of the Shatuo, whose centre of power was then situated in what is today's province of Shanxi and who, in alliance with the Tibetans, had fought against the Uyghurs near Besh Baliq, tried to seize control. Three of the five short-lived dynasties were led by the Shatuo: the Later Tang (923–36), the Later Jin (936–947) and the Later Han (947–950), which were succeeded by the rump state of the Northern Han (951–979), who were dependent on Liao.[66] With the downfall of the Later Han and the Northern Han, the final attempt by a Turkic tribe to found its own dynasty in China failed, just as similar attempts by the Xiongnu had done in the fourth century.



254. **Stone figure near Dayan Lake in south-west Mongolia, Bayan Ölgii Aimag. The figure, which is facing to the east and stands 157 cm high (measured from the ground), wears a pendant on its necklace in the shape of a bird of prey seen from above. Uyghur period, 8th/9th c.**

3. The Flight of the Uyghur Tribes

3.1 Refugees at China's Northern Border

The enmity between the Kyrgyz and the Uyghurs was profound, and after the fall of Karabalgasun many Uyghur tribes left their homeland, fearing massacres and enslavement. Almost half of the tribes sought refuge in China. In the autumn of 840, a 30,000-strong group led by the aristocrat Ormizt (Chinese: Womosi) appeared at the northern shore of the Ordos Loop of the Yellow River, some 300 kilometres west of Hohhot, and asked for asylum. Emperor Wuzong (r. 840–46) ordered the borders to be closed and employed a delaying tactic towards the asylum seekers. In January 843 an even larger group of about 100,000, led by the heir to the throne **Ögä Khagan** (Chin. Wujie, r. 841–46) reached the Chinese border. Unlike his rival, Ormizt, Ögä did not ask for refuge but demanded to be given a city as a residence, guarantees for the protection of Manichaeans living in China, and food. The first two demands were unacceptable to Emperor Wuzong, so he decided to play off the two Uyghur leaders against each other. He granted Ormizt asylum and integrated his army into the Chinese border troops with which he crushingly defeated Ögä in early 843. Then Wuzong ordered that the army of Ormizt that was in the service of the Chinese army be broken up and its officers and troops dispersed to several different Chinese units. When Ormizt refused to obey, General Liu Mian had the troops massacred. China's problem with two potentially dangerous groups of Uyghurs seeking refuge was now almost solved. In 846 Ögä Khagan, who was staying in the border area, fell victim to a conspiracy, and his younger brother **Enie** was appointed as the new khagan (r. 846–48). But the end of this Uyghur confederation on the Chinese borders was fast approaching, and in 847 Enie Khagan was decisively defeated by a Chinese army, after which the Kyrgyz completed the destruction in 848, and transported the surviving Uyghurs to the north as prisoners of war.[67]

The collapse of the Uyghur Empire had far-reaching consequences for the Manichaeans who lived in China. Emperor Wuzong now saw his chance to get rid of the Manichaean temples in several Chinese cities, which his predecessors had built under pressure from the Uyghurs and which for China symbolised their dependence on their hated overlords. In the years 842–43 Wuzong ordered the closure of the temples and the confiscation of their estates, and further commanded that the clergy either be executed or deported to the Western Regions.[68] The Japanese Buddhist monk Ennin, who stayed in China between 838 and 845, reported: 'In the

255. A restored stupa in the south-eastern sector of Kocho, Xinjiang, China. In the background stand the remains of the city wall.

fourth moon of 843 an Imperial edict was issued [ordering] the Manichaean priests of the empire to be killed. [. . .] The Manichaean priests are highly respected by the Uighurs.'[69] According to Ennin, in the previous year hundreds of Uyghurs had already been executed in Chang'an. Two years later, Emperor Wuzong extended the edict to Nestorianism, Zoroastrianism and especially Buddhism. Whereas the edicts directed at the three 'Persian religions' had a political dimension, aiming to eradicate foreign influences, the anti-Buddhist edicts, which led to the destruction of 4,600 monasteries, the liberation of 150,000 slaves and to changing the status of 265,000 monks and nuns into tax-paying laymen, were based on social, political and economic considerations.[70] For many of the Buddhist monasteries, which were exempt from tax, were immeasurably rich and possessed large estates; at the same time they offered wealthy families tax loopholes and served as refuges for criminals and men trying to avoid military service. A chronic metal shortage in the treasury was also alleviated in the short term by melting down Buddhist bronze bells and figures.[71]

3.2 Western Uyghur Kingdoms

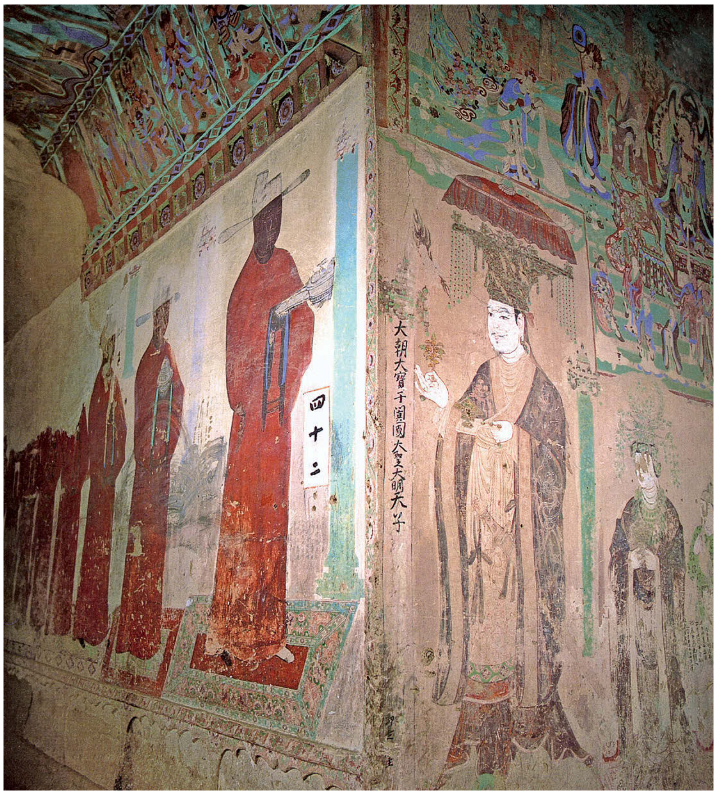
While 13 tribes sought their salvation in vain at the northern Chinese border, other tribes turned westward. A small minority fled to the Karluks; a larger one, consisting of 15 tribes, led by **Mänglig Tegin** (r. *ca*. 845–*ca*. 857),[72] who might have been a nephew of Esa Tegin, marched south-westward.[73] During their flight the tribes separated. Half of them, led by Pugu Jun, Mänglig Tegin's half-brother, turned south and began to infiltrate northern Gansu, where Uyghurs resettled by China had been living since 685.[74] The other group under Mänglig Tegin continued its south-westward march and advanced into the region of Besh Baliq (Beiting), to the Turfan Oasis and the northern Tarim Basin. Besh Baliq and Turfan were already homes to larger Uyghur communities, which facilitated the occupation of land by Mänglig's tribes. Both Uyghur groups benefited from a favourable political situation, for Tibetan central power had collapsed in 842, and China was too weak to take advantage of the power vacuum which developed in the Western Regions.

3.2.1 The Kingdom in Gansu

When Uyghur tribes immigrated into the west of the province, the political situation was shaped by the war between the two Tibetan generals Shang Kongruo and Shang Beibei, which only came to an end in 866 with the death of Shang Kongruo, who was notorious for his cruelty. But before the Uyghurs could found their own state in Gansu, they had to subjugate smaller groups such as the Tuyühun, Xueyantuo and Tibetans. Among the latter were the Wenmo, also called Wumo, who lived in southern Gansu and formed a socio-political unit of former Tibetan serfs. At the time of the Tibetan Empire, landowners had been obliged to provide a certain number of soldiers, whom they recruited from their own serfs. Rather like the Chinese *tuntian* garrisons, these conscripted soldiers were settled in newly conquered areas at the end of a campaign, where – according to climate and soil conditions – they could earn their living as farmers or horse breeders.[75] After the collapse of the Tibetan Empire the soldiers, who had been settled there by force, and their descendants stayed in Gansu, where they began to organise themselves. Even in the years 907 to 912 the Wenmo still formed a strong enough political group to send two or three embassies to the court of the Later Liang (907–23) in Luoyang.[76] It was the Wenmo who in 874 drove the Uyghurs out of the city of Zhangye, which the latter had conquered two years earlier. But after two more decades of fierce fighting the Uyghurs regained control of Zhangye and made the city the centre of their kingdom. At the beginning of the tenth century at the latest, their power was so well established that in 902 they were able to offer military aid to the beleaguered Tang emperor Zhaozong (r. 888–904).[77]

In 911 the Uyghur kingdom of Zhangye consolidated its dominance in Gansu still further, when it shattered the hegemonic claims of the ruling clan of the Zhang of Shazhou (Dunhuang). Zhang Chengfeng had conquered the Turfan Uyghur cities of Hami and Gaochang in 904, and a year later he had proclaimed the *Jinshan* state of the 'Western Han of the Golden Mountains'. By adopting the title 'white-robed son of heaven', Zhang Chengfeng courted the sympathies of the Manichaean Uyghurs of Kocho and Zhangye, whose Elect wore white robes.[78] But Zhang Chengfeng's attempt to also subjugate the Uyghurs of Zhangye ended in a crushing defeat. The Uyghurs conquered Dunhuang, and the dynasty of the *Jinshan* collapsed, after which the family of the Cao (r. *ca.* 914–1036) seized power in Shazhou, and Hami and Gaochang regained their sovereignty.[79] From now on the Uyghur kingdom of Zhangye blossomed, expanding its power to Wuwei and very probably also to the Etzin Gol. When in 924 the Khitan, who had just brought Mongolia under their control, offered to let the Gansu Uyghurs return to their former homeland on the Orkhon, their offer was declined.

In the last quarter of the tenth century, the Gansu Uyghurs also extended their power into Shazhou, which was still ruled by the Cao family, and thus gained control of an important section of the Silk Road.[80] Nevertheless the political situation of the Uyghurs in Gansu remained precarious since they bordered on two powerful neighbours: the Khitan of the northern Chinese Liao dynasty (907–1125) in the north, and in the east the kingdom and then empire of the Tanguts, also known as *Minyak* (982–1227).[81] The language of the Tangut, now extinct, belonged to the (eastern Tibetan) Qiangic family, a sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Even before they declared their independence, the Tanguts, who controlled the eastern part of Gansu and today's province of Ningxia, had regularly ambushed and robbed Uyghur trade caravans and embassies travelling to central China.[82] The wars against the Tanguts began in 996 and were successful for the Uyghurs until their sudden collapse



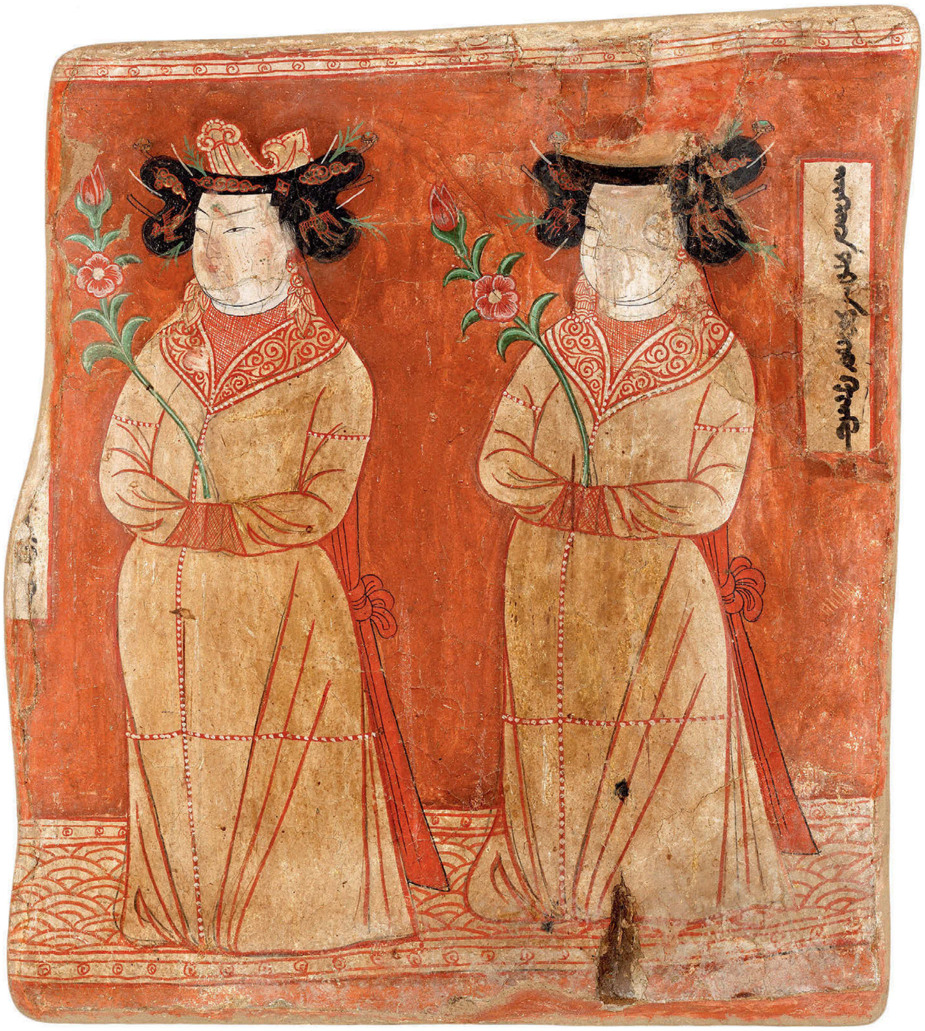
256. This wall painting from cave 98 of Mogao, Gansu, was created between 920 and 921. It illustrates the political and marital alliances between the kingdoms of Dunhuang and Khotan. On the left stands the over-life-size ruler of Dunhuang, Cao Yijin (d. 936), followed by seven sons, on the right the king of Khotan, Visha Sambhava (Chin. Li Shengtian, r. 912–*ca.* 966), whose queen was a daughter of Cao Yijin.[38]

257. Ruins of the large Buddhist monastery within Kocho, Xinjiang, China.

in 1028. To adapt to the political situation, at the end of the tenth century the Gansu Uyghurs exchanged Manichaeism for Buddhism as their state religion and, like the Tangut, they started sending pilgrimages to the Buddhist Mount Wutai in Shanxi – pilgrimages whose real purpose was to spy on the Liao.[83] A first crisis came in 1006, when the Khitan brought Shazhou under their control and two years later destroyed Suzhou (Jiuquan); the Uyghurs thus lost their north-western territories.[84] Thanks to the help of the Tibetan Zongko tribes, who lived east of the Koko Nor lake, the Uyghurs were able to shrug off further Tangut attacks. But in 1026 the Khitan attacked again, and in the wake of this the Tanguts conquered Zhangye in 1028. By 1036 they had also gained control of Suzhou and Shazhou.[85] With the destruction of the Uyghur Empire of Gansu, the Tangut leader now felt strong enough to proclaim himself Emperor Jingzong of Minyak (Chinese. Xi Xia) in 1038. The present-day descendants of the Buddhist Uyghurs in Gansu form the small Buddhist ethnic group of the *Säriq Uighur*, the 'Yellow Uyghurs'.[86]

3.2.2 The Kingdom of Kocho

The region of Besh Baliq, north of the eastern Tian Shan mountains, and the Turfan Depression, which is situated south of them, had both been fiercely contested by the Tibetans and the Uyghurs since the end of the eighth century. By the time the Uyghur tribes led by **Mänglig Tegin** (r. *ca*. 845–*ca*. 857) migrated there, the region was already strongly turkicised.[87] It is impossible to reconstruct the exact process by which the Kocho Uyghurs established their state.[88] But it seems that Mänglig Tegin's tribes conquered Besh Baliq in 848 at the latest, and drove out the Tibetans from Qiuzi (Kucha) and Kocho eight years later, for in December 856 China recognised the Uyghur state, whose first capital was Yanqi (Karashahr).[89] Between 856 and 866, the Uyghurs lost the city of Kocho to the Tibetan commander Shang Kongruo, and it seems that Mänglig Tegin called upon his half-brother Pugu Jun of Gansu to come to his aid in Besh Baliq. At some point between 857 and 866 **Pugu Jun** (r. *ca*. 857 or 864/66–*ca*. 874) staged a putsch against his half-brother and killed him.[90]



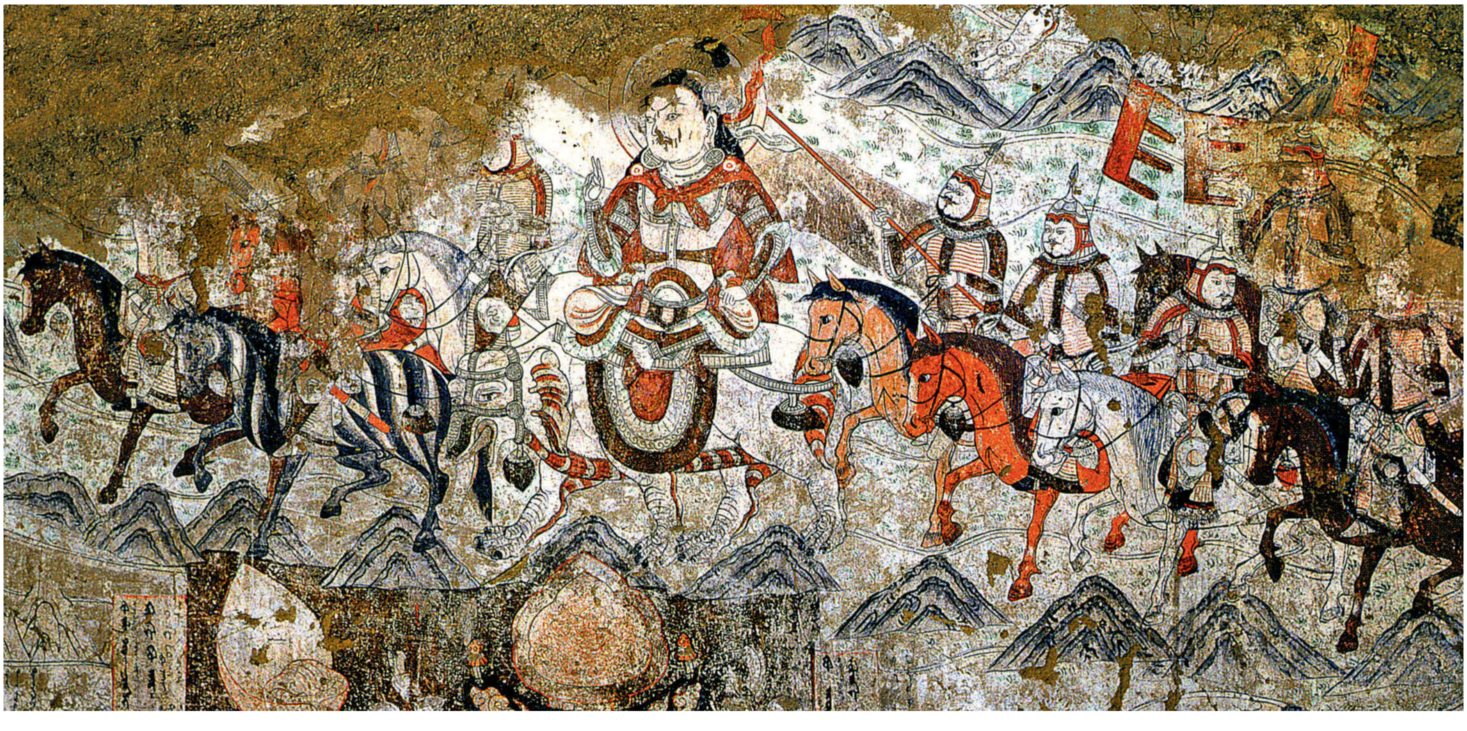
258. Fragment of a painting with two Uyghur princesses as religious donors, from Bezeklik, Xinjiang, China, 9th/10th c. Each princess holds a peony; the cartouche on the right side reads: 'This is the portrait of Her Highness, the Princess Joy'.[39] Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

In 866 he reconquered Kocho definitively, which is why this year is also regarded as the date of foundation of the Uyghur kingdom of Kocho. The Uyghur rulers adopted the old Basmil title *Idiqut,* which means 'the one endowed with charisma'. In that same year the former commander of Kocho, Shang Kongruo, was defeated by the Tibetan Tuopa Huai Guang, captured and executed.[91] From 866 the Uyghurs made Kocho, which they called Idiqutshari, the capital of their kingdom which also included the important city of Qiuzi (Kucha);[92] Besh Baliq, which had a cooler summer climate than the Turfan Oasis, became their summer residence.[93] In 880, Kocho tried in vain to gain control over Dunhuang, and in 904 it had to endure a brief occupation by Dunhuang's ruler Zhang Chengfeng.

Around the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries, the Uyghur's hegemony in the west shrank considerably, when the Muslim Karakhanids, from Kashgar, conquered Tumshuk and Aksu. According to Chinese sources, Kucha remained an autonomous state until 1096 when it fell to the Eastern Karakhanids.[94] Despite these setbacks Kocho remained a bulwark against forced islamisation and practised a culture of religious tolerance. The recognition of the suzerainty of the Buddhist Karakitay, successors of the Liao-Khitan as rulers of western Turkestan, changed little for the cultural and economic development of Kocho. About 80 years later, in 1209, the Idiqut Barchuq Art Tegin shrugged off the suzerainty of the Karakitay by having their representative in Kocho killed, and voluntarily offered his submission to Genghis Khan, whose inexorable rise to power in Eurasia was then at an early stage, thus sparing his kingdom from devastation.[95] The end of Kocho as a Mongol vassal state came with the rebellion of the Mongol prince Kaidu (1236–1301) against Kublai Khan, founder of the Yuan Dynasty, since Kaidu attempted from about 1266 to found his own Central Asian empire. A decade after a failed siege of Besh Baliq in 1268, Kaidu seized the summer residence of the Uyghur *idiqut* and in 1285 or 1286 forced him to leave Kocho and flee to Hami. The former Uyghur kingdom of Kocho was now integrated into the sphere of power of Kaidu and his ally, the Chagatai khan Duwa (r. 1282–1307).[96] The islamisation of Kocho began in 1395, that of Hami in 1451 and that of Dunhuang around 1500.[97]

A spirit of religious tolerance reigned in the Uyghur kingdom of Kocho, and Buddhism, Manichaeism and the Church of the East coexisted there relatively peacefully. In Kocho itself Buddhist, Manichaean and Nestorian places of worship stood side by side, and archaeological excavations and textual analyses of old manuscripts show that in other cities and oases, too, there were numerous monasteries and temples of all three religions.[98] The Uyghur ruling family remained loyal to Manichaeism at the latest until the early eleventh century; although from the 960s it also supported Buddhism. The commitment of the Uyghur rulers to Manichaeism, even in foreign affairs, is indicated by a message sent by the Idiqut around 920 to the Samanid Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad (r. 914–943). When Caliph al-Muqtadir (r. 908–932) began to persecute the Manichaeans in what is now Iraq, many fled to Khorasan, among other places to Samarkand which belonged to the Samanid Empire. But when the Idiqut of Kocho heard that Nasr ibn Ahmad planned to massacre the Manichaean refugees he threatened to 'take reprisals against the [numerous] Muslims living in his country'.[99] The emir gave in and left the refugees unmolested.

According to Chinese chronicles, Manichaean monks accompanied Uyghur embassies to China between 934 and 951, while between 965 and 1022 the accompanying monks were Buddhist.[100] This suggests that from around 866 to the mid-tenth century Manichaeism had the status of a state religion, and after this was increasingly replaced by Buddhism. The definitive shift from Manichaeism to Buddhism had happened by 1008, when the residence of the *možak* in Kocho, which corresponds to Le Coq's Complex ά, was transformed into a Buddhist monastery.[101] Probably at the same time the Complex K, the largest Manichaean temple in Kocho, which also possessed an important manuscript collection, was turned into a Buddhist place of worship. Manichaean murals have been preserved by virtue of the fact that they were simply concealed behind a wall raised in front of them.[102] This respectful manner of reconstruction was also used for the double-walled caves 17 and 25 of Bezeklik (according to Grünwedel's numbering).[103] Why the rulers of Kocho withdrew their favour from Manichaeism is not known; perhaps the luxurious way of life of the Manichaean clergy contributed to their decline. A decree discovered in the



259. Wall paintings in the subterranean room 105 of the Buddhist complex of Besh Baliq (Beiting), Xinjiang, China, 9th–11th c. Bodhisattva Samtabhadra rides his white elephant, accompanied by seven Uyghur armoured horsemen. Below the schematically sketched mountain range stands a princely couple, each holding a peony (not visible), similar to the 'donor' painting from Bezeklik. The complex, which is situated 700 m west of the walled city, resembles a three-dimensional, tiered mandala: it consists of three storeys, the lower two each possessing eight niches with Buddhist clay figures, and the upper one seven. In addition there was the subterranean complex. The whole complex with its above-ground stupa and subterranean chapels might have been built in honour of a Uyghur princely couple.[40]

Turfan Oasis reveals that Manichaean clerics lived in great comfort, possessed estates with serfs and even slaves, enjoyed fine food and wore expensive garments – behaviour which was diametrically opposed to the strict moral code of Shad Ormazd.[104]

One of the most important cultural achievements of the Uyghurs of Kocho was the development of the Uyghur script, mostly written from right to left, as an adaptation of the Sogdian script to the Turko-Uyghur language. The later vertical writing of Uyghur was probably the result of the influence of the Syriac-Nestorian script. From the thirteenth century, the Uyghur script spread considerably, when the Mongolian script derived from it was used throughout the Mongol Empire. At the same time the Kocho Uyghurs shaped the administration of the Mongol Empire and provided some of its greatest civil servants. Four centuries later, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Manchurian script was derived from the Mongol script.[105] As Peter Ziemes puts it: 'The history of Central Asia saw a special period of peaceful development [in Qočo], which was disturbed neither by the advance of Islam from the Karakhanid Empire nor by the striving for power of the eastern empires including Song China.'[106] From a socio-economic perspective, too, the kingdom of Kocho was unique. Turkic-speaking, semi-nomadic horse warriors mingled with sedentary farmers, who originally spoke Tocharian, as well as with local Sogdian and Chinese merchants. The fertile soils, which were irrigated with the underground *karez* irrigation system, enabled a rich agriculture, which produced wheat, millet, melons, grapes and cotton, and the lush pastures north of the Tian Shan were ideal for livestock. But the migration of the Uyghurs into today's Xinjiang province, together with that of the Karluks, was the starting point for a profound turkicisation of Central Asia.

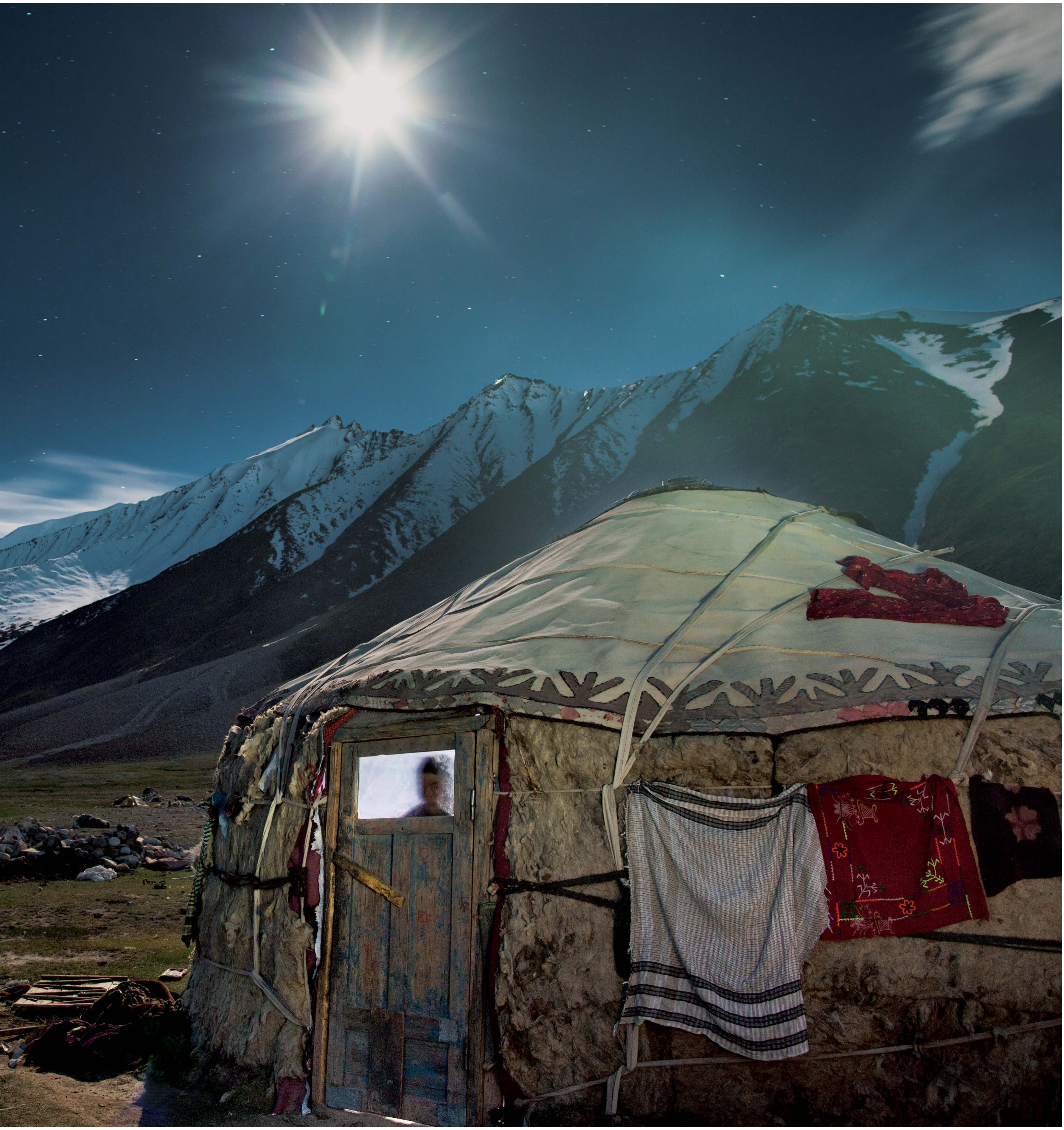
XI

Outlook

This second volume of the four-volume *History of Central Asia* has dealt with the formation of powerful steppe empires in this region. While earlier the Scythians and Saka had created no durable state form, the Xiongnu, the Parthians and the Kushans succeeded in establishing relatively stable empires. The Xiongnu developed a particularly strong government, thanks to a decimal-based organisation of army, people and territorial administration, which was superimposed on traditional tribal structures. All three empires maintained close commercial contacts with neighbouring agrarian states, thus laying the foundations for the great transcontinental trade routes. Because of their geographical location, the Kushans – a people originating in north-east Central Asia – were able to engage in extensive maritime trade with the Roman Empire. From this encounter between two worlds – that of the Indian Kushans of Central Asian stock and Roman Hellenism – emerged the Gandhara School of Buddhist art, whose influence extended over Central Asia to eventually reach China, Korea and Japan, defining the canon of Buddhist sculpture.

The fourth century witnessed the beginning of a long-term historical trend that would change the face not only of Central Asia but of the whole southern half of Eurasia: the expansion of the Turkic-speaking peoples, which by the sixth century led to lively diplomatic exchanges between the Western Turkic Khaganate, with its centre of government in the Tian Shan Mountains, and the Byzantine Empire. The numerous political connections between the Turkic khaganates, Byzantium, China, Tibet and the Sassanid (and later Muslim-Iranian) cultural sphere were turned to good account by the Sogdians, who constructed a highly ramified trade network stretching from the Chinese capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang over the Mongolian steppes and the whole of Central Asia, as far as the Crimea and northern India. The control of the trade routes and flows of goods was so lucrative that it provoked military conflicts between the five major powers of the time – the Turkic and Uyghur khaganates, China, Tibet and the Abbasid Caliphate – conflicts that led to the collapse of the first four of these. This resulted in the political fragmentation of eastern Central Asia, the shift of transcontinental trade from land to sea, and the division of Central Asia into Muslim and non-Muslim domains.

Subtitled *The Age of Islam and the Mongols*, the third volume of *The History of Central Asia* will cover the period from the ninth to the early sixteenth century. In the eastern territories of the Abbasid Caliphate, this period began with the establishment of the independent empire of the Samanids, in which Islam and its philosophy merged with the Iranian-Sogdian heritage to create a distinctive new culture. This led to an unparalleled flourishing



260. Nomad's camp in the Wakhan.

of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy and literature, in which the Muslim scholars of Central Asia absorbed the rediscovered intellectual legacy of Ancient Greece and new ideas from Indian science and philosophy.

From the second half of the tenth century, some of the Turkic peoples converted to Islam and founded independent states such as those of the Karakhanids, the Ghaznavids, the Ghorids and the Seljuks. The Seljuks not only came to control a considerable part of Central Asia, but also took over the reins of power in the Abbasid Caliphate, where they acted as champions of Sunni orthodoxy. Seljuk expansion to the west and south-west after Sultan Alp Arslan's triumph over the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes at Manzikert in 1071 led to the turkicisation of formerly Byzantine Anatolia; the Seljuks' conquest of Jerusalem was the final spark that launched the Crusades. At the same time, Turkic tribal confederations such as those of the Pechenegs and the Cumans were advancing westward through the northern steppes, where they appeared sometimes as allies, sometimes as enemies of Byzantium and of the Kievan Rus'.

Around 1200, the Mongols under Genghis Khan gave a new turn to the history of Central Asia. Within only a few decades, their conquests extended from the Yellow Sea in the east to Western Europe, where their cavalry reached Liegnitz in Silesia and Wiener Neustadt south of Vienna. They left not only human, economic and cultural devastation in their wake but also created a unique realm of religious tolerance and free trade. The control of the trade routes, a sophisticated postal relay and intelligence system, together with the rudiments of international law, enabled the efficient administration of what was the most geographically extensive land empire of all time. The thirteenth century was also an age of exceptional exchange between Western Europe and the Mongol centres of government in today's Mongolia and China. The Franciscan monks John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck visited the Great Khan of the Mongols in Karakorum, and the Polo brothers, two Venetian merchants, reached Shangdu north of Beijing. In the other direction, the Uyghur-born Nestorian monk Rabban Bar Sauma travelled from Khan Baliq (Beijing) to Baghdad, and from there in 1287–88 to Rome, Paris and Bordeaux, on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the Mongol Ilkhan Arghun, who hoped to enter an alliance against the Mamluks with the leading Western European powers. For almost a century, Central Asia served as the political, military and trade hub of the Eurasian land mass. Traces of the contacts between the Mongol Empire and the Italian states can even be found in medieval Italian art, in the works of such painters as Cimabue, Giotto and Daddi.

After the Mongol Empire broke up into four independent and mutually contending states, Timur Lenkh (Tamerlane) made a second and final attempt from Samarkand to re-conquer Central Asia, although he was less interested in building an empire with firm structures and stable administration than in ruthlessly plundering the conquered states outside of his homeland Sogdiana. While Timur's political legacy barely survived his death, the buildings he and his successors, the Timurids, left in today's Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are among the great architectural monuments of the time. It was a late descendant of Timur's named Sultan Babur who founded the great Mughal Empire in the early sixteenth century in northern India. The Mughal Empire flourished until the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and brought magnificent achievements in the fields of architecture and miniature painting, the fruits of a synthesis between Central Asian and Indian art. From today's perspective, it is clear that the period between the tenth and fifteenth centuries represented a political and cultural high point in the history of Central Asia, never afterwards equalled, gradually brought to an end not by external influences but by internal centrifugal forces and disintegration. But it was also the beginning of Turkic domination of southern Eurasia, with the exception of Iran, which lasted for nearly a millennium. Turkic peoples, who had originally come from the heart of Central Asia, adopted Islam and the achievements of Muslim cultures, and put their military prowess in the service of their new faith, either as conquerors or as military slaves. This alliance between Sunni Islam and Turkic peoples would leave its mark on the history of large parts of Eurasia.

Appendix: The Most Important Dynasties and Rulers of Central Asia

Chanyu of the Xiongnu

I. Anonymous chanyu (defeated by General Li Mu in 244 BCE)
II. Anonymous chanyu (d. before 215 BCE)
Touman Chanyu (r. before 215–209 BCE)
Modu Chanyu (r. 209–174 BCE)
Laoshang Chanyu (r. 174–161 BCE)
Junchen Chanyu (161–126 BCE)
Yizhye Chanyu (126–114 BCE)
Wuwei Chanyu (114–105 BCE)
Wushilu'er Chanyu (105–102 BCE)
Xulihu Chanyu (102–101 BCE)
Quedihou Chanyu (r. 101–96 BCE)
Hulugu Chanyu (r. 96–85 BCE)
Huyandi Chanyu (r. 85–68 BCE)
Xuluquanqu Chanyu (r. 68–60 BCE)
Woyanqudi Chanyu (r. 60–58 BCE)
Huhanye Chanyu (r. 58–31 BCE)
  Tuqi Chanyu (pretendant 58–56 BCE)
  Hujie Chanyu (pretendant 57 BCE)
  Cheli Chanyu (pretendant 57–56 BCE)
  Wujie Chanyu (pretendant 57 BCE)
  Runzhen Chanyu (pretendant 56–54 BCE)
Zizhi Guduhou Chanyu (r. 56–36 BCE)
Fuzhuleiruodi Chanyu (r. 31–20 BCE)
Souxieruodi Chanyu (r. 20–12 BCE)
Cheyaruodi Chanyu (r. 12–8 BCE)
Wuzhuliuruodi Chanyu (r. 8 BCE–13CE)
Wuleiruodi Chanyu (r. 13–18 CE)
Huduershidaogaoruodi Chanyu (r. 18–46 CE)
Wudalihou Chanyu (r. 46 CE)

Division into Northern and Southern Xiongnu

Northern Xiongnu

Punu Chanyu (r. 47–?)
Youliu Chanyu (r. ?–87)
Bei Chanyu (r. 88–?)
Yuchujian Chanyu (r. 91–93)

Southern Xiongnu

Bi Chanyu (r. 48–56)

Sources: Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian: Wars with the Xiongnu*, trans. Joseph P. Yap (Bloomington, 2009). Rafe de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier: The Policies and Strategy of the Later Han Empire* (Canberra, 1984). Gelegdorj Eregzen, Treasures of the Xiongnu (Ulaan Baatar, 2011), pp. 18–19.

Kings of the Wusun

Nantoumi (r. ?–173 BCE)
Lieqiaomi (r. ?–*ca*. 105 BCE)
Junxumi (r. *ca*. 105–? BCE)
Wenguimi (r. before 74–*ca*. 60 BCE)
Nimi (r. *ca*. 60–55 BCE)
Wujiutu (r. 55–53 BCE)

Division of the Wusun into two kingdoms

Great Kunmi

Yuanguimi (r. 53–51 BCE)
Xingmi (r. 51–*ca*. 33/31 BCE)
Cilimi (r. 33/31–*ca*. 18/17 BCE or 11 BCE)
Ichimi (r. *ca*. 18/17 BCE or 11 BCE–after 1 BCE)

Lesser Kunmi

Wujiutu (r. 53 BCE–?)
Fuli (r. ?)

Anri (r. ?–*ca*. 18/17 BCE)
Mozhenjiang (r. *ca*. 18/17 BCE–*ca*. 11 BCE)
Anlimi (r. *ca*. 11 BCE –?)

Sources: A.F.P. Hulsewé, M.A.N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia* (Leiden, 1979), *Han Shu* chap. 96B, pp. 143–162. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian. Wars with the Xiongnu*, trans. Joseph P. Yap (Bloomington, 2009).

Parthian kings until 70 BCE

Arsaces (r. *ca*. 247–218 or 211 BCE)
Tiridates ?
Arsaces II (r. 218 or 211–*ca*. 191 BCE)
Phriapatios (r. *ca*. 191–176 BCE)
Phraates I (r. 176–171 BCE)
Mithridates I (r. 171–139 BCE)
Phraates II (r. 138–128 BCE)
Artabanus I (r. 128–123 BCE)
Mithridates II (r. 123–88/87 BCE)
Gotarzes I (r. *ca*. 90–81/80 BCE)
Orodes (r. *ca*. 80–76 BCE)
Sanatruces (r. 78/77–70 BCE)

Source: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (1), (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 98ff.

The Kushans

Heraios (r. *ca*. 0–30 CE)

'Great Kushans'

Kujula Kadphises (r. *ca*. 30–80)
Vima Takto (r. *ca*. 80–102?)
Vima Kadphises (r. *ca*. 102–127)
Kanishka I (r. 127–151)
Huvishka (r. *ca*. 155–187)
Vasudeva I (r. 191–229/30)

'Lesser Kushans'

Kanishka II (r. *ca*. 230–247)
Vasishka (r. *ca*. 247–257)
Kanishka III (r. *ca*. 268)
Vasudeva II (r. *ca*. 280–300)
Shaka (r. ?–mid-4th c.)

Sources: Joe Cribb, 'Die Chronologie Gandharas anhand der Münzen', in Christian Luczanits, ed., *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans: Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 64–69, here p. 67f. Frantz Grenet et al., The Sasanian Relief at Rag-I Bibi, in Joe Cribb, Georgina Herrmann, eds, *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London 2007), pp. 243–267, here p. 259f, n. 13.

Kushan-Sassanid vassal kings

Ardashir I Kushanshah (r. *ca*. 230–250)
Ardashir II Kushanshah?
Peroz I Kushanshah (r. *ca*. 250–265)
Hormizd I Kushanshah (r. *ca*. 265–295)
Hormizd II Kushanshah (r. *ca*. 295–300)
Peroz II Kushanshah (r. *ca*. 300–325)
Shapur II Kushanshah?
Varahran I Kushanshah (r. *ca*. 325–350)
Varahran II Kushanshah (r. *ca*. 350–after 360?)
Varahran Kushanshah of Gandhara? (*ca*. 340)
Peroz III Kushanshah of Gandhara (r. *ca*. 350–360)

Sources: A.D.H. Bivar, 'The History of Eastern Iran', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (1), (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 181–231, here p. 211f. A.H. Dani, B.A. Litvinsky, 'The Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom', in Boris Litvinsky, ed., *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, (Paris, 1996), pp. 103–118, here p. 105f.

The Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarians

Dynasties of Xiongnu origin

* **Han Zhao** 304–329
* **Later Zhao*** 319–351
* **Northern Liang** 397–439, until 460 in Gaochang
* **Da Xia** 407–431

Dynasties of Xianbei origin

* **Former Yan** 337–370
* **Later Yan** 383–409
* **Southern Yan** 398–410
* **Northern Yan** 409–436
* **Southern Liang** 397–414
* **Western Qin** 385–431
* **Northern Wei**** 386–534

Dynasties of Di origin***

* **Former Qin** 351–394
***Later Liang** 386–403
Cheng Han*** 304–347

Dynasty of proto-Tibetan Qiang origin

***Later Qin** 384–417

Dynasty of Han Chinese origin

***Former Liang** 320–376

***Western Liang** 400–421

*The Later Zhao were founded by a Jie-tribe belonging to the Xiongnu, but they are often counted as an independent tribe.

**The Northern Wei are usually not counted as one of the Sixteen Kingdoms.

***The Di lived in Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan.

****The Cheng Han were founded by a family of Ba ethnicity settled in Gansu.

Sources: Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 129. Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri, *Lives of early Buddhist Monks* (New Delhi, 2008), p. XIX.

The Rouran

Shelun (r. 394–410)
Hulü (r. 410–414)
Puluzhen (r. 414)
Tatun (r. 414–429)
Wudi (r. 429–444)
Tohuozhen (r. 444–464)
Yucheng (r. 464–485)
Doulun (r. 485–492)
Nagai (r. 492–506)
Fudu (r. 506–508)
Chounu (r. 508–519)
Anagui (r. 519, 521–552)
Poluomen (r. 519–521)
Tefa (r. 552–553)
Tengzhu (r. 553)
Kuti (r. 553)
Yanluchen (r. 553–554?)

Source: Nikolai K. Kradin, 'From Tribal Confederation to Empire: The Evolution of the Rouran Society' in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 58 (2), 2005, pp. 149–169, here p. 160.

The First Turkic Khaganate

The United Khaganate

Illig Khagan (Bumin, d. 552)
Issik Khagan (r. 552–553)
Muqan Khagan (r. 553–572)
Taspar Khagan (r. 572–581, last universally recognised Khagan)
Anluo (title unknown, r. 581, start of civil war)
Ishbara Kaghan (r. 581–587)
Baghan Khagan (r. 587–588)
Dulan Khagan (r. 588–599)
Tardush Khagan (r. 599–603?)

The Eastern Khaganate

Yami Khagan (r. 603–609)
Shibi Khagan (r. 609–619)
Chuluo Khagan (r. 619–620)
Illig Khagan (Chinese, Xieli, r. 620–630)
Qilibi Khagan (r. 639–643)
Chebi Khagan (r. 646–650)
Nishufu Khagan (679–680)
Funian Khagan (680–681)

The Western Khaganate

Ishtemi Yabghu (r. 552/53–575)
Tardush Yabghu (r. with interruption 575–*ca*. 603)
Apa Khagan (r. ? d. 587)
Niri Khagan (r. 587–*ca*. 602/03)
Heshana Khagan (r. 602/03–611, d. 619)
Shikui Khagan (r. 610–617)
Tong Yabghu Khagan (r. *ca*. 617–630)
Baghatur Khagan (r. 630)
Si Yabghu Khagan (r. 630–632)
Tughluq Khagan (r. 632–634)
Illig Beg Tughluq Khagan (r. 638–642, d. 653)
Illig Beg Ishbara Yabghu Khagan (r. 639–641)
Illig Beg Shekui Khagan (r. 642–651)
Ishbara Khagan (r. 651–658)

Sources: Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (China, 1940). Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* (T'u-Küe) (Wiesbaden, 1958). Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008).

Pre-Christian Kingdom of the Danube Bulgars

Asparukh Khan (r. 680–*ca*. 695/700)
Tervel Khan (r. 695/700–721)
Kormesiy Khan (r. *ca*. 721–738)
Sevar (r. *ca*. 738–753)
About 7 Khans with short reigns (r. 753–768)
Telerig Khan (r. 768–77)
Kardam Khan (r. 777–before 803)
Krum Khan (r. 803–814)
Omurtag Khan (r. 814–831)
Malamir Khan (r. 831–836)

Presian Khan (r. 836–852)
Boris Khan (r. 852–889)

Sources: Uwe Fiedler, *Bulgars in the Lower Danube Region: A Survey of the Archaeological Evidence and of the State of Current Research*, in Florin Curta, ed., *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 151–236. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, Les Nomades (Paris, 2007), pp. 208–14.

The reconstructions of the Avar and Khazar rulers are only fragmentary.

The Second Turkic Khaganate

Ashina Qutlugh Ilterish Khagan (r. 682–91)
Kapagan Khagan (r. 691–716)
Inel Khagan (r. 716)
Bilge Khagan (r. 716–734)
Yiran Khagan (r. 734–?)
Tengri Khagan (r. ?–741)
A son of Bilge Khagan (r. 741)
Another son of Bilge Khagan (r. 741)
Qutlugh Yabghu (r. 741–742)
Khagan Ozmysh (r. 742–744)
Bomei Khagan (r. 744–745)

Source: Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* (T'u-Küe) (Wiesbaden, 1958), pp. 158–180, 212–231.

The Uyghur Empire

Yaghlaqar Dynasty

Qutlugh Bilge Kül Khagan, named Qutlugh Boyla (r. 744–747)
Tängridä Bulmish El Etmish Bilge Khagan, named Bayanchur (r. 747–759)
Tängridä Qut Bulmish El Tutmish Alp Külügh Bilge Khagan, named Muyu (Bögü) Khagan (r. 759–779)
Alp Qutlugh Bilge Khagan, named Tun Bagha (r. 779–789)
Tängridä Bulmish Külügh Bilge Khagan (r. 789–790)
Anonymous ruler (r. 790)
Qutlugh Bilge Khagan (r. 790–95)

Ädiz Dynasty

Tängridä Ülüg Bulmish Alp Qutlugh Ulug Bilge Khagan (r. 795–805/08)
Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Bilge Khagan (r. 808–821)
Kün Tängridä Ulugh Bulmish (Alp) Küchlügh Bilge Khagan (r. 821–824)
Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Bilge Khagan, named Hesa Tegin (r. 824–832)
Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Külügh Bilge Khagan (r. 832–839)
Esa Tegin (r. 839–840)
Ögä Khagan* (r. 841–846)
Enie Kaghan* (r. 846–848)

* Leader of the 13 tribes that fled to the Chinese border

Sources: Michael R. Drompp, 'The Uighur-Chinese Conflict of 840–848', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)* (Leiden, 2002) pp. 73–103, here pp. 76–95. James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris, 1955), pp. 139–43. Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra, 1972), pp. 191f. Moriyasu Takao, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France* in May 2003 (Osaka, 2003), p. 38.

Knowledge about the rulers of the western Uyghur empires of Gansu and Kocho is very fragmentary. See: James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris, 1955), pp. 143f. Moriyasu Takao, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003* (Osaka, 2003), p. 38, *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße* (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 221–25. Elisabeth Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 102.

Notes

Introduction

1. George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo–Russian Question* (London, 1889), p. 189.
2. Carl Philipp Gottlieb von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. J.J. Graham (London, 1908), vol. I, 1.24.

I. Early Empires and Kingdoms in East Central Asia

1. Cited in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, here Chapter 110, trans. as *Records of the Grand Historian of China: Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson* (New York, 1971), vol. II, p. 168; in these notes, later references simply to *Shiji* will be to this translation. Most historians date Modu's letter to Emperor Han Wendi to 176 BCE, while Yap gives 174 BCE: Joseph P. Yap, *Wars with the Xiongnu: A Translation from Zizhi tongjian* (Bloomington, 2009), p. 107.
2. *Xiong* then meant 'human wickedness' and *nu* 'slave'. There is a very great phonetic similarity between the names of the Hunyu and the Hunxie in the *Shiji*, Attila's Huns, the Chounoi of Ptolemy and the Chunni of the Byzantine historian Theophylact Simocatta. See John E. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes During the Later Han Dynasty, 1st to 2nd Centuries CE: An Annotated Translation of the Chronicle on the 'Western Regions' in the Hou Hanshu* (Charleston, SC, 2009), pp. 73ff; on the relationship between the Xiongnu and the Huns, see p. 82 of the present work. Ptolemy, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, (ed.) C.F.A. Nobbe (Leipzig, 1843), III.5.25, p. 172; Theophylact Simocatta, *The* History *of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*, (ed.) and trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986), VII.14–VIII.16, pp. 89ff; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, pp. 155ff.
3. Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 2 and 141.
4. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, translated in part as A.F.P Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia, The Early Stage: 125 B.C.–A.D. 23. An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty*, with an introduction by M.A.N. Loewe (Leiden, 1979), here pp. 9ff; the *Han Shu* has also been translated as *The History of the Former Han Dynasty, by Pan Ku: A Critical Translation with Annotations by Homer H. Dubs* (Baltimore, 1938), here pp. 1–25; later references will be to Ban Gu, *Han Shu*: Hulsewé, and Ban Gu, *Han Shu*: Dubs, respectively. Particularly relevant to our theme is chapter 96, which describes the foreign peoples surrounding China, and chapter 61, which contains the biographies of imperial ambassador and explorer Zhang Qian and his contemporary the general Li Guangli.
5. Depending on the edition, these chapters may be designated as 47 and 88 or 77 and 118: Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. xv.
6. Generals Ban Chao and Ban Yong, on whose reports chapters 47 and 88 are based, and also General Leang Kin: Edouard Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois de la dynastie des Han Orientaux. Pan Tch'ao (32–102 p.C.); – son fils Pan Yong; – Leang K'in (112 p.C.). Chapitre LXXVII du 'Heou Han chou' traduit par Edouard Chavannes* (Leiden, 1906).
7. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, pp. xv, 13 and 458.
8. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, translated in part as Yap, *Wars with the Xiongnu*. Yap's selection concentrates on China's wars with the Xiongnu and their predecessors from 403 BCE to 23 CE. It will be referred to simply as Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*.
9. According to the Zizhi tongjian the Xiongnu attacks started around 259 BCE and general Li Mu followed first a very defensive strategy. Chapter 52 of the *Han Shu* – but not the *Shiji* – mentions the Xiongnu already in connection with the small Dai kingdom defeated by Zhao in 475 BCE. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 23ff.
10. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 155.
11. Emma Bunker et al., *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York, 1997), p. 14.
12. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 157.
13. The Linhu lived in the Ordos, the Lufan on its eastern margin. Both tribes would later belong to the Xiongnu federation. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 159.
14. The Donghu inhabited today's Manchuria: Juliana Holotova-Szinek, *Les Xiongnu de Mongolie* (Saarbrücken, 2011), p. 164.
15. Holotova-Szinek, *Les Xiongnu de Mongolie*, p. 165.
16. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 23–26; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 160.
17. From around the seventh century CE, Tibet grew into a considerable supplier of horses to China, firstly in exchange for silk, and from the tenth century, for tea brick.
18. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, *The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, pp. 186–192.
19. The name means 'first (*Shi*) ruler (*Huang*) equal to the gods (*Di*) of Qin'.
20. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 160; Aurel Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford, 1921), vol. II, pp. 722ff.
21. The soldiers of the *tuntian* had to secure the trade routes, supply expeditionary forces, and cultivate crops. The name means 'to store' and 'to farm'. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. bis zum 6. Jh. n.Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1969), vol. I, pp. 74f.
22. On the role of the first Great Wall see Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its Enemies*, pp. 8, 143 and 149ff, and the same author's *The Origins of the Great Wall* (Saratoga, 2006), pp. 14–19.
23. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 161.
24. At that time, a Chinese *li* was around 416 metres.
25. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 162.
26. The Qilian Mountains lie between central Gansu and Qinghai; the more than 2,000-km-long Tian Shan range runs from north of the Turfan Oasis in the east, across southern Kyrgyzstan, to Fergana, where it joins the Pamir Mountains. The Yuezhi's second homeland stretched from somewhere around Jiuquan in eastern Gansu to the Turfan Oasis in central Xinjiang. On the vexed question of the Yuezhi's first homeland and the information given in the *Shiji*, see Thierry François, 'Yuezhi et Kouchans: Pièges et dangers des sources chinoises', in Bopearachchi and Boussac, eds, *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 448–450.
27. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 164.
28. In the decimal organisation of their army the Xiongnu were preceded only by the Achaemenids: Nicola Di Cosmo, 'Ethnogenesis, Coevolution and Political Morphology of the Earliest Steppe Empire: The Xiongnu Question Revisited', in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan K. Miller, eds, *Xiongnu Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the First Steppe Empire in Inner Asia* (Bonn, 2011), p. 47.
29. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 163. Barfield identifies the two 'Kutu marquises' as part of

the central government: Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 37.

30. Di Cosmo, 'Ethnogenesis', pp. 44ff.
31. That the Xiongnu knew the stirrup, as Ishjamts has claimed, remains very doubtful: N. Ishjamts, 'Nomads in Central Asia', in János Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, *The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250* (Paris, 1994), p. 163.
32. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 86f, 168f.
33. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 171.
34. For this discussion see Jan Bemmann, 'Was the Center of the Xiongnu Empire in the Orkhon Valley?', in Brosseder and Miller, eds, *Xiongnu Archaeology*, pp. 441–461. While many Chinese authors identify the capital as Lungchen, which means 'dragon city', the name seems to have been given to a number of different places.
35. Only 2.3% of Xiongnu-occupied Mongolia was then suitable for agricultural use: see Nikolay N. Kradin, 'Stateless Empire: The Structure of the Xiongnu Nomadic Super-Complex Chiefdom', in Brosseder and Miller, eds, *Xiongnu Archaeology*, p. 84.
36. Bemmann, 'Was the Center of the Xiongnu Empire in the Orkhon Valley?', p. 459.
37. Sergei V. Danilov, 'Typology of ancient settlement complexes of the Xiongnu', in Brosseder and Miller, eds, *Xiongnu Archaeology*, pp. 129f, 135f. Sergei V. Danilov, Natali'ia V.Tsydenova, 'Ceramic roof tiles from Terelzhiin Dörvölzhin', in ibid, pp. 341–47. Another, but not fortified settlement was Boroo Gol near the necropolis of Noin Ula in northern Mongolia. Here the people grew barley and millet and probably also prospected for gold. This small village consisted of *ca.* 20 houses and was inhabited the whole year, since a clever heating system, similar to the Chinese 'kang bed stove', made the single room houses liveable in winter. A system of tubes conducted hot air from the oven to a chimney, located on the opposite side of the room, alongside the walls lined with long clay benches. Boroo Gol was occupied from the third century BCE to the the second or third century CE. Denis Ramseyer et al., *The Xiongnu settlement of Boroo Gol* (Bonn, 2011), p. 239. *L'habitat Xiongnu de Boroo Gol. Recherches archéologiques en Mongolie (2003–2008),* (Gollion, 2013), pp. 92, 214–221.
38. Denis Ramseyer et al., *L'habitat Xiongnu de Boroo Gol. Recherches archéologiques en Mongolie (2003–2008)*, (Gollion, 2013), p. 228, see also pp. 39, 43f, 215, 226.
39. Denis Ramseyer et al., *L'habitat Xiongnu de Boroo Gol* (Gollion, 2013), pp. 47–49.
40. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, pp. 165ff; Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, pp. 116ff.
41. Kradin, 'Stateless Empire', p. 77.
42. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, pp. 172ff.
43. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 168.
44. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, p. 73.
45. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 100: vol. II, p. 174.
46. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 100: vol. II, p. 155.
47. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 100: vol. II, p. 165.
48. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 112: vol. II, p. 228.
49. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 182, 401.
50. Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its Enemies*, pp. 202ff; Holotova-Szinek, *Les Xiongnu de Mongolie*, pp. 168ff.
51. The Chinese title 'Laoshang' meaning 'old elevated' is presumably a translation of the Xiongnu title.
52. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé, pp. 214ff. Sima Qian here differs significantly from the *Han Shu* in identifying the Xiongnu as the victorious attackers – Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, p. 271. Authorities disagree as to whether the *Shiji* or Chapter 61 of the *Han Shu* is more reliable in this respect. I follow Hulsewé, who believes the *Han Shu*'s version to be the more plausible account.
53. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, p. 264. On the dating of this war see Craig Benjamin, 'The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria', in Bopearachchi and Boussac, eds, *Afghanistan*, pp. 72ff.
54. See pp. 45f.
55. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 108: vol. II, pp. 136ff, 176ff and 195.
56. Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its Enemies*, pp. 232ff.
57. As Wei Qing went '1000 *li*' (a little more than 400 km) 'north of the border' and met the waiting chanyu on 'the northern edge of the desert', the latter's new residence may have been located between 45 and 46 degrees of latitude in the Central Mongolian provinces of Dundgov or Ovorkhangai: Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110 and 111: vol. II, pp. 180, 206.
58. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, pp. 180, 206.
59. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, p. 264. According to the *Han Shu*, it was the widow of the dead king who then ruled the Yuezhi: Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé, pp. 208ff.
60. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, p. 269.
61. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, p. 266. It is possible that the horses Zhang saw were infected with a parasite: Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 584.
62. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé p. 212; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, p. 270.
63. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, p. 271. In the Chinese army, failure to arrive punctually at an appointed place in time of war was a serious military offence, for which the guilty commander had often to pay with his life.
64. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé, p. 215.
65. Marcus Iunianus Iustinus, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, trans. Rev. John Selby Watson (London, 1853) Book I.4, available at http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/trans1.html (last retrieved 22.11.13). The Roman writer Justin (2nd–3rd c. CE) composed an abridgement of the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus, an author of the time of Augustus.
66. Christopher J. Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1978), p. 76.
67. Boris Marshak, *Legends, Tales and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (New York, 2002), pp. 142ff; Judith Rickenbach, (ed.), *Oxus: 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluss in Mittelasien* (Zurich, 1989), pp. 144f.
68. Peter Golden, 'A Qaračay Nart tale of lupine origins: an echo of the Ašina tradition?', in *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot, 2010), section II, pp. 152–160; Erich Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig, 1948), p. 1; Bruno J. Richtsfeld, 'Alexanderroman, Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen und Gesar Epos – Parallelen zwischen antiker und mongolischer Überlieferung', in Claudius Müller, Wenzel Jacob (eds) *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (Mainz, 2005), pp. 117–121, here p. 119; Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien: Archäologische und historische Studien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 239, n. 1338.
69. This 180,000 km^2 territory fell to China in 121 BCE upon the capitulation of the Xiongnu sub-king Hunye Wang. See below, p. 15.
70. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé, p. 217.
71. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96b, pp. 145ff.
72. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61, pp. 218ff. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, pp. 272–274.
73. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 111: vol. II, p. 202.
74. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: p. 180.
75. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110 & 111: pp. 180ff & 203ff; Chang Chun-shu, *The Rise of the Chinese Empire*, vol. 2, *Frontier, Immigration and Empire in Han China, 130 B.C.– A.D. 157* (Ann Arbor, 2006), p. 6; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, p. 185.
76. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 186–194; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110 & 111: vol. II, pp. 182ff, 205–208.
77. Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its Enemies*, p. 250, n. 152.
78. Chang Chun-shu, *The Rise of the Chinese Empire*, vol. 2, p. 176; Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96B: Hulsewé, p. 201.
79. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 248–257.
80. Chang Chun-shu, *The Rise of the Chinese Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 23ff; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 111: vol. II, p. 215.
81. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. II, pp. 724ff. Slightly later dates are given in Albert E. Dien, 'Encounters with Nomads', in Juliano Annette, Lerner Judith (eds). *Monks and Merchants. Silk Road treasures from Northwest China* (New York, 2001), pp. 55–66, here p. 58: Jiuquan in 108 BCE, Zhangye in 102 BCE, Dunhuang in 88 BCE, Jincheng in 81 BCE and Wuwei in 68 BCE.
82. Dunhuang was known to Ptolemy under the name of Throana: Ptolemy, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, VI.16.6.
83. As Aurel Stein points out, the Jade Gate originally stood east of Dunhuang, and was moved westward to Stein's site T. XIV in around 96–94 BCE: Stein, *Serindia*, vol. II, pp. 620–624, 726–728.
84. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, pp. 85ff.
85. Ptolemy, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, VI.15.3.
86. The ruins in the Lop Nor desert are identified by Aurel Stein's system, which runs from L.A. to L.T. Stein lettered his ruins in chronological order of discovery, so that the series corresponds neither to the historical nor to the geographical relationships between the sites. For a discussion of the exact location of Loulan's capital city, as between Stein's ruins L.A., L.E., L.K. or Miran, see Enoki Kazuo, *The Location of the Capital of Lou-Lan and the Date of the* Kharoṣṭhī *Inscriptions* (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 127–171; Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, pp. 81ff, n. 77; Lin Meicun, *Loulan kuo shih tu kao* (Beijing, 2005), vol. 6, pp. 79–85; Marylin M. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia* (Leiden, 1999), vol. I, pp. 327–330.

87. Sven Hedin, *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia, 1899–1902* (Stockholm, 1905), p. 620.
88. The geographers sent by Emperor Wudi to discover the source of the Yellow River believed they had found it in the source of the Tarim in the Kun Lun Mountains. As the Tarim in those days flowed into the closed Lop Nor Lake, they postulated the existence of a subterranean channel that drained it to the east: Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, p. 72; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, pp. 266ff, 278.
89. Aurel Stein, 'A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913–16', in *The Geographical Journal*, London, vol. XLVIII, no. 2, p. 127, 1916.
90. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 308–310; and the same author's *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran* (Oxford, 1928), vol. I, pp. 308–310.
91. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 42–45; Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, p. 87; 96B: Hulsewé, pp. 146ff; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 217ff; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, pp. 277ff.
92. Under the Western Han Dynasty, all young men were subject to conscription in time of war, an obligation abolished under the Eastern Han.
93. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé, p. 232.
94. Lucie Boulnois, *Silk Road: Monks, Warriors & Merchants* (Hong Kong, 2004), p. 76; Liu Xinru and Lynda Norene Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia* (New York, 2007), p. 36.
95. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 339.
96. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. III, p. 1236; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 796–782.
97. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, p. 288.
98. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. II, p. 725.
99. Aurel Stein, 'A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913–16' (London, 1916), pp. 124, 126; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 259–263.
100. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 132 and also Christoph Baumer, 'The Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture: New Archaeological Discoveries in the Taklamakan Desert, China', in *Asian Affairs*, vol. 42, no. 1 (2011), pp. 49–69, p. 60.
101. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, p. 285.
102. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, pp. 89–92; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, p. 290. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 123: vol. II, pp. 277ff; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 343.
103. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 326ff, 333, 343. Ruoqiang, on the other hand, is certainly not identical with Endere, as Valerie Hansen claims, for Endere lies 360 km south-west of Ruoqiang. Equally wrong is Hansen's claim that Chinese sources date the beginnings of Loulan to 77 BCE, for the Shiji names the year 176 BCE. See here note 1, Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (Oxford, 2012), p. 35.
104. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96B: Hulsewé, pp. 151ff; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 309ff.
105. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, p. 311.
106. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 315–323.
107. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 343ff; Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, p. 78.
108. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, pp. 76ff.
109. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A, pp. 64, 79, 164, n. 514; Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. bis zum 6. Jh. n.Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1969), vol. I, pp. 46, 73. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 344ff.
110. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, p. 578.
111. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 347–535.
112. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 354–360, 369.
113. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, p. 126; Ban Gu, *Han Shu*: Dubs, vol. II, pp. 279–285; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 374–380.
114. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, p. 378. See also Ban Gu, *Han Shu*: Dubs, vol. II, pp. 282, 331ff, n. 11.10-11.
115. Pliny, *Natural History*, Books 3–7. (*Naturalis Historia*, Lib. VI, XViii, 46–47).
116. Dubs's hypothesis, that Chen Tang captured the legionaries, transported them to Gansu and there had them build a fortified town, remains unproven: Homer H. Dubs, *A Roman City in Ancient China* (London, 1957), pp. 1ff, 15; see too David Harris and Peter Welch, 'Rom in der Wüste Gobi', in Gottfried Kirchner, (ed.), *Terra X. Expeditionen ins Unbekannte* (Munich, 1995), pp. 6–57.
117. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96B: Hulsewé, p. 195; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 524–554.
118. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 569–600.
119. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 550, 561. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96B: Hulsewé, pp. 195ff.
120. Rafe de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier: The Policies and Strategy of the Later Han Empire* (Canberra, 1984), pp. 238ff.
121. Crespigny, Northern Frontier, pp. 259f, 285f.
122. See pp. 82f.
123. See pp. 32f.
124. Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, pp. 294ff.
125. 'Bei Chanyu' means 'northern chanyu' in Chinese, and his actual name is unknown.
126. Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 79ff.
127. See note 2 above.
128. Ishjamts, 'Nomads in Central Asia', p. 156.
129. Sergei Rudenko, *Die Kultur der Hsung-Nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula* (Bonn, 1969), pp. 18, 31, 76, 79.
130. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 164.
131. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, p. 155. A few scholars such as Ishjamts believe that the Xiongnu had a rune-like script similar to that of Old Turkic: Ishjamts, 'Nomads in Central Asia', pp. 165ff. This hypothesis is highly improbable, as there is a gap of 700 years between the Noin Ula finds and the first Old Turkic inscriptions. Furthermore, the runiform Old Turkic script developed from the Sogdian script, which hardly existed before 0 CE: Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt, 1998), pp. 505ff, 516ff.
132. A third meeting took place in autumn to count people and animals. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 164.
133. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 164.
134. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 171.
135. Gelegdorj Eregzen, (ed.), *Treasures of the Xiongnu* (Ulaan Baatar, 2011), pp. 67ff; Bryan K. Miller, 'Permutations of Peripheries in the Xiongnu Empire', in Brosseder and Miller, *Xiongnu Archaeology*, pp. 559–78.
136. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110: vol. II, p. 164.
137. Further excavations were carried out by Prof. Natalya Polosmak in 2006–2010.
138. Rudenko, *Die Kultur der Hsiung-Nu*, pp. 12–18.
139. See Baumer. *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 186.
140. Gelegdorj Eregzen, 'A Comparative Analysis of Xiongnu Noble Tombs and Burials in Adjacent Regions', in Brosseder and Miller, *Xiongnu Archaeology*, p. 284.
141. Gelegdorj Eregzen, 'A Comparative Analysis of Xiongnu Noble Tombs and Burials in Adjacent Regions', p. 20; Sergei Minaev and Julia Elikhina, 'On the Chronology of the Noyon uul Barrows', in *The Silk Road*, vol. 7 (2009), pp. 23ff, 31ff; Michèle Pirazzoli t'Serstevens, 'Chinese Lacquerware from Noyon uul: Some Problems of Manufacturing and Distribution', in *The Silk Road*, vol. 7 (2009), pp. 37ff.
142. Margarete Prüch, ‚Die Lackkästchen aus der Grabung von Ust'-Al'ma', in LVG-Landesmuseum Bonn (ed.). *Die Krim. Goldene Insel im Schwarzen Meer. Griechen – Skythen – Goten* (Darmstadt, 2013), pp. 142–151. Jurij Zajcev, Chinesische Lackschatullen aus der Nekropole von Ust'-Al'ma. In *Die Krim*, pp. 102–107.
143. Boris Staviskij, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Kushan* (Leipzig, 1979), ill. 58.
144. Staviskij, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Kushan*, p. 82, ill. 56.
145. Staviskij, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Kushan*, p. 84, ill. 58; Rudenko, *Die Kultur der Hsiung-Nu*, pp. 70, 93–97, plates XLI–XLV, LX-LXV.
146. See p. 134, fig. 99.
147. Gelegdorj, (ed.), *Treasures of the Xiongnu*, pp. 248, 252ff, 256–259.
148. G. André, J.P. Desroches, J.P. Drège and V. Rouchon, 'L'un des plus anciens papiers du monde exhumé récemment en Mongolie – découverte, analyses physico-chimiques et contexte scientifique', in *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 65 (Paris, 2010), p. 29.
149. The fragments of five chariots were found at Noin Ula: André, Desroches, et al., 'L'un des plus anciens papiers du monde', pp. 29f.
150. Gergely Csiky, 'Grabarchitektur und Bestattungsriten der asiatischen Hunnen', in Alexander Koch, (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Beier & Beran, Langenweissbach, 2008), pp. 74–77.
151. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96B: Hulsewé, p. 148. Gelegdorj Eregzen believes, on the other hand, that these chariots were made by the Xiongnu themselves after Chinese models: Eregzen, (ed.), *Treasures of the Xiongnu*, p. 219.
152. Jean-Paul Desroches et al., *Mongolie, le premier empire des steppes* (Arles, 2003), pp. 127, 195.
153. André Guilhem, 'L'un des plus anciens papiers du monde exhumé récemment en Mongolie – découverte, analyses physico-chimiques et contexte scientifique', in *Arts Asiatiques*, 65, (Paris, 2010), pp. 27, 35–37.
154. Eregzen, (ed.), *Treasures of the Xiongnu*, pp. 110ff.
155. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I., pp. 219–223.
156. Csiky, *Grabarchitektur und Bestattungsriten*, p. 78.
157. Eregzen, (ed.), *Treasures of the Xiongnu*, pp. 34, 50.
158. The archaeological survey and excavation of Terezin has been carried out by the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, Hergiswil, Switzerland. Pavel M. Leus, *Tuva, Russia. Search and excavation of ancient Sarmatian, Hunnish and Turkic tombs* (Hergiswil 2007–12). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/

frameset_projekt_4.html See also: V. A. Semenov, *The Wusun in Northeastern Central Asia* (Novosibirsk, 2010), p. 100.

159. Pavel M. Leus, 'New Finds from the Xiongnu Period in Central Tuva: Preliminary Communication', in Brosseder and Miller, *Xiongnu Archaeology*, pp. 515–536.
160. N. Dyakonova, *Das Gräberfeld der hunno-sarmatischen Zeit von Kokel, Tuva, Süd-Sibirien* (Munich, 1984).
161. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, pp. 37, 49.
162. Edouard Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, p. 218; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, p. 540.
163. Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, pp. 218–222.
164. Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, p. 226.
165. Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, p. 233.
166. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 597; Thierry François, 'Yuezhi et Kouchans', p. 481.
167. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, pp. 43, 179, 182; Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, pp. 230–233. Craig Benjamin's hypothesis, that the first ruler of Kushans, Kujula Kadphises (r. *ca.* 30–80) had already made a military attack on Kashgar in around 50 CE, seems rather improbable: Benjamin, 'The Yuezhi', p. 103.
168. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, p. 543.
169. *Sramana* Huili and *Shi* Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*, trans. Li Rongxi (Berkeley, 1995), p. 170.
170. A.F.P. Hulsewé, M.A.N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia* (Leiden, 1979), *Han Shu* chap. 96A, p. 109.
171. See pp. 47f.
172. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 23.
173. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 27.
174. Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, p. 237; Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, pp. 110f. As Hill observes, there were at least two such narrow passes in the Karakorum Mountains, so that the 'hanging passages' described in the *Hou Han Shu* might not be the same as those travelled by the later monastic pilgrims Faxian and Xuanzang: Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, pp. 399, 622, 626.
175. Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, pp. 243–256; Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, pp. 7, 132.
176. The '36 States of the West' was a fixed, somewhat symbolic concept. The Chinese chronicles also often speak of '50 or 55 states'. Chavannes, *Trois Généraux chinois*, p. 236. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, pp. 199, 481, 637–639.
177. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 43.
178. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, p. 331.
179. Y.A. Zadneprovskiy, *'The Nomads of Northern Central Asia After the Invasion of Alexander'*, in János Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, *The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250* (Paris, 1994), p. 459. Were this true, the Wusun could not already have entered northern Xinjiang and Gansu by the early second millennium BCE, as Pulleyblank postulates, and he therefore identifies them as Tocharian speakers: Edwin Pulleyblank, 'The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Time', in David N. Keightley, (ed.), *The Origins of Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 411–466, here pp. 457–460; and Pulleyblank, 'Chinese and Indo-Europeans', in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1966), pp. 9–39.
180. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 290.
181. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé, p. 217.
182. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96B: p. 146.
183. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, pp. 147–152.
184. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, pp. 152ff.
185. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, pp. 154–158.
186. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, pp. 162–164.
187. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 267. On Wusun archaeology, see Hermann Parzinger, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens. Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006), pp. 790–795.
188. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 61: Hulsewé, p. 161.
189. Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 65.
190. Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 285. See John R. Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians.* Papers on Inner Asia, No. 3 (Bloomington, 1987), pp. 16–20.
191. Strabo, *Geographica*, XI.9.2–3, available in Greek and English on the Perseus database at www.perseus.tufts.edu
192. *Anxi*, the Chinese name for Parthia, is derived from that of its founding ruler Arsaces (Ashk): Wang Tao, 'Parthia in China: a Re-Examination of the Historical Records', in V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart, eds, *The Age of the Parthians* (London and New York, 2007), pp. 87–104, here p. 90.
193. Richard Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia. From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, 1996), p. 107.
194. Frank Lee Holt, *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria* (Berkeley, 1999), pp. 62ff; Marcus Iunianus Iustinus, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, trans. Rev. John Selby Watson (London, 1853) Book XLI.4; H. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria: From Alexander to Eucratides the Great* (Lanham, MD, 2000), pp. 151ff.
195. There is some dispute as to whether Arsaces I was in fact succeeded by a brother of his who would have ruled as Tiridates I before the accession of Arsaces II: Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita*, pp. 16–20.
196. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia* vol. I, p. 288.
197. A.D.H. Bivar, *The Political History of Iran under the Arsacids* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 31.
198. Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, p. 221; Strabo, *Geographica*, XI.9.2, XI.11.2.
199. Other authors believe that the first Chinese mission reached Mithridates only in 105 BCE: Wang Tao, *Parthia in China*, p. 100.
200. John E. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes During the Later Han Dynasty, 1st to 2nd Centuries CE: An Annotated Translation of the Chronicle on the 'Western Regions' in the Hou Hanshu* (Charleston, SC, 2009), p. 23.
201. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 289.
202. See. pp. 45f., and Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 290.
203. B.N. Puri, 'The Sakas and Indo-Parthians', in Janos Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris, 1994), p. 191.
204. Marcus Iunianus Iustinus, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, trans. Rev. John Selby Watson (London, 1853) Book XLII.1, available at http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/trans1.html (last retrieved 22.11.13).
205. Bivar, *The Political History of Iran*, p. 39.
206. Gardiner-Garden, *Apollodoros of Artemita*, pp. 34, 57, 60; G.A. Koshelenko and V.N. Pilipko, 'Parthia', in Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 132.
207. Charlotte Baratin, 'Les villes antiques du sud-ouest de l'Afghanistan: le long de l'itinéraire de Hérat à Kandahar', in O. Bopearachchi and M.-Fr. Boussac, eds, *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout, 2005), p. 181.
208. Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, trans. John Bostock and H.T. Riley (London, 1857), VI.29, available at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu (*Naturalis Historia*, Lib. VI, XXiX, 112).
209. Sanabares is also sometimes described as an Indo-Parthian king: Vadim M. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte* (Munich, 1982), pp. 152ff.
210. Philip de Souza, (ed.), *The Ancient World at War* (London, 2008), p. 174.
211. Koshelenko and Pilipko, 'Parthia', p. 145.
212. As Parthia after Mithridates II was decidedly turned to the West rather than the East, I end this chronology here, noting in the following section any relevant events in its eastern regions.
213. Koshelenko and Pilipko, 'Parthia', pp. 139ff, 149; Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, p. 137. Other authors attribute the first collection of early Avesta texts to Vologases IV (r. 147–191 CE): Sergei Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), p. 98.
214. Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 332.
215. Isidore of Charax, *Parthian Stations: An Account of the Overland Route between the Levant and India in the First Century B.C. The Greek Text with a Translation and Commentary by Wilfred H. Schoff* (London, 1914), p. 58.
216. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, p. 124.
217. See below pp. 231f.
218. Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Chinese Buddhism* (London, 2011), p. 53.
219. This we learn from Bardaisan's 'Book of the Laws of Countries', a text of the early third century: see Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East. An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, 2006), p. 19.
220. Isidore of Charax, *Parthian Stations*, p. 58.
221. V.N. Pilipko, 'Excavations at Staraia Nisa', in B.A. Litvinskii and C.A. Bromberg, eds, *The Archaeology and Art of Central Asia: Studies from the Former Soviet Union* (Bloomfield Hills, 1996), pp. 113ff.
222. Pilipko, 'Excavations at Staraia Nisa', pp. 101–114; Grégoire Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden, 1970), p. 143; Antonio Invernizzi, 'Old Nisa and the Art of the Steppes', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10/1996, pp. 33ff; Boris Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique* (Espelkamp, 1998), pp. 62–65.
223. See below pp. 57, 66f.
224. Craig G.R. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and Conquest of Northern Bactria* (Turnhout, 2007), p. 101.

225. *Han Shu*, 96A: Hulsewé, pp. 104ff, 107ff; *Han Shu*, 96B: Hulsewé, p. 144; Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, p. 99.
226. Richard Salomon, 'The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription', in Bopearachchi and Boussac, eds, *Afghanistan*, pp. 365, 370. Joe Cribb, however, puts the beginning of the Indo-Greek era in 174 BCE, as does Harry Falk: Joe Cribb, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria, its Coinage and its Collapse*, (Turnhout, 2005), p. 214, and Harry Falk, 'Ancient Indian Eras: An Overview', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 21/2007, pp. 131–156, here pp. 135ff.
227. This reconstruction essentially relies on the following works: Osmund Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecs: Catalogue raisonné* (Paris, 1991); the same author's *Catalogue of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington D.C., 1993); Osmund Bopearachchi, Christian Landes and Christine Sachs, eds, *De l'Indus à l'Oxus: archéologie de l'Asie centrale. Catalogue de l'exposition* (Paris, 2003); Osmund Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins* (Turnhout, 1998); A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Delhi, 2003); and W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Chicago, 1997).
228. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 178ff; Sidky, *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria*, pp. 199, 208–213.
229. Paul Bernard, *The Greek Kingdoms of Central Asia* (Paris, 1994), p. 101.
230. *The Questions of King Milinda, Part I: The Sacred Books of the East, Part 35*, trans. T.W. Rhys Davids, (Oxford, 1894) p. 10.
231. *The Questions of King Milinda*, p. 374.
232. The triratna, in the shape of a curved trident, symbolises the Three Jewels of Buddhism, these being the Buddha, the *dharma* or teaching, and the *sangha* or monastic community.
233. Bopearachchi and Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins*, pp. 240–248; Osmund Bopearachchi, 'Indo-Grecs, Indo-Scythes, Indo-Parthes', in Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs, eds, *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, pp. 133–136; Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (Chicago, 1966), pp. 23–53. A number of Indo-Saka rulers also bore the title *Maharajasa dharmikasa*.
234. Karl Jettmar, *Neuentdeckte Felsbilder und -inschriften in den Nordgebieten Pakistans* (Munich, 1980), p. 191.
235. Falk, 'Ancient Indian Eras', pp. 131ff; Puri, 'The Sakas and Indo-Parthians', p. 193.
236. A.D.H. Bivar, *The History of Eastern Iran* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 196, 201.
237. Bivar, *The History of Eastern Iran*, p. 201; John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley, 1967), p. 130.
238. Bivar, *The History of Eastern Iran*, pp. 130–133.
239. Acts of Thomas, in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. M.R. James (Oxford, 1924), Chapters 2–3, 17–18.
240. Bopearachchi, 'Indo-Grecs, Indo-Scythes, Indo-Parthes', p. 132; Joe Cribb, 'Die Chronologie Gandharas anhand der Münzen', in Christian Luczanits, (ed.), *Gandhara: das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans: Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese* (Mainz, 2008), p. 66; Puri, 'The Sakas and Indo-Parthians', pp. 197–199.
241. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 135f.
242. Christopher Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (Princeton, 2009), pp. 5, 380–383.
243. Strabo, *Geographica*, XI. 8.2.
244. John Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, p. 550; Pierre Leriche, 'Bactria: Land of the Thousand Cities', in Joe Cribb, Georgina Herrmann, eds, *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London, 2007), p. 150.
245. See pp. 8–13 above. The mentions of the Yuezhi in supposedly much older sources adduced by Craig Benjamin, as for example in the seventh-century-BCE *Yi Zhou Shu*, are not helpful, as these were first redacted during the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE) or even later: Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 31–34, 44.
246. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih chi, 123* (New York, 1971), vol. II, pp. 267f.
247. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1884; repr. New Delhi, 2004), book XII, p. 325. Edwin G. Pulleyblank, 'Why Tocharians?', in *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 23, nos. 3–4, Washington 1995, pp. 415–450, here p. 425.
248. Albert Lutz, (ed.), *Dian. Ein versunkenes Königreich in China* (Zurich, 1986), pp. 29, 126–130. Jessica Rawson, *The Chinese Bronzes of Yunnan* (London, 1983), pp. 181–198.
249. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 290.
250. Sima Qian, *Shiji, 123*: vol. II, p. 267.
251. Sven Hansen, Alfried Wieczorek and Michael Tellenbach, eds, *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt: Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Mannheim, 2009), pp. 193ff; J. Harmatta et al., 'Religions in the Kushan Empire', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. vol. II (Paris 1994), pp. 313–329, here p. 317; Jangar Ya. Ilyasov and Dmitriy V. Rusanov, 'A Study of the Bone Plates of Orlat', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 5 (1997/98), pp. 107–159, here p. 131; Boris Staviskij, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Kuschan* (Leipzig, 1979), pp. 94–103.
252. Boris Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans* (Paris, 1986), pp. 235ff.
253. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, p. 29.
254. Nicholas Sims-Williams, 'The Bactrian Inscription of Rabatak: A New Reading', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18/2008, pp. 53–68, here pp. 56ff.
255. Bopearachchi and Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins*, p. 271, plate 58; Falk, 'Ancient Indian Eras', p. 138; *COININDIA: The Virtual Museum of Indian coins*, at http://coinindia.com/home.html
256. Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs, eds, *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, pp. 173, 197.
257. Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, p. 137.
258. Michael Alram, 'Münzprägung in Baktrien und Sogdien – von den graeco-baktrischen Königen bis zu den Kuschan', in Sven Hansen et al., eds, *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt. Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Mannheim, 2009), p. 189; Benjamin, *The Yuezhi*, pp. 111ff; A.K. Narain, *Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 162; B.N. Puri, 'The Kushans', in Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 254ff; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 49.
259. Staviskij, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Kuschan*, p. 67.
260. Cribb, 'Die Chronologie Gandharas', p. 67; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 13.
261. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, pp. 156–158, pl. XXIX.4, 5; Narain, *Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia*, p. 162; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pl. I.6; R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, *Indo-Greek Coins* (Oxford, 1914, reprinted 1971), pp. 181f, pl. XVII, 29.
262. The dates of Vima Takto's reign are fiercely disputed, especially that of its end. Hill's argument, that his successor Vima Kadphises finds no mention in Ban Chao's biography because Vima Takto was still on the throne in 102 AD when the Chinese soldier-administrator was recalled, is plausible: Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, p. 597.
263. A few specialists doubt this identification, assuming two different rulers: Alram, *Münzprägung in Baktrien und Sogdien*, p. 189.
264. G.V. Shishkina, 'Ancient Samarkand, Capital of Soghd', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8/1996, p. 81–99, here p. 90. Cribb is one of a few researchers who believe that Chorasmia belonged to Kushan in the second and third centuries CE: Joe Cribb, 'Money as Marker of Cultural Continuity and Chance in Central Asia', in Cribb, Herrmann, eds, *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*, p. 373.
265. Edouard Chavannes, *Trois Généraux Chinois de la Dynastie des Han Orientaux* (Leiden, 1906), pp. 230–233.
266. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, p. 43.
267. Strabo, *Geographica*, 2007, XI. 7.3.
268. While both Barbarikon and Barygaza lay outside the limits of the Kushan Empire proper, the Indo-Saka satraps who ruled there, like the satrap of Ujjain, fell into the Kushan sphere of influence.
269. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton, 1989), 38–64; pp. 6–10, 15ff, 75–91.
270. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 64, p. 91.
271. Ptolemy, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, (ed.) C.F.A. Nobbe (Leipzig, 1843), I.11.6, 12.1–9; Claude Rapin, 'L'Asie centrale incompréhensible de la carte de Ptolémée', in O. Bopearachchi, C.A. Bromberg and F. Grenet, eds, *Alexander's Legacy in the East: Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard, Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12/1998, pp. 79–89, here p. 218. The Stone Tower is thus not identical with today's Tashkurgan, south-west of Kashgar, whose name means 'stone funerary mound'. Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I (Oxford, 1907), pp. 54ff.
272. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, pp. 260ff. Other Indian missions followed in 138, 173 and 183: Hill, p. 240.
273. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome.*, p. 261; David M. MacDowall, 'Western Impact on the Coinage of the Great Kushan', in Raymond Allchin et al., eds, *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 237.
274. Michael Alram, *Münzprägung in Baktrien und Sogdien*, p. 190; Rajeshwari Ghose, 'The Kizil Caves: Date, Art, and Iconography', in: Rajeshwari Ghose, (ed.), *Kizil on the Silk Road: Crossroads of Commerce & Meeting of Minds* (Mumbai, 2008), p. 57; Marylin Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I (Leiden, 1999), p. 91; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. 28, 96, 197–200; Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, p. 247; Marianne Yaldiz, (ed.), *Magische Götterwelten* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 32ff.

275. Marylin Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 71–92, 158–165, 174ff.
276. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 65.
277. Martha L. Carter, 'Oesho or Shiva', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 9/1995, pp. 146–153; Frantz Grenet, 'Iranian Gods in Hindu Garb: The Zoroastrian Pantheon of the Bactrians and Sogdians, Second-Eighth Centuries', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 20/2006, pp. 87–99, here pp. 88–92; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. 92–94.
278. Abdul Samad, *Emergence of Hinduism in Gandhara. An analysis of material culture* (Berlin, 2010), p. 39.
279. Abdul Samad, *Emergence of Hinduism in Gandhara*, p. 47.
280. A Bactrian script was developed on the basis of the Greek alphabet in the days of Vima Kadphises: Janos Harmatta et al., 'Religions in the Kushan Empire', in Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 321, and in the same volume Harmatta's 'Languages and Scripts in Graeco-Bactria and the Saka Kingdoms', p. 422; Cribb, 'Die Chronologie Gandharas', p. 67.
281. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 72.
282. Harmatta et al., 'Religions in the Kushan Empire', p. 324; Harmatta, 'Languages and Scripts', pp. 436f.
283. Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Historical Inscriptions of the Kushan Period* (Saratoga, 2010), p. 77.
284. Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 124, 237–240, 522ff; Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, pp. ii, 99–104.
285. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 34.
286. Buddhists distinguish between *saririka* stupas holding physical relics, and *uddesika* stupas holding commemorative objects: C.S. Upasak, *History of Buddhism in Afghanistan* (Varanasi, 1990), p. 54.
287. Alfred Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* (London, 1917), p. 129; Francine Tissot, *Les arts anciens du Pakistan et de l'Afghanistan* (Paris, 1987), p. 80ff.
288. Jules Barthoux, *The Hadda Excavations*, trans. N.M. Fatemi and A. Azodi (Bangkok, 2001), pp. 126–128; Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road: In the Footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin* (Bangkok, 2003), p. 116; Hansen, Wieczorek and Tellenbach, eds, *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt*, p. 408; Isao Kurita, *Gandharan Art: A Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Tokyo, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 219–224; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 262; Tissot, *Les arts anciens du Pakistan et de l'Afghanistan*, pp. 80ff, 88ff.
289. Joe Cribb, 'Das Pantheon der Kushana-Könige', in Christian Luczanits, (ed.), *Gandhara – Das Buddhistische Erbe Pakistans: Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 123, 153; Christian Luczanits, 'Der Bodhisattva und künftige Buddha Maitreya', in Luczanits, (ed.), *Gandhara*, p. 249.
290. Although Maitreya is called Buddha, iconographically he is represented as a prince, and so as a bodhisattva.
291. Al'baum's dating of the wall paintings of Fayaz Tepe to the reign of Kanishka is too early. As analysed by Lo Muzio, they were created during the reconstruction of the monastery in the later fourth century after the Sassanid destructions. Lo Muzio Ciro, 'Remarks on the Paintings from the Buddhist Monastery of Fayaz Tepe (Southern Uzbekistan)', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 22/2008, pp. 189–208, here pp. 192, 196, 201.
292. The discovery of a Kushan coin of Kanishka I in Kara Tepe's Complex B, where the murals are located, allows Mkrtychev to date these to the first half of the second century: Tigran Mkrtychev, *Monumental Sculpture of Kara-Tepe* (Kamakura, 1997/98), p. 194. A copper coin found under the coating of the first floor of the western cave of complex E has been tentatively identified as 'a yet unknown denomination of Soter Megas'; that is, Vima Takto (r. *ca.* 80–102). This would push back the construction of this complex to the end of the first century CE. Boris Staviskij, Tigran Mkrtychev, 'Qara-Tepe in Old Termez: On the History of the Monument', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. vol. 10/1996, Bloomfield Hills, pp. 219–232, here p. 220. See also Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 184, and Boris Staviskij, *Mittelasien. Kunst der Kuschan*, p. 151, figs. 108–111.
293. Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, p. 247. Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, p. 247; 'Le problème des liens entre le bouddhisme bactrien, le zoroastrisme et les cultes mazdéens locaux à la lumière des fouilles de Kara-tepe', in Frantz Grenet, (ed.) *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris, 1987), pp. 47–52, here p. 49. See also Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs, eds, *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, p. 295.
294. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 189.
295. In the older literature, such as Bivar, Emperor Vasishika is said to have ruled in the years 151–155; today, he is placed a century later: see Bivar, *The History of Eastern Iran*, p. 219, and Cribb, 'Die Chronologie Gandharas', pp. 67ff.
296. Janos Harmatta, 'Languages and literature in the Kushan Empire', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 435; Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, pp. 175–202; Staviskij, *Mittelasien. Kunst der Kuschan*, p. 66, and Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans* (Paris, 1986), p. 42.
297. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, p. 610.
298. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Chronique d'al-Tabari, traduite sur la version persane d'Abdou-Ali Mohammed Belami par M. Hermann Zotenberg* (Paris, 1869), vol. II, p. 73.
299. Frantz Grenet et al., 'The Sasanian Relief at Rag-I Bibi', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann, *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London, 2007), p. 259, n. 13; Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, p. 82.
300. Cribb, 'Die Chronologie Gandharas', pp. 67ff; Grenet et al., 'The Sasanian Relief at Rag-I Bibi', pp. 259ff, n. 13. See also below p. 96.
301. A.H. Dani and B.A. Litvinsky, 'The Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom', in B.A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-da and R. Sahabani Samghabadi, eds, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 3, *The Crossroads of Civilizations: AD 250 to 750* (Paris, 1996), pp. 103–118, here p. 104.
302. Grenet et al., *The Sasanian Relief at Rag-I Bibi*, p. 259. Joe Cribb believes that the Kabul Valley and Gandhara had already fallen to the Sassanids sometime after 260: Cribb, 'Money as Marker of Cultural Continuity and Change in Central Asia', in Cribb, Herrmann, eds, *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*, pp. 150, 367.
303. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton, 1989), 57; p. 87. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, 26, available at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/thayer/l/roman/texts/pliny_the_elder/6*.html
304. Strabo, *Geographica*, 2007, II. 5.12.
305. Liu Xinru and Lynda Norene Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia* (New York, 2007), p. 47.
306. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, p. 25.
307. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, XII, p. 319.
308. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, XII, pp. 468ff; Felicitas Maeder, *Muschelseide: Goldene Fäden vom Meeresgrund* (Basel, 2003), pp. 3, 7.
309. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, Lib. VI, xx, 54.
310. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome*, pp. 279ff.
311. A Chinese law dated between 705 and 707 CE stipulated: 'For those who have been investigated and found guilty of unauthorised manufacture of *ling* twill and *jin* silks with rank-inappropriate patterns, 100 beatings each. For the designer of the pattern, three years exile'. Chang Xu, 'Managing a Multicurrency System in Tang China: The View of the Centre', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 2013, p. 229.
312. Liu and Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia*, pp. 131, 136–138.
313. Annette Juliano, Judith Lerner (eds). *Monks and Merchants* (New York, 2001), p. 315. Karel Otavský, Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe', in Karel Otavský (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstrasse. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung*. (Riggisberg, 1998), pp. 119–214, here p. 185.
314. Karel Otavský, 'Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe', p. 185. Karel Otavský, 'Frühmittelalterliche Stoffe zwischen Persien und China', in Karel Otavský, Anne E. Wardell, eds, *Mittelalterliche Textilien II. Zwischen Europa und China* (Riggisberg, 2011), pp. 13–15, 55, 60f.
315. Liu and Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia*, pp. 127ff, 134.
316. The discovery of three unworked pieces of ivory raises the question of whether there was an ivory-carving workshop in Bagram itself. Sanjyot Mehendale, 'Begram: At the Heart of the Silk Roads', in Frederik Hiebert, Pierre Cambon (eds), *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World* (London, 2011), pp. 131–143, here p. 137.
317. Rowland's suggestion that the treasure chambers were closed during a period of supposed unrest at the accession of Emperor Huvishka around 155 is untenable in the light of the Vasudeva coin: Benjamin Rowland, *Ancient Art from Afghanistan: Treasures of the Kabul Museum* (New York, 1966), p. 28. Even stranger is Pierre Cambon's recent claim that the treasure must have been amassed during the Indo-Parthian period because the Kings of Kushan were 'rather primitive': Cambon and Hiebert, eds, *Afghanistan*, p. 160. On Bagram see also Roman Ghirshman, *Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, 1946) and Joseph Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bagram (ancien Kâpicî) (1939–1940)* (Paris, 1954).
318. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 114.

319. The dynastic cult centre of Surkh Kotal may usefully be compared with the hierothesion of Nemrud Dag in south-east Turkey which is two centuries older.
320. Boris Litvinskij and V.S. Solovjev, *Kafyrkala: Frühmittelalterliche Stadt im Vachš-Tal, Süd-Tadžikistan* (Munich, 1985), p. 46.
321. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 177, 181; vol. II (Leiden, 2002), p. 572.
322. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 64–66. The find of Kushano-Sassanid coins at Kara Tepe shows that the site retained a certain cultic function even after its destruction: Dani and Litvinsky, 'The Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom', p. 111. Lukonin and Staviskij attribute the destruction of the Buddhist temple near Termez to Shapur II's campaign in 369–370: Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans* pp. 153ff. See also Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 179, 181, 197.
323. The majority of deities depicted on Kushan coins stem from the Iranian cultural realm. Michael Shenkar, *Aniconism in the Religious Art of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia*. In: *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* (Bloomfield Hills, vol. 22/2008), pp. 239–56, here p. 246.
324. The following account relies on Grenet, 'Iranian Gods in Hindu Garb', pp. 88–92; Harmatta et al., 'Religions in the Kushan Empire', pp. 313–329; Jaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Saces* (Paris, 2006), p. 157; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. 65–100; and E.V. Zeymal, 'Visha-Shiva in the Kushan Pantheon', in Raymond Allchin et al., eds, *Gandharan Art in Context*, New Delhi 1997, pp. 245–266.
325. Abdul Samad, *Emergence of Hinduism in Gandhara*, p. 56.
326. Francine Tissot, *Les arts anciens du Pakistan et de l'Afghanistan*, pp. 124ff.
327. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 293.
328. Ghose Madhuvanti, 'Nana: The "Original" Goddess on the Lion', in *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 1, pp. 97–112, here p. 102.
329. Frantz Grenet, 'L'Athéna de Dil'berdžin', in *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris, 1987), pp. 41–52, here pp. 42ff.
330. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 208.
331. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* pp. 140–151.

II. Early Buddhism in Central Asia and the Gandhara School

1. Marian Wenzel, *Echoes of Alexander the Great: Silk Route Portraits from Gandhara* (London, 2000), p. 5.
2. According to the corrected 'long' chronology, the historical Buddha lived from *ca.* 563 to 483 BCE; according to the 'short' chronology of more recent research, about a century later from *ca.* 448 to 368 BCE. Klaus-Josef Notz, *Lexikon des Buddhismus* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 88f.
3. On early Buddhism see Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Chinese Buddhism* (London, 2011), pp. 42–49.
4. Theravada means 'teaching of the elders'. One of at least 18 Hinayana schools, it exists still today in Sri Lanka, South-East Asia and scattered locations in India.
5. *The Lotus Sutra*, trans. Burton Watson, Scroll No. 10 (New York, 1993), pp. 160–169.
6. Kurt Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2007), pp. 22ff; Gauri P. Krishnan, 'Monks, monasteries and monastic life as gleaned from the Central Asian Buddhist literature and art', in Anupa Pande, (ed.), *The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent in Cross-Cultural Perspective, Proceedings of the international seminar of the same title held at New Delhi, 12–16 March 2007* (New Delhi, 2009), p. 114; Liu Xinru and Lynda Norene Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia: Transportation, Communication, and Cultural Exchange on the Silk Roads* (New York 2007), pp. 69, 115.
7. The Kharoshthi script was derived from the Aramaic in the time of Maurya Chandragupta, Bindusara or Ashoka; Brahmi represents a further development of Kharoshthi. See Richard Frye, 'The Aramaic alphabet in the East', in *Journal of Inner Asia Art and Archaeology*, 1 (2006), p. 58.
8. Richard Salomon, 'An inscribed silver Buddhist reliquary of the time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 116, no. 3 (1996), pp. 418–419, 439–450, and 'The Indo-Greek era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist reliquary inscription', in O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac, (eds), *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 361, 379–385. See also http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/asia/r/red_sandstone_pillar_capital.aspx
9. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. Samuel Beal [1884] (New Delhi, 2004), I, pp. 47ff.
10. Pierre Leriche and Chakirjan Pidaev, 'Termez in Antiquity', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Hermann, eds, *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam* (London, 2007), pp. 187, 210, and *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 2008), p. 65.
11. Marylin Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I (Leiden, 1999), p. 181; Boris Staviskij, *Mittelasien. Kunst der Kuschan* (Leipzig, 1979), fig. 102.
12. Bodhisattvas and divinities figured in other acanthus capitals: Isao Kurita, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. II, *The World of the Buddha* (Tokyo, 2003), pp. 216ff; G.A. Pugachenkova et al., 'Kushan art', in J. Harmatta, (ed.), *Civilisations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris, 1994), pp. 333, 367.
13. Boris Litvinsky, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus in Ostturkestan* (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp. 3ff; Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. I, p. 181.
14. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. I, pp. 188, 292.
15. Pierre Leriche, Chakirjan Pidaev, *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 2008), p. 85. Tamara I. Zeymal, 'On the chronology of the Buddhist site of Kara-Tepe', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, eds, *Coins, Art and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, vol. I, pp. 413–22 (Vienna, 1999), here 413–16.
16. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. I, p. 192.
17. Anna Filigenzi, 'Ritual Forms, Cult Objects: Tapa Sardar at the Crossroad of Places and Phases of the Buddhist ecumene', in Anna Filigenzi, Roberta Giunta, eds, *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007* (Rome, 2009), pp. 59–75, here, pp. 66f.
18. Staviskij, *Mittelasien*, pp. 134ff, figs 79–82.
19. Staviskij, *Mittelasien*, p. 138.
20. Staviskij, *Mittelasien*, p. 139.
21. Leriche and Pidaev, *Termez sur Oxus*, p. 68; Litvinsky, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus*, pp. 3ff.
22. Boris Staviskij, Tigran Mkrtychev, 'Qara-Tepe in Old Termez: On the History of the Monument', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 10/1996, Bloomfield Hills, pp. 219–232, here p. 223.
23. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. I, p. 429.
24. Hinayana remained strong in Kashgar until the end of the fifth century: Litvinsky, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 70.
25. H.-J. Klimkeit et al., 'Religions and religious movements', in Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilisations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, Part 2 (Paris 2002), p. 62.
26. Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road: In the Footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin* (Bangkok, 2003), pp. 110ff; Richard Salomon, 'A stone inscription in Central Asian Gandhari from Endere (Xinjiang)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 13/1999, pp. 3, 6, 10ff.
27. E.J. Rapson et al., *Kharosthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* (New Delhi, 1997), p. 140, no. 390; Marc Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report on Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1907), p. 409, nr. 355; Mariko Namba Walter, 'Mahayana and Hinayana in Central Asian Buddhist history according to Hsüan-Tsang and other evidence', in Lokesh Chandra and Radha Banerjee, eds, *Xuanzang and the Silk Route*, (New Delhi, 2008), p. 159.
28. B.A. Litvinsky and M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 'Religions and Religious Movements – II', in Harmatta, (ed.), *History of Civilisations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris, 1996), p. 448; Litvinsky, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus*, pp. 34, 85f.
29. Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass, *Proposal for the Encoding of Brahmi in Plane 1 of ISO/IEC 10646* (2007), online document consulted at http://std.dkuug.dk/jtc1/sc2/wg2/docs/n3491.pdf on 21.1.13, pp. 9ff; Litvinsky and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 'Religions and religious movements', p. 432; Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. I, p. 260.
30. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. I, pp. 93, n. 136, 427ff.
31. Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain*, pp. 51–54; Tsukamoto Zenryu, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism: From its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan*, vol. I (Tokyo, 1979), pp. 78–98; Emil Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, vol. I (Leiden, 1972), pp. 30–36.
32. The 'royal prince' An Shigao probably came from a Parthian vassal state in north-west India: Étienne de la Vaissière: *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden, 2005), p. 77.
33. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 65–70.
34. Litvinsky, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 4.
35. Charles Adolphus Murray Dunmore (Earl of),

The Pamirs: Being a Narrative of a Year's Expedition on Horseback and on Foot through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary, and Russian Central Asia, vol. I (London, 1893), p. 204; Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (London, 1980), pp. 40ff.

36. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, (ed.), *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile leaves, Nagari transcript, Romanised transliteration and English translation with notes* (published in 7 parts, Calcutta, 1893–1912) (reprinted with additions, Bombay, 1914).
37. But the Indian surveyor Kishen Singh had already purchased a small Buddha figure on behalf of Douglas Forsyth in 1874, as well as one of the Indian god Hanuman. Both figures probably came from Uzun Tati, five days' march north-east of Khotan. So there was already evidence for a pre-Islamic layer of culture before the discovery of the Bower manuscript. Forsyth Douglas, 'On the Buried Cities in the Shifting Sands of the Great Desert of Gobi', in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. XLVII, May 1878, pp. 1–17, here pp. 11f Derek Waller, *The Pundits. British Exploration of Tibet & Central Asia* (Lexington, 1990) pp. 161f.
38. J.-L. Dutreuil de Rhins and F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie 1890–1895*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1898), pp. 142ff; Jacques Giès and Monique Cohen, *Sérinde, Terre de Bouddha. Dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie* (Paris, 1995), pp. 105ff.
39. H.H.P. Deasy, *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1901), pp. 149–155.
40. Sir Aurel Stein, *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1904), pp. 170, 189, 447–459; Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils*, pp. 48–52, 77ff, 98–104.
41. Georgina Herrmann, *Monuments of Merv* (London, 1999), p. 120; Staviskij, *Mittelasien*, fig. 91. The etymological derivation of the toponym Bukhara from the Sanskrit 'Vihara', meaning a Buddhist monastery, is disputed and cannot be adduced as evidence for the existence of a Buddhist monastery in that city. The name Bukhara more likely comes from the Sogdian 'buxarak', meaning 'fortunate place'. See Matteo Compareti, 'Buddhist activity in pre-Islamic Persia according to literary sources and archaeology', in *Transoxiana: Journal Libre de Estudios Orientales* 12 (August 2007), p. 5.
42. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, 2006), pp. 60ff.
43. Real Buddhist pantheons first emerged in Vajrayana Buddhism, especially in Tibet and Mongolia.
44. Claudine Bautze-Picron, *Der Buddha und seine Symbole* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 164ff.
45. Alfred Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* (London, 1917), p. 4.
46. These symbols are still popular today.
47. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 35–59.
48. Martina Stoye, *Der Lebenszyklus des Buddha* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 193–196.
49. Martha L. Carter, 'A Reappraisal of the Bimaran Reliquary', in Raymond Allchin et al., eds, *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia* (New Delhi, 1997), pp. 71–93, here p. 84.
50. John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara* (New Delhi, 2008), pp. 34ff, 38.
51. Faxian (Fa-hsien), *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, (re) trans. H.A. Giles (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 30–31. See also: Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 2005), p. 537.
52. H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan; with a Memoir on the Building called Topes, by C. Masson Esq.* [1841] (New Delhi, 1998) pp. 70ff.
53. The other arguments against a dating in the reign of Azes II are not very persuasive. It is unlikely, for example, that coins of a dead king of a defunct dynasty would have been dedicated to so costly a reliquary, or that these coins should represent a later restriking. Furthermore, the gold reliquary shows signs of use and may be significantly older than the steatite casket. The British Museum, which holds the reliquary, gives a date of 50 CE. See Carter, 'A Reappraisal of the Bimaran Reliquary', pp. 71–93.
54. Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, *The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, p. 293.
55. Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara*, pp. 48ff.
56. The serrated halo also appears in Sassanid representations of Mithra, e.g. in the relief depicting the investiture of Ardeshir II (r. 379–383) at Taq-e Bostan, Kermanshah, Iran (see Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 94), in a few rare Gandharan Buddha images in grey schist, and one small bronze figure from China. Martin Rhie dates these Buddha figures to the fourth to fifth centuries: Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. II (Leiden, 2002), pp. 356ff, and figs. 2.51–2.52e. In the ninth and tenth centuries the serrated halo would be much favoured for the depiction of Vairocana and Avalokiteshvara in the scroll-paintings of Dunhuang: Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma, eds, *Buddhist Paintings of Tun-Huang in the National Museum, New Delhi*, *Niyogi Nooks* (New Delhi, 2012), figs. 38, 39, 44, 45a, 46.
57. Figural representations of the Buddha did not displace the aniconic symbols, which have remained popular until today.
58. Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara*, pp. 47ff.
59. In contrapposto the weight rests mainly on one leg, the other being relaxed and slightly bent, this giving a dynamic twist to the torso.
60. Gilles Béguin, *Buddhist Art: An Historical and Cultural Journey* (Bangkok, 2009), pp. 53, 212.
61. Bautze-Picron, *Der Buddha und seine Symbole*, p. 183; Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 70; Benjamin Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia* (New York, 1974), p. 28 (German edition, p. 25.)
62. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 135ff, 145. See also: Albert von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. I, *Die Plastik*, 1922 (Reprint Graz, 1973), p. 7.
63. For images see amongst others Kurita, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. II (Tokyo, 2003), figs. 13, 22ff, 25ff, 62ff, 69ff, 73ff, 86, 88ff, 117ff, and Katsumi Tanabe, (ed.), *Gandharan Art from the Hirayama Collection* (Tokyo, 2007), pp. 94–105.
64. Béguin, *Buddhist Art*, pp. 215ff; Sven Hansen et al., *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt* (Mannheim, 2009), pp. 411–413; Kurita, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. 1, fig. 280, p. 317; vol. II, figs. 323, 325, p. 317; Francine Tissot, *Les arts anciens du Pakistan et de l'Afghanistan* (Paris, 1987), p. 107.
65. Kurita, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. II, figs. 417, 479–486, 916.
66. Jules Barthoux, *The Hadda Excavations* (Bangkok, 2001), pp. 37, 95, 126ff, 164; Kurita, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. II, figs. 447–459, 924.
67. Kurita, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. II, figs. 695–709, 927.
68. See vol. I, p. 141ff.
69. For a photograph of the inner structure of such a stupa see Himanshu Prabha Ray, 'Colonial Archaeology and Buddhism. Punjab Plains in the Early Centuries ad', in: Jayaswal Vidula, (ed.), *Glory of the Kushans. Recent Discoveries and Interpretations* (New Delhi, 2012), pp. 239–254, here fig. 11.7. For plans of the Mausoleum of Augustus and various stupas see Kuwayama Shoshin, 'A Hidden Import from Imperial Rome Manifest in Stupas', in Raymond Allchin et al., eds, *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia* (New Delhi, 1997), pp. 119–171.
70. Kuwayama Shoshin, 'A Hidden Import from Imperial Rome Manifest in Stupas'(New Delhi, 1997), pp. 119–160.
71. Kuwayama Shoshin. 'A Hidden Import from Imperial Rome Manifest in Stupas' pp. 165f.
72. Hadda is near Jalalabad, east of Kabul. It has a number of Buddhist temples and monasteries, excavated by archaeologist Jules Barthoux between 1926 and 1928; he found more than 500 stupas and 13,000–16,000 clay and stucco sculptures, most of which would later be wilfully destroyed: Jules Barthoux, *The Hadda Excavations*, p. 2.
73. Jules Barthoux, *The Hadda Excavations*, p. 5; Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, pp. 258ff, 524–526. H.A. Giles, (re)trans., *The Travels of Fa-hsien* (Cambridge, 1923) pp. 11, 18. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. cvii, vol. II, pp. 93ff.
74. Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara*, p. 34; Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, pp. 252, 525; Kurita, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. I (Tokyo, 2003), figs. 2–9, p. 300.
75. Liu Xinru and Lynda Norene Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia*, p. 65.
76. Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia*, p. 43 (German edition, p. 42)
77. Richard Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1993); Zafar Paiman, 'Découvertes à Kaboul. La renaissance de l'archéologie afghane', in *Archéologia* 419 (2005), pp. 24–39; 'Kaboul, foyer d'art bouddhique', in *Archéologia* 461 (2008), p. 58; 'Kaboul. Les Bouddhas colorés des monastères', in *Archéologia* 473 (2010), pp. 52–58.
78. A Franco-Afghan archaeological team is conducting a rescue excavation at this heavily guarded site whose mining rights have been acquired by the China Metallurgical Group. Susanne Annen et al., *Mes Aynak – Recent Discoveries along the Silk Road* (Kabul, 2011), pp. 4f, 10, 54.
79. Annen et al., *Mes Aynak – Recent Discoveries along the Silk Road*. p. 16. Dani A.H., *Eastern Kushans and Kidarites in Gandhara and Kashmir* (Paris, 1996),

p. 171. Rehman Abdur, *The last two dynasties of The Sahis. Analysis of their History, Archaeology, Coinage and Palaeography* (Delhi, 1988), p. 61. Kabul fell to the Samanids around 900, and the Hindu Shahi retreated to the northern Punjab. See p. 202f.

80. Susanne Annen et al., *Mes Aynak – Recent Discoveries along the Silk Road* (Kabul, 2011), pp. 8, 14.
81. Annen et al., *Mes Aynak*, pp. 18, 20, 42. Éléonore Fournié, 'Mes Aynak, joyau bouddhique de l'Afghanistan', in *Religions et histoire* 37 (2011), pp. 10–15; Khair Mohammed Khairzada, 'Mes Aynak', in *Archéologia*, no. 508, 2013, pp. 62–71. Andrew Lawler, 'Mining Afghanistan's Past', in *Archaeology*, vol. 64, no. 1 (2011), pp. 18–23; Zafar Paiman, 'Kaboul. Les Bouddhas colorés', pp. 53, 58–65.
82. The corresponding niches are 55 m and 38 m high. As Gilles Béguin has noted, Bactria had a long tradition of monumental figures, as is suggested by the gigantic statue of Zeus at Aï Khanum: Béguin, *Buddhist Art*, p. 220. See also Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 299.
83. It may be that both Buddhas had a kind of mask of copper sheet, as Xuanzang surmised: Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, pp. 50ff; Marylin Martin Rhie, 'Aspects of the two colossal Buddhas at Bamiyan', in Chandra and Banerjee, eds, *Xuanzang and the Silk Route*, pp. 27ff.
84. We follow the radiocarbon dating results published by ICOMOS in 2005. The age of the buddhas was determined by examining organic objects of structural components of the buddhas such as the wooden pegs which fixed the plaster of the draped monk's robe to the roughly shaped statue. D. Klimburg-Salter, 'Buddhist paintings in the Hindu Kush *ca*. VIIth to Xth centuries', in Étienne de la Vaissière. *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle*, (Paris, 2008), pp. 131–159, here p. 140. See also: D. Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bamiyan. Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindu Kush* (Naples, Rome, 1989), pp. 10, 28, 78. The dating is controversial. Warwick Ball, *The Monuments of Afghanistan: History, Archaeology and Architecture* (London, 2008), p. 167; Zemaryalai Tarzi, 'Bamiyan 2006: The fifth excavation campaign of Prof. Tarzi's mission', in *The Silk Road*, vol. 4, no. 2 (winter 2006–07), p. 20. Martin Rhie argues that both figures were more than a century older: Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. I, pp. 225, 229; 'Aspects of the two colossal Buddhas at Bamiyan', p. 8.
85. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, pp. 50ff. Today, well-preserved 'sleeping Buddhas' can be seen at the National Museum in Dushanbe, Tajikistan (a copy of the original from Ajina Tepe) and in cave monasteries in northern China, such as those of Kizil, Dunhuang, Yungang, etc. While working in Bamiyan, Tarzi discovered in 2008 the fragments of a 19-metre-long 'Nirvana Buddha': Hannah Bloch, 'Searching for Afghanistan's third giant Buddha', in *National Geographic* Magazine (June, 2009). In 2010, another 7.5-metre-long 'sleeping Buddha' was discovered at Mes Aynak: Lawler, 'Mining Afghanistan's past', p. 21.
86. Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bamiyan*, map. 1, pp. 22, 74.
87. William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in the Indian Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825* [1841] (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 386–392. Klimburg-Salter identifies the Great Buddha as Dipamkara and the small one as Shakyamuni. Klimburg-Salter, 'Buddhist paintings in the Hindu Kush *ca*. VIIth to Xth centuries', p. 140.
88. Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India: Comprising a View of the Afghaun Nation, and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy*, vol. I (2nd edn, London, 1819), p. 245.
89. Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara: Being an Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia, 1831–1833; Also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the Sea to Lahore* (London, 1835), pp. 157–163.
90. Carl Ritter, *Die Stupa's (Topes) oder die architectonischen Denkmale an der Indo-Baktrischen Königsstrasse und die Colosse von Bamiyan* (Berlin, 1838). Another informative anthology of early descriptions of Bamiyan can be found in A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (Paris, 1928), pp. 6–11, 75–99.
91. Lt. Eyre Vincent, *The military operations at Cabul which ended in the retreat and destruction of the British army, January 1842. With a journal of imprisonment in Afghanistan* (London, 1843), p. 345.
92. Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia*, p. 106 (German edn p. 110).
93. Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia*, p. 119, note 4 (German edn p. 123, note 4).
94. Frantz Grenet, 'L'Athéna de Dil'berdžin', in Frantz Grenet, (ed.), *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris, 1987), pp. 41–52, here p. 45.
95. For images see Godard, Godard and Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, plate XXii; and C.S. Upasak, *History of Buddhism in Afghanistan* (Varanasi, 1990), fig. 38. The motif of the human-bird hybrid was also known in Han-dynasty China (202 BCE–220 CE). Such creatures were an expression of the wish for physical immortality: Annette L. Juliano, *Teng-Hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb* (Ascona, 1980), p. 45, fig. 28. During the Tang dynasty, representations of such bird-human hybrids, called *kalavinka* in Sanskrit, appear in Buddhist caves as musicians or dancers. Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang. Die Höhlen der klingenden Sande. Buddhistische Kunst an der Seidenstraße* (Munich, 1995), vol. 2, p. 320.
96. Albert Pike, *Irano-Aryan Faith and Doctrine as Contained in the Zend-Avesta* [1924] (New York, 2012), pp. 535ff.
97. Junkai Yang, 'Carvings on the stone outer coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou', in La Vaissière and Trombert, *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris, 2005), p. 37, n. 22.
98. A.M. Belenizkij, *Mittelasien. Kunst der Sogden* (Leipzig 1980), p. 204. Godard, Godard and Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, plates XVIf, XXiiif, XXVii; Joseph Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bamiyan* (Paris, 1933), p. 9, plate X; Benjamin Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia*, pp. 84, 86–100 (German edn pp. 82, 85, 88–100); *Art in Afghanistan: Objects from the Kabul Museum* (London, 1971), pp. 40ff.
99. The monks of Bamiyan belonged to the Lokottaravāda school, a part of the Mahāsāmghika school, whose teaching attributed a transcendental nature to Buddha Shakyamuni.
100. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, plate Xvii*; Nouvelles Recherches*, plate XXV.
101. It would appear that the painted clay statues from Fondukistan in the National Museum, Kabul, were not destroyed: Susanne Novotny, 'The Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan, Afghanistan – a reconstruction', in *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2 (2007), p. 34, n. 13.
102. J. Hackin, J. Carl and J. Meunié, *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933–1940)* (Paris, 1959), pp. 49–58, figs. 149–201; Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia*, English p. 108 (German edition, p. 116).
103. Hackin, Carl and Meunié, *Diverses recherches*, pp. 57ff; Marianne Yaldiz, *Magische Götterwelten* (Berlin, 2000), p. 226. Grünwedel and Le Coq call this cave the 'Cave of the Sixteen Swordbearers': Albert Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. IV (Graz, 1973), plates IV–V.
104. The Persian Rahnama-ye Bamiyan mentioned that in 977 a ruler of Bamiyan was forced to convert to Islam, which suggests that some individual princes may have been Buddhists even after the eighth century. See Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bamiyan*, p. 41.
105. Godard and Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, pp. 86, 88; Upasak, *History of Buddhism in Afghanistan*, pp. 165ff.

III. The Migration of Hunnic Peoples in Northern China, Central Asia and Eastern Europe

1. Nicholas Sims-Williams, 'The Sogdian Ancient Letter II', in M.G. Schmidt and Walter Bisang (eds), *Philologica et linguistica: historia, pluralitas, universitas: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001* (Trier, 13 *ca.* 2001), pp. 267–280, cited in Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden, 2005), p. 44.
2. Sir Marc Aurel Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 671–677.
3. The oldest Sogdian document was found in Kultobe, Kazakhstan, and is dated from the second or early third centuries CE. Aleksander Naymark, Les villes sogdiennes après les Grecs (Quétigny, 2010), p. 45
4. See in the Appendix an overview of 'The Most Important Dynasties of Central Asia'.
5. Zhu Fahu (Dharmaraksa), a renowned Buddhist missionary and translator into Chinese, also identifies the Xiongnu as 'Huna' in two texts of 280 and 308. See Étienne de la Vaissière, 'The rise of Sogdian merchants and the role of the Huns: the historical importance of the Sogdian Ancient Letters', in Susan Whitfield (ed.), *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London, 2004), p. 22,

and 'Huns et Xiongnu', *Central Asiatic Journal* 49.1 (2005), pp. 3–26, here pp. 11–14.

6. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Nomades* (Paris, 2007), p. 150. For a notable exposition of the arguments against a connection between the Xiongnu and the Huns of Attila see Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 449–455.
7. Ptolemy, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, (ed.) C.F.A. Nobbe (Leipzig, 1843), III.5.25, p. 172; Theophylact Simocatta, *The* History *of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*, (ed.) and trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986), VII.14–VIII.16, pp. 89ff; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 110, in *Records of the Grand Historian of China: Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson* (New York, 1971), vol. II, pp. 155ff.
8. As these confrontations between China and the Xiongnu were played out almost exclusively on Chinese territory; that is, outside Central Asia, and as the Xiongnu had by the fourth century become highly sinified, I limit myself here to a brief sketch of events.
9. Albert E. Dien, 'Encounters with Nomads', in Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants*. (New York, 2001), pp. 55–66, here p. 59.
10. Only under the Sui dynasty (581–618) would China again find itself united under Han Chinese rule.
11. See in the Appendix the overview of 'The Most Important Dynasties of Central Asia'.
12. Liu Yuan named his rudimentary state Han, and Liu Yao (r. 318–329), fifth ruler of the line, changed the name to Zhao.
13. Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 102.
14. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, p. 103.
15. Spared occupation by the 'Five Barbarians', southern China carried on its international trade by sea.
16. Liu Xinru, Lynda Norene Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia: Transportation, Communication, and Cultural Exchange on the Silk Roads* (Boston, 2007), p. 189.
17. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1969), vol. I, pp. 24, 28, 84, 174.
18. 'Lives of Eminent Monks (Kao seng chuan)', 6th century, cited in Zenryu Tsukamoto: *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism: From its Introduction to the Death of Hui-Yan*, trans. Leon Hurvitz (Tokyo, 1979), vol. 1, p. 261.
19. Marylin Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 254–260.
20. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. 2, pp. 377ff. See also Borbála Obrusánszky, 'Tongwancheng, the city of Southern Huns', in Alexander Koch (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa: Aktuelle Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kultur der Hunnen* (Langenweißbach, 2008) pp. 17–24.
21. Otto Franke, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idikutshahri bei Turfan (Turkistan)*, APAW 1907 (Berlin, 1907), pp. 11ff.
22. Franke, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift*, p. 18; Lin Meicun, 'The last capital of the Shan Shan kingdom in Loulan', in *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, (1995), pp. 257–271; Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. 1, pp. 354ff.
23. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. 1, p. 354; vol. 2, pp. 386ff.
24. Franke, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift*, pp. 22, 33; Whitfield (ed.), *The Silk Road*, p. 309.
25. Franke, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift*, p. 22.
26. See pp. 161ff.
27. Annette Juliano 'Buddhist Art in Northwest China', in Juliano, Lerner (ed.), *Monks and Merchants* (New York 2001), pp. 119–143, here p. 126.
28. Liu, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China*, vol. I, p. 193; Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri, *Lives of Early Buddhist Monks* (New Delhi, 2008), pp. 116–122.
29. Angela Howard, 'From the Han to the Southern Song', in Angela Howard et al., *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven) 2006, pp. 201–355, here pp. 208–216; Zhang Baoxi, *Gansu shiku yishu diaosu bian = Grotto Art of Gansu sculptures*, 2 vols (Lanzhou, 1994).
30. Angela Howard, 'Liang patronage of Buddhist art in the Gansu Corridor during the fourth century and the transformation of a Central Asian style', in Wu Hung (ed.), *Between Hang and Tang: Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period* (Beijing, 2000), pp. 235–272; Angela Howard, 'From the Han to the Southern Song' (New Haven, 2006) pp. 219–222.
31. Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang: Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the Silk Road* (London, 1995), vol. II, pp. 270f.
32. See above, p. 56.
33. Since 1988, a further 248 caves have been discovered sited to the north of those already known.
34. Angela Howard, 'From the Han to the Southern Song'(New Haven 2006), pp. 216–219; Whitfield, *Dunhuang*, vol. I, plates 10–16; vol. II, pp. 272–276.
35. Elements of the Gandhara style are to be found at the Mogao caves also under the early Northern Wei, e.g. in Cave 254. Chen Bingying, 'Gandhara in Gansu', in Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchant* (New York 2001), pp. 211–217; Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. III. (Leiden, 2010), pp. 53, 275. The most recent of the Mogao caves date from the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368).
36. Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain*, pp. 77ff; Albert E. Dien, 'Encounters with Nomads' (New York, 2001), pp. 55–66, here p. 62. Annette Juliano, 'Buddhist Art in Northwest China' (New York, 2001), pp. 119–143, here p. 133. Whitfield, *Dunhuang*, vol. II, p. 340.
37. Rafe de Crespigny, *The Military Culture of Later Ha* (Cambridge, 2009) p. 107.
38. Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, pp. 85–114. The Murong, Shiwei and Khitan fall outside the scope of this book.
39. In 534 the Northern Wei dynasty split into Western (535–557) and Eastern Wei (534–550). The Xianbei general Yuwen Tai held power in Western Wei until his death in 556, when his son Yuwen Jue founded the Sino-Xianbei Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581). Eastern Wei on the other hand fell under the control of the Han Chinese general Gao Huan, whose son Gao Yang founded the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577).
40. Peter B. Golden, 'Zentralasien im 6.–11. Jahrhundert.', in Jan Bemman (ed.), *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt, 2012), p. 27.
41. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, pp. 116–120; Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, vol. 2, pp. 285–298.
42. Because of the political chaos after the overthrow of the Northern Wei, the direct contacts between central China and Byzantium were stopped, and Byzantium now sent its delegations to the Göktürks. Byzantine delegations reached China again in the years 643, 667, 701, 711, 719 and 742. François Thierry, Cécile Morrisson, 'Sur les monnaies byzantines trouvées en Chine', in *Revue numismatique*, 6^{e} série, Tome 36, 1994, pp. 109–145, here pp. 138–40.
43. Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1972), p. 414.
44. Christoph Baumer and Therese Weber, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok, 2005), p. 54; Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain*, pp. 105ff.
45. Susan Whitfield, 'Introduction', in Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London, 2004), p. 15.
46. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, NJ, 1964), p. 150. This was the first of five anti-Buddhist persecutions, the other four occurring in 574–577, 843–845, 955 and 1966–1976, the third and fifth extending to all of China.
47. Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain*, p. 237; Juliano and Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants*, pp. 178ff.
48. Juliano and Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants*, pp. 84ff.
49. No archaeological traces of the Rouran have been found, and they are known only from Chinese and a few Byzantine sources.
50. Golden, 'Zentralasien im 6.–11. Jahrhundert', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt, 2012), pp. 27–52, here p. 29.
51. Peter Golden, *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot, 2010), part I, p. 9, n. 40.
52. The Turco-Mongol title Khagan, meaning 'khan of khans', was first used by the Tuyuhun of Xianbei stock at the end of the third century CE and later it replaced among the Rouran the Xiongnu title 'chanyu' as of the start of the fifth century. Gabriella Molè, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties* (Rome, 1970), pp. XXVII, 2, 69f, n. 9.
53. Like the Wusun and the Ashina Turks, the Gaoche believed themelves to be descended from a wolf in human form: Golden, *Turks and Khazars*, Part II, p. 157.
54. Nikolai K. Kradin, 'From tribal confederation to empire: the evolution of the Rouran society', in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 58 (2005), pp. 154ff.
55. Golden, *Zentralasien im 6.–11. Jahrhundert.*, pp. 30, 47, n. 22.
56. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, pp. 120–124. See also Golden, *Zentralasien im 6.–11. Jahrhundert.*, pp. 27–47; Kradin, 'From tribal confederation to empire', pp. 149–169; L.R. Kyslasov, 'Northern

nomads', in Litvinsky et al., *History of the Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris, 1996), pp. 315–326.

57. Kyslasov, *Northern nomads*, p. 322; Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, (Wiesbaden, 1958), vol. 1, p. 462.
58. Kyslasov, *Northern nomads*, p. 321.
59. R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, Eunapius, Olypiodorus, Priscus and Malchus* (Liverpool, 1983) vol. II. pp. 344–345. Csanad Balint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe* (Vienna, 1989), pp. 13ff, 147; Peter B. Golden, 'War and warfare in the pre-Činggisid western steppes of Eurasia', in Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)*, (Cambridge, 2002), p. 110. See also Golden's 'The Turkic nomads of the pre-Islamic Eurasian steppes: ethnogenesis and the shaping of the steppe imperial tradition', in *The Turkic-Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (New York, 2006), p. 88, and his *Turks and Khazars*, part I, p. 10.
60. Denis Sinor, 'The establishment and dissolution of the Türk empire', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1990), p. 294.
61. Sinor, 'The establishment and dissolution of the Türk empire', p. 294.
62. Zhang Guangda, 'The city-states of the Tarim basin', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 289.
63. Other authors are of the opinion that the Qu were of Han Chinese extraction: Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* [1903] (Paris, 1941; repr. Taipei, 1969), p. 102, n. 2.
64. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 104–109; Claude Fagne (ed.), *La Route de la Soie* (Brussels, 2009), p. 157; Xavier Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde* (Vienna, 2001), p. 37; Whitfield with Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road*, p. 309; Zhang Guang-da, 'Kocho (Kao-Ch'ang)', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, (Paris, 1996), pp. 306f.
65. The Tiele were probably descendants of the Dingling: Peter B. Golden, 'Some thoughts on the origins of the Turks and the shaping of the Turkic peoples', in Victor H. Mair (ed.), *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World* (Honolulu, 2006), pp. 137–140.
66. Kradin, 'From tribal confederation to empire', pp. 156–159; Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra, 1972), p. 1, n. 1.
67. Kradin, 'From tribal confederation to empire', p. 157.
68. In the literature, the first khagan of the Tujue is also sometimes called Touman.
69. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 6ff, 490, n. 21.
70. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 222.
71. Theophylact Simocatta, *The* History *of Theophylact Simocatta*, book vii, 7.10.
72. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 222; Kradin, 'From tribal confederation to empire', p. 166.
73. R.C. Blockley, *The* History *of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool, 1985), pp. 49, 252ff. See also Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 231–233; Theophylact Simocatta, *The* History *of Theophylact Simocatta*, Book VII, 7.13–8.19.
74. See below, pp. 175f.
75. Alram and La Vaissière assume a single migration, older sources such as Zeimal several waves. Michael Alram, 'Alkhan and Hephthalite Coinage', in Michael Alram, and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, (Vienna, 2010), vol. II, pp. 13–38, here p. 13. Étienne de la Vaissière, 'Is There a "Nationality of the Hephthalites"?', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 17/2003, pp. 119–132, here, p. 122. E.V. Zeimal, *The Kidarite Kingdom in Central Asia* (Paris, 1996), p. 124. Another problem is the fact that written sources of Byzantine and Chinese authors do not always correspond with the interpretation of numismatic research of undated coins.
76. Marcellinus Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, trans. Walter Hamilton (London, 2004), Book 16.9, p. 99. Since no coins can be attributed to the Chionites with certainty, their independence as a political entity is controversial. Some authors, such as Zeimal, suggest that they are identical with the Kidarites, E.V. Zeimal, *The Kidarite Kingdom in Central Asia* (Paris, 1996), pp. 119f.
77. A.D.H. Bivar, *The History of Eastern Iran* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 211; Ciro Lo Muzio, 'An archaeological outline of the Bukhara oasis', in *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 4 (2009), p. 72.
78. Although the *Wei Shu* explicitly states that these nomads originated from the Altai, it associates them with the Yuezhi or the Gaoche: La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 97ff; Markus Mode, 'Hunnen, Sogder und das Erbe Alexanders des Großen in Mittelasien', in Heike Externbrink (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa. Aktuelle Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kultur der Hunnen* (Langenweißbach, 2008), pp. 102ff.
79. Marcellinus Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, Book 19.1 (London, 2004), pp. 163ff.
80. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 98ff.
81. Numismatists such as Alram and Cribb regard the Kidarites as the conquerors of Balkh. Michael Alram, *Das Antlitz des Fremden. Die Münzen der Hunnen und Westtürken in Zentralasien und Indien* (Vienna, 2013), 'Die Kidariten in Baktrien', http://pro.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/khm/impressum 'The Kidarites: the Numismatic Evidence. With an Analytical Appendix by A. Oddy', in Alram and Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna, 2010) vol. II, pp. 91–146, here pp. 92, 116.
82. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 98ff.
83. That Samarkand was then in Hunnic hands is shown by the *Wei Shu*, which mentions for the years 437 or 457 a Hunnic king of Samarkand, the third of his dynasty. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, p. 107.
84. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 101–106, 109; Silvia Pozzi, *New sealstones from the Bukhara Oasis (Uzbekistan)*, (Udine, 2013, not yet published), p. 2ff.
85. Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, vol. II (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 47, 53ff. Whether this Kidara is the king of the same name who in the late 420s conquered Bactria and Gandhara is still disputed: see La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, pp. 108.
86. Frye is of the view that the attackers were early Hephthalites: Richard Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia* (Princeton, 1996), p. 176.
87. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, p. 108; Étienne de la Vaissière, 'Is There a "Nationality of the Hephthalites"?', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 17/2003, pp. 119–132, here pp. 124, 128. See also Atreyi Biswas, *The political history of the Hunnas in India* (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 45–47. Frantz Grenet, *Regional interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite periods* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 207f. Alram and Cribb date these events half a century earlier. Michael Alram, *Das Antlitz des Fremden. Einführung* (Vienna, 2013) *Die Kidariten in Baktrien; Die Kidariten in Taxila.*
88. E.V. Zeimal, 'The Kidarite kingdom in Central Asia', in Litvinsky et al. (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, (Paris, 1996), p. 122.
89. Boris A. Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, trans. Louis Vaysse (Espelkamp, 1998), p. 102. Frantz Grenet, 'Regional interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite periods', in Nicholas Sims-Williams (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, pp. 203–224 (Oxford, 2002), here pp. 210f.
90. R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, Eunapius, Olypiodorus, Priscus and Malchus* (ARCA, Liverpool, vol. II, 1983), vol. II, p. 361, see also pp. 337, 349, 396, n. 163.
91. Frantz Grenet, 'Kidarites' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kidarites (2005), last accessed on 5.2.2013; La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, pp. 108–110, and the same author's 'Is there a "Nationality of the Hephthalites"?', p. 128.
92. Markus Mode, 'Heroic fights and dying heroes: the Orlat battle plaque and the roots of Sogdian art', in Mateo Compareti et al. (eds), *Ērān ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (2003), a web-festschrift published at http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran, last consulted on 23/11/2013; and Mode, 'Hunnen, Sogder und das Erbe Alexanders', pp. 103–106.
93. See below p. 233f, fig. 194.
94. We restrict the term Hephthalites in the stricter sense to the area of rule north of the Hindu Kush and distinguish the Alkhan, who ruled in Gandhara and northern India, as a political unit separate from the Hephthalites although they were probably related to them. Michael Alram, 'Alkhan and Hephthalite Coinage', pp. 13–38, here pp. 13, 17f, 36. Alram et al., *Das Antlitz des Fremden* (Vienna, 2013), Introduction.
95. La Vaissière, 'Is there a "Nationality of the Hephthalites"?', p. 121.
96. Sergei Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), p. 226.
97. La Vaissière, 'Is there a "Nationality of the Hephthalites"?', pp. 121ff.

98. Al-Tabari, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mohammed-ben-Djarir-ben-Yezid*, trans. Hermann Zotenberg, vol. II (Paris, 1869), pp. 138–142.
99. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. II, p. 137.
100. La Vaissière, 'Is there a "Nationality of the Hephthalites"?', p. 128.
101. Rekavandi Hamid Omrani et al., 'Secrets of the red snake: the Great Wall of Iran revealed', in *Current World Archaeology Today*, no. 27, 2008, pp. 11–22.
102. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. II, pp. 138–9.
103. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. II, p. 142; Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, pp. 102ff.
104. Frantz Grenet, *Regional interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite periods*, in Nicholas Sims-Williams (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 203–224, here pp. 98, 174, 212f.
105. B.A. Litvinsky, 'The Hephthalite Empire', in B.A. Litvinsky et al. (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 140; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, p. 233; and see in this volume pp. 98, 174.
106. Litvinskij, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique*, p. 104; La Vaissière, 'Is there a "Nationality of the Hephthalites"?', pp. 124ff, 128.
107. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, p. 111
108. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ja'far Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's* The History of Bukhara, (ed.) Richard N. Frye (Princeton, 2007), pp. 16, 41.
109. S.T. Adylov and Džamal K. Mirzaahmedov, 'On the history of the ancient town of Vardana and the Obavija feud', in Matteo Compareti et al. (eds), *Ērān ud Anērān: .* The ceramics found also allow a dating to the fourth/fifth centuries. See also 'Vardanze, Uzbekistan: Archaeological excavation of an ancient city in the Oasis of Bukhara', at http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_0.html, last accessed on 23/11/2013.
110. Alexei Savchenko, 'Urgut, Uzbekistan: Excavation of a Christian monastery', Annual field reports of the Society for the Exploration of Eurasia (2005–09), at http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_2.html, last accessed 23/11/2013. A radio carbon C-14 analysis conducted by the Centro di Datazione e Diagnostica of the Università del Salento, Lecce, Italy, in January 2014, has confirmed the foundation of the early medieval palace of Vardana around the 5th century CE.
111. Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's* The History of Bukhara, pp. xviff, 10, 42, 61. See also Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien*, pp. 228–232.
112. Christopher J. Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1978), pp. 68–72.
113. Silvia Pozzi, *New sealstones from the Bukhara Oasis (Uzbekistan)*, (Udine, 2013). Pozzi points out that Shishkin had already found a very similar amulet during his excavation of Varakhshah in the Bukhara Oasis: V. A. Shishkin, *Varachša* (Moscow, 1963), p. 67. Martin Schwartz, 'Sesen: A durable East Mediterranean God in Iran', (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 9–11.
114. Rika Gyselen, *Sceaux magiques en Iran Sassanide* (Paris, 1995), pp. 55f, 91f.
115. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 226.
116. Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's* The History of Bukhara, pp. 6, 134; Boris Marshak and N.N. Negmatov, 'Sogdiana', in B.A. Litvinsky et al. (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 236.
117. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. II, pp. 261–265. If one follows Liu Mau-Tsai and Harmatta and Litvinsky in lending credence to al-Tabari, according to whom the Turkic army was led by the highest khagan, this commander killed in the field would have been the seventh khagan, Baghan Khagan (Chinese: Chuluohou): Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, vol. I, p. 55; J. Harmatta and B.A. Litvinsky, 'Tokharistan and Gandhara under Western Türk rule (650–750)', in B.A. Litvinsky et al. (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 369. Chavannes, on the other hand, believes that the slain commander was a Sogdian sub-king, a vassal of the Turks: Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 242ff.
118. Markus Mode, *Sogdien und die Herrscher der Welt: Türken, Sasaniden und Chinesen in Historiengemälden des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Alt-Samarqand* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), p. 220.
119. Harmatta and Litvinsky, *Tokharistan and Gandhara*, pp. 369ff, 374ff.
120. Michael Alram, *Das Antlitz des Fremden.* (Vienna, 2013). *König Khingila und die Festigung der hunnischen Macht in Nord-West Indien.*
121. Alram, 'Alkhan and Hephthalite Coinage', pp. 13–38, here, pp. 18–22; *Das Antlitz des Fremden; Von den anonymen Clanchefs zu König Khingila; Die Zeitgenossen des Khingila.*
122. Alram, 'Alkhan and Hephthalite Coinage', pp. 13–38, here, pp. 24–26.
123. Klaus Vondrovec, 'Coinage of the Nezak', in Alram, Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology*, p. 174.
124. André Lévy, *Les pèlerins bouddhistes de la Chine aux Indes* (Paris, 1995), pp. 63f, 127–31; Boris Litvinskij, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus in Ostturkestan* (Wiesbaden, 1999), p. 4f.
125. Klaus Vondrovec, *Coinage of the Nezak* (Vienna, 2010), pp. 170–73.
126. Alram, *Das Antlitz des Fremden. Die Nezak-Könige in Zabulistan und Kabulistan; Von der Alchan-Nezak-Mischgruppe zu den Türken.*
127. See p. 200.
128. Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations: An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athâr-ul-Bâkiya of Albîrûnî, or Vestiges of the Past*, translated and edited by Edward Sachau [1879] (Charleston, 2011), p. 42. In chapter V (p. 58) al-Biruni writes: 'For after Kutaiba ben Muslim Albahili had killed the learned men and priests, and had burned their books and writings, they . . . forgot writing and reading.'
129. Yuri A. Rapoport, 'The palaces of Topraq-Qal'a', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 8/1996, pp. 161, 183 n. 4.
130. Kath was washed away by the Oxus in 997: Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 31, 201, 207.
131. al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 41ff; E.E. Nerazik and P.G. Bulgakov, 'Khwarizm', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 207ff, 225.
132. Kazakly Yatkan and Toprak Kala are modern names. See S.W. Helms et al., 'Five seasons of excavations in the Tash-K'Irman oasis of ancient Choresmia, 1996–2000: An interim report', *Iran* 39 (2001), pp. 119–144; F. Kidd. et al., 'Ancient Chorasmian Mural Art', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18/2004, pp. 69–96; V.N. Yagodin et al., 'Preliminary report on the "portrait" gallery at Kazakly-Yatkan (Choresmia)', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 4 (2009), pp. 7–42. Impressive visual documentation on the most important first-century Khwarezmian settlements and fortifications can be found at David and Sue Richardson's site, 'The Karakalpaks' at http://www.karakalpak.com/index.html, last accessed on 23/11/2013.
133. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 175ff.
134. Grégoire Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden, 1970), p. 97.
135. Yuri A. Rapoport, 'The palaces of Topraq-Qal'a', p. 161.
136. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, Fragment 10.3, p. 119.
137. 'The voyage of Johannes de Plano Carpini into the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our Lord, 1246', in C. Raymond Beazley (ed.), *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis, as Printed for the First Time by Hakluyt in 1598, Together with some Shorter Pieces* (London, 1903), p. 113.
138. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, p. 201.
139. Rapoport, 'The palaces of Topraq-Qal'a', pp. 168–173.
140. Rapoport, 'The palaces of Topraq-Qal'a', p. 182.
141. As many of these 'towns' show no trace of streets or buildings within the walls, the question arises whether they were actually inhabited, or whether they were instead refuges for a rural population and its livestock in time of war. Only Kazakly and Toprak Kala were beyond doubt properly urban settlements. See Michelle Negus Cleary, 'Walls in the desert: the phenomenon of Central Asian urbanism in ancient Chorasmia', in Ken Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads*, vol. XII of *Silk Road Studies* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 51, 55, 66ff, 70.
142. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, p. 87; Nerazik and Bulgakov, 'Khwarizm', pp. 215, 218ff; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 210ff, 223.
143. Nerazik and Bulgakov, 'Khwarizm', pp. 218. Chorasmian fire-temples have been found at Kazakly Yatkan, Toprak Kala, Jambas Kala, Gyaur Kala Sultanuizdagskaya and Kjuzeligyr: Alison Betts and V.N. Yagodin, 'The Tash-k'irman-tepe cult complex: an hypothesis for the establishment of fire temples in ancient Choresmia', in Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads*, p. 2, n. 5.
144. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, p. 100, n. 2.
145. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, p. 101; Nerazik and Bulgakov, 'Khwarizm', pp. 209, fig. 1, 227.

146. Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 130–132; al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's* The History of Bukhara, pp. 17, 27; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, pp. 94ff, 135.
147. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, 2006), pp. 171f. See also below pp. 238–41.
148. Katalin Escher and Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Le dossier Attila* (Paris, 2007), pp. 18ff.
149. See Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, *The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, p. 265.
150. István Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich* (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 15, 68, 179.
151. Escher and Lebedynsky, *Le dossier Attila*, p. 20; Jordanes, *Jordanis Romana et Getica*, (ed.) Theodore Mommsen [1882] (Wiesbaden, 2012), pp 246–9, pp. 121ff; Marcellinus Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, Book 31.3, p. 415.
152. Marcellinus Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, Book 31.3–4, pp. 415ff.
153. Marcellinus Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, Book 31.4–13, pp. 416–437.
154. Marcellinus Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, Book 31.2, pp. 411ff.
155. Escher and Lebedynsky, *Le dossier Attila*, p. 21; Michel Kazanski, 'Die Hunnen im nördlichen Kaukasusgebiet', Alexander Koch (ed.), *Attila und die Hunnen*, exhibition catalogue (Stuttgart, 2007), pp. 74–81; Timo Stickler, *Die Hunnen* (Munich, 2007), pp. 52ff.
156. The warriors of the Fourth Crusade took Constantinople in 1204 by overcoming the weaker sea walls.
157. Walter Pohl, *Byzanz und die Hunnen* (Stuttgart, 2007), p. 186; Stickler, *Die Hunnen*, pp. 56ff.
158. Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich*, p. 47.
159. Escher and Lebedynsky, *Le dossier Attila*, pp. 23, 113; Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, pp. 81–85. On the double kingship of Rua and Octar, see also Jordanes, *Jordanis Romana et Getica*, p. 105.
160. Stickler, *Die Hunnen*, p. 77.
161. Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich*, pp. 83–89; Escher and Lebedynsky, *Le dossier Attila* (Paris, 2007), pp. 49ff, 140.
162. Escher and Lebedynsky, *Le dossier Attila*, pp. 142–158.
163. Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, 254–258, pp. 123–125. Translation here from Jordanes, *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*, trans. Charles C. Mierow (Princeton, NJ, 1908), pp. 80–81.
164. See p. 183.
165. See p. 29.
166. See fig. 221.
167. See also The History of Central Asia, vol. III (forthcoming).
168. The idea sometimes encountered that Attila was buried in the bed of the river Tisza, its course diverted and then restored for the purpose, arose only in the fifteenth century, by derivation from Jordanes' claim that Alaric's grave lay under the river Busento: Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich*, pp. 205ff; Escher and Lebedynsky, *Le dossier Attila*, p. 169; Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, 158, p. 99.
169. Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, 259, p. 125. Translation from Jordanes, *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*, pp. 82.
170. Bodo Anke, *Zur hunnischen Geschichte nach 375* (Stuttgart, 2007), pp. 45ff; Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich*, pp. 207–09; Radu Harhoiu, 'Hunnen und Germanen an der unteren Donau', in Koch (ed.), *Attila und die Hunnen*, p. 84; Alexander Koch, 'Boma – ein reiternomadisch-hunnischer Fundkomplex in Nordwestchina', in Exeternbrink (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa*, p. 67.
171. G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (London, 1857, reprinted London, 1902), pp. 429–30.

IV. The Kingdoms of the Tarim Basin and Their Schools of Buddhist Art

1. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. Samuel Beale (New Delhi, 2004), vol. II, pp. 323ff. This legend would be worked up into an *avadana*, an edifying hagiographical tale: Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (ed.), *Japanische Studien zur Kunst der Seidenstraße* (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 22–29.
2. See above, p. 17 ff.
3. Albert von Le Coq, *Buried Treasure of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928), p. 35.
4. See above, p. 64.
5. Mirza Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* [1546] (New Delhi, 1998), vol. II, pp. 255–257.
6. Hermann von Schlagintweit-Sakülünsky, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien* (Jena, 1869–80), vol. IV, pp. 217–84. For a historical overview of the exploration of the Tarim Basin, see Jack A. Dabbs, *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan* (The Hague, 1963), now somewhat dated, and Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (London, 1980).
7. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils*, pp. 36ff; Derek Waller, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet & Central Asia* (Lexington, 1990), pp. 33–37.
8. Douglas Forsyth, 'On the buried cities in the shifting sands of the great desert of Gobi', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 47 (May 1878), p. 1.
9. Forsyth also learnt of further ruined cities buried in the sands: Forsyth, 'On the buried cities', pp. 2 and 6–12.
10. Marc Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report on Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford, 1907), vol. I, pp. 285 and 456–464. See also Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East* (New York, 1926), vol. I, pp. 191–193.
11. The city of Endere, already abandoned in Xuanzang's time, was called by him Tuohuoluo: Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, p. 325.
12. George Hayward, *Journey from Leh to Yarkand and Kashgar, and Exploration of the Sources of the Yarkand River* (London, 1870), p. 78.
13. Nikolai Prejevalsky, *From Kulja Across the Tian Shan to Lob-Nor*, trans. E.D. Morgan (London, 1879), pp. 97–127.
14. Prejevalsky, *From Kulja Across the Tian Shan*, pp. 140–159.
15. Prejevalsky, *From Kulja Across the Tian Shan*, p. 147.
16. Donald Rayfield, *The Dream of Lhasa: The Life of Nikolay Przhevalsky, Explorer of Central Asia* (London, 1976), pp. 174ff.
17. Mikhail Pevtsov, *Trudy Tibetskoy Ekspeditsii. Puteshestviye po Vostochnomu Turkestanu* [Proceedings of the Tibetan Expedition: Travel through East Turkestan], (St Petersburg, 1895).
18. Morgan Delmar (ed.),'Journey of Carey and Dalgleish in Chinese Turkistan & Northern Tibet (Mr Dalgleish's itinerary); and General Prejevalsky on the orography of Northern Tibet', in *Royal Geographical Society Supplementary Papers* 3 (1893), pp. 12–31.
19. Gabriel Bonvalot, *De Paris à Tonkin à travers le Tibet inconnu* (Paris, 1892), pp. 100, 104.
20. Sven Hedin, *My Life as an Explorer* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1–2.
21. Hedin, *My Life as an Explorer*, pp. 75–78 (*Mein Leben als Entdecker* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 62–69.)
22. Ferdinand von Richthofen, *Meister und Schüler. Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen an Sven Hedin* (Berlin, 1933), p. 95.
23. Sven Hedin, *Through Asia* (New York, 1899), vol. I, p. 207. See also *In Unexplored Asia: The Remarkable Discoveries and Adventures of Dr. Sven Hedin as told by himself*, recorded by R.H. Sherard (New York, December 1897), p. 184.
24. Hedin, *Through Asia*, vol. I, pp. 205–379 and 476–623.
25. Hedin, *Through Asia*, vol. II, p. 787.
26. Hedin, *Through Asia*, vol. II, pp. 783–85.
27. Hedin, *In Unexplored Asia*, p. 190.
28. The most important ruins on the former lower course of the Keriya Darya are those of the Iron Age town of Jumbulakum, found in 1994, and those of the necropolis of Ayala Mazar, discovered by the present author in 2009: see Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I *The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, pp. 129–32, 218f.
29. Sven Hedin, *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia, 1899–1902* (Stockholm, 1905), vol. II, pp. 264.
30. Hedin, *Through Asia*, vol. II, pp. 850–898. See also the same author's *In Unexplored Asia*, p. 191, *Scientific Results*, vol. II, pp. 235ff and 273, and *The Wandering Lake: Into the Heart of Central Asia* (London, 2009), p. 245; and Prejevalsky, *From Kulja across the Tian Shan*, p. 163. Przhevalsky's pupil Kozlov had discovered the dried-up bed of the Kuruk Darya in Winter 1893–94, but had not recognised its significance: Herbert Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen. Die Reisen des Zentralasienforschers Pjotr Koslow* (Leipzig, 1971), pp. 138–143. See also Hedin, *Scientific Results*, vol. II, pp. 305ff.
31. Hedin, *Through Asia*, vol. II, pp. 857–863.
32. Sven Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet: Towards the Holy City of Lhasa* (London, 1903), vol. I, pp. 342ff. (*Im Herzen von Asien* (Leipzig, 1914), vol. I, pp. 205f) See also Folke Bergman, *Archaeological Researches in Sinkiang* (Stockholm, 1939), p. 181.
33. Hedin, *Scientific Results*, vol. II, pp. 3–73, and *Central Asia and Tibet*, vol. I, p. 385–387 (*Im Herzen von Asien* (Leipzig, 1914), vol. I, pp. 233–236.)
34. Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet*, vol. I, pp. 191f, vol. II, pp. 163–176. (*Im Herzen von Asien* (Leipzig, 1914), vol. I, pp. 107f, vol. II, pp. 76–86.)
35. Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet*, vol. II, p. 174 (*Im Herzen von Asien* (Leipzig, 1914), vol. II, p. 84); also see Hedin, *Scientific Results*, vol. I, p. 463.

36. Sven Hedin, *Across the Gobi Desert* (London, 1931), pp. 365ff; *The Wandering Lake*, p. 258.
37. Hedin, *The Wandering Lake*, chapters 1, 4, 5 and 8.
38. Bergman, *Archaeological Researches*, p. 50; Aurel Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford, 1921), vol. I, p. 454, and *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran* (Oxford, 1928), vol. II, p. 762.
39. Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet*, vol. I, p. 383f. (*Im Herzen von Asien* (Leipzig, 1914), vol. I, p. 232.)
40. Hedin, *Central Asia and Tibet*, vol. I, p. 382, vol. II, p. 124. (*Im Herzen von Asien* (Leipzig, 1914), vol. I, p. 232, vol. II, pp. 37f).
41. Folke Bergman, *Lou-Lan Wood-Carvings and Small Finds Discovered by Sven Hedin* (Stockholm, 1935), pp. 71–144.
42. Bergman, *Lou–Lan Wood-Carvings*, vol. II, pp. 39-61; Hedin, *Scientific Results*, vol. II, pp. 628–636; August Conrady, *Die chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-Lan* (Stockholm, 1920).
43. Sven Hedin et al., *History of the Expedition in Asia, 1927–1935*, parts I–IV, *Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin* (Göteborg, 1943–45).
44. Sven Hedin, *The Flight of 'Big Horse', the Trail of War in Central Asia* (New York, 1936), p. 100.
45. Hedin, *The Flight of 'Big Horse', the Trail of War in Central Asia*, pp. 138ff.
46. Sven Hedin, *The Silk Road: Ten Thousand Miles Through Central Asia* (London, 2009), chapters 12–16, Hedin, *The Wandering Lake*, p. 148.
47. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 128f. Bergman, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 51–147.
48. Annabel Walker, *Aurel Stein: Pioneer of the Silk Road* (London, 1995), pp. 244–248. It is an irony of archaeological history that Foucher would fail miserably in his search for Greek remains in Afghanistan for want of the commitment, tenacity and organisational talent that Stein had in superabundance.
49. Walker, *Aurel Stein*, pp. 11ff, 22ff, 36ff, 49, 60.
50. Aurel Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1904), pp. 79–97.
51. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 240–304.
52. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 338–344.
53. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 354, 357.
54. Aurel Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford, 1921), vol. I, p. 319, n.8.
55. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 422ff.
56. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 425ff, 429.
57. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 444–451.
58. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 484, 488.
59. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 487.
60. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 496; Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, p. 322.
61. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 502.
62. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 127ff. The present author had the same experience on his two visits to Rawak in 1994 and 1998: on both occasions sandstorms had uncovered the torsos of a few lesser figures, and each time these had been destroyed by iconoclastic fanatics shortly afterwards.
63. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 507–514.
64. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 223–233.
65. Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (London, 1912), vol. I, pp. 335ff; see too Aurel Stein, *Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913–16* (London, 1916), p. 128.
66. Jeannette Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein, Archaeological Explorer* (Chicago, 1977), p. 246.
67. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 389.
68. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 459–462, 471ff, 495ff.
69. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. I, p. 457.
70. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 530.
71. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 533.
72. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. I, p. 496.
73. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 533, n. 10; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 171ff.
74. Most of the texts are written in Chinese and Tibetan, the remainder in Khotanese, Sogdian, Sanskrit in Brahmi script, Hebrew, Kuchean, Uyghur, and Old Turkic in Manichaean, Tibetan, Uyghur and runic scripts: James Russell Hamilton, *Manuscrits Ouïgours du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-Houang* (Paris, 1986), pp. ix–x.
75. Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London, 2004), pp. 16, 287. It is very likely that a number of manuscripts composed after 1006 were placed in Cave 17 by Wang after it was opened in 1900.
76. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. II, p. 816.
77. Gustav Kreitner, *Im fernen Osten. Reisen des Grafen Bela Széchenyi in Indien, Japan, China, Tibet und Birma in den Jahren 1877–1880* (Vienna, 1881), pp. 665–668.
78. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 106, 112. Valerie Hansen's account of this episode is somewhat mangled: Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (Oxford, 2012), p. 60.
79. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. II, 20–29; *Serindia*, vol. II, pp. 585–766.
80. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. II, p. 180.
81. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. II, p. 194.
82. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. II, p. 893; vol. IV, pl. C.
83. Jacques Giès (ed.), *Les arts de l'Asie centrale. La collection Paul Pelliot du musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet* (Paris, 1994), pp. 8–12; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. II, p. 826.
84. Giès (ed.), *Les arts de l'Asie centrale*, p. 11; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, p. 355.
85. Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 289 (no date of the latter given)
86. Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 377 (no date of the latter given)
87. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. III, pp. 1241–43.
88. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. III, pp. 1284–91; Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road* (Bangkok, 2003), pp. 67–70; Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, 'On the dating of the Khotanese documents from the area of Khotan', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 3 (2008), pp. 149–156, here pp. 150ff.
89. Aurel Stein, *A Chinese Expedition Across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A.D. 747* (London, 1922) pp. 112–130; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 3, 35–46.
90. Letter to Percy S. Allen dated 8 December 1913, cited in Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 363.
91. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 180–197.
92. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, p. 197; vol. II, p. 746.
93. See p. 154; Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia* (London, 2008), pp. 191–193.
94. Of the 572 manuscripts that Stein bought in Dunhuang in 1914, quite a few are probably forgeries: Susan Whitfield, *Aurel Stein on the Silk Road* (London, 2004), p. 89.
95. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 429–462.
96. Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 223ff.
97. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 587–680.
98. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 666, 670–677. Much of this 'Sassanian-Sogdian' fabric was actually locally produced, from the Turfan Oasis or Khotan: Karel Otavský, *Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe* (Riggisberg, 1998), p. 179.
99. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, p. 671.
100. Stein, *A Third Journey*, p. 205; Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (ed.), *Monks and Merchants* (New York, 2001), pp. 243, 245, 265, 272.
101. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 646, 670.
102. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, fig. 325.
103. Juliano and Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants*, p. 105.
104. Valerie Hansen, 'The impact of the Silk Road trade on a local community: the Turfan Oasis, 500–800', in Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris, 2005), p. 284; Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden, 2005), p. 125.
105. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 863–877.
106. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 909–921.
107. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 915ff; Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, p. 58.
108. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, p. 917. Unfortunately these paintings, unique in Iran, have for the most part been lost. Some were removed by Stein and are kept in the India National Museum in New Delhi, others the German archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948) removed in 1929, and, rather than handing them all over to an Iranian museum as promised, had them sent to Berlin while selling some of them to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. To justify his untenable dating of the paintings to the Parthian period (247 BCE–224 CE), Herzfeld did not shrink from colouring and retouching his photographs so that Sassanid stylistic elements disappeared and Parthian ones emerged: Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre, 'Ernst Herzfeld, Kuh-e Khwaja, and the Study of Parthian Art', in A.C. Gunter and S.R. Hauser (eds), *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900–1950* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 181–194.
109. Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, pp. 344–47.
110. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils*, pp. 188ff.
111. Louis Hambis (ed.), *Mission Paul Pelliot*, vol. I, *Toumchouq, planches* (Paris, 1961), vol. II, *Toumchouq, texte* (Paris, 1964); Marylin Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II (Leiden, 2002), pp. 503–505, 572.
112. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 499, 536.
113. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils*, p. 181.
114. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, 2006), p. 190; Jacques Giès (ed.), *Les arts de l'Asie*

centrale (Paris, 1994), p. 11. Astonishingly, Pelliot showed little interest in the exploitation of his finds and purchases, and of his archaeological objects in particular, and the first volume of their still unfinished publication appeared only in 1961.

115. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, p. 45.
116. Albert Grünwedel, *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idiqutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–1903* (Munich, 1909), pp. 1–196.
117. Estrangelo is an alphabet developed from the Aramaic, used in the so-called Nestorian Church of the East for the writing of texts in Old Syriac.
118. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 100f. For the Church of the East, see pp. 238–41 of the present work.
119. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 27ff; Albert von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. II, *Die manichäischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1922; repr. Graz, 1973), p. 30.
120. Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike*, vol. II, p. 20; and vol. VI, *Neue Bildwerke 3* (Berlin, 1933; repr. Graz, 1975), p. 10. Gulácsi believes that the Manichaean miniatures did not influence Persian miniature painting, but that both schools derive from a common West Asian predecessor: Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *The Dates and Styles of Uyghur Manichaean Art* (Paris, 2003), pp. 6ff, 18ff.
121. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, p. 61. With today's technologies, some of these manuscripts might well have been saved.
122. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 58ff, and *Die buddhistische Spätantike*, vol. II, p. 5.
123. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 60, 76 and *Die buddhistische Spätantike*, vol. III, *Die Wandmalereien* (Berlin, 1924; repr. Graz, 1974), pp. 9, 25ff.
124. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 61ff.
125. Albert von Le Coq, *Chotscho* (Berlin, 1913; repr. Graz, 1979), pl. 1, pp. 6–8, *Die buddhistische Spätantike*, vol. II, p. 27, and *Buried Treasure*, p. 58; Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 198–201.
126. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils*, p. 230. It was the large murals built into the walls that especially suffered, while others were stolen by Soviet troops in 1945: Toralf Gabsch (ed.), *Auf Grünwedels Spuren. Restaurierung und Forschung an zentralasiatischen Wandmalereien* (Leipzig, 2012), p. 55.
127. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, p. 77, and *Chotscho*, pl. 7.
128. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 176.
129. Albert Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 277, 279; Takao Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003* (Osaka, 2003), pp. 33–36, and *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße* (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 3–38. Cave 25 in Grünwedel corresponds to Cave 38 in today's numbering: Samuel Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China*, *Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* 45 (Leiden, 1998), p. 19, and for other Manichaean caves see p. 20.
130. Joseph Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale 1931* (Paris, 1936), pp. 9, 18–22, pl. XIIff.
131. Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike*, vol. II, pp. 28–30; Lieu, *Manichaeism*, p. 5; Moriyasu, *Four Lectures*, pp. 35ff, 84, and *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus*, p. 181; Xavier Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde* (Vienna, 2001), pp. 85ff, 90.
132. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pp. 14–17, pl. 17–29 (Cave 9 in Grünwedel corresponds to Cave 20 in today's numbering) and *Buried Treasure*, pp. 86–90; Maria Rudova, *Pranidhi* (Berlin, 2004), p. 279.
133. Rudova, *Pranidhi*, pp. 278–280.
134. Today, a *pranidhi* scene of this kind can be seen the Hermitage in St Petersburg, brought back by S. Oldenburg, and another in the National Museum in New Delhi, removed by Aurel Stein. As the Berlin museum director Krickeberg wrote in 1947, there had been enough time between 1939 and the middle of 1943 to carry out the not very difficult works required to remove the large wall-paintings: Gabsch (ed.), *Auf Grünwedels Spuren*, p. 54.
135. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 132, 134, 143.
136. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 125ff.
137. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, pp. 130, 136; John P. O'Neill (ed.), *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums* (New York, 1982), p. 168. See also 'Teufelshöhle A', in Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike*, vol. VII, *Neue Bildwerke III* (Berlin, 1933; repr. Graz, 1975), pl. 15.
138. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, p. 138.
139. Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, p. 147.
140. When Le Coq learnt that Aurel Stein was planning a further expedition to the Southern Silk Road, he abandoned this ambition, not least because Macartney, the British consul in Kashgar, had obtained travel documents and an excavation permit for him (Le Coq) from the Chinese authorities: Albert von Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ost-Turkistan. Die 4. Deutsche Turfan-Expedition* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 28, 55.
141. Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten*, p. 42.
142. Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten*, pp. 63ff. The cupola is now in the Museum für ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin. Marianne Yaldiz (ed.), *Magische Götterwelten* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 197ff.
143. Gabsch (ed.), *Auf Grünwedels Spuren*, p. 27.
144. Ma Yong and Sun Yutang, 'The Western Regions under the Hsiong-Nu and the Han', in Janos Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 2, *The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations, 700 BC to AD 250* (Paris, 1994), p. 241.
145. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 125–28, 217f; Wang Binghua et al., *The Ancient Corpses of Xinjiang: The Peoples of Ancient Xinjiang and Their Culture* (Urumqi, 2001), pp. 29–113.
146. vol. I, pp. 128f.
147. Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, pp. 135ff; Wang et al., *The Ancient Corpses*, pp. 144–165.
148. Shing Müller, 'Sogdier in China um 600 n.Chr.', in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 183–184 (2008), pp. 117–148; Qi Xiaoshan and Wang Bo, *The Ancient Culture in Xinjiang Along the Silk Road* (Urumqi, 2008), p. 32; Yue Feng (ed.), *Xinjiang li shi wen ming ji cui* [Collection on the historical culture of Xinjiang] (Urumqi, 2009), p. 140.
149. Lü Hou Yuan et al., 'A preliminary study of chronology for a newly-discovered ancient city and five archaeological sites in Lop Nor, China', *Chinese Science Bulletin* 55/1 (2010), pp. 63ff, 68. The authors' proposed identification of this settlement as the city of Zhubin (Chu-pin) in the ancient minor state of Moshan seems improbable, Stein having identified Chu-pin as the ruined city of Yingpan, 93 km to the north-west: Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 292ff, and vol. II, pp. 724, 762, 765ff.
150. Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, pp. 101ff; *Zhong-Ri gongtong Niya yiji exueshu kaicha dui* [Sino-Japanese Joint Research of the Niya Site] (Urumqi and Kyoto, 1999), vol. II, pp. 406–412; Wang et al., *The Ancient Corpses*, pp. 114–143.
151. Emma Bunker, 'The Cemetery of Shanpula, Xinjiang: Simple Burials, Complex Textiles', in D. Keller and R. Schorta (eds), *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands: Central Asian Woolen Textiles from the Second Century BC to the Second Century AD* (Riggisberg, 2001), pp. 17ff.
152. Mayke Wagner, Wang Bo et al., 'The ornamental trousers from Sampula (Xinjiang, China): their origins and biography', *Antiquity* 83/322 (2009) pp. 1066–68 and 1073.
153. The motif has nothing to do with an animal-battle scene, nor does it show any similarity to the hangings in Pazyryk and Noin Ula as Mayke Wagner has suggested: Wagner, Bo et al., 'The ornamental trousers from Sampula', p. 1071.
154. Bunker, 'The Cemetery of Shanpula', p. 29.
155. The treasure hunters had sold two other rugs before they were apprehended, and these have not been found: Zhang He, 'Preliminary study of the carpets from Sampul, Khotan', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 5 (2010), pp. 59–94.
156. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 218f.; Corinne Debaine-Francfort and Abduressul Idriss, 'Djoumbulak Koum, une cité fortifiée', in *Keriya. Mémoires d'un fleuve* (Paris, 2001), pp. 120–143.
157. Corinne Debaine-Francfort, Thibaud Fournet, 'Les plus anciens sanctuaires bouddhiques du Xinjiang', in *Keriya*, pp. 82–117. The promised scientific report has still not yet appeared, more than eight years after the end of the expedition.
158. On the correlation between Stein's and Baumer's denomination of the ruins of Dandan Oilik see Christoph Baumer, 'Sogdian or Indian iconography and religious influences in Dandan Uiliq: the murals of Buddhist Temple D 13', in Anupa Pande (ed.), *The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New Delhi, 2008), p. 240, n. 7.
159. Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, pp. 76–90, and 'Sogdian or Indian iconography', pp. 170–184.
160. Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, China, and The Academic Research Organization for the Niya Ruins of Bukkyo University, Japan, *Dandan Oilik Site, Report of the Sino-Japanese Joint Expedition* (Beijing, 2009), pp. 68, 72, 75, 91, 133–144, 209–234, pl. 19ff, 34–40; Claude Fagne, *La Route de la Soie* (Brussels, 2009), fig. 160f.
161. Xinjiang Institute etc., *Dandan Oilik Site*, pp. 293–333; 'Excavation of No. 3 Buddhist Temple-Site at Topulukdong in Damago of Cele County, Xinjiang', in *Chinese Archaeology*, last retrieved from http://history.cultural-china.com/en/56History10358.html on 25/11/2013.
162. Erika Forte, 'Khotan in the last quarter of the first millennium: is there artistic evidence of the interrelations between Khotan and Tibet? A preliminary survey', in Michael Alram (ed.), *Coins, Art and Chronology*, vol. II, *The First Millennium C.E.*

in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands (Vienna, 2010), pp. 461f, fig. 11.

163. The inscription is today in the Khotan Regional Museum. Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, pp. 110ff; Richard Salomon, 'A stone inscription in Central Asian Gandhara from Endere (Xinjiang)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 13/1999, pp. 1–14.
164. See above note 92; Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery Across Central Asia* (London, 2008), pp. 184–193.
165. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 219–33; Christoph Baumer, 'The Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe culture: new archaeological discoveries in the Taklamakan Desert, China', *Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs* 52/1 (March 2011), pp. 49–70, here pp. 53f, 59.
166. See vol. I, pp. 132f.
167. See vol. I, pp. 129–33.
168. The name Shule probably comes from Khotanese Saka, in which the word 'su-li' means merchant, and Shule would have been 'City of Merchants': Richard Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia* (Princeton, 2006), p. 143.
169. See above p. 35f. John Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome* (Charleston, SC, 2009), pp. 43ff.
170. The Four Garrisons of Anxi were four military bases established by China's Tang dynasty between 648 and 658 and held (with some interruptions) until 791 or 798. They were located in the cities of Kucha, Kashgar, Khotan and Karashahr; between 679 and 719 Suyab (Ak Beshim near Bishkek, North Kyrgyzstan) replaced Karashahr: Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, [1903] (Paris, 1941; repr. Taipei, 1969), pp. 224, 266–269; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 58–60.
171. Hambis (ed.), *Mission Paul Pelliot*, vol. II, pp. 15ff; Le Coq, *Buried Treasure*, p. 113.
172. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 251–253; Hambis (ed.), *Mission Paul Pelliot*, vol. II, pp. 26–30; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 80–85.
173. Harold W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (New York, 1982), pp. 3ff; Hambis (ed.), *Mission Paul Pelliot*, vol. II, pp. 23ff; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 79. It is probable that Islam was first proclaimed the state religion by Satuq Bughra Khan's son Musa: Karl Bajpakov, *Les Tribus Turques de la Sibérie et de l'Altaï* (Berlin, 2000), p. 36.
174. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 35.
175. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, pp. 35–41, 415ff.
176. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia* vol. I, pp. 210, 219, 290 and in this volume pp. 134f.
177. Harold W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas*, p. 65; Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 525. See also Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 260.
178. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 204; Helen Wang, 'How much for a camel? A new understanding of money on the Silk Road before AD 800', in Whitfield with Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road*, pp. 27, 143.
179. Richard Salomon, 'Gandhari in the worlds of India, Iran and Central Asia', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21/2012, pp. 183ff.
180. R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (Oxford, 1967), pp. v, 23, 76; John Hill, *Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History* (San Francisco, 2008), p. 6.
181. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, pp. 309–311.
182. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, pp. 17–21.
183. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, p. 23.
184. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 17; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 167ff.
185. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 19.
186. Karel Otavsky, *Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe* (Riggisberg, 1998), p. 184; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 168.
187. Tao Tong, 'The Silk Roads of the Northern Tibetan Plateau During the Early Middle Ages (from the Han to Tang Dynasty) as Reconstructed from Archaeological and Written Sources', PhD dissertation, Eberhard-Karls University of Tübingen, 2008, p. 273, available at http://tobias-lib.uni-tuebingen.de/volltexte/2008/3628/pdf/Diss_Tong.pdf
188. Christoph Baumer and Therese Weber, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok, 2005), pp. 27ff; Gabriella Molè, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the time of the Five Dynasties* (Rome, 1970), pp. xv, 10, 34ff, 96 and 135.
189. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, pp. 32 and 266ff; R.E. Emmerick, *Iranian Settlements East of the Pamirs* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 267; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*. vol. I, p. 175.
190. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 35ff; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 114, n. 2; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 61.
191. John Hill, *Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History*, pp. 2, 6.
192. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, pp. 114, n. 179, n. 1; Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, p. 59; Hill, *Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History*, pp. 3, 6; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 61.
193. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 81, n.1; Hill, *Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History*, pp. 4, 11
194. Christoph Baumer, *Tibet's Ancient Religion: Bön* (Trumbull, CT, 2002), pp. 114ff; Hill John, *Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History*, pp. 4ff.
195. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 127; Hill John, *Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History*, pp. 5, 12.
196. On the dating of the Tibetan conquest of Besh Baliq see Chapter IX, note 68; Hiroshi Kumamoto, 'A St. Petersburg bilingual document and problems of the chronology of Khotan', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 3 (2008), p. 76; Zhang and Rong, 'On the Dating of the Khotanese Documents', pp. 150ff.
197. The new datings of certain Khotanese documents by Skjaervo and Kumamoto shift the Tibetan conquest of Khotan from *ca.* 790/91 to 798/802 CE. Whether Khotan was threatened in 802 by a Uyghur army is a matter of dispute: Kumamoto, 'A St. Petersburg Bilingual Document', (2008), pp. 75–79; Prods Oktor Skjaervo, 'The End of Eighth-Century Khotan in Its texts', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 3 (2008), pp. 119–144, here pp. 119, 124, 127f. Zhang and Rong, 'On the dating of the Khotanese documents from the area of Khotan' (2008), pp. 149–51.
198. Prods Oktor Skjaervo, 'Iranians, Indians, Chinese and Tibetans: The Rulers and Ruled of Khotan in the First Millennium', in Whitfield with Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road*, pp. 41ff; Stein *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 180; Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang* (Munich, 1995), vol. II, pp. 334, 336.
199. Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Chinese Buddhism* (London, 2011), p. 54; Emil Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 62ff.
200. Faxian, *Foguo ji*: *The Travels of Fa hsien*, trans. H.A. Giles (Cambridge, 1923), p. 4. Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 2005), p. 511.
201. The 'seven preciosities' or 'seven precious substances' are gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, coral, ruby and emerald: Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 2005), p. 512, n. 2303.
202. Faxian, *The Travels of Fa hsien*, pp. 5–6; Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 512ff. Xuanzang saw a similar procession in Kucha in around 630: Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 175.
203. R.E. Emmerick, *The Sutra of Golden Light, Being a Translation of the Suvarnabhasottamasutra* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 59–65; Rebecca L. Twist, *The Patola Shahi Dynasty: A Buddhological Study of their Patronage, Devotion and Politics* (Saarbrücken, 2011), pp. 233ff.
204. Boris Litvinskij, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus in Ostturkestan* (Wiesbaden, 1999), p. 31.
205. Édouard Chavannes, *Chinese Documents from the Sites of Dandan-Uiliq, Niya and Endere* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 526–529; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 275ff.
206. Mariko Namba Walter, 'Mahayana and Hinayana in Central Asian Buddhist history according to Hsüan-Tsang and other evidence', in Lokesh Chandra and Radha Banerjee (eds), *Xuanzang and the Silk Route* (New Delhi, 2008), p. 159.
207. Jeremy Tredinnick, Christoph Baumer and Judy Bonavia, *Xinjiang: China's Central Asia* (Hong Kong, 2012), p. 385.
208. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 190–210, and *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 97–104. Preceding Stein, Hedin had already purchased a sizeable collection of terracotta figures from Yotkan in Khotan in 1896: Gösta Montell, 'Sven Hedin's Archaeological Collections from Khotan', Parts I & II, *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Stockholm Bulletin* 7 & 10 (1935, 1938).
209. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 474–476.
210. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 197ff, and *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 130–135.
211. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 154–167.
212. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 456–464.
213. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. III, pp. 1246–56.
214. Tredinnick, Baumer and Bonavia, *Xinjiang*, p. 385.
215. Gerd Gropp, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesisch-Ostturkestan* (Bremen, 1974), pp. 13–16, 221–242; Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 277; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 488; Emil Trinkler, 'Die Kunst des Alten Cathay' (unpublished, 1931 or earlier), pp. 1–5.
216. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. 1, pp. 276–313; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 488–503.

217. Corinne Debaine-Francfort, Thibaud Fournet, Les plus anciens sanctuaires bouddhiques du Xinjiang, pp. 82–117.
218. Chavannes, *Chinese documents*, pp. 521–524; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 266. Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, 'Sur un manuscrit chinois découvert à Cira près de Khotan', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3/3 (1987), p. 80.
219. See above note 197.
220. D.S. Margoliouth, 'The Judaeo-Persian Document', in Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. II, pp. 570–74; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 306ff; Whitfield with Sims-Williams, (eds), *The Silk Road*, pp. 221ff.
221. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 119–21, 264, vol. II, pl. LXIII.
222. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, pp. 315ff.
223. Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia* (Tokyo, 1985), vol. III, p. 316.
224. See the excursus on silk production below. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 229, 259ff, vol. II, pl. LXIII; Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, pp. 318ff.
225. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, p. 278, vol. II, pl. LIX; see also pl. LXII right.
226. Baumer, 'Sogdian or Indian Iconography', p. 238, fig. 21:17; Markus Mode, 'Sogdian gods in exile: some iconographic evidence from Khotan in the light of recently excavated material from Sogdiana', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2, 1991, pp. 179–214, here pp. 183ff.
227. Frantz Grenet, 'Vaishravana in Sogdiana: about the origins of Bishamon-ten', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995/96), pp. 277–297, here p. 279.
228. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. III, pp. 1248ff, vol. IV, pl. CXXV top right.
229. Baumer, 'Sogdian or Indian Iconography', p. 238, fig. 21:18; Xinjiang Institute etc., *Dandan Oilik Site*, pl. 34, 37, 39, 77.
230. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 48.
231. Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 316.
232. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 278–80, vol. II, pl. LX, LXI.
233. Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, fig. 69, and 'Sogdian or Indian Iconography', pp. 235ff, fig. 21:19.
234. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia* (New York, 1974), pp. 128 and 165.
235. Mario Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting*, trans. Lothian Small (Geneva, 1963; repr. 1979), pp. 58–63.
236. See above p.128.
237. A.M. Belenizkij and B.I. Marshak, *The Paintings of Sogdiana* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 29ff.
238. Judith Rickenbach (ed.), *Oxus: 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluss in Mittelasien* (Zurich, 1989), p. 140, pl. 88.
239. Yang Junkai, 'Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou', in La Vaissière and Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, pp. 31–37, pl. VII top right.
240. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 149–152. Rong Xinjiang, '*Sabao* or *sabo*: Sogdian caravan leaders in the wall-paintings in Buddhist caves' in La Vaissière and Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 207.
241. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *A Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia*, Part II (Calcutta, 1902), pp. 24f, 36ff; Zhang and Rong, 'Sur un manuscrit', p. 80.
242. Qing Duan, 'Were Textiles used as Money in Khotan in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 2013, pp. 317f.
243. Bergman, *Lou-Lan Wood-Carvings*, pl. VI.
244. See above, pp. 56f.
245. See below p. 232. Frantz Grenet, 'Iranian gods in Hindu garb: the Zoroastrian pantheon of the Bactrians and Sogdians, second–eighth centuries', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 20/2006, pp. 87–100; Mode, 'Sogdian gods in exile', pp. 179–214, and 'Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst', in K. Jettmar and E. Kattner (eds), *Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens* (Stuttgart, 2003), pp. 141–218.
246. Baumer, 'Sogdian or Indian iconography', pp. 235–238.
247. Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, vol. III, fig. 96. In the Tarim Basin, other images of Hariti have been found at Farhad Beg-yailaki and in Yarkhoto (Jiaohe): Fred H. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia* (New Delhi, 1948), p. iv; Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. II, pl. XI B; Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 40b.
248. Mode interprets Karttikeya as Vashagn, Compareti as Tishtrya: Mode, 'Die Religion der Sogder', pp. 172ff; Matteo Compareti, 'The Indian iconography of the Sogdian divinities and the role of Buddhism and Hinduism in its transmission', in *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 69, 1–4 (2009), pp. 17–210, here pp. 190–192.
249. Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 316.
250. Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York, 1973), vol. I, p. 72.
251. Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting*, p. 56.
252. Carol Michaelson, 'Jade and the Silk Road: trade and tribute in the first millennium', in Whitfield with Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road* (London, 2004), pp. 43ff, 48.
253. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, pp. 14–16, 20; R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, p. 33.
254. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, p. 319.
255. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. I, p. 270.
256. Irmgard Timmermann, *Die Seide Chinas: Ein Kulturgeschichte am seidenen Faden* (Munich, 1988), pp. 61–63.
257. Juliano and Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants*, p. 315.
258. Procopius, *Wars*, 8.17.1–8, in Procopius, *The Secret History, with Related Texts*, (ed.) and trans. Anthony Kaldellis (Indianapolis, 2010); according to Theophanes of Byzantium, a Persian smuggled out the seeds in a hollow walking-stick: Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 233, n. 1.
259. R.C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool, 1985), pp. 115, 263, n. 117; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 233, n. 1.
260. Pan Jixing, 'Review on the debate of paper history during recent 30 years in China', *Paper History* 15.2 (2011), p. 6; Yang Hu and Xiao Yang, *Chinese Publishing: Homeland of Printing* (Beijing, 2010), pp. 32ff.
261. Jan Romgard, 'Questions of ancient human settlements in Xinjiang and the early Silk Road trade, with an overview of the Silk Road research institutions and scholars in Beijing, Gansu and Xinjiang', *Sino-Platonic Papers* no. 185 (2008), pp. 75ff, at http://sino-platonic.org/complete/spp185_silk_road.pdf, last retrieved 25. 11. 2013.
262. Therese Weber, *The Language of Paper: A History of 2000 years* (Bangkok, 2007), pp. 25–28.
263. Weber, *The Language of Paper*, pp. 84–86.
264. Pan Jixing, 'The birthplace of printing: Korea or China?', *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu/Studies in the History of Natural Sciences* 16.1 (1997), pp. 72ff.
265. Helen Wang, 'Money in Eastern Central Asia before AD 800', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Hermann (eds), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London, 2007), p. 407.
266. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, Book 1, CXXIX, cited in Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (New York, 2012), p. 236.
267. Joseph Karabacek, *Arab Paper* [1887], trans. Don Baker and Suzy Dittmar (London, 1991), p. 24.
268. Azarpay Guitty, 'The MP Archive at Berkeley: a pre-Islamic Forerunner of "Samarkand" Paper?', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 1 (2006), pp. 141–143; Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 42–45; Ma Shun-ying and Wang Yao, 'The Western Regions (Hsi-yü) under the T'ang Empire and the kingdom of Tibet' in B.A. Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris, 1996), p. 357.
269. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I (Leiden, 1999), pp. 330–333. On the early history of Shan-shan see here pp. 18ff.
270. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 341, 359.
271. Albert Herrmann, *Lou-Lan: China, Indien und Rom im Lichte der Ausgrabungen am Lobnor* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 95; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 421.
272. Bergman, *Lou-Lan Wood-Carvings*, p. 77.
273. John Brough, 'Comments on third-century Shan-shan and the history of Buddhism', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (1965), pp. 582–612, here pp. 598ff, 602. Ma Yung gives the reign of Amgoka as *ca.* 255/58–293/99: Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 349.
274. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 244, 337; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 377, 409, vol. III, pp. 1329f.
275. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 354ff.
276. Paul Pelliot, 'Le "Cha Tcheou Tou Tou Fou T'ou King" et la Colonie Sogdienne de la Région du Lob Nor', *Journal Asiatique* 11/7 (Jan.–Feb. 1916), pp. 115–123; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. II, p. 653, and *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 161, 165.
277. Elizabeth Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi*, (London, 1999), pp. 92, 118. J.P. Mallory, Victor H. Maier, *The Tarim Mummies* (London, 2000), p. 81. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 415f.
278. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 355, 395, 402.
279. Hedin, *Scientific Results*, vol. II, figs. 293–95, pl. 76; Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. 1, pp. 409, 421ff; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 394–403.
280. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. III, pl. XXX.
281. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 106, 424.

282. Bergman, *Archaeological Researches*, p. 43, 148. Yuan Gaoying and Zhao Ziyun, 'Relationship between the rise and decline of ancient Loulan town and environmental changes', *Chinese Geographical Science* 9/1 (1999), pp. 78–82, here p. 79.
283. Wang et al., *The Ancient Corpses*, pp. 46ff.
284. See here p. 20.
285. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 383, vol. II, pp. 652, 571, and *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 193, 195, vol. II, p. 1031.
286. Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert*, p. 191; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 486ff, 491, and *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 187, 194, fig. 134.
287. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 765ff.
288. Prejevalsky, *From Kulja across the Tian Shan*, p. 77.
289. Valerie Hansen's claim that in the Miran stupa 'the central pillar contained relics of the Buddha' is completely untenable, being supported by neither textual nor archaeological evidence: Hansen, *The Silk Road*, p. 54.
290. The *Visvantara-Jataka* tells of Shakyamuni's penultimate life.
291. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines*, pl. I–III; Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 492–538, vol. IV, pl. XLI–XV, and *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 170–72.
292. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 385.
293. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 487, figs. 121–24.
294. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 463f. Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, vol. III, pl. 49–1 to 49–4; pp. 307f.
295. The Metropolitan Museum of New York. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tbar/hd_tbar.htm. Last retrieved 07. 06.2013.
296. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 465.
297. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 459ff, 470, 473–76.
298. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, p. 325.
299. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 194. Given the lack of Buddhist finds, it seems unlikely that Stein really did discover the site of Calmadana south-west of today's Qiemo in 1906: Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 300–303. In 2003, the present author's Sino-Swiss expedition failed to find Calmadana north of Qiemo, three previous Chinese expeditions having come up with no result: Tredinnick, Baumer and Bonavia, *Xinjiang*, p. 408.
300. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 428, 546.
301. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 432, 569.
302. *Zhong-Ri gongtong Niya* [Sino-Japanese Joint Research], vol. II, pp. 406–412. As Wang Binghua observes, however, the Tang-dynasty successor-city of Nirang, south of Jingue, has not as yet been found: Wang Binghua et al., *The Ancient Corpses*, p. 141.
303. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 368ff.
304. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. I, pp. 372ff.
305. *Zhong-Ri gongtong Niya* [Sino-Japanese Joint Research], vol. II, colour pl. 1, vol. III, pl. 34, 43, 45; Zhao Feng and Yu Zhiyong (eds), *Legacy of the Desert King* (Hong Kong, 2000), pp. 48ff.
306. Thomas Burrow, *A Translation of the Kharoshthi documents from Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1940), pp. 60ff; E.J. Rapson et al., trans. and eds, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, 1929 (New Delhi, 1997), p. 118. The owner of the slave may also have lived in Qiemo.
307. For an illustration see Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, fig. 95.
308. Kurita Isao, *A Revised and Enlarged Edition of Gandharan Art*, vol. II (Tokyo, 2003), pp. 165ff, 172.
309. A.F.P. Hulsewé and M.A.N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia* (Leiden, 1979), p. 163.
310. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. bis zum 6. Jh. n.Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1969), vol. I, pp. 16, 160, 171ff.
311. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China*, vol. I, p. 178.
312. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 353; vol. II, pp. 277, 583, 855.
313. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 585.
314. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 285.
315. Mariko Namba Walter, 'Tokharian Buddhism in Kucha: Buddhism of Indo-European Centum Speakers in Chinese Turkestan before the 10th century CE', *Sino-Platonic Papers* no. 85 (October, 1998), p. 8. at http://sino-platonic.org/complete/spp085_tokharian_buddhism_kucha.pdf, last retrieved 25 April 2013.
316. Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain*, pp. 90ff; Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 276.
317. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 21.
318. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 19, vol. II, p. 306.
319. Sramana Huili and Shi Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*, trans. Li Rongxi (Berkeley, 1995), p. 40.
320. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 642.
321. Walter, 'Tokharian Buddhism in Kucha', pp. 5ff.
322. Today some 300 caves are known in Kizil, around 40 km north-west of Kucha, there are painting fragments in 95 of these: Rajeshwari Ghose (ed.), *Kizil on the Silk Road* (Mumbai, 2008), pp. 9, 95.
323. Ghose (ed.), *Kizil on the Silk Road*, pp. 12, 15.
324. Ghose (ed.), *Kizil on the Silk Road*, p. 21, n. 8.
325. In Kizil, only in 'New Cave 1' discovered in 1973, there is a well-preserved clay statue of the sleeping Buddha.
326. 'The Bilge kagan's Memorial Complex,' 1st side, line 13, on the *Türk Bitig* website of the Language Committee of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan, available at http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=16&lang=e; Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien: Archäologische und historische Studien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 284; La Vaissière and Trombert, (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 388. Similar scenes of mourning are to be found at Mogao, in Cave 158, for example.
327. Gilles Béguin, *Buddhist Art: An Historical and Cultural Journey* (Bangkok, 2009), p. 233; Khau Ming, 'Early Tarim Basin Buddhist sculptures from Yanqi (Karashahr): a new dating', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 4 (2009), p. 87.
328. For a detailed listing of the jatakas represented at Kizil see Ghose (ed.), *Kizil on the Silk Road*, pp. 96–99.
329. On the correlation between Grünwedel's names for the caves and today's numbering see Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 649.
330. Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain*, pp. 249–51.
331. The dating of the oldest caves in Kizil to the late 3rd century is based on carbon 14 tests: Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 645–647.
332. *Zhongguo Xinjiang Bihua Meishu* [Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China], vol. IV (Urumqi, 2009), pp. 35ff.
333. See above p. 78.
334. Zhang Yuanlin, 'Dialogue among the civilizations: the origin of the Three Guardian Deities images in Cave 285, Mogao Grottoes', *The Silk Road* 6/2 (Winter/Spring 2009), pp. 33–35, 38–41, available at http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol6num2/srjournal_v6n2.pdf, last retrieved 25/11/2013.
335. Ghose (ed.), *Kizil on the Silk Road*, p. 57.
336. Walter, 'Tokharian Buddhism in Kucha', pp. 26–28.
337. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China*, vol. I, pp. 25ff, 32, 175ff.
338. Discovered in the 1970s, Caves GK 20 and GK 21 were previously called 'New Cave 1' and 'New Cave 2'.
339. Other Kucha-Oasis cave complexes are at Simsim, Kizil Gaha, Kirish and Taitairu, as well as the monastery of Duldul Akur: Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia* vol. II, pp. 600–27, 718.
340. See above, p. 56.
341. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 500–504, 529, 572, 576ff.
342. Hambis (ed.), *Mission Paul Pelliot*, vol. I (plates), pl. VIIIf, LXVII-LXXI, vol. II (text), pp. 67ff.
343. For the early history of Jiaohe and Jushi see p. 22.
344. Ban Gu, *Han Shu* (Leiden, 1979), chap. 96A, pp. 76ff; Zhang Guangda, *Kocho (Kao-ch'ang)* (Paris, 1996), pp. 303f.
345. Zhang Guangda, *Kocho*, p. 304.
346. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 51.
347. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate*, p. 67.
348. See p. 85.
349. Other authors are of the view that the Qu were of Han Chinese descent: Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 102, n. 2.
350. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 89, n. 3. Zhang Guangda, *Kocho (Kao-ch'ang)* (Paris, 1996), p. 306.
351. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, pp. 105–109.
352. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, pp. 112ff.
353. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, pp. 81ff.
354. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 155.
355. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 155–157; Hansen, 'The impact of the Silk Road trade', p. 299; Moriyasu Takao, *Four Lectures*, p. 31. Tremblay believes that the Northern Silk Road from Kocho to Kashgar was tributary to the Uyghurs: Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde*, p. 33.
356. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 170f, n. 179.
357. Béguin, *Buddhist Art*, p. 240.
358. Tredinnick, Baumer and Bonavia, *Xinjiang*, pp. 177ff.
359. Bertrand Arnaud, 'The hydraulic systems in Turfan (Xinjiang)', *The Silk Road* 8 (2010), pp. 27–41, available at http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol8/.pdf, last retrieved 25/11/2013; Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, p. 32.

360. Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, p. 38.
361. Faxian, *Foguo ji*, p. 4. The English translator has here interpolated 'the rivers' after 'crossing', but the content suggests rather 'the desert'. See also Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 2005) p. 510 and note 2294.
362. N.V. Dyakonova, *Shikshin: Materialy Pervoj Russkoj Turkestanskoj ėkspedicii akademika S. F. Oldenburga, 1909–1910 gg* (Moscow, 1995); Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 725ff; G. L. Semenov and Jin Yasheng, *Shikchin Art Relics Collected in the State Hermitage Museum of Russia* (Shanghai, 2011).
363. Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 724; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, p. 1187.

V. The First Turkic Khaganate

1. Daniel A. Graff, 'Strategy and contingency in the Tang defeat of the Eastern Turks, 629–630', in Nicola di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 62ff.
2. A khaganate is the realm of a khagan, a great khan, a ruler of imperial rank. Among the Göktürks the title *khagan* was given to the supreme ruler of the empire, and *yabghu* was originally that of the second highest-ranking member of the Ashina, the autonomous ruler of the western part. His political importance was comparable to that of a viceroy.
3. Peter Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Aldershot, 2003), vol. I, p. 40.
4. Michael Weiers, Sprache und Schrift der Mongolen, in Claudius Müller, Jacob Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (Mainz, 2005), p. 106.
5. Peter Golden, *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot, 2010), vol. I, p. 12; S.G. Kljaštornyj, 'Les points litigieux dans l'histoire des Turcs anciens', in Hans Robert Roemer, Wolfgang-Ekkehard Scharlipp (eds), *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 149ff.
6. *Orkhon Inscriptions: The Bilge kagan's Memorial Complex: texts*, on the *Türk Bitig* website of the Language Committee of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan, available at http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=16&lang=e
7. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)* (Wiesbaden, 1958), pp. 5ff, 40: Liu Mau-Tsai's translated collection of Chinese reports from the sixth to the eleventh centuries is the most important source of information on the two Göktürk khaganates.
8. Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* [1903] (Paris, 1941; repr. Taipei, 1969), pp. 15, 220. The often repeated claim, initiated by Kljaštornyj and V.A. Livšic, that the upper part of the famous Bugut Stele, erected in or after 582, depicted a she-wolf suckling a boy, i.e. the origin myth of the Ashina, is false. The badly damaged relief has a dragon typical of a Chinese stele. P.S.G. Kljaštornyj and V.A. Livšic, 'The Sogdian inscription of Bugut revised,' *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae* XXVI/1 (1972), pp. 69–102, here p. 71.
9. According to the *Sui Shu*, some 500 families of the Ashina clan left Gansu for the Altai in 439, fleeing the Xianbei: Golden, *Turks and Khazars*, vol. I, p. 13.
10. See above, p. 94.
11. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 237; Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 7ff; Denis Sinor and S. G. Klyashtorny, 'The Türk Empire' in Litvinsky et al., eds, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris, 1996), p. 332; Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 192, n. 1086.
12. The Turco-Sassanid war against the Hephthalites is variously dated, the earliest date being Sören Stark's 555 and the latest Chavannes' 567. The decisive battle against Abruhi, the last paramount Hephthalite king, probably took place around 560: see p. 98. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 236, 229; B.A. Litvinsky and M.H. Zamir Safi, 'The later Hephthalites in Central Asia', in Litvinsky et al. (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 176; Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, p. 210; Étienne de La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden, 2005), p. 200.
13. See p. 99.
14. The name 'Chunni' may refer to descendants of the Huns.
15. R.C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool, 1985), pp. 49–51, 252ff; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 231–233; Peter Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Aldershot, 2003), vol. I, p. 57; Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Europa 567–822 n.Chr.* (Munich, 2002), pp. 18, 28, 36ff; Theophylact Simocatta, *The* History *of Theophylact Simocatta*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986), Book VII, 7.13–8.19, pp. 188ff, n. 35, 38, 39.
16. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, pp. 129–131; Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 45–52.
17. Bodo Anke, Laszlo Révész and Tivadar Vida, *Reitervölker im Frühmittelalter. Hunnen – Awaren – Ungarn* (Stuttgart, 2008), p. 53.
18. Maurice, *Strategikon*, (ed.) and trans. G.T. Dennis (Philadelphia, 1984), I, 2 (p. 13); see: Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 85f.
19. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol* (Paris, 2008), p. 169.
20. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, p. 47.
21. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 209f. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 13.
22. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, pp. 111–115.
23. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, pp. 115–117.
24. Richard Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia* (Princeton, 2006), pp. 137, 155ff.
25. Concerning the localisation of the meeting place called 'Ektag' which means in Turkic languages 'White Mountain', Ak-tagh", see: Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, p. 264, n. 129; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 235–237.
26. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, p. 119.
27. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, p. 119.
28. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, pp. 125–127, 171, 267.
29. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, pp. 155–157.
30. Turxanth was not a personal name but a title, *Turk shad*. A *shad* was a governor appointed by the khagan, a member of the ruling clan and often one of the khagan's brothers or sons.
31. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, pp. 177–179. Unlike Valentinus, the Chinese ambassador Wang King steadfastly refused to follow the barbarous custom when he was present at the funeral of Muqan Khagan in 572: Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 240.
32. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, pp. 179, 225, 277ff.
33. Theophylact Simocatta, *The History*, Book V, 10.13f, p. 146.
34. Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, p. 243.
35. The Byzantine historian Theophanes the Confessor identifies the Turkic commander as Ziebel. Whether Ziebel was in fact Tong Yabghu, as Kljastornyj and Sultanov believe, or a Khazar military leader, as Chavannes suggests, is still a matter of debate. In any event, the mostly Turkic Khazars were vassals of the Göktürks until the mid-seventh century. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 252–255; S.G. Kljastornyj and T.I. Sultanov, *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens. Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2006), p. 115; Jutta Leskovar and Maria-Christina Zingerle (eds), *Goldener Horizont. 4000 Jahre Nomaden der Ukraine* (Weitra, 2010), p. 154; Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes. Anni mundi 6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813)*, (ed.) and trans. Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia 1982), p. 22.
36. David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, vol. I, *Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 260, 283f; Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle*, pp. 23–29.
37. Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires. A History of Georgia* (London, 2012), pp. 50, 53.
38. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 11ff, 29, 18; Gabriella Molè, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties* (Rome, 1970), pp. xvi, 21.
39. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 43.
40. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 38, 460, 518. The building of this temple, however, is no proof that Muqan was a Buddhist; he may simply have wished to win the favour of a Buddha widely venerated in northern China.
41. P.S.G. Kljaštornyj and V.A. Livšic, 'The Sogdian inscription of Bugut revised', in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae* XXVI/1 (1972), pp. 69–102, here p. 86. The memorial complex of Bugut, which consisted of the stele placed on

the back of a stone tortoise, a kurgan and a row of more than 270 *balbals*, was possibly dedicated to a prince named Mahan Tegin. Kljaštornyj and Livšic, 'The Sogdian inscription of Bugut revised', pp. 69, 75.

42. Liu Mau-Tsai. *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 36ff; Jinagupta remained ten years at the Göktürk court, leaving only in 584.
43. François Thierry, 'La monétarisation de la société türke (VIe–IXe siècle), Influence chinoise, influence sogdienne', in Etienne de la Vaissière and Eric Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris, 2005), p. 403.
44. Kljaštornyj, 'Les points litigieux dans l'histoire des Turcs Anciens', pp. 164ff.
45. *Orkhon Inscriptions: The Kultegin's Memorial Complex: texts*, [1st side], line 1, on the *Türk Bitig* website (see n. 6 above); Wolfgang Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 58ff.
46. *Zhou Shu*, 50:910, slightly adapted from Osawa Takashi, 'Aspects of the relationship between the ancient Turks and Sogdians. Based on a stone statue with Sogdian inscription in Xinjiang', in M. Compareti et al. (eds), Ērān ud Anērān, published at http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran, last retrieved on 25. 11. 2013, p. 6. See too Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 9ff, and for abbreviated descriptions in the *Bei Shi* and the *Sui Shu* see Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, pp. 110, 126ff.
47. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 193, 464. See also Ciro Lo Muzio, 'Archaeological traces of Early Turks in Transoxiana', in Michael Alram (ed.), *Coins, Art and Chronology: The First Millennium C.E. in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Vienna, 2010), vol. II, p. 429.
48. The enclosed Göktürk memorials at Kudyrgè (in the eastern Altai) likewise contain neither inhumation nor cremated remains, and those in West Tuva do so only infrequently: Roman Kenk, *Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Gräber von Kudyrgè im Altai. Frühmittelalterliche Gräber aus West-Tuva* (Munich, 1982), vol. I, p. 17, vol. II. p. 12.
49. Stark Sören, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, p. 126.
50. Richard Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia* (Princeton, 2006), p. 39.
51. The Franciscan William of Rubruck was in 1253 one of the first to briefly describe such Turkic stone figures: Jackson Peter (translator and editor), *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*. (Indianapolis/Cambridge, 2009), p. 95. The Swede Johann von Strahlenberg published in 1730 as first illustrations of such figures: Philip Johann von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der großen Tartarey in sich begreiffet* (Stockholm, 1730), pl. V, XII.
52. Only from the ninth to tenth centuries were stone figures first unambiguously characterised as female by the depiction of breasts; for a number of early examples from the Russian Altai see Y.S. Hudiakov and K.Y. Belinskaya, 'Stone statue of Ailyan, Gorny Altai', *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia* 40/1 (March 2012), pp. 122–130.
53. Eleonora Novgorodva, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei* (Leipzig, 1980), p. 241.
54. Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, p. 124.
55. *Orkhon Inscriptions: Kultegin's Memorial Complex: texts*, on the *Türk Bitig* website at http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=15&lang=e. This is Bilge Khagan speaking, as it were, for his brother Kül Tegin, who died in 731.
56. Jan Bemmann and Gonshigsüren Nomguunsüren, 'Bestattungen in Felsspalten und Hohlräumen mongolischer Hochgebirge', in J. Bemmann (ed.), *Steppenkrieger – Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt, 2012), pp. 199–217, here p. 213.
57. The paintings in the third chamber have been destroyed by water seepage: Ayudai Ochir et al. (eds), *The Art Gallery of the Ancient Nomads*, catalogue of an exhibition of the same name at the Mongolian National Modern Art Gallery, Kharkhorin, in March/April 2012. A video of this complex, which is closed to the public, can be seen in the museum.
58. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 10.
59. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 10.
60. The *Sui Shu* dates the capture of Apa by Ishbara to 585 and by Baghan Khagan to 587: Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 43–55, 527, n. 272. Either Apa was only defeated rather than taken prisoner by Ishbara, or he was able to escape this putative first imprisonment.
61. See pp. 99, 174.
62. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 107.
63. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 70, 456ff.
64. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 87.
65. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 84, 132ff.
66. Graff, 'Strategy and contingency', p. 37.
67. Jie Fei et al., 'Circa A.D. 626 volcanic eruption, climatic cooling and the collapse of the Eastern Turkic Empire', *Climatic Change* 81/3–4 (April 2007), pp. 469–475.
68. Xieli died in Chinese captivity in 634. Graff, 'Strategy and contingency', pp. 44–55; Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 141–145, 194–196, 354ff.
69. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 241.
70. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 90 ; Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 149–154, 354–357.
71. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 155–57.
72. Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 508. Faxian, *Foguo ji*: *The Travels of Fa hsien*, trans. H.A. Giles (Cambridge, 1923), p. 2.
73. Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, pp. 112, 188, 258–261, 518f, 526; Faxian, *Foguo ji*, pp. 3–18.
74. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. Samuel Beale (New Delhi, 2004), pp. xcvii ff.
75. André Lévy, *Les pèlerins bouddhistes de la Chine aux Indes* (Paris, 1995), pp. 63ff, 121–136; Chongfeng Li, 'Jibin, Jibin Route and China', in *Proceedings of 15th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium* (Xian, 2005), also available at http://www.icomos.org/xian2005/papers/4-26.pdf, last retrieved 12 May 2013
76. Under most Chinese dynasties both the entry of foreigners to China and the departure of Chinese abroad were subject to permit.
77. Sramana Huili and Shi Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*, trans. Li Rongxi (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 26–28.
78. Marc Aurel Stein, 'The Desert crossing of Hsüan-tang, 630 A.D.', in *The Geographical Journal* 54/5 (November 1919), pp. 265–277, here p. 277.
79. Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, pp. 28–55.
80. The statue will be featured in Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. III, *The Age of Islam and of the Mongols*.
81. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 102.
82. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, pp. 91ff, 98.
83. Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, pp. 76–78.
84. Until the end of the nineteenth century, when the Russians created a mule track, certain sections of the narrow gorge of the Lower Panj were impassable except by a hazardous mountain path unsuited to pack-animals. Such a path still clings to the Afghan side of the gorge today. See fig. 158.
85. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, p. 290. See also the photographs in vol. I, pp. 282f.
86. Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain* (London, 2011), pp. 100ff.
87. Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, pp. 59ff. It seems that King Harsha died without an heir. J. Allan et al., eds, *Cambridge Shorter History of India* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 107. W.D. Shakabpa, Derek F. Mayer, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 2010), pp. 121f.
88. Only a part of his account survives, relating to the journey from northern India to Yanqi: Walter Fuchs, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 426ff.
89. Fuchs, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise*, p. 438.
90. Fuchs, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise*, p. 444; Dieter Schuh, 'Palola (Bolor)', in D. Schuh (ed.), *Tibet-Encyclopaedia* (2011), available at http://www.tibet-encyclopaedia.de/palola-bolor.html retrieved on 25/11/2013. On the identification of 'Greater Bolor' as Gilgit, Punial and Chilas and of 'Lesser Bolor' as Yasin see Philip Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the Western Himalayas and Karakoram, seventh–eleventh centuries: Rock art and inscriptions', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2/2 (2007), pp. 49–58, here p. 49, and 'The Tibetans in the West, part I', *JIAAA* 3/3 (2008), pp. 7–21, here pp. 14ff.
91. Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain*, p. 105.
92. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, pp. 57, 59. Osawa gives 599 for the death of Niri Khagan: Osawa, 'Aspects of the relationship between the ancient Turks and Sogdians', pp. 4, 7ff.
93. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 15, 89; Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten*, p. 350; Osawa, 'Aspects of the relationship between the ancient Turks and Sogdians', p. 8.
94. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 17–24, 52.
95. Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, pp. 192, 224.
96. See pp. 180f (Heraclius) and p. 213. (Khazar Empire).

97. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, pp. 37ff.
98. J. Harmatta and B.A. Litvinsky, ‘Tokharistan and Gandhara under Western Türk rule (650–75)’, in B.A. Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, p. 371.
99. Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, p. 288.
100. Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, p. 46.
101. Frantz Grenet, ‘Nēzak’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (2002) available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nezak, last retrieved 25/11/2013.
102. Abdur Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sahis: Analysis of their History, Archaeology, Coinage and Palaeography* (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 53–64.
103. Filigenzi, Anna, ‘The Buddhist Site of Tapa Sardar’, in Anna Filigenzi and Roberta Giunta (eds), *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007*, (Rome, 2009), pp. 41–57, here p. 51.
104. Michael Alram, ‘Einführung’, in *Das Antlitz des Fremden*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, in 2012, ‘Die Rutbils von Zabulistan und der “Kaiser von Rom”,’ in the same work. See http://pro.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/khm/showcases/showcase15, last retrieved 12 May 2013. Anna Filigenzi, ‘Ritual Forms, Cult Objects: Tapa Sardar at the Crossroad of Places and Phases of the Buddhist ecumene’, in Anna Filigenzi, Roberta Giunta, eds, *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007*, (Rome, 2009), pp. 59–75, here, pp. 61–67. D. Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bamiyan. Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindu Kush* (Rome, 1989), p. 56. Giovanni Verardi, Elio Paparatti, *Buddhist Caves of Jaghuri and Qarabagh-e Ghazni, Afghanistan* (Rome, 2004), p. 99.
105. Michael Alram, ‘Kabulistan und Baktrien zur Zeit des “Chorasan Tegin Shah”’, in *Das Antlitz des Fremden*. Verardi and Paparetti date the secession to the period between 686/87 and 693/94. Verardi and Paparatti, *Buddhist Caves of Jaghuri and Qarabagh-e Ghazni, Afghanistan*, p. 99. On the discussion about the proper spelling of this title ‘rutbil’ or ‘zunbil’, see C. Bosworth, *The ornaments of Histories* (London, 2011) p. 128, n. 18.
106. Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sahis*, pp. 67, 72. Bertold Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 24.
107. Alram, ‘Die Rutbils von Zabulistan’, in *Das Antlitz des Fremden*; Harmatta and Litvinsky, ‘Tokharistan and Gandhara’, pp. 380–82.
108. Fuchs, *Huei-ch’ao’s Pilgerreise*, p. 448.
109. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 158–161; Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sahis*, pp. 85ff.
110. The dynastic name ‘Hindu Shahi’ was introduced by al-Biruni and does not correspond to the official name: Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sahis*, p. 89.
111. Michael Alram, ‘Die Hindu-Schahis in Kabulistan und Gandhara und die arabische Eroberung’, in *Das Antlitz des Fremden*; Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sahis*, pp. 89–112.
112. Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, pp. 42–44.
113. Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, pp. 44ff.
114. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 135.
115. Boris A. Litvinskij and Tamara I. Zejmal, *The Buddhist Monastery of Ajina Tepa, Tajikistan: History and Art of Buddhism in Central Asia* (Rome, 2004), pp. 180–184.
116. Larisa Dodkhudoeva, *Monumental Painting in Tajikistan* (Koka-shi, 2008), pp. 48–50; Fuchs, *Huei-ch’ao’s Pilgerreise*, pp. 452ff; Litvinskij and Zejmal, *The Buddhist Monastery of Ajina Tepa*, p. 16.
117. The 15-metre-long sleeping buddha of Tepa Sardar was also destroyed by the Taliban in 2001. Morgan Llewelyn, *The Buddhas of Bamiyan* (London, 2012), p. 16
118. Litvinskij and Zejmal, *The Buddhist Monastery of Ajina Tepa*, pp. 66–68, 70, 189. A simpler version of a four-iwan plan existed also in Koh-i-Khwaja, Sistan, dating from the same period or even slightly earlier. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, pp. 910f. Oleg Grabar, ‘The visual arts’, in *Cambridge History of Iran. The period from the Arab invasion to the Saljuqs.* vol. 4, edited by R.N. Frye. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1975, pp. 329–363, here p. 349.
119. Litvinskij and Zejmal, *The Buddhist Monastery of Ajina Tepa*, p. 20. The present name Ajina Tepe means ‘Hill of the Demons’; the original name is unknown.
120. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 43, n. 1; Sören Stark, ‘On Oq Bodun: The Western Türk Qağanate and the Ashina clan’, in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 15 (2006/2007), 159–172, here p. 160. Thierry’s claim that the Türgesh were one of the Nushibi is false: François Thierry, *Monétarisation de la société Türke* (Paris, 2005), p. 399.
121. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 25ff, 53ff.
122. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 27ff, 56.
123. The chronicle *Jiu* [old] *Tang Shu* was completed in the years 941–45, and the *Xin* [new] *Tang Shu* in 1045–60.
124. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 30, 57.
125. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 4, 32f, 35, 59. Mode, *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt*, p. 49.
126. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 30–32, 57–60, 266; Markus Mode, *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt* (Frankfurt, 1993), p. 49.
127. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 34–38, 61–66, 92, 267ff; Mode, *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt*, p. 50.
128. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, 67–71, 141, 269. The Turkic name Besh Baliq means ‘five cities’.
129. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p.135; Mode, *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt*, pp. 21, 72ff. See also pp. 242f of the present volume.
130. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 75, 258, 280ff; Jiang Boqin, ‘The Chinese Persia Expeditionary Force as Referenced in the Turfan Documents’, in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Central Asia* (Bloomington, 2012), pp. 47ff, 50, 55.
131. The Church of the East was an autocephalous church with its patriarchate at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and later Baghdad, representatives of which officially settled in the Chinese capital Chang’an in 635. See pp. 238–41 and Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006).
132. Grigori Semenov, *Suyab. Ak-Beshim* (Saint Petersburg, 2002).
133. The Society for the Exploration of EurAsia has been conducting excavations at Novopokrovka II since 2004. To date, architectural remains dating from the sixth to the twelfth centuries have been found, but as yet not the monastery presumed to exist: Philipp Rott and Kolchenko Valery, ‘Novopokrovka II, Kyrgyzstan: Archaeological excavation of a presumed Buddhist site and of a Sogdian and Karakhanid citadel’ (2005–14) available at the Society’s website http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/projekt_1.htm, last retrieved 25/11/2013.
134. The Church of the East flourished in Semirechie during two distinct periods, the first from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, the second from the early thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth. Reference is made here only to remains belonging to the first period.
135. In addition there are at Ak-Beshim one Christian and one Zoroastrian cemetery. Large Christian cemeteries such as those of Karajigak and Burana, where hundreds of inscribed stones have been found, date from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. On Buddhist and Christian finds at Semirechie in the Chu Valley see Michail Baskhanov et al., *Arts from the Land of Timur: An Exhibition from a Scottish Private Collection* (Paisley, 2012), pp. 105–109. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 173ff, 210ff; V.D. Gorjacheva, ‘New findings of the Indo-Buddhist culture in Kyrgyzstan’, in *India and Central Asia (Pre-Islamic Period)* (Tashkent, 2000), pp. 99–106, 283–288, and by the same author, V. Gorjacheva, ‘A propos de deux capitales du kaghanat karakhanide’, trans. Alié Akimova, *Cahiers d’Asie centrale* 9 (Aix-en-Provence 2001), pp. 91–114; V.D. Gorjacheva and S. Ya. Peregudova, *Buddijskije pamjatniki Kirgizii* (Moscow, 1996); Wassilios Klein, *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jh.* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 58–157; P. Kozemjako, *Rannesrednevekovye goroda I poselenija Cujskoj Doliny* (Frunze, 1959); Litvinskij and Zejmal, *The Buddhist Monastery of Ajina Tepe*, pp. 177f; Semenov, *Suyab. Ak-Beshim*, 51ff, 75–77, 83–85, 93, 100ff; Boris Staviskij, *Sud’by buddizma v Srednej Asii: po dannym archeologii* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 130–133.

VI. Turkic Kingdoms of Eastern Europe

1. R.C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool, 1985), p. 141.
2. See p. 175.
3. Bodo Anke, Laszlo Révész, Tivadar Vida, *Reitervölker im Frühmittelalter. Hunnen – Awaren*

– *Ungarn* (Stuttgart, 2008), p. 55. Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Europa 567–822 n. Chr.* (Munich, 2002), pp. 99f, 111–115.

4. The Anastasian Wall was a 56-km-long fortification erected by Emperor Anastasios I (r. 491–518) which extended from *ca*. 60 km west of Byzantium from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara.
5. Theophanes names the year 619. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes. Anni mundi 6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813)* (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 12. For the dating to the year 623 see: Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 246f.
6. Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 249–255. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, pp. 22f.
7. Anke, Révész, Vida, *Reitervölker im Frühmittelalter*, p. 56. Thérèse Olajos, 'La chronologie de la dynastie avare de *Baïan*', in *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 34 (Paris, 1976), pp. 153f, 158.
8. Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 286, 289.
9. Pohl, *Die Awaren*, p. 273.
10. Pohl argues rightly that Kubrat originally was a Göktürk and not an Avar vassal, since there is no evidence that the north-eastern Black Sea region was controlled by the Avars at that time. Pohl, *Die Awaren*, p. 273. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 55. The term 'Bulgaria Magna' did not qualify the extension of the kingdom but specified that it lay outside the borders of the Byzantine empire. Uwe Fiedler, 'Bulgars in the Lower Danube region. A survey of the archaeological evidence and of the state of current research', in Florin Curta (ed.), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Brill, Leiden, 2008), p. 152, n. 4.
11. Fiedler, 'Bulgars in the Lower Danube region', p. 191. Kljaštornyj considers the Great Bulgarian runic script far older than the Old Turkic one and suggests a common ancestor, which was developed from the Sogdian script in the fourth or fifth century. He does not see any similarities with the Sakan inscriptions at Issyk. S.G. Kljaštornyj, 'Les Points Litigieux dans l'Histoire des Turcs Anciens', in Hans Robert Roemer, Wolfgang-Ekkehard Scharlipp (eds), *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 161f. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. 206.
12. The date of Kubrat's death is controversial but the year 642, which is sometimes given, must be considered too early since Theophanes states that he died at the time of Emperor Constantine IV. (Co-Emperor 654–68, r. 668–85). Pohl, *Die Awaren*, p. 502. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, p. 55.
13. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, pp. 55f. Batbayan's horde were also called 'Black Bulgars'. Jacques Piatigorsky, Jacques Sapir, *L'Empire khazar, VIIe – XIe siècle* (Paris, 2005), p. 152.
14. Richard Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia* (Princeton, 2006), p. 47. See the following excursus about Ibn Fadlan's journey on p. 213.
15. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia*, pp. 103, 112.
16. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia*, p. 61f.
17. Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant. Genghis Khan's greatest general* (Westport, 2004), pp. 101f, 106.
18. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, p. 56.
19. Fiedler, 'Bulgars in the Lower Danube region', pp. 152–154. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, pp. 56f.
20. Fiedler, 'Bulgars in the Lower Danube region', p. 158.
21. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, p. 90.
22. Theophanes, p. 151.
23. Theophanes, pp. 170–181.
24. Fiedler, 'Bulgars in the Lower Danube region', pp. 202–207.
25. Fiedler, 'Bulgars in the Lower Danube region', pp. 211–213.
26. John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 197f.
27. Skylitzes, p. 331.
28. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia*, pp. 34, 39.
29. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia*, p. 52.
30. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia*, pp. 63–71.
31. Peter Golden, *Turks and Khazars. Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot, 2010), X, pp. 173–175.
32. Golden, *Turks and Khazars*, XI, p. 15. Werner Thomas (ed.), *Unbekannte Krim* (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 63f.
33. Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, pp. 66–77.
34. Theophanes, pp. 101, 115.
35. See above p. 180.
36. Peter Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe. Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Aldershot, 2003), IV, p. 50. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Nomades* (Paris, 2007), p. 216.
37. David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia, vol. I, Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Oxford, 1998), p. 286.
38. It remains uncertain whether Marwan's campaign pushed as far as Atil and when exactly Atil was made the capital. Personal communication by Peter Golden to the author from 16.10. 2011. Nicola di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its enemies* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 114f. Peter Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe*, IV, p. 51. *Turks and Khazars*, V, p. 43; XI, p. 15.
39. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* (Washington DC, 1967), pp. 183–185. The ruins of Sarkel are flooded today by the Tsimlyansk Reservoir. Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe*, V, p. 62.
40. Golden, *Turks and Khazars*, V, p. 43; XI, pp. 9–11.
41. Golden, *Turks and Khazars*, XI, p. 19.
42. Golden, *Turks and Khazars*, X, p. 183; XI, pp. 23, 34. For this reason earlier sources, according to which the Khazar elite converted to Judaism as late as 861, are wrong.
43. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 49–51.
44. David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 293f. Piatigorsky Jacques, Sapir Jacques, *L'Empire khazar, VIIe – XIe siècle* (Paris, 2005), p. 60. See also: Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia*, pp. 73f.
45. Eva Csató Johanson, 'The Karaims. The Smallest Group of Turkic-Speaking People', in Ergum Chagatai, Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic-Speaking Peoples. 2,000 years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Prestel, New York, 2006), pp. 391–394.
46. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia*, p. 75.
47. Golden, *Turks and Khazars* (Aldershot, 2010), X, p. 183; X, p. 170.
48. Golden, *Turks and Khazars* X, p. 170. Piatigorsky, Sapir, *L'Empire khazar, VIIe–XIe siècle*, p. 56.
49. Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, p. 295. Golden, *Turks and Khazars*, V, p. 64.
50. S.G. Agajanov, 'The states of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak', in *History of civilizations of Central Asia. vol. IV. The age of achievement: A.D. 759 to the end of the fifteenth century. Part One: The historical, social and economic setting* (Paris, 1998), pp. 63f. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 167. Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe*, I, p. 64; V, pp. 68, 75–77. Piatigorsky, Sapir, *L'Empire khazar, VIIe – XIe siècle*, p. 73. For a detailed history of the Pechenegs and Oghuzes see Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. III, *The Age of Islam and of the Mongols* (forthcoming).
51. Gunilla Larsson, 'Early Contacts between Scandinavia and the Orient', in *The Silk Road Journal*, vol. 10 (The Silk Road Foundation, Saratoga, 2012), pp. 136f.
52. Agajanov, *The States of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak*, pp. 68f.

VII. The Sogdians

1. Boris Marshak, 'The Tiger, Raised from the Dead. Two Murals from Panjikent', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 10. 1996, pp. 207–217, here pp. 210f. As Marshak explains, the original version of this tale in book 5 of the *Panchatantra* has four brahmins and a lion while these two murals feature three brahmins and a tiger.
2. Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders. A History* (Leiden, 2005) pp. 173f.
3. E.V. Zeimal, 'The Political History of Transoxiana', in Ehsan Yarshater, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* vol. 3*: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid Periods*, part 1 (Cambridge, 1983), chapter 6, p. 259.
4. Karl Baipakov, *Zapadnotyorkckij i Tyorkckij Kaganaty. Tyorky i Sogdijtsy stepp i gorod*. Institut arxeologii (Almaty, 2010), pp. 292–294.
5. The Sogdians who lived in Datong, which was then called Pingcheng, were deported here after 439 by the Northern Wei from Gansu. Shing Müller, 'Sogdier in China um 600 n.Chr. Archäologische Zeugnisse eines Lebens zwischen Assimilation und Identitätsbewahrung', *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 183/184, 2008, p. 122.
6. It is possible that the first settlements of the Sogdian diaspora in Semirechie were already established after 330 BCE as a reaction to Alexander's brutal warfare. See Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia, vol. I, The Age of the Steppe Warriors* (London, 2012), pp. 280, 331, n. 20, and Annette L. Juliano, Judith Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China Gansu and Ningxia 4th–7th Century*

(New York, 2001), p. 315, n. 2. Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 294.

7. See above in this volume p. 82.
8. Boris Marshak, N.N. Negmatov, ‘Sogdiana’, in B.A. Litvinsky, (ed.) *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris, 1996), p. 238.
9. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 242–249.
10. Alexander Koch, *Der Buddha von Helgö – eine archäologische Sensation* (Speyer, 2008), pp. 78–81. David M. Wilson, *The Vikings and their origins* (London, 2010), p. 57f, fig. 33.
11. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), p. 175.
12. Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, 96A, p. 128.
13. Valerie Hansen, ‘The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis 500–800’, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, pp. 293f.
14. Silk was not only easier to transport than the Chinese copper and bronze coins which had a low purchasing power, but the Chinese central governments were notoriously short of copper and couldn’t produce enough coins. For example, during the early Tang dynasty, ‘“minted coins” constituted only 10% of total money supply’. Chang Xu, ‘Managing a Multicurrency System in Tang China: The View of the Centre’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 2013, p. 223, see also pp. 239f..
15. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 31f, 66, 176f.
16. Juliano and Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants*, p. 315.
17. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 133f, 174f.
18. Albert E. Dien, ‘Caravans and Caravan Leaders in Palmyra’, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 195. This information refutes Valerie Hansen’s unfounded claim that the trading caravans were insignificantly small and economically of no importance. Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road. A New History* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 3, 235. The relatively small finds of Sassanid and especially Byzantine coins within China also do not provide any evidence for a lack of trade since the trade was conducted on a barter basis and the gold coins, which were of no monetary value in China, were melted down. François Thierry, Cécile Morrisson, ‘Sur les monnaies byzantines trouvées en Chine’, in *Revue numismatique*, 6e série 36 (1994), pp. 109, 119f, 131.
19. Juliano and Lerner, eds, *Monks and Merchants*, p. 315. Evegeny Lubo-Lesnichenko, ‘Western motifs in the Chinese textiles of the early Middle Ages’, in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, eds, *Coins, Art, and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Vienna, 1999), vol. I, p. 462. Karel Otavsky ‘Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe’, in Karel Otavsky, (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstraße. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg, 1998), p. 185.
20. Otavsky, ‘Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe’, pp. 128–138.
21. Christopher J. Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1978), pp. 49–130. Otavsky,’Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe’, pp. 122f.
22. See Lubo-Lesnichenko, ‘Western motifs in the Chinese textiles of the early Middle Ages’, pp. 461–480.
23. Lubo-Lesnichenko, ‘Western motifs in the Chinese textiles of the early Middle Ages’, p. 466.
24. Karel Otavský, ‘Frühmittelalterliche Stoffe zwischen Persien und China’, in Karel Otavský, Anne E. Wardell, eds, *Mittelalterliche Textilien II. Zwischen Europa und China*. Abegg-Stiftung (Riggisberg, 2011) p. 55.
25. The draw loom is a distant predecessor of the Jacquard machine whose mechanism was developed in 1805 drawing on previous attempts to automate weaving. A chain of punched cards controls the process in which intricately structured pattern repeats can be woven.
26. Karl Baipakov, *Zapadnotyorkckij i Tyorkckij Kaganaty. Tyorky i Sogdijtsy stepp i gorod* (Almaty, 2010), p. 49. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, p. 120. Hansen, *The impact of the Silk Road trade*, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, Les Sogdiens en Chine, p. 287. Zhang Guangda, *The Nine Zhaowu Surnames (Sogdians) in the Six Hu Prefectures and Other Places in the Tang Dynasty*, in Luo Xin, (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington, 2012), pp. 59–61.
27. Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T’ang Dynastic Histories: A Study in Sino Uighur Relations* (Canberra, 1972), pp. 47–49, 86f. Guangda, *The Nine Zhaowu Surnames (Sogdians)*, pp. 67–71.

28 Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien*, p. 88, n. 407. All that is left of a further tomb are the sketches of the stone panels. Pénélope Riboud mentions 13 such stone tombs but without listing them. Pénélope Riboud, ‘Bird-Priests in Central Asian Tombs of 6th-Century China and their significance in the Funerary Realm’, *The Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 21, 2007, p. 19, n. 3. Juliano lists eight stone tombs. Annette Juliano, ‘Converging Traditions in the Imagery of Yu Hong’s Sarcophagus. Possible Buddhist Sources’, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* vol.1, 2006, p. 29. The buried were either Sogdians or Central Asians of probably Sogdian ancestry. For illustrations see, among others, Karl Baipakov, *Zapadnotyorkckij i Tyorkckij Kaganaty. Tyorky i Sogdijtsy stepp i gorod* (Almaty, 2010), pp. 178–185. La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, pl. 1–15. Rong Xinjiang, Zhang Zhiqing, *Cong Samaergan dao Chang’an. Sute ren zai Zhongguo de wen hua yi ji (From Samarkand to Chang’an: cultural traces of the Sogdians in China)*. (Beijing, 2004), pp. 59–77.

29. Mehdi Rahbar, ‘A Tower of Silence of the Sasanian Period at Bandiyan: Some observations about Dakhmas in Zoroastrian Religion’, in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann, eds, *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London, 2007), pp. 467f. Yang Junkai, ‘Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou’, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 34, n. 11.
30. Kang Ye, who had died in 571 in Chang’an, lay on his stone couch in his clothes, which shows that the body was buried immediately after death without being exposed beforehand. Judith A. Lerner, ‘Les Sogdiens en Chine – Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 15, 2001, p. 160.
31. Angela Sheng, ‘From Stone to Silk: Intercultural Transformation of Funerary Furnishings among Eastern Asian Peoples around 475–650 CE’, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*. pp. 163–169.
32. Shing Müller, ‘Sogdier in China um 600 n.Chr.’, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 183/184, Hamburg 2008, p. 138. Yoshida Yutaka, ‘The Sogdian Version of the New Xi’an inscription’, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 59.
33. Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet* (Hong Kong, 2001), vol. II, pp. 792–795. Ulrich von Schroeder, Joachim G. Karsten, ‘The Silver Jug of the Lhasa Jokhang: a Reply’ (2009), http://www.asianart.com/articles/silver_jug/index.html#2det. Amy Heller interprets the jug as a Tibetan work. Amy Heller, ‘The Silver Jug of the Lhasa Jokhang: Some observations on silver objects and costumes from the Tibetan Empire (7th–9th century)’, *Silk Road Art and Archeology* vol. 9, 2003, pp. 213–237. See also: Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, ‘Iran to Tibet’, in Anna Akasoy et al., eds, *Islam and Tibet. Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 97–104.
34. Sheng, *From Stone to Silk* (Paris, 2005), pp. 157f.
35. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. bis zum 6. Jh. n.Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1969), vol. I, p. 33.
36. Binglin Zheng, ‘Non-Han ethnic groups in Dunhuang’; in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 348.
37. The term is derived from Ahura Mazda, the supreme divinity in the Sogdian-Zoroastrian pantheon.
38. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, p. 163.
39. In a Han Chinese context human-bird hybrids symbolised immortality. Edouard Chavannes, *Mission archaéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale, planches*, partie 1 (Paris, 1909), pl. LIII, no. 110. Juliano and Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants* (New York, 2001), p. 79.
40. Yang Junkai, ‘Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou’, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 37.
41. Yang Junkai, ‘Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou’, p. 37, pl. 7. In the 8th/9th century there were five Sogdian temples in Chang’an. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, p. 139.
42. François Thierry, *Monétarisation de la société türke*, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 403.
43. Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 516. Wolfgang Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 69, 73.
44. Philip Johann von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der großen Tartarey in sich begreiffet* (Stockholm, 1730), p. 411.
45. V.V. Radlov, *Trudy Orxonckoi ekspedizji. Atlas drevnostei Mongolji* (1899), Reprint Turkish International Cooperation Agency (Ankara, 1995), pp. 4, 6, 9.

46. Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift*, pp. 304, 508–17.
47. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 155f, 176f, 186f.
48. *Biography of An Lu-Shan*. Translated and annotated by Howard S. Levy (Berkeley, 1960), pp. 7, 17, 38, 41, 53, 69f. For the An Lushan rebellion and Manichaeism see in this volume pp. 285ff and pp. 305f.
49. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 220–22.
50. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, p. 9.
51. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, p. 13.
52. The duration of the Samanid dynasty may be dated differently: while four Samanid brothers were already appointed in 819 as governors of four Central Asian cities and their regions, the Samanid state received Caliphal recognition only in 875. The Karakhanids effectively broke up the Samanid Dynasty in 999, but a brother of the last Samanid ruler waged war against the new occupants until his death in 1005. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. III, *The Age of Islam and of the Mongols*, 2016.
53. Only Buddhism did not truly manage to establish itself in Sogdiana.
54. For Sogdian fire temples see: Galina A. Pugachenkova 'Un temple du feu dans le «Grand Sogd»' in Frantz Grenet, (ed.), *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris, 1987), pp. 57–60.
55. Unlike in Sogdiana with its multitude of divinities, in Sassanid Iran only about five divinities are represented. Frantz Grenet, 'Iranian Gods in Hindu Garb. The Zoroastrian Pantheon of the Bactrians and Sogdians, Second–Eighth Centuries', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 20, 2006, pp. 89, 96, n. 3.
56. Matteo Compareti, 'The Indian Iconography of the Sogdian Divinities and the Role of Buddhism and Hinduism in its Transmission', *AION*, 69/1–4, p. 177.
57. Amruddin Berdimuradov, Masud Samibaev, 'Une nouvelle peinture murale sogdienne dans le temple de Džartepa II. Avec des notes additionnelles par Frantz Grenet et Boris Marshak', *Studia Iranica*, 30, l'Association pour l'avancement des Études iraniennes (Paris, 2001), p. 64.
58. Several of the episodes from the life of the hero Rustam illustrated in Panjikant are also found in the *Shah-name*, the epic by Firdausi (*ca.* 940–1020).
59. Franz Grenet, 'Le zoroastrisme a-t-il été l'une des religions de l'Asie Centrale?', *Religions & Histoire*, nr. 44, 2012, p. 48.
60. Compareti, *The Indian Iconography of the Sogdian Divinities*, p. 177–197. Grenet, 'Iranian Gods in Hindu Garb', p. 92. Marshak and Negmatov, 'Sogdiana', p. 253. Markus Mode, 'Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst', in K. Jettmar and E. Kattner, eds, *Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens* (Stuttgart, 2003), pp. 146–177.
61. The nimbus was not necessarily a divine attribute for the Sogdians but emphasised supernatural power. Frantz Grent, Guangda Zhang, 'The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion: Dunhuang in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 10/1996, p. 179. The same is true for the bronze belt buckles of the Yenisei Kyrgyz from the ninth to the tenth century. Represented on them are equestrian warriors with nimbus but these are hardly Buddhist or Manichaean holy men but rather warriors with supernatural power. A.Y. Borisenko, Y.S. Hudiakov, 'Representations of warriors on early medieval Turkic bronze plaques from Eastern Central Asia', *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia*, vol. 36, no. 4, December 2008, pp. 47, 51.
62. See above in this volume, pp. 246f.
63. Mode, 'Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst', pp. 172f.
64. Compareti, *The Indian Iconography of the Sogdian Divinities*, pp. 190–192.
65. Frantz Grenet, Boris Marshak, 'Le mythe de Nana dans l'art de la Sogdiane', *Arts asiatiques*, no.1, vol. 53, 1998, p. 10.
66. Mode, 'Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst', p. 172. This explanation seems to be confirmed by Marshak's interpretation of the winged camel as hypostasis of Verethraghna and/or Vashagn. Boris Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients. Metallkunst des 3.–13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Kontinuität* (Leipzig, 1986), p. 299.
67. Frantz Grenet, *Vaishravana in Sogdiana. About the Origins of Bishamon-ten* (Kamakura, 1995/96), p. 279.
68. Mode, 'Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst', p. 155
69. See Baumer, vol. I (2012), pp. 108, 112. Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley, 1981), p. 135.
70. Frantz Grenet, 'Mary Boyce's Legacy for the Archaeologists', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 22, 2008 (Bloomfield Hills), p. 33, fig. 5.
71. The relationship of the Sogdian Nana to the Iranian goddess Anahita remains unclear. Richard Frye stated: 'Anahita in Sogdiana was distinguished from another female deity Nane or Nanaia, but the relation of these two deities to each other and to the old belief in a mother goddess are both unknown.' Richard Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich, 1983), p. 231. See also: Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, p. 242, n.5.
72. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I (2012), p. 293.
73. Madhuvanti Ghose, 'Nana, the "Original" Goddess on the Lion', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 1, p. 102. See also: Mode, 'Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst', p. 154.
74. For illustrations see Boris Marshak, *Legends, Tales and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (New York, 2002). The earliest monumental mural of Panjikant, a princely hunting scene, was in a palace at the northern foot of the citadel. In the Iranian cultural sphere such royal and princely hunting scenes did not have a profane but a ritual meaning. They illustrated that the ruler who hunted successfully possessed the divine charisma, *farn*. Boris Marshak, Valentina Raspopova, 'A Hunting Scene from Panjikent', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 4, 1990, pp. 77, 80.
75. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I (2012) p. 248.
76. The popularity of the legend of the Capitoline Wolf suckling the two boys can also be seen from the finds of a gold bracteate (single-side coin or medal) of local origin in Panjikant and a gold medallion in Ahangaran, Čač, which contain the same motif. Valentina Raspopova, 'Gold coins and bracteates from Pendjikent', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, eds, *Coins, Art and Chronology*, vol. I, pp. 454–457, figs. 8, 12.
77. Marshak, 'The Tiger, Raised from the Dead', pp. 210f. It seems that in the two fragments from the same house the fourth brahmin with common sense is either missing or lost.
78. Aleksandr Naymark, *Returning to Varakhsha*. (Saratoga, 2003), pp. 15f.
79. Vladimir Sokolovsky, *Monumentalnaia zhivopis VIII-natchala IX veka dvortsovogo kompleksa Bundzhikata, stolitsi srednevekogo gosudarstva ustrushni* (St Petersburg, 2009). For examples of adopted stylistic elements from the Tarim Basin see there figs. 24, 40, 57, 92, 108, 121, 122; from Chorasmia figs. 47, 58, 101.
80. For the history and theology of the Church of the East see: Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006) For reasons of simplicity we also use the term 'Nestorians'.
81. The ecumenical council which met in Nicaea in 325 established the definition of the Trinity, especially the relationship between Jesus Christ and God the Father.
82. Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), p. 47.
83. In 313 the Emperor of the West, Constantine I, and the Emperor of the East, Licinius, agreed to grant freedom of religion to the people who lived in the empire.
84. Emperor Theodosius I in the East and Gratian and Valentinian II in the West proclaimed Christianity the only permissible state religion, meaning solely the version which was established at the Council of Nicaea, so that all other Christian churches became heretics. In 391/92 Theodosius introduced more stringent measures when he banned paganism.
85. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 19.
86. Mark Dickens, 'Patriarch Timothy I and the Metropolitan of the Turks', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 20, 2 (London, 2010), pp. 117–139, here p. 122. Boris Litvinsky, M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Religions and religious movements* (Paris, 1996), p. 421. Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Christianity in Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan* (2011). http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christianity-iii
87. Mark Dickens, 'Patriarch Timothy I and the Metropolitan of the Turks' (London, 2010), p. 119.
88. Mark Dickens, 'Patriarch Timothy I', p. 119. It is not known whether the patriarch really put his intentions to nominate a metropolitan for Tibet into practice. This archdiocese would have probably been situated in Dunhuang, which at that time belonged to Tibet and where Nestorian written documents were kept. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 174
89. Richard Frye, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*. Translated from the Persian Abridgement of the Arabic Original by Narshakhi (Princeton, 2007), p. 111. Moqaddisi Muhammed ibn Ahmed al-. *Kitab ahsan at-taqasim fi ma'arifat al aqalim* (985). In: De Goeje M.J. (ed.) Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, vol. 3: Descriptio imperii moslemici

(Leiden, 1906), p. 275. Al-Narshakhi gives the spring 893 as date for the conversion of the church of Taraz; al-Moqaddisi has for the conversion of the church of Merke no date, but it must have happened around the same time.

90. Mark Dickens, 'Patriarch Timothy I', pp. 130f.
91. The excavations were carried out by the *Society for the Exploration of EurAsia*. Alexei Savchenko, *Urgut, Uzbekistan. Excavation of a Christian monastery* (Hergiswil, 2005–09). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_2.html
92. Ibn Hawqal, *La Configuration de la Terre* (Paris, 2001), intr. and trans. J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet, vol. II, p. 478. Because of an error, probably made by a copyist, this translation has 'Wazkarda' instead of 'Warkudah'. Alexei Savchenko, Mark Dickens, 'Prester John's Realm. New Light on Christianity between Merv and Turfan' in Erica Hunter, (ed.), *The Christian Heritage of Iraq* (Piscataway, 2009), pp. 127f.
93. Ibn Hawqal, *La Configuration de la Terre* (Paris, 2001), vol. II, p. 485. Instead of 'Winkard' it should be 'Weshgird'.
94. It is still unclear whether the allegedly Christian settlement of Qarshovul (modern name) is identical with Weshgird. Alexei Savchenko, *Qarshovul. Archaeological investigation of a medieval city in the Oasis of Chach (Tashkent)* (Hergiswil, 2011–14). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_7.html
95. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 172.
96. The name 'Melkite' derives from the Syriac 'malkā' which means 'king'. The Melkite Church consisted of the three near-eastern Byzantine-Orthodox patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria which shared the Chalcedonian Creed and were in union with the Byzantine-Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople.
97. The Catholicosate of Romagyris depended from the Byzantine-Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. It came into existence following the mass-deportation of Melkite Christians by Caliph al-Mansur when he decided in 762 to clear the area of Baghdad of Christians for the construction of his new capital. The Melkite Christians and their catholicos were deported to Čač. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 99f, 177f. Wassilios Klein, 'Das orthodoxe Katholikat von Romagyris in Zentralasien', *Parole de l'Orient*, vol. 24, 1999, pp. 235–265, here pp. 240, 242, 252, 259. Paul Pelliot, *Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1973), pp. 10, 119f. http://documents.irevues.inist.fr/bitstream/handle/2042/35319/po1999_235.pdf?sequence=1 Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Christianity in Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan* (2011). http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christianity-iii
98. Ken Parry, 'Byzantine-Rite Christians (Melkites) in Central Asia in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in E. Kefallinos, (ed.), *Thinking Diversely: Hellenism and the Challenge of Globalisation* (Sydney, 2012), pp. 91–108, here p. 97.
99. See above in this volume p. 206, fig. 171. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 173f.
100. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 179–81.
101. Since the stele comes from an unsupervised excavation, its authenticity is disputed. Zhang Naizhu, 'Note on a Nestorian Stone Inscription from the Tang Dynasty Recently Unearthed in Luoyang', in Chengyoung Ge, (ed.), *Jing jiao yi zhen: Luoyang xin chu Tang dai Jing jiao ling dong yan jiu. Studies on the Nestorian Stone Pillar of the Tang Dynasty Recently Discovered in Luoyang* (Beijing, 2009) pp. 5–33, here p. 17. Lin Wushu, Yin Xiaoping, 'Notes on Daqin Nestorian Sutra on the Origin of the Stone Pillar. Appendix: On Identifying the Authenticity of the Nestorian Stone Pillar', in Chengyoung Ge, (ed.), *Jing jiao yi zhen*, pp. 87–91, here p. 89ff. The 2nd Archaeology Team of Luoyang City, 'Investigation on the Unearthed Spot of the Stele with Lection on Jingjiao of Luoyang', in Chengyoung Ge, (ed.), *Jing jao yi zhen*, pp. 165–171, here p. 171.
102. Baumer, *The Church of the East*,. pp. 195–233. See also *The History of Central Asia, vol. III. The Age of Islam and of the Mongols*, 2016.
103. Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (China, 1940), p. 135.
104. Matteo Compareti, 'Further Evidence for the Interpretation of the "Indian Scene" in the Pre-Islamic Paintings at Afrasiab (Samarkand)', *The Silk Road Journal*, vol. 4/2, 2006/7, pp. 32–42, here p. 32.
105. Compareti, 'Further Evidence for the Interpretation of the "Indian Scene"', p. 136.
106. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Chronique*. Traduite sur la version persane d'Abdou-Ali Mohammed Belami par M. Hermann Zotenberg, vol. IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 177–84.
107. François Thierry, 'Die Geschichte des chinesischen Geldes von den Ursprüngen bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts' in Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Geld aus China*. Ausstellungskatalog Kunsthistorisches Museum. Skira, Milano 2003), pp. 25–89, here pp. 35, 53, 63.
108. A heterogram expresses a word (here Ilkhshid) by writing it (MLK) in an older script (Aramaic) and not in the current target language (Sogdian).
109. E.V. Zeimal, 'The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the Early Medieval Period (Fifth–Eighth Centuries A.D.)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 8, 1994, pp. 245–267, here pp. 247–253. See also: François Thierry, *Monétarisation de la société Türke*, in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, pp. 406–410.
110. The following discussion is based largely on Markus Mode's research: *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993). *Court art of the Sogdian Samarkand in the 7th century AD* (Halle, 2002). http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/ca/afras/index.htm
111. A Sogdian inscription on the back of the man's neck calls him Varkhuman, but because of the low rank of the depicted legation it can be ruled out that Varkhuman asked to be represented as a supplicant in a subordinate position in his own palace. The inscription was probably made later, after Varkhuman's death. Markus Mode, *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt*, pp. 58f, 70. *Court art of the Sogdian Samarkand in the 7th century AD/Who is the figure no. 4 of the western wall?* (Halle, 2002). http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/ca/afras/text/w4amyst.htm
112. Richard Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1993), pp. 66f.
113. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. 1, p. 276.
114. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. III (Paris, 1871), pp. 506–511. The dating of these events which is handed down by al-Tabari, around 644, before Caliph Omar's death, is erroneous. See also Markus Mode, *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt*, pp. 54–57.
115. It is possible that the relatively frequent depictions of sacrificial horses in an early medieval Zoroastrian context in Central Asia goes back to Turkic influence. Amruddin Berdimuradov, Genadii Bogomolov et al., 'A New Discovery of Stamped Ossuaries near Shahr-I Sabz (Uzbekistan)', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. vol. 22/2008 (Bloomfield Hills), p. 139.
116. Mode, *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt*, pp. 19, 22.
117. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 149–153. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 74.
118. Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (New York, 1970), p. 17.
119. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, pp. 62–75.
120. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 62.
121. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 70.
122. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 75.
123. *Mawarannahr* literally means 'what' (ma) lies 'beyond' (wara'a) 'the river' (an-nahr). The river which is alluded to in the name Mawarannahr is the Oxus which the Arabs called Jayhun, probably derived from the biblical Gihon, one of the four rivers of the Garden of Eden. Genesis 2.13.
124. The Islamic calendar begins with the *hijrah,* Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina, which corresponds to the 16 July 622 of the Gregorian calendar. Since the Islamic year is a moon year, its beginning shifts every year in relation to our sun year. This is why an Islamic year without designation of a month can almost never be matched with a single Gregorian calendar year. The acronym AH stands for Anno Hegirae. The approximate conversion formula is: Gregorian year = AH x 32 / 33 + 622.
125. Richard Frye, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 53f. See also: C.E. Bosworth, O.G. Bolshakov, 'Central Asia under the Umayyads and the early Abbasids, in M. S. Asimov, C.E. Bosworth, *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part One (Paris, 1998), pp. 23–40, here p. 24. Boris Litvinsky, A.H. Jalilov, A.I. Kolesnikov, 'The Arab Conquest', in B. A. Litvinsky et al., eds, in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris, 1996), pp. 449–472, here pp. 456f.
126. Pierre Leriche, Chakirjan Pidaev, *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 2008), p. 85.
127. Richard Frye, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 10, 42, 61. Aleksandr Naymark, 'Returning to Varakhsha', *The Silk Road Journal*, vol. 1, 2003, pp. 9–22, here p. 13. In this contribution, Naymark also identified the Bukhar Khudah who ordered the first restoration and aggrandisement of the palace of Varakhsha as the Vardan Khudah Khunuk.
128. Aleksandr Naymark, 'A Christian Principality in the Seventh Century Bukharan Oasis', *ONS*,

Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society, no. 206, winter 2011, pp. 2f.

129. Frye, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*, pp. 10, 59–65. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 153–175.
130. King Tarkhun committed suicide after he was deposed. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, p. 42.
131. See here p. 101.
132. The memorial inscriptions in honour of Tonyukuk of *ca*. 725 and of Kül Tegin of 732 allude to an Eastern Turkic campaign under their leadership to Sogdiana around 711–713. *Orkhon Inscriptions. The Tonyukuk's Memorial Complex,* Türk Bitig. *The Kultegin's Memorial Complex,* Face, Türk Bitig, Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 76–80. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 288f. Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), pp. 230f. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Chronique*. vol. IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 175–183.
133. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, p. 50.
134. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, pp. 198–200. This alleged campaign of Qutayba against Kashgar is a legend, see: Spuler Bertold, *Iran in früh-slamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 32.
135. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, pp. 201–217.
136. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 203. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, p. 60.
137. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, pp. 87f. Frantz Grenet, Étienne de la Vaissière, *The last days of Panjikent* in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 8, pp. 155–196, here pp. 175–79. Boris Litvinsky, A.H. Jalilov, A.I. Kolesnikov, 'The Arab Conquest', *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, Paris 1996, pp. 449–472, here pp. 459f.
138. Grenet and La Vaissière, 'The last days of Panjikent', pp. 156–158.
139. Grégoire Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden, 1970), p. 71. Boris Litvinsky, *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique* (Espelkamp, 1998), p. 161.
140. A.M. Belenizkij, Boris Marshak, *The Paintings of Sogdiana* (Berkeley, 1981), p. 40. At the foot of the lower, northern part of the citadel, the earliest layers of settlement date from the first centuries CE. Boris Marshak, Valentina Raspopova, 'A Hunting Scene from Panjikent', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. vol. 4, 1990, p. 77.
141. Valentina Raspopova, *Gold coins and bracteates from Pendjikent* (Vienna, 1999), vol. I, p. 453.
142. Frantz Grenet, 'Where are the Sogdian Magi?', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 21, 2007, pp. 159–178. (Bloomfield Hills), here pp. 162–164.
143. M. Brykina, (ed.), *Central Asia in the Early Middle Ages. Coins of the regions, Samarkand Sogd.* http://www.kroraina.com/ca/c_samarkand.html. Dowudi Dawlatchodja, Sharof Kurbanov, *Monetnie nachodki na gorodistsche Sanjar Shah b 2003 i 2010 gg* (Hergiswil, 2012). Marshak Boris, *Panjikant* (2002), http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/panjikant. Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 235, n. 1314. Zeimal, 'The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the Early Medieval Period', p. 253.
144. C. Edmund Bosworth, *The Ornaments of Histories. A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041* (London, 2011), p. 29. Frye, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*, pp. XVII, 10f, 81–84.
145. C. Edmund Bosworth, O.G. Bolshakov, 'Central Asia under the Umayyads and the early Abbasids', in M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth, eds, *History of civilizations of Central Asia. vol. IV* (Paris 1998), pp. 23–40, here pp. 30f. Boris Marshak, *Panjikant* (2002). Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 65.
146. In 2013 it remains unclear if Sanjar Shah was really a small city or rather the huge residence of a local landlord.
147. Alexei Savchenko, Sharof Kurbanov, *Sanjar Shah, Tadjikistan. Archaeological excavation of an ancient Sogdian site* (Hergiswil 2009–14) http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_5.html
148. Hodzha-Adzhvandi Tepe has not yet been excavated; for Sangyr Tepe see: Frantz Grenet, 'A view from Samarkand', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna, 2010), vol. II, pp. 268–270, 275. Frantz Grenet, and Mutalib Khasanov, 'The Ossuary from Sangyr-tepe (Southern Sogdiana): Evidence of the Chionite Invasion', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout, 2009), vol. 4, pp. 69–82, here pp. 69–72, 75.
149. Dawlatchodja Dowudi, Kurbanov Sharof, *Monetnie nachodki na gorodistsche Sanjar Shah b 2003 i 2010 gg* (Hergiswil, 2012).
150. C. Edmund Bosworth, *Osrushana* (2005) http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/osrusana. Markus Mode, *Archäologisches aus Ustrushana* (2004) http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/sfb586/c5/ustru/index.htm
151. Tabari, *Chronique*, see in: Levi Scott C. and Sela Ron, *Islamic Central Asia. An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington, 2010), pp. 19f.
152. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Chronique*. vol. IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 294–297.
153. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 46, 83, 284, n. 2, 285.
154. While Sogdiana, Chorasmia and Khorasan belonged to the Muslim realm by the mid-eighth century, strong local dynasties of Zoroastrian rulers remained unconquered for further decades in Gorgan along the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and in its western neighbour Mazandaran. W. Madelung, 'The minor dynasties of northern Iran', in R.N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge, 1975) pp. 198–249, especially pp. 198–216.
155. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, p. 92.
156. Litvinsky, Jalilov, Kolesnikov, 'The Arab Conquest', pp. 461f. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 62–64. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 316–44.
157. Richard Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1993), p. 75.
158. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, pp. 138–142. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 142, 297.
159. See Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. III, *The Age of Islam and the Mongols*, 2016.
160. Robert Middleton, Huw Thomas, *Tajikistan and the High Pamirs* (Hong Kong, 2008), p. 134. A. Tafazzoli, 'Language Situation and Scripts', in C.E. Bosworth and the late M.S. Asimov, (eds), *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV. *Part Two: The achievement*, pp. 323–331. (Paris, 2000), here pp. 323f.

VIII. The Second Turkic Khaganate and the Türgesh

1. *The Kultegin's Memorial Complex*, Chinese inscription side, Türk Bitig.
2. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)* (Wiesbaden, 1958), p. 392.
3. See above p. 192.
4. *The Kultegin's Memorial Complex*, Face, Türk Bitig.
5. The name *Qutlugh* means 'one who possesses the *qut* [charisma]'.
6. Jonathan Karam Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors* (New York, 2012), p. 43.
7. S.G. Kljaštornyj, 'Les Points Litigieux dans l'Histoire des Turcs Anciens', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 146–177, here p. 171.
8. *The Tonyukuk's Memorial Complex*, Chinese inscription side, Türk Bitig.
9. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)* (Wiesbaden, 1958), pp. 370f.
10. Elisabeth Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 61–65. Edwin Pulleyblank, *Some remarks on the Toquzoghuz Problem* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 37f.
11. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, pp. 161, 216, 601, n. 867.
12. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, pp. 162, 217, 429.
13. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, pp. 61f., Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (China, 1940), pp. 282f. Thierry François, 'Monétarisation de la société Türke', in Étienne de La Vaissière, Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris, 2005), 397–417, here p. 399.
14. *The Kultegin's Memorial Complex*. Runic front side, Türk Bitig. The Kängäräs mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions are identical with the Kang in Chinese Sui and Tang sources. Their territory corresponds to the northern part of former Kangju.
15. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* (Washington DC, 1967), p. 171.
16. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, pp. 79f. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, p. 169.
17. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, p. 171. Denis Sinor, S.G. Kljaštornyj, 'The Türk Empire', in Boris Litvinsky et al. (eds), *History of civilizations of*

Central Asia, vol. III (Paris 1996), pp. 327–348, here p. 339.

18. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, pp. 173–178.
19. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, p. 175.
20. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, p. 172.
21. As long as only aspects of Buddhism appealed to members of the Turkic elite, as for example Taspar Khagan at the end of the sixth century, its influence remained marginal. But as soon as it reached the people, it had the ability to change a whole society, as can be seen clearly in Mongolia between the seventeenth and the early twentieth centuries.
22. Peter Golden, 'Zentralasien im 6.–11. Jh.', in Jan Bemmann, (ed.), *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt, 2012), pp. 27–52, here p. 36. Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors*, p. 114.
23. See above p. 183.
24. Henri de Bouillane de Lacoste, *Au pays sacré des anciens Turcs et des Mongoles* (Paris, 1911), p. 80.
25. Because of its longevity the tortoise symbolised constancy and implied universal order.
26. Information from the local museum near Khöshöö Tsaidam. In 2001 archaeologists found a hoard of 1,878 silver and 78 gold objects near Bilge Khagan's memorial site. Lucie Šmahelová, 'Kül Tegin Monument and Heritage of Lumir Jisl. The Expedition of 1958', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Current archaeological research in Mongolia*, Bonn, 2009, pp. 325–341, here p. 329. Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), pp. 76–78, 195, 203f.
27. Sören Stark, 'On Oq Bodun. The Western Türk Qağnate and the Ashina Clan', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* vol. 15, 2006/2007, pp. 159–172, here p. 170.
28. The names of Bilge Khagan's successors only exist in Chinese transcriptions, and the information about their years of reign is contradictory. According to the *Jiu Tang Shu*, Yiran Khagan only reigned briefly in 734 and was succeeded by his younger brother Tengri Khagan (r. 734–41). But according to the *Xin Tang Shu* Yiran Khagan ruled until 740 and Tengri Khagan only from 740 to 741. Liu Mau-Tsai suggests the hypothesis that Bilge's widow had Yiran Khagan (who according to the *Jui Tang Shu* died of an illness) poisoned and pushed the minor Tengri Khagan on to the throne in order to become regent herself; at the same time she kept Yiran Khagan's death secret from the Chinese until 740. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, pp. 179f, 229f, 621–29, n. 1001.
29. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)*, pp. 180, 230f, 630, n. 1006, Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (China, 1940), p. 86, n. 4. Wolfgang Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 43, 94f, 112.
30. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 28–30, 34–36. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 72f, 122, n. 1.
31. See above pp. 205f. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, p. 46.
32. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, pp. 54, 56. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 281.
33. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, pp. 50f, 65f. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 43, 79.
34. Kljaštornyj, 'Les Points Litigieux dans l'Histoire des Turcs Anciens', p. 175. See also: François Thierry, 'Sur les monnaies des Türgesh', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Vienna 1999), vol. I, pp. 321–352, here pp. 321–352.
35. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, pp. 74–77. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 43f, 80f.
36. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 46, 83, 284, n. 2, 285.
37. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, pp. 50f, 65f. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 45–47, 81–86. Sinor and Kljaštornyj, 'The Türk Empire', p. 346. As Sören Stark surmises, the Sogdians, who provided an elite corps in the heavy cavalry of the Türgesh, left Semirechie during the amnesty proclaimed in 741 by the Arab conquerors of Sogdiana and returned to their homeland. Stark, 'On Oq Bodun', pp. 168f.

IX. China, Tibet and the Arabs: the Struggle for Supremacy in Central Asia

1. *Xin Tang Shu*, Chapter 216A, 4a, in Paul Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, 1961), p. 89.
2. Songtsen Gampo's father Namri also has a claim to be considered the founder of the Tibetan Empire, but many of the territories he had conquered were lost to Tibet on his death in 617/18. The date of Songtsen Gampo's accession is disputed, being variously said to be 618, 627 or 629. Likewise uncertain are claims that Songtsen Gampo abdicated in favour of his son Gungsong Gungtsen (r. 641–46?), only to return to the throne on the latter's death. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 19ff, n. 31; Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet, a Political History* (New York, 1984), p. 25; David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (Boston, 1986), p. 27.
3. As early as 608, a Turkic army had inflicted a heavy defeat on the Tuyuhun, at Chinese urging: Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 18.
4. *Jiu Tang Shu*, Chapter 196A, 2a, in Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, p. 4; *Xin Tang Shu*, chapter 216A, 2b, in Pelliot, pp. 82f.
5. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire* pp. 21–23.
6. Christoph Baumer, *Tibet's Ancient Religion, Bön* (Trumbull, CT, 2002), pp. 106–112; Philip Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the West, Part I', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 3/3 (2008), pp. 10–21, here pp. 10–12.
7. Baumer, *Tibet's Ancient Religion, Bön*, pp. 53–55, 85ff.
8. Near the great necropolis of Dulan lay the stronghold of the Gar family and 'Azha's seat of government: Christoph Baumer and Therese Weber, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok, 2005), pp. 60–65; Amy Heller, 'Two Inscribed Fabrics and their Historical Context: Some Observations of Esthetics and the Silk Trade in Tibet, 7th to 9th Centuries', in Karel Otavsky (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstraße* (Riggisberg, 1998), p. 104.
9. Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the West. Part I', pp. 10–12.
10. *Jiu Tang Shu*, Chapter 196A, 2b in Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, p. 6; David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors* (London, 1987), p. 416.
11. *Jiu Tang Shu*, chapter 196 A, 2b, in Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, p. 6.
12. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 109ff.
13. Baumer and Weber, *Eastern Tibet*, p. 31. The Gar clan may have originated among the 'Lesser Yuezhi' who after the Yuezhi's historic defeat in 162 BCE took refuge among the Qiang of Qinghai: Hugh Richardson, *Ministers of the Tibetan Kingdom* (London, 1998), p. 60.
14. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 27–31; Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* [1903] (Paris, 1941; repr. Taipei, 1969), p. 179, n. 1.
15. As China then held Khotan, Kucha and Aksu, the Tibetan line of approach represents something of a puzzle. The Tibetans must either have first crossed Baltistan, Gilgit and the Wakhan, as Beckwith thinks, then attacked Kashgar from the south; or, as Denwood would have it, advanced from the Koko Nor to Miran, then north to the Tarim river, to follow that upstream to the confluence of the Kashgar Darya, then attacking Kashgar from the east: Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 30; Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the West, Part II', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 4/4 (2009), p. 151.
16. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 34–36; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 280.
17. John Hill, 'Notes on the dating of Khotanese history', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 31/3 (1988), pp. 179–190, now available (with minor modifications, 2011) at http://www.academia.edu/453864/Notes_on_the_Dating_of_Khotanese_History, pp. 2 and 6 (last retrieved 25/11/2013). Kerihuel dates his period in office to after 676/77: Thomas Kerihuel, 'The early history of mGar: When history becomes legend', *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 21 (October 2011), p. 109, also available at http://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/ret/pdf/ret_21_06.pdf (last retrieved 25/11/2013).
18. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 40–43, n. 22, 201.
19. The Chinese possessions in Xiyu – the Western Regions – were colonies in the modern sense. They fell unambiguously outside the Chinese Empire proper, travel in either direction between China and Xiyu being subject to permit. In matters of foreign policy especially, the city-states of the Tarim Basin were under the control of the Chinese Protector-General, who could at any time call on the resources of the Chinese *tuntian* military colonies.

20. Heller, 'Two Inscribed Fabrics', p. 104; *Xin Tang Shu*, Chapter 216A, 4a, in Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, p. 89.
21. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 114, 179, n. 1; R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (Oxford, 1967), p. 59; Hill, 'Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History' (internet, 2011), pp. 3, 6; Mu Shun-ying and Wang Yao, 'The Western Regions (Hsi-yü) under the T'ang Empire and the kingdom of Tibet', in B.A. Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris, 1996), p. 352.
22. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 56f, 60ff; Kerihuel, 'The early history of mGar', pp. 110ff. For Tibetan sources in English see Drikung Kyabgon Chetsang, *A History of the Tibetan Empire: Drawn from the Dunhuang Manuscripts* (Dehra Dun, 2011) pp. 292, 294, 320, 327.
23. Matteo Compareti, 'Chinese-Iranian Relations XV: The last Sassanians in China' (2009), in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/china-xv-the-last-sasanians-in-china, last retrieved on 25/11/2013.
24. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 172, 257ff.
25. Paul Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, (ed.) Antonino Forte (Kyoto and Paris, 1996), pp. 364, 403.
26. The *Jiu Tang Shu* has 'Peroz' rather than 'Narses', highly unlikely simply on grounds of age.
27. Even after Narses' failure, Iranian princes living in Tocharistan claimed the title of King of Persia and sent embassies to the Chinese imperial court to have it recognised: Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 74ff, n. 3, 172ff, 258, 280ff; Jiang Boqin, 'The Chinese Persia Expeditionary Force as Referenced in the Turfan Documents', in Luo Xin and Roger Covey (eds), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 174 (Bloomington, 2012), pp. 47ff, 50, 55.
28. Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the West, Part II', p. 152.
29. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 66–69.
30. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 81–83, 88.
31. Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 62, 428, 546.
32. Philip Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the Western Himalayas and Karakoram, seventh–eleventh centuries: Rock art and inscriptions', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2/2 (2007), pp. 49–58, here p. 49; and the same author's 'The Tibetans in the West, Part I', p. 14.
33. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 150.
34. Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the West, Part II', pp. 152ff.
35. Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the West, Part II', p. 154.
36. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 115.
37. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 152, n. 1; Sir Aurel Stein, 'A Chinese expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A.D. 747', *The Geographical Journal* 59/2 (February, 1922), pp. 112–30.
38. Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I (Oxford, 1921), pp. 50–59; Stein, 'A Chinese expedition'.
39. See p. 20, fig. 12, and Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 50–59; Stein, 'A Chinese expedition', pp. 122ff.
40. Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the West, Part II', p. 14; Stein, 'A Chinese expedition', p. 124.
41. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 296; Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the Western Himalayas and Karakoram,' p. 50; Stein, 'A Chinese expedition', p. 130.
42. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 137.
43. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 141.
44. *Biography of An Lu-Shan*, translated and annotated by Howard S. Levy (Berkeley, 1960), p. 17.
45. Rong Xinjiang, 'The religious background to the An Lushan Rebellion', in Luo Xin and Roger Covey, eds, *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia*, p. 135.
46. Rong Xinjiang, 'The religious background to the An Lushan Rebellion', pp. 102–104.
47. *Biography of An Lu-Shan*, pp. 18, 33, 57.
48. *Biography of An Lu-Shan*, pp. 21, 38, 63.
49. *Biography of An Lu-Shan*, pp. 15f, 38–41, 78ff; Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra, 1972), pp. 17ff, 56ff, 132ff, n. 46; Rong Xinjiang, 'The religious background to the An Lushan Rebellion', pp. 119ff.
50. *Biography of An Lu-Shan*, pp. 5, 42–49, 81 n. 155, 82 n. 164, 88ff n. 196; Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, pp. 18, 20, 58.
51. Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden, 2005), p. 219.
52. Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)* (Wiesbaden, 1958), p. 304; Moribe Yutaka, 'Military officers of Sogdian origin from the Late Tang Dynasty to the period of Five Dynasties', in La Vaissière and Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris, 2005), p. 244.
53. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, pp. 21, 25ff, 58ff, 75ff, 135.
54. La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, p. 307; Yutaka, 'Military officers of Sogdian origin', pp. 243f.
55. Drikung Kyabgon Chetsang, *A History of the Tibetan Empire, Drawn from the Dunhuang Manuscripts* (Dehra Dun, 2011), p. 394, citing manuscript Or. 8212. See also Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa* (Paris, 1952), p. 169.
56. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, pp. 29f, 82f.
57. Baumer and Weber, *Eastern Tibet*, p. 40; Heller, 'Two Inscribed Fabrics', p. 107; Karel Otavský, 'Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe', in Otavský and Blair, eds, *Entlang der Seidenstraße*, pp. 119–214, here p. 199.
58. Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the Western Himalayas and Karakoram', p. 50, and 'The Tibetans in the West, Part II', p. 156.
59. The history of Sogdiana after 750 will be dealt with in Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. III, *The Age of Islam and the Mongols*, forthcoming 2016.
60. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, 'Cultural Mobility, a Case Study: the Crowned Buddha of the Kabul Shah', in Michael Alram et al. (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology: The First Millennium CE in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Vienna, 2010), pp. 39–56.
61. Sources for ninth-century Afghanistan are unfortunately scarce. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 152, 157–163; Denwood, 'The Tibetans in the Western Himalayas and Karakoram', p. 50; 'The Tibetans in the West, Part II', p. 156.
62. Gabriella Molè, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the time of the Five Dynasties* (Rome, 1970), pp. xix, 59, 61, 189, 191.
63. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 148f, 152; Rong Xinjiang, 'Official life at Dunhuang in the Tenth Century. The case of Cao Yuanzhong', in Susan Whitfield, (ed.), *The Silk Road* (London, 2004), p. 57; Zheng Binglin, 'Non-Han ethnic groups and their settlements in Dunhuang during the Late Tang and Five Dynasties', in La Vaissière and Trombert, eds, *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, p. 344.
64. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, pp. 470–474.
65. L.D. Barnett and A.H. Francke, *Tibetan manuscripts and graffiti discovered by Dr. M. A. Stein at Endere* (Oxford, 1907), p. 569; Marc-Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford, 1907), vol. II, p. 432.
66. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 149f; Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, pp. 30, 39f; Édouard Chavannes, 'Chinese documents from the sites of Dandan-Uiliq, Niya and Endere', in Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 536.
67. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 151f.
68. It is unclear whether in 791/92 the Uyghurs recaptured Beiting itself or merely defeated a Tibetan force in its vicinity: Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 153–157; Hilda Escedy, 'Uigurs and Tibetans in Pei'ting (790–791 A.D.)', in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XVII (1964), pp. 83–104, here pp. 83–85; Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, pp. 102f, 106f, 167 n. 219.
69. See p. 307.
70. See p. 141.
71. See p. 141
72. See p. 144.
73. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 153.
74. *Jiu Tang Shu*, Chapter 196B, 15b; in Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, p. 175; Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, p. 172, n. 250.
75. Hugh Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* (London, 1985), p. 121. See also *Jiu Tang Shu*, Chapter 196B, 11a, 14b–15b, in Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, pp. 72f.
76. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 167.
77. See p. 227, fig. 189 and Melikian-Chirvani Assadullah Souren, 'Iran to Tibet', in Anna Akasoy et al. (eds), *Islam and Tibet – Interactions Along the Musk Routes* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 89–116, here pp. 97–104.
78. Heller, 'Two Inscribed Fabrics', p. 118; Karel Otavský, 'Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe', pp. 119f, 211–213; and the same author's 'Frühmittelalterliche Stoffe zwischen Persien und China', in Karel Otavský, Anne E. Wardell (eds), *Mittelalterliche Textilien II. Zwischen Europa und China*. (Riggisberg, 2011), pp. 35–67.
79. On the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet see Baumer, *Tibet's Ancient Religion, Bön*, pp. 105–112.
80. Baumer, *Tibet's Ancient Religion, Bön*, pp. 114f; Hill, 'Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History', pp. 4f. The construction of the Kachu temple possibly already started in 728 when queen Kim Sheng invited Khotanese monks to Tibet. Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London, 1990), p. 8.
81. Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet*, p. 8.
82. Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet*, p. 13.
83. Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet*, pp. 20f.

84. Baumer, *Tibet's Ancient Religion, Bön*, pp. 37f; Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt, 1998), p. 531; Sam van Schaik, 'Miran: An Outpost of the Tibetan Empire', in Susan Whitfield, (ed.), *The Silk Road* (London, 2004), p. 189.
85. Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang* (Munich, 1995), vol. I, p. 184, pl. 257.
86. Whitfield, *Dunhuang*, vol. I, pp. 103f, pl. 125–128, pp. 182f, pl. 251–254.
87. Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, pp. 31ff.
88. Baumer, *Tibet's Ancient Religion, Bön*, pp. 115–120.
89. The dedicatory inscriptions in Sanskrit on some of the statues show that they were not commissioned by Tibetan clients: Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, vol. I, *India & Nepal* (Hong Kong, 2001), p. 63.
90. The Palola dynasty is also known as the Patola dynasty, using a later sanskritised spelling.
91. For a reconstruction of the order of succession within the Palola dynasty see Rebecca L. Twist, *The Patola Shahi Dynasty: A Buddhological Study of their Patronage, Devotion and Politics* (Saarbrücken, 2011), pp. 237–254.
92. Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Palola Shahis. Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber* (Mainz, 2004), p. 9.
93. Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, vol. II, *Tibet & China* (Hong Kong, 2001), pp. 724, 740–791.
94. Demiéville Paul, *Le concile de Lhasa*, pp. 26f, n. 9; Hugh E. Richardson, 'Political aspects of the Snga-dar: the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet', in *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*, (ed.) Michael Aris (London, 1998), pp. 196–202, here p. 201.
95. The Chinese sources differ over who captured Shang Kongruo. The *Jiu Tang Shu* and *Xin Tang Shu* name the Uyghur Pugu Jun, the *Zizhi tongjian* the Tibetan Tuopa Huai Guang. In this I follow Beckwith, who identifies Tuopa Huai Guang as the victorious commander, rather than Hamilton, who leans to Pugu Jun: Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 170–172, n. 185; James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris, 1955), pp. 13–16.
96. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 171.
97. Whitfield, *Dunhuang*, vol. II, pp. 334, 336.
98. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, p. 11; Elisabeth Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 61f.
99. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 170f., n. 179; Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou*, p. 65.

X. The Uyghurs

1. Gregor Ahn, 'Zwei Prinzipien und drei Zeiten. Divergierende Modelle von Religionsgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel des Manichäismus und Zoroastrismus', in Wolfgang Gantke, Karl Hoheisel, Wassilios Klein (eds), *Religionsbegegnungen und Kulturaustausch in Asien* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 49–62, here p. 57.
2. See chapter III, n. 65.
3. The Uyghur stone inscription of Shine Usu names ten clans of the Uyghurs, whereas a Chinese source and the trilingual stele of Karabalgasun name only nine. See V. Minorsky, 'Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uygurs', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 275–305, here pp. 286f. Wolfgang Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien* (Darmstadt, 1992), p. 82. Xavier Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde* (Vienna, 2001), p. 32 n. 47. Y. Yoshida, 'Karabalgasun ii. The inscription', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2010. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karabalgasun-the-inscription
4. Pusa is the Chinese term for the Sanskrit word bodhisattva. This name or title, which was handed down by Chinese chronicles, does not prove that this leader was a Buddhist.
5. See chapter V, n. 68.
6. See chapter V, n. 70.
7. See chapter V, n. 127.
8. See p. 259.
9. See chapter VIII, n. 29.
10. Denis Sinor, Shimin Geng, Y.I. Kychanov, 'The Uighurs, the Kyrgyz and the Tangut (eighth to thirteenth century)', in M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV: *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*. Part One: *The historical, social and economic setting* (Paris, 1998), pp. 191–214, here p. 192.
11. Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra, 1972), p. 66.
12. For the An Lushan-Rebellion see above pp. 285ff.
13. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, pp. 47, 86f.
14. Jürgen Paul, *Zentralasien* (Frankfurt am Main, 2012), p. 135.
15. Takao Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003* (Osaka; 2003), p. 30.
16. Elisabeth Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 59.
17. Ablet Kamalov, 'Sino-Uighurica: Revisiting the Uighur runic inscriptions and the T'ang Sources', in Ágnes Birtalan and György Kara (eds), *Bolor-un gerel: Crystal-Splendour: Essays presented in honour of Professor György Kara's 70th birthday*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2005), pp. 385–391. http://www.academia.edu/588522/Sino-Uighurica_Revisiting_the_Uighur_runic_inscriptions_and_the_Tang_sources Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 291, n. 1503.
18. Judith G. Kolbas, 'Khukh Ordung, a Uighur palace complex of the seventh century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 15, part 3 (November 2005), pp. 307f.
19. Daniel Rogers, Erdenebat Ulambayar, Mathew Gallon, 'Urban centres and the emergence of empires in Eastern Inner Asia', *Antiquity* 79, 2005, pp. 801–818, here pp. 805, fig. 4.
20. It is highly improbable that the archeologically unresearched stupas are fortified towers, for their positioning, which leaves the short sides of the citadel unprotected, does not make sense from a military point of view.
21. Minorsky, 'Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uygurs', p. 283. Although Tamim does not give the name of the city but only calls it 'the city of the king', it can be concluded from the distances that this must be Ordu Baliq.
22. Toshio Hayashi, 'Karabalgasun i. The Site', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karabalgasun-the-site. Kommission für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen: 'Ausgrabungen und Forschungen: Karabalgassun (Mongolei)', *Jahresbericht 2009 des DAI*, Beiheft, pp. 350–352 and *Jahresbericht 2010 des DAI*, Beiheft, pp. 321–323.
23. Minorsky, 'Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uygurs', p. 283.
24. The stele is broken into *ca*. 40 pieces. Y. Yoshida, 'Karabalgasun ii. The inscription', in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, 2010. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karabalgasun-the-inscription
25. Ayudai Ochir et al., 'Ancient Uighur mausolea discovered in Mongolia', *The Silk Road Journal*, vol. 8, pp. 16–26. http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol8/
26. L.R. Kyslasov, *Drevnayaya Tuva* (Moscow, 1979), p. 145.
27. Irina Aržhanceva, Heinrich Härke, Arno Schubert, 'Por-Bažyin. "Eine Verbotene Stadt" des Uiguren-Reiches in Südsibirien', *Antike Welt* 3/2012, pp. 37–44, here pp. 40ff. See also, Irina Arzhantseva et al., 'Por-Bajin. An Enigmatic Site of the Uighurs in Southern Siberia', *The European Archaeologist*, no. 35, summer 2011, pp. 6–11.
28. Daniel C. Waugh, 'Nomads and settlement: new perspectives in the archaeology of Mongolia', *The Silk Road Journal*, vol. 8, 2010, pp. 97–124, here p. 104 http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol8/
29. The interpretation published by the leader of the excavations, that the complex had been planned as a palace but had immediately been consecrated as a Manichaean monastery, is unfounded. Aržhanceva, Härke and Schubert, 'Por-Bažyin. Eine "Verbotene Stadt" des Uiguren-Reichs in Südsibirien', p. 43.
30. Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde*, pp. 89f.
31. Such a law was only enforceable in the urban environment of Ordu Baliq. Ahn, 'Zwei Prinzipien und drei Zeiten. Divergierende Modelle von Religionsgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel des Manichäismus und Zoroastrismus', p. 57. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, pp. 9, 152 n. 146.
32. Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, p. 57. Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde*, pp. 90, 94, 97. De La Vaissière's thesis that Manichaeism had already reached Chang'an towards the end of the sixth century is not convincing. His argumentation is based on a Manichaean interpretation of the pictorial panels on the house-sarcophagus of the Sabao Wirkak (d. 579) which have a syncretistic character.
33. Colin Mackerras, *The Uighurs* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 330.
34. Samuel Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China* (Turnhout, 1998) p. 193.
35. Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde*, p. 99 n. 167.

36. Samuel Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Tübingen, 1992), p. 302.
37. In Mani's time there was no official Christian doctrine, for the first binding creed was not formulated until 325, and only in 367 was it decided which texts would be part of the New Testament. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), pp. 33, 57.
38. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 108ff.
39. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Buddhistische Übernahmen im iranischen und türkischen Manichäismus* (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 58.
40. For early Syriac monasticism see Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 126–131.
41. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 110. For examples of Manichaean miniature see Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (Turnhout, 2001).
42. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China*, p. 92.
43. Peter Nagel, 'Manichäisches im syrischen Liber Graduum?', in Wolfgang Gantke, Karl Hoheisel, Wassilios Klein (eds), *Religionsbegegnungen und Kulturaustausch in Asien* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 179–184, here pp. 180f.
44. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China*, p. 84. Roland van Vliet, *Der Manichäismus: Geschichte und Zukunft einer frühchristlichen Kirche* (Stuttgart, 2007), p. 64
45. J.P. Asmussen, 'Mar Ammo', in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1989 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ammo-mar-mid
46. Manfred Hutter, 'Mani als Maitreya', in Gantke, Hoheisel, Klein (eds), *Religionsbegegnungen und Kulturaustausch in Asien*, pp. 114ff.
47. Klimkeit, *Buddhistische Übernahmen im iranischen und türkischen Manichäismus*, p. 64.
48. Hutter, 'Mani als Maitreya', p. 113.
49. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, pp. 113f.
50. Ph. Gignoux, B.A. Litvinsky, *Religions and Religious Movements I* (Paris, 1996), p. 419.
51. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, p. 88.
52. Scharlipp's claim of 1992, which does not refer to any sources, that Alp Qutlugh 'favoured Nestorianism and strove for the spread of Eastern Christianity', has no foundation, as Mackerras had already shown in 1990. Mackerras, *The Uighurs*, p. 333. Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien*, p. 104.
53. See above p. 290.
54. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra 1972), p. 100.
55. It is unclear whether Guduolo had died by 805 and was followed by a khagan who only reigned for three years, or whether China gave him a new title in 805 and he ruled until 808. James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris, 1955), p. 140. Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra 1972), p. 109. Denis Sinor, Geng Shimin, Y.I. Kychanov, *The Uighurs, the Kyrgyz and the Tangut (eighth to the thirteenth century)*, (Paris, 1998), p. 196. Peter Zieme, *Die Alttürkischen Reiche in der Mongolei* (Mainz, 2005), p. 67.
56. Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, p. 31.
57. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, p. 182, n. 296.
58. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, pp. 31f, 118.
59. Michael Weiers, *Zweitausend Jahre Krieg und Drangsal und Tschinggis Khans Vermächtnis* (Wiesbaden, 2006), p. 45.
60. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, p. 182 n. 295.
61. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, pp. 124f.
62. See p. 261.
63. Sinor, Geng, Kychanov, 'The Uighurs, the Kyrgyz and the Tangut (eighth to the thirteenth century)', pp. 197ff.
64. A.Y. Borisenko, Y.S. Hudiakov, 'Representations of warriors on early medieval Turkic bronze plaques from Eastern Central Asia', *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia*, vol. 36, issue 4 (December, 2008), pp. 43–53.
65. Denis Sinor, 'The Kitan and the Kara Khitay' in Asimov and Bosworth (eds), *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. vol. IV, part I (Paris 1998), pp. 227–242, here p. 231.
66. Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* [1903] (Paris, 1941; repr. Taipei, 1969), p. 272.
67. Michael R. Drompp, 'The Uighur-Chinese Conflict of 840–848', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (500–1800), (Leiden, 2002), pp. 73–103, here 76–95. James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris, 1955), pp. 141f.
68. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China*, pp. 129f.
69. Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (New York, 1955), p. 232. Manichaeism survived Wuzong's persecutions through strong sinicisation and adaptation to Daoism. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China*, pp. 132ff.
70. Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 186.
71. Chang Xu, 'Managing a Multicurrency System in Tang China: The View of the Centre', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 2013, p. 242.
72. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, p. 142.
73. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), p. 168. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, p. 142. Elisabeth Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 60f.
74. See above p. 257. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, p. 142. Peter Zieme, *Das uighurische Königreich von Qočo* (Berlin, 2000), p. 206.
75. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, p. 30, n. 2. Bianca Horlemann, 'The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong kha Tribal Confederation to its Neighbour States on the Silk Road', in Matthew T. Kapstein, Brandon Dotson (eds), *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet* (Leiden/Boston, 2007), pp. 79–103, here pp. 84f n. 10.
76. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, pp. 129f.
77. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, p. 65.
78. L.I. Čuguevskii, 'Touen-Houang du VIIIè au Xè siècle', in Michel Soymié (ed.), *Nouvelles contributions aux études de Touen-Huang* (Geneva, 1981), p. 16. A. v. Gabin, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qoco (850–1250)* (Wiesbaden, 1973), vol. I, p. 27. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, pp. 69f.
79. Xinjiang Rong, 'Official life at Dunhuang in the Tenth Century. The case of Cao Yuanzhong', in Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road. Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London, 2004), pp. 57–62, here p. 57.
80. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, p. 76.
81. The Tanguts declared their independence in 982 and their empire in 1038.
82. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, pp. 68, 72, 82.
83. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, pp. 34, 114.
84. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, pp. 36, 38, 79f, 85f.
85. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, pp. 50, 88, 158 n. 361. Sun Xiushen and Roderick Whitfield surmise that Dunhuang remained under Uyghur control until 1072. Whitfield, *Dunhuang*, vol. II, p. 338.
86. Peter Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford, 2011), p. 62.
87. Zieme, *Das uighurische Königreich von Qočo*, p. 205.
88. To reconstruct the history of the Kocho Uyghurs we have to rely on scarce Chinese sources. The Kocho Uyghurs and the successor states of the Tang dynasty, in which chronicles were written, did not possess a common border so that only the arrival of Uyghur embassies was noted in writing. Muslim sources, for their part, did not have any interest in a non-Muslim state, and during islamisation the Uyghur documents were destroyed. Sinor, Geng, Kychanov, 'The Uighurs, the Kyrgyz and the Tangut (eighth to the thirteenth century)', p. 200.
89. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, pp. 10, 12, 142. Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, p. 32.
90. Zieme, *Das uighurische Königreich von Qočo*, p. 206.
91. See pp. 295ff.
92. Pinks, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)*, pp. 61f.
93. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, pp. 10, 12, 142.
94. Boris D. Kotchnev, 'Les frontières du royaume des Karakhanides', *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, nr. 9, 2001, p. 42, www.asiecentrale.revues.org/617
95. Golden, *Central Asia in World History*, p. 81. Peter Zieme, *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uighurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien* (Opladen, 1992), p. 13.
96. Kocho constituted till *ca.* 1286 or 1288 the border to Kublai Khan's Empire of the Yuan. Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond, 1997), pp. 23, 42–44, 153 n. 65.
97. Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde*, p. 34.
98. Evidence for Manichaean religious sites was

found in Kocho (Ruins ά and K), Bezeklik, Toyoq and Jiaohe, and Manichaean documents mention monasteries in Kocho, Jiaohe, Besh Baliq, Karashahr and Kucha. Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, p. 82. Churches and monasteries of the Church of the East existed in Kocho, Bulayiq and Qurutqa, and there were some 50 Buddhist temples in the kingdom. Zieme, *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uighurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien* (Opladen, 1992), p. 10.

99. *Hudud al-Alam. The Regions of the World.* (Cambridge, 1982) p. 352. W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 55f.
100. Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, p. 36.
101. Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, pp. 35, 84. Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde*, pp. 85f.
102. See above pp. 131f.
103. A Manichaean manuscript from the end of the tenth century mentions the destruction of Manichaean temples and the removal of decorations, most likely Buddhist-looking scrolls and statues, from Manichaean temples which were then placed in Buddhist temples. Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, p. 87.
104. Shimin Geng, 'Notes on an Uighur government charter issued to a Manichaean monastery', in *Kaoguxuebao Acta Archaeologica Sinica* 1978-04 (Beijing, 1978) http://en.cnki.com.cn/Article_en/CJFDTOTAL-KGXB197804005.htm Moriyasu, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, p. 99.
105. Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 508f, 515.
106. Zieme, *Das uighurische Königreich von Qočo*, p. 212.

Captions

1. John Hill, *Through the Jade Gate* (Charleston, SC, 2009), pp. 156, 527–531.
2. Marylin Rhie Martin, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. I (Leiden/Boston, 1999), pp. 74, 89–92.
3. Mountstuart Elphinstone, *Tableau du Royaume de Caboul* (Paris, 1817), vol. 3, pp. 36f. Gordon Whitteridge, *Charles Masson of Afghanistan* (Bangkok, 2002), pp. 23f, 84, 96–98.
4. Gérard Fussmann, Marc Le Berre, *Monuments bouddhiques de la région de Caboul*, vol. I, *Le monastère de Gul Dara* (Paris, 1976), pp. 52–54.
5. See Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*,vol. I, pp. 282f.
6. A.N. Zelinskij, *Drevnie kreposti na Pamire* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 123–129.
7. Markus Mode, *Heroic fights and dying heroes: the Orlat battle plaque and the roots of Sogdian art* (2003).
8. Sergei Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 20–22.
9. Frantz Grenet, *Mary Boyce's Legacy for the Archaeologists* (Bloomfield Hills, vol. 22/2008), p. 37.
10. Alexander Koch, *Boma – ein reiternomadisch-hunnischer Fundkomplex in Nordwestchina* (Langenweißbach, 2008), pp. 66f.
11. Folke Bergman, *Lou-Lan Wood-Carvings and small finds discovered by Sven Hedin* (Stockholm, 1935), p. 89.
12. Prods Oktor Skjaervo, *A Khotanese Amulet* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 387–401. Microscopy analysis suggests that the paper was made from the fibres of inner bark. Letter by Fred Siegenthaler to Therese Weber from 20 December 2003.
13. The interpretations of the paintings are taken from the following works: Reza Daghati, *Der verborgene Buddha* (Munich, 2003); Rajeshwari Ghose (ed.), *Kizil on the Silk Road* (Mumbai, 2008); Ma Qin, Fan Shucai, *Murals in Kucha* (Beijing, 2007); Marylin Rhie Martin, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, vol. II (Leiden/Boston, 2002).
14. Gleb V. Kubarev, *Der Panzer eines alttürkischen Ritters aus Balyk-Sook* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 629–645.
15. Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 116, n. 565.
16. Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1983), pp. 336f.
17. Gérard Fussmann, Ditte König (eds), *Die Felsbildstation Shatial* (Mainz, 1997), p. 90. Jason Neelis, *'La Vieille Route' Reconsidered: Alternative Paths for Early Transmission of Buddhism beyond the Borderlands of South Asia* (Bloomfield Hills, vol. 20/2006), p. 152.
18. Peter Jackson (translator and editor), *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255.* (Indianapolis/Cambridge, 2009), p. 69, n. 5.
19. I thank Prof. Dan D.Y. Shapira from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for his kind translation of the inscription.
20. Tong Tao, Patrick Wermann, *The coffin paintings of the Tubo period from the northern Tibetan Plateau* (Mainz, 2010), pp. 187–213. I am grateful to Dr Regula Schorta of the Abegg-Stiftung for drawing my attention to the paper by Tong Tao and Patrick Wermann.
21. Located in the Jo khang / gTsug lag khang: Chos rgyal Srong btsan sgam po Chapel on the first upper floor, Lhasa, Central Tibet. (Photo: Ulrich von Schroeder, 1996). Published in: Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, vol. 2: *Tibet and China*, plate 190A, p. 793. (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications Ltd, 2001). Further reading, Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, vol. II (Hong Kong, 2001), pp. 792–795. Ulrich von Schroeder, Joachim G. Karsten, *The Silver Jug of the Lhasa Jokhang: a Reply* (Asian Art, 2009).
22. See p. 301.
23. I thank Prof. Dr Markus Mode, University of Halle, for identifying the fragment of this painting.
24. Vladimir Sokolovsky, *Monumentalnaia zhivopis VIII-natchala IX veka dvortsovogo kompleksa Bundzhikata, stolitsi srednevekogo gosudarstva ustrushni* (St Petersburg, 2009), p. 173.
25. Vladimir Sokolovsky, *Monumentalnaia zhivopis VIII-natchala IX veka dvortsovogo kompleksa Bundzhikata, stolitsi srednevekogo gosudarstva ustrushni* (St Petersburg, 2009). My thanks to Prof. Dr Markus Mode, Halle, for important additional information.
26. The other, less likely interpretation sees the scene as the siege of Kushingara. In this story, following the death and cremation of Buddha Shakyamuni, seven neighbouring princes claimed their share of the sacred ashes and thus besieged the city of Kushingara.
27. A comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the wall paintings of Afriasab is provided by Markus Mode in *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt* (Frankfurt a. M., 1993); *Court art of the Sogdian Samarkand in the 7th century AD* (Halle, 2002), http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/ca/afras/index.htm
28. Dovudi Davlatkhoja and Sharof Kurbanov, Monetie nachodki na gorodistschach Sanjar Shah i Mubarak Shah (Dushanbe, 2012), pp. 6–9, 32.
29. Alexei Savchenko, Sharof Kurbanov, *Sanjar Shah, Tadjikistan. Archaeological excavation of an ancient Sogdian site* (Hergiswil, 2013). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_5.html
30. Located in the Po ta la: Chos rgyal sGrub phug, the 'Dharma King Meditation Cave'; third floor in the north-western corner of the Pho 'brang dmar po, the "Red Palace"'. Lhasa, Central Tibet. (Photo: Ulrich von Schroeder, 1991). Published in: Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, vol. 2: *Tibet and China*, pl. 198C, p. 859 (Hong Kong, 2001).
31. Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London, 1990), pp. 103–105.
32. See p. 157.
33. Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang* (Munich, 1995), vol. II, p. 325.
34. Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Palola Shahis: Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber* (Mainz, 2004), pp. 64–66.
35. Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, vol. I (Hong Kong, 2001), p. 114. Po ta la Collection: Sa gsum lha kang; inventory no. 82. Located on the south side of the fourth floor of the Pho 'brang dmar po, the "Red Palace"'. Lhasa, Central Tibet. (Photo: Ulrich von Schroeder, 1997). Published in: Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, vol. 1: *India and Nepal*, pl. 22A, p. 115 (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications Ltd, 2001).
36. Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang*, vol. II, p. 326.
37. Marianne Yaldiz (ed.), *Magische Götterwelten* (Potsdam, 2000), p. 247.
38. Prods Oktor Skjaervo, *Iranians, Indians, Chinese and Tibetans: The Rulers and Ruled of Khotan in the First Millennium* (London, 2004), p. 41. Roderick Whitfield, *Dunhuang* (München, 1995), vol. II, p. 334.
39. Marianne Yaldiz (ed.), *Magische Götterwelten* (Berlin, 2000), p. 227.
40. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *The Uighur Ritual Complex in Beiting* (Hong Kong, 1999), pp. 28–37 [See https://www.orientations.com.hk/articles/nancy-shatzman-steinhardt-the-uighur-ritual-complex-in-beiting-apr-1999-issue/]

Bibliography

Abduallev, Kazim, 'Buddhist Terracotta Plastic Art in Northern Bactria', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies) 5, 1997/98, pp. 161–178.

Abazov, Rafis, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (New York: Palgrave, 2008).

Adylov, S.T., Mirzaahmedov Džamal K., 'On the History of the Ancient Town of Vardana and the Obavija Feud', in *Ērān ud Anērān* (Webfestschrift Marshak, 2003) http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

Agajanov, S.G., 'The States of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak', in M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 61–75.

Ahn, Gregor, '"Zwei Prinzipien und drei Zeiten". Divergierende Modelle von Religionsgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel des Manichäismus und Zoroastrismus', in Wolfgang Gantke, Karl Hoheisel and Wassilios Klein (eds), *Religionsbegegnungen und Kulturaustausch in Asien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), pp. 49–62.

Akasoy, Anna, Burnett, Charles and Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit (eds), *Islam and Tibet Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

Albaum, L.I., 'Xristianskij xram v starom Termeze', in *Iz istorii drevnix kultovsrednej Azii*. Xristianstvo. (Tashkent: Glavnaja Redakciha Enciklopedii, 1994) pp. 34–41.

Alexeev, Andreï I., Barkova, Ludmilla L. and Galanina, Ludmilla, K., *Nomades des Steppes: Les Scythes VII^e–III^e siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2001).

Allan, J., Haig, T. Wolseley and Dodwell, H.H (eds), *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934).

Allchin, Raymond et al. (eds), *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia* (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997).

Alram, Michael, 'Münzprägung in Baktrien und Sogdien – von den graeco-baktrischen Königen bis zu den Kuschan', in Sven Hansen, Alfred Wieczorek, Michael Tellenbach (eds), *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt: Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, 2009), pp. 183–191.

— 'Alkhan and Hephtalite Coinage', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 13–38.

Alram, Michael and Klimburg-Salter, Deborah E. (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, 2010).

Alram, Michael et al., *Das Antlitz des Fremden. Die Münzen der Hunnen und Westtürken in Zentralasien und Indien*. Digital exhibition catalogue (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 2013). http://pro.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/khm/impressum

Amartüvshin, Chunag and Gerelbadrakh, Zhamsranzhav, 'Bilgä Kaghan's Treasures', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 343–347.

André, Paul (ed.), *The Art of Central Asia* (Bournemouth: Parkstone Press, 1996).

André, Guilhem et al., 'L'un des plus anciens papiers du monde exhumé récemment en Mongolie: découverte, analyses physico-chimiques et contexte scientifique', in *Arts Asiatiques* vol. 65, 2010, pp. 27–42.

André, Guilhem and Desroches, Jean-Paul, 'Une tombe princière Xiongnu à Gol Mod, Mongolie (campagnes de fouilles 2000–2001)', in *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 57, 2002 pp. 194–205.

Andrews, Fred H., *Catalogue of Wall-Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Sistan. Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein* (Delhi: Govt. of India, 1933).

— *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia; recovered by Sir Aurel Stein; described by Fred H. Andrews* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).

Anke, Bodo, 'Zur hunnischen Geschichte nach 375', in Alexander Koch (ed.), *Attila und die Hunnen* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007), pp. 39–47.

Anke, Bodo, Révész, Laszlo and Vida, Tivadar, *Reitervölker im Frühmittelalter: Hunnen – Awaren – Ungarn* (Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag, 2008).

Annen, Susanne et al., *Mes Aynak – Recent Discoveries along the Silk Road* (Kabul: National Museum of Afghanistan, 2011).

Antonini, Chiara Silvi and Mirzaachmedov, Džamal K. (eds), *Gli scavi di Uch Kulakh (Oasi di Bukhara): Rapporto preliminare, 1997–2007* (Rivisita degli Studo Orientali, nuova serie vol. LXXX) (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009).

Aržanceva, Irina, Härke, Heinrich and Schubert, Helge Arno, 'Por-Bažyin. Eine "Verbotene Stadt" des Uiguren-Reiches in Südsibirien', in *Antike Welt* (Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern) 3/2012, pp. 36–44.

Arzhantseva, Irina et al., 'Por-Bajin. An Enigmatic Site of the Uighurs in Southern Siberia', *The European Archaelogist*, issue no. 35, summer 2011, pp. 6–11.

Asmussen, J.P., 'Mar Ammo', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1989. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ammo-mar-mid

Atwood, Christopher, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004).

Azarpay, Guitty, 'A Jataka Tale on a Sasanian Silver Plate', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 9/1995, pp. 99–127.

Azarpay, Guitty (ed.), *Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

— 'Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art', in Guitty Azarpay (ed.), *Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 79–203.

— 'The MP Archive at Berkeley: a pre-Islamic Forerunner of "Samarkand" Paper?', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 141–43.

Babaev, A.D., *Kreposti drevnego Vakhana*. Institut arxeologii (Dushanbe: Donish, 1973).

Bacot, Jacques, Thomas, Frederick William and Toussaint, Gustave-Charles, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1940).

Bader, A., Gaibov, V. and Koshelenko, G., 'Materials for an Archaeological Map of the Merv Oasis: the Durnali Region', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8, 1994, pp. 117–128.

Bailey, Harold W., *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (New York: Caravan Books, 1982).

Baimatowa, Nasiba S., *5000 Jahre Architektur in Mittelasien: Lehmziegelgewölbe vom 4./3. Jt. v. Chr. bis zum Ende des 8. Jhs. n. Chr.* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008).

Baipakov, Karl, 'Les Tribus Turques de la Sibérie et de l'Alataï', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 29–41.

— *Zapadnotyorkckij i Tyorkckij Kaganaty: Tyorky i Sogdijtsy stepp i gorod* (Almaty: Institut arxeologii A.M. Margulana, 2010).

Baipakov, Karl and Nasyrov, Rakip, *Along the Great Silk Road* (Almaty: KRAMDC Publishers, 1991).

Baipakov, Karl and Ternovaya, G.A., *Carved Clay of Jetysu* (Almaty: CREDO, 2004).

Baipakov, Karl and Ternobaya, G.A., *Religii i Kulty srednebekovobo Kazaxctana* (Almaty: Institut arxeologii A.M. Margulana, 2005).

Baldick, Julian, *Animal and Shaman: Ancient Religions of Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000).

Balint, Csanad, *Die Archäologie der Steppe* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989).

Ball, Warwick, *The Monuments of Afghanistan: History, Archaeology and Architecture* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008).

— 'The Archaeology of Afghanistan: a Reassessement and Stock-Taking', in Juliette van Krieken-Pieters (ed.), *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan: Its Fall and Survival* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 39–48.

Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, translated in part as A.F.P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia, The Early Stage: 125 B.C.–A.D. 23. An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty*, with an introduction by M.A.N. Loewe (Leiden, 1979). See also Pan Ku.

Bandini-König, Ditte, *Die Felsbildstationen* (Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans), vols. 1–9 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994–2009.

Banerjee, Priyatosh, *Central Asian Art: New Revelations from Xinjiang* (Noida: Abha Prakashan, 2001).

Baratin, Charlotte, 'Les villes du sud-ouest de l'Afghanistan: le long de l'itinéraire d'Herat à Kandahar', in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 173–186.

Barber, Elizabeth Wayland, *The Mummies of Ürümchi* (London: Macmillan, 1999).

Barfield, Thomas J., *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

Barnett, L.D. and Francke, A.H., 'Tibetan Manuscripts and Graffiti Discovered by Dr M. A. Stein at Endere', in Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report on Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. I, pp. 548–69 (Appendix N).

Barthold, W., *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung* (Tübingen: Verlag J.C.B. Mohr, 1901).

— *Die geographische und historische Erforschung des Orients mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der russischen Arbeiten* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1913).

— *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: Luzac, 1928).

— *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, 1935).

Barthoux, Jules, *The Hadda Excavations*. vols. I & III (vol. II not published) (1930, 1933) (Reprint Bangkok: SDI Publications, 2001).

Baskhanov, Mikhail et al., *Arts from the Land of Timur. An Exhibition from a Scottish Private Collection* (Paisley: Sogdiana Books, 2012).

Baud, Aymon, Forêt, Philippe and Gorshenina, Svetlana, *La Haute-Asie telle qu'ils l'ont vue: Explorateurs et scientifiques de 1820 à 1940* (Geneva: Olizane, 2003).

Baumer, Christoph, *Tibet's Ancient Religion, Bön* (Trumbull: Weatherhill, 2002).

— *Southern Silk Road* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2003).

— *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006).

— *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008).

— 'Sogdian or Indian Iconography and Religious Influences in Dandan Uiliq: the murals of Buddhist Temple D 13', *Proceedings of the International Seminar "The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective"* (New Delhi Books International, 2009), pp. 170–184.

— 'The Ayala Mazar-Xiaohe Culture: New archaeological discoveries in the Taklamakan Desert, China', *Asian Affairs*, vol. XLII, no.1, March 2011, pp. 49–70.

— *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

— *The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, vol. 1 of 4 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Baumer, Christoph and Weber, Therese, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2005).

Baums, Stefan and Glass, Andrew, *Proposal for the Encoding of Brahmi in Plane 1 of ISO/IEC 10646*. 2007. http://std.dkuug.dk/jtc1/sc2/wg2/docs/n3491.pdf

Bautze-Picron, Claudine, 'Der Buddha und seine Symbole', in Christian Luczanits (ed.), in *Gandhara: Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans. Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), pp. 164–169.

Beazley, C. Raymond, *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis, as Printed for the First Time by Hakluyt in 1598, Together with some Shorter Pieces* (London, 1903).

Beckwith, Christopher, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

— *Empires of the Silk Road* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Béguin, Gilles, *Buddhist Art: An Historical and Cultural Journey* (Bangkok: River Books, 2009).

Behrendt, Kurt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004).

— *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007).

Belenizki, A.M., *Zentralasien* (Geneva: Nagel, 1968).

— *Mittelasien. Kunst der Sogden* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1980).

Belenizki, A.M., Marshak, B.I., 'The Paintings of Sogdiana', in Guitty Azarpay et al., *Sogdian Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 11–77.

Belli, Oktay, *Stone Balbals and Statues in Human Form in Kirghizistan* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari), 2003).

Bemmann, Jan et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia. Papers from the First International Conference on 'Archaeological Research in Mongolia', held in Ulaanbaatar* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2009).

— 'Was the Center of the Xiongnu Empire in the Orkhon Valley?', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 441–461.

— *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2012).

Bemmann, Jan et al., 'Geoarchaeology in the Steppe: First results of the Multidisciplinary Mongolian-German Project in the Orkhon Valley, Central Mongolia', *Studia Archaeologica Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Mongolicae* (Ulaan Baatar), vol. 30, 2011, fasc. 5, pp. 69–97.

Bemmann, Jan and Nomguunsüren, Gonshigsüren, 'Bestattungen in Felsspalten und Hohlräumen mongolischer Hochgebirge', in Jan Bemmann, *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2012), pp. 198–217.

Benjamin, Craig, 'The Yuezhi and their Neighbours: Evidence for the Yuezhi in the Chinese Sources c. 220 – c. 25 BCE', in David Christian, Craig Benjamin (eds), *Realms of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern* (Silk Road Studies IV. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 105–160.

— 'The Yuezhi Migration and Sogdia', in *Ērān ud Anērān* (Webfestschrift Marshak 2003) http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

— *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria* (Silk Road Studies XIV. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

Benoit, Agnès, 'Les "princesses" de Bactriane', *Arts & Cultures* (Geneva, 2005), pp. 36–45.

Berdimuradov, Amruddin and Samibaev, Masud, 'Une nouvelle peinture murale sogdienne dans le temple de Džartepa II'. Avec des notes additionnelles par Frantz Grenet et Boris Marshak, *Studia Iranica* 30 (Paris: l'Association pour l'avancement des Études iraniennes, 2001), pp. 45–66.

Berdimuradov, Amruddin et al., 'A New Discovery of Stamped Ossuaries near Shahr-I Sabz (Uzbekistan)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 22/2008, pp. 137–143.

Bergman, Folke, 'Lou-Lan Wood-Carvings and small finds discovered by Sven Hedin', *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 7 (Stockholm, 1935), pp. 71–144.

— *Archaeological researches in Sinkiang, especially the Lopnor region*. Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr Sven Hedin. The Sino-Swedish Expedition. Publication 7 (Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1939).

— *Travels and Archaeological Field-work in Mongolia and Singkiang: a Diary of the years 1927–1934*, in History of the Expedition in Asia 1927–1935. Part IV. General Reports of Travels and Field-Work by Folke Bergman, Gerhard Bexell, Birger Bohlin, Gösta Montell. Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China, under the leadership of Dr Sven Hedin. The Sino-Swedisch Expedition. Publication 26 (Stockholm: 1945), pp. 1–192.

Bernard, Paul, 'La Bactriane à l'époque Kushane d'après une nouvelle publication soviétique', *Journal des savants*. no. 4, 1979, pp. 237–256. http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/jds_0021-8103_1979_num_4_1_1394

— 'The Greek kingdoms of Central Asia', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1994), pp. 99–129.

Bertrand, Arnaud, 'The Hydraulic Systems in Turfan (Xinjiang)', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation, 2010), vol. 8, pp. 27–41. http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol8/

Betts, Alison and Yagodin, V.N., 'Tash-k'irman Cult Complex: An Hypothesis for the Establishment of Fire Temples in Ancient Choresmia', in Ken Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads* (Silk Road Studies XII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, pp. 1–20).

Bhattacharya-Haesner, Chayya, 'Khotan: A Kushan Outpost in Central Asia', in Vidula Jayaswal (ed.), *Glory of the Kushans. Recent Discoveries and Interpretations* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2012), pp. 361–367.

Bianchini, Marie-Claude (ed.), *Afghanistan: une histoire millénaire* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002).

Biography of An Lu-Shan, trans. and annotated, Howard S. Levy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

Biran, Michal, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997).

Biruni, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al., *The Chronology of ancient nations. An English version of the Arabic text of the Athâr-ul-Bâkiya of Albîrûnî, or 'Vestiges of the Past'*, trans. and (ed.) with notes, Dr C. Edward Sachau (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1879) (reprint, Charleston: Nabu Press, 2011).

Biswas, Atreyi, *The Political History of the Hunas in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1973).

Bivar, A.D.H.,'The Political History of Iran under the Arsacids', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 3 (1) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 21–99.

— 'The History of Eastern Iran', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (1), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 181–231.

— *Gondophares and the Indo-Parthians*, in Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart (eds), *The Age of the Parthians* (The Idea of Iran, vol. 2) (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007).

Bloch, Hannah, *Searching for Afghanistan's Third Giant Buddha*, in CAIS, The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies. Dated 11 June 2009. http://www.cais-soas.com/News/2009/June2009/11-06.htm

Blockley, R.C., *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, Eunapius, Olypiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vols. I and II (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981 and 1983).

— *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985).

Bloom, Jonathan, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Bobomulloev, S. Gh. (ed.), *The sleeping Buddha and the carved tympanum of Ustruchan*: *Two Pre-Islamic Masterpieces in Tajikistan* (Dushanbe: ACTED Markazi farhangii 'Bokhtar', 2004).

Bóna, István, *Das Hunnenreich* (Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag, 1991).

Bonora Gian Luca, Pianciola Niccolo, Sartori Paolo (eds), *Kazakhstan. Religions and Society in the History of Central Asia*. Umberto Allemandi, Turin, 2009.

Bonvalot, Gabriel, *Du Caucase aux Indes à travers le Pamir* (Paris: Plon, 1889).

— *De Paris à Tonkin à travers le Tibet inconnu* (Paris: Hachette, 1892).

Bopearachchi, Osmund, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecs: catalogue raisonné* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1991).

— *Catalogue of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1993).

— 'Indo-Grecs, Indo-Scythes, Indo-Parthes', in Osmund Bopearachchi et al., *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, (Paris: Lattès, 2003), pp. 129–168.

Bopearachchi, Osmund et al., *De l'Indus à l'Oxus: Archéologie de l'Asie central* (Paris: Lattès 2003).

Bopearachchi, Osmund and Pieper W., *Ancient Indian Coins* (Turnhout: Brépols, 1998).

Bopearachchi, Osmund and Boussac, Marie-Françoise (eds), *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Boqin, Jiang, 'The Zoroastrian Art of the Sogdians in China', *China Archaeology & Art Digest* (Hong Kong: 2000) vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 35–71.

Borisenko, A.Y., Hudiakov Y.S., 'Representations of Warriors on Early Medieval Turkic Bronze Plaques from Eastern Central Asia', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 36/4, 2008, pp. 43–53.

Bosshard, Walter, 'Life in the Steppes and Oases of Chinese Turkestan', *The National Geographic* Magazine (Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society) vol. LIX, 3, March 1931.

— *Hazards of Asia's Highlands & Deserts* (London: Figurehead, 1932).

Bosworth, C.E., *Osrushana*, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2005. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/osrusana

— *The ornaments of Histories. A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041. The Persian texts of Abu Sa'id 'Abd Al-Hayy Ghardizi* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011.)

Bosworth, C.E. and Bolshakov, O.G., 'Central Asia under the Umayyads and the early Abbasids', in M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part One. (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998), pp. 23–40).

Bouillane de Lacoste, Henri-Èmile-Antoine de, *Autour de L'Afghanistan: aux frontières interdites* (Paris: Hachette, 1908). *Around Afghanistan*, trans. J. G. Anderson (London: Pitman and Sons, 1909).

— *Au pays sacré des anciens Turcs et des Mongoles* (Paris: Émile-Paul, 1911).

Boulnois, Luce, *La Route de la Soie: Dieux, guerriers et marchands* (Geneva: Olizane, 2001). *Silk Road: Monks, Warriors & Merchants,* trans. Helen Loveday (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2004).

Bregel, Yuri, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003).

Brentjes, Burchard, *Mittelasien. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Völker zwischen Kaspischem Meer und Tien-Schan* (Vienna: Tusch, 1977).

— *Die Ahnen Dschingis-Chans. Eurasien und das Werden Europas* (Vienna: Tusch, 1988).

Brosseder, Ursula and Miller, Bryan (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2011).

Brough, John, 'Comments on Third Century Shan-shan and the History of Buddhism', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London) XXVIII: 3, 1965, pp. 582–612.

Brunner, Christopher J., *Sasanian Stamp Seals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978).

Brykina, M (ed.), *Central Asia in the Early Middle Ages* (Excerpts from *Srednjaja Azija v rannem srednevekov'e*, Moscow: Nauka, 1999) http://www.kroraina.com/ca/index.html

Bubnova, M.A., *Arxeologitcheskya karta Tadjikistana. Gorno-Badaxshanckaya Avtonomnaya Oblast. Zapadnyi Pamir* (Dushanbe: UCA, 2007).

Bulletin of the Asia Institute. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 4/1990 – 22/2008.

Bulletin of the Miho Museum, vols. 7–8 (Koka-shi: Shumei Culture Foundation, 2008).

Bunker, Emma C., 'The Cemetery of Shanpula, Xinjiang: Simple Burials, Complex Textiles', in: Dominik Keller and Regula Schorta (eds), *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2001) pp. 15–46.

— 'Fabulous Creatures from the Taklamakan Desert: Shanpula Textiles at the Abegg-Stiftung', in *Orientations Magazine* (Hong Kong) June 2001, pp. 60–62.

Bunker, Emma C. et al., *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1997).

Bunker, Emma C., with contributions by James C.Y. Watt and Zhixin Shun, *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002).

Burnes, Alexander, *Travels into Bokhara. Being an account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia. Also, narrative of a Voyage on the Indus from the Sea to Lahore*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1835).

— *Cabool. Being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in that City in the years 1836, 7, and 8* (London: John Murray). 1842. *Kabul. Schilderung einer Reise nach dieser Stadt und des Aufenthalts daselbst in den Jahren 1836, 1837 und 1838*. (Leipzig: Weigel, 1843).

Burrow, Thomas, *A Translation of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1940).

Bussagli, Mario, *Die Malerei in Zentralasien* (Geneva: Skira, 1963).

Callieri, Pierfrancesco, 'Huns in Afghanistan and the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent: the Glyptic Evidence', in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salte (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), vol. I, pp. 277–92.

Cambon, Pierre et al., *L'Asie des steppes, d'Alexandre le Grand à Gengis Khan* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2000).

Cambon, Pierre et al., *Afghanistan, les trésors retrouvés. Collections du musée national de Kaboul* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2006).

Cambon, Pierre and Hiebert, Fredrik (eds). *Afghanistan. Crossroads of the Ancient World* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011).

The Cambridge History of Iran. The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods. vol. 3 (1), edited by Sir Harold Bailey et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

The Cambridge History of Iran. The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs. vol. 4, edited by R.N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Cao Yong Jun, *Huo Xu Chu. Qi xiao shan* (Urumqui: Renmin Chubanshe, 2004).

Carey, Brian Todd, *Warfare in the Ancient World* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 1988).

Carter, Martha L., 'Oesho or Shiva', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 9/1995, pp. 143–159.

— 'A Reappraisal of the Bimaran Reliquary', in Raymond Allchin et al. (eds), *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia* (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997) pp. 71–93.

Central Asian objects brought back by the Otani mission (Tokyo: National Museum, 1971).

Cerasuolo, Orlando, 'Indagine topographica nel territorio di Varakhsha', in Chiara Silvi Antonini and Džamal K. Mirzaachmedob (eds), *Gli scavi di Uch Kulakh (Oasi di Bukhara). Rapporto preliminare, 1997–2007* (Rivisita degli Studo Orientali, nuova serie vol. LXXX) (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009), pp. 189–210.

— 'Il rilievo del sito di Vardanzeh', in Chiara Silvi Antonini, Džamal K. Mirzaachmedob (eds), *Gli scavi di Uch Kulakh (Oasi di Bukhara). Rapporto preliminare, 1997–2007* (Rivisita degli Studo Orientali, nuova serie vol. LXXX) (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009), pp. 211–216.

Chagatai, Ergun and Kuban, Dogan (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples. 2.000 years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006).

Chaliand, Gérard, *Nomadic Empires: From Mongolia to the Danube* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004).

Chandra, Lokesh and Banerjee, Radha, *Xuanzang and the Silk Route* (New Delhi: Manoharlal 2008).

Chandra, Lokesh and Sharma, Nirmala (eds), *Buddhist Paintings of Tun-Huang in the National Museum, New Delhi* (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2012).

Chang Chun-shu, *The Rise of the Chinese Empire.* vol. 2: *Frontier, Immigration and Empire in Han China, 130 B.C.–A.D. 157* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

Chang Xu, 'Managing a Multicurrency System in Tang China: The View of the Centre', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, April 2013, pp. 223–244.

Chaudhuri, Saroj Kumar, *Lives of Early Buddhist Monks: The Oldest Extant Biographies of Indian and Central Asian Monks* (New Delhi: Abha Prakashan, 2008).

Chavannes, Edouard, 'Le Nestorianisme et l'Inscription de Kara-Balgassoun', *Journal Asiatique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), 9th series, vol. IX, Janvier/Février 1897, pp. 43–85.

— *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (1903) (Reprint China: Anastic Edition, 1940).

— *Trois Généraux Chinois de la dynastie des Han Orientaux. Pan Tch'ao (32–102 p.C.) – son fils Pan Yong – Leang K'in (112 p.C.). Chapitre LXXVII du* Heou Han chou. T'oung pao vol. 2:7, pp. 210–269. (Boston/Leiden: Brill, 1906).

— 'Chinese documents from the sites of Dandan-Uiliq, Niya and Endere', in Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan. Detailed report on archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. I, pp. 521–47.

— *Mission archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*. vol. I, part 1: *La sculpture à l'époque des Han,* 1913; part 2: *La sculpture bouddhique*, 1915; *planches*, parts 1 + 2, 1909. (Paris: Ernest Leroux).

Chen Bingying, 'Gandhara in Gansu', in Annette Juliano, Judith Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants. Silk Road treasures from Northwest China* (New York: Abrams/Asia House 2001), pp. 211–217.

Chengyoung Ge (ed.), *Jing jiao yi zhen: Luoyang xin chu Tang dai Jing jiao ling dong yan jiu. Studies on the Nestorian Stone Pillar of the Tang Dynasty Recently Discovered in Luoyang* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2009).

Chinese Archaeology. Institute of Archaeology. Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (IA CASS), Beijing. www.kaogu.cn

Chinese Archaeology. Excavation of No. 3 Buddhist Temple-Site at Topulukdong in Damago of Cele County, Xinjiang (IA CASS, Beijing), 21.01.2011. http://history.cultural-china.com/en/56History10358.html

Christian, David, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, vol. I, *Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

— 'State Formation in the Inner Eurasian Steppes', in David Christian and Craig Benjamin (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern* (Silk Road Studies II) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998) pp. 51–76.

Christian, David and Benjamin, Craig (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern* (Silk Road Studies II) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

— *Realms of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern* (Silk Road Studies IV) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

— *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History* (Silk Road Studies VI) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

Chuvin, Pierre (ed.), *Les arts de l'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 1999).

Cirillo, Luigi and Tongerloo, Alois van (eds), *Atti del terzo congresso internationale di studi 'Manicheismo e Oriente Christiano Antico', 1993* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).

Clausewitz, Carl Philipp Gottlieb von, *Vom Kriege*. Herausgegeben von Marie von Clausewitz in 3 Bänden, Dümmler, Berlin 1833–34. www.clausewitz.com/readings/VomKriege1832/TOC.htm#TOC

Clausewitz, Carl Philipp Gottlieb von, *On War*, trans. J.J. Graham (London, 1908), vol. I, 1.24.

Cleary, Michelle Negus, 'Walls in the Desert: The Phenomenon of Central Asian Urbanism in Ancient Chorasmia', in Ken Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads* (Silk Road Studies XII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 51–78.

Compareti, Matteo, 'The role of the Sogdian Colonies in the diffusion of the pearl roundels pattern', in *Ērān ud Anērān* (Webfestschrift Marshak, 2003) http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

— *Gli apporti Indiani nell'arte della Sogdiana e il ramo maritime della 'Via delle Seta'.* PhD Dissertation, University of Naples 'L'Orientale', 2005.

— 'Further Evidence for the Interpretation of the "Indian Scene" in the Pre-Islamic Paintings at Afrasiab (Samarkand)', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 4/2, 2006/7, pp. 32–42.

— 'Buddhist Activity in Pre-Islamic Persia According to Literary Sources and Archaeology', *Transoxiana* 12, 2007. http://www.transoxiana.org/12/compareti-iranian_buddhism.php

— 'Traces of Buddhist Art in Sogdiana', in *Sino-Platonic Papers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania), no. 181, August 2008. http://archive.org/stream/TracesOfBuddhistArtInSogdiana2008/Compareti2008TracesOfBuddhistArtInSogdiana#page/n0/mode/2up

— 'The Painting of the "Hunter-King" at Kakrak: Royal Figure or Divine Being?', *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, XLVII, 3, 2008, pp. 131–149.

— 'Remarks on the Sogdian religious Iconography in 7th Century Samarkand', *Proceedings to the International Seminar "The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective"* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009) pp. 194–200.

— 'The Indian Iconography of the Sogdian Divinities and the Role of Buddhism and Hinduism in its Transmission', *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (AION, University of Naples), 69/1–4, 2009, pp. 175–210.

— 'Chinese-Iranian Relations. The Last Sassanians in China', *Encylclopedia Iranica*, 2009. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/china-xv-the-last-sasanians-in-china

'Classical elements in Sogdian art: Aesop's Fables represented in the mural paintings at Penjikent', *Iranica Antiqua*, vol. XLVII, pp. 303–316, 2012.

M. Compareti et al., eds, *Ērān ud Anērān : Studies Presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (2003). http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

Conrady, August, *Die chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-Lan* (Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt, 1920).

Constantine, Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio.* trans. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967).

Cosmo, Nicola Di (ed.), *Ancient China and its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

— *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002).

— 'The Origins of the Great Wall', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 4/1, 2006, pp. 14–19. http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol4num1/srnewsletter_v4n1.pdf

— *Military Culture in Imperial China* (ed.) (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2009).

— 'Ethnogenesis, Coevolution and Political Morphology of the Earliest Steppe Empire: the Xiongnu Question Revisited', in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: R.F.W-Universität, 2011), pp. 35–48.

Costermans, Barbara et al. (eds), *Les Huns* (Brussels: Europalia International, 2005).

Crespigny, Rafe de, *Northern Frontier: The Policies and Strategy of the Later Han Empire* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1984).

— *The Government and Geography of the Northern Frontier of Late Han*. Internet edition 2004. www.anu.edu.au/sdisndtudies/decrespigny/northern_front

— 'The Military Culture of Later Han', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Military Culture in Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009) pp. 90–111.

Cribb, Joe, 'The early Kushan kings: new evidence for chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999) vol. I, pp. 177–206.

— 'The Greek Kingdom of Bactria, its Coinage and its Collapse', in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) pp. 207–225.

— 'Money as Marker of Cultural Continuity and Chance in Central Asia', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann (eds), *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007), pp. 333–375.

— 'Die Chronologie Gandharas anhand der Münzen', in Christian Luczanits (ed.), *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans. Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), 2008, pp. 64–69.

— ‘Das Pantheon der Kushana-Könige’, in Christian Luczanits (ed.), *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans. Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), pp. 122–125.

— ‘The Kidarites, the Numismatic evidence. With an Analytical Appendix by A. Oddy’, in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds) *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010) vol. II, pp. 91–146.

Cribb, Joe and Herrmann, Georgina (eds), *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007).

Crosby, Oscar Terry, *Tibet and Turkestan* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1905).

Csiky, Gergely, ‘Grabarchitektur und Bestattungsriten der asiatischen Hunnen’, in Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Aktuelle Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kultur der Hunnen) (Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 2008).

Čuguevskii, L.I, ‘Touen-Houang du VIIIè au Xè siècle’, in Michel Soymié (ed.), *Nouvelles contributions aux études de Touen-Huang* (Geneva: Droz, 1981).

Curta, Florin (ed.), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008).

— ‘The earliest Avar-age stirrups or the “stirrup controversy” revisited’, in Florin Curta (ed.), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008) pp. 297–326.

Curtis, Vesta Sarkhosh and Stewart, Sarah (eds), *The Idea of Iran*, vol. 2, *The Age of the Parthians*, vol. 3, *The Sasanian Era* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007, 2008).

Curzon, George N., *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1889).

Dabbs, Jack A., *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan* (The Hague: Mouton 1963).

Dagens, Bruno, Le Berre, Marc and Schlumberger, Daniel, *Monuments préislamiques d’Afghanistan* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964).

Daghati, Reza, *Der verborgene Buddha. Höhlenmalereien in Turkestan* (Munich: Knesebeck, 2003).

Dalton, O.M., *The Treasure of the Oxus. With Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work* (London: British Museum, 1905, 1964).

Dani, A.H. and Litvinsky, B.A, ‘The Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom’, in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 103–118.

Dani, A.H, Litvinsky, B.A and Safi M.H. Zamir, ‘Eastern Kushans and Kidarites in Gandhara and Kashmir’, in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 163–176.

Danilov, Sergei V., ‘Typology of ancient settlement complexes of the Xiongnu’, in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2011), pp. 129–136.

Danilov, Sergei V. and Tsydenova Natali’ia V., ‘Ceramic roof tiles from Terelzhiin Dörvölzhin’, in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2011), pp. 341–47.

Davlatkhoja, Dovudi and Kurbanov, Sharof, Monetnie nachodki na gorodistschach Sanjar Shah i Mubarak Shah [Discovered coins at the settlements of Sanjar Shah and Mubarak Shah] (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2012, and Dushanbe: National Museum of Tajikistan, 2012).

— *Klad niskoprobnich dirchemov Tchaganiana 434, 435 gg.h/1042-44 gg na gorodistsche Kutlug-Tepa Pendjikentskovo rayona* [Discovery of some coins from Chaganiyan 434, 435 AH/1042–44 AD from the ancient town Kutlug Tepe in the district of Penjikent] (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2012).

Deasy, H.H.P., *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan: Being the Record of Three Years’ Exploration* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901).

Debaine-Francfort, Corinne et al., *Keriya, Mémoires d’un fleuve: Archéologie et civilisation des oasis du Taklamakan* (Paris: Findakly, 2001).

Deeg, Max, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005).

Demiéville, Paul, *Le concile de Lhasa* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952).

Denwood, Philip, ‘The Tibetans in the Western Himalayas and Karakoram, Seventh-Eleventh Centuries: Rock Art and Inscriptions’, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 49–59.

— ‘The Tibetans in the West. Parts I–II’, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, 2009), vol. 3, pp. 7–22, and vol. 4, pp. 149–160.

Desroches, Jean-Paul et al., *Mongolie, le premier empire des steppes* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2003).

Dhavalikar, M.K. Maha-Vinayaka, ‘The Iconography of Central Asian Ganesa’, *Proceedings of the International Seminar “The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective”* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009), pp. 233–239.

Dickens, Mark, ‘Patriarch Timothy I and the Metropolitan of the Turks’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* JRAS, Series 3, 20, 2, London 2010, pp. 117–139.

Dien, Albert E., ‘Encounters with Nomads’, in Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China* (New York Abrams/Asia House, 2001), pp. 55–66.

Dien, Albert E., ‘Caravans and Caravan Leaders in Palmyra’, in Étienne de La Vaissière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d’Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 195–206.

— ‘Observations Concerning the Tomb of Masher Shi’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 17/2003, pp. 105–116.

Docimbaeva, Aiman, *Zapadnyi Tyorkckij Kaganat*. Institut arxeologii (Almaty: A.M. Margulana, 2006).

— *Tradizionnoe Mirovossrenne Srednevekovyx Tjorkov Jetisu (Po Materialam Kultovyx Pamjatnikov).* Dyssertazija (Almaty: Universitet Almati, 2010).

Dodkhudoeva, Larisa, ‘Monumental Painting in Tadjikistan’, *Bulletin of the Miho Museum* (Koka-shi Shumei Culture Foundation), vol. 7–8, 2008, pp. 47–68.

Dossiers d’Archéologie, no. 247, *La Bactriane de Cyrus à Timour* (Quétigny: Editions Faton, 1999).

— no. 271, *Les Parthes* (Quétigny: Editions Faton, 2002).

— no. 341, *Samarcande* (Quétigny: Editions Faton, 2010).

Dreswanskaya, G.A., ‘Ovalnij dom christianskoj ovschini v starom Mervei, in Trudy jujno-Turkmenistanckoj archeologischeckoj komplksnoj ekspedizii. vol. XV, (Ashgabat: Akademia nauk turkmenskoj CCP, 1974), pp. 155–181.

Drikung, Kyabgon Chetsang, *A History of the Tibetan Empire. Drawn from the Dunhuang Manuscripts* (Dehra Dun: Songtsen Library, 2011).

Drompp, Michael R, *The Uighur-Chinese Conflict of 840–848*, in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) pp. 73–103.

Duan, Qing, ‘The Inscriptions on the Sampul Carpets’, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010) vol. 5., pp. 95–99.

Dubs, Homer H., *A Roman City in Ancient China* (London: The China Society, 1957).

Dunmore, Charles Adolphus Murray, seventh Earl of, *The Pamirs*. 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1893).

Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond et al. (eds), *Turfan Revisited – The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road* (Berlin: Reimer, 2004).

Dusinberre, Elspeth, ‘Ernst Herzfeld, Kuh-e Khwaja, and the Study of Parthian Art’, in Ann C. Gunter and Stefan R. Hauser (eds), *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900–1950* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 181–214.

Dutreuil de Rhins Jules-Léon and Grenard, Fernand, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie 1890–1895*. 3 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897–98).

Dyakonova, N.V., *Shikshin: Materialy Pervoj Russkoj Turkestanskoj ėkspedicii akademika S. F. Oldenburga, 1909–1910 gg (*Moscow: Vostotchnaja Literatura RAN, 1995).

Dyakonova, N.V., Sorokin, S.S., *Xotanckie Drevnosti* (Leningrad: Hermitage, 1960).

Egami, Namio, *The Grand Exhibition of Buddhist Art*, 3 vols. Nara National Museum (Nara: The Association for Silk Road Exposition, 1988).

Ellerbrock, Uwe and Winkelmann, Sylvia, *Die Parther. Die vergessene Großmacht* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2012).

Elphinstone, Mountstuart, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and J. Murray, 1815).

Emmerick, R.E., *Tibetan texts concerning Khotan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

— 'Iranian Settlements East of the Pamirs', in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 3 (1), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 263–278.

— *The Sutra of Golden Light. Being a Translation of the Suvarnabhasottamasutra* (London: Luzac, 1970).

Enoki, G., Koshelenko, A. and Haidary, Z, 'The Yüeh-chih and their migrations', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), pp. 171–190.

Enoki, Kazuo, 'The Location of the Capital of Lou-Lan and the Date of the Kharoshthi Inscriptions', in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1963) no. 22, pp. 127–171.

Erkoc, H. Ihsan, *The Bugut Inscription*. 2006. Gokturk and Uyghur Period/The Bugut Inscription. http://steppes.proboards.com/thread/358/bugut-inscription.

Eregzen, Gelegdorj (ed.), *Treasures of the Xiongnu* (Ulaan Baatar: Institute of Archaeology, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, 2011).

— 'A comparative analysis of Xiongnu noble tombs and burials in adjacent regions', in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2011), pp. 275–284.

Errington, Elizabeth, 'Differences in the Patterns of Kidarite and Alkhon Coin Distribution at Begram and Kashmir Smast', in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology*. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 147–68.

Escher, Katalin, Lebedynsky, Iaroslav. *Le dossier Attila* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2007).

Escedy, Hilda, 'Uigurs and Tibetans in Pei'ting (790–791 A.D.)', *Acta orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 17 (Budapest, 1964), pp. 83–104.

Eyre, Vincent Lieut., *The Military Operations at Cabul: Which Ended in the Retreat and Destruction of the British Army, January 1842. With a Journal of Imprisonment in Afghanistan* (London: John Murray, 1843).

Fagne, Claude (ed.), *La Route de la Soie* (Brussels: Europalia, 2009).

Falk, Harry, 'Ancient Indian Eras: An overview', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 21/2007, pp. 131–156. Bloomfield Hills.

Fan Jin Shi (ed.), *Three Great Caves of the Dunhuang Grottoes* (Lanzhou: Gansu Culture Publishing House, 1998).

Faxian, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms. Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon (AD 319–414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Trans. James Legge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886).

— *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Retrans. H.A. Giles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923).

Fei Feng, *The Nude Art of the Qiuci Grottoes* (Urumqi: Xinjiang Fine Arts & Photographing Press, 1992).

Fei Jie et al., 'Circa A.D. 626 volcanic eruption, climatic cooling and the collapse of the Eastern Turkic Empire', in *Climatic Change*, 81, pp. 469–75 (Berlin: Springer, 2007).

Fiedler, Uwe, 'Bulgars in the Lower Danube region. A survey of the archaeological evidence and of the state of current research', in Florin Curta (ed.), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008) pp. 151–236.

Filchner, Wilhelm, *Ein Ritt über den Pamir* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1903).

Filigenzi, Anna, 'The Buddhist Site of Tapa Sardar', in Anna Filigenzi and Roberta Giunta (eds), *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007. Fifty Years of Research in the Heart of Eurasia* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2009), pp. 41–57.

— 'Ritual Forms, Cult Objects: Tapa Sardar at the Crossroad of Places and Phases of the Buddhist ecumene', in Anna Filigenzi and Roberta Giunta (eds), *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007. Fifty Years of Research in the Heart of Eurasia* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2009), pp. 59–75.

— 'The Shahi period: Archaeological and Art Historical Evidence from North-West Pakistan', in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 407–428.

Filigenzi, Anna and Giunta, Roberta (eds), *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007. Fifty Years of Research in the Heart of Eurasia* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2009).

Forsyth, T. Douglas, 'On the Buried Cities in the Shifting Sands of the Great Desert of Gobi', The Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, paper read on 13 November, 1876, forming part of the Society's Journal, vol. XLVII, May 1878, pp. 1–17.

Forte, Antonio, 'The edict of 638 allowing the diffusion of Christianity in China', in Paul Pelliot, *L'Inscription nestorienne de Si-Ngan-Fou*. Edited with supplements by Antonio Forte (Kyoto and Paris: Italian School of East Asian Studies and Collège de France, 1996), pp. 349–373.

Forte, Erika, 'Khotan in the Last Quarter of the First Millennium: Is there Artistic Evidence of the Interrelations between Khotan and Tibet? A Preliminary Survey', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 457–470.

Foucher, Alfred, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhara* (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, 1902).

— *La Madone bouddhique*, vol. 17 of *Monuments et mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (Paris: Leroux, 1909).

— *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central Asian Archaeology*, trans. L.A. Thomas and F.W. Thomas (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917).

Fournié, Éléonore, *Mes Aynak, joyau bouddhique de l'Afghanistan*, *Religions & Histoire*, no. 37, 2011, pp. 10–15.

Franke, Otto, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idikutshahri bei Turfan (Turkistan)* (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Kommission bei Georg Reimer, 1907).

Franz, H.G. (ed.), *Kunst und Kultur entlang der Seidenstraße* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1986).

Fraser, Sarah E., *Performing the Visual. The Practice of Buddhist Wall Painting in China and Central Asia, 618–907* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Frumkin, Grégoire, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1970).

Frye, Richard, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 3. Abteilung, 7. Teil) (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983).

— *The Golden Age of Persia* (London: Orion, 1993).

— *The Heritage of Central Asia. From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1996).

— 'The Aramaic Alphabet in the East', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 57–60.

— *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2006).

— *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*. Translated from the Persian Abridgement of the Arabic Original by Narshakhi (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2007).

Fuchs, Walter, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938).

Fussmann, Gérard, and Le Berre, Marc, *Monuments bouddhiques de la région de Caboul*. vol. I. *Le monastère de Gul Dara* (Paris: De Boccard, 1976).

Fussmann, Gérard and König, Ditte (eds), *Die Felsbildstation Shatial* (Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans, vol. 2) (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997).

Gabin, Annemarie von, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qoco (850–1250)*. 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973).

Gabriel, Richard A., *Subotai the Valiant. Genghis Khan's Greatest General* (Westport: Praeger, 2004).

Gabsch, Toralf (ed.), *Auf Grünwedels Spuren. Restaurierung und Forschung an zentralasiatischen Wandmalereien* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 2012).

Gaibov, V., Koshelenko G. and Novikov, S., 'Chilburj', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 4/1990, pp. 21–36.

Gantke, Wolfgang, Hoheisel, Karl and Klein, Wassilios (eds), *Religionsbegegnungen und Kulturaustausch in Asien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

Gao Yanqing (ed.), *Neimenggu Zhenbao. Treasures of Inner Mongolia*. 6 vols. (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2007).

Gardner, Percy, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1886). Reprinted Chicago, 1966.

Gardiner-Garden, John, *Apollodoros of Artemita and the Central Asian Skythians* (Papers on Inner Asia, no. 3) (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1987).

Geng Shimin, 'Notes on an Uighur government charter issued to a Manichaean monastery', *Kaoguxuebao Acta Archaeologica Sinica* (Beijing: Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1978) http://en.cnki.com.cn/Article_en/CJFDTOTAL-KGXB197804005.htm

— 'Die alttürkischen Steppenreiche (552–745)', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 102–144.

Ghirsman, Roman, with Ghirsman, Tania, *Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946).

— *Persian Art. The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 BC–AD 651* (New York: Golden Press, 1962).

Ghose, Madhuvanti, 'Nana: The "Original" Goddess on the Lion', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols), vol. 1, 2006, pp. 97–112.

Ghose, Rajeshwari (ed.), *In the Footsteps of the Buddha. An iconic Journey from India to China* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1998).

— *Kizil on the Silk Road* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2008).

— 'The Kizil Caves: Date, Art, and Iconography', in Rajeshwari Ghose (ed.), *In the Footsteps of the Buddha. An iconic Journey from India to China* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1998), pp. 40–65.

— 'Buddhism in Kizil: Texts and painted imagery', in *Proceedings of the International Seminar "The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective"* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009), pp. 123–133.

Gibb, H.A.R., *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923) (New York: AMS Press, 1970).

Giès, Jacques (ed.), *Les arts de l'Asie centrale. La collection Paul Pelliot du musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet*. 2 vols. Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris 1994. *The Arts of Central Asia: The Pelliot Collection in the Musée Guimet*, 3 vols. trans. Roderick Whitfield (London: Serindia, 1996).

Giès, Jacques and Cohen, Monique, *Sérinde, Terre de Bouddha. Dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994).

Gignoux, Ph. and Litvinsky, B.A., 'Religions and religious movements I', in Boris Litvinsky et al. (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 403–420.

Gillman, Ian and Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim, *Christians in Asia before 1500* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

Giuliano, L., 'Studies in early Saiva iconography:(I) the origin of the "trisula" and some related problems', in *Silk road art and archeology* 10, The Institute of Silk Road Studies. Kamakura, 2004, pp. 51–97.

Göbl, Robert, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*. 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967).

— 'Eine neuerworbene Sammlung mittelasiatischer Münzen', in *Jahrbuch des Historischen Museums in Bern*, vols. 45 and 46 (1965–1966) (Bern: 1968), pp. 185–223.

— 'The Rabatak Inscription and the date of Kanishka', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), vol. I, pp. 151–176.

Godard, A. and Y., Hackin, J., *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (Paris: Éditions G. van Oest, 1928).

Golden, Peter, 'War and Warfare in the Pre-Činggisid Western Steppes', in Nicola Di Cosmo. *Ancient China and its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 105–172.

— *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe. Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003).

— *Nomads and Sedentary Societies in Medieval Eurasia* (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 2003).

— 'The Turkic Nomads of the Pre-Islamic Eurasian Steppes', in Ergun Chagatai and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006), pp. 82–103.

— 'Some thoughts on the Origins of the Turks and the Shaping of the Turkic Peoples', in Victor H. Mair (ed.), *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 136–157.

— 'Nomads of the Western Eurasian Steppes: Oghurs, Onoghurs and Khazars', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 282–302.

— *Turks and Khazars. Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2010).

— *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

— 'Zentralasien im 6.–11. Jh', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt, 2012), pp. 27–52.

Gorjacheva V.D., 'Novye nakhodki indo-buddhiyskoy kul'tury v Kyrgyzstane' ('New findings of the Indo-Buddhist Culture in Kyrgyzstan'), in *India and Central Asia* (Tashkent: 2000).

— 'A propos de deux capitales du kaghanat karakhanide', in *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud), no. 9, 2001, pp. 91–114.

Gorjacheva V.D. and Peregudova S.Ya., 'Buddijskije pamjatniki Kirgizii' ('Buddhist monuments of Kyrgyzstan') in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* (Moscow: Nauka), no. 2, 1996, pp. 167–189.

Graff, Daniel A., 'Strategy and Contingency in the Tang Defeat of the Eastern Turks, 629–630', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002), pp. 33–72.

Gray, Basil, *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tunhuang* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959).

Grenet, Frantz, *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie Centrale sédentaire de la conquète grecque à l'islamisation* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984).

— *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (as ed.) (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987).

— 'L'Athéna de Dil'berdžin', in Grenet Frantz (ed). *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987), pp. 41–52.

— 'Vaishravana in Sogdiana: about the Origins of Bishamon-ten', in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies) 4, 1995/96, pp. 277–297.

— 'Religions du monde iranien ancien' (Conférence de Frantz Grenet), in Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, vol. 109, 2000, pp. 227–231. http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/ephe_0000-0002_2000_num_113_109_11783

— 'Nēzak', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2002. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nezak

— 'Kidarites', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2005. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kidarites

— 'Regional interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephtalite Periods', in Nicholas Sims-Williams (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 203–224.

— 'The self-image of the Sogdians', in Étienne de La Vaissière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 123–140.

— 'Iranian Gods in Hindu Garb: The Zoroastrian Pantheon of the Bactrians and Sogdians, Second–Eighth Centuries', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 20/2006, pp. 87–100.

— 'Where are the Sogdian Magi?', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 21/2007, pp. 159–178.

— 'A view from Samarkand: The Chionite and Kidarite Periods in the Archaeology of Sogdiana', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronolog* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 267–282.

— 'Le zoroastrisme a-t-il été l'une des religions de l'Asie Centrale?', in *Religions & Histoire* (Dijon: Faton), no. 44, 2012, pp. 45–51.

— 'Mary Boyce's Legacy for the Archaeologists', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 22/2008, pp. 29–46.

Grenet, Frantz, Zhang Guangda, 'The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion: Dunhuang in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield, vol. 10/1996, pp. 175–186.

Grenet, Frantz and Marshak, Boris, 'Le mythe de Nana dans l'art de la Sogdiane', *Arts Asiatiques* 53, 1998, pp. 5–18.

Grenet, Frantz and La Vaissière, Étienne de, 'The last days of Panjikent', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies), 8, 2002, pp. 155–196.

Grenet, Frantz, ur-Rahman, Aman, Sims-Williams, Nicholas, 'A Hunnish Kushan-shah', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 125–131.

Grenet, Frantz, et al., 'The Sasanian Relief at Rag-I Bibi', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann (eds), *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007), pp. 243–267.

Grenet, Frantz and Khasanov, Mutalib, 'The Ossuary from Sangyr-tepe (Southern Sogdiana): Evidence of the Chionite Invasion', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), vol. 4, pp. 69–82.

Groot, J.J.M. de, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter, 1921).

Gropp, Gerd, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesisch-Ostturkestan* (Bremen: Röver, 1974).

Gropp, Gerd and Kurbanov, Sharof, 'Erster Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen in Sanjar Shah (Magian), Tajikistan 2003', in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, vol. 39 (Berlin: Reimer, 2007).

Grousset, René, *L'empire des steppes: Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan* (Paris: Payot, 1939). *The Empire of the Steppes*, trans. Naomi Walford (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1970).

Grünwedel, Albert, 'Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–1903', in *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1909), pp. 1–196.

— *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan* (Berlin: Reimer, 1912).

Gulácsi, Zsuzsanna, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

— 'The Dates and Styles of Uygur Manichaean Art. A New Radiocarbon Date and its Implication for the Study of East Central Asian Art', *Arts Asiatiques* 58, 2003, pp. 5–33.

— 'The Life of Jesus According to the Diatessaron and Early Manichaean Art and Text', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 22/2008, pp. 143–72.

Gullini, Giorgio, *Architettura Iranica dagli Achemenidi ai Sasanidi. Il "palazzo" di Kuh-I Khwagia (Seistan)*, (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1964).

Gunter, Ann and Hauser, Stefan (eds), *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies*, 1900–1950 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005).

Gyselen, Rika, 'Sceaux magiques en Iran Sassanide', *Studia Iranica*, Cahier 17, Paris 1995.

Haarmann, Harald, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1998).

Hackin, Joseph, *Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale* (1931) (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1936).

— *L'Œuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (1922–1932)* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-japonaise, 1933).

— *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Bamiyan* (Paris: Éditions G. van Oest, 1933).

— *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram (ancien Kâpicî) (1939–1940)*. 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, Presses Universitaires, 1954).

Hackin, Joseph and Ria, *Bamian: Führer zu den buddhistischen Höhlenklöstern und Kolossalstatuen* (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939).

Hackin J. et al., *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933–1940)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959).

Haenisch, Erich, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1948).

Haesner, Chhaya, 'Paradise Scenes in Central Asian Art: Autochthonous or Modelled after Gandharan Art?', in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), vol. I, pp. 423–452.

Hambis, Louis (ed.), *Mission Paul Pelliot*, vol. I: *Toumchouq, planches*, 1961, vol. II: *Toumchouq, texte*, 1964, vol. III: *Douldour-Aqour et Soubachi, planches*, 1967, Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Hamilton, James Russell, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955).

— *Manuscrits Ouïgours du IXe–Xe siècle de Touen-Houang*. 2 vols (Paris: Peeters, 1986).

— 'Le Royaume Ouïgour de Kan-tcheou', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz), 2000, pp. 213–18.

Hansen, Sven, Wieczorek, Alfred and Tellenbach, Michael (eds), Alexander *der Große und die Öffnung der Welt. Asiens Kulturen im Wandel* (Exh. cat. Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, 2009).

Hansen, Valerie, 'The Impact of the Silk Road trade', in Étienne de La Vaissière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 283–310.

— *The Silk Road: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Harhoiu, Radu, 'Hunnen und Germanen an der unteren Donau', in Alexander Koch (ed.), *Attila und die Hunnen* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007), pp. 83–95.

Harmatta, János, *Prolegomena to the Sources of the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1979).

— 'Languages and Scripts in Graeco-Bactria and the Saka Kingdoms', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), pp. 397–416.

— 'Languages and literature in the Kushan Empire', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 417–440.

Harmatta, J. et al, 'Religions in the Kushan Empire', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 313–329.

Harmatta, J. and Litvinsky, B.A, 'Tokharistan and Gandhara under Western Türk Rule (650–750)', in Boris Litvisky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 367–402.

Harper, Prudence O., 'An Iranian Silver Vessel from the Tomb of Feng Hetu', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 4/1990, pp. 51–60.

Harris, David and Welch, Peter, 'Rom in der Wüste Gobi', in Gottfried Kirchner, *Terra X. Expeditionen ins Unbekannte* (Munich: Heyne, 1995), pp. 6–57.

Haussig, Hans Wilhelm, *Die Geschichte Zentralasiens und der Seidenstraße in vorislamischer Zeit* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1983).

— *Archäologie und Kunst der Seidenstraße* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1992).

Hayashi, Ryoichi, *The Silk Road and the Shoso-in* (New York/Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1975).

Hayashi, Toshio, 'Karabalgasun i. The Site', in Encyclopaedia Iranica. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karabalgasun-the-site

Hayward, George, 'Journey from Leh to Yarkand and Kashgar, and Exploration of the Sources of the Yarkand River', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 40, 1870.

Hedin, Sven, 'In unexplored Asia. The remarkable discoveries and adventures of Dr Sven Hedin as told by himself'. Recorded by R.H. Sherard, in *McClure's Magazine* (New York), vol. X, no. 2, December 1897.

— *Through Asia*. 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1899).

— *Die Geographisch-wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse meiner Reisen in Zentralasien, 1894–1897*. Ergänzungsheft no. 131 zu 'Petersmanns Mitteilungen' (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1900).

— *Central Asia and Tibet: Towards the Holy City of Lhasa*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1903).

— *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia, 1899–1902*. 6 vols. (Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army, 1904–1907).

— *Mein Leben als Entdecker* (Leipizig: Brockhaus, 1928); *My Life as an Explorer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

— *Across the Gobi Desert* (London: Routledge 1931).

— *Riddles of the Gobi desert* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1933).

— *The Flight of 'Big Horse', the Trail of War in Central Asia* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1936).

— *Der wandernde See* (Leipizig: Brockhaus, 1938); *The Wandering Lake: Into the Heart of Central Asia* (London, I.B.Tauris, 2009).

— *The Silk Road* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1938).

Hedin Sven et al., *History of the expedition in Asia 1927–1935*. Parts I–IV: Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr Sven Hedin. Publications 23–26 (Stockholm: 1943–45).

— *Memoir on Maps*. vols I–II, by Norin Erik et al. Publication 48–49 (Stockholm: The Sven Hedin Foundation, Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1967).

— *Central Asian Atlas*. Publication 47 (Stockholm: The Sven Hedin Foundation. Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1969).

Hegel, G.W.F. *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (Theorie Werkausgabe, vol. 19) (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973). *Lectures on the Philosophy of History,* trans. John Sibree (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857, reprinted London: George Bell and Sons, 1902), pp. 429–30.

Heller, Amy, 'Two Inscribed Fabrics and their Historical Context', in Karel Otavsky (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstrasse. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1998), pp. 95–118.

— *Tibetan Art (*Milan: Jaca Book, 1999).

— 'The Silver Jug of the Lhasa Jokhang. Some observations on silver objects and costumes from the Tibetan Empire (7th–9th century)' in *Silk Road Art and Archeology* 9, 213–237 (2003). See also http://www.asianart.com/articles/heller/index.html

Helms, Sven, 'Ancient Choresmia. The Northern Edge of Central Asia from the 6th Century B.C. to the mid-4th Century A.D.', in David Christian and Craig Benjamin (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern* (Silk Road Studies II) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 77–96.

Helms, Sven et al., 'Five seasons of excavations in the Tash-K'irman oasis of Ancient Choresmia, 1996–2000. An interim report', *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* (London), vol. XXXIX, 2001, pp. 119–144.

Hennecke, Edgar, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1959).

Herrmann, Albert, *Lou-Lan, China, Indien und Rom im Lichte der Ausgrabungen am Lobnor* (Leipizig: Brockhaus, 1931).

— *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike* (1938) (Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing, 1968).

Herrmann, Georgina, *Monuments of Merv* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1999).

Hetian Diqu Juan (The Khotan region) (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 2011).

Hiebert, Frederik and Cambon, Pierre (eds). *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011).

Hildinger, Erik, *Warriors of the Steppe: A Military History of Central Asia 500 B.C. to 1700 A.D.* (Cambridge MA: Da Capo Press, 2001).

Hill, John E., *Through the Jade Gate to Rome. An annotated translation of the Chronicle on the 'Western regions' in the Hou Hanshu* (Charleston, SC: Booksurge Publishing, 2009).

— 'Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1988, pp. 179–180. Republished online with minor revisions by Academia.edu, San Francisco, 2008. http://www.academia.edu/453864/Notes_on_the_Dating_of_Khotanese_History

Hinüber, Oskar von, *Die Palola Shahis. Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber. Materialien zur Geschichte von Gilgit und Chilas*. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2004).

Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa* (*Aktuelle Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kultur der Hunnen*) (Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 2008).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. II, *The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*. Edited by János Harmatta et al. (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. III, *The Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750*. Edited by Boris Litvinsky Boris et al. (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. IV, *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century,* part 1*: The Historical, Social and Economic Setting.* Edited by M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. IV, *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth century*. part 2*: The Achievements.* Edited by C.E.Bosworth C.E. and M.S. Asimov (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000).

Hoernle, A.F. Rudolf, 'The Weber mss: another collection of ancient mss from Central Asia', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 66/1 (1897), pp. 213–260.

— 'The Bower Manuscript', 7 parts (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1893–1897).

— 'The Bower Manuscript. Reprinted, with additions from the Introduction to the edition in Volume XXII of the New Imperial Series of the Archaeological Survey of India *(*Bombay: British India Press, 1914).

— 'A Peculiarity of the Khotanese Script', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* (new series), vol. 47, issue 3, July 1915, pp. 487–493.

Holotova Szinek, Juliana, *Les Xiongnu de Mongolie* (Saarbrücken: Südwestdeutscher Verlag für Hochschulschriften, 2011).

Holt, Frank, *Thundering Zeus: The making of Hellenistic Bactria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

Hopkirk, Peter, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (London: John Murray, 1980).

Horlemann, Bianca, 'The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong kha Tribal Confederation to its Neighbour States on the Silk Road', in Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (eds), *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet* (Bosten/Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 79–103.

Hörner, Nils. *Resa till Lop* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1936).

Howard, Angela Falco, 'Liang Patronage of Buddhist Art in the Gansu Corridor during the Fourth Century and the transformation of a Central Asian Style', in Wu Hung (ed.), *Between Han and Tang. Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2000), pp. 235–272.

— 'Miracles and Visions among the Monastic Communities of Kucha, Xinjiang', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 77–88.

— 'The Role of Meditation among the Monastic Communities of Kucha', *Proceedings of the International Seminar 'The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective'* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009) pp. 117–22.

— 'From the Han to the Southern Song', in Angela Falco Howard, Li Song et al., *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 201–355.

Howard, Angela Falco, Li Song et al., *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Hudiakov Y.S., Belinskaya, K.Y., 'Stone Statue of Ailyan, Gorny Altai', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 40/1, March 2012, pp. 122–30.

Hudud al-Alam, The Regions of the World. A Persian geography 372 A.H.–982 A.D. Translated and explained by V. Minorsky, edited by C.E. Bosworth (Cambridge: Reprint by Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Huili Sramana, Yancong Shi, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty (688)* Trans. Li Rongxi Numata (Berkeley CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995).

Hulsewé, A.F.P., *China in Central Asia. The Early Stage: 125 B.C.–A.D. 23. An annotated translation of chapters 61 and 96 of The History of the Former Han Dynasty. With an introduction by M.A.N. Loewe* (Brill: Leiden, 1979).

Humbach, Helmut, 'Vayu, Siva und der Spriritus vivens im ostiranischen Synkretismus', *Acta Iranica* (Leiden/Boston: Brill) 4, 1978, pp. 397–408.

Hunter, Erica (ed.), *The Christian Heritage of Iraq* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009).

Huntington, Ellsworth, *The Pulse of Asia* (Boston: Houghton, 1907).

Huo Xuchu, Qi Xiaoshan, *The Buddhist Art in Xinjiang along the Silk Road* (Urumqi: Xinjiang taxue chubanshe, 2006).

Hutter, Manfred, 'Mani als Maitreya', in Gantke, Wolfgang, Hoheisel, Karl and Klein, Wassilios (eds). *Religionsbegegnungen und Kulturaustausch in Asien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), pp. 111–19.

Ibn Hawqal. *La Configuration de la Terre.* Introduction et traduction par J.H. Kramers et G. Wiet, 2 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2001).

Ilyasov, Jangar Ya and Rusanov, Dmitriy V, 'A Study of the Bone Plates of Orlat', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies), 5, 1997/98, pp. 107–160.

Inaba, Minoru, 'From Kesar the Kābulšāh and Central Asia', in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronolog* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 443–455.

Invernizzi, Antonio, 'Old Nisa and the Art of the Steppes', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 10/1996, pp. 33–38.

Ishjamts, N, 'Nomads in central Asia', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), pp. 151–170.

Isidoros of Charax, *Parthian Stations. An Account of the Overland Route between the Levant and India in the First Century B.C,* trans.and commentary Wilfred H. Schoff (Philadelphia: Commercial Museum, 1914). www.parthia.com/doc/parthian_stations.htm

Israfel, Yusufu, *Xinjiang Uighurs Autonomous Region Museum* (Urumqi: Xinjiang Baishiyuan Craft and Art Co., 2005).

Jackson, Peter (translator and editor), *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255* (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009).

Jacobson, Esther and Meacham, James, *Archaeology and Landscape in the Mongolian Altai: An Atlas* (Redlands CA: ESRI Press, 2010).

Jäger, Ulf, 'Glasbeladene Kamele auf dem Weg nach Zentralasien und Ostasien? Zum Handel mit Glasgefäßen auf den Landwegen der Seidenstraßen in der Antike und Spätantike (2.–3.n. Chr. bis 6.–7. Jh.n. Chr', *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte (MBAH)*, XXII, 2 (2003), pp. 56–67.

— Reiter, Reiterkrieger und Reiternomaden zwischen Rheinland und Korea: Zur spätantiken Reitkultur zwischen Ost und West, 4.–8. Jh. n. Chr (Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 2006).

— Rytha im präislamischen Zentralasien (4.-8. Jh. n. Chr.), Form und Verwendung. Einfache Trinkgefäße oder Libationsgefäße in synkretistischen Religionssystemen?, in *Iranica Antiqua*, vol. XLI, pp. 187–220, 2006.

Jayaswal, Vidula (ed.), *Glory of the Kushans. Recent Discoveries and Interpretations* (New Delhi: Aryan Books. Intl., 2012).

Jettmar, Karl, *Die frühen Steppenvölker* (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1964).

— 'Neuentdeckte Felsbilder und -inschriften in den Nordgebieten Pakistans', in *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* (Munich: C.H. Beck), vol. 2, 1980, pp. 151–199.

— Zwischen Gandhara und den Seidenstraßen. Felsbilder am Karakorum Highway (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1985).

Jettmar, Karl and Kattner, Ellen (eds), *Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003).

Jiang Boqin, 'The Chinese Persia Expeditionary Force as Referenced in the Turfan Documents', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 41–58.

Jianzheng Cheng et al., *Silk Road: The Surviving Treasures from the Northwest China* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2010).

Johannesson, Erik, ‘Landscape of Death, Monuments of Power: Mortuary Practice, Power and Identity in Bronze-Iron Age Mongolia’, Doctoral dissertation (Chapel Hill N.C.: University of North Carolina, 2011).

Johanson, Eva Csato, ‘The Karaims. The Smallest Group of Turkic-Speaking People’, in Ergun Chagatai and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2.000 years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006), pp. 383–403.

Johnston, Ellen Laing, ‘Recent Finds of Western-related Glassware, Textiles, and Metalwork in Central Asia and China’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 9/1995, pp. 1–18.

Jordanes, *De Origine actibusque getarum* [the *Getica*], 551 CE. *Iordanis Romana et Getica*, trans. and (ed.), Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: apud Weidmannos, 1882). *The Origins and Deeds of the Goths*, trans. Charles C. Mierow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915).

Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology. Edited by Lilla Russell-Smith and Judith Lerner, vols. 1–5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006–2010).

Juliano, Annette, *Teng-Hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1980).

— ‘Converging Traditions in the Imagery of Yu Hong’s Sarcophagus: Possible Buddhist Sources’, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 29–52.

— Buddhist Art in Northwest China, in Annette Juliano, Judith Lerner (eds), *Monks and Merchants. Silk Road treasures from Northwest China* (New York: Abrams/Asia House, 2001), pp. 119–143.

Juliano, Annette and Lerner, Judith (eds). *Monks and Merchants. Silk Road treasures from Northwest China* (New York: Abrams/Asia House, 2001).

Justin [Marcus Junianus Justinus]. *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius,* trans. Rev. John Selby Watson (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853). Online publication *Early Church Fathers – Additional Texts*, edited by Roger Pearse. http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/justinus_03_books01to10.htm

Kamalov, Ablet, ‘Sino-Uighurica: Revisiting the Uighur Runic Inscriptions and the T’ang Sources’, in Ágnes Birtalan and György Kara (eds), *Bolor-un gerel: Crystal-Splendour: Essays presented in honour of Professor Kara György’s 70th birthday* (Budapest: Tanszék/MTA, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 385–391.
http://www.academia.edu/588522/Sino-Uighurica_Revisiting_the_Uighur_runic_inscriptions_and_the_Tang_sources

Karabacek, Joseph, *Das arabische Papier, eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung* (Vienna: Verlag der kaiserl. Königl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1887).

— *Arab Paper*, trans. Don Baker and Suzy Dittmar (London: Archetype Publications, 2001).

Karimova, G.R. and Kurbanov, Sharof, ‘Mural Painting from Panjikent (to the Problem of Symbols and Cults)’, *Bulletin of the Miho Museum* (Koka-shi: Shumei Culture Foundation), vol. 7–8, 2008, pp. 196–215.

Karomatov, F.M. et al., *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, vol. II, *Mittelasien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1987).

Kazanski, Michel, *Die Hunnen im nördlichen Kaukasus*, in Bodo Anke et al. (eds), *Attila und die Hunnen* (Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag 2007), pp. 74–81.

Keller, Dominik and Schorta, Regula (eds), *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2001).

Kenk, Roman, *Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Gräber von Kudyrgè im Altai. Nach der Arbeit von A.A. Gavrilova* (Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, vol. 3 and 4) (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1982).

— *Das Gräberfeld der hunno-sarmatischen Zeit von Kokél’, Tuva, Süd-Sibirien: Unter Zugrundelegung der Fundvorlage von S.I. Vajnštejn und V.P. D’ jakonova* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984).

— *Frühmittelalterliche Gräber aus West-Tuva. Nach dem Forschungsbericht von A.D. Grač und S.I. Vajnštejn (*Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, vols. 3 and 4) (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1982).

Kerihuel, Thomas, ‘The early History of mGar: When History Becomes Legend’, *Revue d’Études Tibétaines* (Paris: CNRS), no. 21, 2011, pp. 105–21.

Khairzada, Khair Mohammed, ‘Mes Aynak’, *Archéologia* (Dijon: Editions Faton), no. 508, 2013, pp. 62–71.

Khan, Muhammad Ashraf, *Gandhara: Geography, Antiquity, Art & Personalities* (Mirpur: Ashiq Hussain Chaudry, 2004).

Khau Ming, ‘Early Tarim Basin Buddhist Sculptures from Yanqi (Karashahr): A New Dating’, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), vol. 4, pp. 83–100.

Khurelsukh, Sosorbaramin, *Khadni orschuulgin sudalgaani zarim asuudal* [On rectangular and cave tombs] (Ulaan Baatar: 2012).

Kidd, F. et al., ‘Ancient Chorasmian Mural Art’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute.* Bloomfield Hills, vol. 18/2004, pp. 69–96.

— ‘The Early Medieval Necropolis at Pap in the Ferghana Valley: Republic of Uzbekistan’, in Ken Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads* (Silk Road Studies XII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 33–50.

Kizilov, M.B. and Masyakin, B.B, ‘Goty’, in I.N. Khrapunov, *Ot Kimmerijtsev do Krymtchakov*, pp. 71–86 (Simferopol: Dolia, 2010).

Klein, Wassilios, ‘Das Orthodoxe Katholikat von Romagyris in Zentralasien’, *Parole de l’Orient*, vol. 24, 1999, pp. 235–265. http://documents.irevues.inist.fr/bitstream/handle/2042/35319/po1999_235.pdf?sequence=1

— *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14.Jh.* (Silk Road Studies III) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah E., *The Kingdom of Bamiyan. Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindu Kush* (Naples/Rome: Istituto Universitario Orientale e Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989).

— ‘Buddhist paintings in the Hindu Kush *ca.* VIIth to Xth centuries’, in Étienne de La Vaissière, *Islamisation de l’Asie centrale. Processus locaux d’acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 131–159.

— ‘Cultural Mobility, a Case Study: the Crowned Buddha of the Kabul Shah’, in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 39–56.

Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim, *Die Begegnung von Christentum, Gnosis und Buddhismus an der Seidenstraße* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986).

— ‘Buddhistische Übernahmen im iranischen und türkischen Manichäismus’, in Walther Heissig, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 58–75.

— *Japanische Studien zur Kunst der Seidenstraße* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988).

— ‘Buddhism in Turkish Central Asia’, in *Numen* (Leiden/Boston: Brill), vol. 37, 1990, fasc.1, pp. 53–68.

— ‘Religions and Religious Movements’, part 2: ‘Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity’, in C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000), pp. 69–81.

Kljaštornyj, S.G., Livšic, Vladimir A.,‘The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut Revisited’, *Acta Orientalia Adademiae Schietiarum Hungaricae* (ed. L. Ligeti), vol. XXVI (1), 1972, pp. 69–102.

Kljaštornyj, S.G, ‘Les Points Litigieux dans l’Histoire des Turcs Anciens’, in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 146–177.

Kljaštornyj, S.G., Sultanov T.I., *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens. Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin: Schletzer, 2006).

Knaur, Elfriede Regina, *The Camel’s Load in Life and Death* (Zurich: Akanthus, 1998).

Knobloch, Edgar, *The Archaeology & Architecture of Afghanistan* (Charleston: Tempus, 2002).

Koch, Alexander (ed.), Attila und die Hunnen. (Exh. cat. Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer) (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007).

— 'Boma – ein reiternomadisch-hunnischer Fundkomplex in Nordwestchina', in Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 2008), pp. 57–71.

— 'Der Buddha von Helgö – eine archäologische Sensation', in Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Die Wikinger* (Munich: Edition Minerva, 2008), pp. 78–81.

Kolbas, Judith G., 'Khukh Ordung, a Uighur Palace Complex of the Seventh century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, vol. 15, issue 3, November 2005, pp. 303–327.

Kommission für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen: 'Ausgrabungen und Forschungen': 'Karabalgassun (Mongolei)', in *Jahresbericht 2010 des DAI*, Beiheft, pp. 321–323.

Konovalov P.B., *The Burial Vault of a Xiongnu Prince at Sudzha (Il'movaia Pad', Transbaikalia)* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2008).

Koshelenko, G.A. and Pilipko, V.N, 'Parthia', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 131–150.

Kotchnev Boris D., 'Les frontières du royaume des Karakhanides', *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, nr. 9, 2001, pp. 41–48, www.asiecentrale.revues.org/617.

Kouznetsov, Vladimir, Lebedynsky, Iaroslav. *Les Alains* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2005).

Köves, Margit, *Buddhism among the Turks of Central Asia* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2009).

Kozemjako, P., *Rannesrednevekovye goroda I poselenija Cujskoj Doliny* (Frunze: Nauka, 1959).

Kozemjako, P., Kozomberdieva E., Kozomberdiev I., 'Ein Katakombengrab aus der Schlucht Shamsi', *Eurasia Antiqua* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), vol. 4/1998, pp. 451–471.

Kozlov, P.K., *Mongolija i Amdo i mertvij gorod Xara-Xoto* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo, 1923).

Kradin, Nikolai K., 'From Tribal Confederation to Empire: The Evolution of the Rouran Society', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest), vol 58 (2), 2005, pp. 149–169.

— 'Stateless Empire', in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2011), pp. 77–96.

Kreitner, Gustav, *Im fernen Osten. Reisen des Grafen Bela Széchenyi in Indien, Japan, China, Tibet und Birma in den Jahren 1877–1880* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1881).

Krieken-Pieters, Juliette van (ed.), *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan. Its Fall and Survival* (Handbook of Oriental Studies) (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006).

Krishnan, Gauri P., 'Monks, Monasteries and Monastic Life as gleaned from the Central Asian Buddhist Literature and Art', in *Proceedings of the International Seminar 'The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective'* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International), 2009, pp. 111–16.

Kubarev, Gleb V., 'Der Panzer eines alttürkischen Ritters aus Balyk-Sook', *Eurasia Antiqua*, vol. 3/1997 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), pp. 629–645.

Kuhn, Dieter (ed.), *Chinese Silks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

Kumamoto, Hiroshi, 'A St. Petersburg Bilingual Document and Problems of the Chronology of Khotan', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), vol. 3, pp. 75–82.

Kurita, Isao, *A revised and enlarged edition of Gandharan Art: The World of the Buddha*. 2 vols (Tokyo: Nigensha, 2003).

Kuwayama, Shoshin, 'A Hidden Import from Imperial Rome Manifest in Stupas', in Raymond Allchin et al. (eds). *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia* (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997), pp. 119–171.

Kyslasov, L.R., *Drevnayaya Tuva* (Moscow: Isdatelstvo Mockovckovo Universiteta, 1979).

— 'Northern nomads', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 315–326.

La Vaissière, Étienne de, 'Huns et Xiongnu', *Central Asiatic Journal* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), vol. 49, 2005, pp. 3–26.

— 'Is there a Nationality of the Hephtalites?', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 17/2003, pp. 119–132.

— 'The Rise of Sogdian Merchants and the Role of the Huns: The Historical Importance of the Sogdian Ancient Letters', in Susan Whitfield, with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: Serindia, 2004), pp. 19–23.

— *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005).

— 'Mani en Chine au VIe siècle', *Journal Asiatique* (Paris: Société Asiatique), 293.1, 2005, pp. 357–98.

— *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes), 2008.

La Vaissière, Étienne de and Trombert Éric (eds) *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient, 2005).

La Vaissière, Étienne de and Naymark, Aleksander, 'Villes et palais du Zerafchan face à la conquête arabe', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* no. 341, Sept/Oct 2010, pp. 58–61.

Lahiri, Latika, *Chinese monks in India* (Delhi Banarsidass, 1986).

Larsson, Gunilla, 'Early Contacts between Scandinavia and the Orient', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 10, 2012, pp. 122–142.

László, Gyula and Rácz, István, *Der Goldschatz von Nagyszentmiklós* (Vienna: Anton Scholl & Co, 1983).

Lawler, Andrew, 'Mining Afghanistan's Past', *Archaeology* (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America), January/February 2011, pp. 18–23.

Le Berre, Marc, *Monuments pré-islamiques de l'Hindukush Central* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987).

Lebedynsky, Iaroslav, *Les Indo-Européens* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2006).

— *Les Saces* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2006).

— *Les Nomades* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2007).

— *De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol* (Paris; Éditions Errance, 2008).

Le Coq, Albert von, 'A Short Account of the Origin, Journey and Results of the First Royal Prussian (second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkestan', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* (New Series), vol. 41, issue 2, April 1909, pp. 299–322.

— *Chuastuanift. Ein Sündenbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores. Gefunden in Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan)* (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Georg Reimer, 1911).

— *Chotscho* (Berlin, 1913), reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979.

— *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien,* 7 vols. (1922–1933), reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1973–75.

— *Buried Treasure of Chinese Turkestan* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928).

— *Von Land und Leuten in Ost-Turkistan. Die 4. Deutsche Turfan-Expedition* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928).

Lee, Jonathan L. and Grenet, Frantz, 'New Light on the Sasanid Painting at Ghulbiyan, Faryab Province, Afghanistan', *South Asian Studies*, Taylor & Francis, 14:1, 1998, pp. 75–85.

Leriche Pierre, 'Bactria, Land of the Thousand Cities', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann (eds). *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007) pp. 121–153.

Leriche, Pierre and Pidaev, Chakirjan, 'Termez in Antiquity', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann (eds). *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007) pp. 179–211.

— *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2008).

Lerner, Jeffery D., 'Eastern Baktria under Da Yuezhi Hegemony', in Vidula Jayaswal (ed.), *Glory of the Kushans. Recent Discoveries and Interpretations* (New Delhi: Aryan Books Intl., 2012), pp. 79–86.

Lerner, Judith A., 'Les Sogdiens en Chine – Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute.* Bloomfield Hills, vol. 15/2001, pp. 151–162.

— 'Aspects of Assimilations: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asia in China', *Sino-Platonic Papers* (Philadelphia), no. 168, December 2005.

Leskovar, Jutta and Zingerle Maria-Christina (eds), *Goldener Horizont. 4000 Jahre Nomaden der Ukraine* (Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2010).

Leus, Pavel M., 'New Finds from the Xiongnu Period in Central Tuva', in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2011), pp. 515–536.

— *Tuva, Russia. Search and Excavation of Ancient Sarmatian, Hunnish and Turkic tombs* (Annual field reports 2006–11) (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2007–12). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_4.html

Levi Scott C. and Sela Ron, *Islamic Central Asia. An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

Lévy, André, *Les pèlerins bouddhistes de la Chine aux Indes* (Paris: Lattès, 1995).

Li Chongfeng, 'Jibin, Jibin Route and China', in *Monuments and Their Sites in their Settings: Conserving Cultural Heritage in Changing Townscapes and Landscapes* (Proceedings of 15th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, Xian 2005).

Li Wenying, 'Silk Artistry of the Qin, Han, Wei and Jin Dynasties', in Dieter Kuhn (ed.), *Chinese Silks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 115–165.

— 'Silk Artistry of the Northern and Southern Dynasties', in Dieter Kuhn (ed.), *Chinese Silks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 167–201.

Lieu, Samuel, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992).

— *Manichaeism in Central Asia & China* (Turnhout: Brill, 1998).

— 'Manichaean Art and Architecture along the Silk Road', in Ken Parry (ed). *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads* (Silk Road Studies XII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 79–102.

Lin Meicun, 'The Last Capital of the Shan Shan Kingdom in Loulan', *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* (Beijing) 1995, pp. 257–271.

— 'Loulan kuo shih tu kao (On the First Capital of the Loulan Kingdom)', in *Wenwu* (Beijing) vol. 6, 2005, pp. 79–85.

Lindegger, Peter, *Griechische und römische Quellen zum peripheren Tibet,* 3 vols. (Rikon: Tibet-Institut, 1979, 1982, 1993).

Liščák, Vladimir, 'Early Chinese Christianity in the Tang Empire: On the Crossroads of Two Cultures', in Ken Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads* (Silk Road Studies XII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 103–126.

Litvinsky, Boris. *Antike und frühmittelalterliche Grabhügel im westlichen Fergana-Becken, Tadzikistan* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1986).

— *La civilisation de l'Asie centrale antique* (Espelkamp: Marie Leidorf, 1998).

— *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus in Ostturkestan* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

— 'The Hephthalite Empire', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 135–162.

Litvinsky, Boris and Solovjev, V.S., *Kafyrkala: Frühmittelalterliche Stadt im Vachš-Tal, Süd-Tadžikistan* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985).

Litvinsky, Boris and Solovjev, Viktor, 'The Architecture and Art of Kafyr Kala (Early Medieval Tokharistan)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute.* Bloomfield Hills, vol. 4/1990, pp. 61–76.

Litvinsky, Boris and Zamir, Safi M.H, 'The later Hephtalites in Central Asia', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 176–183.

Litvinsky, Boris and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, M.I, 'Religions and religious movements II', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 421–448.

Litvinsky, Boris, Jalilov, A.H. and Kolesnikov A.I., 'The Arab Conquest', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 449–472.

Litvinsky, Boris, Zhang Guang-da, 'Central Asia, the Crossroads of Civilizations', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 473–490.

Litvinsky, Boris and Zeymal, Tamara I., *The Buddhist Monastery of Ajina Tepe, Tajikistan. History and Art of Buddhism in Central Asia* (Rome: IsIAO, 2004).

Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1958).

— *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. bis zum 6. Jh. n.Chr.*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969).

Liu Xinru, Shaffer, Lynda Norene, *Connections Across Eurasia: Transportation, Communication, and Cultural Exchange on the Silk Roads* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2007).

Lo Muzio, Ciro, 'Culti brahmanici a Khotan: Note sulle pitture del tempo D13 a Dandan Oiliq', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*; anno n.s.LXXIX/1–4, 2006, pp. 185–201.

— 'The Archaeology of the Bukhara Oasis', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), vol. 4, pp. 43–68.

— 'Remarks on the Paintings from the Buddhist Monastery of Fayaz Tepe (Southern Uzbekistan)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute.* Bloomfield Hills, vol. 22/2008, pp. 189–208.

— 'Archaeological Traces of Early Turks in Transoxiana', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010) vol. II, pp. 429–442.

The Lotus Sutra, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Lü Hou Yuan et al., 'A preliminary study of chronology for a newly-discovered ancient city and five archaeological sites in Lop Nor, China', *Chinese Science Bulletin* (Beijing), vol. 55:1, 2010, pp. 63–71.

Lubo-Lesnichenko, Evegeny, 'Western Motifs in the Chinese Textiles of the early Middle Ages', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999) vol. I, pp. 461–80.

Luczanits, Christian (ed.), *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans. Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese.* (Exh. cat. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn) (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008).

— 'Der Bodhisattva und künftige Buddha Maitreya', in Christian Luczanits (ed.), *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans: Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese.* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), pp. 249–253.

Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012).

Lutz, Albert (ed.), *Dian. Ein versunkenes Königreich in China* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 1986).

LVG-Landesmuseum Bonn (ed.), *Die Krim. Goldene Insel im Schwarzen Meer. Griechen – Skythen – Goten.* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2013).

Ma Chengyuan, Yue Feng, *Archaeological Treasures of the Silk Road in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region* (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 1998).

Ma Qin, Fan Shucai, *Murals in Kucha* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2007).

Ma Shun-ying, Wang Yao, 'The Western Regions (Hsi-yü) under the T'ang Empire and the kingdom of Tibet', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 349–365.

Ma Yong, Wang Binghua, 'The culture of the Xinjiang region', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), pp. 209–226.

Ma Yong, Sun Yutang, 'The Western Regions under the Hsiong-nu and the Han', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 227–246.

MacDowall, David M., 'Western Impact on the Coinage of the Great Kushan', in Raymond Allchin et al. (eds), *Gandharan Art in Context* (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997), pp. 231–243.

Mackerras, Colin, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972).

— 'The Uighurs', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 317–342.

Madelung W., 'The minor dynasties of northern Iran', in R.N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge: 1975) pp. 198–249.

Maeda, Kosaku, 'The Mural Paintings of the Buddhas of Bamiyan: Description and Conservation Operations', in Juliette van Krieken-Pieters (ed.), *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan. Its Fall and Survival* (Handbook of Oriental Studies) (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 127–144.

Maeder, Felicitas, *Muschelseide. Goldene Fäden vom Meeresgrund* (Basel: Museum der Kulturen, 2003).

Maenchen-Helfen, Otto, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1973).

Maillard, Monique, *Grottes et monuments d'Asie Centrale* (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1983).

Mair, Victor H. (ed.), *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

— 'The Archaeology of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region', in *Secrets of the Silk Road* (Santa Ana, CA: Bowers Museum, 2010).

— *Secrets of the Silk Road* (as ed.) (Santa Ana, CA: Bowers Museum, 2010).

Mallory, J.P. and Mair, Victor H., *The Tarim Mummies* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000).

Mannerheim, C.G., *Across Asia from West to East in 1906–1908*. 2 vols. (Helsinki: Suomolais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1940).

Marcellinus, Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)*, trans. Walter Hamilton (London: Penguin Classics, 2004).

Margoliouth, D.S, 'The Judeao-Persian document', in Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan. Detailed report on archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. I, pp. 570–574.

Marshak, Boris, *Silberschätze des Orients* (Leipzig: Seemann Verlag, 1986).

— 'The Tiger, Raised from the Dead: Two Murals from Panjikent', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 10/1996, pp. 207–217.

— 'Panjikant', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2002 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/panjikant

— *Legends, Tales and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2002).

Marshak, Boris and Raspopova, Valentina, 'A Hunting Scene from Panjikent', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 4/1990, pp. 77–94.

— 'Buddha Icon from Panjikent', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura, The Institute of Silk Road Studies), 5, 1997/98, pp. 297–306.

Marshak, Boris and Negmatov, N.N., 'Sogdiana', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 233–280.

Marshall, John, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara* (1960) (New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2008).

Masson, Vadim. M., *Das Land der tausend Städte. Die Wiederentdeckung der ältesten Kulturgebiete in Mittelasien* (Munich: Udo Pfriemer, 1982).

Masov, R. et al. (eds), *National Museum of Antiquities of Tajikistan* (Dushanbe: Donish Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography, 2005).

Matsumoto Noboyuki, *Treasures of the Silk Road* (Tokyo: NHK Promotions, 2005).

Maurice [Byzantine emperor], *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Straegy*. Trans. G.T. Dennis (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1984).

Mehendale, Sanjyot, 'Begram: At the Heart of the Silk Roads', in Frederik Hiebert and Pierre Cambon (eds), *Afghanistan, Crossroads of the Ancient World* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), pp. 131–143.

Melikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren, 'Iran to Tibet', in Anna Akasoy et al (eds), *Islam and Tibet. Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 89–115.

Meserve, R., 'Religions in the Central Asian Environment', in C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000) pp. 65–68.

Michaelson, Carol, 'Jade and the Silk Road: Ztade and Tribute in the First Millennium', in Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds). *The Silk Road. Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: The British Library, 2004), pp. 43–49.

Middleton, Robert and Thomas, Huw, *Tajikistan and the High Pamirs* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2008).

Miller Bryan, K., 'Permutations of peripheries in the Xiongnu Empire', in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds), *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2011), pp. 559–578.

— 'Vehicles of the Steppe Elite: Chariots and carts in Xiongnu Tombs', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 10, 2012, pp. 29–38.

Müller, Shing, 'Sogdier in China um 600 n.Chr', in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 2008) 183–184, pp. 117–148.

Minaev, Sergei, 'The Excavation of Xiongnu Sites in the Buryatia Republic', in *Orientations Magazine* (Hong Kong), November 1995, pp. 44ff.

Minaev, Sergei and Sakharovskaia, L.M., 'Investigation of a Xiongnu Royal Tomb Complex in the Tsaraam Valley', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 7, pp. 21–35, 2009.

Minaev, Sergei and Elikhina Julia, 'On the Chronology of the Noyon uul Barrows', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 7, pp. 21–35, 2009.

Minorsky, V., 'Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uygurs', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London, vol. 12, no. 2, 1948, pp. 275–305.

Mir Izzet Ullah, 'Travels beyond the Himalaya', republished from the *Calcutta Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, 1825, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 7, 1843, pp. 335, 339–340. In German, 'Reise nach Mittelasien im Jahr 1812', in *Hertha, Zeitschrift für Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde,* 2. Jg., 6. Bd., 3. Heft (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1826) pp. 324–356.

Mirsky, Jeannette, *Sir Aurel Stein. Archaeological Explorer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 1546, trans. D. Ross, (ed.) N. Elias (London: Sampson Low Marston and Co., 1895). Reprint in 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1998).

Mitchiner, Michael, 'The Northern Frontier Region of the Kushan Empire', in Vidula Jayaswal (ed.), *Glory of the Kushans: Recent Discoveries and Interpretations* (New Delhi: Aryan Books. Intl., 2012), pp. 87–119.

Mkrtychev, Tigran, 'New Buddhist Sculpture from Kara-Tepe', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 9/1995, pp. 159–166.

— 'Monumental Sculpture of Kara-Tepe', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies) 5, 1997/98, pp. 179–190.

Moazami, Mahnaz, 'The Dog in Zoroastrian Religion: Videvdad Chapter XIII', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 46, 2006, pp. 127–149. http://www.springerlink.com/content/b6312v8779677117/fulltext.pdf

Mode, Markus, 'Sogdian Gods in Exile: Some Iconographic Evidence from Khotan in the Light of Recently Excavated Material from Sogdiana', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies) II, 1991/92, pp. 179–214.

— *Sogdier und die Herrscher der Welt* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993).

— *Court art of the Sogdian Samarkand in the 7th century AD* (Halle: University of Halle, 2002). http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/ca/afras/index.htm

— 'Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst', in Karl Jettmar and Ellen Kattner (eds), *Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003), pp. 141–218.

— 'Heroic fights and dying heroes: the Orlat battle plaque and the roots of Sogdian art', in M. Compareti et al., eds, *Ērān ud Anērān* (Webschrift Marshak, 2003). http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

— *Archäologisches aus Ustrushana*. University of Halle, Halle 2004. http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/sfb586/c5/ustru/index.htm

— 'Hunnen, Sogder und das Erbe Alexanders in Mittelasien', in Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 2008) pp. 101–108.

Mode, Markus and Tubach, Jürgen (eds), *Arms and Armour as Indicators of Cultural Transfer* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006).

Moffet, Samuel Hugh, *A History of Christianity in Asia,* vol. 1, *Beginnings to 1500* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992).

Molè, Gabriella, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties* (Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1970).

Montell, Gösta, 'Sven Hedin's archaeological collections from Khotan', 2 parts, in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm) no. 7, 1935, pp. 145–221, and no. 10, 1938, pp. 83–99.

Moorcroft, William and Trebeck, George, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara. Prepared for the Press from Original Journals and Correspondence by Horace Hayman Wilson* (London: John Murray, 1841. Reprint New Delhi: A.E.S. 1989).

Moor, Antoine de, Verhecken-Lammens, Chris and Verhecken, André, *3500 Years of Textile Art* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2008).

Moqaddisi Muhammed ibn Ahmed al-. *Kitab ahsan at-taqasim fi ma'arifat al aqalim* (985). In: De Goeje M.J. (ed.), Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, vol. 3: Descriptio imperii moslemici. Brill, Leiden 1906.

Morgan, Edward Delmar, 'Expedition of the Brothers Grijimailo to the Tian Shan Oases and Lob-Nor', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (London) 1891, pp. 208–226.

— *Journey of Carey and Dalgleish in Chinese Turkistan & Northern Tibet (Mr. Dalgleish's itinerary); and General Prejevalsky on the Orography of Northern Tibet* (London: Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, 3, 1893).

Morgan, Llewelyn, *The Buddhas of Bamiyan* (London: Profile Books, 2012).

Moribe, Yutaka, 'Military officers of Sogdian origin from the late Tang Dynasty to the period of Five Dynasties', in Étienne de la Vassière and Éric Trombert (eds) *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 243–254.

Moriyasu, Takao, *Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003* (Osaka: Osaka University, 2003).

— *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004).

Moule, A.C., *Christians in China before the year 1500* (London: SPCK, 1930). Reprint Octagon Books, New York, 1977.

Müller, Claudius and Wenzel, Jacob (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen.* (Exh. cat. Kunst und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik, Bonn) (Munich: Hirmer, 2005).

Müller, Shing, 'Sogdier in China um 600 n. Chr. Archäologische Zeugnisse eines Lebens zwischen Assimilation und Identitätsbewahrung', in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (NOAG) 183–184, 2005, pp. 117–148.

Murphy, Trevor, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Mu Shun-ying, Wang Yao, 'The Western Regions (Hsi-yü) under the T'ang Empire and the Kingdom of Tibet', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 349–366.

Nadiem, Ihsan H., *Buddhist Gandhara. History, Art and Architecture* (Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publications, 2003).

Nagel, Peter, *Manichäisches im syrischen Liber Graduum?*, in Wolfgang Gantke, Karl Hoheisel and Wassilios Klein (eds), *Religionsbegegnungen und Kulturaustausch in Asien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), pp. 179–84.

Narain, A.K., *The Indo-Greeks* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1953, 2003).

— 'Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 151–176.

Naymark, Aleksandr, 'Returning to Varakhsha', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 1, 2003, pp. 9–22.

— 'Isma'il Samani and the people of Varakhsha; or why the Bukhar Khuda Palace did not become a mosque', in E. V. Antonova and T. K. Mkryčev (eds), *Central'naja Azija. Istočniki, istorija, kul'tura*. Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk (Institut Vostokovedenija), Gosudarstvennyj Muzej Vostoka. Moscow, 'Vostočnaja literatura' RAN, 2005, pp. 524–542.

— 'Les villes sogdiennes après les Grecs', *Dossiers d'Archéologie,* no. 341, 2010, pp. 44–46.

— 'Drachms of Bukhar Khudah Khunuk', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols), vol. 5, 2010, pp. 7–32.

— 'A Christian Principality in the Seventh Century Bukharan Oasis', *ONS, Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 206, Winter 2011, pp. 2f.

Neelis, Jason, '"La Vieille Route" Reconsidered. Alternative Paths for Early Transmission of Buddhism beyond the Borderlands of South Asia', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute.* Bloomfield Hills, vol. 16/2002, pp. 143–164.

Negmatov, N.N, 'States in North-Western Central Asia', János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), pp. 441–456.

Nerazik E.E., Bulhakov P.G., 'Khwarizm', *in History of Civilizations of Central Asia* vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 207–232.

Nikolaev, Nikolai, *Les Huns* (Brussels: Europalia International, 2005).

Norell, Mark A., Leidy, Denise Patry et al., *Sulla Via della Seta: Antichi sentieri tra Oriente e Occidente* (Rome: Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 2012).

Notz, Klaus-Josef, *Lexikon des Buddhismus* (Wiesbaden: Fourier Verlag, 2002).

Novgorodva, Eleonora, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei* (Leipzig: Seemann Verlag, 1980).

— 'Problèmes de l'Ethnogenèse des Turcs Anciens d'après les Nouvelles Données Archaéologiques de l'Asie Centrale', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 13–28.

Novotny, Susanne, 'The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan, Afghanistan – A Reconstruction', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 31–38.

Nyanaponika (ed.), *Milindapanha. Ein historisches Gipfeltreffen im religiösen Weltgespräch*, trans. Nyanatiloka. (Bern: O.W. Barth Verlag/Scherz Verlag, 1998).

Obrusánszky, Borbála, 'Tongwancheng, the city of Southern Huns', in Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 2008), pp. 17–24.

Ochir Ayudai et al., 'About the Uighur City of Khedun, Mongolia', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 437–443.

— 'Ancient Uighur mausolea discovered in Mongolia', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 8, pp. 16–26, 2010. http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol8/

Ochir, Ayudai et al. (eds), *The Art Gallery of the Ancient Nomads* (Museum Kharkhorin, 2012).

Olajos, Thérèse, 'La chronologie de la dynastie avare de Baïan', in *Revue des études byzantines* (Paris), vol. 34, 1976, pp. 151–158.

Olsson J.T., 'Coup d'état, Coronation and Conversion: Some Reflections on the Adoption of Judaism by the Khazar Khaganate', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, October 2013, pp. 495–526.

Olufsen, O., *Through the Unknown Pamirs. The Second Danish Pamir Expedition 1898–99* (London: William Heinemann, 1904).

O'Neill, John P (ed.), *Along the Ancient Silk Routes. Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982).

Orkhon Inscriptions. The Bilge kagan's Memorial Complex. Text in ancient Turkic and English. Türik Bitig. Language Committee of Ministry of Cultures and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=16&lang=e

— *The Kultegin's Memorial Complex*. Text in ancient Turkic and English. Türik Bitig. Language Committee of Ministry of Cultures and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=15&lang=e

— *The Tonyukuk's Memorial Complex*. Text in ancient Turkic and English. Türik Bitig. Language Committee of Ministery of Cultures and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=17&lang=e

Osawa Takashi, *Aspects of the relationship between the ancient Turks and Sogdians. Based on a stone statue with Sogdian inscription in Xinjiang*, in Matteo Compareti et al (eds) *Ērān ud Anērān* (Webfestschrift Marshak, 2003). http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

Otani Catalogue 1971: *Tokyo-kokuritsu-hakubutsukan Zuhan Mokuroku. Otani Tankentai Shouraihin Hen*. Illustrated Catalogues of the Tokyo National Museum. Central Asian Objects brought back by the Otani Mission), Tokyo 1971.

Otavský, Karel (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstrasse. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1998).

— 'Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe', in Karel Otavský (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstrasse. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1998), pp. 119–214.

— 'Frühmittelalterliche Stoffe zwischen Persien und China', in Karel Otavský, Anne E. Wardell (eds), *Mittelalterliche Textilien II. Zwischen Europa und China* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2011), pp. 13–78.

Otavský, Karel and Wardell, Anne E. (eds), *Mittelalterliche Textilien II. Zwischen Europa und China* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2011).

Paiman, Zafar, 'Découvertes à Kaboul. La renaissance de l'archéologie afghane', *Archéologia* no. 419, 2005, pp. 24–39.

— 'Kaboul, foyer d'art bouddhique', *Archéologia*, no. 461, 2008, pp. 56–65.

— 'Kaboul. Les Bouddhas colorés des monastères', *Archéologia*, no. 473, 2010, pp. 52–65.

Paiman, Zafar and Alram, Michael, 'Tepe Naranj: A Royal Monastery on the High Ground of Kabul, with a Commentary on the Coinage', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols) vol. 5, 2010, pp. 33–58.

Pal, Pratapaditya, *Tibetan Paintings: A Study of Tibetan Thankas, Eleventh to Nineteenth Centuries* (Basel: Ravi Kumar, 1984).

Pan Jixing, 'The Birthplace of Printing: Korea or China?', *Ziran hexue shi yanjiu* (Beijing) 1997:1, pp. 50–68. Abstract and review in: *China Archaeology and Art Digest* (Hong Kong: 1997), vol. 2, pp. 72f.

— 'Review on the debate of paper history during recent 30 years in China', in IPH. Paper History. Journal of the International Association of Paper Historians. vol 15, issue 2, 2011, pp. 6–12.

Pan Ku, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty [the Han Shu]*, trans. Homer H. Dubs (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 3 vols. 1938, 1944, 1955).

Pande, Anupa (ed.), *The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. (New Delhi: Books International, 2009).

Parry, Ken (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads* (Silk Road Studies XII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

— 'The Buddha as Colossus in Central Asia and China', in Ken Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads* (Silk Road Studies XII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 179–198.

— 'Byzantine-Rite Christians (Melkites) in Central Asia in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in E. Kefallinos (ed.), *Thinking Diversely: Hellenism and the Challenge of Globalisation*. (Special edition of *Modern Greek Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, Macquarie University, Sydney), 2012, pp. 91–108.

Parzinger, Hermann, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens: Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006).

Paul, Jürgen, *Zentralasien* (Neue Fischer Weltgeschichte Band 10) (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2012).

Paykova, Aza Vladimirovna, 'The Syrian Ostracon from Panjikant', in *Le Muséon* (Leuven: Éditions Peeters) 92/1–2, 1979. pp. 159–169.

Pelliot, Paul, Le 'Cha Tcheou Tou Tou Fou T'ou King' et la Colonie Sogdienne de la Région du Lob Nor, *Journal Asiatique* 11, série 7, 1916, pp. 111–123.

— *Histoire ancienne du Tibet* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1961).

— *Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1973).

— *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, edited with supplements by Antonio Forte (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, Epigraphical Series 2/ Paris: Collège de France, Oeuvres Posthumes de Paul Pelliot, 1996).

— *Carnets de route, 1906–1908* (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2008).

Peng Hao, 'The Origins of Sericulture and Silk Weaving from Antiquity to the Zhou Dynasty', in Dieter Kuhn (ed.), *Chinese Silks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 65–113.

The Periplus Maris Erythraei, trans. with commentary, Lionel Casson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Pevtsov, Mikhail, with Koslov, Petr, Roborovsky, Vsevolod, and Bogdanovich, Karl, *Trudy Tibetskoy Ekspeditsii (Transactions of the Tibetan Expedition)*, part 1, *Puteshestviye po Vostochnomu Turkestanu* (Travel through East Turkestan) (St Petersburg: The Imperial Geographical Society, 1895).

Pian del Carpini, Giovanni da =Johannes von Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum. Kunde von den Mongolen*, trans. Felicitas Schmieder (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997).

Piatigorsky, Jacques, Sapir, Jacques, *L'Empire khazar, VIIe–XIe siècle* (Paris: Autrement, 2005).

Pike, Albert, *Irano-Aryan Faith and Doctrine as Contained in the Zend-Avesta* (Louisville, KY: The Standard Printing Co., 1924) (New York: Kessinger Publishing, reprint, 1992).

Pilipko, V.N, ‘Excavations at Staraia Nisa’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8, 1994, pp. 101–116.

Pinks, Elisabeth, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968).

Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, Michèle, ‘Chinese Lacquerware from Noyon uul: Some Problems of Manufacturing and Distribution’, *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 7, 2009, pp. 36–41.

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, trans. John Bostock and H.T. Riley (London: Taylor & Francis, 1855). Online at: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/thayer/l/roman/texts/pliny_the_elder/6*.html

Pohl, Walter, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Europa 567–822 n.Chr.* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2002).

— ‘Byzanz und die Hunnen’, in Alexander Koch (ed.), *Attila und die Hunnen* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007), pp. 185–194.

Polosmak, N.V., Bogdanov, E.S., Tseveendorj D., ‘The Han Chariot from Noin Ula Mound 20 (Mongolia)’ in *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 36/4, 2008, pp. 63–69.

— ‘The Burial Construction of Noin Ula Mound 20, Mongolia’ in *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 36/4, 2008, pp. 77–87.

— Dvadtsatiy Noin-Ulinskiy Kurgan (The Twentieth Noin-Ula Tumulus), in Russian, (Novosibirsk: Infolio, 2011)

Poncins, Vicomte Edmond de, *Chasses et Explorations dans la Région des Pamirs* (Paris: Challamel, 1897).

Potts, D.T., ‘*Cataphractus* and *kamāndāar*: Some Thoughts on the Dynamic Evolution of Heavy Cavalry and Mounted Archers in Iran and Central Asia’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 21/2007, pp. 149–158.

Pozzi, Silvia, *Vardanzeh (Wardana), Uzbekistan. Archaeological Excavation of an Ancient City in the Oasis of Bukhara (*Annual field reports 2012–13) (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2013–2014). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_0.html

— *New sealstones from the Bukhara Oasis (Uzbekistan)*. Forthcoming, Udine, 2013.

Prejevalsky, Nikolai, *Ot Kul’dzhi za Tyan’-Shan’ i na Lob-Nor* (1877), trans. E. Delmar Morgan, *From Kulja across the Tian Shan to Lob-Nor* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879).

Prichodnjuk, Oleg, *Chardaev, ‘Hunnenzeitlicher Schmuck aus der Schatzkammer des Höhlenklosters “Pecerskaja Lavra” in Kiev (Ukraine)*’, *Eurasia Antiqua* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), vol. 10/2004, pp. 333–358.

Procopius, *History of the Wars*, books I and II, trans. H.B. Dewing. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 2006).

Prüch, Margarete, ‚Die Lackkästchen aus der Grabung von Ust’-Al’ma’, in LVG-Landesmuseum Bonn (ed*.). Die Krim. Goldene Insel im Schwarzen Meer. Griechen – Skythen – Goten*. Primus Verlag, Darmstadt 2013, pp. 142–151.

Ptolemaios, Claudios, *Geographia. Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, (ed.), C.F.A. Nobbe (Leipzig: Carolus Tauchnitus, 1843); *Claudius Ptolemy: The Geography*, trans. and (ed.) Edward Luther Stevenson (New York: New York Public Library, 1932, reprinted New York: Dover, 1991)

Pugachenkova, G.A., ‘Puti razvitiya architektury juznogo Turkmenistana pory rabovladeniya i feodalisma’, in *Trudy jujno-Turkmenistanckoj archeologischeckoj komplksnoj ekspedizii*, vol. VI (Moscow: Akademia nauk turkmenskoj CCP, 1958).

— ‘Un temple du feu dans le “Grand Sogd”’, in Frantz Grenet (ed.), *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l’Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987), pp. 53–62.

— ‘The Form and Style of Sogdian Ossuaries’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1994, pp. 245–268.

Pugachenkova, G.A. and Khakimov, A., *The Art of Central Asia* (Leningrad: Aurora, 1988).

Pugachenkova, G.A. et al., ‘Kushan art’, in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 331–396.

Pulleyblank, Edwin, ‘Chinese and Indo-Europeans’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 98, April 1966, pp. 9–39.

— ‘Why Tocharians?’, *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* (Washington) vol. 23, nos. 3–4, 1995, pp. 415–450.

— ‘The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Time’, in David N. Keightley (ed.), *The Origins of Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 411–466.

— *Central Asia and Non-Chinese Peoples of Ancient China* (Aldershot: Variorum Ashgate, 2002).

— ‘Some Remarks on the Toquzoghuz Problem’, in *Central Asia and Non-Chinese Peoples of Ancient China*, II, pp. 35–42 (Aldershot: Variorum Ashgate, 2002).

Puri, B.N., *Buddhism in Central Asia* (Delhi: Banarsidass, 1993).

— ‘The Saka and Indo-Parthians’, in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 191–208.

— ‘The Kushans’, in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 191–208.

Qi Xiaoshan, Wang Bo, *The Ancient Culture in Xinjiang along the Silk Road* (in Chinese) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2008).

Qing Duan, ‘Were Textiles used as Money in Khotan in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries?’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, April 2013, pp. 307–325.

Radlov, V.V., *Trudy Orxonckoi ekspedizji. Atlas drevnostei Mongolji* (1899) (reprint, Ankara: Turkish International Cooperation Agency, 1995).

Rahbar, Mehdi, ‘A Tower of Silence of the Sasanian Period’, in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann (eds). *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007) pp. 455–473.

Ramseyer, Denis et al., ‘The Xiongnu Settlement of Boroo Gol’, in Ursula Brosseder and Bryan Miller (eds). *Xiongnu Archaeology* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2011), pp. 231–240.

— *L’habitat Xiongnu de Boroo Gol. Recherches archéologiques en Mongolie (2003–2008)* (Gollion: Éditions Infolio, 2013).

Rapin, Claude, ‘L’Asie centrale de la carte de Ptolémée’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 12/1998, pp. 201–225.

Rapoport, Yuri, A, ‘The Palaces of Topraq-Qal’a’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1994, pp. 161–185.

Rapson, E.J. et al. (eds), *Kharoshthi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1929) (reprint New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1997).

Raspopova, Valentina, ‘Gold Coins and Bracteates from Pendjikent’, in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999). vol. I, pp. 453–460.

Rawson, Jessica (ed.), *The Chinese Bronzes of Yunnan* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984).

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, ‘Colonial Archaeology and Buddhism: Punjab Plains in the Early Centuries AD’, in Vidula Jayaswal (ed.), *Glory of the Kushans. Recent Discoveries and Interpretations* (New Delhi: Aryan Books Intl., 2012), pp. 239–254.

Rayfield, Donald, *The Dream of Lhasa. The Life of Nikolay Przhevalsky, Explorer of Central Asia* (London: Paul Elek, 1976).

— *Edge of Empires. A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

Rehman, Abdur, *The Last Two Dynasties of The Sahis: Analysis of their History, Archaeology, Coinage and Palaeography* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1988).

Reischauer, Edwin O., *Ennin’s Travels in T’ang China* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1955).

Rekavandi, Hamid Omrani et al., 'Secrets of the Red Snake: The Great Wall of Iran Revealed', *Current World Archaeology*, no. 27, February/March 2008, pp. 11–22. http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/staff/supporting_files/esauer/iranian_walls.pdf

Rhie, Marylin Martin, *Early Buddhist Art of China & Central Asia*, Volumes I to III (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1999, 2002, 2010).

— 'Xuanzang and the Silk Route', in Lokesh Chandra, Radha Banerjee (eds), *Xuanzang and the Silk Route* (New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2008), pp. 1–29.

Riboud Krishna, 'Pratiques funéraires dans les nécropoles d'Astana', in Frantz Grenet (ed.), *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987), pp. 89–102.

Riboud, Pénélope, 'Bird-Priests in Central Asian Tombs of 6th-Century China and their Significance in the Funerary Realm', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 21/2007, pp. 1–24.

Richardson, David and Sue, *The Karakalpaks*, 2005. http://www.karakalpak.com/index.html

Richardson, Hugh, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1985).

— 'Ministers of the Tibetan Kingdom', in *High Peaks, Pure Earth. Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture* (London: Serindia, 1998), pp. 56–73.

— 'The Mgar Family in Seventh-Century Tibet', in *High Peaks, Pure Earth. Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture* (London: Serindia, 1998), pp. 114–123.

— 'Political Aspects of the Snga-dar, the First Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet', in *High Peaks, Pure Earth. Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture* (London: Serindia, 1998), pp. 196–202.

Richthofen, Ferdinand von, *Entdeckungsreisen 1868–1872* (Tübingen: Erdmann, 1982).

— *Bemerkungen zu den Ergebnissen von Oberstlieutenant Prjewalsk's Reise nach dem Lop-noor und Altyn-tagh*. Besonderer Abdruck aus den Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde für 1878, Heft 4. Berlin 1878.

Richtsfeld, Bruno J., 'Alexanderroman, Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen und Gesar Epos – Parallelen zwischen antiker und mongolischer Überlieferung', in Claudius Müller and Jacob Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*. (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), pp. 117–121.

Rickenbach, Judith (ed.), *Oxus. 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluss in Mittelasien* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 1989).

Ritter, Carl, *Die Stupa's (Topes) oder die architectonischen Denkmale an der Indo-Baktrischen Königsstrasse und die Colosse von Bamiyan* (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1838).

Roemer, Hans Robert, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000).

Rogers, Daniel, Ulambayar, Erdenebat and Gallon, Mathew, 'Urban Centres and the Emergence of Empires in Eastern Inner Asia', *Antiquity* 79, 2005, pp. 801–818.

Romgard, Jan, 'Questions of Ancient Human Settlements in Xinjiang and the Early Silk Road Trade, with an Overview of the Silk Road Research Institutions and Scholars in Beijing, Gansu and Xinjiang', in *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 185, November 2008.

Rong Xinjiang, 'Buddhist Images or Zoroastrian Deities? The Mixture of Religions on the Silk Road as seen from Khotan', in: *Jiuzhou xuelin* [*Chinese Culture Quarterly*] (Hong Kong and Shanghai), vol. 1, no. 2, 2003, pp. 93–115.

— 'Official life at Dunhuang in the Tenth Century. The case of Cao Yuanzhong', in Susan Whitfield. with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds). *The Silk Road. Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: The British Library, 2004), pp. 57–62.

— *Archaeological Investigations on Dandan Oiliq and the Jiexie Township in Yutian in the Tang Dynasty* (in Chinese), in *Cultural Relics of Xinjiang* (Urumqi: Xinjiang Wenwu, 3/2005).

— 'Sabao or Sabo: Sogdian Caravan Leaders in the Wall-Paintings in Buddhist Caves', in Étienne de La Vassière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris, 2005), pp. 207–230.

— 'The Religious Background to the An Lushan Rebellion', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia*. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012) pp. 97–137.

Rong Xinjiang, Zhang Zhiqing, *Cong Samaergan dao Chang'an: Sute ren zai Zhongguo de wen hua yi ji (From Samarkand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China.)* (Beijing: Beijing Tushguan Chubanshe, 2004).

Rosenfield, John M., *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

Rott, Philipp and Kolchenko, Valery, *Novopokrovka II, Kyrgyzstan. Archaeological excavation of a presumed Buddhist site and of a Sogdian and Karakhanid citadel* (Annual field reports 2004–13) (Hergiswil: The Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2005–14). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_1.html

Roux, Jean-Paul, *La Religion des Turcs et des Mongols* (Paris: Payot, 1984).

— *L'Asie Centrale: Histoire et civilisations* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

— *Histoire des Turcs* (Paris: Fayard/Le Club, 1999).

Roxburgh, David J. (ed.), *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005).

Rowland, Benjamin, *Ancient Art from Afghanistan. Treasures of the Kabul Museum* (New York: The Asia Society, 1966).

— *Zentralasien* (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1970), *The Art of Central Asia* (New York: Crown, 1974).

— *Art in Afghanistan. Objects from the Kabul Museum* (London: Allen Lane, 1971).

Rtveladze, E.V, 'Kampir-Tepe: Structures, Written Documents and Coins', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1994, pp. 141–154.

Rubin Khau Ming, 'Early Tarim Buddhist Sculptures from Yanqi (Karashahr): A New Dating', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 4, pp. 83–100 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

Rudenko, Sergei, *Die Kultur der Hsiung-Nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula* (Bonn: Habelt, 1969).

Rudova, Maria, 'Pranidhi', *in* Durkin-Meisterernst et al. (eds). *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 276–283.

Rusanov, D.V, 'The Fortification of Kampir-Tepe: A Reconstruction', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1994, pp. 155–160.

Salomon, Richard, 'An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 116, no. 3, pp. 418–452, 1996.

— 'A Stone Inscription in Central Asian Gandhara from Endere (Xinjiang)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 13/1999, pp. 1–14.

— 'The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription', in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (eds). *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, pp. 359–401.

— 'Gandhari in the Worlds of India, Iran and Central Asia', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 21/2007, pp. 179–92.

Samad Abdul. *Emergence of Hinduism in Gandhara. An analysis of material culture*. Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 2010.

Sanft, Charles, 'Xuanquanzhi: Information summarized from initial reports' (Dartmouth, 2010. http://www.dartmouth.edu/~earlychina/docs/2010/xuanquan-report1.pdf

Saruulbuyan, J., Eregzen, G. and Bayarsaikhan, J. (eds), *National Museum of Mongolia* (Ulaan Baatar: The National Museum of Mongolia, 2009).

Savchenko, Alexei, *Urgut, Uzbekistan: Excavation of a Christian monastery*. Annual field reports 2004–08. Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, Hergiswil 2005–09.

http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_2.html

— *Vardanzeh (Wardana), Uzbekistan: Archaeological excavation of an ancient city in the Oasis of Bukhara*. Annual field reports 2009–11. Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, Hergiswil 2010–12. http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_0.html

— *Qarshovul: Archaeological investigation of a medieval city in the Oasis of Chach (Tashkent)*. Annual field reports 2010–12. Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, Hergiswil 2011–13. http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_7.html

Savchenko, Alexei and Kurbanov, Sharof, *Sanjar Shah, Tadjikistan: Archaeological excavation of an ancient Sogdian site*. Annual field reports 2008–12. Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, Hergiswil 2009–13. http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_5.html

Savchenko, Alexei and Dickens, Mark, 'Prester John's Realm: New Light on Christianity between Merv and Turfan', in Erica Hunter (ed.), *The Christian Heritage of Iraq* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009), pp. 121–135.

Scharlipp, Wolfgang, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1992).

— 'Leben und Kultur der alten Türken in der Steppe', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000) pp. 125–45.

Scheppler, Bill, *Al-Biruni. Master Astronomer and Muslim Scholar of the Eleventh Century* (New York: Rosen Group, 2006).

Schlagintweit-Sakülünsky, Hermann von, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien. Eine Darstellung der Landschaft, der Cultur und der Sitten der Bewohner, in Verbindung mit klimatischen und geologischen Verhältnissen. Basirt auf die Resultate der wissenschaftlichen Mission von Hermann, Adolph und Robert von Schlagintweit*. 4 vols. (Jena: Costenoble, 1869–80).

Schmauder, Michael, *Die Hunnen. Ein Reitervolk in Europa* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2009).

Schorta, Regula (ed.), *Central Asian Textiles and Their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006).

Schroeder, Ulrich von, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*. 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma, 2001).

Schroeder, Ulrich von, Karsten, Joachim G., 'The Silver Jug of the Lhasa Jokhang: a Reply to the Article by Amy Heller in Silk Road Art and Archaeology', 2009. http://www.asianart.com/articles/silver_jug/index.html#2det

Schuh, Dieter, 'Palola (Bolor)', in *Tibet-Encyclopaedia*, 2011 http://www.tibet-encyclopaedia.de/palola-bolor.html

Schwartz, Martin, 'Sesen: A Durable East Mediterranean God in Iran', in Nicholas Sims-Williams (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*. Part 1: Old and Middle Iranian Studies (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), pp. 9–11.

Seaman, Gary (ed.), *Foundations of Empire: Archaeology and Art of the Eurasian Steppes* (Los Angeles, CA: Ethnographics Press, University of Southern California, 1992).

Seaman, Gary and Marks, Daniel (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991).

Seipel, Wilfried (ed.), *Geld aus China* (Exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (Milan: Skira, 2003).

Selbitschka, Armin, *Prestigegüter entlang der Seidenstraße. Archäologische und historische Untersuchungen zu Chinas Beziehungen zu Kulturen des Tarimbeckens vom zweiten bis frühen fünften Jahrhundert nach Christus* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010).

Semenov, V. A., *The Wusun in Northeastern Central Asia*, in *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 38/3, 2010, pp. 99–110.

Semenov, Grigori L., *Suyab. Ak-Beshim* (St Petersburg: Hermitage, 2002).

— *Studien zur sogdischen Kultur an der Seidenstraße* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996).

Semenov, Grigori L., Jin Yasheng, *Shikchin Art Relics Collected in the State Hermitage Museum of Russia* (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2011).

Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D., *Tibet: A Political History* (New York: Potala Publications, 1984).

Shakabpa, W.D. and Mayer, Derek F., *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, vol. 1 (Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 23) (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010).

Shaw, Robert, *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkand and Kashgar* (London: John Murray, 1871).

Sheng, Angela, 'From Stone to Silk', in Étienne de La Vassière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 141–180.

Shenkar, Michael, 'Aniconism in the Religious Art of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 22/2008, pp. 239–56.

Shenkar, Michael and Kurbanov, Sharov., *Sanjar Shah, Tadjikistan: Archaeological excavation of an ancient Sogdian site*. Annual field reports 2013. Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, Hergiswil 2014. http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_5.html

Sheyko, Konstantin and Kusnezov, A. V., 'Moneti Karschavul-Tepa', in Rtveladze, E.V. (ed.), *Numismatika Zentralnoi Asii* (Tashkent, 2011).

Shi Anchang, 'A Study on a Stone Carving from the Tomb of a Sogdian Aristocrat of the Northern Qi: A Preliminary Study of an Ossuary in the Collection of the Palace Museum', *China Archaeology & Art Digest* (Hong Kong: 2000), vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 72–84.

Shishkin V.A., *Varakhsha*, Isdatelstvo Akademii Nauk CCCP (Moskva 1963).

Shishkina, G.V., 'Ancient Samarkand, Capital of Soghd', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1994, pp. 81–100.

Shkoda, V.G, 'The Sogdian Temple: Structures and Rituals', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1996, pp. 195–206.

Sidky, H., *The Greek Kingdom of Bactria: From Alexander to Eucratides the Great* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000).

Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* (1084), trans. Joseph P. Yap, *Wars with the Xiongnu* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2009).

Sima Qian: see Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

Simocatta, Theophylact, trans. and eds Michael and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

Sims-Williams, Nicholas, 'From the Kushan-Shahs to the Arabs: New Bactrian Documents Dated in the Era of the Tochi Inscriptions', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999) vol. I, pp. 245–258.

— (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

— 'The Bactrian Inscription of Rabatak: A New Reading', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 18/2004, pp. 53–68.

— 'Bactrian Historical Inscriptions of the Kushan Period', *The Silk Road Journal*, vol. 10, pp. 76–80, 2012 (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation).

— 'Christianity in Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2011. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christianity-iii

— 'Zandaniji Misidentified', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 22/2008, pp. 207–214.

Sino-Japanese Joint Research of the Niya Site (Zhong-Ri gongtong Niya yiji exueshu kaicha dui). *Zhong-Ri gongtong Niya yiji xueshu diaocha baogao shu (Niya Site Archaeological Studies Number 2. Research Report into an Ancient Town in Xinjiang, China)*. 3 vols. Urumqi; Kyoto, 1999.

Sinor, Denis (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

— 'The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire', in Sinor Denis (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 285–316.

— 'The Kitan and the Kara Khitay', in M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998) pp. 227–242.

— 'The Uighur Empire of Mongolia', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 187–205.

Sinor, Denis and Klyashtorny, S.G, 'The Türk Empire', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 327–348.

Sinor, Denis, Geng Shimin and Kychanov, Y.I, 'The Uighurs, the Kyrgyz and the Tangut (Eighth to Thirteenth Century)', in M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998) pp. 191–214.

Sirén, Osvald: *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, 4 vols (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925) (reprint, Bangkok, SDI Publications, 1998).

— *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*. 7 vols (London: Lund Humphries/New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956, 1958) (reissue, New York, Hacker Art Books, 1975).

Skaff, Jonathan Karam, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Skjaervo, Prods Oktor, 'Iranians, Indians, Chinese and Tibetans: The Rulers and Ruled of Khotan in the First Millennium', in Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: The British Library, 2004), pp. 34–42.

— 'A Khotanese Amulet', in Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi, Wernder Sundermann (eds), *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 387–401.

— 'The End of Eighth-Century Khotan in its Texts', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols), vol. 3, 2008, pp. 119–144.

Škoda V.G, 'Le culte du feu dans les sanctuaires de Pendžikent', in Frantz Grenet (ed.), *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987), pp. 63–72.

Skrine, C.P., *Chinese Central Asia*. (London: Methuen & Co., 1926).

Skylitzes, John, trans. John Wortley, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Šmahelová, Lucie, 'Kül Tegin Monument and Heritage of Lumir Jisl. The Expedition of 1958', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 325–41.

Sneath, David, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society and Misrepresentation of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Snellgrove, David, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors* (London, Serindia, 1987).

Snellgrove, David, Richardson, Hugh, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (Boston: Shambhala, 1986).

Sokolovsky, Vladimir, *Monumentalnaia zhivopis VIII-natchala IX veka dvortsovogo kompleksa Bundzhikata, stolitsi srednevekogo gosudarstva ustrushni (Monumental Painting in the Palace Complex of Bunjikat, the capital of Medieval Ustrushana 8th–early 9th centuries* (St Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishing House, 2009).

Sommarström, Bo, *Archaeological researches in the Edsen-Gol region, Inner Mongolia* (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, parts I and 2, 1956 and 1958).

Soucek, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Souza, Philip de (ed.), *The Ancient World at War* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008).

Spuler Bertold, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952).

Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih chi. Records of the Grand Historian of China. Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

Stadler, Peter, 'Avar Chronology Revisited and the Question of Ethnicity in the Avar Qaganate', in Florin Curta (ed.), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 47–82.

Stark, Sören, 'On Oq Bodun: The Western Türk Qağanate and the Ashina Clan', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006/2007), pp. 159–72.

— *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien: Archäologische und historische Studien* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2008).

Staviskij, Boris, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Kuschan* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1979).

— *La Bactriane sous les Kushans* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1986).

— 'Le problème des liens entre le bouddhisme bactrien, le zoroastrisme et les cultes mazdéens locaux à la lumière des fouilles de Kara-tepe', in Frantz Grenet (ed.), *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987), pp. 47–52.

— 'Buddhist Monuments of Central Asia and the Sasanians', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 4/1990, pp. 167–170.

— *Sud'by buddizma v Srednej Asii: po dannym archeologii* (Moscow: RAN, 1998).

Staviskij, Boris and Mkrtychev, T., 'Qara-Tepe in Old Termez: On the History of the Monument', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 10/1996, pp. 219–232.

Stein, Sir Aurel, *Preliminary Report of a Journey of Archaeological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1901) (reprint, New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1985).

— *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1904).

— *Ancient Khotan, Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

— *Ruins of Desert Cathay,* 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1912).

— 'A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913–16', *The Geographical Journal* (London), vol. XLVIII, no. 2, pp. 97–130; no. 3, pp. 193–229, 1916.

— 'The Desert Crossing of Hsüan-tang, 630 A.D', *The Geographical Journal* (London), vol. LIV, no. 5, pp. 265–276, November 1919.

— *Serindia. Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China,* 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921).

— *The Thousand Buddhas. Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China,* 2 vols. (London: B. Quaritch, 1921).

— 'A Chinese Expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A.D. 747', *The Geographical Journal* (London), vol. LIX, no. 2, pp. 112–130. February 1922.

— *Memoir on Maps of Chinese Turkistan and Kansu. With Appendices by Major K. Mason and J. de Graaf Hunter* (Dehra Dun: Trigonometrical Survey Office, 1923).

— *Innermost Asia. Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Ira,* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928).

— *On Central-Asian Tracks* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933).

— *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and in South-Eastern Iran* (London: Macmillan, 1937).

Steinhardt, Nancy S., 'The Uighur Ritual Complex in Beiting', *Orientations* (Hong Kong), vol. 30, no. 4., April 1999, pp. 28–37.

Stepanov, Tsvetelin, 'From "steppe" to Christian empire and back: Bulgaria between 800 and 1000', in Florin

Curta (ed.), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 363–378.

Stickler, Timo, *Die Hunnen* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2007).

Stoye, Martina, 'Der Lebenszyklus des Buddha', in Christian Luczanits (ed.), in *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans. Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), pp. 193–196.

Strabo, *Geographica,* trans. and eds, Horace Leonard Jones and John Robert Sitlington Sterrett, *The Geography of Strabo,* 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press and William Heinemann, 1917–1932). Trans. and notes, Dr A. Forbiger (Wiesbaden, Marix Verlag, 2007).

Strahlenberg, Philip Johann von. *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der großen Tartarey in sich begreiffet.* (Stockholm: published by author, 1730).

Sun, Dawei, *The Art in the Caves of Xinjiang* (Urumqi: The Xinjiang photographic Art Publishing House, 1989).

Sykes, Ella and Percy, *Through the Deserts and Oases of Central Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1920).

Sylwan Vivi: *Investigation of Silk from Edsen-Gol and Lop-Nor* (Stockholm: Elanders Boktryckeri Actiebolag, 1949) (reprint, Bangkok: SDI Publications, 2001).

Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al, *Chronique*, trans. from the Persian version by Abdou-Ali Mohammed Belami by M. Hermann Zotenberg, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1867–1874).

Tafazzoli A, 'Language Situation and Scripts' part 1: Iranian Languages', in C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000), pp. 323–31.

Tanabe, Katsumi, *Silk Road Coins. The Hirayama Collection*. (Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies, 1993).

— *Gandharan Art in the Hirayama Collection* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2007).

Tarn, W.W. *The Greeks in Bactria & India* (Chicago, Ares Publishers, 1938) 1997.

Tarthang, Tulku (ed.), *Ancient Tibet. Research Materials from The Yeshe De Project* (Berkeley, CA: Dharma Publishing, 1986).

Tarzi, Zamaryallai, 'Jules Bartoux: le découvreur oublié d'Aï Khanoum', in *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Paris. Comptes rendus des scéances de l'année 1996*, 1996, fasc. II, pp. 595–611.

— 'Bamiyan 2006: The Fifth Excavation Campaign of Prof. Tarzi's Mission', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 4/2, pp. 11–26, 2006–2007. http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol4num2/srnewsletter_v4n2.pdf

Taşaşil, Ahmet, 'Ethno-cultural Distribution of Turkic and Mongolian Tribes between the 6th and the 9th Century AD', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R.F.W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 385–400.

Tashbayeva, K. et al., *Petroglyphs of Central Asia* (Samarkand: International Institute for Central Asian Studies, 2001).

The Silk Road and the World of Xuanzang, no author or editor given (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbum, 1999).

Theophanes the Confessor, trans. and (ed.) Harry Turtledove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes. Anni mundi 6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813)*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

Thierry, François, 'Sur les monnaies des Türgesh', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), vol. I, pp. 321–52.

— 'Monétarisation de la société türke', in Étienne de La Vassière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient, 2005), pp. 397–417.

— 'Yuezhi et Kouchans: Pièges et dangers des sources chinoises', in Osmund Bopearachchi, Marie-Françoise Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 421–539.

Thierry, François and Morrisson, Cécile, 'Sur les monnaies byzantines trouvées en Chine', in *Revue numismatique*, 6th series, vol. 36, 1994, pp. 109–145. http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/numi_0484-8942_1994_num_6_36_2001

Thomsen, Vilhelm, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées* (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la société de literature finnoise, 1896) (reprint, Charleston, SC, BiblioLife, 2011).

— 'Dr M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish Runic Script from Miran and Tun-Huang', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, Jan. 1912, pp. 181–227.

Tiessen, Ernst (ed.), Meister und Schüler: Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen an Sven Hedin (Berlin: Reimer, 1933).

Timmermann, Irmgard, *Die Seide Chinas. Ein Kulturgeschichte am seidenen Faden* (Munich: Diederichs, 1988).

Tissot, Francine, *Les arts anciens du Pakistan et de l'Afghanistan* Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1987).

— 'Jewelry in Gandharan Art: Images and Reality', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999) vol. I, pp. 399–412.

— *Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan 1931–1985* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2006).

Tolstov, Sergei, *Drevniy Choresm* (Moscow: Isdanjje MGU, 1948).

— *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin: Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt, 1953).

Tomka, Peter, 'Über die Bestattungen der Hunnen', in Alexander Koch (ed.), *Attila und die Hunnen* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007) pp. 252–257.

Tong Tao, *The Silk Roads of the Northern Tibetan Plateau during the early Middle Ages (from the Han to Tang Dynasty) as reconstructed from archaeological and written sources*. Dissertation, Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen 2008. http://tobias-lib.uni-tuebingen.de/volltexte/2008/3628/pdf/Diss_Tong.pdf

Tong Tao, Wermann, Patrick, 'The Coffin Paintings of the Tubo Period from the Northern Tibetan Plateau', in Mayke Wagner, Wang Wei (eds). *Bridging Eurasia* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2010), pp. 187–213.

Treasures of Dunhuang Grottoes, no author or editor given (Hong Kong: Polyspring, 1999).

Tredinnick, Jeremy, Baumer, Christoph and Bonavia, Judy. *Xinjiang, China's Central Asia*. (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2012).

Tremblay, Xavier, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde* (Vienna: Akademie der Österreichischen Wissenschaften, 2001).

Trever, Camilla, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia (1924–1925)*. (Leningrad: Fedorov, 1932).

Trinkler, Emil, *Die Kunst des Alten Cathay*, unpublished manuscript, 1931 or before.

— *The Stormswept Roof of Asia* (London: Seeley, 1931).

Trinkler, Emil and Terra, Helmut de, *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Dr Trinklerschen Zentralasienexpedition*. (Berlin: Reimer, 1932).

Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, 'Paper and printing', in Needham Joseph (ed.), *Science and Civilisation in China,* vol. 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 2001).

Tsuchiya, Haruko, 'Traces of Buddhist Art along the Route where the Karakoram, Hindukush and Himalayan Ranges meet', in *Proceedings to the International Seminar 'The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective'*, pp. 78–86. (New Delhi: Books International, 2009).

Tsukamoto, Zenryu, *A History of Chinese Early Buddhism. From its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979).

Tucker, Jonathan, *The Silk Road: Art and History* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003).

Twist, Rebecca L., *The Patola Shahi Dynasty: A Buddhological Study of their Patronage, Devotion and Politics* (Saarbrücken, VDM Verlag, 2011).

Upasak, C.S., *History of Buddhism in Afghanistan* (Sarnath Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1990).

Vainberg, B.I, ‘The Kalali-Gir 2 Ritual Center in Ancient Khwarazm’, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1994, pp. 67–80.

Vaziri Mostafa, *Buddhism in Iran. An anthropological approach to traces and influences* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Verardi, Giovanni, ‘Issues in the Excavation, Chronology and Monuments of Tapa Sardar’, in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 341–356.

Verardi, Giovanni and Paparatti, Elio, *Buddhist Caves of Jaghuri and Qarabagh-e Ghazni, Afghanistan* (Rome: IsIAO, 2004).

Vida, Tivadar, ‘Conflict and Coexistence: The Local Population of the Carpathian Basin under Avar Rule (sixth to seventh century)’, in Curta Florin (ed.), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 13–46.

Vitali Roberto, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London: Serindia, 1990).

Vlasov, B.P, ‘Gunni’, in Xrapunov I.N. (ed.), *Ot Kimmerijtsev do Krymtchakov* (Simferopol: Dolia, 2010), pp. 96–106.

Vliet, Roland van, *Der Manichäismus. Geschichte und Zukunft einer frühchristlichen Kirche* (Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 2007).

Vogelsang, Willem, *The Afghans* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007).

Vondrovec, Klaus, ‘Die anonymen Clanchefs: Der Beginn der Alchon-Prägung’, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 113/114, 2005, pp. 243–258. http://www.academia.edu/880234/Die_Anonymen_Clanchefs_Der_Beginn_der_Alchon-Pragung

— ‘Numismatic Evidence of the Alchon Huns Reconsidered’, in Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Hunnen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 2008), pp. 25–56.

— ‘Coinage of the Nezak’, in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), vol. II, pp. 169–190.

Wagner, Mayke and Butz, Herbert, *Nomadenkunst* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007).

Wagner, Mayke and Wang Wei (eds), *Bridging Eurasia* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2010).

Wagner, Mayke et al., ‘The ornamental Trousers from Sampula (Xinjiang, China): Their Origin and Biography’, *Antiquity* 83, issue 322, 2009, pp. 1065–1075.

Walker, Annabel, *Aurel Stein: Pioneer of the Silk Road* (London: John Murray, 1995).

Waller, Derek, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet & Central Asia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990).

Walter, Mariko Namba, ‘Tokharian Buddhism in Kucha: Buddhism of Indo-European Centum Speakers in Chinese Turkestan before the 10th Century C.E’, *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 85 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, October 1998). http://www.sino-platonic.org/complete/spp085_tokharian_buddhism_kucha.pdf

— ‘Mahayana and Hinayana in Central Asian Buddhist History: According to Hsüan-Tsang and Other Evidence’, in Lokesh Chandra and Radha Banerjee, *Xuanzang and the Silk Route* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manorharlal Publishers, 2008), pp. 157–173.

— ‘Buddhism and Iranian Religions among Sogdians: Religious Interactions in Sogdian Funeral Art’, in *Proceedings of the International Seminar ‘The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective’* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009), pp. 185–193.

Wang Binghua et al., *The Ancient Corpses of Xinjiang: The Peoples of Ancient Xinjiang and Their Culture* (Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2001).

Wang Bo, Xiao Xiaoyong, *A General Introduction to the Ancient Tombs at Shanpula, Xinjiang, China*, in Dominik Keller, Regula Schorta (eds), *Fabulous Creatures from the Desert Sands* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2001), pp. 47–78.

Wang, Helen, *Sir Aurel Stein in* The Times (London: Saffron, 2002).

— ‘How Much for a Camel? A New Understanding of Money on the Silk Road before AD 800’, in Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams (eds), *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. (London: The British Library, 2004), pp. 24–33.

— ‘Money in Eastern Central Asia before AD 800’, in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann (eds), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007), pp. 399–409.

Wang Tao, ‘Parthia in China: a Re-examination of the Historical Records’, in Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart (eds). *The Age of the Parthians* (The Idea of Iran, vol. 2) (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007), pp. 87–104.

Wang Wei Dong, *Kezi’ergaha shi ku nei rong zong lu* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2009).

Watson, William, ‘Iran and China’, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (1) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 537–558.

Watt, James C.Y. and Wardwell, Anne E., *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998).

Waugh, Daniel C, ‘Nomads and Settlement: New Perspectives in the Archaeology of Mongolia’, *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 8, 2010, pp. 97–124. http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol8/

Weatherford, Jack, *Genghis Khan and the Making of Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2012).

Weber, Therese, *The Language of Paper: A History of 2000 Years* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2007).

Weiers, Michael, ‘Sprache und Schrift der Mongolen’, in Claudius Müller and Jacob Wenzel (eds). *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*. (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), pp. 106–07.

— *Zweitausend Jahre Krieg und Drangsal und Tschinggis Khans Vermächtnis* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).

Wenzel, Marian, *Echoes of Alexander the Great: Silk Route Portraits from Gandhara* (Vaduz: Eklisa Anstalt, 2000).

Werner, Thomas (ed.), *Unbekannte Krim* (Heidelberg: Kehrer, 1999).

Wieczorek, Alfred and Lind, Christoph (eds), *Ursprünge der Seidenstraße* (Exh. cat. at Reiss-Engelhorn Museen Mannheim) (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007).

Whitehead, R.B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore*, vol. I: *Indo-Greek coins* (1914) (Varanasi: Indic Academi, 1971).

Whitfield, Roderick, *The Art of Central Asia,* 3 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982, 1983, 1985).

— *Dunhuang: Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the Silk Road* (London: Textile & Art Publications, 1995). *Dunhuang – Die Höhlen der klingenden Sande. Buddhistische Kunst an der Seidenstraße.* 2 vols. (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995).

Whitfield, Susan, *Life along the Silk Road* (London: John Murray, 2004).

— *Aurel Stein on the Silk Road* (London: British Museum Press, 2004).

Whitfield, Susan with Sims-Williams, Ursula (eds), *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: The British Library, 2004).

Whitteridge, Gordon, *Charles Masson of Afghanistan: Explorer, Archaeologist, Numismatist and Intelligence Agent* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002).

Wilson, David M., *The Vikings and their Origins* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010).

Wilson, H.H., *A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan: With a Memoir on the Buildings called Topes, by C. Masson, Esq.* (London, East India Company, 1841) (reprint, New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1998).

Wong, Dorothy, 'The Case of Amoghapasa', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), vol. 2; pp. 151–58.

Wood, Frances, *The Silk Road* (London: The Folio Society, 2002).

Wotte, Herbert, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen. Die Reisen des Zentralasienforschers Pjotr Koslow* (Leipizig: Brockhaus, 1971).

Wriggins, Sally Hovey, *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997). *Reisende auf der Seidenstraße. Auf den Spuren des buddhistischen Pilgers Xuanzang* (Hamburg: Rotbuch Verlag, 1999).

Wu Hung (ed.), *Between Han and Tang: Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2000).

Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu bo wu guan, *Zhongguo Xinjiang Shanpula: Gu dai Yutian wen ming de ti shi yu yan jiu (Shanpula in Xinjiang of China. – Revelation and Study of Ancient Khotan Civilization).* (Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2001).

Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, China, and The Academic Research Organization for the Niya Ruins of Bukkyo University, Japan. *Dandan Oilik Site – Report of the Sino-Japanese Joint Expedition* (in Chinese) (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2009).

Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki,* trans. Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, 1906) (reprint, New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2004).

Yagodin, Vadim N. and Xodshaiov, T., *Nekropol drevnevo Misdaxkana* (Tashkent: Isdatelstvo FAN Usbekskoi CCP, 1970).

Yagodin, Vadim et al., 'Preliminary report on the "Portrait" Gallery at Kazakly-yatkan (Choresmia)', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols), vol. 4, 2009, pp. 7–42.

Yaldiz, Marianne, *Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Chinesisch-Zentralasiens (Xinjiang)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1987).

— 'Maitreya in Kizil – Iconography and Dating', in *Proceedings of the International Seminar 'The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Sub-Continent in Cross-Cultural Perspective'* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009), pp. 134–139.

Yaldiz, Marianne et al., *Magische Götterwelten: Werke aus dem Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin* (Potsdam: Unze Verlag, 2000).

Yamauchi et al. (eds), *Mural Paintings of the Silk Road: Cultural Exchange between East and West* (London: Archetype Publications, 2007).

Yang Hu, Xiao Yang, *Chinese Publishing: Homeland of Printing* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2010).

Yang Junkai, 'Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou', in Étienne de La Vassière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005, pp. 21–45.

Yap, Joseph P., *Wars with the Xiongnu: A Translation from Zizhi tongjian* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2009).

Yatsenko, Sergey A, 'Yuezhi on Bactrian Embroidery from Textiles found at Noyon Uul, Mongolia', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 10, 2012, pp. 39–48.

Yetts, W. Perceval, 'Discoveries of the Kozlóv Expedition', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 48, no. 277, April 1926. Reprinted from *The Burlington Magazine* of April 1926, with additional Note and Illustration (London: Herbert Reiach, no date).

Yin Shenping et al., 'Notes on the Excavation of the Tomb of An Qie', *China Archaeology & Art Digest* (Hong Kong: 2000), vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 15–29.

Yoshida Y, 'Karabalgasun ii. The Inscription', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2010. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karabalgasun-the-inscription

Yu Weichao (ed.), *A Journey into China's Antiquity* 4 vols. (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1997).

Yuan Guoying, Zhao Ziyun, 'Relationship between the Rise and Decline of Ancient Loulan Town and Environmental Changes', *Chinese Geographical Science* (Beijing: Science Press) vol. 9, no. 1, 1999, pp. 78–82.

Yue Feng (ed.), *Xinjiang Lishi Wenming Jicui* (Collection on Xinjiang's historic civilisation) (Urumqi: Xinjiang Meishu Sheying Chubanshe, 2009).

Yugui Wu, 'Turks in the Gaochang Provisioning Texts', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 1–40.

Yule, Sir Henry, trans. and (ed.) with notes, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1903).

Yutaka, Yoshida, 'The Sogdian Version of the new Xi'an Inscription', in Étienne de La Vaissière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 57–72.

— 'Military officers of Sogdian origin from the Late Tang Dynasty to the period of Five Dynasties' in Étienne de La Vaissière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 243–254.

Zadneprovskiy, Y.A, 'The Nomads of Northern Central Asia after the Invasion of Alexander', in János Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994) pp. 457–472.

Zajcev Jurij, Chinesische Lackschatullen aus der Nekropole von Ust'-Al'ma' in LVG-Landesmuseum Bonn (ed.). *Die Krim. Goldene Insel im Schwarzen Meer. Griechen – Skythen – Goten*. (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2013), pp. 102–107.

Zavyalov, V.A., 'The Fortifications of the City of Gyaur Kala, Merv', in Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann (eds). *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007), pp. 313–329.

Zeimal, E.V. 'The Political History of Transoxiana', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (1), pp. 232–262 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

— 'The Kidarite Kingdom in Central Asia', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996) pp. 119–134.

— 'The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the Early Medieval Period (Fifth–Eighth Centuries A.D.)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. Bloomfield Hills, vol. 8/1994, pp. 245–67.

— 'Visha-Shiva in the Kushan Pantheon', in Raymond Allchin et al. (eds), *Gandharan Art in Context* (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997), pp. 245–266.

Zelinskij, A.N, 'Drevnie kreposti na Pamire', *Strany i narody Vostoka*, issue 3, 1964, pp. 120–141.

Zeymal, Tamara I, 'On the Chronology of the Buddhist Site of Kara-Tepe', in Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (eds), *Coins, Art and Chronology* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999) vol. I, pp. 413–22.

Zhang Baoxi, *Grotto Art of Gansu Sculptures*, 2 vols. (Lanzhou: Gansu meishu chubanshe [Gansu People's Fine Art Publishing House], 1994).

Zhang Guangda, 'The city-states of the Tarim basin', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996, pp. 281–302).

— 'Kocho (Kao-ch'ang)', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. III (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 303–314.

— 'Iranian Religious Evidence in Turfan Chinese Texts', *China Archaeology and Art Digest* (Hong Kong: 2000) vol. 4, 1, pp. 193–206.

— 'The Nine Zhaowu Surnames (Sogdians) in the Six Hu Prefectures and Other Places in the Tang Dynasty', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 59–96.

Zhang Guangda, Rong Xinjiang, 'Sur un manuscrit chinois découvert à Cira près de Khotan', *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie*, vol. 3, 1987, pp. 77–92. http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/asie_0766-1177_1987_num_3_1_894

— 'On the Dating of the Khotanese Documents from the Area of Khotan', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), vol. 3, pp. 149–56.

Zhang He, 'Preliminary Study of the Carpets from Sampul, Khotan', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), vol. 5, pp. 59–93.

Zhang Qingjie et al., 'Brief Reports on the Stone Sarcophagus of Yu Hong', *China Archaeology & Art* (Hong Kong: 2000), vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 30–34.

Zhang Yuanlin, 'Dialogue among the Civilizations: the Origin of the Three Guardian Deities' Images in Cave 285, Mogao Grottoes', *The Silk Road Journal* (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation), vol. 6/2, pp. 33–48, 2009.

Zhang Yuzhong, Qu Tao, Liu Guori, 'A Newly Discovered Temple and Wall Paintings at Dandan-Uiliq in Xinjiang', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), vol. 3, pp. 157–170.

Zhao Feng, *Treasures in Silk* (Hong Kong: ISAT/Costume Squad, 1999).

— 'Silks in the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties', in Dieter Kuhn (ed.), *Chinese Silks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 203–57.

Zhao Feng, Yu Zhiyong (eds), *Legacy of the Desert King* (Hong Kong: ISAT/Costume Squad, 2000).

Zhao Feng and Yidilisi, Aburesule, *Da mo lian zhu: huan Takelamagan si chou zhi lu fu shi wen hua kao cha bao gao (Investigations and Reports on the Culture of Clothing along the Silk Road in the Taklamakan Desert).* (Shanghai: Donghua daxue chubanshe, 2007).

Zhao Feng, Qi Dongfang (eds), *New Designs with Western Influence on the Textiles of the Silk Road from the 4th Century to the 8th Century* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2011).

Zhao Songqiao, Xia Xuncheng, 'Evolution of the Lop Desert and the Lop Nor', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 150, no. 3, 1984, pp. 311–321.

Zheng Binglin, *Non-Han ethnic groups in Dunhuang*, in Étienne de La Vassière and Éric Trombert (eds), *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient 2005), pp. 343–62.

Zhongguo Xinjiang Bihua Meishu (Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China), 6 vols. (Urumqi: Xinjiang Art and Photo Press, 2009).

Zieme, Peter, *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uighurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992).

— 'Das uighurische Königreich von Qočo', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 205–12.

— 'The Search for Knowledge through Translation: Translation of Manichaean, Christian and Buddhist Literature into Chinese, Turkic, Mongolian, Tibetan and other Languages', in C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, *part 2* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000), pp. 43–51.

— 'Die Alttürkischen Reiche in der Mongolei', in Claudius Müller, Jacob Wenzel (eds). *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*. (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), pp. 63–68.

Zuanni, Chiara, 'The Earliest Archaeological Evidence of Christianity in Kazakhstan', in Bonora Gian Luca, Pianciola Niccolo, Sartori Paolo (eds) *Kazakhstan. Religions and Society in the History of Central Asia*. (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2009), pp. 67–79.

Zukova, L.I (ed.), *Iz istorii drevnix kultovsrednej Azii. Xristianstvo* (Tashkent: Glavnaja Redakciha Enciklopedii, 1994).

Zürcher, Emil, *The Buddhist Conquest of China,* 2 vols. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1972).

List of Maps

1. **The main archaeological sites of Central Asia in the Age of the Silk Roads and the most important trade routes** (inner front endpaper). Adapted from Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* Vol. I. *The Age of the Steppe Warriors* (London, 2012), inner front endpaper.

2. **Empires of the Xiongnu, the Kushans and Han China (209 BCE–230 CE)** (pp. 10–11). Adapted from Christian Luczanits (ed.), *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans* (Mainz, 2008), pp. 39f.

3. **Major Military Campaigns of the Huns in the 4th and 5th centuries** CE (pp. 106–107). Adapted from István Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich* (Stuttgart, 1991), separate map.

4. **The major archaeological sites in the Tarim Basin in the first millennium** CE (pp. 118–119) © Christoph Baumer. Initial design: Urs Möckli.

5. **The Turkic Khaganates, China and Turkic Kingdoms of Eastern Europe** (pp. 188–189)

6. **Chorasmia, Sogdiana and Ustrushana in the Middle Ages** (p. 242). Adapted from *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* Vol. III. *The Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750* (Paris, 1996), map 5.

7. **The Empire of Greater Tibet (*ca*. 670–850 CE)** and **The Pamir Campaign of General Gao Xianzhi in 747 CE** (pp. 274–275). Adapted from Christoph Baumer, Therese Weber, *Eastern Tibet* (Bangkok, 2005), p. 16, and Aurel Stein, *A Chinese Expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush A.D. 747* (London, 1922), p. 112.

8. **The Uyghur Empire (744–840 CE) and the later Uyghur Kingdoms** (pp. 308–309)

9. **The main archaeological sites of Central Asia and present state boundaries** (inner back endpaper). Adapted from Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* Vol. I. *The Age of the Steppe Warriors* (inner back endpaper).

Satellite imagery © NASA. http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/

Photo Credits

All photos are by the author with the exception of the following:

Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland (photo Christoph von Viràg): figs. 101, 109, 181.

Afrasiab Museum, Samarkand, Uzbekistan: fig. 202.

Archaeological Institute, Urumqi, China: figs. 99, 119.

Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, USA: fig. 62.

Ball Warwick, Galashiels, United Kingdom: figs. 54, 59.

Baumer Christoph / GFA Munich / Landsat 7 / Möckli Urs: fig. 124.

Bpk / Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA: figs. 25, 34, 36, 47.

Bpk / Museum für Asiatische Kunst, SMB, Germany / Jürgen Liepe, Iris Papadopoulos: figs. 97, 98, 248, 252, 253, 258.

Bosshard Walter © Archiv für Zeitgeschichte (ETH Zürich), Fotostiftung Schweiz, Switzerland: fig. 93.

British Library, London, United Kingdom: fig. 95, 111.

Carrard Jean-Daniel, Yverdon, Switzerland: fig. 103.

Central Museum Lahore, Pakistan: figs. 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53.

Docembaeva Aiman, Astana, Kazakhstan: fig. 227.

Damagou on-site Museum, China: fig. 102.

Felsbild-Archiv, Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Heidelberg, Germany: fig. 162.

Gerster Georg, Zumikon, Switzerland: fig. 251.

Guyuan Municipal Museum, Guyuan, China: fig. 70.

Harvard Art Museums / Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, USA. Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.53.80.A: fig. 30.

Hirayama Collection, Kamakura, Japan: figs. 32, 33.

Ili Kazakh Prefecture Museum, Yining, China: fig. 84.

Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot, China: figs. 2, 67.

Karakorum Museum, Kharkhorin, Mongolia: fig. 156.

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna, Austria: fig. 172.

Maijishan Art Research Institute, Tianshui, China: fig. 69.

Möckli Urs, Wetzikon, Switzerland: figs. 89, 96, 104, 125, 126.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA: fig. 186.

Museum of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk, Russia: fig. 200.

Museum of Mathura, India: fig. 37.

Museum of National Antiquities, Dushanbe, Tajikistan: fig. 168, 170, 192, 193, 194, 195, 209.

National Historical Museum, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: fig. 72.

National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul, Afghanistan: figs. 35, 60, 61.

National Museum of India, New Delhi, India: figs. 94, 123, 129.

National Museum of Mongolia, Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia: figs. 18, 19, 215, 219.

National Museum of the Republic of Tuva (photo Pavel Leus): fig. 22.

Oszvald Peter, Bonn, Germany: fig. 38.

Paley Matthieu, Hong Kong / paleyphoto.com: figs. 235, 237, 260.

Peshawar Museum, Pakistan: fig. 31.

Poncar Jaroslav, Cologne, Germany: figs. 55, 56, 57, 146, 169.

Pozzi Silvia, Udine, Italy: fig. 75.

Razzetti Steve, Hesket Newmarket, Canada: fig. 236.

Redlink Asian Photography Network Limited, Hong Kong, © Ma Yiu Chun: fig. 63.

Regional Museum Khotan, China: fig. 245.

Richardson David and Sue, United Kingdom: fig. 78.

Righetti Jean-Pierre, Fribourg, Switzerland (photo Dr Vondrovec Klaus): fig. 166.

Samarkand Museum of History, Samarkand, Uzbekistan: fig. 184.

Savchenko Alexei, Kiev, Ukraine: figs. 201, 210, 211, 212, 213.

Schroeder Ulrich von, Weesen, Switzerland: figs. 189, 229, 246.

Schulze Helmut R., Heidelberg, Germany: fig. 165.

Ségalen Victor, France: fig. 7.

Shaanxi History Museum, Xian, China: figs. 66, 185, 187, 188.

State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Photographs © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets: figs. 191, 196.

State Museum of History, Tashkent, Uzbekistan: figs. 26, 28, 39, 41, 80, 197, 206.

State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow, Russia: fig. 42.

Stuhrmann Jochen, Hamburg, Germany: figs. 16, 198, 222.

Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm: figs. 87, 88, 90, 91.

Trustees of the British Museum, London, United Kingdom: figs. 27, 29, 46, 76, 92, 114, 115, 118, 131, 159, 183.

Todd Donna, Victoria, Australia: figs. 218, 221. 224.

Uyghur Regional Museum, Urumqi, China: figs. 100, 113, 143, 144.

Weber Therese, Arlesheim/Hergiswil, Switzerland: figs. 85, 145, 150, 151, 179, inner back jacket flap.

All efforts have been made to name or identify copyright holders. We will endeavour to rectify any unintended omissions in future editions of this work, upon receipt of evidence of relevant intellectual property rights.

Acknowledgements

This book is based on dozens of expeditions and journeys undertaken in the last three decades. My research was successful only thanks to hundreds of kind people in China, India, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Pakistan, Russia, Tajikistan, Tibet, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan; to all of them I remain grateful. The book itself was produced with the help of many people. A few preferred to remain anonymous; others are briefly acknowledged here, in alphabetical order:

Prof Dr Michael Alram, Vienna, who gave me valuable references to issues related to the Chionites and Kidarites.

Prof Dr Aiman Docembaeva, Almaty, who shared her photographs and knowledge on Turkic stone figures from Astana and Zhaysan in Kazakhstan.

Prof Dr Peter Golden, Piscataway, who clarified an issue concerning Marwan's advance into Khazaria in 737 CE and who put me in touch with Prof Dan Shapira.

Dr Michael Henss, Zurich, and **Dr Kurt Tropper, Vienna**, who helped me in identifying a mural from the Khorlam of the Serkhang in Shalu, Central Tibet.

Mrs Ursula Käser, Münchenstein, who carefully reviewed the initial German manuscript.

Prof Dr Markus Mode, Halle, who helped identify scenes on the house-sarcophagus of An Jia, dated 579 CE, of a Sogdian mural from Panjikant discovered in 2003 and of the reconstructed murals in the palace of Kala-i Kahkaha I in Bunjikat, Tajikistan.

Dr Silvia Pozzi, Udine, who kindly put her not yet published research on the Sesen- or Gayomard-amulet from Vardana at my disposal and who gave several valuable indications concerning the archaeology of Vardana.

Mr Jürg Rageth, Riehen, for the interesting discussions around the topic of Sogdian and Sassanian patterns on textiles and in paintings.

Dr Regula Schorta, Riggisberg, who gave very valuable indications concerning the origin of medieval textiles found in the region of Dulan, Eastern Tibet.

Prof Dr Dan Shapira, Jerusalem, who translated two funeral inscriptions in Hebrew from Mangup Kale, Crimea.

Prof Dr Sören Stark, New York, who advised me on the correct provenance of the Türgesh and drew my attention at the architectural parallels between the sites of Sanjar Shah, Sangyr Tepe and Hodzha-Adzhvandi Tepe.

Prof Therese Weber, Hergiswil, who joined several journeys and expeditions and helped clarify questions relating to ancient paper and textiles.

Index: Concepts

Page numbers referring to images are in *italics*.

A

Abbasid empire 150, 208, 284, 289, 318
  and Samanids 296
  and Turks 202
  and Umayyads 246, 253
acanthus leaves 62, 63
Achaemenid dynasty 15, 42, 57, 224
Acts of Thomas 46
Ädiz clan 307
administration 18, 64
  and China 28
  and Chorasmia 101
  and Mongols 320
  and Northern Wei 87–8
  and Parthians 42
  and Sogdians 222, 226, 229
  and Türgesh 267
  and Turks 190, 200
  and Uyghurs 316
Afrighid dynasty 101
agriculture 9, 18, 47, 51, 208, 209
  and Sogdians 224
  and Tibet 273, 312
  and Turks 258
  and Uyghurs 301, 316
Ahl al-Kitab 245
Alans 49, 108, 110, 209
alcohol 12
alfalfa 21
Alkhan tribe and dynasty 99–100
alphabet 138, 209, 228–9
Altaic language 8, 82, 174
Amaravati School 69
amber 54, 225
ammonium chloride 225
amulets 98
An Lushan rebellion 170, 230, 254, 272, 284–7, 299
Anastasian Wall 208
Aniko school of painting 277
animals 29, 55, 183, 185
  combat motifs 47
  dual *222*, 225, 292
  guardian 129
  pack 54, *128*
  and religion 67, 261
Annals of Li Yul 139, 148
anthropomorphic figures 33, 57, 104, 184, *186*
  and Buddha 60–61, 63, 68
Antigonids 61
apsaras 86, *90*, 164, 165
Arabs 142, 197, 200, 202, 204, 206
  and Byzantium 208–9
  and Iran 280, 281
  and Khazars 214
  and Sogdians 235, 242, 244–54
  and Tibet 283, 284
  and Turks 267, 270
Aramaic language 42–3, 61, 101, 228
archaeology 129–36, 204, 251, 301, 304
  and Tarim Basin 114, 116, *118–19*, 120–26, 129
archers 5, 16, *26–7*, 108, 191, 273
architecture 142, 153, 251, 283, 320
  and Buddhism 72, 74
  and Uyghurs 301, 304
  see also building techniques
ardawan *see* Elect
ark 244, 249
Armenians 111
armies 8, 9, 12, 13, 281, 284, 286
  and Tibet 273, 277
armour 14, 88, 157, 159, 273
Arsacid dynasty 39, 42, 43
art 1, 2, 90, 114, 318
  and Buddhism 64–5, 75–6, 80
  and India 58, 68, 69
  and Khotan 138, 142–7
  and Mongols 320
  and Sogdians 232, 234–5
  and Tibet 292, 293–5
  see also cave paintings; Gandhara School; wall paintings
artisans 29
artists 50, 86, 133
asbestos 54
ascetics 60
Ashide Turkic clan 261
Ashina Turkic clan 15, 91, 94, 169, 174, 191, 192, 213, 257
  decline of 267
  and myths 261
  and Uyghurs 298, 299
assassination 39, 42, 272, 284
astronomy 320
asylum 310
atlantes 72
aureole 52, 62, *232*
Avar Treasure 209
Avar tribe 94, 175–6, 208–9, 211
Avesta 42

B

Bactrian language 51, 97
Bactrian script 51, 57
Bagram Treasure 56, 58
balbals 184, *185*, 211, 257, 263, *265*
bamboo 149
banking 226–7
banqueting scenes 227–8, *229*
barbarians 5, 82, 202, 215, 286
Basmil people 257, 259, 265, 267, 299
Bayegu people 191, 298
Behistun Inscription 123
beks 217
belief systems 130–31, 261–2
benefactors 86
Bimaran Reliquary 45, 68–9, *69*
blackmail 1, 110
block printing 149
bodhisattvas 2, 49, 52, 61, 63, 64, 86, *134*
  and art 69, 166
  and statuary 71, 72
  and Tibet 293
Bombyx mori 55, 148; *see also* silkworms
Bön religion 273, 292, 293, 294, 295
bone plaques 96
booty 50, 110, 111, 246
border raiding 1, 9, 12
Bower Manuscript 66, *67*, 116
bowmen 25, 37, 88, 176
bows 9, 14, 108
Brahmi script 44, 52, 64
Brahmins 132
braids 134–5
brass 225
bronze 54, 56, 311
  buckles *12*, 31–2, 47
  and Buddha 64, 69, *83*, *293*, 294
  knockers 90, *91*
Bronze Age 133–4
Buddhism 2, 43, 44, 51–2, 75–6, 114
  and Alkhan 100
  and archaeology 120, 122
  and Central Asia 61–6
  and China 83–4, 85, 311
  and deities 57, 58
  and dissemination 137
  and funerary rites 227
  and Gaochang 170
  and India 60–61
  and Khotan 138, 139, 141–2
  and Kucha 160–61, 164
  and Manichaeism 132, 307
  and missionaries 34
  and Northern Wei 87, 88–9, 90
  and paper 149
  and pilgrimage 193–4, 196–7
  and sculpture 45
  and Shan-shan 153, 155
  and silk 55, 148
  and stupas 66–7, 68, 72, 74
  Tantric 144, 145, 146
  and Tibet 292–4, 295
  and Turks 182, 202, 203–4, 206, 256, 261
  and Uyghurs 305, 313, 315
Bugut Stele 174 n.8, 182, 228
building techniques 21–2, 72, 74, 154, 157
Bulgars 208, 209–11; *see also* Danube Bulgars; Volga Bulgars
bulls 51
bureaucracy 30
Burgundians 110
burials 227, 262
Buzkashi *199*
byssus 55
Byzantine Empire 1, 208–9, 211, 214–15, 318
  and Turks 177–9, 180–81

C

Caliphate 272, 289
camels 29, *124*, 226, *318*
Cao dynasty 312
Capitoline wolf 234
caravans 34, 62, 64, 114, *246*, *318*
  and Sogdians 225
  and Tibet 273
caravanserai 34, 142
carpets *29*, 31
caryatids 72
caskets 31, *50*
castration 4
Caucasian tribe 213
cavalry 9, 208, 286
  and China 5, 13, 16–17
cave monasteries 86, *139*
cave paintings *162–3*, 164–6, *167*
cave temples 57, 87, 89, 132, 161, 164
Celtic language 46
centaurs 43, 72, 134
cereal 9, 12
Chalcedonian Confession 238, 241
chariots 32
charity 61
children 29, 160
Chinese characters 6
Chinvat Bridge 78, 228
Chionites 82, 94–5, 96, 108, 224
Chorasmian script 101
Christianity 43, 56, 57, 91, 114, 180, 209
  and Arabs 281
  and Islam 245
  and Khazars 216
  and Mani 305
  and Sogdians 231

  see also Church of the East; Nestorian Christianity; Orthodox Christianity; Roman Catholic Church
Church of the East 105, 238, 240–41, 315
cinnabar 54
circumambulation 57, 67, 68, 74, 85, 155
circumcision 248, 251
citadels 222, 234, *244–5*, 249
Citroën Expedition 132
civil war 8, 25, 28–9, 42
  and Avars 208, 209
  and Huns 109
  and Tibet 272
  and Turks 186
  and Uyghurs 299
class system 211
climatic conditions 2, 14, 88, 114, 154, 157, 304, 308
  and Mongolia 191
clothing 9, 12, 72, 124, 133, 134, *140*, *222*
  and Buddha 62, 69, 71
  and hierarchies 55
  and Kushans 50, 54, 58
  and Tibet 292
coinage 42, 44, 45, *46*, 58, 68–9, 99
  and archaeology 126, 129
  and Buddhism 62
  and Chorasmia 101
  and Hephthalites 97
  and Khazars 216
  and Khotan 138–9
  and Kidarites 96
  and Kucha 158–9
  and Kushans 47, 49, 50–51, 52, 56
  and Nezaks 100
  and religion 57, 58, 240
  and Sassanids 94
  and Sogdians 222, 242–3, 250, 251
  and Türgesh 267
  and Turks *200*, 202
colour hierarchies 55
concubines 8
Confucianism 25, 114, 170
conscription 20
contrapposto 69
copper mining 75
Copts 238
coral 54
corpses 131, 227
cosmology 305
crafts 25, 82
credit 142, 149, 243, 299
cremation 94, 183, 227
crime 30, 34
crop farmers 18, 29, 257
crossbows 14, 16, 25, *26–7*
crucifixion 249
Crusades 320
cults 43
  fire 52, 56–7
Cultural Revolution 133, 292
Cumans 320
currency 1, 6, 51, 138–9, 242–3

D

Da Xia dynasty 84
dakhma 104, *109*
dance 227
Danube Bulgars 211–12, 215
Daoism 85, 88, 114, 261
Dar al-Harb 244
Dar al-Islam 244, 245
Dar al-Kufr 240, 245
decimal systems 8–9, 304, 318
defensive measures 5, 6–7, 14, 17–18
deforestation 153–4
denawar 307
deserters 9, 15
Dhammapada 66
dharani 149
dharma 67, 142
dhimmis 245
Di tribe 5, 83
diadems 39
Diamond Sutra 126, 149
Dian culture 15, 47
Dingling people 8, 22
Dionysian motifs 43, 52
Diophysites 238
diplomatic relations 88, 193, 320, 223, 226
Dirghagama Sutra 85, 161
Dirham *251*
djizya 245, 248, 251, 254
Doctrine of the Hypostatic Union 238
domestic troubles 25, 28
Donghu people 5, 8
dowries 20
dragons 90
dromos 185, 227
Duohuoluo, Kingdom of 47
Duolu tribes 205, 209, 267
dye 55
dynastic art 58

E

earthenware 129
earthquakes 110, 304
Eastern Army 16
Eastern Han dynasty 4, 28, 34, 114, 137, 168
Eastern Turkic Khaganate 174, 187, 190–92, 258–9, 261–3, 265, 267
  and China 256, 257
Eastern Wei dynasty 90
Eastern Zhou dynasty 5
economics 1, 40, 51
  and Avars 209
  and China 28
  and Chionites 95
  and Huns 110
  and Khotan 142
  and Kucha 159
  and Sogdians 224, 242
  and Tibet 273
  and Turks 259
  and Uyghurs 299
  and Xiongnu 9, 12
eight-spoked wheel 67
Elcesaites 305
Elect 131, *304*, *306*, 306–7, 312
elephants 97
elite tombs 9, 30, 32
embroidery *30*, 31, 54, 55
empty throne symbol 67
enlightenment 67
epic literature 232
Europids 46, 105
explorers 114, 116–17, 120–26
extortion 244, 246

F

fabric 54–5
famine 28, 29, 191, 257, 308
feitian 86, *90*, 164 *see also apsara*
fertility rituals 136
feudal states 42
fire cult 52, 56–7, 203, 206
First Turkic Khaganate 1, 114, 169, 174–81, 258
  and Buddhism 182–3
  and funerary rites 183–6
  and Sogdians 228
fishing 9
Five Barbarians 83
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms 310
Five Prefectures 18
flags *298*
flying geese 52
food 9, 12, 25, 82
foot symbol 67
foreign policy 82, 90, 190, 272, 307
  and China 28, 159
foreigners 9, 14
Former Liang dynasty 86, 151, 154, 168
Former Qin dynasty 87, 159
fortifications 9, 17–18, 19, 21, 126
  and Hephthalites 97, *98*
  and Kidarites 95
  and Shan-shan 153, 154, 155, 157
  and Tibet 273
  and Turks 261
  and Uyghurs 299, 301, *302–3*, 304
Four Garrisons 137, 140, 157, 170, 172, 206, 267
  and China 277
  and Tibet 273, 276, 283, 289
Four Noble Truths 60
four-iwan plan 204
Franks 209, 211
friezes 235
fuba 40
funerary rites *94*, 126, 129, 164, 309
  and Bulgars 213
  and Chorasmia 104–5
  and Huns 111–12
  and Sogdians 227–8, 243
  and Turks 183–6, 262–3
  and Xiongnu 30–33
Fur Route 223

G

Gandhara School 2, 44, 47, *48*, 51, 143, 155, 294, 318
  and Buddhism 63, 69, 71–2, 76
  and Kushans 58
  and stupas 68
Gandhari Prakrit language 51–2, 64, 65
Gaoche people 15, 87, 90–91, 169
Gar clan 267, 276, 277, 279
garland motif *157*
gazelles 40
gemstones 54
Gepids 175, 208
Germanic people 108, 110
Ghaznavids 320
Ghorids 320
glass 54, *55*, 56
goatherds 132
goats 29, *191*
goblets *55*
Göktürk people 109, 174, 208, 222, 298, 299
  and religion 183, 261
gold 12, 50, 54, 55, *88*, 225
Golden Horde 211
good and evil principle 305–6
government 25, 28, 42
  and China 17, 18, 82
  and Turks 200
  and Xiongnu 9, 318
grahas 147
granaries 21
grave goods 5, *87*, 88
Great Bulgaria Empire 209–10
Great Miracle of Sravasti 50
Great Wall of China 5, 6–7, 13, 18
Great Wall of Gorgan 97
Great Yuan dynasty 286–7
Greco-Bactrian empire 44
Greek culture *see* Hellenistic culture
Greek gods 43, 44, 47, 56
Greek language and script 42, 44, 51, 61
Greuthungi people 108, 109
griffins 43
guardian beasts 129, *172*
guosuo 223
Gupta script 64, 66, 67, 138

H

hair 32, 71
halberds 14, 25, *27*
halo (nimbus) 52, 62, 143, 144, *233*
halo, serrated 69, *69*
Han dynasty 1, 4, 7, 12, 14, 126, 310
  collapse of 158
  map *10–11*
  see also Eastern Han dynasty; Western Han dynasty
Han, Kingdom of 12
Han Shu chronicle 4, 19, 32, 43, 158
Han Zhao dynasty 83
hang-tu 304
haoma 227
harness repeat 225
headdresses *88*
Hearers 306–7
Hellenistic culture 42, 43, 51, 56, 157, 234
  and archaeology 123–4
  and art 71, 72
helmets 14
hemp 149
Hephthalites 39, 78, 82, 97–9, 114, 137, 140, 152
  and Ashina Turks 174, 175
  and Kidarites 95, 96
  and religion 238
  and trade 224
heqin policy 12, 14
hierarchies 8
Hinayana Buddhism 61, 64, 78, 141–2, 143, 204
Hinduism 51, 54, 57, 58, 100, 114, 202–3
  and Buddhism 144, 146
  and Sogdians 231–2, 234
Hindu-Shahi dynasty 75, 202, 203
honey 55
horsemen 8, 12, 14, *26–7*, 54, 208
  Avar 176
  Bulgar 211
  Göktürk *175*
  and Huns 109, 110
  Khazar 213
  Turk 198
horses 1, *6–7*, 14, 15, 29, *265*
  blood-sweating 19, 20–21
  and Buddhism 67
  and burials 134
  and China 5, 17
  and Kucha 159
  piebald 144
  and races *276*

  and Sogdians 223, 226
  stone *16*
  and Turks 180
  and Uyghurs 301
  war 20
hostages 12, 21, 28, 246, 248
Hou Han Shu chronicle 4, 34, 39, 40, 47, 140
  and trade 54, 55
houguan 18
House of Qu 91
housing 9, 29, 168, 209, 234, 301
Hu *see* barbarians
Hu tengwu 227
Hu xuanwu 227, *229*
human-bird hybrids 77–8, 228
Hunnish Chionites 54, 57
Hunnish Kidarites 54
Hunno-Scythian culture 32
Huns 82, 94–101,
  and Eastern Europe 105, *106–7*, 108–12
hunting 29, 235, 309
Hunxie tribe 4
Hunyu tribe 4
Huquie tribe 12

I

Iconoclasts 216, 218, 220
iconodules 216, 218, 220
iconography 51, 234
incense 55
Idiqut 314, 315
Indo-Greek kingdoms 43, 44–5
Indo-Iranian language 46
Indo-Parthian kingdoms 46, 47, 49
Indo-Saka kingdoms 45, 46
Indo-Scythian kingdoms 47
infantry 16
infidels 245
inscriptions 47, 58, 135–6, *196*
  and Buddhism 61, 62, 64
  and Bulgars 211
  and Hephthalites 99
  silk 125
  and Sogdians 223
  and Turks 182, 257
International Congress of Orientalists 129
Iranian language 37, 42, 47
iron 17, 33, 135
irrigation 47, 95, 104, 153–4, 224, 301
  artificial 257, 316
  karez 170
Islam 2, 80, 101, 137, 170, 208, 318–20
  and Abbasids 254
  and Afghanistan 203
  and Bulgars 210, 213
  and conversion 244–6, 247–8, 251, 314, 315
  and Khazars 214, 215, 216
  and Umayyads 253–4
  and Uyghurs 305
  and violence 131
  see also Muslims
ispasag 307
Italic language 46
iugurrus 209
ivory 43, 56, 58
iwan 204

J

Jacobites 240
jade 19, 54, 148
Jataka tales 61, 67–8, 164, 165
jewellery 9, 12, 186
Jie tribe 83
Jin dynasty 29, 82; *see also* Western Jin dynasty 82
Jinhan dynasty 312
Jiu chronicle 205
Jiu Tang Shu chronicle 273
Juan Juan 87, 90; *see also* Rouran
Judaism 57, 210, 215–16, 217, 245
jugs 227, *229*, *234*, 292

K

kala 222
Kan dynasty 91, 169
Kängärä tribe 258
Kanishka, casket of *50*, 52
Kanishka Era 51–2
Karaites 215–17
Karakhanids 125, 137, 143, 172, 314, 320
Karakitay dynasty 314
karez *see* irrigation
Karluks 174, 219, 254, 257, 289, 296, 299
  and Turks 265, 267
karma 60
katha (scarf) *262*
kenesa *216*, 217
Kerait tribe 241
khagan as a title 90 n.52, 174 n.2
Kharoshthi script 44, 49, 51, 61, 62, 64, 68, 69, 125
  and Buddhism 61, 62, 64
Khazar Empire 104, 198, 208, 209–10, 211, 213–17, 219
  and dual rule 217
  and Judaism 215–17
Khitan tribe 87, 174, 182, 191, 309–10, 312, 313
  and Turks 174, 258
  and Uyghurs 298
Khorasanis 55
Khwarizimi language 101
Kidarites 82, 95, 96, 224
Kimeks 219
Köngül Turks 276
Kuchean language 129
Kül Tegin Stele 183, *256*
Kunmo, kunmi 36, 37, 39
Kurgans 5
Kushan empire 2, 36, 45, 46–7, 49–52, 54, 318
  and art 69, 71
  and Chorasmia 101
  and Kashgar 137
  and language 65
  map *10–11*
  and religion 56–8, 62, 232
  and stupas 74
  and trade 54–6
Kushano-Sassanian dynasty 54
Kutrigurs 209
Kyrgyz tribe 174, 182, 258
  and Uyghurs 272, 291–2, 295, 299, 308–9

L

lacquerware 31, 54, 56
lamellar armour 157, 159
land rights 8
language 6, 61, 64, 130, 312
  and Huns 105, 108
  proto-languages 8, 46, 47, 82
  and Uyghurs 316
  see also Altaic; Aramaic; Iranian; Kharoshthi; Turkic
lapis lazuli 55, 165
Later Han dynasty 310
Later Jin dynasty 310
Later Liang dynasty 312
Later Tang dynasty 310
Later Zhao dynasty 83, 84, 85
law, the 28, 129, 320
laypeople 61, 62, 131, 164
leather 123, 157
legends 234
levirate marriage 39, 186
Liao dynasty 309–10, 312, 313
limes 17, 21
linen 55
Linhu people 5
lion symbol 40, 67, 234–5
Litang Horse Festival *276*
literacy 101, 248
literature 320
livestock 29, 90, 91, 138, 257, 316
living conditions 29–30; *see also* housing
loess terraces 157
Lombards 175–6, 208, 209, 211
looms 225
lotus flower symbol 67, 68
Lotus Sutra 61, 65
Loulan tribe 12
lucerne 21
Lufan people 5, 8
lungta *279*

M

mace 50
Madara Rider 211
Madhayamaka school 160
madrasas 204
Magyars 215, 217, 219
Mahasamghika school 63
Mahayana Buddhism 51, 61, 64, 84, 135–6
  and Khotan 141–2
  and Kumtura 166
mahistag 307
mamelukes 286
Mamluks 320
Manchurian script 229, 316
mandala 63
Manichaeism 2, 57, 114, 132, 230, 231, 305–7
  and manuscripts 130
  and murals 131
  and script 306
  and Sogdians 230–32, 234
  and Uyghurs 299, 301, 304–5, 310–11, 315–16
manuscripts 66, 101, 124, 125–6, 294
  and archaeology 129, 130
  and Khotan 144
  and Uyghurs 315
maritime trade 34, 49, 54, 83, 231, 318
markets 9
marriage 12, 16, 20, 32, 49, 296
  levirate 39, 186
  and Uyghurs 307
masks 90, *94*, *111*
massacres 83, 84, 131, 211, 248, 230
  and Uyghurs 307, 310
mathematics 320
Mathura School 69, 143
mausolea *16*
mawali 246, 248, 251, 253
Mazdaism 104–5, 114, 228, 231, 232
Mazdakites 97
medallions 56, 69, 165, *222*, 225, 292
medicine 225, 320
Melkites 105, 240
memorials 262–3, *264*, *270*
mercenaries 14, 40, 283, 286
merchants 49, *128*, *137*, 177, *277*
  and Buddhism 64
  and Uyghurs 301
metalworking 9
Miaphysites 238, 240
Middle Ages 176
migration 1, 2, 40, 43, 109, 110, 176
Milindapanha 44
military conflict 1, 2, 88, *106–7*
  and China 5, 13
  and Xiongnu 8, 12, 14, 16–17
minerals 55
Ming dynasty 7, 125
minggi figures 88, 185, 186
miniatures 130
Minyak 312 *see also* Tanguts
mirrors 43
missionaries 34, 44, 50, 61, 62, 305
missions 19
Mi Zong 197
monasteries 34, 52, 61, 66, *74*, 75, 129
  destruction of 311
  and Khotan 142
  and Northern Wei 88
  and Turks 203–4, 206
  see also cave monasteries
Mongol Empire 9, 15, 105, 112, 320
Mongolian script 229, 316
monks 61, 62, 63–4, 66, 132, 311
  and Khotan 142
  pilgrim 193–4, 196–7
  and Tibet 292
monsoon winds 54
moon worship 30, 80, 165
motifs 155
  animals 47, 90, *222*, 225
  Dionysian 52
  garland *157*
  leaf 225
  sun god 77, 78
možak 132, 305, 307, 315
mudbrick 154, 222, 301
Mughal Empire 320
mulberry trees 148
mummies *131*, 133, 134
murals 101, 125, 126, 135
  Manichaean 131
  and Sogdians 235, 243
  and Uyghurs 315
Murong tribe 87
music 227
musk 225, 231
Muslims 129, 204, 253; *see also* Arabs
myrrh 55
myths 174, 261

N

necropoles 9, *28*, 29–33, 126, 134, 217
nephrite 148
Nestorian Christianity 2, 105, 129, 130, 131, 238, *see also* Church of the East
  and China 311
  and Estrangelo script 130, 229
  and murals 131–2

  - and Turks 206
  - and Uyghurs 315
- Nezak dynasty 100–101, 200
- Nine Tribes 257, 298
- Nirvana 61, 67, 68, 76
- *Nirvana Sutra* 85, 161
- nobility 222, 232
- Noble Eightfold Path 60
- noble pen shell 55
- Northern Han dynasty 310
- Northern Liang dynasty 84, 85–6, 151–2, 168
- Northern Qi dynasty 177, 182, 186, 226
- Northern Silk Road 129–33, 158–72
- Northern Song dynasty 243
- Northern Wei dynasty 83, 84–5, 86, 87–90, 91
  - and Shan-shan 152
  - and trade 224
  - and Tuyuhun 140
- Northern Zhou dynasty 177, 182, 183, 186, 226
- nuns 61, 66, 311
- Nushibi tribes 205, 267
- Niyoshagan *see* Hearers

O

- oasis cities 12, 14, 88, 114, 136–8
  - and Buddhism 64
- obo *263*
- Oghur tribe 91, 209
- Oghuzes 174, 184, 217, 219, 257, 259
- Old Turkic language 174
- On Oq 205, 263, 267, 270, 280
- On Uighur 298
- Onogurs 175, 208, 209
- Orthodox Christianity 212, 215, 240
- ossuaries 105, *225*, 227
- ostraca 43, 62
- ostriches 40

P

- pack animals 54
- *padam* 77, *225*, 228, *229*, *243*
- Pahlavi language 228, *251*
- paint techniques 77
- Palola Shahi dynasty 293, 294
- paper 2, 129, 149–50, *151*, 231
  - and money 243
- parables 234–5
- Paradise 78
- parinirvana *76*, 161, 204
- *Parthian Stations* 43
- Parthians 25, 34, 39–40, 42–3, 49, 50, 318
  - and art 71
  - and Chorasmia 101
  - and Kushans 54, 57
  - and language 65
- pastoralism 9, 261, 273
- peace negotiations 291, 292
- pearls 54, 56, 78
- Pechenegs 216, 217, 219, 258, 320
- Peepal Tree 67
- pelt 55
- Pentateuch 217
- perfume 56, 225
- *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 49, 54
- Persian language 254
- petroglyphs *31*, 45, *175*, *196*
- philosophy 44, 61, 320
- Phoenicians 222
- pilgrim monks 193–4, 196–7
- *Pinna nobilis* 55
- plaster casts 56
- plundering 245, 246, 247, 248
- pogroms 230, 307
- politics 1, 39, 114, 311, 318
  - and China 5–6, 17
  - and Mongols 320
  - and Sogdians 222, 242, 243
  - and Uyghurs 299, 312, 313
- poplar 21, 157
- postal service 82, 223, 224, 320
- potsherds 43
- pottery 97, *138*
- *pradakhshina* 57
- *pranidhi* scenes *128*, 132–3
- prefixes 226
- prisoners of war 9, 25, 86, 150, 258, 310
- profit 55
- protector-general 23, 160, 169, 277 n.19
- proto-Mongolian language 82
- *Proto-Sarada* script *294*
- proto-Tocharian language 8, 46, 47
- proto-Tungusic language 8
- Ptolemies 61
- Pugyel dynasty 272
- *pushou* 90, *91*
- putsches 180, 230, 253, 259, 313

Q

- Qiang people 14, 18, 47, 83
- Qin dynasty 290
- Qing dynasty 256
- Qu dynasty 91, 169, 170
- quadriga *31*, 77, 78, 165, *168*
- Quanrong tribe 5
- *qut* 217, 261

R

- *rabat* 222, 249
- Rabatak inscription 47, 49, 52
- Radhanites 215
- raffia 21
- raids 87, 157, 170, 206, 244, 252
- ransoms 97, 191, 246
- rats 144
- Rebellion of the Eight Princes 82, 83
- rebirth 60, 61, 67
- redemption 60, 305, 306
- reincarnation 60
- reindeer *260*
- relics 56, 62, 74–5
- religion 1, 2, 9, 30, 42, 43, 103–5, 215
  - and tolerance 51, 100, 131–2, 170, 314, 315, 320
  - and Turks 261–2
  - and Xiongnu 9, 30
  - *see also* Bön religion; Buddhism; Christianity; Hinduism; Islam; Judaism; Manichaeism; Zoroastrianism
- reliquaries *50*, 52, 62, 68
- rhinoceros horn 54
- rhytons *38*, 43
- ribbons 78, 86
- rituals 30; *see also* funerary rites; sacrifice
- rock engravings *31*, 45
- Roman Catholic Church 212, 238
- Roman Empire 1, 15, 40, 108–11, 234, 318
  - and architecture 74
  - and art 69, 71, 72
  - and Kushans 49–50
  - and silk 34, 55
- Roman legionaries 25, *26–7*
- Rong tribe 5
- Rouran tribe and Empire 85, 87, 88, 90–91, 97, 114, 140, 152, 298
  - and Ashina Turks 174, 175
- rugs 54, 135
- runic script 209, 228–9, 299
- Rus' 219, 320
  - and Kiev 210, 219, 320
- *rustak* 249
- rutbil 202

S

- sabao 145–6, 226–7
- Sabir people 91, 175, 208, 213
- Sacred Fig *61*, 67
- sacrifice 30, 32, 50, 60, 261, *278–9*; *see also* self-sacrifice
- saddles 9, 88, 108, 235
- saffron 225
- Saka people 13, 37, 39, 40, *41*, 43, 45, 318
  - and language 64
  - and script 138
  - and Tumshuk 138, 166
- salt 17
- Samanids 231, 240, 251, 254, 296, 318–20
- Sangha order 44, 165
- Sanskrit language 52, 65
- sarcophagi *226*, 227–8
- Säriq Uighur 313
- Sarmatians 209
- Sarvastivada school 51, 63, 85, 137, 160–61
- Sassanids 1, 15, 42, *53*, 54, 57
  - and art 58, 129
  - and Byzantium 208, 240
  - and China 280–81
  - and Chionites 94, 95
  - and Chorasmia 102
  - and Hephthalites 97–99
  - and Huns 111
  - and Khazars 214
  - and Kidarites 96
  - and Nezaks 101
  - and religion 66, 231, 238, 240
  - and silk 56
  - and trade 224
  - and Turks 174, 177–8, 180–81
- Saxons 209
- scale armour *160*, *175*
- schist 69, *70*, *72*
- scroll paintings 125, 126
- sculpture 2, 43, 45, 47, 58, *169*
  - and Buddha 67, *73*, 84, 85–6, 292–3
  - and Northern Wei 89–90
  - and Tibet 294–5
  - *see also* statuary
- Scythian Animal Style 45
- Scythians 13, 31, 318
- sea silk 55
- seals 123–4
- Second Dacian War 50
- Second Turkic Khaganate 174, 228, 257, 261, 301
- sedentary culture 2
- Seleucid dynasty 39, 40, 43, 61
- self-laceration 293
- self-sacrifice 164–5
- self-sufficiency 1, 7, 14
- Seljuks 320
- *senmurv* *224*, 225
- sericulture 144, 148–9, 224
- Sertha Golok people *278–9*
- settlement policy 13
- seven preciosities 142, 142 n. 201
- sgraffito 157
- shamans 261–2, *263*, *266*
- Shang dynasty 5
- *sharistan* 222, 249
- Shatuo people 310
- sheep 29
- shepherds 132
- she-wolves 15, 174, 234
- shields 25, *26–7*
- *Shiji* chronicle 4, 47
- Shiwei tribe 87
- shrouds 56, *152*, 153
- Sibi Jataka 196
- siege machines 252
- silk 1, 5, 9, 12, 34, 49
  - and China 54, 224
  - and inscriptions 125
  - and production 55–6, *150*
  - and Sogdians 222, 224, 225, 226, 229
  - and Tibet 292
  - and Turkish khaganate 177
  - and Uyghurs 301
  - *see also* sericulture
- Silk Roads 1, 2, 15, 33, 34, 35, 49, 52
  - and Buddhism 64, 86
  - and Kushans 54–6
  - *see also* Northern Silk Road; Southern Silk Road
- silkworms 55, 148
- silver 43, 50, 54, 75, *224*, 225
- simurgh *see* senmurv
- Sino-Kharoshthi coins 138
- Sino-Kuchean coins 158
- Sino-Tibetan peace 290, 292
- Sir tribe 257
- Six Barbarian Prefectures 226
- Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarian Peoples 82, 83, 87, 88
- Siyavushids 101
- skull manipulation 99, 100, 160
- sky worship 174
- slaves 13, 55, 97, 225, 231, 258, 311
  - and monasteries 142
- Slavic Antes tribe 175, 208
- Slavs 211
- 'Sogdian Ancient Letter II' 81, 82, 223
- Sogdians 15, 43, 165, 230
  - and An Lushan rebellion 230, 285, 286, 287
  - and Arabs 244–54
  - and independence 242–3
  - and name prefixes 226
  - and religion 146–7, 230–32, 234–5, 305
  - and script 82, 228–9, 316
  - and silk 55–6, 177
  - and stone sarcophagi 226–8, *226*, *227*, *228*, *229*
  - and trade 1, 82, 177, 222–5, 231, 301, 318
  - and Turks 174, 176, 177, 182, 226–31
- soldiers 1, 34, 155, 157, 252, 273, 312
- solstices 261
- *Song of the Nibelungs* 110
- soothsayers 30, 85, 139
- Southern Liang dynasty 87
- Southern Silk Road 114, 116, 133, 136–47, 290, 296
- *spalapati* 293
- spices 55
- statuary 43, 51, 61, 124, 143, *257*
  - and Buddhism 63, 69, *70*, 71–2, 75, 76–7, *290*, *291*, 292–3

steles 184, 185, *256*, 262–3, *286*
  and Tibet 292, 294
  and Uyghurs 301
steppe empires 1, 2, 5, 9; *see also* Xiongnu, Rouran, Turkic Khaganates, Uyghur Empire
stirrups 88, 176
stock rearing 1, 9, 29
stone figures *267*, *268–9*, *300*, *310*
stucco 69, 124, 129
stupas 52, *60*, 61, 62–3, *65*, 160, *171*
  and archaeology 124, 125
  and art 66–7, 68, 72, 74
  and Rawak *142*, 143
  and Shan-shan 155, 157
  and Uyghurs 301
Suebi 110
Sui dynasty 164, 186, 190, 198
Sui shu chronicle 198
suicide 293
sun worship 30, 77, 78, 80, 165
Sunga Empire 44
superstition 130–31
Surmak culture 32
Sutra of the Wise and Foolish 164
sutras 141–2, 164, 182, 293
swords 9, 50, 133, 176, 273
  and curved blade 176
symbolism 67
Syriac-Orthodox Church 240

T

Tabgach tribe 87, 88, 90, 257
tablets 123, 135, 157
Tajiks 82
Taliban 75, 80
Talmud 217
tamarisk 21, 154, 157
Tang dynasty 22, 89, 114, 137, 140, 154, 272
  and An Lushan 284, 285–7
  fall of 309
  and funerary rites 185
  and Karahshar 172
  and Khotan 140–41
  and Kucha 160
  and silk 55
  and Sogdians 230
  and Tibet 267, 296
  and Turks 23, 169, 190, 200, 226
  and Uyghurs 290, 298, 299
Tangut dynasty 312–13
taotie mask 90
tapestry 134
Tatabi people 259
Tathagata 88
taxes 25, 33, 40
  and Buddhism 311
  and Bulgars 211
  and Byzantium 208
  and China 287
  and Islam 245, 246, 247, 248, 251
  and Tibet 276
  and Turks 191, 198
  and Xiongnu 9, 13, 17
temples 57, 102–3, 123, 166
  and Sassanids 280
  and Sogdians 249
  and Tibet 292
  and Turks 206
  and Uyghurs 310–11
  see also stupas
‘Ten Thousand Horsemen’ 8
Ten Tribes *see* On Oq and On Uyghur
Tengriism 114
testudo 25, *26–7*
textiles 134, 138
Theravada Buddhism 61
Thervingi people 108, 109
Three Garrisons of Heshuo 287
third eye 51
thunderbolt 51
Tian Kehan 192
Tibetan script 293
Tiele confederation 15, 91, 198, 298
time 45, 66
Timurids 320
Tocharians 46, 166
Tocharian languages A, B and C 46, 91, 129, 169
tombs 134, 185–6, 227, *259*, 301; *see also* elite tombs; sarcophagi
topaz 55
Toquz Oghuz 257, 259, 298
tortoise formation 25
‘Tower of Silence’ *(dakhma)* *109*
trade 1, 5, 34, 40, 49, 51, 272
  and Arabs 252–3
  and archaeology 129
  and Buddhism 62, 74, 75, 76–7
  and Bulgars 211
  and Byzantium 208
  and China 7, 18
  and Chorasmia 101–2
  free 320
  and Kashgar 136–7
  and Khotan 142
  and Kushans 54–6
  and Silk Roads 15
  and Sogdians 222–5, 229, 231, 318
  and Tibet 273, 276, 283
  and Turkish khaganate 177, 226
  and Uyghurs 299, 301, 312
  and Xiongnu 12, 14, 17, 82
  see also maritime trade; transcontinental trade
transcontinental trade 51, 88, 114, 318
  and China 277, 287
  and Sogdians 224–5
  and Tibet 292
translators 65, 85, 160
travel permits 223
tribute 1, 25, 34, 39, 54, 309
  and Arabs 248
  and Byzantium 208, 211
  and Huns 110, 111
  and Kucha 160
  and Shan-shan 151
  and Sogdians 223
  and Turks 182, 187, 190, 258, 259
  and Xiongnu 9, 12–14, 82
trident 51
triratna 44, 202
tritons 72
Tsaatan people *260*
tudun 200, 209
Tujue clan 94, 174
tuntian colonies 7, 14, 151, 312
Tuoba *see* Tabgach
Turco-Mongol people 2
Turfan Expeditions 129, 132, 133
Turfanian language 169
Türgesh Khaganate 174, 252, 259, 267–70, 283, 284
Turki Shahis 75, 101, 200
Turkic Khaganates 8, 9, 23, 99, 174, 256–7; *see also* Eastern Turkic Khaganate; First Turkic Khaganate; Second Turkic Khaganate; Western Turkic Khaganate
Turkic language 82, 174, 176, 318–19
Turkic peoples
  and funerals 112, 164, 183–6, 193, 262–5, *264*, 265, *292*, 293
Turkic script *see* runic
turquoise *4*
Tuyuhun tribe and Empire 114, 140, 152, 182, 312
  and Tibet 276, 290

U

Ugric tribe 213
Ulus 211, 241
  and Jochi 211
Umayyads 208, 214, 244, 246, 253–4
Upanishads 60
urban culture 51, 95, 97, 138, 139
Uyghur Empire 1, 91, 129, 170, 298–305, 307–11
  and An Lushan rebellion 286–7
  and China 256, 257, 284
  and Manichaeism 131–2, 230, 299, 301, 304–5, 307
  and religion 131–2, 215
  and Sogdians 226, 227, 229, 230
  and script 229, 316
  and Tibet 290, 291, 292, 295–6
  and Turks 174, 191, 192, 206, 265, 267
  Western 311–16
  and Xiongnu 9, 15
Uyghur Kingdom of Zhangye, Gansu, 298, 311–16
Uyghur Kingdom of Kocho, 298, 304, 311

V

vahana 202, 232
Vandals 110
Varangians 219
Varchonites 94, 175, *see also* Avar tribe
vassal states 9, 12, 13, 25, 110, 206
  and Turks 200, 205
Vedic rites 60
Vikings 223
Vikram Era 45
Visigoths 110, 111
volcanic eruptions 191
Volga Bulgars 210–11, 213, 219
volunteers 34
votive offerings 124, 129, 144, *145*, 147, *148*

W

wall hangings *132*, 134
wall paintings 75, 78, *79*, 80, *128*, *134*, *312*, *315*
  and archaeology 125, 126, 132–3, 135
  and Chorasmia *104*
  and Khotan 143–4, *146*
  and Kidarites 96
  and Shan-shan 155
  and Sogdians *231*, *232*, *233*, 235, *236–7*
  and superstition 130–31
  and Tibet 293
  and Turks *204*
  and Uyghurs *304*
  see also murals
war campaigns 208, 211, 212
  and An Lushan 285–7
  and Arabs 244, 246–7, 248–52, 254
  and Tibet 273, 281, 283–4, 289–92
  and Turks 190–91, 198, 200, 206
  see also civil war
war chariots 5, 13, 16
warlords 83, 277, 285, 287
Warring Kingdoms period 5
warriors *41*, 159, *160*, 176
  and Arabs 244
  Hunnic 108, 109
  and Turks 261
watchtowers 17–18, 21, *22*, 95, 136
water *285*
water-pots 51
weaponry 108; *see also* bows; swords
weaving 225
Wei dynasty 151, 168; *see also* Northern Wei dynasty
Wei Shu chronicle 94
Weishi Zong 196
weights and measures 6, 87
Wenmo tribe 312
Western Army 16
Western Han dynasty 25, 39
Western Jin dynasty 82, 83, 140, 151, 168
Western Qin dynasty 86, 87
Western Turkic Khaganate 99, 140–41, 152, 174, 176, 198, 200, 202–6, 213, 242
  and China 277
  and Uyghurs 298
Western Turkic Türgesh 267, 270
Western Wei dynasty 90, 94
Western Zhou dynasty 5
wild silk 55
wine 17, 292
women 30, 31, *285*
wood 33, 122, 123, 144
woodblocks 66
wool *132*, 134, 135, *152*, 153
Wuhu Luanhua 82
Wuhuan people 22
Wusun tribe 12, 14–16, 23, 29, 37, 39, 47, 86, 90
wuzhu 158

X

Xia dynasty 4
Xianbei people 29, 39, 82, 83, 86, 108, 227
Xianyun 5
Xin dynasty 1, 25
Xin Tang Shu chronicle 205, 277, 280, 283, 301
Xiongnu 1, 4–9, 23, 36, 318
  and China 82–3, 84–5, 112
  collapse of 25, 28–9
  and customs 29–33
  and Han dynasty 16
  and Huns 82
  and internal split 25, 28–9
  and Khotan 134, 144
  and leaders 17
  map *10–11*
  as Northern Xiongnu 25, 28–9, 86
  and Saka people 37
  as Southern Xiongnu 25, 28–9, 82–3
  and tribute 12–14
  and Zhang Qian 15–16
Xuandu Route 34, 35
Xueyantuo people 191, 192, 256, 298, 312
xvarnah 50, 57
Xwn 81, 82, 94, *see also* Huns

Y

yabghu (as a title) 174 n.2
Yaghlaqar clan 91, 298, 299, 307
Yagnobi language 254
yamag 307
Yan dynasty of An Lushan 286–7
Yan dynasty of Sixteen Kingdoms 87
Yan, Kingdom of 5, 6
yardangs *19*, 20
Yavana Era 44
Yawm al'Atash, Battle of 251
Yenisei Kyrgyz 301, 307, 308–9
Yuan dynasty 241, 314
Yuezhi people 15, 37, 43, 45, 46–7, 51
    and religion 56
    and Xiongnu 5, 8, 12, 14
yurts 29, 213, 301

Z

Zali tribe 175, 208
Zhao, Kingdom of 5, 6
Zhou Shu chronicle 183
Zizhi Tongjian chronicle 4
Zongko tribe 313
zoomorphic figures 33, 90
Zoroastrianism 2, 42, 50, 57, 58, 78
    and Arabs 281
    and Buddhism 66
    and China 311
    and Christianity 238
    and funerary rites 227–8, 229
    and Islam 245
    and Manichaeism 305–6
    and myth 98
    and Turks 203
    see also Mazdaism

Index: People

Page numbers referring to images are in *italics*.

A

Abbas 253
Abd al-Aziz, Said ibn 248
Abd ar-Rahman bin Samurah 200
Abdagases 46
Abruhi 98, 99
Abu Muslim 250–51, 253
Achuo 307
Adbagh 232, 235, *235*, *236–7*
Aditya 165
Aduman 99
Adur 104
Aesop 232
Aetius, Flavius 110, 111
Afrigh 101
Afshin Haydar 251
Afshin Kavus 251
Agathocles 44
Agathokleia 44
Ahriman 305
Ahura Mazda 43, 52, 56, 57, 58, 98
  and Chorasmia 104
  and goodness 305–6
  and Sogdians 232
Aidi 31, 39
Akhshunwar 97
Alaric 110
Alcek 211
Alexander the Great 72
Allen, Percy S. 124, 126
Almish ibn Shilki 210, 213
Alopen 241
Alp Arslan 320
Alp Qutlugh Bilge Khagan 230, 307; *see also* Tun Bagha Tarkan
Alp Tigin 80
Alutar 283
Ameretat 228
Amgoka 64, 136, 151
al-Amin 289
Ammianus Marcellinus 94, 109
An Jia 228, *228*
An Lushan 229, 230, 254, 272, 284–7, 299
An Qingxu 286
An Shigao 43, 65
An Xuan 65
Anagai 179
Anagui 91, 94
Anahita 57, 58, 104, 234
Anahita Banda 91
Andragoras 39
Angui 22
Anluo 187
Anthemius 110
Antiochus III 40
Antiochus VII Sidetes 40
Apa Khagan 187, 198; *see also* Daluobian
Apam Napat 104, 225
Apollo 43, 56, 71
Apollodotus I 44
Arcadius 110
Archebios 44, 45, 62
Ardaricus 112
Ardashir 42, 54
Ardoxsho 57, 157
Aredvi Sura Anahita 104
Arghun Ilkhan 320
Arjuna 273
Arrian 123
Arsaces I 39–40, 43
Arsaces II 40
Arseiles 47
Arshtat 77
Arshti 58
Artabanus I 40
Artabanus II 42
Artabanus IV 42
Artav 102
Artemis 56, 58
Asad bin Abdallah 252
Ashi 57
Ashina Khusrau 267
Ashina Qutlugh 256–7, 298; *see also* Ilterish Khagan of 2nd Turkic Empire
Ashina Tuizi 267
Ashina Tuze 206, 267, 280–81
Ashoka 44, 61, 139
Ashras ibn Abdallah 251
Aspar 111
Asparukh 211
Athanaric 108
Athena 43, 44, 47
Atisho 58
Attila 110–12
Augustus 49, 74
Aurangzeb 80
Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Bilge Khagan 308
Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Külügh Bilge Khagan 308
Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Ulug Bilge Khagan 307
Ay Uzhru 91, 298
Ayupala 44
Azes I *42*, 45
Azes II 45, 68, 69
Azilises 45

B

Babai the Great 238
Babur 320
Bacon, Francis 149
Bagha Shad 181
Bagha Tarkhan 252
Baghan Khagan 187
Baghatur (Qulipiqie) Khagan 205
Bagratuni 99
Balamber 108
Balash 97
Ban Biao 4
Ban Chao 4, 29, 33–4, 35, 36, 49, 166, 208
  and Khotan 137, 138, 140
  and trade 54
Ban Gu 4
Ban Yong 4, 36, 140, 151, 153, 166
Ban Zhao 4
Barchuq Art Tegin 314
Bardaisan 305
Barha Tegin 101, 200
Bartus, Theodor 129, 133
Basikh 109
Basil II 212
Batbayan 209–10
Baumer, Christoph (mentioned as 'present author') 22, 64, 126, 135–6, 144, 154
Bayan Khagan 175, 208
Bayanchur Khagan 286, 299, 301
Bei Chanyu 29
Bei Ku 190
Bergman, Folke 123, 134
Bi Chanyu 29
Bidun Bukhar Khudah 246
Bidyan 250
Bilge Khagan 185, 257, 259, 261, 262–3, *264*, 265, 283, 285
Bilong 85, 152
al-Biruni 52, 101, 104
Bleda 110
Boddo 58
Bögü *see* Muyu Khagan
Bokhan 179
Bomei Khagan 267
Bonvalot, Gabriel 117
Böri Shad 180, 181
Boris Khan 212
Borun Khagan 298
Bosshard, Walter 143
Bouillane de Lacoste, Henri de 262
Bower, Hamilton 66
Brahma 52, 68, 146
Buddha Amitabha *73*
Buddha Shakyamuni 49, *50*, *51*, 52, 58, 60, *61*, 62, 66–8
  bronze *48*, 64, *83*, *91*, *293*
  and China 84
  and Kizil 161
  and life of 139
  and Mani 305, 307
  and reclining in Nirvana 75, *76*, 161, 164, *201*, 204, 206, *291*, 293
  and relics 74–5
  and sculpture *73*
  and statuary *69*, *70*, 71, *72*, 75–8, 80, *125*, 204, 206, *290*, *291*, 292–4
  and wall paintings 132
  zoomorphic 90
Bukong Jingang 197
Bulan 216
Bumin 91, 94, 174
Burns, Sir Alexander 77
Busir 213–14

C

Cai Lun 149
Cakravartin 78
Cao Cao 82
Cao Rui 54
Cao Yijin 312
Carey, Arthur 117
Cenzou 37, 39
Chandra 165
Chao Cuo 13, 14
Charlemagne 176, 209
Charon 126, 129
Chavannes, Edouard 283
Chebi Khagan 192, 256
Chen Mu 34
Chen Tang 25
Chenpan 36, 137
Cheyaruodi Chanyu 25
Chorpan Tarkhan 181
Chuluo Khagan 190
Chunwei 4
Constantine IV 211
Constantine V 211, 214
Constantine VI 211
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus 215, 216, 219, 258
Crassus 40
Cyrus the Great 15

D

Daizong 287, 307
Dalgleish, Andrew 66, 117
Daluobian 187; *see also* Apa Khagan
Danjin 28

Daoan 84
Daowudi, Emperor 87, 88, 90
Darius III 243
David, Saint *183*
Debaine-Francfort, C. 135
Demeter 72
Demetrius I 44
Demetrius II 40
Dengizikh 112
Dewashtich *247*, 249, 250, 251
Dezong 290
Dharmaraksa 65
Dharmarakshema 85
Diodore of Tarsus 238
Diodotus I 39
Diodotus II 39
Dipamkara 75, 76, *78*
Donatus 110
Dou Xian 29
Doulun 91
Druvasp 249
Du Huan 66
Du Qin 35
Duan Ye 84
Dubs, Homer 25
Dulan Khagan 187
Duomi Khagan 192
Durga Mahishasuramardini 200
Durga Simhavahini 58, 234
Dusong 277
Duwa 315

E

Ellac 112
Elphinstone, Mountstuart 72, 77
Enie Khagan 310
Ennin 310–11
Erakilo 58
Eregzen, Gelegdorj 30
Erklig Khan 183, 261
Ermanaric 108
Ernac 112
Eros 124
Esa Tegin 308, 311
Eucratides I 40
Eugenius 109
Euthydemus 40
Eyre, Vincent 77

F

al-Fadl ibn Sahl 202, 289
Faganish 99
Faguo 88
Fan Yen 4
Farn 144, *145*, *234*
Faxian 68, 74, 141–2, 172, 193
Feng Chang Qing 284, 286
Feng Liao 39
Forsyth, Thomas Douglas 114, 116
Forte, Antonio 280
Fotudeng 83, 84
Foucher, Alfred 67, 71, 123
Francfort, H.P. 135
Fu Jian 159
Fu Jiezi 22
Fudu Jing 140
Funian Khagan 192, 257
Fuzhuleiruodi Chanyu 25

G

Gaina 109–10
Gamaukyan 250
Gan Yanshou 25
Gan Ying 35, 54
Gao Xianzhi 126, 254, 280, 283, 284, 286
Gaozong 192, 206, 242, 280
  and Turks 256, 257, 258
Gaozu 7, 12, 13, 190
Gar Thriding Tsondrö 276, 277
Gar Tongtsen Yülsung *273*, 276
Gar Tsennya Dembu 276
Gar Tsennyen Gungston 140, 276
Gayomard 98
Genghis Khan 15, 80, 83, 110, 112, 241, 314, 320
  and Gaochang 170
  and shamanism 262
Gérard, James 77
Gesar 202
Ghurak 242, 248, 249, 251, 252
Gondophares I 46
Grumbates 94
Grünwedel, Albert 124, 126, 129, 133, 166
Guangde 140
Guangwudi 28, 29, 33
Guignes, Joseph de 82
Gundahar 110
Guo Ziyi 287
Guoshun 223

H

Hackin, Joseph 56, 132
Hackin, Ria 56
al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf 245, 246, 247
Hamid, Abdul 114
Han Cheng Di 223
Han Wudi 4, 6; *see also Wudi*
Han Xiang 134
Hariti 57, 72, 146, *146*, *147*, 157, *164*
Harsha 273
Harun ar-Rashid 216, 289
Haurvatat 228
Hayward, George 116
He Zhou 225
Hedi 34
Hedin, Sven 19, *116*, *117*, 120–23, 124, 129, 133
Hegel, G.W.F. 112
Hei Shuang 85
Helian Bobo *see* Liu Bobo
Heliocles 40
Heliocles II 44
Helios 57, 69, 165
Henri d'Orléans, Prince 117
Hephaistos 58
Heracles 43, 47, 51, 58, 72
Heraclius 180, 181, 198, 208–9
Heraios 31, 47
Hermaios 44–5, 56
Hermes 124, 157
Heshana Khagan 198
Heshang Moheyan 294
Hippalus 54
Hoernle, Rudolf 66, 123
Honigberger, Johann Martin 74, 77
Honorius 110
Hormizd IV 180, 225
Huang Long Shi 90
Huang Wenbi 133
Huchuquan Chanyu 29
Huduershidaogaoruodi Chanyu 28
Huhanye Chanyu 25
Huichao 197, 202
Huilin 182
Huisheng 193
Hulagu Khan 241
Hulugu Chanyu 17
Hunye Wang 16
Huo Qubing 16
Huvishka 52, 54, 56, 57
Huyandi Chanyu 22

I

Ibn Fadlan 184, 211, 212, 213, 217
Ibn Hawqal 240
Ibn Khordadbeh 150
Ichimi 39
Idriss Abdul Ressul 134, 135
Iduk Yer-sub 183, 261
Illig Beg Ishbara Yabgu (Ashina Bobu) Khagan 205
Illig Beg Shekui (Yipishekui) Khagan 205, 243
Illig Beg Tughluq (Yipiduolu) Khagan 205, 242
Illig (Bumin) Khagan 174; *see also* Bumin
Illig (Xieli) Khagan *see* Xieli Khagan
Ilterish Khagan of Second Turkic Empire 256, 257
Ilterish Khagan of Basmils 265
Inana 58, 234
Indra 52, 68, 232
Inel Khagan 259
Ishbara (Shetu) Khagan 187; *see also* Shetu
Ishbara (Shaboluo) Khagan 206
Ishbara Yabghu 194, 200
Ishtar 58, 234
Ishtemi Yabghu 98, 99, 102 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 198, 226, 263
Isidore of Charax 43
Islam Akhun 66, 123, 124
Ismail, Samanid Emir 203
Issik Khagan 174

J

al-Jarrah ibn Abdallah al-Hakami 248
Javukha 99
Jebe 211
Jesus Christ 238, 241, 305
Jieyou 39
Jingagupta 182
Jingzong of Minyak 313
Jizhu *see* Laoshang Chanyu
Jochi Khan 211
John of Gothia 213
John of Plano Carpini 103, 320
John Paul II, Pope 238
Johnson, William 114, 116
Jordanes 111–12
Junchen Chanyu 14, 15, 37
Junxumi 39
Juqu Anzhou 85, 168–9
Juqu Mengxun 84–5, 86
Juqu Mujian 85
Juqu Wuhui 85
Justin I 213
Justin II 149, 175, 176, 178, 207, 208
Justinian I 55, 148, 175, 208, 216, 240
Justinian II 213–14

K

Kaidu 314–15
Kallar 202
Kamalasila 294
Kan Bozhou 85, 169
Kandikh 175
Kang Yandian 152
Kanishka I 44, 47, 50, *51*–2, 56, 57, 58, 69
Kanishka II 54
Kanishka III 54
Kapagan Khagan 228, 258, 259, 270
Kardam Khan 211
Kartir 57, 104, 305
Karttikeya 232, 234
Kavadh I 97
Kebineng 87
Kharaton 110
Khingila 99, *99*
Khizir Khoja Khan 131, 170
Khorasan Tegin Shah 200, 202
Khosrau I Anushirvan 97, 98, 99, 174, 177
Khosrau II 180, 181
Khshathra 228
Khunuk Vardan Khudah 97, 247
Khutak Khatun 246
Kidara 96
Kim Sheng Congjo 290, 292
Kishen Singh 116
Klementz, Dmitri 129, 130, 301
Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim 64
Kojima, Yasutaka 134
Kokuchu Teb Tengri 262
Kormesiy Khan 211
Kotrag 210
Koursikh 109
Kozlov, Pyotr 30, 117, 121, 126, 194
Krishna 135
Krum Khan 209, 211
Kuber 211
Kublai Khan 241, 314
Kubrat 209
Kujula Kadphises 46, 47, 49, 62
Kül Tegin 229, 248, 255, 256, 257, *257*, 258, 259, 262, 270, 285
  and burial 183, 184, 185, *256*
Kumaragupta I 96
Kumarajiva 84, 159–60
Kumran Banyas *134*
Kun Tängridä Ulugh Bulmish Küchlügh Bilge Khagan 307
Kürebir 308; *see also* Esa Tegin
Kushanshah Varahran II 94

L

Lagaturman 202
Langdarma 142, 272, 295
Laoshang Chanyu 9, 12, 13, 14, 30, 37
Le Coq, Albert von 114, 124, 125–6, 129, 130–31, 132, 133
Leo III 214
Leo IV 214
Li Chong 28
Li Guangli 20, 21, 137
Li Kuang 15
Li Ling 4
Li Mi 290
Li Mu 5
Li Yuan 190; *see also* Gaozu
Li Xian *see* Gaozong
Lieqiaomi 15, 37, 39
Litvinsky, Boris 57, 204
Liu Bang *see* Gaozu
Liu Bobo 84

Liu Ju, Prince 17
Liu Mian 310
Liu Xinru 75
Liu Yuan 82–3
Lóczy, Lajos 125
Lokaksema 65
Lrooaspo 58
Lu Guang 159, 160
Lu Pute 18

M

Ma Zhongying 123
Macartney, Sir George 66, 123
Maes Titianos 49
Mah 225
Maheshvara 144, 145
Mahmud of Ghazni 52, 193
Maitreya *71*, 72, *80*, *85*, *86*, *89*, 164, *165*, 291
al-Mamun 202, 289
Manaobago 58
Mänglig Tegin 311, 313
Mangsong Mangtsen 273
Mani 131, 304, *304*, 305, 305–7
Maniakh 176, 177, 178
Manjushri 293
Mao 52, 57
Mar Ammo 307
Mar Dinkha IV 238
Mara 71
Marcian 111
Marcion 305
Marco Polo 116, 123, 157
Marcus Aurelius 35
Marinos of Tyre 49
Mars 58
Marwan II 214
Mary 238
Masson, Charles 68, 74, 75, 77
al-Masudi 216
Maues 45
Maurice 178, 180
Maurikos 208
Meagtsom *see* Tride Tsugtsen
Mehama 99
Menander 44, 62, 94, 175, 177, 178
Meng Tian 6
Mercury 72
Metragoboudo 58
Michael I 211
Mihirakula 100
Miiro 52, 57
Mingdi of Han dynasty 29, 33
Mingdi of Wei dynasty 87
Mingyuandi 88
Mirza Abu Bakr Dughlat 114
Mithra 43, 47, 69, 78, 135, 165, 249
  and Kushan 52, 56, 57
Mithridates I 40, 42, 43
Mithridates II 40, 43
Modu Chanyu 8, 9, 12–13, 14, 86, 87, 90, 112
Mohammed 305
Mojinmang 283
Moksagupta 160
Möngke Khan 241
Moorcroft, William 77
al-Moqaddasi 240
Mozdooano 58
Mukhamanda 144, 147, *147*
Muliyan 140
Mundzuk 110
Muqan Khagan 174, 182
al-Muqtadir 210, 213, 315
Musa bin Abdallah bin Khazim 283
Muslim ibn Sa'id al-Kilabi 251
Muyilu 90
Muyu Khagan 230, 287, 299, 301, 304, 305, *306*, 307
Muzong 307–8

N

Nadir Shah 80
Nâgasena 44
Nana 52, 56, 58, 146, *146*, *147*, 165, *231*, 234, 249
Nanaia 43
Nanai-Vandak 81, 82
Nandi 144
Nanlam 286
Nantoumi 14, 15, 37
Narses 280
al-Narshakhi 97, 98, 105, 240, 243, 246, 251
Nasr ibn Ahmad, Emir 315
Nasr ibn Sayyar 250, 252–3, 253
Nestorius 238
Nezak 247, 248
Nike 44, 47
Nikephoros I 211
Nimi 39
Niri Khagan 198
Nishufu Khagan 192, 256–7
Nott, William 77

O

Oado 58, 86, 164
Oanindo 58
Oaxsho 58
Ocirliq 267
Octar 110
Oesho *46*, 50, 51, 52, 54, *56*, 57
Ögä Khagan 310
Oldenburg, S.F. 66, 126
Ommo 57
Omurtag Khan 211
Orlagno 58
Ormazd 307, 316
Ormizt 310
Oromozdo 58
Osiris 105
Ozmysh Khagan 265

P

Pallas Athene *42*, 58, 77, 124, 157
Panshika 57, 72
Pantaleon 44
Pei Xingjian 206, 267, 277, 280–81
Pekar 144
Pelliot, Paul 124, 126, 129, 280
Peroz I, Shah 96, 97, 100
Peroz, prince 280
Peter, Saint 238
Petrovsky, Nicolay F. 66
Petrus Siculus 305
Peukolaos 44
Pevtsov, Mikhail 117
Pharro 57
Phraates I 40
Phraates II 40
Phriapatios 40
Phromo Kesaro 202
Pliny the Elder 25, 42, 54, 55
Pollock, George 77
Poseidon 51
Prabhutaratna *291*
Prasenajit 68
Priscus 91, 96
Procopius 148
Przhevalsky, Nikolay *116*, 117, 121, 124, 154
Ptolemy 29, 82
Pugachenkova, Galina 63
Pugu Jun 170, 296, 311, 313–14
Punu Chanyu 28, 29
Pusa 298

Q

Qilibi Khagan 192
Qin Kai 5
Qin Shihuangdi 5–7, 14
Qu Wentai 169, 170
Qu Zhisheng 169
Quedihou Chanyu 17
Qutayba ibn Muslim 97, 101, 242, 246, 247–8, 258, 283
Qutayba ibn Tughshada 251, 258
Qutlugh Bilge Khagan 307
Qutlugh Bilge Kül Khagan (Guli Peiluo) 265, 267, 299
Qutlugh Tumitu Khagan 298
Qutlugh Yabghu 265

R

Rabban Bar Sauma 320
Radagaisus 110
Radhanites 215
Radloff, Wilhelm 229, 301
Rafi bin Layth 289
Ralpachen 293, 295
Ramseyer, Denis 9
Rapoport, Yuri 103–4
Rawlinson, Sir Henry 123
Regel, Albert 129
Ren Shang 36
Renwen 21
Rhie, Marylin Martin 62
Rhins, Jules Dutreuil de 66, 116
Richthofen, Ferdinand von 117, 121
Rishto 58
Ritter, Carl 77
Rizhu Wang 23
Roger II of Sicily 149
Romanos IV Diogenes 320
Rua 110
Rudenko, Sergei 29
Rustam 232

S

Sabuktigin 80
Said ibn Abd al-Aziz 248
Said ibn Amr al-Harashi 248, 249
Said bin Uthman bin Affan 62, 243, 246
Sakadara *200*
Sakamanoboudo 58
Saliba-Zakha 240
Samantabhadra Bodhisattva *315*
Samasena 64
Sanabares 42
Sanatruces 42
Sapabizes 47
Saqal Khagan 258, 267, 270
Sarapo 58
Sarthavaha *164*, *168*
Satuq Bughra Khan 137
Schiltberger, Johannes 216
Schlagintweit, Adolf 114
Seleucus II 39–40
Serapis 58
Sesen 98
Shaka 54
Shakyamuni *see* Buddha Shakyamuni
Shamash 234
Shang Beibei 295, 312
Shang Kongruo 295, 312, 313, 314
Shang Qixiner 291
Shaoreoro 58
Shapur I 56, 57, 62, 102, 305
Shapur II 62, 94–5, 108
Shari bin Shaykh 250
Shaw, Robert 116
Shekui Khagan *see* Illig Beg Shekui (Yipishekui) Khagan
Shelun 90
Sheng Shicai 123
Shetu 186, 187; *see also* Ishbara Khagan
Shi Chaoyi 286–7
Shi Shuhuxi 190
Shi Siming 286, 287
Shibi Khagan 190
Shihu 83, 84
Shikui Khagan 198
Shile 83
Shishpir 243
Shiva 50, 51, 54, 57, 100, 144, 146, 228
Shiyin 140
Si Yagbu (Siyehu) Khagan 205
Siddhartha Gautama *see* Buddha Shakyamuni
Siegbert I 175, 208
Sima Guang 4
Sima Qian 4, 8, 30, 32, 46, 47, 54
Simeon I 212, 219
Siroe 181
Siyavush 101, 105
Sizabulos *see* Ishtemi Yabghu
Skandagupta 100
Skando 58
Skylitzes John 212
So Man 151
Song Yun 100, 193
Songtsen Gampo 272, *272*, 273, 276, 292
Sorghaghtani Beki 241
Souxieruodi Chanyu 25
Spalagdames 45
Spalahores 45
Spenta Armaiti 228
Spooner, David B. 52
Sraosha 78, 228
Sroshardo 58
Stein, Sir Marc Aurel 19, 20, 22, 64, 66, 82, 116, 122
  and Dandan Oilik 123, 146, 148
  and Dunhuang 126
  and Haitou 154
  and Miran 155, 157
  and Tarim Basin 123–6
  and Tibet 283
Stilicho 110
Strabo 39
Strahlenberg, Johann von 228
Strato I 44
Strato II 45
Strato III 45
Subotai 83, 211
Sui Wendi 186, 187, 190, 225
Sulayman Ibn Abd al-Malik 248
Suluk Khagan 170, 248, 251–2, 259, 270, 283
Suzong 141, 286
Sviatoslav I 219

T

al-Tabari 54, 97, 99, 243, 248
Tachibana, Zuicho 125, 126
Tafel, Albert 133
Tagma 178
Taiwudi 85, 88, 90
Taizong 160, 183, 190–91, 192, 203, 205
  and religion 241
  and Sogdians 242, 243
  and Tibet 272–3, 276
  and Turks 256, 259, 267
  and Uyghurs 298
Tamim ibn Bahr 301
Tang Xiujing 140, 277
Tängridä Bulmish El Etmish Bilge Khagan *see* Bayanchur
Tängridä Bulmish Külügh Bilge Khagan 307
Tängridä Qut Bulmish Alp Bilge Khagan 307
Tängridä Qut Bulmish El Tutmish Alp Külügh Bilge Khagan *see* Muyu Khagan
Tängridä Ülüg Bulmish Alp Qutlugh Ulug Bilge Khagan 307
Tanshihui 86–7
Tanyao 88
Tardush
  as Yabghu 178, 179, 186, 187, 198
  as Khagan 187, 190, 198
Tardush Shad 194, 200, 203
Tarkhun 248
Taspar Khagan 182, 185, 186, 187
Tatian 305
Teb Tengri 262
Tengri 183, 215, 261–2
Tengri Khagan 263, 265
Tervel Khan 211, 214
al-Tha'alibi 150
Theodore of Mopsuestia 238
Theodoric I 111
Theodosius I 109
Theodosius II 110–11
Theophanes 208
Theophilos 44, 215
Theophylact Simocatta 82, 175, 180
Thomsen, Vilhelm 228–9
Thonmi Sambhota 293
Tiberius 178
Tiberius II 213–14
Timothy I 238, 240
Timur Lenkh (Tamerlane) 241, 320
Tishtrya *147*, 147, 234
Tokhti Beg 150, *151*
Tolstov, Sergei 101, 103, 105
Tong Yabghu Khagan 170, 180, 181, 198, 200, 203, 205, 213
Tonyukuk 248, *256*, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 270
  and Uyghurs 298, 301, 308
Toramana 100
Tou Ku 33
Tou Sien 141
Touman Chanyu 7–8
Trajan 49–50
Tride Songtsen 291
Tride Tsugtsen 270, 284, 292
Trinkler, Emil 143
Trisong Detsen 293–4, 295
Tritsu Detsen 293; *see also* Ralpachen
Tughluq (Duolu) Khagan 205
Tughshada ibn Bidun 235, 246, 247
Tuli 190, 191, 192
Tun Bagha Tarkhan 230, 307; *see also* Alp Qutlugh Bilge Khagan
Tuoba 83
Tuoba Gui *see* Daowudi
Tuopa Huai Guang 295, 314
Turantash 99
Turxanthus 178–9
Tyche 57
Tzitzak 214

U

Ubayd Allah bin Ziyad 200, 246
Uldin 109–10
Umar 245
Umay 183, 261

V

Vahram Chobin 99, 180, 187
Vahram V 96
Vairya 228
Vaishravana 139, 144, *145*, *172*
Vajrapani 72, *89*, 132
Vakhsh 104
Valens 109
Valentinus 175, 178, 179, 183
Varagan 78, 225
Varahran II 94
Varkhuman 99, 206, 242, 243
Vashagn 144, *145*, *146*, 147, 228, 234, 235
Vasishka 54
Vasudeva I 54, 56
Vayu 50, 57, 104, 165
Verethraghna 43, 58, 225
Vijaya Dharma III 140–41
Vijaya Sihya 141, 142, 292
Vikramaditya 45
Vima Kadphises *46*, 47, 49, 50, 51, 57, 58
Vima Takto 35, 47, 49, 62
Vimalakirti 293
Visha Sambhava *312*
Vithimir 108
Vladimir of Kiev, Prince 211
Vohu Manah 58
Vologases I 42
Vonones 45

W

Wahman 225
Wali Khan 114
Wang Binghua 133–4
Wang Daoshi 125, 126
Wang Mang 25, 28, 137
Wang Tu 83–4
Wang Xiaozhi 140, 277
Wang Xuance 197, 273
Wei Mingdi 87
Wei Qing 14, 15, 16–17
Weituqi 22
Wendi 12, 13
Wengchengdi 86, 88–9
Wenguimi 39
Wenzong 227
Weshparkar 50, 145, 146, *145*, *146*, *147*, 228, 232, *232*
William of Rubruk 216, 320
Wirkak 144, *226*, 227
Woyanqudi Chanyu 23, 25
Wu Zetian 257, 258, 298
Wudi (of Han dynasty) 4, 6, 13, 14, 15, 17–18, 21, 43, 114
  and expansionism 19, 21
Wujiutu 39
Wuleiruodi Chanyu 28
Wuling, King of Zhao 5
Wushilu'er Chanyu 17
Wuwei Chanyu 17
Wuzhuliuruodi Chanyu 25, 28, *29*, 31, 39
Wuzong 125, 142, 231, 241, 310, 311

X

Xian 138
Xiaowendi 89
Xie 35
Xieli Khagan 190–91, 208, 226, 256, 307
Xijun 39
Xiutu Wang 16
Xuandi 25, 39
Xuanzang 35, 47, 55, 74, 76, 113, 114, 116
  and archaeology 123, 126
  and Buddhism 62
  and Gaochang 170
  and pilgrimage 193–4, *193*, 196
  and silk 148
  and Subashi 160
  and Turks 200, 203
Xuanzong 248, 253, 285, 296, 305
  and Turks 259, 261, 262, 267
Xulihu Chanyu 17
Xuluquanqu Chanyu 23
Xwar 104

Y

Yaqub bin Layth al-Saffar 75, 80, 202–3
Yami Khagan 190
Yang Guifei 286
Yangdi 190
Yanluchen 94
Yao Xing 160
Yasodharman 100
Yazdegerd II 97
Yazdegerd III 225, 241, 243, 280
Yehu 286
Yijiing 197
Yiran Khagan 263
Yizhye Chanyu 14, 16, 17
Yu Hong 228
Yuanguimi 39
Yuchi Sheng 141, 284
Yuchujian Chanyu 29
Yuezhun 86
Yule, Sir Henry 123
Yusuf Kadr Khan 141
Yuwen Tai 91, 94

Z

Zemarchus 102, 177–8
Zeus 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 56
Zhang Chengfeng 312, 314
Zhang Huaishen 295
Zhang Qian 14–16, 25, 37, 40
Zhang Yichao 170, 293, *295*, 296
Zhang Yue 259, 261
Zhangdi 34
Zhangsun Sheng 186, 190
Zhao Ponu 19, 20
Zhaodi 22
Zhaozong 312
Zheng, Prince *see* Qin Shihuangdi
Zheng Ji 23
Zheng Jin 13
Zhenta 152
Zhenu 267, 270
Zhenzhu Khagan 191–2
Zhi Qian 65
Zhi Yao 65
Zhi Yueh 65
Zhong Xing Shuo 9
Zhu Ci 290
Zhu Shixing 141, 193
Ziyad bin Salih 150, 251, 254
Ziyad ibn Abi Sufyan 244, 246
Zizhi Guduhou Chanyu 25
Zoilos I 44
Zong 34–5
Zoroaster 305
Zurvan 146, *146*, 232

Index: Places

Page numbers referring to images are in *italics*.

A

Aachen 209
Abdal 117
Achelous, battle of 212
Adiabene 43
Adrianople, battle of in 378 CE 108–9
Adrianople, battle of in 813 CE 211
Adriatic Sea 212
Aduun Chuluumi Belchik *33*
Afghanistan 15, 40, 43, 47, 56, 82
  and archaeology 123
  and religion 61, 62, 74, 203, 238
Afrasiab *243*
Africa 54
Aï Khanum 47, 49
Airtam 57, *63*, 86
Ajina Tepe *201*, 204
Ak-Beshim *see* Suyab
Akharun 247
Aksipil 143
Aksu 270, 276, 283, 314
Alexandria 56
Altai 91, 94, 97, 108, 174
Amida 94, 108
An Jung 277
Anatolia 2, 109, 320
Anxi 206, 290
Aquileia 111
Arabian Peninsula 54
Arachosia 44, 45
Aral Sea 29
Arbil 214
Armenia 40, 181, 198
Artlakh 254; *see also* Talas, battle of
Asaac 43
Asghabat 43
Aspionus 40
Astana 126
Atelkuzu (Etelköz) 219
Athens 149
Atil 214, 216, 219
Aurelianum (Orléans) 111
Ayala Mazar 136
Azerbaijan 180
ʻAzha 272, 273, 276, 277

B

Bactria 12, 15, 16, 18, 47, 49, 54
  and Arabs 272
  and Buddhism 63, 65
  and Chionites 94, 95
  and Hephthalites 97, 100
  and Huns 82
  and Kidarites 96
  and Parthians 39, 40, 43
  and trade 224
Badakhshan 200, 273
Badghis 200, 238, 247
Baghdad 40, 150, 238, 254, 320
Bagram 49, 56
Baideng, battle of 12
Bajaur 62
Balaam 96
Balanjar 214
Balawaste 138, 143, 144, 147
Balkans, the 110, 111, 175, 208
Balkh 40, 54, 62, 77, 94–5, 97, 243
  and Arabs 252
  and religion 240
Balochistan 305
Baltistan 273, 283
Bamiyan 75–8, *78*, 80, 165, 200, 202
Barbarikon 49
Baroghil Pass 283, *284*
Barygaza 49
Bavaria 208
Bay Baliq 301
Beima Si 287
Beiting 19, 23, 33, 35, 167, 252
  and China 276, 277
  and Tibet 141, 283, 290
  and Turks 206, 258, 259, 270
  and Uyghurs 311, 313, 314, *315*
Belgrade 211
Benevento 211
Besh Baliq *see* Beiting
Besshatyr 32
Bezeklik *62*, 126, *128*, 132, 314, 315
Bharuch 49
Bimaran 68,
Bingling Si 86
Black Sea 29, 49, 180
Bodhgaya 66
Bodonch Gol valley *28*, 33, *259*
Bolghar 211, *212*, 213, 219
Boma *111*
Boroo Gol 9, 29
Bosporus 223
British India 114, 129, 284
Bruzha *see* Gilgit
Bugut Stele 182, 185, 228
Bukhara 56, 95, 97–9, 105, 222, *244–5*
  and Arabs 246, 247–8, 251
  battle of 98–9
  and Long Wall 95
  and Sogdians 226, 242
  and Tibet 292
Bulayiq 241
Bulgan Aimag 185
Bulgaria *see* Great Bulgaria
Bunjikat 15, 144, 222, *223*
Burana, 267, *268–9*
Burma 148
Buryatia 8, 9
Butkara 72
Byzantium 1, 91, 94, 208–9, 211, 320; *see also* Constantinople
  and Huns 110, 111
  and Khazars 213–15, 216
  and silk 55, 56, 148–9
  and Sogdians 225, 226
  and Turks 175–81

C

Cadota 151
Calmadana 151, 152, 157
Carrhae, battle of 25, 40
Caspian Sea 12, 97, 180, 198
Catalaunian Plains, battle of 111
Caucasus 49, 108, 109, 175, 180, 198
  and Khazars 213
Chaganiyan 99, 200, 243, 248, 305
Chang'an (Xian) 1, 2, 35, 88, 208, 286, 311
  destruction of 82, 83
  and religion 241
  and Sassanids 280, 281
  and Tibet 277, 287, 290, 291, 292
  and trade 222, 318
  and Turks 190, 198, 265, 267, 270
  and Xiongnu 12, 15, 16, 20, 21, 25
Changtang 273
Charklik 124, 152
Chengdu 277
Cherchen 124; *see also* Calmadana
Cherson 179, 213, 214, 215
Chigu *36–7*
Chilas 45
Chilpyk *109*
China 1, 2, 23, 28, 29, 40, 44
  and An Lushan 285–7
  and Arabs 248, 252–3, 254
  and archaeology 122, 126, 134, 135
  and art 318
  and Buddhism 62, 64, 65, 71, 84
  and Gaochang 170
  and Great Wall 7
  and jade 148
  and Khotan 140–41
  and paper 149
  and Sassanids 280–81
  and Shan-shan 151
  and silk 56, 148
  and Sogdians 82, 223–4, 225, 226–7, 229–30, 242–3
  and Tibet 273, 276–7, 281, 283–4, 290
  and trade 54, 55
  and Türgesh 267, 270
  and Turks 186, 190–91, 206, 256–7, 258, 259
  and Uyghurs 299, 301, 307, 310–11
  and Xiongnu 4, 5–6, 9, 12, 14, 16–17, 82–3
Chitral 283
Chorasmia 49, 51, 101–5, 211, 235, 248
  and religion 240
  and trade 223
Chufut Kale *216*, 217
Congling 35
Constantinople 91, 94, 110, 112, 214; *see also* Byzantium
  and Bulgars 211, 212
  and Turks 175, 176, 177, 178
Corinth 149
Crimea 1, 31, 72, 179
  and Khazars 213, 214, 216, 217
  and trade 222, 223, 318
Ctesiphon 35, 109, 238; *see also* Baghdad

D

Da Xia 84, 88
Dai 87
Dalverzin Tepe 63, 75
Damagou *134*, 143, *293*
Dandan Oilik 117, 120, *120–21*, 123, 135, 138, 144–7, *145*, *148–9*
  and Sogdians 232, 235
  and temple D-13 135, *146–7*
  and Tibet 291
Danube River 109, 110, 111, 211, 213, 219
Darkot Pass 283, 284
Datong Cheng 257
David Gareja monastery *182*, *183*
Dayan Lake *310*
Derbent 214
Dharmarajika *60*
Dnieper River 211, 213, 219
Dniester River 108, 211, 219
Dobruja 112
Don River 108, 215, 219
Doros *see* Mangup

Draknak 273
Dragon City *19*, 20
Drangiana 44
Dulan 273, 292
Dunhuang (Shazhou) 18, 19, 20, 35, 36, 82
  and archaeology 125–6, 129; *see also* Mogao
  and religion 64, 85, 228, 241
  and Sogdians 223
  and temples 57
  and Tibet 141, 272, 290, 293
  and Uyghurs 296, 312, 313, 314, 315
Dureny 9
Dzun Kure *258*
Dzungaria 198, 265, 267, 283

E

East Turkestan 25, 82, 114, 130, 229
Eastern Europe 82, 176, 208–20
Ecbatana (Hamadan) 35, 49
Egypt 61, 116
Elburz mountains 97
Endere 47, 124, 135–7, 151, 157, *158–9*
  and Tibet 157, 283, *289*, 290
Eski Kermen *180*, *215*
Etelköz 219
Etzin Gol 16, *17*–18, 126, 257, *258*, 291, 312
Etzina 126
Euphrates River 40
Europe *see* Eastern Europe; Western Europe

F

Fanyang 286
Farhad Beg-yailaki 143
Fars 42, 54
Fayaz Tepe 63
Fergana 12, 15, 16, 17, 49, 137, 138
  and Arabs 248, 251, 254, 283
  and horses 19, 20–21
  and Turks 270
Fondukistan 77, *80*, 200
France 129, 135

G

Gandhara 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 54, 69
  and Buddhism 74, 75
  and Kidarites 96
  and trade 224
  and Turks 200
Ganges Valley 44
Gansu 1, 4, 36, 37, 47, 63, 123
  and An Lushan 284, 286
  and Northern Wei 87
  and paper 149
  and religion 57, 85, 241
  and Tibet 289, 290, 292
  and Turks 257, 259
  and Uyghurs 295, 311–13
  and Xiongnu 5, 8, 12, 14, 15–16, 17, 18, 29
Gaochang 25, 85, 91, 126, 166, 168–70, 290; *see also* Kocho
  and Buddhism 129, 130–31, 132–3
  and Uyghurs 295, 296, 312, 314
Gaul 111
Gayseta 144, 146; *see also* Dandan Oilik
Gaza 55
Georgia 180–81, 198
Germany 122, 129, 133
Ghazni 100
Gilgit 36, 45, 49, 63, 126
  and Tibet 273, 283, 284, 289, 294
Gobi Desert 9, 14, 16, 18, 25, 87
  and Tibet 291
  and Turks 192
Gol Mod necropolis 9, 32
Gorgan 97
Gosinga 66
Gozgan 200
Great Bolor *see* Gilgit
Great Bulgaria 210, 211, 212, 213
Great Kyz Kala *239*
Greco-Bactria 40, 44, 61
Greece 61, 116, 208, 320
Guangling 31
Guazhou 283
Gujarat 49
Guldara *74*
Guldursun Kala *105*
Gumugou 133
Gupis 283
Guzang 85
Gyaur Kala in Merv 66

H

Hadda 72, 74
Haibak 77
Haitou 126, *127*, 136, 151, 153, 154, 155
Hami 18, 19, 33, 35, 241, 290
  and Uyghurs 295, 296, 312, 314, 315
He Zhang Chen 21, *23*
Hebei 287
Hecatompylos 40, 49
Hedong 286
Helgö 223
Herat 40, 43, 97, 174, *176–7*
  and religion 238, 240
Hexi Corridor 1, 15, 17, 18, 22, 33
  and Buddhism 85
  and Sogdians 223
  and Uyghurs 296
Hierapolis 49
Himalayas 61, 273
Himyar 54
Hindu Kush 35, 40, 43, 44, 49, 126
  and Buddhism 74, 77
Hindustan 54, 290
Ho 205
Hodzha Adzhvandi Tepe 251
Högnö Khan Mountains *265*
Hohhot 87, 191, 310
Ho-lao-lo-chia 113, 116
Huang Ho *see* Yellow River
Hungarian Plain 176, 208
Hunza Valley 36

I

Idiqutshari *see* Gaochang
Ili Valley 14, 15, 37, 40, 205
India 1, 2, 15, 16, 33, 35, 36, 40, 46
  and art 68, 69
  and Byzantium 177
  and Huns 100
  and Mughals 320
  and pilgrimage 193
  and religion 60–61, 139, 231–2
  and Sogdians 225
  and Tibet 273
  and trade 54, 55, 83, 318
  see also British India
Indian Ocean 36, 54
Indus Valley 36, 40, 43, 273, 283, 305
Inner Mongolia 7–8, 87, 122–3
Iran 1, 39, 99, 176–7, 213, 225, 226
  and art 69, 71, 78, 80
  and religion 47, 57–8, 232, 240
  and silk 55, 148
  see also Parthia; Persia
Iraq 1, 43, 214, 240
Iron Gates 49, 200
Isfahan 99, 174, 198
Istaravshan *247*
Italy 110, 175–6, 208, 320
Ivolga 9, 29

J

Jade Gate *see* Yumen Guan
Jamukat 98, 206
Japan 2, 44, 65, 71, 129, 134, 318
Jar Tepe 232
Jarkutan 56
Jerusalem 320
Jeti Oguz valley *36–7*
Jiangsu 31
Jiankang 83
Jianti Si 86
Jiaohe 23, *24*, 85, *92–3*, 159, 166, *171*
Jincheng 18, 82
Jingjue 134, 140, 151
Jiuquan 17, 18, 290, 313
Jokhang Temple 292
Jumbulakum 135
Jushi 18–19, 20, 23, 25, 34, 39
  and Further Jushi 23, 33, 167
  and Nearer Jushi 23, 34, 167
Juyan 16, 17

K

Kabul 49, 75, 77, 99, 101, 289
Kabul Valley 44, 46, 47
Kabulistan 99, 100, 200, 202–3
Kachu *290*, 292–3
Kachy Kalon *218*
Kafyr Kala 203
Kailash, Mount 57
Kakrak *78*, *79*
Kala-i Kafirnigan 203, *204*
Kala-i-Kahkaha, fortress in southern Tajikistan *95*
Kala-i Kahkaka, palace in northern Tajikistan *223*, *231*, *232*, 235, *236–7*
Kala-i Mugh 248, 249
Kanauj 273
Kandahar 44, 61
Kangju 15, 16, 18, 25, 34–5, 101
Kanka 240
Kansir 283
Kapisa 56, 75, 77, 100, 200
Kara Buran Lake 117
Kara Khoto 126
Kara Koshun Lake 117, 120–21, 122
Kara Kotal 77
Kara Tepe 52, 57, 62, 86
Karabalgasun 230, 291, *299*, 301, 304, 307, 308, 310
  and trilingual inscription 230, *230*, 301, 307
Karachi 49
Karadong 57, 138, *141*, 143–4, *144*
  and archaeology 116, 120, 124, 126, 135
Karakhoja 126, 168, 198; *see also* Gaochang, Kocho
Karakorum Mountains 35–6, 45, 66, 223, 320
Karashahr 13, 28, 34, 64, 159, 170, 172, 205, 313
Kargaly 39
Kashgar 20, *23*, 34, 35, 36, 49, 136–7
  and Arabs 248
  and archaeology 114, 116, 117, 123
  and Karluks 296
  and religion 63, 64, 241
  and Tibet 273, 276, 281, 283, 291
  and Turks 267
Kashmir 43, 46, 61, 63, 283, 289
Kath 101
Kathmandu Valley 273
Kazakhstan 4, 66, 91, 241, 320
Kazakly Yatkan *100*, 101
Kazan *210*, 211
Kelpin Tagh mountain *13*
Kerch 179, 213, *214*
Keriya Darya Valley 135, 136
Keriya River 134
Kerman 54
Kernek, battle of 211
Kesh 251
Khadagt Khoshu *262*
Khadalik 143
Khalchayan *41*, 47, 50, 56, 58, 64, 71
Khan Baliq 320
Khar Khanatyn Khad *175*
Kharauna 19; *see also* Kroraina
Kharistan, battle of 252
Khentii mountains 9
Khilgian *75*
Khisht Tepe 204
Khorasan 54, 55, 243, 289, 315
  and Arabs 246, 247, 248, 250, 253
  and religion 240, 307
Khöshöö Tsaidam 262, *264*
Khotan 16, 19, 34, 35, 43, 54, 138–47
  and archaeology 114, 117, 123
  and religion 63, 64, 241
  and Rouran 91
  and silk 148, 225
  and Tibet 276, 281, 290, 292, 295
  and Turks 267
  and Uyghurs 296
Khotan Darya 290
Khovd 9
Khujand 249
Khukh Ordung 301
Khulm 77
Khuttal 200
Khuzestan 35
Khwaja Safa 75
Kiev 210, 211
Kirk Kiz *108*
Kizil 78, 80, 85, 86, 89, *130*, 161, 164–6, *162–8*
  and archaeology 133
  and Sogdians 235
Kizil Gaha *22*, 57
Kizil Mashalik *300*
Kleidion, battle of 212
Kobadian 200
Kocho 130, *287*, 307, *311*, *313*; *see also* Gaochang
  and China 276, 277
  and Uyghurs 304, 313–16
Koh-i-Kwaja 129, 144
Kokel cemetery 32–3
Koko Nor Lake 273, 276, 313

Konqe Darya (River) 19, 120, 153, 154
Korea 2, 44, 65, 71, 190, 243, 318
Korla 21, 35, 123
Kostobe 206
Krasnaya Rechka 206
Kroraina 19, 151, *151*, 153; *see also* Loulan
Kucha 14, 21, 34, 35, 64, 158–60
  and archaeology 126, 129, 133
  and Buddhism 66
  and silk 225
  and Tibet 141, 283, 290, 292, 296, 313
  and Turks 205, 206, 270
Kum *249*
Kum Tagh desert 85
Kumtura *X*, 66, 78, 133, 165, 166
Kun Lun Mountains 157, 272
Kuruk Darya 120, 121, 122
Kushaniyya 222, 226
Kushanshahr 54
Kushingara 67
Kuttal 99
Kyrgyzstan 49, 241, 309

L

Ladakh 273, 283
Lailik 121
Lake Baikal 4, 8
Lake Balkhash 4
Lake Issyk Kul 14, 15, 37, 40, 43, 117
Lake Puchang 19
Lanzhou 291
Lesser Bolor *see* Yasin
Lhasa 152, 273, *286*, 292
  and archaeology 117, 121, 122
Liaotung 6
Licchavi 273
Lintao 6
Lixie 144; *see also* Dandan Oilik
Longmen Shiku 89, 90
Lop Nor Desert *20*, 46, 126, 133, 134, *135*
  and map on satellite photo *153*
Lop Nor Lake 19, 117, 120–22, 153
L.A. 19, 21, *122*, 134; *see also* Loulan
L.B. 122, *123*, 146, 153
L.C. *152*, 153
L.E. 21
L.K. *see* Haitou
L.L. 21, 126, 136, 153–4, *154*
L.M. 126, 136, 153–4
L.R. 126, *136*, 153–4, *155*
Loulan 19–20, 21, 22, 35, 64, *122*, 124, 151, *152*, 153–4
  and archaeology 122, 124
  and paper 149
Lukchun 36
Lumbini 66
Luoyang 1, 5, 35, 82, 83
  and An Lushan 286, 287
  and Buddhism 65
  and Christianity 241
  and Hephthalites 96
  and Northern Wei 89
  and Sogdians 230
  and trade 222, 318
  and Uyghurs 304

M

Macedonia 212
Madara Plateau 211
Mainz 110
Maiji Shan *84*, 86, 90
Malabar Coast 49
Malikawat 142
Malwa 100
Manchuria 4, 86, 88, 90, 180, 309
Mangup 213, *217*
Manikyala *72*
Manserah 61
Manzikert, battle of 320
Maomu 17
Margiana 25, 40, 54
Mat 58
Mathura 45, 46, 49, 58, 62, 69
Mati Si 86, 89
Mauri Tim *65*, 137
Mawarannahr 246, 247, 250, 253, 254
Mazar Tagh 126, 141, *288*, 290
Mecca 203
Mediolanum (Milan) 111
Mediterranean Sea 54
Melkite Church 240
Merke 206, 240
Merv 25, 42, 49, 54, *239*, 243, 289
  and Arabs 244, 248, 253, 254
  and Chionites 94, 95
  and Hephthalites 97
  and Kidarites 96
  and religion 66, 238, *239*, 240, 307
Mes Aynak 75, *76*, 77
Mesopotamia 15, 40, 109, 116, 149, 281
  and Manichaeism 305, 307
Minyak 312
Miran *94*, 124–5, 126, 135, 154–5, *156*, *157*
  and Tibet 155, 156, 290, 296
Mithradatkert 43
Mizdahkhan 105, 240
Mobei, battle of 16
Moesia 109, 211
Mogao Caves *85*, *86*, 125–6, 129, 165, *291*, *292*, 293–4, *295*, *312*
Moheyan Desert 194
Mongolia 1, 9, 16, 29, 103, 320
  and Buddhism 64
  and climate 191
  and Khitans 312
  and Kygyrz 309
  and Sogdians 223
  and Turks 174, 176, 185
  and Uyghurs 308, 316
  and Xianbei 86
  see also Inner Mongolia
Mosul 214
Moyu 150, *151*
Mu 205
Murtuk 126, 132
Muztagh Ata 117, 123

N

Nagarahara 74–5
Nakchu 273
Nangzhig *278–9*
Nanzhao 287, 292
Naqsh-e Rustam necropolis 54, 102
Naranj Tepe 75
Narmada River 49
Nedao, battle of 112
Nedao River 112
Nepal 45, 80, 273, 292
Nigar 77
Nihawand, battle of 243
Nijnii Mangirtai 9
Nina 151
Ningxia province 8, 223, 290, 312
Nisa 40, 43
Nishapur 54, 254, 307
Niya 64, 116, 123, 126, 134, 151, *156*, 157
  and monks 142
Noin Ula necropolis 9, 29, *29*, *30*, 30–32
Novopavlovska (Djul) 206
Novopokrovka (Pakap) 206

O

Öngöt *185*, *186*, *189*
Ordos 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 25, 46, 82
  and Sogdians 223, 226
  and Tibet 290
  and Turks 192
Ordu Baliq *see* Karabalgasun
Orkhon River 17, 301
Orkhon Valley 9, 174, 229, 309
  and Turks 257, 259, 265
Orlat 96, *96*
Osh 49
Ötükän Mountain 255, 261, 265
Oxus River 49, 62, 99, 108, 126, *192*
  and Arabs 246
  and Tibet 283
  and Turks 174
  see also Panj River

P

Pakistan 61, 62, 126, 283
Palmyra 69, 71
Pamir mountains 35, 43, 286
  and Tibet 272, 281, 283, 284, 289
Pangong Lake 223, 273
Panj River *281*, 283
Panjikant 96, 144, 222, 225, 226, *232*, *233*, *250*
  and Arabs 249–50, 251
  and Sogdians 232, *233*, 234, 242
Pannonia 110, 112, 175, 208, 211
Pantikapaion 179, 213; *see also* Kerch
Paropamisadae 40, 44
Parthaunisa 43
Parthia 15, 16, 39, 40, 43, 49
Pataliputra 44
Patna 44
Paykend 95, 99, 174, 222, 240, 247
Pazyryk 5, 30, 32
Peloponnese 208
Persepolis 54
Persia 122, 130, 180, 181, 208, 231
  and religion 238
  and Sassanids 280–81
  and Sogdians 243
Peshawar 47, 49, 52, 54
Pimo 116, 124
Pingcheng 86, 87, 88
Pinglu 286
Pliska 211
Pontic steppe 91, 94, 175, 208, 213, 225
Por-Bajin *302–3*, 304
Potala Palace *286*
Punjab 44, 45, 46, 72, 96, 100
Purushapura 49

Q

Qadisiya, battle of 243, 280
Qarshovul Tepe 240
Qiemo 205, *see also* Calmadana
Qigujing 35
Qilian Shan Mountains 4, 8, 18, 86
Qin province 5, 6
Qinghai 47, 272, 276, 277, 292
Qurutqa 241

R

Ratm Fort *194*
Rawak 62, 63, 124, *125*, 138, *142*, 143, *143*
Rayy 99
Red Sea 54
Rhine River 110
Rhône River 110
Romagyris, Catholicosate of 240
Romania 211
Rome 40, 46, 49–50, 54, 55, 238
Ruoqiang 20, 22, 35, 122, 124
Rus 211
Russia 1, 9, 114, 210, 211, 284
Rutok 273

S

Sakastan 40, 43
Sakya 273
Samandar 214
Samarkand 1, 2, 56, 82, 99, 150, *246*
  and Arabs 246, 248, 252
  and Chionites 95
  and religion 66, 203, 240, 307
  and Sogdians 226, 242, 243
  and Tibet 289
  and trade 222
  and Turks 174, 205
  and Uyghurs 315
Samye 294
Sanchi 58, 68, 72
Sangyr Tepe 251
Sanjar Shah *250*, 251, *252*, *253*, *254* Sanxian Dong 137, *139*
Saône River 110
Sardar Tepe 200
Sarhad 283
Sarikol 281, 283
Sarkel 215, 219
Sarnath 67
Satma Mazar 32, 136
Savoy 110
Scandinavia 211
Sea of Azov 209
Sebier 22, 136
Selenge River 9, 298, 301
Seleucia 40, 238
Semirechie 223, 240, 241, 258, 267, 280
  and trade 276, 277
Sengim 129
Serakhs 284
Shaanxi province 5, 8, 82
Shabazgarhi 61
Shagonar 301
Shah-ji-ki Dheri 52, 63
Shahrisabz 205, 222, 251
Shaidan *202*
Shamsi *94*
Shandong 287
Shangdu 320
Shanpula *131*, *133*, 134–5, *140*
Shan-shan 22, 33, 54, 91, 151–5, 157
  and Buddhism 64
  and Northern Wei 85, 88
  and Turks 205
Shanxi province 8, 12, 16, 82, 87, 223
Shatial 45, *196*
Shazhou *see* Dunhuang
Shengle 87

Sher Dor Medrese *246*
Shignan 200
Shorchuk 157, *160*, 172
Shoroon Bumbagar 185
Shughnan 289
Shule 136; *see also* Kashgar
Shuman 200, 247
Siberia 91, 117
Sichuan province 15, 56, 225
  and Tibet 277, 284, 287, 292
Sicily 149
Sidon 55
Sikri *68*
Silesia 320
Sindh 46
Sirkip 126
Sistan 40, 43, 46, 54, 280
  and religion 238, 240
Sofia 211
Sogdiana 1, 43, 47, 49, 51, 54, 211, 223
  and Abbasids 289, 296
  and Arabs 245–6, 251, 252, 253, 254, 272
  and archaeology 117
  and Chionites 94, 95
  and Hephthalites 97
  and Huns 82
  and Kidarites 96
  and paper 149–50
  and religion 65–6, 231–2, 240, 304, 307
  and silk 55, 148
  and Tibet 292
  and trade 222–5
  and Turks 177, *178*, 258, 270
  and Xiongnu 12, 15, 16
Souchang 290
Sri Lanka 61, 83
Subashi 160, *161*
Sudak *178–9*
Sumatra 54
Sumpa 273
Surkh Kotal 56, 57, 58
Suyab 169, 170, 198, *205*, 206, 267, 270, 277
  and Sassanids 280–81
Swat 47, 72, 100
Sweden 122
Syr Darya Delta 97, 108, 219
Syria 40, 109, 240

T

Tajikistan 1, 15, 222, 254
Takht-i-Bahi 75
Taklamakan Desert 1, 19, 22, 114, 117, 120, *120–21*
Talas, battle of 272, 284
Talas River 25, 254
Taman Peninsula 223
Tangtse 223
Taq-e Bostan 225
Taraz 25, 206, 240
Tarim Basin 20, 22, 33, 35, 36, 43, 80
  and archaeology 114, 116–17, *118–19*, 120–29, 133–6
  and religion 57, 64, 66, 85–6, 241
  and sculpture 63
  and silk 56
  and Sogdians 225
  and Tang dynasty 287
  and Tibet 272, 276, 277, 281, 283, 284, 290, 292
  and Turks 198, 205, 270
  and Yuezhi 47, 49, 51, 52
Tarim River 19, 21, 117, 120–22
Tar-o-Sar *198*
Tashkent 198, 205, 222, 240, 243, 248, 254
Tashkurgan 36, 49, *280*, 283
Tatarstan 210
Taxila 45, 46, 47, 49, *60*, 72
Tbilisi *181*
Tekes Steppe 177, 198
Tere-Khol Lake 304
Terezin cemetery 32, *32*
Terkhin Tsagaan Lake *187*
Termez 47, 49, 52, 57, 62, 63, 86
  and Arabs 246
  and Chionites 95
  and Tibet 283
  and Turks 200
Thalpan 45
Thebes 149
Theodosian Walls 110
Tholing 135
Thrace 110, 211
Tian Shan Mountains *13*, 35, 37, 39, 114, *115*, 318
  and Turks 174, 177
  and Uyghurs 295
  and Xiongnu 8, 18
Tianti Shan 86
Tibet 1, 14, 18, 56, 64, 80
  and China 281, 283–4
  and Gaochang 170
  and Miran 155
  and Pamir 272, 281–4,
  and power 272–3, 276–7
  and reconquest of the Four Garrisons 289–95
  and Sogdians 225, 243
  and Tarim Basin 140, 141, 157
  and Turks 206, 259, 267
  and Uyghurs 307, 310, 312
  and withdrawal from the Four Garrisons 295–6
  see also Lhasa
Tillya Tepe 58, 69, 234
Tocharistan 47, 96, 99, 142, 280, 281, 296
  and Turks 198, 200, 203–4, 205
Toprak Kala 101–4, *102–4*
Topulukdong 135
Töv Aimag 185
Towan 133
Toyuk 126; *see also* Tuyok
Transbaikalia 9
Tsaidam Basin 284, 290
Tuhuoluo 157, *158–9*; *see also* Endere
Tumshuk 57, 64, 129, 133, 166, *169*, 314
Turfan Oasis 13, 14, 19, 23, 35, 85, 225
  and archaeology 126, 129
  and religion 64, 241, 306
  and Rouran 88, 90
  and Tibet 272
  and Uyghurs 307
Turiva 40
Turkestan 35, 56, 62, 64, 65, 66; *see also* East Turkestan
Turkmenistan 25, 39, 43, 238
Tus 238
Tuul River *6–7*
Tuva 32, 258, 301, 309
Tuyin 133, 153–4
Tuyok 126, 129–30
Tyre 55

U

Uch Kulakh 95, 222
Udabhandapura 203
Uddiyana 99
Ujjain 45, 46
Ulaan Baatar 16
Ulaan Kherem 185
Ulan Ude 9
Uplistsikhe *184*
Urals 219
Urgut 240, *241*
Urumqi 123
Uspenskij Cave Monastery *220*
Ust'Al'ma 31
Ustrushana 249, 251, 291
Uzbekistan 1, 47, 52, 64, 238, 270, 320
Uzboy River 49
Uzun Tati 116, 124, 143

V

Valeria 110
Varakhshah 95, 222, 225, *235*, 240
Vardana 95, 97–8, *98*, 222, 247
Verkhne-Nildino, platter of *240*
Vienna 320
Vietnam 35
Volga River 82, 91, 105, 108, 175, 213, 219
Vomar *195*
Vrang *197*

W

Wakhan Corridor 49, 273, 283, 289
Wakhan Pamir 126
Wenshu Shan 86
Western Europe 56, 176, 208, 320
Western Regions 18, 25, 29, 36, 54, 272, 286
Worms 110
Wulei 23
Wutai Shan (Mount) 313
Wuwei 18, 85, 159, 160, 312
  and Tibet 290, 291
Wuzong 142

X

Xiaohe 123, 134
Xiazhou 290
Xinjiang 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 29, 46
  and archaeology 123
  and religion 240
  and Sogdians 223
  and temples 57
  and Uyghurs 295
Xiyu 18, 23, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 224, 229
Xuandu 35–6

Y

Yaman Uus *31*
Yan Guan fortress 19
Yangtse River 83
Yanqi *see* Karashahr
Yarkand 35, 137–8, 273
  and archaeology 114, 116, 117, 121
Yarkhoto *24; see also* Jiaohe
Yasin 283, 289
Ye 82
Yellow River 5, 6, 14, 190, 192
  and An Lushan 286
  and Tibet 291
  and Uyghurs 310
Yellow Sea 320
Yemen 1, 177
Yenisei River 229, 308, 309
Yingpan 21, 31, 35, 121, *131*, 134, 154
Yixun 22
Yotkan 142
Yumen Guan *18*, 20, 21, 23, 194
Yungang 86, 89, 90, *91*, 155
Yunnan province 15, 47

Z

Zaamar Sum 185
Zabulistan 100, 200, 202
Zaghunluk 133
Zariaspa *see* Balkh
Zerafshan River 226, 251
Zerafshan Valley 99
Zhaysan *270*
Zhang Zhung 273, 295
Zhangye 18, 290, 312, 313
Zhaokuli 160, 161; *see also* Subashi
Zurmala 62

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME **THREE**

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

The Age of Islam and the Mongols

CHRISTOPH BAUMER

I.B.TAURIS
LONDON · NEW YORK

Published in 2016 by
I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd
London • New York
www.ibtauris.com

Copyright © 2016 Christoph Baumer

Translated by Martina Dervis and Dafydd Roberts. English text editing: Malcolm Imrie
Photographs © Christoph Baumer 2016
The right of Christoph Baumer to be identified as the author of this work has
been asserted by the author in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and
Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book, or any part
thereof, may not be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or
transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying,
recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

References to websites were correct at the time of writing.

ISBN: 978-1-7883-1351-3 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)
HB: 978-1-7845-3490-5
ePDF: 978-1-8386-0868-2 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library
A full CIP record is available from the Library of Congress

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: available

Designed by Christopher Bromley

Image editing and processing by Sturm AG, 4132 Muttenz, Switzerland

Contents

Introduction 1

I. Iranian-Muslim Dynasties in South-West Central Asia 3

1. Socio-religious Conflicts under Early Abbasid Rule 5

Excursus: *The Most Important Early Islamic Denominations* 6

The Sunnis 6

The Shi´ites 9

The Kharijites 10

2. The Barmakids and Tahirids 15

3. The Saffarids 23

4. The Samanids 25

II. Central Asian Pioneers of Islamic Philosophy and Sciences 33

1. Early Scientists and Philosophers 34

2. The Golden Age of Science and Philosophy 42

3. On Astronomy and Towards a Theory of Evolution 48

4. An Anti-rationalist Counter-movement 50

III. The Second Turkic Migrations to the West 53

1. The Pechenegs 56

2. The Oghuz 59

3. The Kipchaks 66

Excursus: *Turkic-Kipchak Equestrian Warriors in the Service of the Christian Kingdom of Georgia* 73

IV. Turco-Muslim Dynasties in Southern Central Asia 79

1. The Great Seljuks 80

Excursus: *The Ismailis of Alamut in the Seljuk Empire* 94

2. The Karakhanids 102

2.1 The Unified Khaganate 103

2.2 The Western Khaganate 105

2.3 The Eastern Khaganate 106

3. The Ghaznavids 108

4. The Ghurids 119

5. The Ma'munids, Altuntashids and Anushteginids of Chorasmia 127

V. Buddhist States of the Liao, Qara Khitai and Tanguts 137

1. The Liao Dynasty 138

2. The Qara Khitai, Central Asian Successors of the Liao 144

3. Minyak, the Tangut Empire 151

Excursus: *Pyotr Kozlov Discovers Khara-Khoto* 158

VI. The Rise of the Mongols 163

1. Sources for the History of the Mongols 164

2. Mongol Tribes in the Mid-twelfth Century and the Ancestors of Genghis Khan 169

3. Genghis Khan and the Creation of a Mongol Nation 174

4. Genghis Khan's International Campaigns 178

VII. The United Mongol Empire 193

1. Great Khan Ögödei and the Construction of Karakorum 194

2. The Regency of Töregene and Great Khan Güyük 203

Excursus: *Spies, Diplomats and Missionaries: The Franciscan Monks Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck* 207

3. Möngke, the Last Great Khan of the United Mongol Empire 212

VIII. The Independent Mongol Khanates 221

1. A Battle of Brothers 222

2. The Chinese Yuan Dynasty 222

2.1 Kublai Khan 222

2.1.1 A Hybrid Model of Government and Cultural Exchange with the West 223

Excursus: *Kublai Khan and the Polos* 227

2.2 Kublai's Successors and the End of the Yuan Dynasty 236

2.3 Withdrawal to Mongolia and Establishment of the Northern Yuan Dynasty 238

3. The Chagatai Khanate 239

3.1 The Chagatai Khanate as Vassal of the Ögödeid Kaidu 240

3.2 The Khanate Regains its Independence 243

3.3 The Division of the Khanate 247

4. The Il-Khanids in Iran 249

4.1 The Non-Muslim Il-Khans 249

Excursus: *Rabban Bar Sauma and Rabban Markos: Nestorian 'Marco Polos' from Asia* 255

4.2 The Muslim Il-Khans 256

4.3 The Cultural Legacy of the Il-Khanids 259

5. The Golden Horde 262

5.1 The Blue Horde of Batu Khan 263

5.2 The White Horde of Orda Khan 270

IX. Timur-e Lang and the Timurids 277

1. Timur-e Lang's Military Campaigns 278

Excursus: *Two European Eyewitnesses: Ruy González de Clavijo and Johannes Schiltberger* 288

2. Timur's Successors: the Timurids 292

3. Timurid Art and Architecture 301

X. Outlook 307

Appendices

Appendix A: The Most Important Denominations of Islam and Early Muslim Dynasties Outside Central Asia 312

Appendix B: The Most Important Dynasties of Central Asia from the Ninth to the Early Sixteenth Centuries 314

Notes 322

Bibliography 348

List of Maps 367

Photo Credits 368

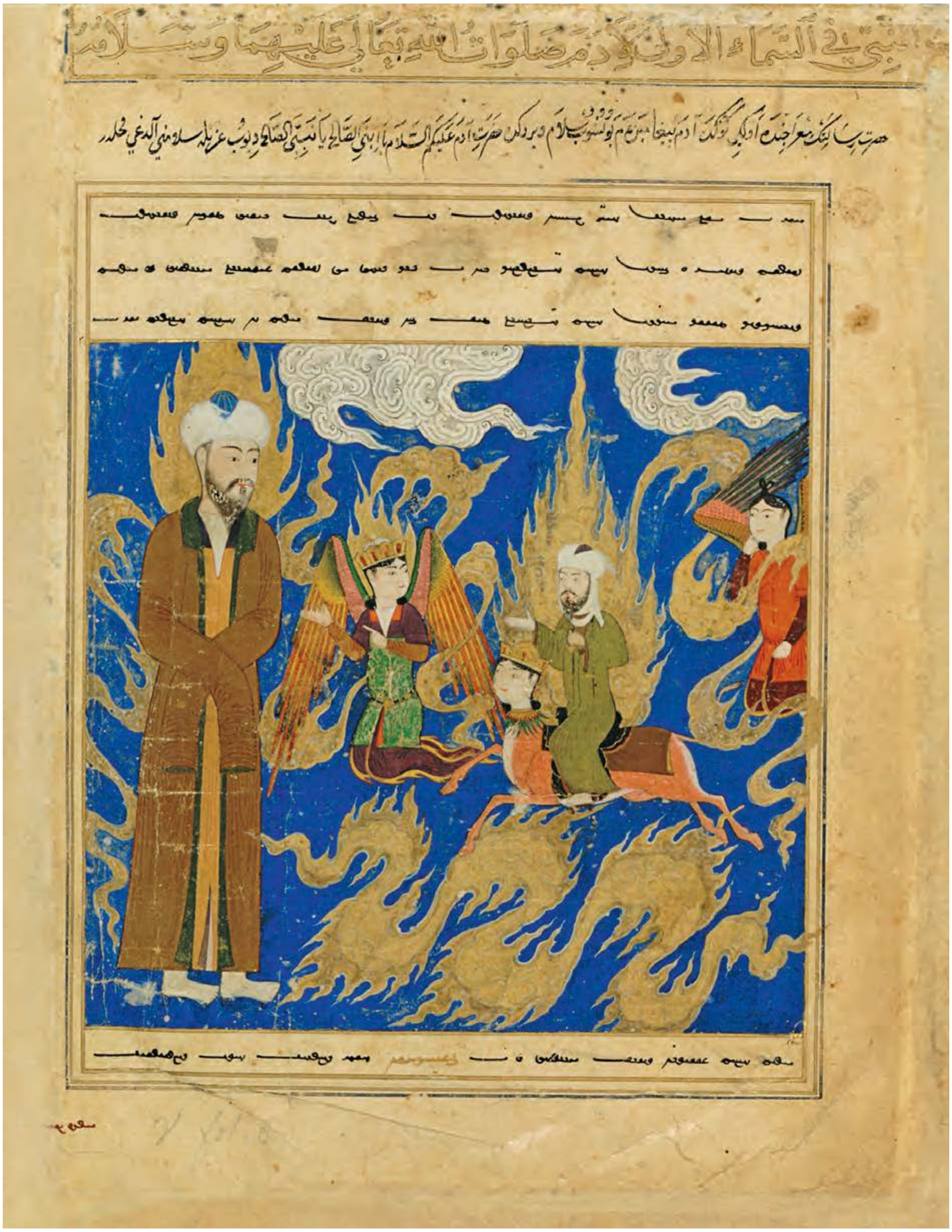
Acknowledgements 370

Index

Concepts 371

People 375

Places 380



1. The *Miraj Nameh,* the account of the Prophet Muhammad's midnight journey and ascension to Paradise, tells how, on arriving at the First Heaven, he met Adam, father of the human race. According to tradition and inspired from *surahs* 17 and 53 of the Qur'an, Muhammad made his journey in 621 CE, mounted on Buraq, a winged horse with a human face. The Archangel Gabriel guided horse and rider from Mecca to Jerusalem and then on through the Seven Heavens, Paradise and Hell. The description of the Prophet's ascension is written on the inner edge of the picture frame in Chagatai, a widespread Turkic language of Central Asia under the Timurids, in Arabised Uyghur script. Manuscript on paper produced in Herat in 1436/37 by the calligrapher Malik Bakhshi for Shah Rukh (r. 1409–47). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, manuscrit suppl. Turc 190, fol. 9v.[1]

Introduction

Just as God has given the hand several fingers, so he has given mankind several paths.

GREAT KHAN MÖNGKE explains Mongol religious policies to the Franciscan William of Rubruck in 1254.[1]
By 'several paths' he means several religious messages.

Between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, Central Asia was an important political, economic and cultural hub on the Eurasian continent; in the first half of the thirteenth century it was the pre-eminent centre of power. The most important factors that led to the hegemony of Central Asia were the ideology of Islam and its development through engagement with Iranian culture, the flourishing of the sciences, the spread of Turkic-Muslim peoples and dynasties, the perfection of mobile warfare by the Mongols and their encouragement of trade. The political and military dominance of Central Asia in the thirteenth century was helped by relatively weak adversaries on the outer borders of the Mongols, and by the inability of European states and Russian city-states to combine their forces and adapt to the Mongols' military tactics. The Mongol aggressors formed a freshly unified nation, while Europe remained a hotchpotch of kingdoms and principalities frequently at war with each other.

When the armies of the Arabs, strengthened by warriors from Mesopotamia and Iran, conquered south-western Central Asia, they brought with them Islam, a religion that offered many advantages. Islam was easy to understand and follow and was open to people from all social classes. But even more decisive was the fact that it offered rulers an ideological tool to break down the borders between clans and tribes. Turkic tribal leaders in particular used Islam to commit their heterogeneous followers to a shared system of beliefs and to found and establish new dynasties (such as those of the Seljuks, Karakhanids or Ghaznavids). Another, crucial advantage of Islam lay in the summons to *jihad*, the holy war against unbelievers, which newly converted rulers and their horse warriors reinterpreted as a licence for raids on their non-Muslim neighbours. Although it was Arabs who conquered the south-west of Central Asia, the local dynasty of the Samanids, who were of Iranian origin, soon took over and freed Islam from the straitjacket of Bedouin ideas. At the same time, Central Asian and Iranian dynasties of officials in the Muslim caliphate of the Abbasids, such as the Barmakids and Buyids, usurped power and began to restrict the authority of the caliphs, the representatives of the Prophet, to religious affairs. Between the middle years of the eighth and eleventh centuries, humanities and sciences flourished, especially the exact sciences like mathematics, algebra, geometry, astronomy, geography and medicine, whose advances were quite unparalleled. This was a time when the window for new discoveries in the Muslim-Iranian world[2] was wide open, for Islam as shaped by the open-minded tolerance of the Iranians set few limits on intellectual curiosity or on the translation of works from classical Antiquity, long forgotten in Latin Europe, and from India. This same liberal spirit could be found among the rulers, high dignitaries and rich merchants at the time, who supported scientists and philosophers and created large libraries, similar to today's oligarchs building up extensive art collections or financing sports teams.

In the mid-eleventh century Central Asian hegemony spread across the Muslim world thanks to the Turkic Seljuks. The eastern Iranian book (knowledge and scholarship) and the Turkish sword (Turkic armies) now combined to dominate the Abbasid caliphate. This balance was brought to an abrupt end by Genghis Khan and his successors, when they overran and destroyed the Chorasmian-Abbasid world between 1219 and 1258. The Mongol conquerors and later Timur-e Lang treated captives and civilians with extreme brutality – for them the life of a non-Mongol was worth considerably less than that of a horse. Unlike their Muslim predecessors, the Mongols were not driven by any religious motivation. They were secular rulers who used whatever ideology served their purposes best. This also meant that they lacked any worldview that could sustain the creation of a new state, and their cultural and political footprint remained small – in contrast to the Muslim Arabs whose legacy spread throughout the world. On the other hand, the Mongols granted religious freedom, on condition that religious practices did not violate the laws of Genghis Khan.

Genghis Khan's family regarded the Mongol conquests as a kind of family possession, and even more than a century after the death of the conqueror nobody was allowed to assume the title of khan unless he was related to Genghis. While Genghis Khan's descendants, especially the dynasties of the Yuan in China and the Il-Khanids in Iran, tried to create an orderly system of government within their sphere of influence, Timur-e Lang, a century later, gave no administrative structure to the territories he conquered. As a result, very soon after his death his realm was broken up into warring dynasties led by his various sons and grandsons.

The age of the Mongols saw a great increase in contacts between Central Asia and Western Europe. On a political level, the Mongol forays into Eastern Europe and Syria confronted the Latin princes and Crusaders with the problem of dealing with the 'Tartar' threat. But at the same time the fact that the Mongol elite, and even Genghis Khan's family, included a considerable number of Nestorian[3] Christians, seemed to promise fertile ground for the Roman Catholic Church. And Mongol support of commerce encouraged Latin merchants to trade with Asians. The Italian mercantile republics, with their own warships and merchant fleets, were particularly active. It is remarkable that the Mongol Il-Khanids, when they encountered their first equal adversary in the Near East in the form of the Egyptian Mamluks, radically changed their strategy towards the Latin kings and popes in the 1270s: before they had behaved like arrogant conquerors, demanding unconditional submission – as God willed – from the Latins, but now they became supplicants and tried to enter into military alliances with the Latin powers against the Mamluks. The resulting flurries of diplomatic contacts did not yield any concrete results, but now there was at least a regular exchange between Central Asia and Western Europe, something which had a significant influence on the development of geographical knowledge, art and textiles in the West.

As in the previous two volumes of the present work, Arabic, Turkic, Mongolian and other Asiatic place and personal names are rendered in linguistically correct transcriptions while mostly omitting diacritical signs. For Chinese names, the Pinyin phonetic system for transcription is used.

I

Iranian-Muslim Dynasties in South-West Central Asia

'I am the son of the noble descendants of Jam [the mythological king of Iran, Jamshid], and the inheritance of the kings of Persia has fallen to my lot. [. . .]

I am reviving their glory, which has been lost and effaced by the long passage of time.

So say to all the sons of Hashim [the Abbasids], "Abdicate quickly, before you have reason to feel sorry! [. . .] Return to your country in the Hijaz [the Prophet's homeland in Arabia], to eat lizards and graze sheep."'

YAQUB IBN AL-LAYTH AL-SAFFAR (r. 861–79), founder of the Saffarid dynasty of eastern Iran.[1]

2. **The prayer hall of the mosque in Damghan, Iran, built in 760. It stands on the former Silk Road, which led from Samarkand to Mashhad and onwards to Rayy in the province of Tehran, and is one of Iran's oldest surviving mosques. Photo: 2014.**

The mid-eighth century represented a significant turning point for south-west Central Asia, particularly for the areas of today's Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, western Afghanistan and Khorasan. It formed the conclusion of a transitional period characterised by wars, which had begun with the expeditions of conquest by the Umayyad general Qutaiba ibn Muslim (in office 705–15) in Transoxania, known to the Arabs as Mawarannahr. After the death, in 709, of Khunuk Vardan Khudah, the ruler of Bukhara and Vardana, the capture of the Sogdian prince Dewashtich of Panjikant in 722, the failed attempts to regain independence by Ghurak, king of Samarkand, who died in 737 or 738, and the murder of Suluk, the khagan of the Türgesh, in 738, no important leaders of Sogdiana or its ally the Türgesh Khaganate emerged to lead the resistance against the Arab invaders.[2]

The resistance of the Sogdian cities was hampered by their own political disunity, which stopped them developing a coordinated defence. An additional complication was that their actual suzerain, the Chinese Empire under the Tang dynasty, which had wrested supreme power over Transoxania from the Western Turkic Khaganate in the 650s, proved to be a 'paper tiger'. The Sogdian delegations made numerous requests for military aid, but received only verbal promises in return, for in the first half of the eighth century China was involved in a costly war with Tibet. After the victorious Pamir campaigns of the Chinese general Gao Xianzhi in 747 and 749–50, it did look as though China might pursue strategic aims in Mawarannahr too. But the crushing victory of Arab forces led by Ziyad bin Salih in the battle of Talas in July 751 put a damper on Chinese expansionist politics, and four years later the An Lushan rebellion forced Emperor Suzong to recall all the troops stationed in Central Asia to the Chinese heartland.[3] With the fall of the Türgesh and the retreat of the Tang, the last chances of alliance for the Sogdian princedoms also disappeared. Subsequent rebellions in Mawarannahr were no longer struggles for independence from the Muslim caliphate but social and religious revolts by heterodox Islamic movements. Later, in the first half of the ninth century, local governors and military commanders within the *Umma al-Islam*, the global community of Islam, mounted successful attempts at political independence. They ruled independently in south-west Central Asia and, while recognising the spiritual authority of the caliphs, paid them only nominal taxes.

1. Socio-religious Conflicts under Early Abbasid Rule

Sogdian resistance was further undermined by two other developments: on the one hand, the introduction of tax reforms and granting of an amnesty for Sogdians who had taken up arms by governor Nasr ibn Sayyar in 741, and on the other the beginning integration of discontented non-Arab local Muslims, the *mawali*, who suffered from discrimination. The uprisings in Samarkand in 720 and 728 had given a boost to the Murjite movement in the 730s and beyond. The Murjites, led by Harith ibn Surayj and inspired by Shi'ite and Kharijite[4] ideas, fought for the emancipation of native and immigrant Arab Muslims, agitated for tolerance for the theologically uneducated *mawali* and demanded exemption from the special tax known as *djizya*.[5] Since the ruling Umayyads – who ran the caliphate more like a business enterprise dominated by Arab tribes for their own profit than as a community of Muslims with equal rights – were bitterly resented in Mawarannahr, the anti-Umayyad, Abbasid propaganda of Abu Muslim found a receptive audience among local *mawali*. The Abbasids invoked Muhammad's uncle al-Abbas and were thus also able to mobilise Shi'ites, who were only prepared to recognise members of the family of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet; the Umayyads on the other hand were considered usurpers by the Shi'ites. Abu Muslim Khorasani (whose last name, ending with 'i', signifies that he came from Khorasan) gathered together the anti-Umayyad forces and from 747 to 748 drove the Umayyad governor Nasr ibn Sayyar out of Central Asia. While securing his power in Khorasan, Abu Muslim sent his general Qahtaba ibn Shabib Ta'i westward, and in the winter of 749–50 the latter overthrew the Umayyads.[6]

The last of the Umayyads, Marwan II, who fled to Egypt, was succeeded as caliph by Abu'l Abbas al-Saffah (r. 749–54), a great-great-grandson of Muhammad's uncle al-Abbas. He founded the Abbasid dynasty, which ruled until it was crushed by the Mongols in 1258. But with the accession of Abu'l Abbas, no descendant of Ali came to power, so that the Shi'ites' hopes were again disappointed and they continued to represent a source of socio-political unrest. For their part, the majority of the Abbasids owed their seizure of power to Abu Muslim and his army; it was not to be the last time that a Central Asian Muslim determined the appointment of a caliph who suited him. At first it was Iranian-speaking politicians who guided the destinies of the caliphate, later Turkic mercenaries and commanders.

The rebellious Abbasids had risen against the Umayyads not only because of their refusal to grant them equality with the Arabs, and in particular with the descendants of the aristocracy of Mecca, but also because they deemed the Umayyads excessively worldly. For the Abbasids, Islam was not only the religion of the ruling Arabs, but also the essential basis of an empire in which all the faithful, that is all Muslims, should enjoy the same status. But this raised a fundamental question – which tendency of Islam should serve as the basis of the state? For only a generation after the death of the Prophet in 632, three mutually hostile Islamic religious denominations had emerged: the Sunnis, the Shi'ites and the Kharijites. When the Abbasids took power, no monolithic Islam had existed for a century. Before seizing power, the Abbasids' propaganda had skilfully left open the question of what was the 'real' Islam.

The Most Important Early Islamic Denominations

The close interweaving of religion and politics which characterised Islam from the start accounts for the fact that conflicting sects came into being so soon after the death of Muhammad. For Muhammad was not only a prophet and founder of the religion, but also a military commander, a lawgiver and the leader of all Muslims. When the Prophet died in Mecca in 632, he left behind neither a doctrine of his own composition nor a clear order of succession. As far as the *surahs* (chapters) of the Qur'an are concerned, in Muhammad's lifetime these were mainly learned by heart by public Qur'an readers and passed on by oral tradition. It was only after Muhammad's death that his secretary Zayd ibn Thabit (d. 655) began their transcription on the orders of the first caliph Abu Bakr (r. 632–34). Zayd completed this first manuscript before Abu Bakr's death, after which it passed into the possession of Muhammad's widow Hafsa bint Umar, the daughter of the second caliph, Umar. But since several versions in various dialects were circulating, the third caliph, Uthman ibn Affan (r. 644–56), gave Zayd the task of codifying the Qur'an. Around 650, Uthman issued the text of the Qur'an that is still authoritative today, written in the dialect of the Quraysh tribe, which ruled Mecca – the dialect out of which standard Arabic later developed – and ordered the destruction of all other versions.[7] The enforcement of Uthman's version of the Qur'an provoked unrest among the supporters of other versions, who felt they suffered discrimination. Uthman's version, however, was not entirely conclusive, so the Umayyad minister al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (d. 714) brought out a new text which, unlike Uthman's, was vocalised and furnished with diacritic marks.[8] This version of the Qur'an, produced by Uthman and reworked by al-Hajjaj, is recognised by Sunnis and Shi'ites, but not by the Kharijites, who reject individual *surahs* as apocryphal.

Since Muhammad united in his person the roles of religious, political and military leader of the new community of faith, his successors claimed the same functions for themselves. For this reason the question of the succession in the early days of Islam was an eminently political one, which was also resolved by military means. All three main branches of Islam emerged more as a result of political disputes, especially rivalries between leading families, than because of theological considerations. After Muhammad's death, the majority of the Muslim tribal leaders appointed one of his first followers, Abu Bakr (r. 632–34), as caliph; that is, as the Prophet's successor. Abu Bakr was succeeded by two further early followers of Muhammad, Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–44) and Uthman (r. 644–56), and it was from their entourage that the Sunnis emerged. After Uthman's murder by rebels who objected to his nepotism, Muhammad's son-in-law Ali ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–61), who had married the Prophet's daughter Fatima, was appointed the fourth caliph by the rebels. Several notable figures, however, refused to swear loyalty to Ali; the most important of these were Muawiyya, the governor of Syria, a relative of the murdered caliph, and Aisha bint Abu Bakr, the youngest wife of Muhammad. The coalition led by Aisha was defeated by Ali in 656 in the so-called Battle of the Camel.[9]

As the historian al-Tabari reports, Ali committed a decisive error in the Battle of Siffin against Muawiyya in 657: although his army was on the brink of victory, he allowed himself to be duped by a trick of Muawiyya's and persuaded by the latter's ambassador to submit to a court of arbitration. Fearing a certain defeat, Muawiyya had Qur'ans fixed to his soldiers' lances, hoping his opponents would not fight against the holy book.[10] While the arbitration remained without consequences, a significant number of Ali's supporters perceived his agreement to it as a betrayal of Islam and the heritage of the Prophet and turned away from him. For these disillusioned companions of Ali's, arbitration meant yielding to a merely human, imperfect authority, while a victory in battle would have represented the judgement of God. In handing over control of victory, Ali was committing treason against God's verdict. These rebellious supporters were called Kharijites, which in Arabic means 'those who went out', or 'the rebels'. Four years after the Battle of Siffin, the Kharijites, pursued by Ali, planned a double attack on Muawiyya and Ali. Muawiyya (r. 656–80) survived and founded the Umayyad dynasty, but Ali perished.[11] Thus the Shi'ites lost their first imam. By the Battle of Siffin at the latest, the Islamic community had split into three branches, at first primarily distinguished by their conflicting opinions on the rightful succession to the Prophet; later, theological differences also emerged between them.[12]

The Sunnis

The Sunnis form the majority of Muslims. They call themselves *ahl al-sunnah*, which means in Arabic 'people of the tradition' of Muhammad. This tradition *sunnah* consists of the words, actions, habits, practices and tacit approvals of the Prophet as recounted by his companions in the *hadiths*, the 'reports', at first recounted orally and later transcribed and preserved in collections, of which those known as 'six books' enjoy canonical status. All Muslims distinguish quite clearly between God's words, as the Prophet received them in revelations and passed them on as *surahs* of the Qur'an, and Muhammad's own words.[13] The chosen companions of the Prophet include the first four caliphs, Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and Ali, who are called by the Sunnis *al-rashidun*, the 'rightly guided ones'. With the fifth caliph, Muawiyya, the caliphate was transformed into a dynastic political system. The Sunnis recognise the *hadiths* as a normative corpus, so that these, after the Qur'an, form the second pillar of their jurisprudence.

▶ 3. Aerial shot of the shrine in Mashhad, Khorasan, Iran of the eighth Twelver Shi'ite imam Ali ibn Musa al-Ridha, who died in 818. The two wide, concentric circular paths were laid in the 1970s. Photo 1976/78.

While the canonical character of the Qur'an and the *hadiths* became generally recognised, divergent versions soon came into being with regard to their interpretation in the context of Islamic jurisdiction. Four traditional schools of jurisdiction, *madhabs*, emerged from these. Since Islamic law knows no actual separation between religious and civil areas of application, the *madhabs* also took on features of religious sects and political interest groups. Of the four groups named after their founders, the **Hanafi**, founded by Abu Hanifa (699–767), form not only the oldest and largest group, but also the most liberal. Abu Hanifa represented an egalitarian Islam, teaching equality of the *mawali* with Arab Muslims. Furthermore, for Abu Hanifa, the *mawali*, who lived in a polytheistic location and knew little or nothing of the Qur'an and the religious duties laid down in *sharia* law, the Islamic legal system, were equally to be considered as true believers, as long as they led a moral life.[14] He also allowed those *mawali* who knew no Arabic to pray in their own language. Methodologically, the Hanafi allowed wide latitude to analogical reasoning which adapted the commandments or judgements found in the Qur'an and the *sunnah* with the help of the understanding of a new situation, leading to the cultivation of independent schools of thought. While the **Shafi'is**, who followed the teaching of Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i (767–820), also used analogical reasoning for the deduction of legal rules, al-Shafi'i himself largely rejected independent doctrines and moved the *hadiths* into the foreground. It is not surprising that the Hanafi, who saw Arab Muslims and *mawali* as equal, enjoyed by far the greatest popularity in Central Asia.[15]

The two other schools of law were very conservative, strict, and, in the case of the **Hanbali**, elitist. Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780–855) was convinced of the natural superiority of Muslim Arabs, since it was the Arabs who had produced the Prophet and his early travelling companions.[16] In accordance with his dogmatic understanding of Islam, ibn Hanbal rejected analogical reasoning and independent doctrines, and invoked only the Qur'an, the *sunnah* and the consensus of the first generation of Muslims. As a result of the literal exegesis of the Qur'an in the Hanbali school of law, anthropomorphic notions developed, as can be seen from a striking

علي
الله
محمد
ياقمر بني هاشم
الحسين
الحسن
فاطمة

4. Shi'ite pilgrims make their way along the 850-kilometre-long road from Tehran to Mashhad, Iran. Pilgrims regard enduring the slow, strenuous journey to their destination as an act of merit. The red flag shows from left to right (above) the names Ali, Allah and Muhammad, (below) al-Husain, al-Hasan and Fatima and in the centre Gamar ibn Hashem, brother of the third imam and his general. Photo: 2014.

formulation of Hanbali doctrine of the eleventh century: 'Our God can be seen, is established on his throne; his speech is eternal, his prophet Arab.'[17] The **Maliki** school, founded by Malik ibn Anas ibn Malik (*ca.* 711–95), was led less by the *hadiths* than by the consensus of the first Muslim generations, the ordinances of Caliph Umar and in particular the lifestyle and norms of the first three generations of Muslims who lived in Medina, where the Prophet had been exiled since 622. For Malik ibn Anas the early community in Medina represented a sort of 'living *sunnah*'.

The disagreements between the schools of law were conducted not only on the level of verbal argument, in the form of sermons, disputations and polemical writings, but also as violent confrontations and actual street battles, for example in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Baghdad. The extent of intolerance within Islam can be recognised from the reply of a leading Hanbali to Vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1018–92), when the latter asked him to conduct himself in more moderate fashion: 'Those people [supporters of the Ash'ari theological school[18]] claim that we are unbelievers, while we claim that anyone who does not believe what we believe is an unbeliever. So how can there be peace between us?'[19]

The Shi'ites

The term Shi'ites denotes the followers of the 'Shi'at Ali', the family of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. On the death of Muhammad, individual tribes and groups opposed the appointment of Abu Bakr as caliph and came out in favour of Ali ibn Abi Talib; but it was only six months later, after lengthy attempts at mediation by Umar, that Ali swore an oath of loyalty to Abu Bakr to preserve the unity of the Muslim community. After the murder of the fourth caliph, Ali, whom the Shi'ites revere as the first imam, and the triumph of Muawiyya, Ali's eldest son al-Hasan (d. 670), the second imam, retired to Medina, as did his younger brother al-Husain (d. 680). But when Muawiyya introduced a hereditary order of succession and designated his son Yazid I (r. 680–83) as his successor, many Iraqi cities rebelled, including Kufa. Al-Husain allowed himself to be deceived by their promises to actively support his legitimate claim to the caliphate, and left for Kufa with his followers. But at Kerbala, before reaching Kufa, al-Husain encountered a strong army led by Yazid, who killed the small band down to the last man.[20] As Katajun Amirpur puts it, al-Husain's lonely martyr's death at Kerbala forms the 'identifying moment of the Shi'ite faith'[21]: al-Husain was killed by his Sunni enemies and betrayed by his Shi'ite followers for lack of the promised support. It is only by their readiness to do penance and suffer martyrs' deaths as followers of al-Husain that Shi'ites believe they can atone for their collective sin at Kerbala. This readiness to atone and suffer where necessary characterises the history of the Shi'ites, and it inspired the Shi'ite Iranians in the revolution of 1978–79 against Shah Mohammad Reza, the 'modern Yazid', as well as in the extremely costly Iran–Iraq War of 1980–88 against the Iraqi aggressor Saddam Hussein, who had massive support from the West, Russia and China.

In principle the Shi'ites do not recognise a separation between political and religious power, since the Prophet was the leader in both spheres. In addition, he bequeathed to the faithful not only the book of God, the 'silent Qur'an', but also his family, the 'speaking Qur'an', *Koran an-natiq*.[22] For this reason, only a descendant of Muhammad can rightfully be appointed as an imam, as 'leader' or 'model',[23] and by the same token the Sunni caliphs lack legitimacy. In practice, the larger Shi'ite groupings mostly avoided violent resistance and submitted to Sunni state authority.[24] The Ja'faris and Imamites, for example, chose a quietist lifestyle according to the principle of *taqiya*, 'caution', which means that Shi'ites may practise their religion and rituals with caution and, if necessary, in secret, and also that the imam is not required to rise up against unlawful and unjust rulers.[25] But disagreements soon arose within the Shi'ite community about the correct lines of succession and where one of these lines broke off. Thus, for example, the **Zaidis**[26] recognise as the fifth imam not Muhammad al-Baqir and his successors, but his brother Zaid. Similar succession disputes led to the splitting off of the Sixer Shi'ites, known as **Ja'faris**, and the Sevener Shi'ites, the **Ismailis**. In contrast to the quietist Sixer and Twelver Shi'ites, the Ismailis sometimes departed from the *taqiya* principle, rebelled and formed their own mighty dynasties, for example the Fatimids in North Africa (909–1171), or powerful revolutionary organisations such as the **Nizaris**, also called **Assassins** (1094–1256/71), who fought the Abbasids in Syria and Iran with guerrilla tactics and assassinations.[27]

In 816/17 a unique opportunity presented itself to the **Imamites**, the Twelver Shi'ites, to gain power peacefully, when the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33), who resided in Merv, named the eighth Shi'ite imam, Ali ibn Musa al-Ridha, as his successor. Such an order of succession offered a chance of closing the deep gulf within Islam, or at least of bridging it. But individual Abbasid dignitaries in Iraq rebelled in the face of this innovative arrangement and the numerous conversions from the Sunni to the Shi'ite faith, and in 818 the eighth imam died quite suddenly in Tus, presumably poisoned. His grave in the eastern Iranian city of Mashhad is one of the most significant of Shi'ite pilgrimage sites.

After anti-Shi'ite politics had hardened since Caliph al-Mutawwakil (r. 847–61), who had placed the tenth and eleventh imams under house arrest, the Shi'ites performed a U-turn on the death of Imam al-Hasan al-Askari in 873. They proclaimed that al-Askari had brought his son Muhammad to safety, away from the caliph's henchmen, and that Allah had transported this twelfth imam, Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mahdi, into minor seclusion in 874 and major seclusion in 941. In accordance with the eschatological beliefs of the Imamites, this hidden imam would one day return. They also claimed that during this period of absence all regimes were actually illegal.[28]

The theology of the Imamites diverges from that of the Sunnis in essential respects.[29] Among these are, first, belief in the Mahdi, the

5. Since it was shelled by Russian artillery in the winter of 1911/12, the Imam Reza (Ridha) Shrine complex in Mashhad, Iran, has remained open 24 hours, 365 days a year. The green triple-shell dome[2] in the middle of the photo belongs to the Gauhar Shad Mosque, built by Shah Rukh's wife, Gauhar Shad, in 1416–18. To the left we see the golden dome of the mausoleum. The name Mashhad-e Moqaddas means 'place of martyrdom'. Photo: 3 September 2014, birthday of the eighth Shi'ite Imam.

twelfth imam; second, the veneration of the imams as martyrs, who bore the guilt of the sinful believers, and third, the conviction that the Qur'an, though eternal, was created, which allows far greater scope for its interpretation by learned legal scholars, called *mujtahid*. The Sunnis consider the Qur'an as uncreated, just like Allah himself, and believe that the *surahs* reproduce God's exact words. For the Shi'ites and the suppressed Sunni Mu'tazilites,[30] the Qur'an contains God's words only insofar as its content derives from him, but its form and language are marked by the personality and time of Muhammad. This differentiation allows the distinction between a literal, 'outer' meaning of the Qur'an and a hidden, 'inner' meaning, whose exegesis is the responsibility of the *mujtahid*. In addition, the Shi'ites interpret the ban on pictorial representation of living creatures, in particular of humans, less strictly, so that portraits of Ali, of his wife Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad, and of their two sons al-Husain and al-Hasan, are to be found in important shrines in Iran. In this context, in Shi'ite popular belief Fatima enjoys a veneration equal to that of the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Catholic Church, and which is totally foreign to the Sunnis.

In the veneration of Ali, the **Nusayris** or **Alawites**, who emerged in the late ninth or tenth centuries, went even further than the Imamites. They follow a secret syncretic-gnostic doctrine, in whose centre is the belief in three emanations of the single God, which manifest themselves cyclically. Ali is venerated as one such emanation.[31] Among conservative Sunnis the Alawites are considered infidels.

The Kharijites

In contrast to the quietist Imamites and Ja'faris, the Kharijites, who had broken with the fourth caliph Ali after the Battle of Siffin in 657, formed an egalitarian and militant group which held closely to the Qur'an and *sunnah*. For the Kharijites, the choice of a political and religious leader did not depend on his ancestry, but on his abilities. The caliphate was by no means reserved to the Alids (the descendants of Ali), but any Muslim who was capable and free from sin was electable

as leader of the Islamic community, a black slave as much as an Arab noble or an Alid. Such an egalitarian feature was particularly appealing to the urban *mawali* of Central Asia and Iran. The Kharijites fought the Umayyads and Abbasids because these dynasties improperly monopolised the caliphate, and condemned the Shi'ites for not being strict enough in their observance of the *sunnah*.[32]

After the debacle of Siffin, Ali turned against his disloyal followers and in 658 crushingly defeated them in battle. Three years later, surviving Kharijites murdered Caliph Ali and at the same time rose against Muawiyya and his Umayyad followers. Beaten many times by the Umayyad armies, the Kharijites, dispersed over the whole empire, were divided on the question of how strictly the *sunnah* should be followed. This further weakened their power. Nevertheless, repeated Kharijite uprisings took place in Mesopotamia and Iran,[33] and finally in the 30-year uprising in northern Iraq from 866 to 896. In the east of the Abbasid Empire, where the *mawali* represented a higher proportion of believers than in the west, autonomous areas under Kharijite control persisted for a long time, in particular in the east of Khorasan, in Badghis, around Herat and in Sistan.[34] But tribes of Arab origin, dissatisfied with the ruling dynasties of caliphs, also joined the Kharijites. In Sistan, the reign of **Hamza bin Adharak al-Khariji** (d. 828), from the Helmand province of Afghanistan, which lasted more than 30 years, was particularly notable. In 795 or 796 he raised the banner of revolt and controlled Sistan right up to the time of his natural death in 828, though without being able to hold his own in the capital, Zaranj. Abbasid governors sent against bin Adharak were either killed or had to make extensive compromises with him. Even after his death, Kharijite military leaders controlled rural areas and blocked important routes. It was not until 865 that Yaqub bin al-Layth al-Saffar, founder of the Saffarid dynasty,[35] was able to kill the leading Kharijite, Ammar bin Yaser. He solved the problem of the Kharijite rebellions by integrating rebel units in his own army, and sources after the eleventh century scarcely mention them.[36]

The young Abbasid kingdom was challenged by rebellions, not only in its south-eastern provinces, but also in the north-eastern ones. Here the murder of Abu Muslim in February 755 provoked several uprisings. The first Abbasid caliph, Abu'l Abbas al-Saffah (r. 749–54), who in seizing power destroyed the hopes of his Shi'ite allies that he would pass on the throne to an Alid, soon felt threatened by the growing power and prestige of Abu Muslim, from Merv, who had placed him on the throne. Abu Muslim, who ruled practically independently in Khorasan and Mawarannahr, had not only succeeded in 750 in putting down the Shi'ite uprising of Shari bin Shaykh, but had also won in 751 an outstanding victory over a Chinese army at Talas and extended his sphere of influence to the north.[37] Moreover, Abu Muslim sympathised with heterodox and non-Islamic beliefs such as reincarnation and rebirth,[38] which gained him support among critics of Islam. The Abbasid elite faced the danger that he might use his increased power to topple them and declare himself caliph. Al-Saffah's successor, the Sunni al-Mansur (r. 754–75), lured his rival into a trap and had him murdered at the beginning of 755.[39]

The power vacuum in south-west Central Asia that resulted from Abu Muslim's murder encouraged several socio-religious uprisings.[40] Groups discontented with the Abbasid regime rose up in the name of Abu Muslim, and under the cloak of Islam began spreading pre-Islamic ideologies of Zoroastrian origin. The first to revolt, in 755, was a companion of Abu Muslim called **Sunpad** (or Sinbad, d. 756), who with his army even reached Rayy 15 kilometres south of Tehran, but on the march to Hamadan was put to flight by Abbasid troops and died in 756.[41] The former Abbasid missionary **Ishaq al-Turk** then rebelled around 756/57 with his movement, called Abu Muslimiyya, and preached that Abu Muslim had been

6. Rebuilt in 1481 by the Timurid sultan Husayn Bayqara, the Blue Mosque in Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan, was later restored several times. The name of the city means 'Grave of the Saint', a reference to the fourth caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–61). According to local legend, the Prophet's son-in-law and founder of the Shi'ite faith is said to have been buried here. The burial site is highly revered by both Shi'ites and the Sunni Uzbeks of northern Afghanistan. The powerful symbolism of the Blue Mosque was recently emphasised by the fact that it was from here that the Uzbek warlord Abdul Rashid Dostum chose to launch his rebellion against the Communist regime of President Najibullah on 19 March 1992.[3] Photo: 2010/11.

an apostle of Zoroaster, was now living in secret in the mountains and would one day return as a prophet.[42] This message represented an amalgam of the eschatological beliefs of the Twelver Shi'ites and the Zoroastrians. As Richard Frye explained, 'it should be noted that the Shi'ite belief in a saviour or mahdi, and the Zoroastrian expectation of the return of a messiah, called Vahram-i Varjavand from a mythical "copper city", in the early Abbasid period, at times seemed to coincide'.[43] Soon after this, further south in Badghis, Herat and Sistan, there was a revolt led by **Ustadh Sis** (d. 768), who also propagated eschatological beliefs. Ustadh Sis was taken prisoner and executed in Baghdad.[44] A little later, in 776, **Yusuf bin Ibrahim** (d. 778), also called Yusuf al-Barm, revolted in Badghis. He presented himself as an extreme Kharijite and also promoted Zoroastrian ideas. Like Ustadh Sis, Yusuf was taken prisoner by Abbasid troops and executed.[45]

Hashim ibn Hakim, known as **al-Muqanna** (d. 783), not only claimed to be a prophet, but even believed himself to be an emanation of God and the Mahdi of Islamic eschatology, the Messiah.[46] Hashim was originally an officer of Abu Muslim from Merv or Balkh, later an adviser or vizier of the Abbasid governor of Khorasan Abd al-Ja'far (in office 757/58–59/60), who was accused by the eleventh-century historian Gardizi of having sympathies with the movement of Ishaq al-Turk.[47] When al-Ja'far began to show signs of insubordination, and Hashim began to pose as a prophet, Caliph al-Mansur had the rebellious governor executed and ordered Hashim to be imprisoned in Baghdad, but after a few years he set him free again. Hashim returned to Merv and from about 768/69 proclaimed himself to be both a prophet and the incarnation of the spirit of God: 'I am the one who showed myself to people as Adam, then in the form of Noah, also in the form of Abraham, Moses,

7. The fourteenth-century Timurid city walls of Damghan, Turkmenistan. Within the walls there is a mausoleum built in honour of the Khorasani military leader, Abbasid agitator and Islamic missionary, Abu Muslim (718–55). Photo: 2014.

then in the guise of Jesus, Muhammad the Prophet, in the guise of Abu Muslim, and now in this guise which you see.' In a letter to the district authorities of Khorasan he stated more precisely: 'There is no other God but me. He who follows me will go to paradise, but he who does not accept me will rest in hell.'[48] Hashim became known as al-Muqanna, 'the veiled one', because his face was always covered by a green veil. His followers explained this by saying that normal people would be unable to bear the radiance of his face; but his opponents claimed that in fact he was concealing disfigurement caused by a war wound. Like the Mazdakites, his followers wore white clothing, so that the movement was called *al-mubayyidin*, 'those clothed in white', and he preached Mazdakite principles such as the abolition of private property. His entourage consisted of impoverished peasants and mountain dwellers as well as urban craftsmen and small traders.

Around 775/76, when Hashim was again threatened with imprisonment, he crossed the Oxus with his warriors and took possession of some mountain fortresses in the Kesh area, today Shahr-i Sabz in south-eastern Uzbekistan. After a raid against Bukhara he entered an alliance with the Karluks, who ten years earlier had captured Semirechie from the Türgesh,[49] and with the military support of the Karluks he conquered Samarkand and Termez. The historian Abu Bakr al-Narshakhi (*ca.* 899–960), who came from the oasis of Bukhara, reported in his *History of Bukhara*: 'Muqanna invited the Turks and permitted them [to take] the life and possessions of the Muslims. Many troops came from Turkestan in the hope of plunder.'[50] In order to protect the oasis complex of Bukhara from these plundering horse warriors, from the end of 782 or the beginning of 783 the Abbasid governor Abdul Abbas al-Fadl ibn Sulayman al-Tusi had the fortresses from the fifth century CE at the north-eastern end of Greater Bukhara restored, and linked them with a long wall, which Narshakhi calls 'Kanpirak' (fig. 9).[51]

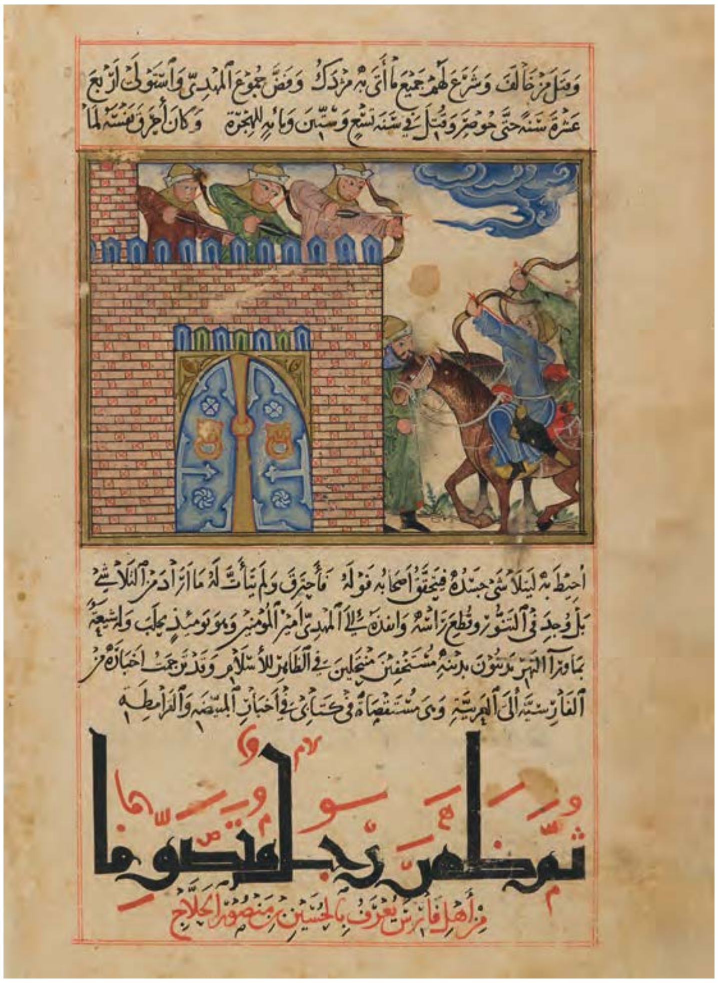
In Samarkand, al-Muqanna had coins minted with the inscription 'Hashim, Abu Muslim's avenger'. Caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–85) now realised that control of Mawarannahr was threatening to slip from the Abbasids' grasp, but his counter-offensive was not successful until, around 780, he gave the supreme command to the governor of Herat, Said al-Harashi. Now the Karluks abandoned al-Muqanna – they had not entered the alliance with him out of religious convictions, but only to be able to plunder. Al-Harashi first captured the fortress commanded by al-Muqanna's brother, and then began to lay siege to the self-styled emanation of God in his mountain fortress. In or shortly before 783, when his situation became desperate, Hashim poisoned his wives, killed his slaves and threw himself into a burning furnace.[52] After the victory over the Mubayyidites, Abbasid troops crossed the Syr Darya and invaded the Karluk region. Ultimately, all these socio-religious popular uprisings failed; it was only later that Islamic commanders aspiring to independence succeeded, thanks to their loyal armies, in liberating themselves from the Abbasid yoke.

Rebellions by Kharijite and extreme Shi'ite groups were not restricted to the east of the Umayyad and Abbasid kingdom, but also caused turmoil in its western half. These included, for example, the revolutionary movements of the Kaysaniyya and Hashimiyya, which came out of al-Mukhtar's uprising in Kufa of 685. A further development of the Hashimiyya was the revolt of Abdallah ibn Muawiyya, which shook the Iranian province of Fars from 744 to 748. After the death of ibn Muawiyya, another movement, the Harbiyya, emerged, whose beliefs included reincarnation and a cyclical concept of history. A high point of all these heterodox movements was the revolt of Babak al-Khurrami in Azerbaijan of 816–37.[53] It was the general Haydar ibn Kavus Afshin from Ustrushana who captured Babak in 837 after a war lasting three years.[54] Even though some of the many uprisings in east and west were partly inspired by neo-Mazdakite thought, it is evident that in the early days of Islam radical religious or socio-religious groups already existed which rejected an Islamic regime that did not correspond to their own religious beliefs. For them, the regimes of other Muslim denominations, such as those of the Sunni rulers, had no legitimacy, and they held it their duty to conduct a holy war, a *jihad*, against these rulers by military or terrorist means (such as targeted murders).

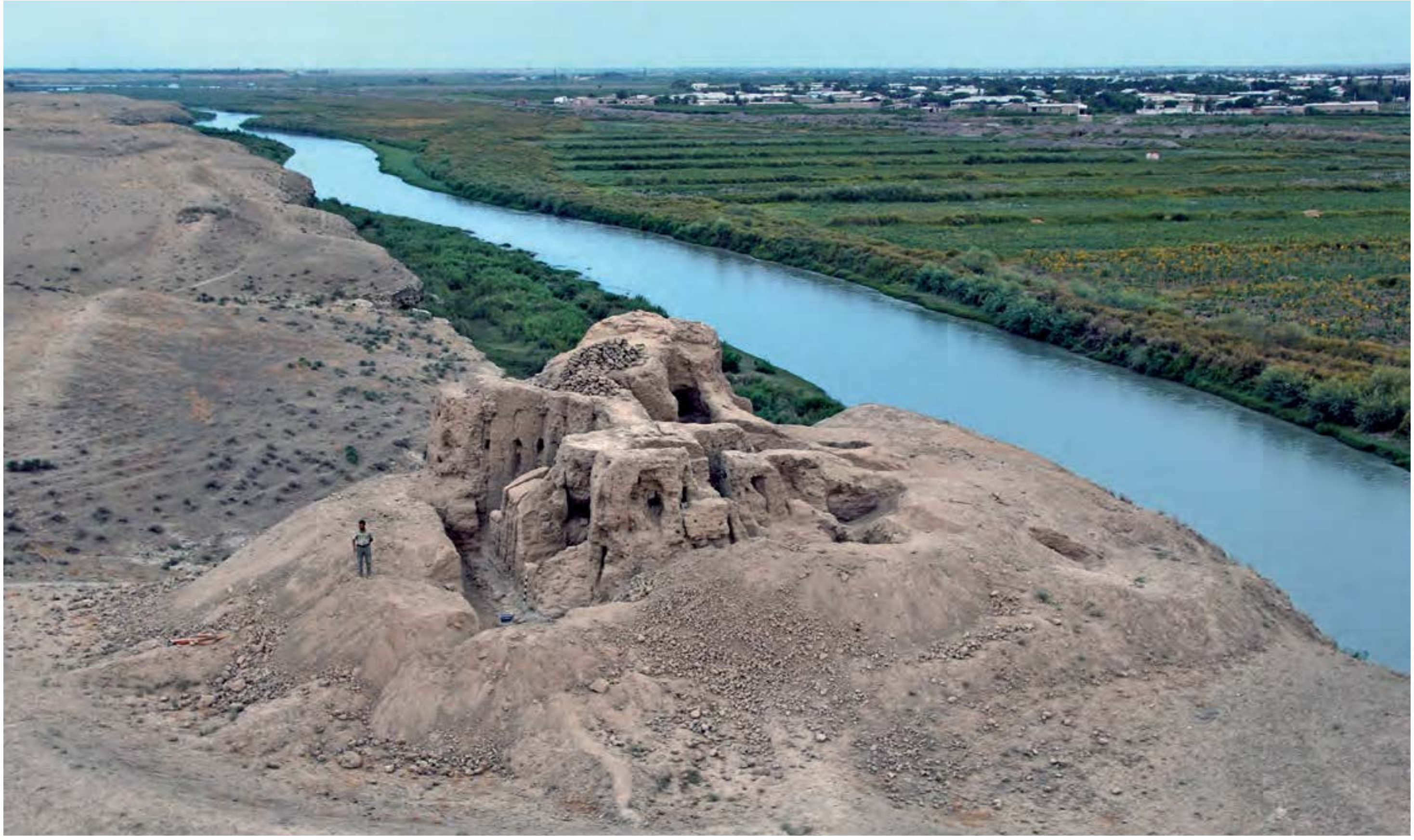
2. The Barmakids and Tahirids

Of course not all leading figures of Iranian origin in south-west Central Asia were hostile to the Abbasids. Many cooperated with the rulers in distant Baghdad[55] and with their governors. Individual families, such as the Barmakids, formed a powerful dynasty of officials within the kingdom; others, such as the Tahirids, began their careers as officers and later became de facto independent. The forebear of the mighty family of the **Barmakids** (*ca.* 730s–803) was **Barmak**, who, as the historian al-Masudi reports, came from a distinguished Bactrian family, which held the hereditary rank of 'high priest' of the famous Buddhist temple of Balkh, the 'Naubahar'.[56] As Sir Henry Rawlinson presumed as early as 1872, 'Naubahar' corresponds to the Sanskrit *nava vihara*,[57] which means 'new Buddhist monastery', and the family name Barmak is derived from the Sanskrit word *pramukha*, the hereditary title of the monastery administrator.[58] The temple of Navasanghârâma (Naubahar) visited by the Chinese pilgrim monk Xuanzang in 630 and described by him in detail,[59] destroyed in the days of Caliph Muawiyya,[60] must have been a magnificent building. The geographical compendium *Hudud al-Alam*, produced anonymously in 982–83, mentions that wall paintings and splendid artworks were still to be admired in the ruins.[61] As the calligrapher and local historian Mo'in al-Din Mohammad Zamči Isfizari (*ca.* 1446–1510) describes, the ruins of the temple and fragments of the wall paintings still existed even in the late fifteenth century,[62] seven centuries after the first Arab conquest of the city.

The first link between a Barmakid and a Muslim caliph at the time of Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik (r. 723–43) is historically confirmed. At that time Barmak converted to Islam[63] and resided as a physician at the caliph's court in Resafa. However, according to the Korean pilgrim monk Huichao (*ca.* 700–after 780), by the end of the 720s most of the residents of Balkh were still Buddhists, despite the Arab occupation.[64] Barmak's son **Khalid ibn Barmak** (d. 781/82) began his career in Gorgan and Tabaristan (north-east



8. The self-styled prophet Hashim ibn Hakim, called al-Muqanna and regarded as a heretic by mainstream Muslims, was besieged and defeated in southern Uzbekistan in 783. Manuscript dating from 1307 of *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* by al-Biruni (973–1048). University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, gouache on paper, Oriental Manuscript Collection. Ms. 161, fol. 93v.



9. The medieval fort of Ganj Tepe in the north-eastern sector of the 'long wall' of Bukhara in Uzbekistan. The remains of the long wall called Kanpirak by al-Narshakhi run to the left of the canal. Photo: 2013.

Iran) as an Abbasid propagandist and officer, and later Caliph Abu'l Abbas al-Saffah gave him control of the army ministry and the government tax department (*diwan al-Kharaj*), which was concerned with taxation and land tenure.[65] Under al-Mansur he occupied various positions as governor and is believed to have designed the plan for the new palace and administration complex of Baghdad for the caliph; the circular ground plan with a diameter of 2,700 metres was modelled on pre-Islamic architecture, such as the Parthian Hatra or the Sassanid palace complexes of Firuzabad (Gur) and Takht-i Sulaiman.[66] Khalid's son **Yahya bin Khalid** (d. 806) served as vizier to Caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–85) and as tutor to the future Caliph Harun al-Rashid. Under the brief rule of al-Hadi (r. 785–86) Yahya ended up in prison, because in a conflict between the caliph and his brother Harun he had supported the latter. When al-Hadi died suddenly in 786, Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809) appointed Yahya as his vizier and, a year later, as his seal-bearer, so that he became 'absolute ruler of the government'.[67] Yahya al-Barmaki further consolidated his enormous power by making his sons **Fadhl ibn Yahya** and **Ja'far ibn Yahya** governors in key provinces; two further Barmakids held important posts, **Musa ibn Yahya** as a military commander and **Mohammad ibn Khalid** as a majordomo. In addition, Ja'far presided over the mint and the combined postal and intelligence service, so that the three Barmakids Yahya, Fadhl and Ja'far formed an effective triumvirate, whose power and sphere of influence increased still further through the caliph's relocation to the border city of al-Raqqah on the central Euphrates, 600 kilometres away.

Thanks to their positions, the leading Barmakids became immeasurably wealthy. But not only did they lead a life of luxury, they also distinguished themselves as generous patrons of mathematics, medicine, astronomy and philosophy. As Frederick Starr notes, the Barmakids stood in a tradition of intercultural communication, since the Naubahar monastery contained a centre for the translation and publication of Buddhist texts from India, which then reached China.[68] In Baghdad, the Barmakids, above all Yahya ibn Khalid, had scholarly works from both Greek and Sanskrit translated and published. To disseminate the newly acquired knowledge, in 794/95 Fadhl and Ja'far ibn Yahya opened Baghdad's first paper mill, which also served the city's administrative departments. By replacing parchment, which was vulnerable to forgery, with paper, which was resistant to it, the brothers also reformed the administration of the state.[69] The patronage of Greek and Indian scholarly works by the Barmakids, who were of Central Asian origin, gave a very important impetus to Islamic scholarship, ushering in an era in which Islamic humanities and exact sciences flourished – several centuries before a similar development began in Western Europe.

At the end of the eighth century, the unprecedented power of the Barmakids, their popularity in Islamic Central Asia and their wealth began to make the caliph uneasy, and in 799 he removed Fadhl from all his official positions. Then, in 803, Harun ordered the decapitation of Ja'far, who for several years had been the most powerful of the Barmakids, had his brothers arrested and placed their father, Yahya, under house arrest. At the same time he confiscated all the Barmakids' assets, with the exception of those of Mohammad ibn Khalid.[70] In destroying this dynasty of officials, the caliph was demonstrating that even the most powerful dignitary remained a servant who could be replaced at any time. Various contemporary historians have speculated as to Harun's further motives. Assumptions were made about Harun's rage over the sexual consummation of an originally only nominal marriage between his sister Abbasa and Ja'far ibn Yahya, his envy of the luxurious and profligate lifestyle of the Barmakids, their interest in non-Islamic texts and the fact that Ja'far maintained an army near Baghdad which was loyal to him and only nominally subject to Harun. Harun foresaw that the combination of an army committed to the Barmakids with their inexhaustible financial means, and the birth of a son of Barmakid-Abbasid descent, might become a threat to his authority and that of his descendants.

The overthrow of the Barmakids, who had made a name for themselves in Khorasan as fair and just governors and moderate tax collectors, alienated the local population from the central government in Baghdad. The anger of the Khorasanis was all the greater when Ali ibn Isa ibn Mahan, the new governor whom Harun had appointed in place of Fadhl al-Barmaki, enforced inflated and arbitrary taxes by brutal means. In addition, Ali ibn Mahan failed to extinguish the rebellion of the Kharijite Hamza bin Adharak al-Khariji, although, as reported by Gardizi, he proceeded against the rebels with extreme cruelty: 'Two stout branches of a tree were tied together with strong ropes connecting the two of them, and the two legs of a quietist Kharijite were each tied to one of the two branches. Then the rope was released, and the strength of these two branches thus released would split the man in two.'[71]

In 806, the local resentment led to the revolt of the governor of Samarkand, Rafi bin Layth, a grandson of the last Umayyad governor of Khorasan, Nasr ibn Sayyar. The uprising was widely supported, and Rafi received military aid from the Oghuz, Karluks and Tibetans, so that the caliph, Harun, had to intervene personally. But on his way to Khorasan, at the beginning of 809, Harun became ill and died near Tus, while his son al-Ma'mun was already in Merv.[72] The four grandsons of Saman Khudah, a landowner from Balkh, named Nuh, Ahmad, Yahya and Ilyas, played a significant role in the suppression of the uprising and the capitulation of Rafi bin Layth. In gratitude, Caliph al-Ma'mun ibn Harun bestowed on them the governorship of four important cities and regions.[73] Later, in the last quarter of the ninth century, descendants of these four brothers founded the illustrious Samanid dynasty.[74]

The unfortunate order of succession of Harun al-Rashid had two consequences: first, it brought about civil war and internecine strife in the caliphate, and secondly, the military commitment of the Central Asian provinces to the later victor al-Ma'mun led to the defection of these regions from the central government in Baghdad. The first of these de facto independent dynasties in Muslim Central Asia were the **Tahirids** (821–73). In 802, Caliph Harun had divided his dominion between his three sons: Muhammad, called al-Amin, was to become caliph and rule the western provinces; Abdullah al-Ma'mun, the designated successor to al-Amin, was to be in charge of the regions east of Hamadan; and al-Mutamin was given the province of al-Jazira (Upper Mesopotamia). Soon after taking power, Caliph al-Amin (r. 809–13) removed his brother al-Mutamin and demanded that Ma'mun should hand over the eastern provinces to him. When al-Ma'mun refused, al-Amin deprived his brother of his right of succession and designated his son Musa as his successor. In 811 he sent Ali ibn Isa ibn Mahan to Khorasan with a large army of Arab warriors. Al-Ma'mun secured the support of the general **Tahir ibn Husain** from Herat (in office 808–21, r. 821–22),[75] who had already distinguished himself as an outstanding strategist in the war against Rafi bin Layth. Although Tahir faced overwhelmingly superior forces at Rayy, he destroyed Ali's army as well as a second one sent against him, then took Baghdad in 813 and had al-Amin beheaded.[76] After Abu Muslim, this was the second time that an eastern Iranian general had placed a new caliph on the throne. Tahir's victory also meant the triumph of the Khorasani troops, who now formed the backbone of the Abbasid army, over the Arabs of Iraqi descent.

▶ **10. The ruins of Bam, the Iranian city destroyed by the earthquake of 26 December 2003. The citadel was built in the tenth century under the Samanid dynasty and in 1002 withstood an attack by the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud (r. 998–1030). Photo: 2001.**

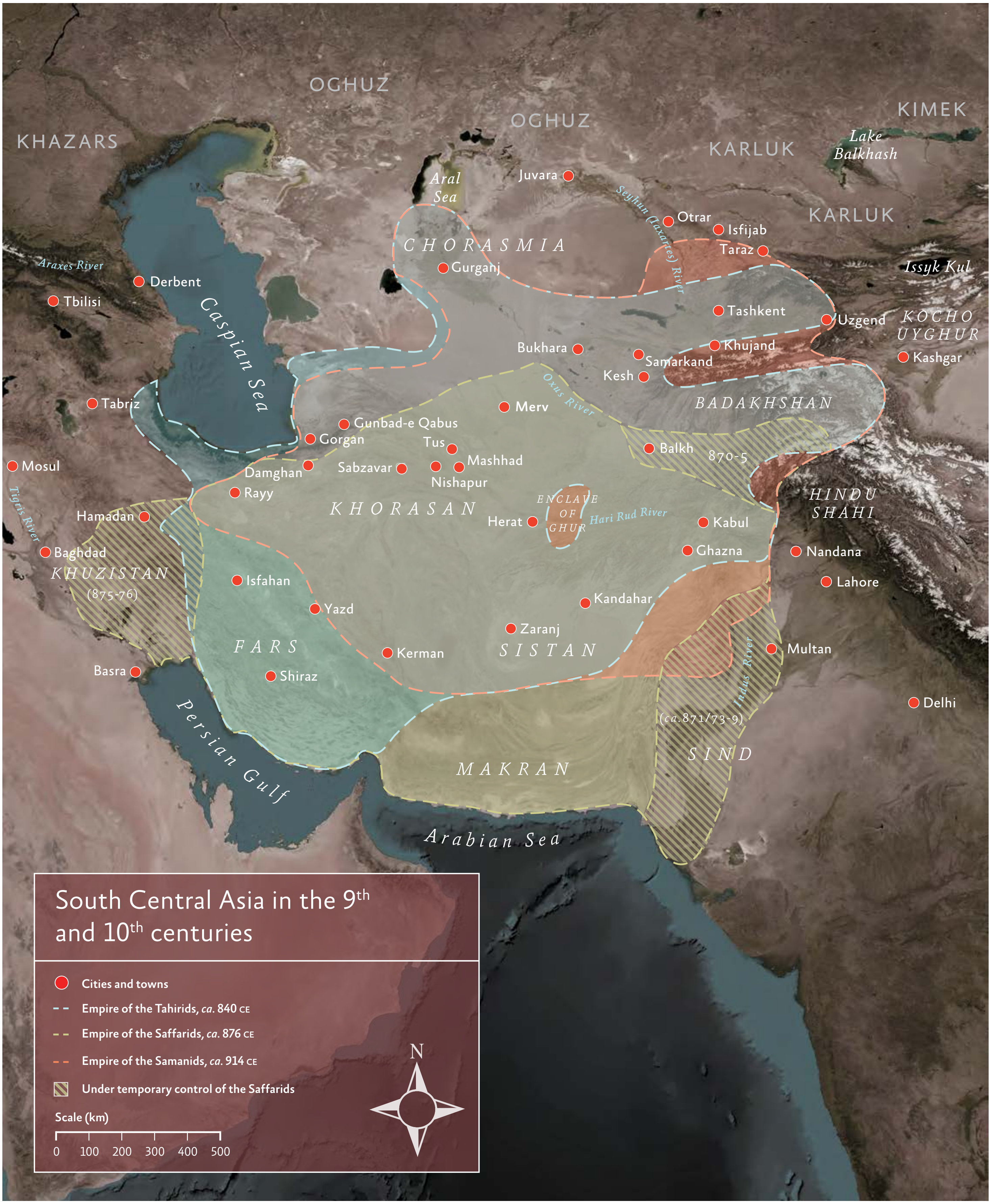
The new caliph, al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33), appointed Tahir governor of the comparatively insignificant provinces of al-Jazira and Syria, but also chief of police in Baghdad, so that Tahir, with the help of his son Abdallah ibn Tahir, controlled the capital city. On becoming caliph, al-Ma'mun, who was popular with the inhabitants of Khorasan and Mawarannahr, remained in Merv, so that the focus of the realm shifted to Central Asia. At the same time, he extended the province of Khorasan to include the entire Muslim part of Central Asia, presumably to bring more effective administration to this exposed region, which was vulnerable to raids and attacks by steppe warriors of Turkic origin.[77]

But in the absence of the caliph the western provinces were shaken by unrest, so that in 818–19 al-Ma'mun returned to Baghdad and, it seems, had his designated successor, Imam Ali ibn Musa al-Ridha, poisoned.[78] In the spring of 821, the caliph appointed Tahir governor of the vast province of Greater Khorasan, which extended from Rayy and Shiraz in the west to Tashkent and Herat in the east. Tahir ibn Husain was now the second most powerful man in the Abbasid Empire, and his position resembled that of a viceroy of the east. At the same time, Tahir's son Abdallah took over the province of al-Jazira governed by his father in the west. On arrival in Khorasan, Tahir did not hesitate to assert his independence, having coins minted without the name of the caliph on them, and removing his name from Friday prayers.[79] But before Tahir could introduce further measures to consolidate his authority over the Islamic part of Central Asia, he died suddenly towards the end of 822. Tabari reports that a slave who had been given to Governor Tahir by al-Ma'mun's vizier Ahmad poisoned his master on the orders of the caliph.[80]

Tahir was succeeded by his son **Talha** (r. 822–28) in Khorasan, while his brother Abdallah stayed in Jazira. As a result the Tahirids held a position comparable to that of the Barmakids, though with the significant difference that the ruler of Khorasan was in command of troops, who considered themselves bound in loyalty to him rather than to the distant caliph. Like the earlier governor, Ali ibn Isa, Talha did not succeed in freeing Sistan from the Kharijite Hamza bin Adharak al-Khariji. The rather colourless Talha was succeeded by his brother **Abdallah** (r. 828–44/45), who transformed his capital, Nishapur, into a splendid metropolis. Unlike Tahir, Talha and Abdallah remained nominally loyal to the caliph and refrained from any conspicuous provocation. Nishapur was the most important city in Greater Khorasan, above even Merv, Herat and Balkh, and developed into a centre of philosophy and literature. In 1221 it was razed to the ground by the Mongols.[81] The city of Nishapur, and with it the Tahirids, owed their wealth not only to their power and the significant location of the city on one of the most important trade routes, but also to the highly lucrative slave trade. The Tahirids and the Samanid dynasty that succeeded them undertook military expeditions to the north-east, where they captured Oghuz and other young Turkic men, whom they then sold in the western caliphate. In order to meet the growing demand for Turkic slaves, the Tahirids commanded their vassals in today's Afghanistan to supply them with slaves. From the buyer's point of view, young male members of Turkic tribes made ideal slave soldiers. Since these tribes were barely organised, they were unable to offer unified resistance to raids by the Tahirids and Samanids, so that young men were relatively easy to 'procure'. Secondly, these men grew up in the steppes of South Kazakhstan and the mountains of Afghanistan and Baluchistan as natural warriors, who from their childhood tended their herds on horseback and defended them against robbers. In order to make good soldiers and officers, they only needed military training, in particular in discipline and in fighting in formations.

The main purchaser of young slaves was the caliph in Baghdad, who acquired them to build up his personal bodyguard.[82] The aim in buying Turkic and also Caucasian military slaves (called in Arabic *mamluk*, pl. *mamalik*) was to create a professional army of slaves, in order to break the power of the eastern Iranian-Khorasani troops stationed in Baghdad and its environs. Thus, within a short time, a further change took place in the ethnic composition of the armies under the caliph's control. Up to the conquest of Baghdad by Abu Muslim, Arab warriors predominated, but later professional soldiers from Khorasan and Mawarannahr formed an important group, until, in the mid-ninth century, they were replaced by Turkic slave soldiers. It was Caliph al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–42) who forced the building up of a Mamluk army – his mother had been a harem slave of Turkic origin.[83] However, a professional army stationed in the capital held great dangers for its nominal 'owners', the caliphs, as Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61) learned to his cost. The centre of power shifted from the caliph to the Turkic commanders, and al-Mutawakkil's attempt to rein them in failed; in 861 he was murdered as part of a plot by Turkic officers. Subsequent caliphs were often little more than pawns of their own slaves. The disproportionate power of Turkic slave commanders only ended when a northern Iranian dynasty of officials, founded by three brothers, the Shi'ite Buyids (934–1062), seized power in Baghdad in 945. A century later, in 1055, the Seljuks conquered Baghdad, establishing Turkic sovereignty of the caliphate.[84]

Under Caliph al-Mu'tasim relations between Abdallah ibn Tahir and the caliph deteriorated sharply. But Abdallah, who not only ruled the eastern half of the empire, but also, thanks to his position as a



South Central Asia in the 9th and 10th centuries

OGHUZ
OGHUZ
KIMEK
KHAZARS
KARLUK
Lake Balkhash
Aral Sea
Juvara
Seyhun (Jaxartes) River
Otrar
Isfijab
Taraz
KARLUK
CHORASMIA
Gurganj
Issyk Kul
Araxes River
Derbent
Tbilisi
Caspian Sea
Tashkent
Uzgend
KOCHO UYGHUR
Kashgar
Bukhara
Khujand
Samarkand
Kesh
Tabriz
Oxus River
Merv
BADAKHSHAN
Gunbad-e Qabus
Gorgan
Tus
Mashhad
Balkh
870-5
Mosul
Sabzavar
Nishapur
Damghan
Rayy
HINDU SHAHI
Tigris River
KHORASAN
ENCLAVE OF GHUR
Hari Rud River
Hamadan
Herat
Kabul
Baghdad
Ghazna
Nandana
KHUZISTAN
(875-76)
Isfahan
Lahore
Kandahar
Yazd
Zaranj
FARS
SISTAN
Kerman
Multan
Basra
Shiraz
Indus River
Delhi
(ca.871/73-9)
Persian Gulf
SIND
MAKRAN
Arabian Sea
● Cities and towns
Empire of the Tahirids, ca. 840 CE
Empire of the Saffarids, ca. 876 CE
Empire of the Samanids, ca. 914 CE
▨ Under temporary control of the Saffarids
Scale (km)
0 100 200 300 400 500
N

11. The view from the citadel of the eastern side of Bam's third curtain wall. Photo: 2001.

military and police commander, had troops of his own at his disposal in the capital city,[85] was much too powerful for the caliph to be able to depose him. Abdallah further strengthened his position when in 839 he crushed the rebellion of Mazyar, the ruler of Tabaristan, who enjoyed the support of Haydar ibn Kavus Afshin. But Haydar, who had hoped for the defeat and downfall of Abdallah and his own appointment as new governor of Khorasan, was incarcerated and died in prison in 841.[86]

Abdallah was far more than just an outstanding military commander. He was concerned with finding ways to improve agriculture, whose importance he described as follows: 'God feeds us by their [the farmers'] hands, welcomes us through their mouths and forbids their ill treatment.'[87] He had canals and irrigation systems constructed in Khorasan and Mawarannahr to safeguard the water supply of cities such as Tashkent. Moreover, 'he assembled all the legal scholars of Khorasan and some of those from Iraq, and he commissioned them to compose a book on the legal aspects and regulation of such channels. This book was called the *Kitab-i Qunni*, "Book Concerning Irrigation Channels".'[88] Finally, Abdallah was convinced of the value of a general education for all social classes: 'Knowledge must be accessible to the worthy and unworthy; knowledge will look after itself and not remain with the unworthy.'[89] There is evidence that formal education was open even to poor children of peasants, something quite revolutionary for the time.

Abdallah was succeeded by his son **Tahir ibn Abdallah** (r. 845–62), who, before becoming governor of Khorasan, led campaigns against the Turkic Oghuz in the steppes north of Mawarannahr. But in the mid-ninth century the near-absolute power of the Tahirids began to crumble, when they started fighting among themselves in the west, and the region of Sistan rebelled. Tahir ibn Abdallah was not succeeded, as he had wished, by his brother Mohammad bin Abdallah, who preferred to stay in Baghdad and Fars, but by the young and inexperienced son of the late governor, **Muhammad ibn Tahir** (r. 862–73, d. *ca.* 890). According to Gardizi, he led a dissolute life: 'He plunged himself into wine drinking, and became occupied with music and singing and with merrymaking.'[90] Thus he failed to control the Shi'ite rebellions that sprang up in Tabaristan, Dailam and Gilan, between the Caspian Sea and the Elburz mountains. Hasan ibn Zayd (r. 864–84) founded the Zaydi emirate of Tabaristan (864–900; 914–28), which lasted until 928, when the Samanids deported the last emir to Bukhara. The death blow, however, came from the south, when Yaqub ibn al-Layth conquered Kerman in 869, and Herat and Pushang in 871, and two years later marched against Nishapur. Muhammad's paternal cousins welcomed the intruder, and when Muhammad's messenger haughtily demanded of Yaqub ibn al-Layth[91] that he should show his document of appointment issued by the caliph, he drew his sword and cried: 'This is my document of appointment and standard!'[92] Yaqub then occupied Nishapur in 873 and deposed Muhammad ibn Tahir, allowing him to move to Baghdad three years later. There Muhammad and other Tahirids still held some positions up to 891, but then lost their influence in the west as well. Since the four governors of Greater Khorasan rarely made any public displays of independence between 822 and 873 and remained loyal to the caliph, leading historians such as Bosworth and Frye are of the opinion that 'the Tahirids were not a separate dynasty, but merely the hereditary governors of Khorasan'.[93]

3. The Saffarids

The Saffarid dynasty, which lasted only 39 years (861–900), was in many respects a novelty. For one thing, unlike the Barmakids, who came from a respected dynasty of officials, or the Tahirids, the descendants of army officers, the Saffarids were a family of simple tradespeople. Secondly, the dynasty's aggressive founder, **Yaqub ibn al-Layth al-Saffar** (r. 861–79), was even confident enough to launch an attack on the caliphate itself in Baghdad. Thirdly, Yaqub was an ardent Iranian nationalist, who for the first time shattered the territorial integrity of the Abbasid Empire and set up a military empire of his own. Yaqub and his three brothers Amr, Ali and Tahir grew up in Sistan and came from humble origins. By trade Yaqub was a coppersmith (in Arabic *saffar*, the word from which the name of the dynasty is derived). Amr is believed to have been a muleteer, Ali a

12. The Magok-i Attari Mosque in Bukhara, Uzbekistan dates from the ninth or tenth century and has a twelfth-century portal. The inscription on the blue ceramic tiles over the entrance arch was added during restoration work carried out by the Uzbeks in the sixteenth century.[4] Photo: 2004.

carpenter and Tahir a mason. In the mid-ninth century, the security situation in Sistan was precarious, since many regions were controlled by Kharijites and the smaller Sunni towns and villages formed militia groups against them. These local troops, known as *ayyars*, fought the Kharijites in the name of orthodoxy, but at the same time were active as robber bands.[94] The ibn al-Layth brothers joined one of these *ayyars* around 852; they broke the power of the Kharijites and in 854 drove the Tahirid governor out of Zaranj. In 861 Yaqub overthrew his leader and appointed himself ruler of Sistan.

Yaqub was proud of his eastern Iranian origin and despised Arabs as ignorant philistines; at the same time he commissioned poets to attribute to him a descent from Sassanid kings:

> *'I am the son of the noble descendants of Jam [the mythological king of Iran, Jamshid], and the inheritance of the kings of Persia has fallen to my lot.*
>
> *I am reviving their glory, which has been lost and effaced by the long passage of time.*
>
> *I am openly seeking revenge for them; although men have closed their eyes to recognizing their regal rights, I do not do so.*
>
> *With me is the banner of Kawi (alam al-Kabiyan), through which I hope to rule all nations.*
>
> *So say to all the sons of Hashim [the Abbasids], "Abdicate quickly, before you have reason to feel sorry!" We have gained power over you by force, with our lance-thrusts and cuts from our sharp swords.*
>
> *Our forefathers gave you kingly power, but you never showed proper gratitude for our benefactions.*
>
> *Return to your country in the Hijaz [the Prophet's homeland in Arabia], to eat lizards and graze sheep.*
>
> *For I shall mount the throne of the kings, with the aid of my sword blade and the point of my pen!'*[95]

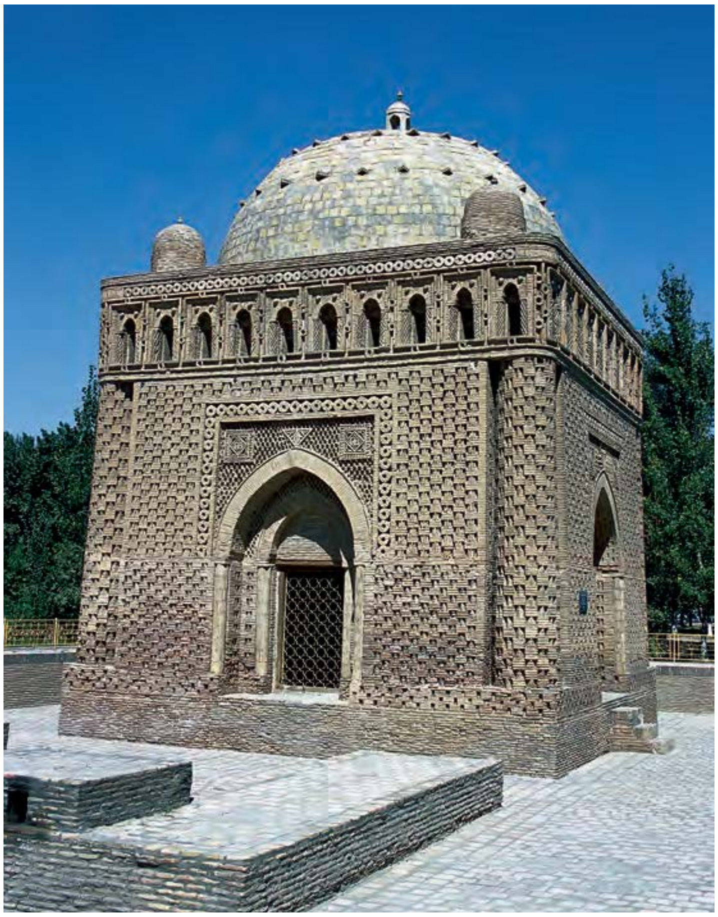
During the years that followed, Yaqub made his peace with the subjugated Kharijites, conquered the rutbil of Zabulistan and in 870/71 undertook a looting campaign to Ghazna, Gardez, Kabul, Bamiyan and Balkh. Yaqub sent dozens of gold and silver statues plundered from Buddhist and Hindu temples to the caliph in Baghdad, and his brother and successor Amr did the same in 896. Yaqub then seized Herat, Badghis and, in 873, Nishapur, where he captured Muhammad ibn Tahir. Next, Yaqub led his army west, to Fars in southern Iran; Caliph al-Mu'tamid (r. 870–92) panicked and tried to placate him by confirming his rule of Khorasan, Tabaristan, Gorgan, Fars and the city of Rayy. Yaqub interpreted

13. Earthenware bowl with a stylised bird. Nishapur or Samarkand, Samanid dynasty, tenth century. The David Collection. Inv. no. 10/1975.

14. Earthenware bowl with two wrestling men surrounded by birds. Nishapur, Samanid dynasty, tenth century. The David Collection. Inv. no. 13/1975.

this decree as a sign of weakness and marched on to Baghdad, where however, al-Mu'tamid's brother, the regent al-Muwaffaq (in office 870–91), inflicted a crushing defeat on him.[96] After Yaqub's death in 879 his brother **Amr ibn al-Layth al-Saffar** (r. 879–900) took power, but had to defend his rule in Khorasan, with interruptions, up to 896. Amr's attempt to wrest Chorasmia from the Samanids, the former vassals of the Tahirids, and at the same time obtain from the caliph the transfer of power over their region in Mawarannahr, failed miserably, for Ismail ibn Ahmad Samani defeated Amr at Balkh, captured him and annexed Khorasan.[97] So ended the rule of the Saffarids in Khorasan, and their military empire soon collapsed, for their own administration was weak and outside Nishapur consisted mainly of unscrupulous tax collectors.

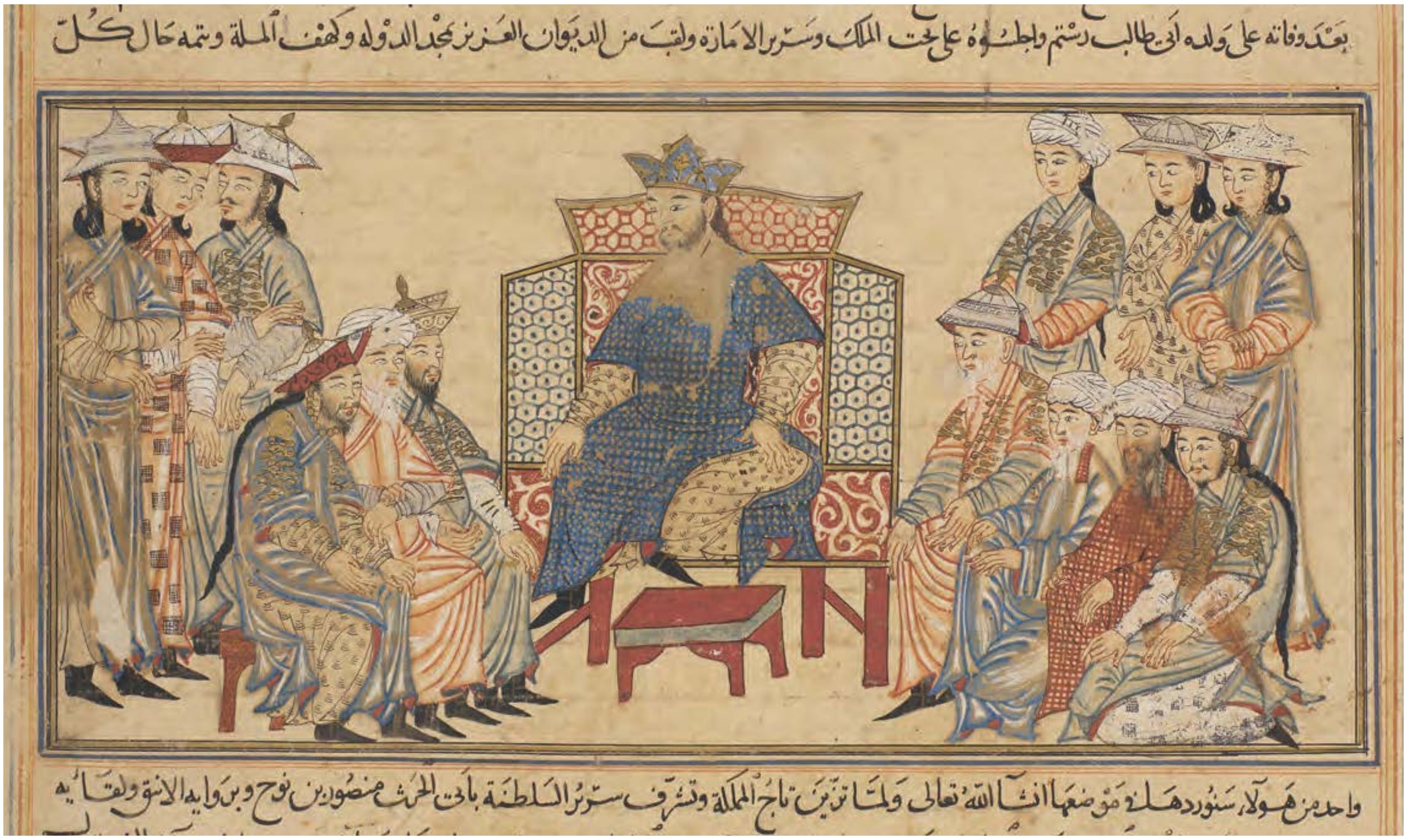
After the fall of Amr ibn al-Layth, representatives of the Saffarids were able to survive in Fars and Sistan up to 913. After chaos had broken out in Sistan after the murder of the Samanid Ahmad ibn Ismail, the *ayyar* of Zaranj chose the Saffarid **Abu Ja'afar Ahmad ibn Muhammad bin Khalaf** (r. 923–63) as their ruler. Abu Ja'far, who was murdered by his slaves, was succeeded by his son **Abu Ahmad Khalaf** (r. 963–1003), who then had to struggle for two decades against Turkic warlords and Tahirid sympathisers to secure his position. But in 1000, Mahmud of Ghazna forced him to make tribute payments and three years later to abdicate.



15. The tenth-century Samanid mausoleum in Bukhara, Uzbekistan where Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad (r. 914–43) is believed to have been laid to rest.[5] Photo: 2004.

4. The Samanids

In contrast to the Saffarids, the Samanids (819/875–999)[98] created an empire that was more than merely military; it was a highly developed state, which also endeavoured to encourage scientific and philosophical enquiry. In this sense, the Samanids were the only Iranian dynasty that formed a real state in Muslim Central Asia. After its fall in 999, a rapid Turkification took place in present-day Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, and the dynasties that followed were, with the exception of the Ghurids,[99] either Turkic or Mongolian. The ancestor of the Samanid dynasty was a Zoroastrian nobleman from Balkh or Termez, **Saman Khudah** (eighth century),[100] who claimed descent from the Sassanid general and usurper Vahram Chobin.[101] In the 720s or 730s Saman Khudah came to Merv and converted to Islam. Saman's son **Asad** (eighth century) was also a Muslim and his four sons took part in quelling the rebellion of Rafi bin Layth,[102] for which, around 819, Caliph al-Ma'mun rewarded them with the governorship of four important cities and regions: **Nuh ibn Asad** (r. 819–41/42) was given Samarkand, **Ahmad ibn Asad** (r. 819–64/65) Fergana, **Yahya ibn Asad** (r. 819–55) Čač and **Ilyas ibn Asad** (r. 819–56) Herat.[103] As the historians Gardizi and Juzjani (1193–after 1260) report, 'Ahmad was the most useful and experienced', so that in time, in addition to Fergana, he also gained authority over Samarkand and Čač and extended his sphere of control eastwards as far as Kashgar.[104] On his death, Ahmad bequeathed Čač to his son **Yaqub ibn Ahmad** (dates unknown) and the more important Samarkand to **Nasr ibn Ahmad ibn Asad ibn Saman** (**Nasr I**, r. 864/65–88, as representative of his brother Ismail 888–92). After Yaqub ibn Layth's victory over Muhammad ibn Tahir in 873, Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad became de facto independent ruler of Mawarannahr, with Samarkand as his capital. When a year later Chorasmian troops occupied and looted Bukhara, Nasr sent his brother **Ismail ibn Ahmad ibn Asad ibn Saman** (governor of Bukhara 874–88, r. de facto in the united empire 888–92; de jure 892–907) to that city, where he was warmly welcomed by the population and installed as governor. In 875 Nasr I received the confirmation of his investiture from Caliph al-Mu'tamid.


بعد وفاته على ولده ابى طالب رستم واجلسوه على تخت الملك وسرير الامارة ولقب من الديوان العزيز بمجد الدوله وكهف الملة وتمه حال كل
واحد من هولاء سنورد هنا فى موضعها ان شاء الله تعالى ولما تزين تاج المملكة وتشرف سرير السلطنة بابى الحرث منصور بن نوح وبن وايه الانوق ولقايه

16. **The enthronement of the Samanid ruler Abu Salih Mansur ibn Nuh (r. 961–76) in 961. From *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, a history of the world by Rashid al-Din Hamadani (1247–1318) produced around 1307 in Tabriz, Iran. Vellum, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Oriental Manuscript Collection, 20 f.118r.**

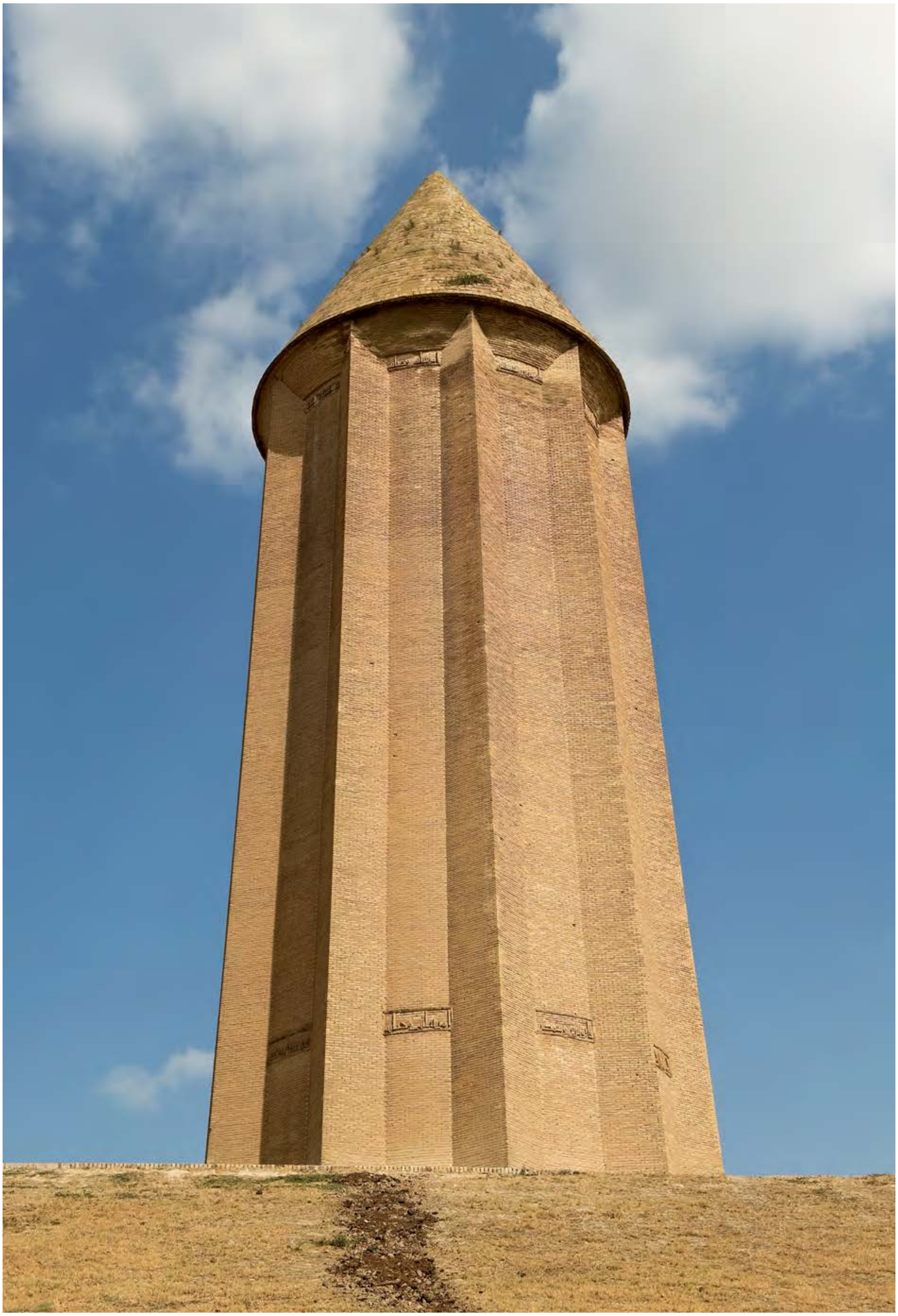
After Ismail had refused for several years to pay the taxes his brother Nasr demanded, Nasr marched on Bukhara but was defeated and taken prisoner by Ismail. Instead of moving to Samarkand, the more important city in economic terms, Ismail moved the capital to Bukhara and sent his defeated brother back to Samarkand. After Nasr's death in 892, Ismail officially became emir of all Transoxania; he is therefore considered the founder of the united Samanid Empire. In 893 he undertook a campaign in the north, into the territory of the Karluks, where he forced the ruler of Taraz, in the south of Kazakhstan, to convert to Islam. At the same time he ordered that the Nestorian cathedral of Taraz be turned into a congregational mosque; presumably the same happened in the neighbouring city of Merke.[105] The real purpose of this and further military expeditions to the north, though, was not to convert infidels but to acquire slaves[106] and to weaken the tribes of Turkic horsemen. In the same year, he put an end to the semi-independence of Ustrushana, which had been a Samanid vassal state since 822/23. Six years later, around 899, the Saffarid ruler Amr ibn al-Layth al-Saffar demanded that Ismail should recognise Amr's suzerainty. Ismail responded: 'My answer to you is with the sword.'[107] After Ismail had destroyed a first Saffarid army sent against him at the Oxus, in the following year Amr ibn al-Layth attacked Balkh, where he was captured by Ismail. Immediately afterwards, a Samanid force occupied the Zaidi emirate of Tabaristan, and when the latter rebelled, in 902 Ismail advanced as far as Rayy.

The Samanid Empire now included Mawarannahr, Fergana, Kashgar, Ustrushana, Khorasan, Tokharistan, Kabulistan and Tabaristan. In the north, the Karluk vassals guarded the frontier, and in the south, the empire continued to expand towards Sistan, Ghazna and Kandahar.[108] Since the Samanids considered themselves staunch representatives of Sunni Islam and warriors against Shi'ites, above all against the Zaidis, and at the same time harboured no intention of toppling the Abbasid ruler, they formed a bulwark for the rump caliphate against invasions by Turkic peoples. With the fall of the Samanids a century later, the floodgates opened, and, from about 1025/27, Turkmen and Seljuk invaders poured in. Meanwhile, Ismail's successor **Ahmad ibn Ismail Samani** (r. 907–14) succeeded in capturing Sistan, but at the beginning of 914 was murdered by his own slave soldiers before he could deal with a Zaidi rebellion in Tabaristan. Narshakhi describes what happened: 'He had a rule, viz. – he had a lion which was fastened by a chain at the door of the house where he slept, so if anyone sought to enter the house the lion would destroy him. That night, when he was sad, [because of the rebellion in Tabaristan] all of his domestics grieved and forgot to bring the lion. He fell asleep and a group of the amir's slaves entered [the tent] and cut off his head.'[109] The murder of Ahmad shows that he, too, surrounded himself with Turkic slave soldiers.

Emir **Nasr ibn Ahmad** (**Nasr II**, r. 914–43), known as al-Said, 'the Fortunate', was only eight years old when his father Ahmad was murdered, so that at first it was the vizier (prime minister) Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Jaihani who conducted the business of government. As soon as Nasr II came to the throne, several revolts broke out in Nishapur, Tabaristan and Rayy, and were difficult to put down. Three of Nasr's brothers also rebelled, and he imprisoned them in the citadel at Bukhara until 929. In 943, high-ranking officers who resented the emir's Ismaili sympathies forced Nasr II to abdicate in favour of his son Nuh. Ismaili missionaries were massacred, and Nasr died a few weeks after his abdication.[110] For the leading Samanid officials and the religious scholars or *ulama* of Bukhara, who saw themselves as campaigners for Sunni Islam, the growing influence of Shi'ite, and in particular Ismaili, missionaries in Samanid territory was unacceptable, the more so since local Sunni rulers and the caliph were hard pressed by the Shi'ite Buyids in the west of the Abbasid realm. In 945 the Buyids actually succeeded in unseating the caliph and downgrading him to a merely spiritual leader.

The reign of Emir Nasr II represented the cultural zenith of the Samanids, thanks not least to two outstanding viziers. The state was organised in a similar way to that of the Abbasids, with a central government consisting of ten ministries, diwans, presided over by the prime minister or vizier, and similar organisations in the provinces. Vizier al-Jaihani (in office 914–22 and 938–41) was not only a prudent statesman, but also the author of a geographical compendium, now lost, which provided the basis for later geographical works such as the *Hudud al-Alam* of 982–83. Presumably al-Jaihani's geographical work also served as one of

17. The Khodja Mashhad complex in Tajikistan, dating from between the ninth and eleventh centuries. On the right of the picture is the ninth-century eastern domed hall, which was the mausoleum for the Shi'ite missionary Khodja Mashhad. The tenth- and eleventh-century western domed hall, seen on the left, was a mosque. Unfortunately, the present restorers used modern, industrially produced bricks. Photo: 2008.



18. The brick-built Gunbad-i Qabus tower tomb in Gorgan, Khorasan, Iran. The 56-metre-high mausoleum was built in 1006/7 by the Ziyarid Prince Shams al-Ma'ali Qabus ibn Wushmagir (r. 977–81, 997–1012) on an artificial mound 15 metres high. It is the oldest tomb tower in Iran. Ten pilasters, each with a 3 metre projection, emphasise the tower's soaring height. Prince Qabus is famous for his patronage of the polymaths Ibn Sina (Avicenna, *ca.* 980–1037), and al-Biruni (973–1048). Photo: 2014.

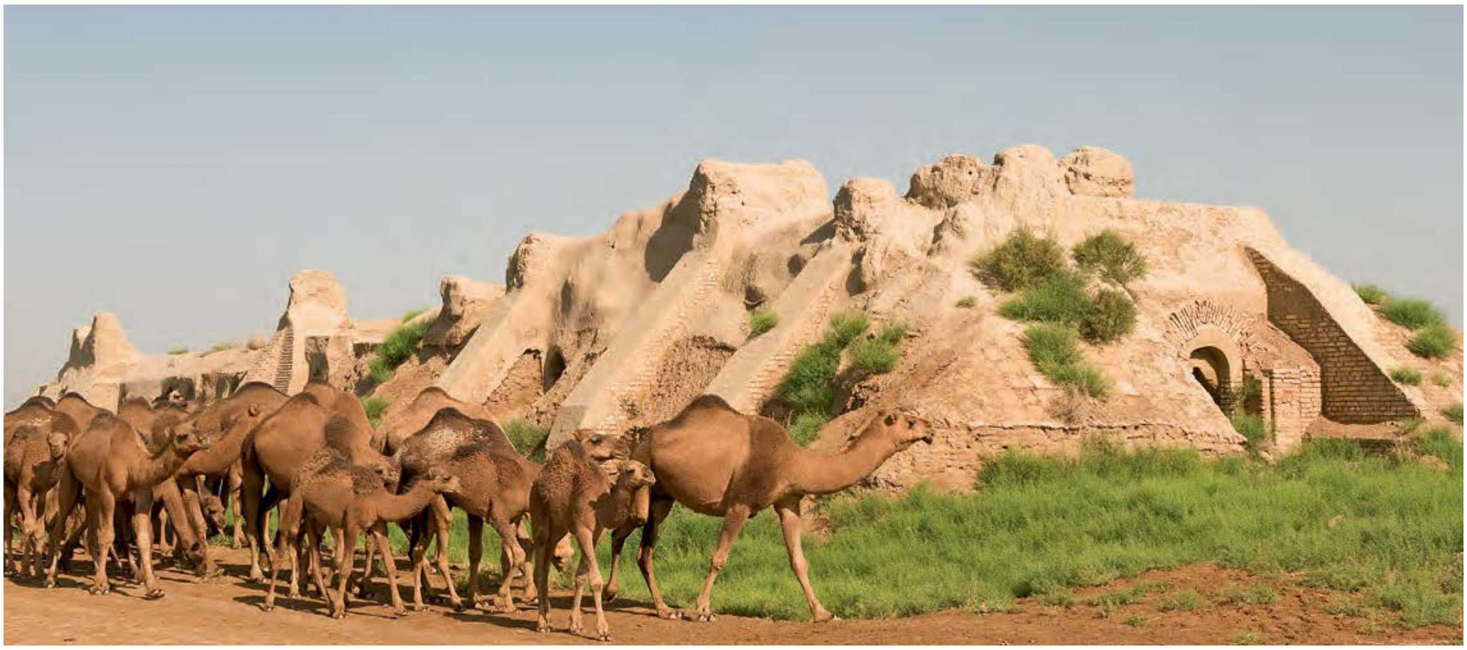
the sources of Abu Dulaf's tenth-century tale of an alleged journey he claimed to have made with a Samanid embassy to China, and from there back via the Malay Peninsula and India.[111] The second important vizier under Nasr was Abu'l Fadhl al-Bal'ami (in office 922–38), who, during a revolt by Nasr's brothers, cunningly turned them against each other. Al-Bal'ami's son, Vizier Amirak Bal'ami, then translated al-Tabari's *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk* from Arabic into Persian.[112]

From the mid-tenth century, however, the *diwan* was confronted with a second centre of power which was rapidly getting stronger: the military or soldier slaves, called *ghulam* in Iran. So the century-old development in the Abbasid caliphate was repeated. The trade in young Turkic prisoners formed a significant pillar in the economy of the Samanid Empire, and thus the military expeditions in the northern steppes, under the guise of a *jihad* against the infidels, in fact served primarily to procure slaves and plunder. These official abduction campaigns also attracted many volunteers, for 'a Muslim could combine his Islamic duty [of *jihad*] with the hope for booty'.[113] But the Samanid emirs did not sell all their slaves on to Baghdad; they also assembled a personal guard consisting of soldier slaves, and filled up the ranks of the army with these *ghulams*, so that the Samanids became ever more dependent on their own slaves. As Richard Nelson Frye explains, 'the Turkish [Turkic] slave institution gained power and dominated the court, while the governor of Khorasan, as commander of the army, also grew in power, and the result was a clash between different Turkish [Turkic] factions, since the Turks came to dominate all military establishments'.[114] In relying on military slaves and dispensing with troops of Iranian origin, the emirs sabotaged their own power base, for they were alienated from the population and became the pawns of their own slaves, who were no longer satisfied with controlling the appointment and removal of emirs, but founded their own ruling dynasties. The most famous of these were the Ghaznavids.

Under the Samanids, international trade on the silk roads once again flourished. While Samarkand formed the economic centre, Balkh asserted itself as the most important trading centre for goods from China, India and Southeast Asia. From Balkh and Samarkand the trade routes led via Merv and Nishapur to Rayy, Isfahan and Baghdad, or north via Chorasmia to the Ural region, and from there either to the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea and on to Kiev or Byzantium, or from the Urals via Bolghar to the Old Russian princedoms. The exported goods were by no means restricted to silks and other fabrics, but encompassed a broad range of raw materials, luxury goods and everyday objects. Thanks to rich deposits of ores and minerals, the Samanids dealt in lapis lazuli, rubies, turquoise, gold, silver and lead. Added to these were gold and silver jewellery, metal containers, swords and daggers, glass, which was particularly prized in China, and the famous Samarkand paper, which was exported to Iran and Mesopotamia. While Chinese paper was predominantly made with fibres from mulberry bark, bamboo and ramie, with the occasional addition of rags, the Mawarannahr paper-makers used long-strand cotton fibres, mostly from rags, which ensured that this paper was more durable and flexible than the Chinese version.[115] As late as the sixteenth century, Sultan Babur (1483–1530), the founder of the northern Indian Mughal dynasty, praised Samarkand paper: 'The best paper in the world comes from Samarkand.'[116] In order to encourage trade further and to safeguard their routes, the later Samanids, and after them the Seljuks, had caravanserais built, which were known in Iranian-speaking areas as *khan* or *ribat*.

The development and expansion of Samanid cities was accompanied by architectural innovations, the most important being the use of fired brick in the construction of monumental buildings, instead of the unfired mudbrick known as adobe. Fired brick is much more durable than adobe, which rapidly disintegrates in rain, snow and strong wind, and has to be renewed at regular intervals. But adobe buildings were easier and cheaper to produce than those of fired brick and, above all, they are better suited to the climate of southern Central Asia based on the high thermal mass and low thermal conductivity of adobe, thus offering protection from the burning summer sun and the icy winters.

The Samanid mausoleum of Emir Nasr II in Bukhara (fig. 15), is a beautiful example of a new style of façade design that developed at the time. This new arrangement of brick, which the Samanids adopted from the Sassanids, would be further developed and brought to perfection by their successors, the Karakhanids and Seljuks. With this technique there is no differentiation between the functional masonry and the secondary, external decoration. The façade presents 'a densely textured surface of sun-baked bricks forming courses of alternating vertical and horizontal patterns of headers and stretchers, producing a strong wicker-work pattern of enormous vitality'.[117] Discussing the Samanid mausoleum, Oleg Grabar compares this type of façade design with that of the austere-looking tower tomb of Gunbad-i Qabus (fig. 18): 'Here instead of having each brick so to say disappear into the form of the building as it does in the Gunbad-i Qabus, each one is also part of an intricate series of designs which cover the whole building like a sheath. The medium of construction has become the medium of decoration. The effect is on the one hand that of a textured, almost tapestry-like surface and on the other of an almost endless development



19. **The Nestorian Christian Church, Khoruba Koshuk, founded in the fourth/fifth century, stands in a northern outskirt of the early medieval city of Merv, Turkmenistan. It was in use, possibly with some disruption during the late Sassanid era, until the eleventh century.[6] Based on its size, we can assume that it served as an episcopal see. Merv was a Nestorian diocese from the fourth/fifth century onwards and an archdiocese from 544 until around 1340. The ruins were stabilised after 2004. Photo: 2014.[7]**

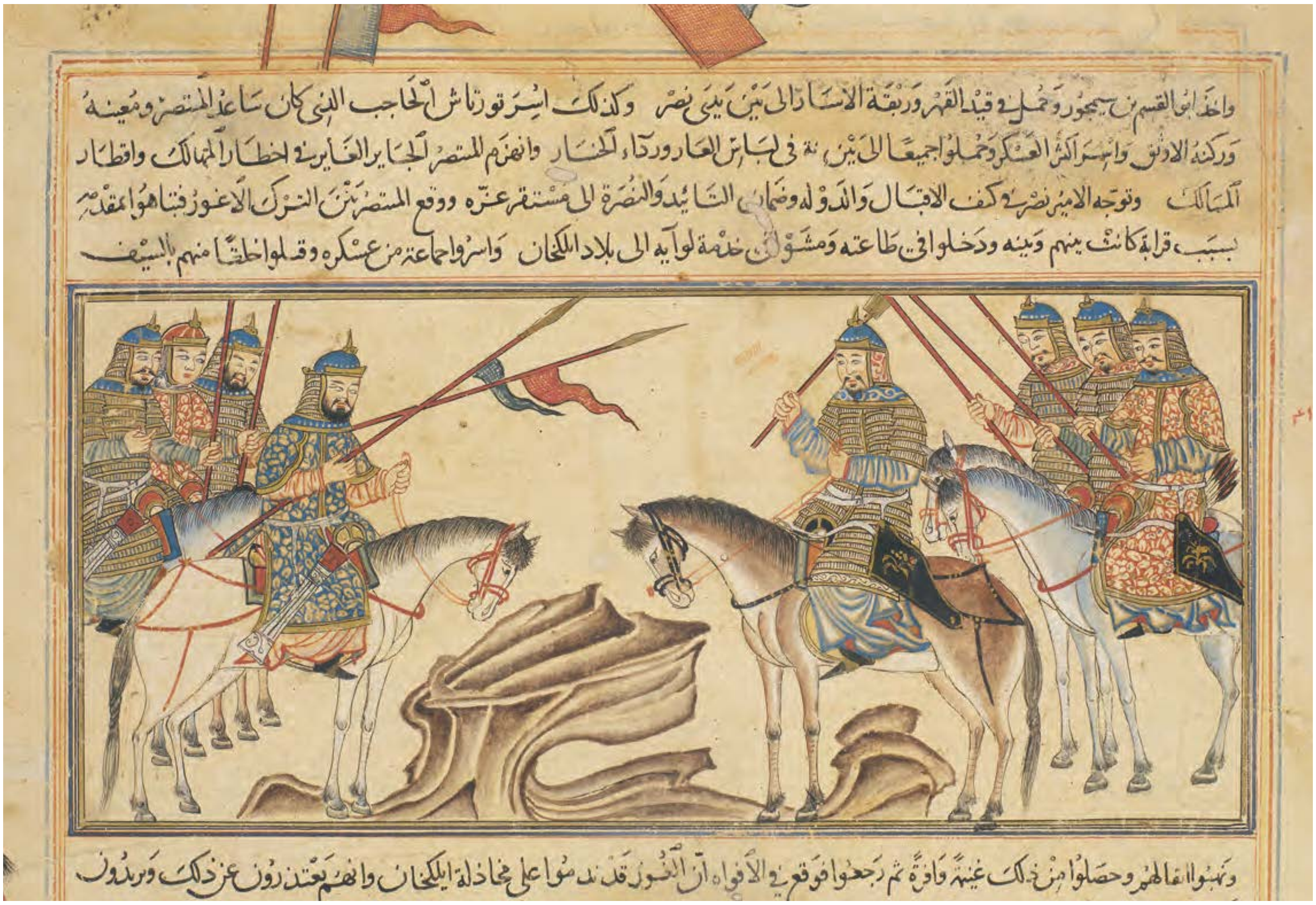
of light and shade, in total opposition to the massive purity of the Gunbad-i Qabus.'[118] The architecture of the domed tomb of Emir Nasr II was modelled on the form of the pre-Islamic fire temple of Chahar-taq[119] and its concept presumably also on the ceremonial tents of the period, in particular the practice of Central Asian steppe peoples of laying out the bodies of deceased nobles in a tent before the actual funeral. 'The ceremonial tent as a resting place for the living served the deceased as a funerary tent and was recreated in monumental form in this manner [of the brick-domed tomb].'[120]

A further architectural innovation during the Samanid period was the madrasa, exemplified by the madrasa complex of Khodja Mashhad (fig. 17) in southern Tajikistan. The vaulted *iwan* with its main portal is flanked by two domed halls of almost square ground plan. The eastern hall was built in the ninth century and served as a mausoleum for the Shi'ite missionary Khodja Mashhad.[121] The western domed hall, a mosque, was built in the tenth and the eleventh century, as were the entrance *iwan* and the surrounding madrasa buildings, the courtyard with four *iwans* and the enclosing building with the residential cells of the *ulama* and students. The two domed halls and the main *iwan* were built of fired bricks, the other buildings of mudbricks. As Vasily Barthold (1869–1939) already realised, the ground plan of the Islamic madrasa is based on that of Buddhist monastery schools such as Ajina Tepe in central Tajikistan.[122]

The Samanid period also saw a linguistic upheaval, when Persian, a south-western Iranian language, replaced the eastern Iranian languages of Central Asia as lingua franca. Persian was originally the language of the southern Iranian province of Fars and became the official court language of the pre-Islamic empire of the Sassanids. With the Arab invaders, whose numbers included many Iranian converts, the Persian language reached western Central Asia. Here it gradually ousted the eastern Iranian languages Sogdian,[123] Chorasmian, Parthian and Bactrian. New Persian owed its dominance to its encouragement by the Saffarids and in particular the Samanids, who also supported poets writing in New Persian. The most famous of these poets was Abu Abdallah Ja'far ibn Muhammad Rudaki (858–*ca*. 941) from Panjikant in north-western Tajikistan, the court poet of Emir Nasr II. For his poetry, Rudaki used a slightly modified form of the Arabic script,[124] which Emir Ismail had already introduced as the official script of his government. The Samanid administration was bilingual, since official documents were written in New Persian, while religious documents and correspondence with the caliph were written in Arabic.[125] New Persian, written in Arabic script, then spread to central and western Iran. To simplify a little, the Arabs brought the Persian language to Central Asia, and in the eleventh century the Seljuks of Turkic origin disseminated New Persian and the post-Samanid culture in the west of the Abbasid Empire. New Persian subsequently evolved into several local variants, including Tajik,[126] which also adopted many Uzbek elements. Tajik was written in Perso-Arabic script until 1928 and then in Latin script until Cyrillic script was introduced in 1939. New Persian, generally known as Farsi, is called Dari in Afghanistan.

In religious respects, too, the Samanids made a significant contribution, by opening up written access to the Qur'an and its interpretation to the New Persian speakers of their empire, who had no command of Arabic. It was Emir Muzaffar Abu Salih Mansur ibn Nuh (r. 961–76) who commissioned his vizier Amirak Bal'ami (in office *ca.* 959/60–74 and possibly 992) to translate al-Tabari's second major work. This work, *al-musamma Jami al-bayan fi ta'wil al-Qur'an*, known more briefly as *Tafsir al-Tabari*, represents a comprehensive exegesis of the Qur'an. The legal scholar Abu Qasim al-Samarkandi (late ninth–mid-tenth century) reported: 'The amir of Khorasan [Mansur ibn Nuh] ordered that this book should be translated into Persian, so that, being already available to [Arabic-speaking] experts, it might also be useful to the masses.'[127] Before giving his vizier the task of translating this work, completed by Tabari in Arabic in 883, into New Persian, the emir obtained confirmation from a group of legal scholars that a translation of the Qur'an into Persian was permitted. These initiatives, together with the achievements described below in philosophy, theology and the exact sciences, definitively freed Islam from the constraints of an Arab Bedouin culture and anchored it in the Iranian-speaking world. The Samanids also operated a fairly tolerant policy on religion, as can be recognised from the five Nestorian Christian Metropolitan sees of Merv, Nishapur, Herat, Sistan and the Caspian provinces.[128]

Emir Nasr's son and successor **Nuh ibn Nasr** (**Nuh I**, r. 943–54) faced several revolts during his rule. Once he even had to flee from the capital to Samarkand to escape an uncle and two brothers. But because the people of Bukhara resisted the usurpers, Nuh managed to return, and had the three rebels blinded.[129] Under the next emir, **Abd al-Malik ibn Nuh** (r. 954–61), the stealthy takeover of power by Turkic military



20. The start of the battle between the Samanid prince al-Muntasir (d. 1005) and the Ghaznavid conqueror Sultan Abu'l Qasim Mahmud, for the restoration of Samanid rule in 1003 or 1004. From *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, a history of the world by Rashid al-Din Hamdani (1247–1318) produced *ca.* 1307 in Tabriz, Iran, Vellum. University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Oriental Manuscript Collection. 20 f.122r(a).

slaves became obvious when, in 957, two Turks, the majordomo and commander of the guard Alp Tegin and the treasurer Qut Tegin, murdered the army commander-in-chief and governor of Khorasan, Bakr ibn Malik, in front of the government building, and went unpunished. Soon afterwards, Alp Tegin (d. 963) had his loyal friend Amirak Bal'ami appointed vizier, and in the winter of 960/61 he installed himself as governor of Khorasan and supreme commander of the Samanid army,[130] so that the former slaves now controlled the government and the emir. When, towards the end of 961, Emir Abd al-Malik died after falling from his horse, an open struggle for power broke out between the two Turkic military slaves Alp Tegin and Fa'iq (d. 999). The eunuch Fa'iq was victorious, and placed his boyhood friend, **Abu Salih Mansur ibn Nuh** (r. 961–76) on the throne, at which point Vizier Amirak Bal'ami swiftly changed sides; Alp Tegin fled with his personal guard from Nishapur to Balkh, after which he marched south and conquered Ghazna. Immediately, Emir Mansur confirmed Alp Tegin as Samanid governor of Ghazna,[131] laying the foundation stone for the Ghaznavid dynasty.

Under the emirs Mansur ibn Nuh and his successor **Abu'l Qasim Nuh ibn Mansur** (**Nuh II**, r. 976–97) the economic and political situation deteriorated dramatically. While the army, ruled by Turkic commanders, devoured ever more money, the state income plummeted. Three undesirable developments led to this decline in tax revenue. The first of these was the neglect in maintenance of the irrigation systems and (in the greater Bukhara oasis) of the long walls that protected against wind and desert sand; this cut income from agriculture and reduced the areas under cultivation, so that impoverished farmers fled to the cities, while the rural nobility sank into poverty. Secondly, the landholdings of the religious and social foundations known as *waqf*, which were exempt from tax, expanded rapidly, so that their total income benefited the mosque, school or hospital to which the property belonged. Thirdly, there was a growing number of *sayyids* (alleged descendants of the Prophet, who were also tax exempt) in the guard corps and among high officials. And in 982/83, the Turkic eunuch Fa'iq had no qualms about ordering the assassination of the vizier Abu'l Husain Utbi, a highly competent statesman.

The final blow to the Iranian Samanid dynasty came with the rise of two young Turkic dynasties in the north and south, the Karakhanids and the Ghaznavids. In 990 the Karakhanids, with their power centres in Balasaghun (east of the present city of Bishkek) and Kashgar, under Bughra Khan Hasan (Harun), wrested Isfijab, the present-day Sayram east of Shimkent in the south of Kazakhstan, from the Samanids, whereupon many small Samanid cities, which were ruled by governors of Turkic origin, welcomed the Karakhanids. Resistance against the Karakhanids was slight, since they (or at least their elite) had converted to Islam in the mid-tenth century, and were considered good Sunni Muslims. In the late autumn of 991, Bughra Khan attacked the Samanid Empire, and in the spring of 992, together with Fa'iq, who had defected to the Karakhanids, he marched on Bukhara. Nuh II fled, but Bughra Khan soon became ill and died towards the end of 992 on the road back to Balasaghun or Kashgar,[132] whereupon Nuh returned to his capital. Two years later, Fa'iq joined another rebel in order to depose Nuh. The latter then appealed for help to Sebük Tegin, a former Karluk slave and son-in-law of Alp Tegin, who had ruled Ghazna since 977. Sebük Tegin defeated the rebels in two battles and appointed his son Mahmud as governor of Khorasan.[133] Nominally Sebük Tegin and Mahmud were merely Samanid governors, but in practice they ruled Afghanistan and Khorasan independently.

The luckless successor of Emir Nuh ibn Mansur, **Abu'l Harith Mansur ibn Nuh II** (r. 997–99), was blinded on the orders of Fa'iq, who placed Mansur's brother, **Abd al-Malik ibn Nuh II** (r. 999) on the throne. This gave Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 998–1030) the excuse to play the part of the avenger of the blinded emir, and in 999 to conquer the whole of Khorasan. At the same time, Arslan Ilek Abu'l Hasan Nasr ibn Ali, the subordinate khan of the Karakhanids in Uzgend, advanced, and on 23 October 999 he occupied Bukhara without encountering any resistance. He took Malik ibn Nuh II prisoner and transported him to Uzgend. Then, in 1001, the victors divided the Samanid Empire among themselves[134] and declared the Oxus to be their common border: north of the river the Karakhanids ruled, and south of it the Ghaznavids. Malik ibn Nuh's brother Ismail, who called himself *al-Muntasir*, 'the victorious', succeeded in inflicting a few defeats on the Karakhanids, until in 1005 the Oghuz, his allies, betrayed him, and he fell in battle at Merv.[135] But the division of the Samanid Empire was more than a mere apportioning of territorial spoils between two victorious powers: it amounted to a transformation of the Islamised part of Central Asia, in which confederations of Turkic origin were reshaping the geography. In the north, most of Mawarannahr fell to the Karakhanids, primarily to Ali bin Harun Bughra Khan, called Ali Tegin (r. 1014/15 or 1020/21–34/35);[136] the south was annexed by the Ghaznavids; in the west, the Ghaznavids appointed the former military slave Altun Tash (r. 1017–32) as governor, with the title of a Chorasmian shah; and in the south-west, from *ca.* 1025 Ghaznavids and Seljuk invaders struggled for power. This new geographical and ethnic configuration of the south-west of Central Asia formed the springboard for the Turkification of broad areas of the Near East and the Balkans.

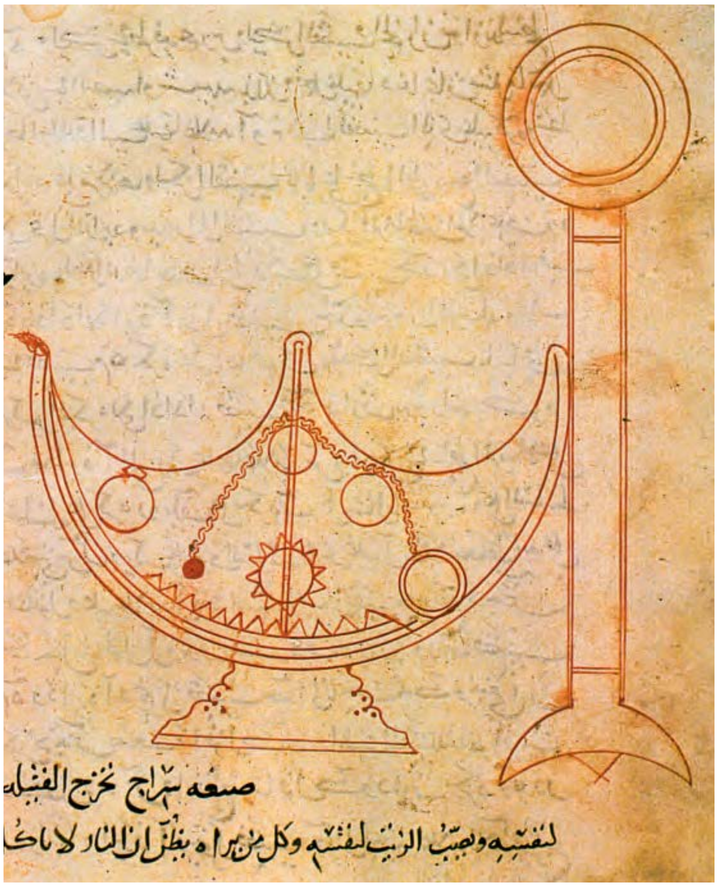
II

Central Asian Pioneers of Islamic Philosophy and Sciences

'Man has a property [reason and free will] by which he is distinguished from other existent beings. But he has other actions and faculties, in some of which the animal species share with him, and in some others the types of plants or the minerals and other bodies.'

NASIR AL-DIN TUSI (1201–74), polymath from Khorasan.[1]

Around 750, Central Asia witnessed the birth of an intellectual movement of enormous importance which would endure for the next four centuries and which expressed a spirit of optimism and scientific curiosity surprisingly similar to that of the European Renaissance and Enlightenment. It was an era of polymaths, who dedicated themselves to the exact sciences and pursued philosophical questions beyond the narrow constraints of religious dogmas and tradition. Initially, they concentrated on gathering existing knowledge, above all from Greek and Indian sources, and then examining and evaluating it according to rational criteria. Thereafter, depending on each field of knowledge, scholars would develop hypotheses and then reach conclusions through logic, or they would conduct experiments to test their hypotheses and theories. Anticipating the eighteenth-century French *encyclopédistes*, the work of the Islamic scholars al-Biruni (973–1048) and Ibn Sina (better known in Europe by his Latinised name, Avicenna; *ca*. 980–1037) resembles a compendium of the scientific knowledge of the time. In the same way that, half a millennium later, open-minded, cosmopolitan Renaissance princes and enlightened absolutist rulers would invite philosophers, poets and musicians to their courts and build up libraries, the early Abbasid caliphs, Samanid emirs and Ghaznavid sultans vied to bring the leading scholars of their time to their own courts and to acquire the most magnificent libraries. To these rulers, knowledge was considered a desirable symbol of wealth and liberality.

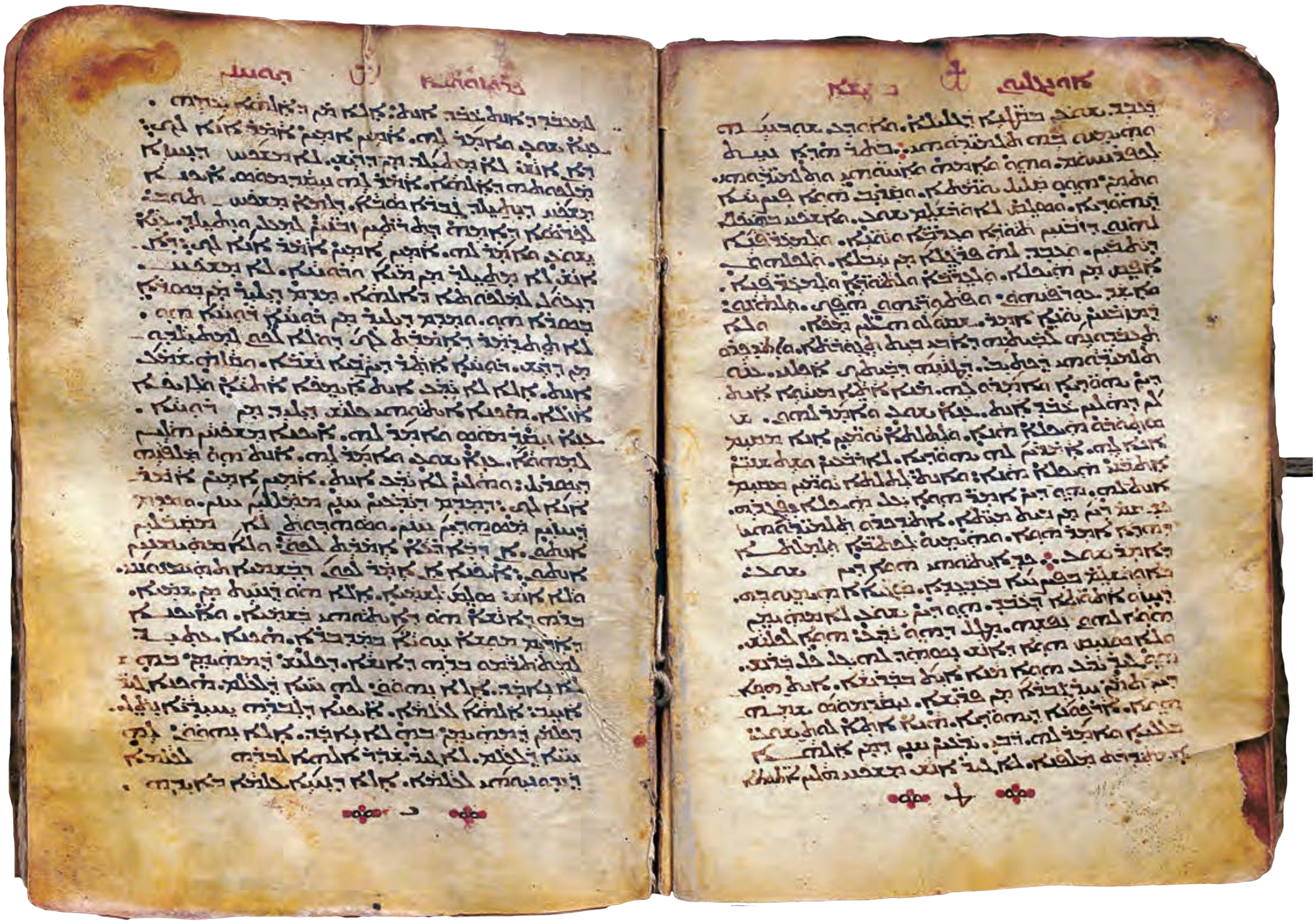

صنعه سراج تخرج الفتيل
لنفسه وتصب الزيت لنفسه وكل من يراه يظن ان النار لا ياك

21. Sketch for a self-trimming, self-feeding oil lamp, as illustrated in *Kitab al-Hiyal*, or *Book of Ingenious Devices*, by the scholar and inventor Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Shakir (*ca*. 805–?), a native of Merv. Berlin/Granger NYC.

Western accounts often refer to the great Islamic scholars of the eighth to twelfth centuries as ‘Arab’. But this was not the case, as the historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) pointed out: ‘It is a remarkable fact that, with few exceptions, most Muslim scholars both in the religious and intellectual sciences have been non-Arabs. [. . .] Only the Persians engaged in the task of preserving knowledge and writing systematic scholarly works.’[2] Indeed, the overwhelming majority of scholars at the time were of Iranian origin and came from Mawarannahr or Khorasan. The fact that they wrote mainly in Arabic does not mean they were Arabs, any more than someone who writes in the English language is necessarily English.

1. Early Scientists and Philosophers

The remarkable flourishing of science and philosophy in the Islamic world, which started around the middle of the eighth century, was spurred on by the extensive translation work of Christian, mainly Nestorian, scholars from the seventh to the ninth century. The Barmakids, among others, were leading sponsors of this work. Philosophical, medical and astronomical treatises were translated from Greek and Sanskrit, initially into Syriac, and later also into Arabic.[3] Caliph al-Ma’mun, who had resided in Khorasan for four years as governor of the eastern provinces and for five or six years as caliph, gave a further stimulus to this intellectual awakening in 830 when he founded the famous *Bayt al-Hikma* in Baghdad.[4] This ‘House of Wisdom’ included a vast library, which originated from the book collections of the caliphs al-Mansur and Harun al-Rashid, and included the confiscated library of the Barmakids. Two years earlier al-Ma’mun had built an observatory in Baghdad, not least in order to check the data and observations in the works of the Greek astronomer and mathematician Ptolemy, which had been translated into Arabic. He also expressed the wish ‘to know the size of the earth’.[5] Land surveyors were sent to the Syrian Desert near al-Raqqa and Palmyra where they measured the angle of elevation of the sun and the geographical degree of latitude, from which they calculated the radius and circumference of the Earth, within one per cent of today’s known value. The House of



22. A passage from the East Syriac Gospel taken from the Peshitta (the standard Bible of the Church of the East) written on parchment in Estrangela script, ninth to thirteenth century. National Library of Tabriz, Iran. Photo: 2001.

Wisdom was not a university with formal teaching programmes, but a centre of research and translation, which also fostered the exchange of ideas between scholars. The fields of enquiry included medicine, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, the life sciences, chemistry, geography and cartography, as well as architecture, structural engineering, mechanics and hydraulics. Two groups were particularly important in the House of Wisdom: first the Nestorians, since they had a command of Greek and Arabic, above all Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809–73), a physician and translator from southern Persia, and his son Ishaq ibn-Hunayn,[6] and secondly eastern Iranian/Central Asian scholars and translators, who studied Indian sources. The House of Wisdom was destroyed during the sacking of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongol Il-Khan Hülegü, although it seems that Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (see below) managed to rescue 400,000 manuscripts from the library before the siege, and have them brought to Maragheh.[7]

Among the leading scholars at the House of Wisdom were the three **Banu Musa** brothers from Merv, **Abu Ja'far Mohammad ibn Musa ibn Shakir** (*ca.* 800–73), a friend of the Christian Hunayn ibn Ishaq, **Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Shakir** (*ca.* 805–?) and **Hasan ibn Musa ibn Shakir** (*ca.* 810–?), who all accompanied Caliph Ma'mun to Baghdad in 818–19. The brothers re-examined the theories of Archimedes and Ptolemy and made important contributions to observational geometry and astronomy. They also measured the length of the year and found that it lasted 365 days and six hours,[8] a value which comes very close to that of the Gregorian calendar year of 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes and 12 seconds. Together with al-Khwarizmi, the brothers took part in a project to calculate the size of the Earth.[9]

The most original work by the *Banu Musa*, as the three brothers were known, is the *Kitab al-Hiyal* or 'Book of Ingenious Devices',[10] published around 850, richly illustrated with drawings and

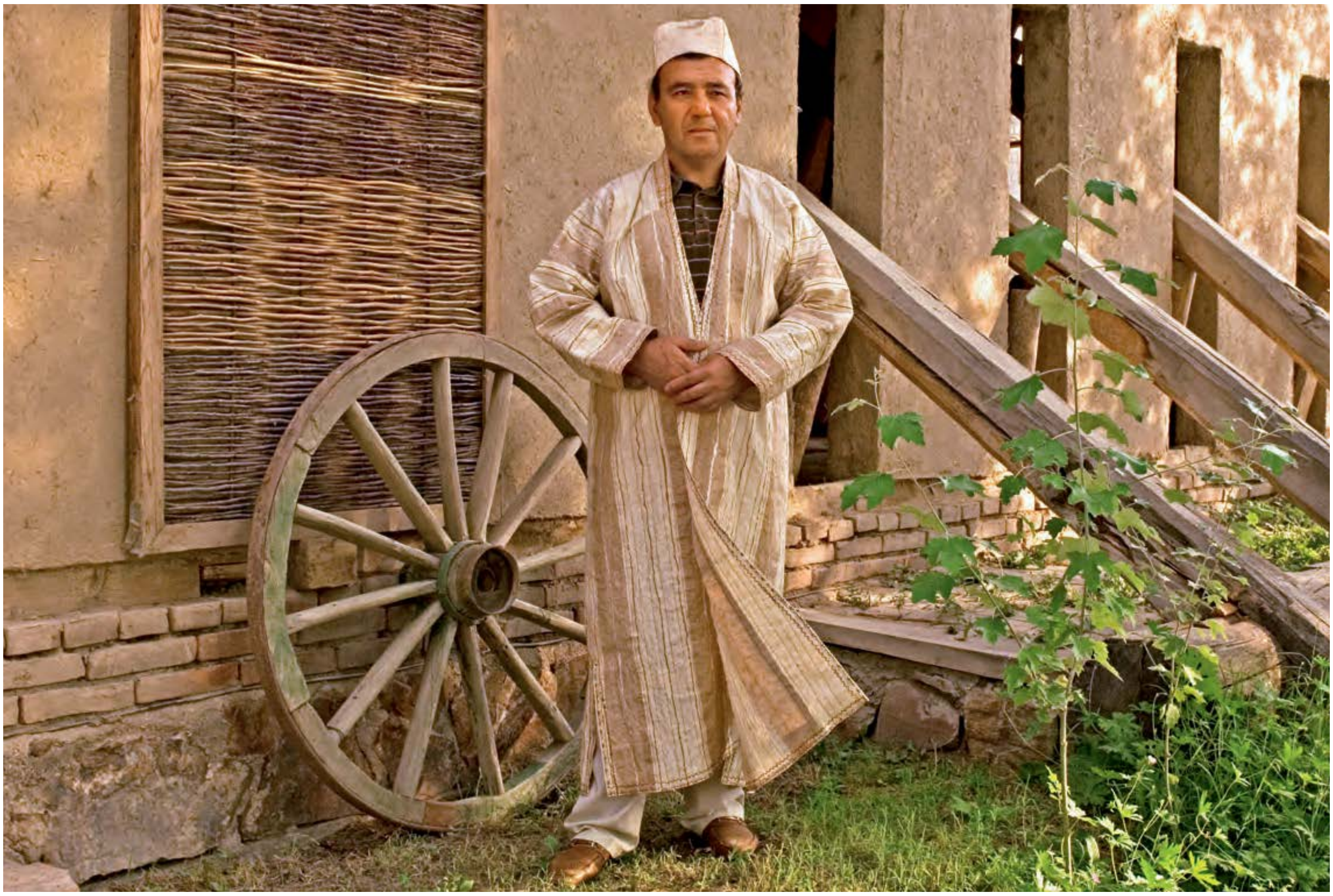
23. Modern statue of the polymath Abu Ja'far Mohammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi (*ca.* 780–850) by the city wall of Khiva, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

expounding 100 inventions in the fields of control engineering, pneumatic instruments and automation.[11] Among these inventions were self-regulating syphons,[12] cone valves in hydrostatic and aerostatic sensors in combination with simple crank applications,[13] automatic fountains[14] and an automatic, hydro-powered whistle or flute player.[15] Other devices include a grab for extracting objects from underwater,[16] a lamp with automatic oil feed (fig. 21) and a storm lantern with self-positioning wind shield.[17] Finally, they invented an early form of gas mask, as well as bellows with a valve for sucking foul air out of wells or dangerous air out of mines.[18]

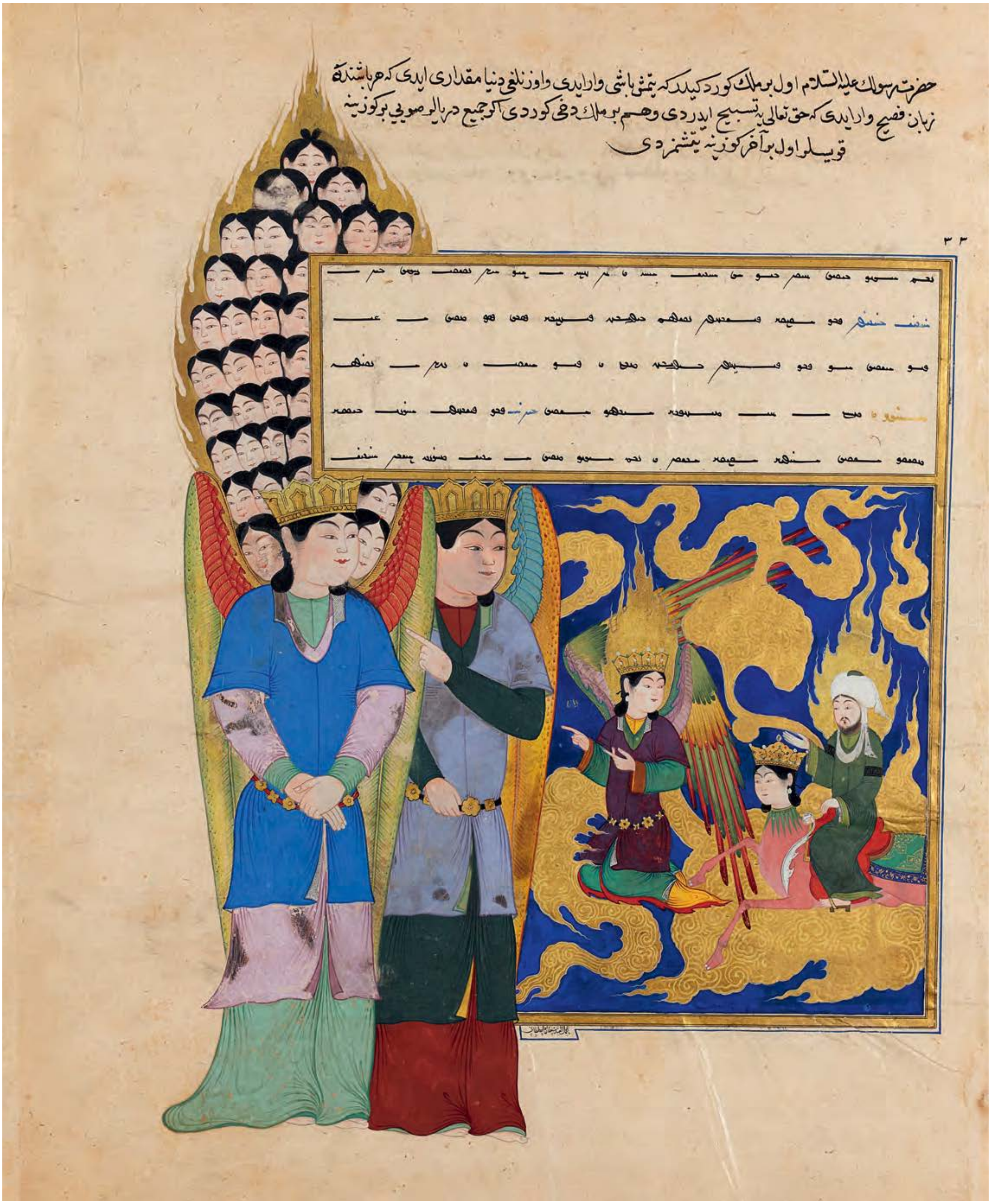
Two more famous scholars affiliated to the House of Wisdom were al-Kindi and al-Khwarizmi. **Abu Yaqub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi** (*ca.* 801–73), from Kufa, who was one of the few Arab philosophers, was deeply influenced by Aristotle and to some extent by the rationalist theology of the Mu'tazilites. Al-Kindi held philosophical enquiry and the revelations of prophets, or faith in the case of ordinary people, to be compatible sources of knowledge and truth, a view that was strongly opposed by some later thinkers.[19] His three most important students came from Central Asia. **Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi** (Albumasar, 787–886) was a famous astronomer and astrologer. **Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsi** (d. 899), a jurist of the Hanafi school feared for his eloquent use of logic, was executed on account of alleged Mu'tazilite views.[20] **Abu Zaid al-Balkhi** (850–934), finally, was a geographer, who in a work that has not been preserved described parts of the then known Muslim world.[21] Unlike al-Kindi, who believed that rational thought and religious faith could be compatible, **Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani** (*ca.* 912–*ca.* 985)[22] from Sistan, who was pious for personal and presumably also political reasons, thought that philosophy and religion represented two separate fields of enquiry; they were irreconcilable with each other, as was logical thinking with faith. This view was shared by the great polymath al-Biruni: 'Abu Sulayman says: Philosophy is true, but it has nothing to do with the law [of religion]; and the law is true, but it has nothing to do with philosophy. [. . .] It behooves whoever wishes to philosophize to avoid religious matters in his speculation.'[23]

As his name indicates, **Abu Ja'far Mohammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi** (*ca.* 780–850) came from Chorasmia, but he spent much of his career at the House of Wisdom in Baghdad. Al-Khwarizmi was one of the greatest scientific minds of the Islamic Middle Ages, and some of his innovations in mathematics were not only adopted in Europe, but are still in daily use today. In his book *Kitab al-Jabr wa -l-Muqabala* ('The Compendious Book on Calculation by Completion and Balancing') – the term *al-jabr*, 'completion' or 'restoration', is the source of the word 'algebra' – al-Khwarizmi described the basis for the solution of linear and quadratic equations and spherical trigonometry.[24] In another pioneering book, *Kitab al-Jamia wa-l-Tafriq bi Hisab al-Hind*, he deals with Hindu-Arabic arithmetics.[25] The Arabic text has been lost, but a Latin translation has survived. In the introduction al-Khwarizmi outlines his approach: 'We have decided to explain Indian calculating techniques using the nine characters and to show how, because of their simplicity and conciseness, these characters are capable of expressing any number,' including the zero, 'the tenth figure in the shape of a circle'.[26] Indian mathematicians had developed a positional numeral system with the digits 1 to 9 and a new digit for the zero, which acts as a placeholder. Zero thus on the one hand shows the absence of a number with actual value, and on the other hand it possesses a real place value. Thus each digit can be assigned a decimal place value in an array of figures. For example, in the array 5,050 the first 5 expresses the value of five thousand and the second 5 that of fifty.[27] Another Indian concept, that of negative numbers, was also adopted a bit later by the mathematician **Abu al-Wafa Buzjani** (940–98) from north-eastern Khorasan.[28] The glyphs 1 to 9, originally created in the first century CE in the Brahmi script and further developed in the Devanagari script, and the zero, introduced in the early seventh century, evolved into a western and an eastern Arabic version during the seventh century. The eastern Arabic variant became what is now known as Eastern Arabic or Arabic-Indic numerals which are currently used in the Arabic script, whereas the Western Arabic numerals – which are still used in Europe today – replaced the Roman system, which was cumbersome and unsuitable for complex calculations.[29] Al-Khwarizmi also made an important contribution to cartography: he compiled a table of the longitudes and latitudes of 2,402 locations, and, adopting a Ptolemaic concept, arranged the data according to a system in which the known world was divided into seven longitudinal climates (from the Greek *klimata*, translated into Arabic as *aqalim* or *iqlim*).

But intellectual life in Baghdad in the first half of the ninth century was shaped not only by the liberal spirit of the House of Wisdom, but also by a kind of state-decreed, rationalist inquisition. It was concerned with theological and epistemological questions such as free will, the origin of evil, the correct interpretation of the Qur'an and the limits of human knowledge. A group of scholars



24. Paper maker Zarif Mokhtarov in front of his paper mill in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, wearing a coat made out of his mould-made paper. The damp paper sheets are crumpled to give them suppleness and structure. The mill stands beside the little River Siyob in the village of Koni Ghil, 5 kilometres from Samarkand. The Mokhtarov brothers chose this site to set up their paper mill. In his autobiography, Sultan Babur (1483–1530), a descendant of Timur-e Lang, was full of praise for paper made in Samarkand, hailing it as 'the best paper in the world', adding that 'the species of paper called *juaz* comes entirely from Kanegil',[8] which is today's Koni Ghil. Photo: 2008.


حضرت رسول علیه السلام اول بو ملك کوردکیدکه یتمش باشی وارایدی واوزنلغی دنیا مقداری ایدی که هر باشنده
زبان فصیح وارایدی که حق تعالیه تسبیح ایدردی وهم بو ملك دغی کورددی اکو جمیع دریالر وصوی بو کوزینه
قویسلر اول بو آخر کوزینه یتشمزدی

from Basra and Baghdad called the **Mu'tazilites**[30] propounded radically rationalist positions; one of them was the theologian **Jahm ibn Safwan al-Tirmidhi** (d. 745/46),[31] who participated in the revolts led by Harith ibn Surayj in Khorasan and Mawarannahr. Mu'tazilite theologians attributed to humans the power of free will to choose between good and evil, so that evil represented the result of a bad choice and was not predetermined by fate. Like al-Tirmidhi, they rejected the doctrine of *jabr* (predetermination or predestination), stressing that humans have power over their actions and are therefore responsible for them. A grave sinner should be regarded neither as a believer nor an unbeliever, but occupied an intermediate position. The Mu'tazilites were also convinced that human reason was an adequate tool for the understanding of God's creation. Finally, they held the Qur'an to be created, so that one day, in the distant future, its message may lose in significance. Although they believed that the Qur'an was God's word to the extent that its contents were inspired by God, its form and language were determined by Muhammad's personality and sphere of life, so that the Qur'an was open to both a literal and a figurative interpretation. For the Mu'tazilites, the doctrine that the Qur'an was uncreated was heretical because it gave an attribute that was God's alone, eternity, to the Holy Book.[32] The majority of theologians, who saw belief in the prophetic revelations as the only path to true knowledge and correct conduct of life and who were convinced of the uncreated divinity of the Qur'an in form and language, regarded the Mu'tazilite position as heretical. These theologians – and notably the staunch traditionalist Ahmad ibn Hanbal, a bitter opponent of the Mu'tazilites – held the Qur'an to be the unmediated word of Allah, inseparable from him and therefore uncreated.[33]

Caliph al-Ma'mun intervened in this heated debate, in which the traditionalist majority appeared to have won the upper hand. The caliph may well have understood that the new discoveries which the scholars and translators of the House of Wisdom were making and publishing were much more compatible with the more liberal views of the Mu'tazilites than with the traditionalist schools, which held stubbornly to the pre-eminence of faith over reason. Thus, towards the end of his caliphate, he introduced a state-decreed test called *mihna* (usually translated as inquisition), which judges and leading theologians had to undergo. The most important question concerned the character of the Qur'an. The candidates had to attest under oath to its created nature.[34] Anyone who refused was removed from office, arrested and sometimes also executed; ibn Hanbal, for example, only narrowly escaped the death sentence. The test introduced by al-Ma'mun and continued by his two successors, al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–42) and al-Wathiq (r. 842–47), also reflected a power struggle between the caliph and the traditionalist theologians over the prerogative of interpreting questions of faith and law.

The introduction of the *mihna* provoked a violent reaction, led by the new caliph, al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61). The Mu'tazilites, now considered heretics, were persecuted, translators were arrested, and members of other religions, such as Christians and Jews, were victimised. They were driven from public office, their churches and synagogues were closed, and they had to wear certain yellow garments and affix wooden figures of the devil to the doors of their houses.[35] While al-Ma'mun had tried to unite in his person the responsibilities of the temporal ruler with those of the imam, in order to break the power of the hostile Ulama, al-Mutawakkil and his successors chose the typical path of authoritarian regimes: 'The Abbasids hoped to regulate [an increasingly restive] society from above by merging their laws with the strictures of faith.'[36]

One of the heirs of the Mu'tazilites was **Abu 'l-Hasan Ahmad ibn al-Rawandi** (*ca.* 827–910?), who is believed to have come from Merv al-Rud, between Sarakhs and Balkh. He changed his faith several times: after abandoning Judaism for Sunni Islam, he adopted Mu'tazilite ideas but then became a Shi'ite, and finally a freethinker. He preached the superiority of human reason, power of observation and command of language. Rejecting Islam and the other prophetic religions based on revelation, he posed the polemical question as to how it was possible for God to have sent out different prophets who contradicted each other. Al-Rawandi conceived the universe as eternal, so there was no sensible reason to invent a creator God.[37] Although not a Mu'tazilite, the Persian polymath **Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi** (*ca.* 865–925), who came from Rayy, also espoused a materialist worldview. He thought that the material world consisted of tiny, indivisible and eternal particles (atoms) that were surrounded by

---

◀ 25. In the Third Heaven, the Archangel Gabriel leads the Prophet, mounted on the winged horse with human face Buraq, to a large angel who points to another large angel with 70 heads and 70 tongues, praising Allah in 70 different languages. The first-ever Muslim visual representation of a many-headed angel appeared in the *Miraj Nameh* dating from 1436/37, the account of the Prophet's midnight journey and ascension to Paradise. It draws on Buddhist influences from Central Asia or China, especially images of the multi-headed Avalokiteshvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, called Guanyin in Chinese.[9] Manuscript from the late Timurid period *Nahj al-Faradis* ('The Path to Paradise'), which describes and depicts Muhammad's ascension. Written on paper in 1465/66 by the calligrapher Ali al-Sultani for Sultan Abu Said (r. 1451–69), the manuscript more or less replicates Shah Rukh's *Miraj Nameh,* produced 30 years earlier. In common with the latter, it is written in Turkic Chagatai in Arabised Uyghur script. The David Collection, Copenhagen. Inv. no. 14/2012 r.

an infinite void. The world's material diversity was the result of different combinations of atoms, and the properties of a substance were determined by the proportion of empty space between the atoms.[38] Al-Razi understood God not as the creator of the world *ex nihilo*, but as a kind of primordial substance. Like al-Rawandi, he attacked revealed religions, holding their claim to absolute and sole truth to be a major cause of all wars.

From the ninth century onwards, Sunni traditionalist currents spread not only in Baghdad but throughout the whole of Muslim Central Asia. One sign of this was the proliferation of *hadith* collections. *Hadiths* are records of the sayings and daily practice of the Prophet, and as a vital source of religious law and moral guidance in everyday life they are considered to be the second pillar of Islamic law. Tens of thousands of *hadiths*, mostly attributed to the Prophet after his death so as to legitimise retrospectively some statement or development, had accumulated over time and had to be examined and ordered. A total of some 400 collections are known, but not all their compilers took the same care in verifying their lines of transmission. Ideally the authentication should go back to at least two of Muhammad's companions. In fact, only six of the 400 collections are recognised by the Sunnis as canonical, and five of these were compiled by Central Asian scholars. Among the first pre-canonical collections are those by two scholars from Merv, **Husain bin Waqid** (d. *ca.* 775) and **Abdullah ibn Mubarak** (d. *ca.* 797), who, although originally a slave, was a student of Abu Hanifa[39] and a renowned Islamic scholar known as *Amir al-Mu'minin fi al-Hadith*, which means 'commander of the faithful on matters relating to the *hadiths*'. Another was the famous collection of **Ishaq bin Rahuya** (d. 852) of Nishapur.[40]

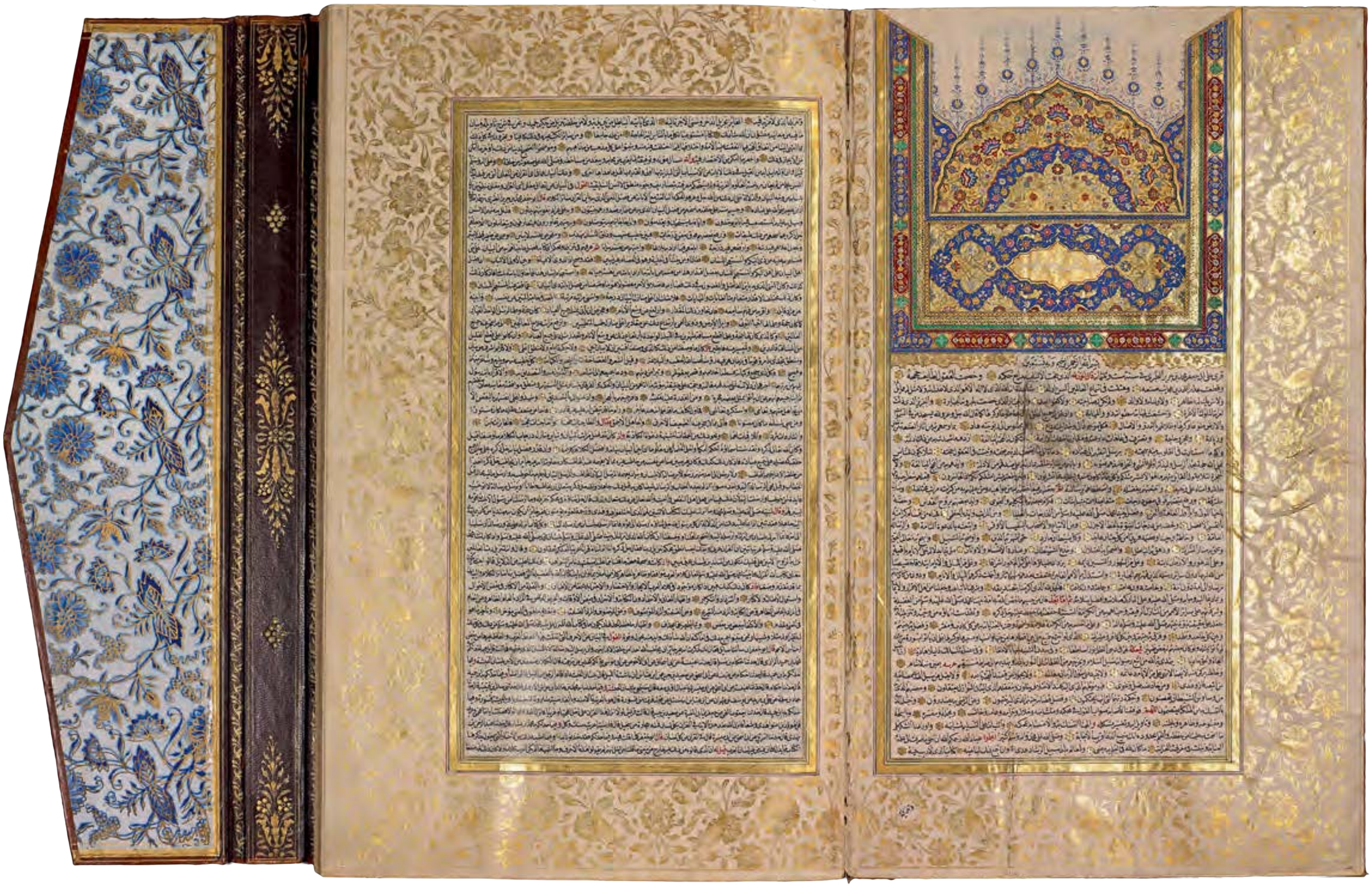
The earliest and most famous compiler of canonical *hadiths* was **Muhammad ibn Ismail al-Bukhari** (810–70), who lived in Bukhara, Mecca, Baghdad and Nishapur. As a young man he travelled extensively, studying at the most important centres of Islamic knowledge. One of his teachers was Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who was said to have collected 99,000 *hadiths*, of which al-Bukhari learned 70,000 by heart (nearly 30,000 of these hadiths were published).[41] Al-Bukhari's compilation, called *Jamia al-Sahih*, also *Sahih al-Bukhari*, included 7,250 *hadiths* with commentary and evidence of textual authenticity, and is considered the most reliable of all collections. Towards the end of his life, al-Bukhari was suspected of being close to the Mu'tazilites and of propagating the idea that the Qur'an was created. Although this suspicion was unjustified, he had to flee from Nishapur to Bukhara and from there to a small village called Khartank near Samarkand, where he died.[42]

Abu 'l-Husain Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj al-Nishapuri (d. 875) from Nishapur, a student and friend of al-Bukhari, and **Abu Isa Muhammad al-Tirmidhi** (*ca.* 824/25–92) from Termez, also a student of al-Bukhari, both compiled well-respected collections of *hadiths*. A further compilation recognised as authoritative and famous for the meticulous critical commentaries was published by **Abu Dawud al-Sijistani** (817–88) from Sistan. The fifth of these Central Asian compilations, also highly esteemed, was brought out by **Abu Abd al-Rahman al-Nasa'i** (829–915) from Khorasan, who travelled through almost the whole of the Islamic world and eventually settled in Egypt.[43]

With these five collections, Central Asian scholars made a very important contribution to the consolidation of Islamic jurisdiction. However, the *hadiths* greatly restricted personal freedom in everyday life, and reduced to a minimum judicial discretion in assessing apparent transgressions of rules of correct Islamic life. It would seem the compilers considered that every aspect of daily existence needed written instructions. Thus they paved the way for a codification of rules of conduct, which ultimately stemmed from a seventh-century provincial Arab tribal society.

Central Asian scholars also made a significant contribution to the historiography of the pre-Mongol Islamic world. **Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari** (839–923) from Tabaristan is considered one of the outstanding historians. In fact he was not only a historian, but also produced an exegesis of the Qur'an which is still highly esteemed today,[44] and founded his own school of law, called Jaririyya. His chronicle, *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk*[45] ('History of the Prophets and Kings'), is a universal history that begins with the Creation and ends in al-Tabari's own era, in 915. It is an invaluable source for the history of the pre-Islamic Sassanids, since texts sources of late antiquity, today lost, were available to him, and also provides information on the life of Muhammad and the eras of the Four Righteous Caliphs, the Umayyads and Abbasids. After al-Tabari, other historians from Khorasan and Mawarannahr produced further chronicles, most of which concentrated on a single region, dynasty or ruler. Among the most important were certainly **Abu Bakr al-Narshakhi** (*ca.* 899–960) from Bukhara, who recorded the history of that city from its foundation up to the period of office of the Samanid Nuh ibn Nasr (r. 943–54),[46] and the polymath **Abu Rayhan Muhammad al-Biruni** (973–1048) from Chorasmia, whose legacy includes a history of India, *Kitab tarikh al-Hind*,[47] and *Al-Athar al-Baqiya'an al Qurun al-Khaliya*, translated into English as *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*.[48] Another important historian was **Abu Said Abd al-Hayy Gardizi** (d. *ca.* 1061) from Gardez, Khorasan, whose *Zayn al-akhbar, The Ornament of Histories*, discusses the period from the pre-Islamic rulers of Persia up to 1032 as well as the history of Khorasan up to 1041, in a sober style not unlike academic writing today.[49]

Gardizi's contemporary **Abu 'l-Fadl Beyhaqi** (995–1077), also from Khorasan, lived in Ghazna as the court secretary of Ghaznavid sultans. After his retirement, he turned the extensive notes that he had taken over many years into a 30-volume work on the history of the Ghaznavids. The only five volumes that have survived are concerned with the reign of Sultan Masud I (r. 1030–41) and known as *Tarikh-e Mas'udi*.[50] Also lost are the original copies of a history of the Seljuks, *The Saljuqnama*, by **Zahir al-Din Nishapuri** (d. *ca.* 1184); only later, revised copies are extant.[51] Although **Minhaj al-Din Juzjani** (1193–after 1265/66), from Firuzkuh, Afghanistan, lived almost a century later than Zahir al-Din, he belongs to the same tradition of disinterested and unbiased chroniclers, and his writings are extremely valuable for the historical understanding of the Central Asian dynasties of the Seljuks, the Afghan Ghurids and the shahs of Chorasmia as well as the Mongol invasions. As a young man, Juzjani witnessed the downfall of the Ghur dynasty, and during the early 1220s he lived through the devastation of Afghanistan by the Mongols. By 1226 he had fled to India, first to Uch and then to Delhi, where he found refuge with Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish (r. 1211–36) and wrote his universal history of the Muslim world, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, which he dedicated to Iltutmish's son Nasr al-Din Mahmud.[52] Unlike the Persian historians al-Juvaini and Rashid al-Din, who were in the service of the Mongolian Il-Khanate and therefore had to consider the sensibilities of their employers, Juzjani was free from such constraints.

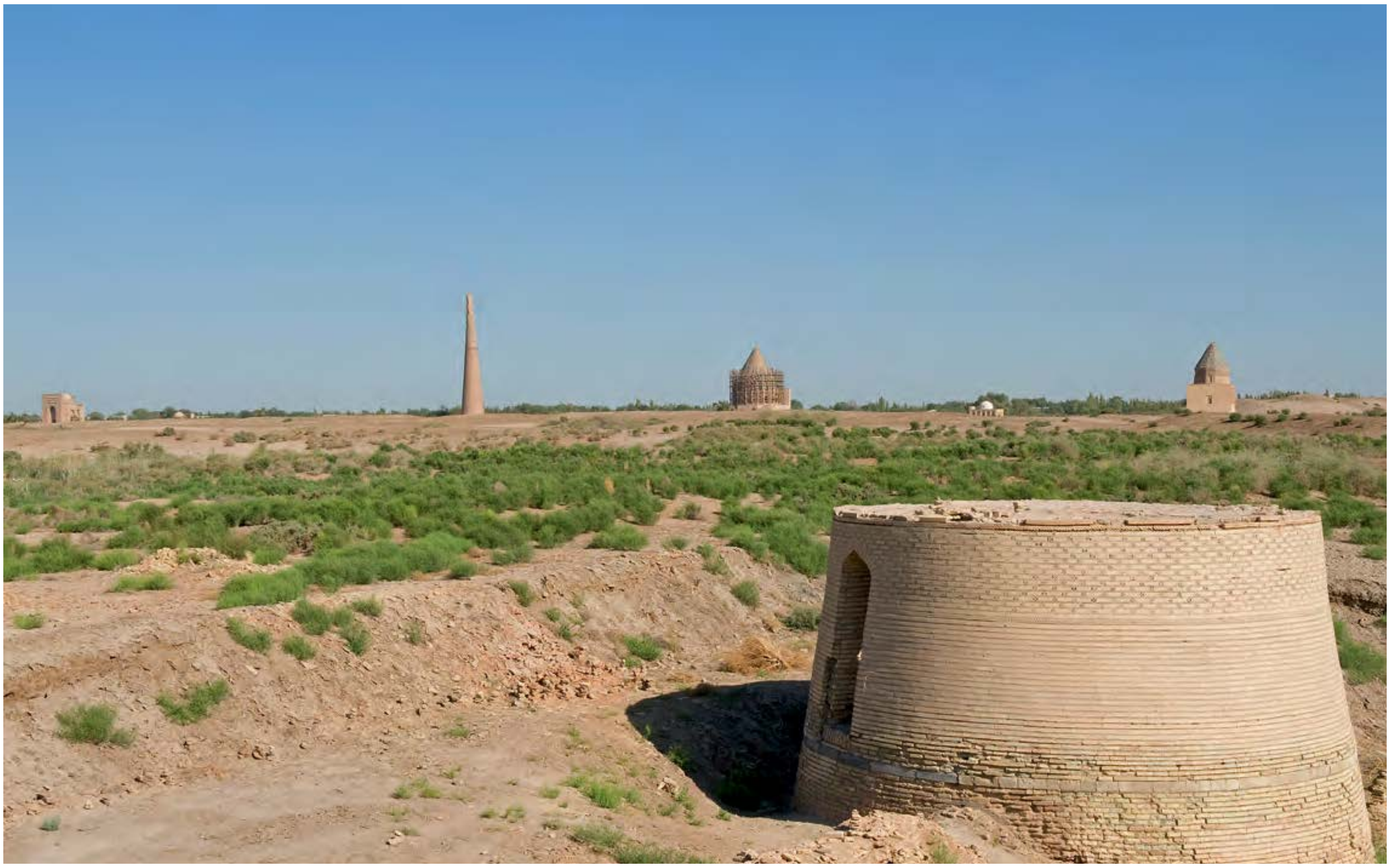


26. The Qu'ranic commentary, *al-musamma jami al-bayan fi ta'wil al-Qur'an* (*Tafsir al-Tabari* for short), completed in 883 by Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (839–923). Turkish manuscript in Arabic script and language, eighteenth century. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Oriental Collection. Inv. no. Ms.or.fol.4155 ges.

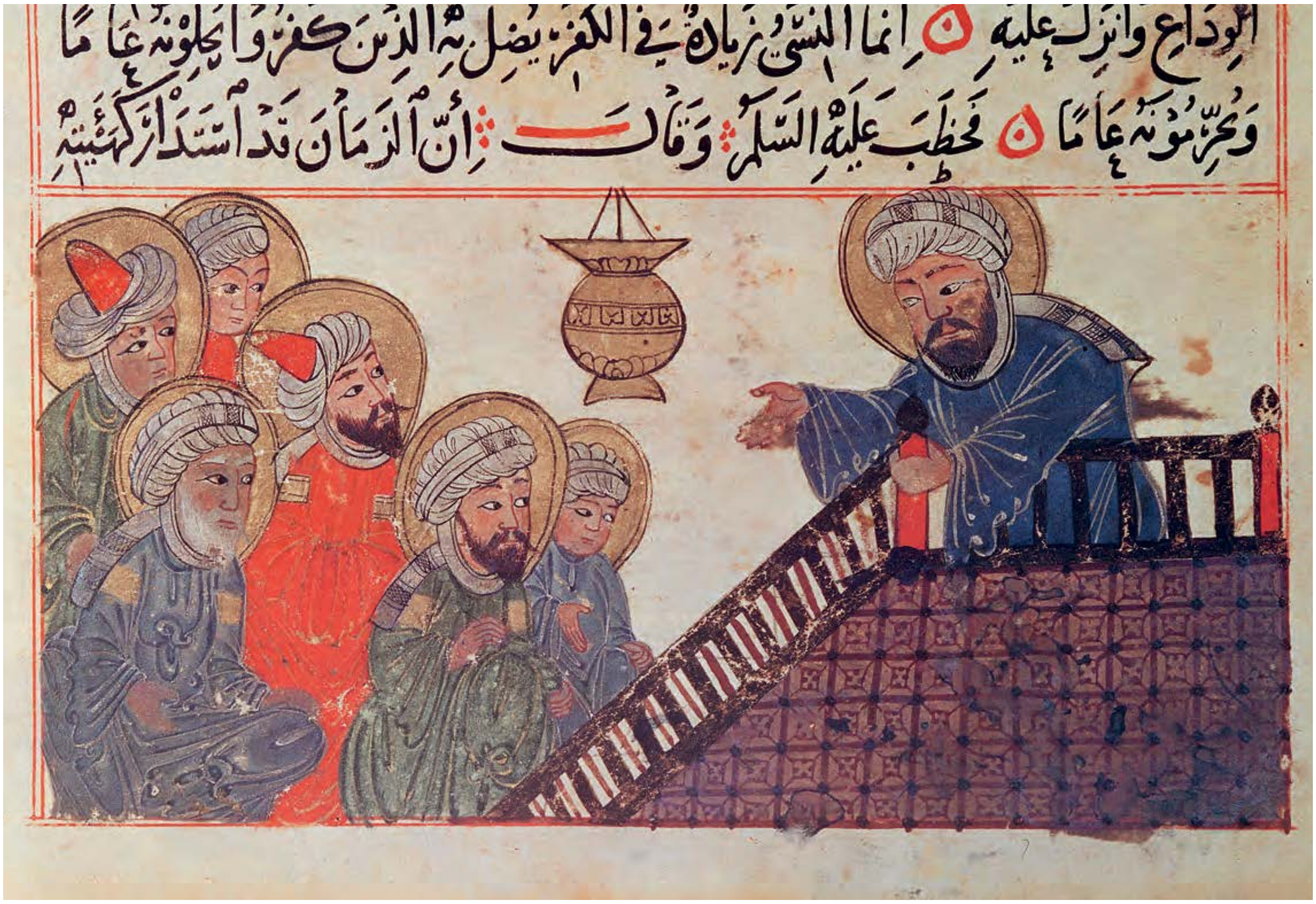
2. The Golden Age of Science and Philosophy

Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi (*ca*. 870–950) was a renowned philosopher and scientist with a keen interest in the theory of knowledge. Probably a Sogdian from the great merchant city of Farab, now called Otrar, in southern Kazakhstan,[53] he was proficient in the Sogdian language. In Merv he studied under the Nestorian scholar and logician Yuhanna ibn Haylan, who introduced him to Aristotle, Plato and the Neoplatonists. Engaging with a debate that had started in the late eighth century, about God's role in the universe and the status of reason, al-Farabi embraced Aristotelian as well as Neoplatonic ideas: he understood God to be the 'first cause' from which the whole universe emanated. Despite God's omniscience, al-Farabi attributed free will in thought and deed to humans.[54] In his classification of the sciences, the *Kitab ihsa' al-'ulum*, he proposed eight major disciplines: science of language, logic, mathematics, physics, metaphysics, civic science and civic philosophy, jurisprudence and *kalam*, a discursive Islamic theology conducted through dialectical disputes.[55] He also elaborated a comprehensive theory of music.

The two intellectual giants of Central Asia, al-Biruni and ibn Sina, lived a century later than al-Farabi. Their paths crossed, and during 998–99 they kept up a correspondence about scientific questions which at times was fiercely polemical. **Abu Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni** (973–1048) was born in Kath, north-east of the present city of Khiva in southern Uzbekistan, which was then the capital of the small kingdom of the Afrighid dynasty in the east of Chorasmia that was part of the Samanid Empire. According to al-Biruni, 22 Afrighid kings ruled in this area over a period of 690 years (305–995).[56] When the founder of the Ma'munid dynasty Abu Ali Ma'mun ibn Muhammad (r. 992–97), who resided in Gurganj, today Konye-Urgench in northern



27. In the foreground, the rebuilt base of the minaret erected by Abu 'l-Abbas Ma'mun II (r. 1009–17) at Gurganj, today known as Konye Urgench, Chorasmia, Turkmenistan. The Chorasm-shah Ma'mun II was patron to the polymaths al-Biruni und ibn Sina. The original minaret, built in 1010/11, collapsed between 1885 and 1899. In the background from left to right, the mausoleum traditionally attributed to Turabeg Khanum, the so-called Qutlugh Timur Minaret, the so-called mausoleum of Sultan Ala al-Din Tekish and the Mausoleum of Sultan Il-Arslan ibn Atsïz. Photo: 2014.



28. **The Prophet Muhammad forbids the intercalation of extra days into the Islamic lunar calendar year so that it would match the solar year. This prohibition was criticised by al-Biruni, since it had an adverse effect on both astronomy and agriculture. Manuscript entitled *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* completed in 1307 by al-Biruni (973–1048). University of Edinburgh, gouache on paper, Oriental Manuscript Collection. Ms. 161 fol.6v.**

Turkmenistan, conquered Kath in 995 and had the last Afrighid ruler, Abu Abdallah Muhammad (r. 967–95), executed, al-Biruni, who was close to the Afrighids, fled first to Bukhara, then to Rayy and later to Gorgan, where until 1004 he lived at the royal residence of Shams al-Ma'ali Qabus (r. 977–81, 997–1012). Al-Biruni's flight from Kath meant that he had to give up his important project, the mapping of the then known northern hemisphere of the globe that was to include the precise location of cities. Another 200 years later, in 1208/9, the geographer Muhammad ibn Najib Bakran, who lived in Khorasan, would produce the first grid map of the Islamic world, true to scale and using, among others, al-Biruni's tables of the latitudes and longitudes of important cities.[57] Bakran described in his treatise *Jahan namah* the unique peculiarity of his map: he wrote that the 'many red lines, some [running] from the east to the west and some from the north to the south, these are the lines [*khutut*] of longitude [*tul*] and latitude [*'arz*]', and adds that the 'great advantage' of his map is that 'by means of longitude and latitude the location of each city can be determined'.[58] Meanwhile Abu Ali Ma'mun's son Abu 'l Hasan Ali (r. 997–1008/9), having successfully incorporated eastern Chorasmia into his domain, began not only to rebuild Gurganj, the capital of the unified Chorasmia, in magnificent style, but also to invite famous scholars to his court. Al-Biruni made peace with the Ma'munids and returned to Gurganj around 1004, where Ibn Sina also moved in 1005.[59]

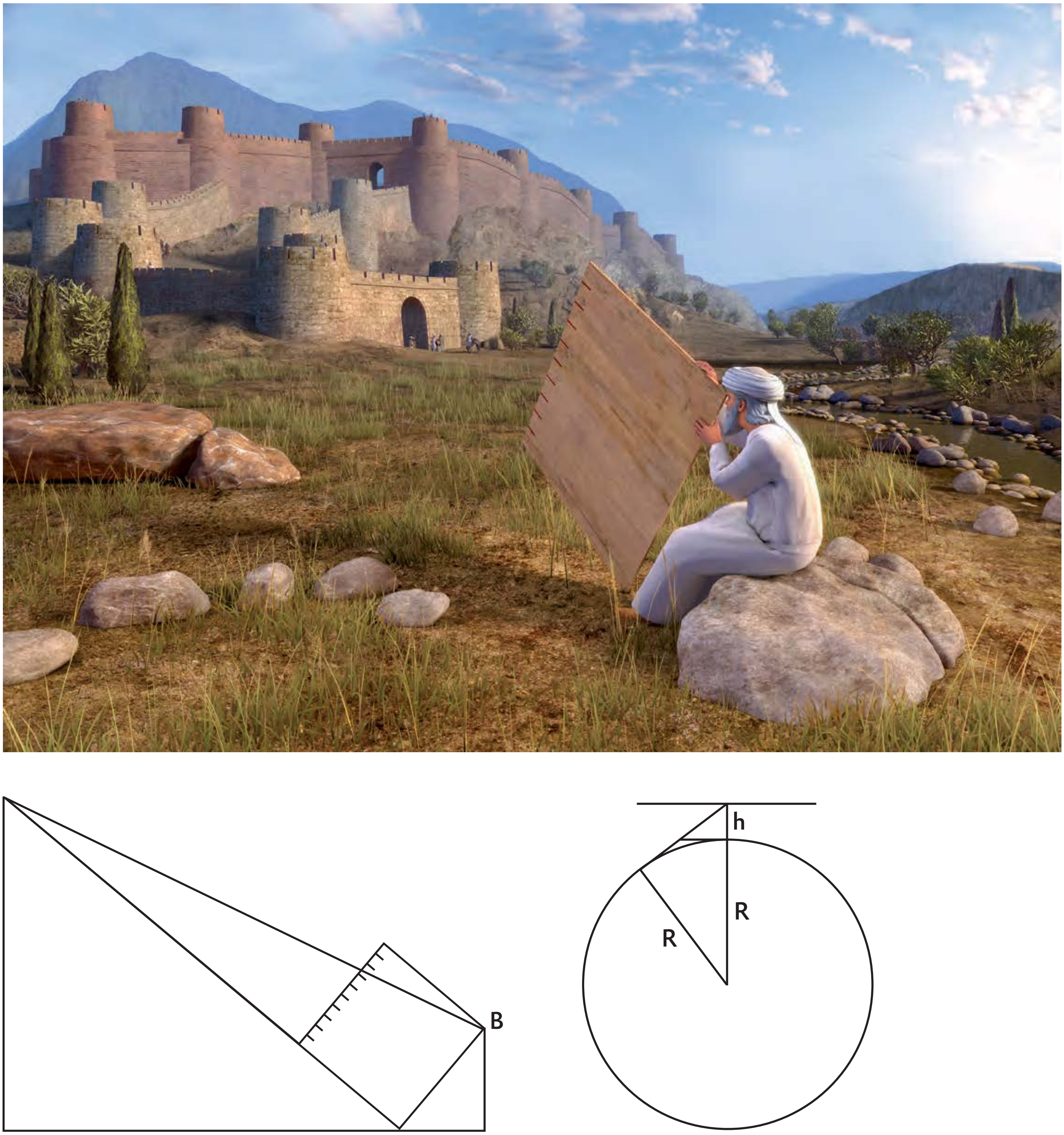
But soon the two men became victims of the volatile political situation. Although Abu 'l-Hasan Ali and his successor Abu 'l-Abbas Ma'mun II ibn Ma'mun (r. 1009–17) managed to some extent to keep their nominal Karakhanid overlords at a distance, they were powerless against their aggressive neighbour to the south, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 998–1030). Around 1015 or 1016, Mahmud presented Ma'mun II with an ultimatum, demanding from him not only formal submission, but also that he should deliver al-Biruni and Ibn Sina to him forthwith. Ibn Sina, who had already been driven from his homeland once by a Turkic conqueror, immediately fled westwards, while al-Biruni remained in Gurganj. Although Mahmud had placed a bounty on his head, Ibn Sina escaped capture. But for nearly all the rest of his life he remained a fugitive, threatened by the Ghaznavid advances into Iran. When in 1017 Mahmud conquered Gurganj and incorporated Chorasmia into his territory, al-Biruni and the astronomer Abu Nasr Mansur ibn Iraq, as well as other scholars, were exiled to Ghazna.[60] Although he was a prisoner, al-Biruni enjoyed freedom of movement in the Ghaznavid kingdom and was allowed to conduct astronomical observations. In the 1020s, Mahmud's Indian campaigns gave al-Biruni the opportunity to learn Sanskrit and other contemporary Indian languages, so that he could study the local literature, which interested him greatly, in its original language. He also debated with leading Indian scholars and researched Indian society and Indian religions using direct observation. Al-Biruni was the first Islamic scholar who took an interest in non-Muslim Indian culture as a whole, not only individual areas such as medicine and astronomy; he was also the first to write extensively on the *Bhagavad Gita*, a holy text of Hinduism. In India, al-Biruni made significant contributions to astronomy and through pioneering geological work developed the idea of a dynamic and evolving history of the Earth.[61] Al-Biruni died in Ghazna in 1048.

Al-Biruni shared al-Sijistani's view that science and religion were separate realms; he took a special interest in experimental enquiry and rejected the intervention of theologians, even of the Prophet Muhammad, into scientific debate. Al-Biruni calculated the duration of a solar year very accurately at 365 days, 5 hours and 49 minutes,[62] and he criticised – albeit cautiously – the decision of Muhammad to adopt a strictly lunar calendar, outlawing intercalated days, which would have brought the Islamic year into harmony with astronomical reality.[63] He considered the Prophet's decision to be a retrograde step in comparison with the pre-Islamic Persian calendar: 'When Islam had been established, intercalation [of additional days] was abolished, and that did much harm to the people.'[64] Because the lunar year has only 354 days, it is not only unusable for agricultural and astronomical purposes, but also for the calculation of annual tax liability (fig. 28). In *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, al-Biruni set himself the aim of converting the traditional calendars of the world's different religions and civilisations into a global calendar system.

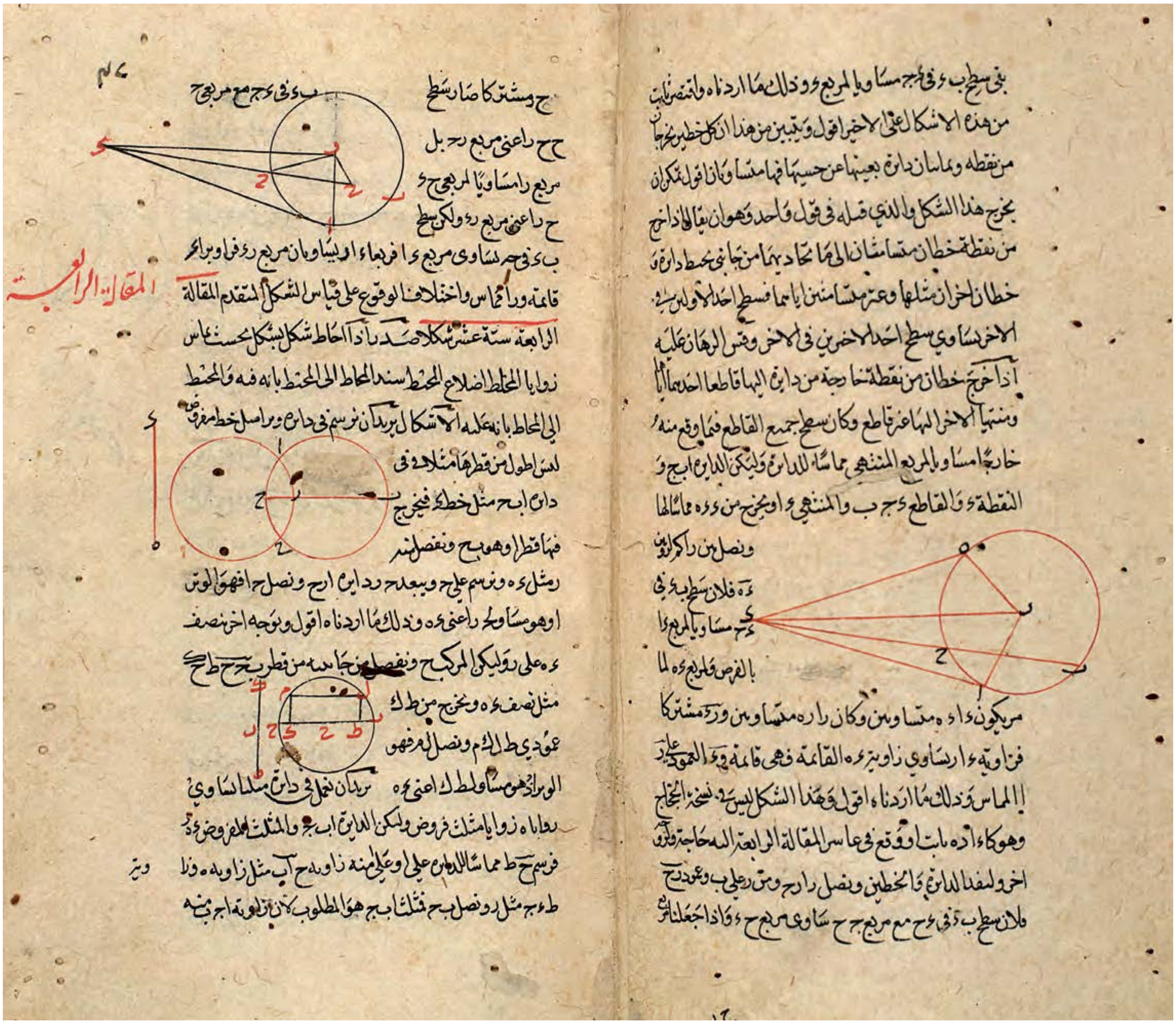
In 1023, while al-Biruni was staying in the fortress of Nandana, not far from the Jhelum river in the Punjab, Pakistan, he calculated the radius of the Earth as 6,339.6 kilometres, coming very close to today's accepted value of 6,378.1 at the equator. The result he obtained for the Earth's circumference, 39,964.9 kilometres, was also not far off the current mark of 40,074 kilometres at the equator and 40,008 kilometres at the poles.[65] Al-Biruni developed his own method of measurement and calculation (fig. 29). First he determined the height of a mountain at Nandana 'with the help of the following method: a square board is placed vertically on the ground on one of its corners in such a way that the bottom edge is aligned with the top of the mountain'. The upper right corner B 'is also aligned with the mountain peak; from the location of the marking on the opposite side of the square board the height of the mountain h can then be calculated with the help of the intercept theorem'. Al-Biruni then climbed the mountain, and standing on its top, he measured with the help of an astrolabe 'the dip angle between the "astronomical horizon" (the plane perpendicular to the Earth's axis) and the "true horizon" (tangent to the Earth's surface)'. Imagining a virtual right-angled triangle, with the top of the mountain, the centre of the Earth, and the horizon at its three corners, he applied the law of sines to calculate the Earth's radius R, obtaining a value of 6,339.6 kilometres.[66] Although al-Biruni knew that the Earth rotates on its axis and was familiar with heliocentric theories, it seems that he stuck with the geocentric worldview.[67]

Al-Biruni also pioneered geological research. In the mountains of northern India and in the desert in southern Chorasmia, he observed that rocks are arranged in layers, and his discovery of marine fossils enclosed in rocks led him to the hypothesis that India and the region west of Gurganj must once have been covered by the sea, and that the Earth was in a continuous process of development.[68] In Chapter 47 of *Kitab tarikh al-Hind*, al-Biruni makes the even more far-reaching suggestion that nature behaves in a similar way to a farmer, who lets only plants useful to him to grow, and pulls out the rest; nature too allows one plant to crowd out another. However, he qualifies his bold idea by specifying that nature 'does not distinguish' like a farmer and by assuming the existence of an anonymous 'ruler' of the Earth, by whom he means God. Al-Biruni's cautious observations can be interpreted in the sense that he assumed that plants and animals undergo a permanent process of changes and crowding out, which takes place according to certain rules prescribed by God.[69]

Abu Ali al-Husain ibn Abdallah ibn Sina (Avicenna, *ca.* 980–1037) was born in Afshana near Bukhara. His father was originally from Balkh, and in 985 his family moved to the city of Bukhara, where



29. Illustration based on written sources. In 1023, Abu Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni (973–1048) sat beneath the Nandana Fort in the Punjab to measure the height of the nearby mountain in order to estimate the Earth’s radius.



30. *Tahir Uqlidus,* translation into Arabic, with Arabic commentary, of Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* by Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201–74). Manuscript, thirteenth century. University of Edinburgh, gouache on paper, Oriental Manuscript Collection. Ms. 27.

the highly gifted Ibn Sina received an excellent education. As he dictated to his student and biographer Abu Ubayid al-Juzjani, 'by the time I was ten, I had mastered the Qur'an', which meant that he could recite it from memory.[70] Ibn Sina then studied mathematics, algebra and geometry as well as medicine. According to his own opinion he was already at the age of 15 a respected physician, who considered medicine to be 'not particularly difficult'. His enthusiasm for philosophy was kindled by a chance encounter. By the time he was 17, he had already read Aristotle's *Metaphysics* so often that he knew the work by heart. Its full meaning, however, only became clear to him when he read al-Farabi's commentary. A street vendor urged him to buy it but he hesitated until the bookseller gave him the book for almost nothing. Al-Farabi's elucidations opened the door to classical Greek philosophy.[71] A little later, Emir Abu'l Qasim Nuh ibn Mansur (Nuh II, r. 976–97) appointed Ibn Sina court physician, which enabled him to use the royal Samanid library with its magnificent collections of books on every branch of learning. But when the Turkic Karakhanids conquered Bukhara in 999, Ibn Sina lost his post and thus his access to the library; he fled to Nishapur, then to Merv, and finally to Gurganj, the Chorasmian capital, where he arrived in 1005. His untroubled stay at the court of Chorasmia was ended by the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud, when the latter demanded from the ruler of Gurganj the immediate handover of all scholars living there. Ibn Sina now fled westwards.

Despite, or precisely because of, his fame, Ibn Sina was unable to find a permanent position. Either the local rulers of Iran feared the wrath of Mahmud, or the Ghaznavid advances into Iran forced Ibn Sina to flee again. After a turbulent stay in Hamadan, where he twice occupied the post of vizier and was twice imprisoned, in 1022 he found a new refuge in Isfahan. But seven years later Mahmud captured Rayy, and tried to eradicate the local heterodox (non-Sunni) population. As Ghardizi reports, Mahmud 'gave orders that anybody suspected of holding that belief [Ismailite or Qarmatian[72]] should be brought out and stoned to death'.[73] In 1029 Mahmud's son Masud entered Isfahan, causing Ibn Sina to leave the city. As in Rayy, the Ghaznavids confiscated the palace library, and also Ibn Sina's private library, and brought everything to Ghazna.[74] The philosopher died in 1037 in Hamadan.

Ibn Sina was not only an important philosopher but he also set new standards in science, especially in medicine. In his *Canon of Medicine* he explained that tuberculosis was infectious and that minute pathogenic agents were transmitted via contaminated water or soil, so he recommended that drinking water should be boiled to prevent the spread of illness. He also proposed that new medicines should be tested by experiments on animals before they were administered to humans. Like his contemporary Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen) from Basra, Ibn Sina made significant contributions to the field of optics. He refuted the Platonic extramission theory of vision, according to which the eye emitted visual rays and thus could see objects by reaching out to them. Otherwise, he argued, small animals which see the starry sky would send out an endless number of visual rays to the countless and immeasurably distant stars, which was inconceivable. Ibn Sina built on Aristotle's intromission theory of vision, which explained the process of vision in the opposite way: rays from the object influenced by light (or to express it more accurately, rays of light reflected from the object) are received by the eye.[75]

Concerning the question of the origin of the universe, Ibn Sina believed that the Earth and the cosmos were eternal. But like the Neoplatonists, Ibn Sina stated that only the *idea* of the universe was eternal, not its material existence, so that God was needed to transform the concept of the universe into reality. Drawing on ideas by al-Farabi, Ibn Sina argued that God was the only necessary existent, who was the cause of his own existence, whereas the existence of everything else was only contingent. However, al-Farabi and Ibn Sina did not regard the relationship between necessary and contingent existent in a religious sense, as one of creator and created, but in a more rational sense, of cause and effect: they 'did not consider the Necessary Being as Sovereign Creator, but made its action subject to necessity and limited its strength and power to the proposition that God has no power over the impossible'.[76] Ibn Sina's concept of the co-eternity of the universe with God, which rejected the doctrine of a *creatio ex nihilo* ('creation out of nothing'), would later be vehemently opposed by the philosopher, jurist and theologian al-Ghazali (1058–1111), who helped to pave the way for the Sunni revival promoted by the Seljuks.

In the late 1070s **Omar ibn Ibrahim al-Khayyam Nishapuri** (1048–1131, also known as Omar Khayyam) from Nishapur, a mathematician, astronomer and philosopher known in the West above all as a poet, was commissioned by the Seljuk sultan Jalal al-Daula Malik Shah I to recalculate the solar year for a reform of the calendar. The result he obtained was 365.24242 days, that is 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes and 3.35 seconds.[77] The new calculation drew on measurements that Omar Khayyam had undertaken at the observatory in Isfahan. The Jalali calendar based on this (named after the sultan who had commissioned it) was introduced in 1079, and in Iran it remained in force until 1925.

3. On Astronomy and Towards a Theory of Evolution

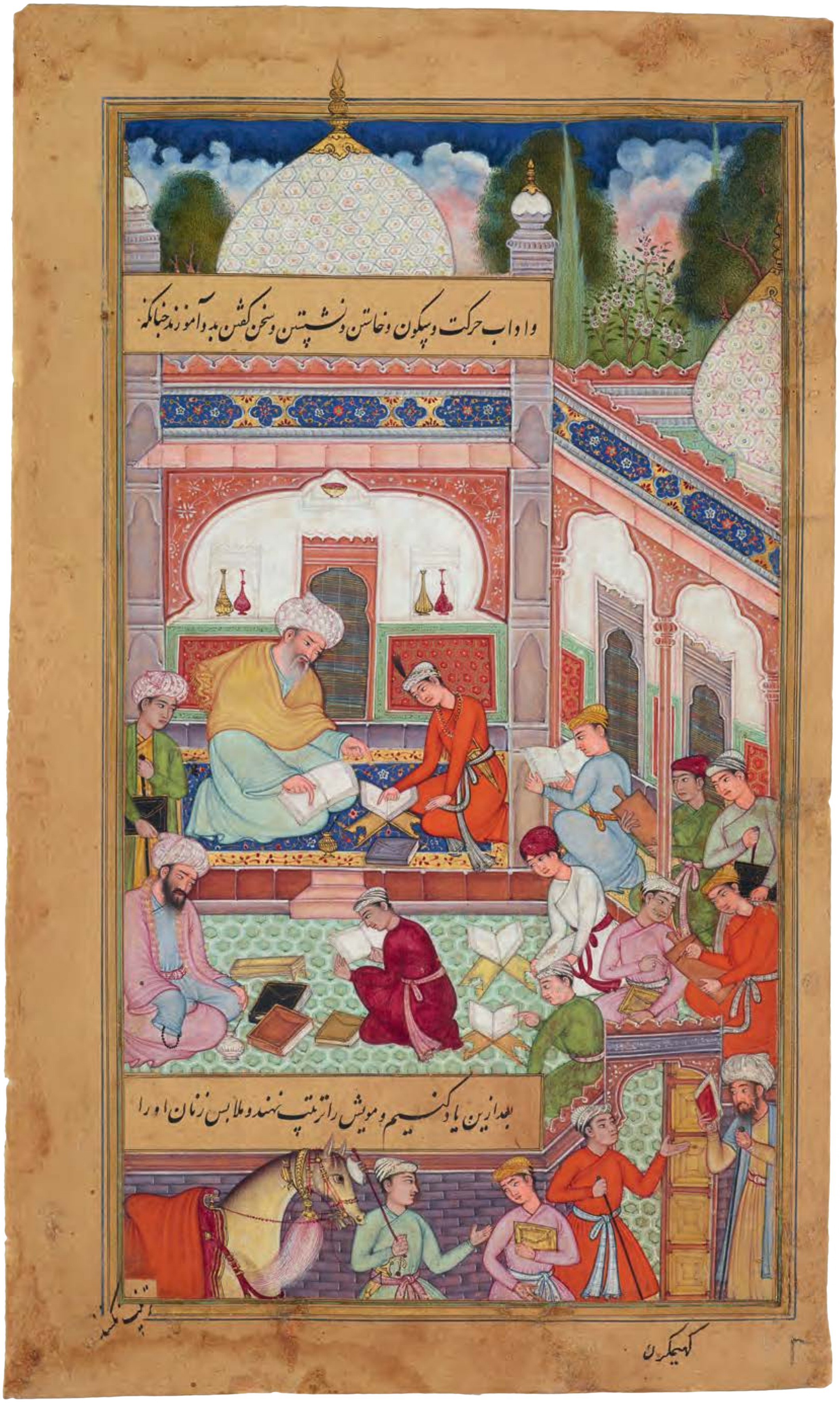
Al-Biruni's cautious hypotheses about the development of the universe and life on Earth were boldly taken to a new stage by **Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Tusi** from Khorasan, better known as **Nasir al-Din al-Tusi** (1201–74).[78] Al-Tusi, who came from a family of Twelver Shi'ites, was an outstanding astronomer and mathematician; he was also interested in ethics and the natural sciences. In 1221, when Genghis Khan's armies threatened Nishapur, the young al-Tusi, already considered a brilliant scholar, fled, finding sanctuary in Khorasan's many Ismaili fortresses. He lived and worked in some of these strongholds, before arriving at the mountain fortress of Alamut in northern Iran, the centre of Nizari Ismaili government. Whether he lived for years in this isolated 'eagle's nest' voluntarily is questionable, especially if it is true, as sometimes claimed, that in 1256 he betrayed the defences of Alamut Castle to the Mongol general Hülegü.[79] At any rate he was able, together with the historian Ata Malik Juvaini, to rescue parts of the valuable Alamut library before the fortress was razed to the ground. Al-Tusi then entered the service of Hülegü, who allowed him to save many manuscripts from the Grand Library of Baghdad (part of the House of Wisdom) before the city was sacked. Hülegü built a four-storey stone observatory for al-Tusi in Maragheh, north-western Iran, designed with the help of Chinese astronomers. It was here that al-Tusi wrote his major astronomical works, the *Zij-i ilkhani* ('The Il-khanid Tables'), a handbook of astronomy which includes tables for calculating the positions of the planets and a star catalogue, and the *al-Tadhkira fi-'ilm al-hay'a* ('Memoir on the Science of Astronomy'). In the latter he developed the new model of planetary motion that he had already sketched out in 1247 in his *History of the Almagest*.[80] Al-Tusi wanted to overcome the shortcomings of the Ptolemaic model of the solar system, in particular the concept of the equant that Ptolemy had introduced to explain non-uniform planetary motion. Al-Tusi had realised that 'the combined circular motions [of two identical circles] generates a back-and-forth linear motion'.[81] As F. Jamil Ragep succinctly put it, 'Tusi sought to rid the Ptolemaic system of its inconsistencies, in particular its violation of the fundamental principle of uniform circular motion in the heavens. Tusi set forth an astronomical device (now known as the Tusi couple) that consisted of two circles, the smaller of which was internally tangent to the other that was twice as large. The smaller rotated twice as fast as the larger and in the opposite direction. Tusi was able to prove that a given point on the smaller sphere would oscillate along a straight line.'[82]

Al-Tusi's model of planetary motion and the 'Tusi-couple' revolutionised Islamic astronomy and later found their way into the treatises of Ali al-Qushi (*ca*. 1402–74) and Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543). Al-Qushi, born in Samarkand, was a confidant of the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg (viceroy of Mawarannahr 1409–47, r. 1447–49), and was in charge of his observatory in Samarkand.[83] He vehemently opposed Aristotle's and Ptolemy's doctrine of a geostatic, stationary Earth, supplying empirical evidence for a theory of a rotating Earth.[84] Three centuries after al-Tusi, the first astronomer in Europe to publish a critique of Ptolemaic astronomy was Copernicus. Adopting al-Tusi's and al-Qushi's arguments against Ptolemy's geostatic concept of the Earth, he proposed a heliocentric model of the universe in his remarkable work *On the Revolutions of Heavenly Spheres*.[85]

Also in Maragheh, al-Tusi completed *Aklaq-e Nasiri* ('The Nasirean Ethics').[86] In the first chapter, al-Tusi discusses basic principles of the development of life and the human soul. Adopting the Aristotelian principle according to which nature has developed gradually from the inanimate to the animate, he divides the animate world into three forms of existence, each with a 'soul' that possesses a specific faculty: the vegetative soul is characterised by the concupiscible faculty for existence, survival and reproduction; the animal soul possesses in addition the faculties of voluntary motion and of sensory perception; and the human soul combines the vegetative and animal faculties as well as the faculties of rationality and free will.[87]

Al-Tusi divided the development from the inanimate to the animate up to the human being into five stages, with gradual transitions from one stage to the next:

1. **The inanimate world of elementary particles:** At first the Earth consisted of elementary particles, equal in value. 'Natural bodies, as bodies, are equal one with another in rank, none having nobility [advantage] or virtue above the other; for [. . .] one generic form of primary matter constitutes them as a whole.'[88] The first differences within the inanimate world appear as soon as the elementary particles (atoms) meet and mingle, and thus divergences come into being – the originally static world has become dynamic.
2. **The vegetative world:** As a result of the dynamic in the inanimate world, various solid compounds appear, and some of these will eventually develop vegetative faculties. 'These faculties likewise occur variously in it [the vegetative soul] in accordance with variation of aptitude.'[89] Thanks to adaptation to environmental conditions, 'perfect' plants such as fruit-bearing


وآداب حرکت و سکون و خاستن و نشستن و سخن گفتن بدو آموزند چنانکه
بعد ازین یاد کنیم و مویش را ترتیب نهند و ملابس زنان او را

31. Illustration from *Aklaq-e Nasiri* ('The Nasirian Ethics'), by Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201–74). In the centre of the picture, a student reads under the watchful eye of his teacher. More students can be seen in the courtyard, reading or preparing to read. Manuscript produced between 1590 and 1595 in northern India for the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605). Aga Khan Museum, Toronto. Folio 149v of the Aklaq-e Nasiri, opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper, AKM 288.

trees appear, which have ‘the faculty for individual survival and the perpetuation of the species’.[90] According to al-Tusi evolution from inanimate matter to plants, animals and humans is driven by the inherent variability of the elementary particles and their innumerable possibilities of combinations. These inanimate compounds and animate organisms are constantly changing; whatever or whoever changes in the fastest and most adequate way has an advantage over other compounds or organisms.

3. **The animal world:** The most highly developed plants possess mechanisms to attract pollinating animals or to ward off predators, so that they are intermediates between plants and simple animals such as earthworms or certain insects that only live for one season. Natural variability and the need for adaptation lead to the development of diverse survival and reproduction strategies, as well as to a complex hierarchy within the animal world. All animals can move of their own volition and experience sensations; some have developed parts of their bodies into offensive weapons such as teeth, claws, antlers or horns whereas others protect themselves with their ability to flee quickly, or their cunning. The most highly developed animals possess intelligence and an ability to learn, they learn new behavioural patterns and skills that they have not inherited: ‘The noblest of the species is that one whose sagacity and perception is such that it accepts discipline and instruction; thus there accrues to it the perfection [the additional competence] not originally inborn.’[91] As examples of animals with the ability to learn, al-Tusi mentions a trained horse or hunting falcon.
4. **The anthropoid beings:** The more learning ability animals possess, the nearer they get to the development stage of the human until ‘a point is reached where the (mere) observation of action suffices as instruction: thus, when they see a thing, they perform the like of it by mimicry. [. . .] This is the utmost of the animal degrees, and the first of the degrees of Man is contiguous therewith. Such are the peoples dwelling on the fringes of the inhabited world, like [or resembling][92] the negroes [black people] in the West and others, for the movements and actions of the likes of this type correspond to the actions of animals.’[93] For al-Tusi, these beings of north and central Africa or similar to them possess some human abilities, but their movements and actions identify them as animals. Al-Tusi thus makes it clear that he sees no abrupt difference, created out of nothing, between animal and human, but a gradual transition, driven by the universal principles of variation and the search for optimal adaptation.
5. **Humans:** Humans are characterised by free will, ability to think, and reason. ‘Up to this limit, every gradation and discrepancy occurs in conformity with nature, but henceforth ranks of perfection or deficiency are determined according to will and reason.’[94] These two faculties, possessed only by humans, offer them the possibility of further development; but they also conceal the danger that, if they neglect them, they will fall back to the level of animals. Al-Tusi often stresses that man is a mixed being: ‘Man has a property by which he is distinguished from other existent beings. But he has other actions and faculties, in some of which the animal species share with him, and in some others the types of plants or the minerals and other bodies.’[95] No longer arguing on the biological, but on the ethical level, he concludes elsewhere: ‘Man has a road, by will to a higher rank, and by nature to a lower.’[96] In summary, it can be maintained that al-Tusi developed an early theory of evolution according to which the world and life developed in countless small steps, from elementary particles to humanity. The originality of al-Tusi’s ideas is not diminished by the fact that he also briefly mentions the ‘absolute truth’ which laid down the mechanisms of evolution during the primary creation of the primordial particles.

4. An Anti-rationalist Counter-movement

The waning of this creative and innovative movement in science and philosophy began in the second half of the eleventh century, almost two centuries before the Mongol invasion. It was the result of a community of interests between various conservative religious groups and the Turkic Seljuks, whose territory would eventually extend from Khorasan as far as eastern Anatolia, and whose most important figures came from Central Asia and Khorasan. As their campaign of conquest moved further and further west, the Seljuks, whose homeland lay at the lower reaches of the River Jaxartes (called Seyhun by Muslim historians), cast themselves as pioneers of a Sunni revival. In 1055 they toppled the dynasty of the Shi’ite Buyids, who ruled the rump Abbasid caliphate. However, as the contemporary Iranian philosopher and theologian Muayyad fi’l-Din al-Shirazi (1000–78) argued, their main concern was not so much the restoration of Sunni orthodoxy as the acquisition of power and material wealth: ‘The Türkmen [Seljuks] have not come to these lands [Iran and Iraq] to help the caliph, but in search of worldly possessions (mulk).'[97]

The founder of the Seljuk dynasty, Tughril (r. 1038–63), was succeeded on the throne by his nephew Alp Arslan (r. 1063–72) and the latter's son Malik Shah I (r. 1072–92). The vizier serving these last two rulers was **Abu Ali Hasan ibn Ali Tusi** (1018–92) from Tus, Khorasan, who bore the honorific title Nizam al-Mulk, 'The Order of the Realm'. After the death of Alp Arslan, he possessed almost unlimited power over the Seljuk sultanate.[98] Nizam al-Mulk not only organised and controlled the administration of the empire, but also introduced a network of state-supported colleges, the *Nizamiyyas*, which were to teach Sunni orthodoxy in the form of Ash'arite theology and conservative Shafi'i Islamic law. The *Nizamiyyas* formed an extension of the madrasas which already existed in Iran and Mesopotamia. They were not intended to foster a spirit of open enquiry, nor did they resemble the House of Wisdom; rather, their aim was comparable to that of the Jesuit colleges established in the sixteenth century to support the Catholic Counter-Reformation.[99] Since they attempted to curb the influence of the rationalist philosophers on the one hand and the Mu'tazilites and the Ismailite Fatimid[100] Shi'ites on the other, they enjoyed the tacit support of the staunchly conservative and literalist Hanbalites.[101]

The best-known leader of a Nizamiyya was **Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazali** (*ca*. 1058–1111), a theologian from Tus. After studying with the Shafi'i legal scholar **Abd al-Malik ibn Yusuf al-Juwayni al-Shafi'i** (1028–85) from Khorasan, who was in charge of the Nizamiyya of Nishapur for 20 years, in 1091 al-Ghazali took over the direction of the Nizamiyya of Baghdad. The sharp-witted al-Ghazali was a trenchant opponent of philosophers who were influenced by Neoplatonism, such as al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, as well as of all freethinkers. He considered their concept of the eternal nature of matter and the universe to be heretical, since it denied the omnipotence of God and contradicted the doctrine of God's creation of the world *ex nihilo*; and furthermore, the concept of a universe that was co-eternal with God introduced a dualism that was irreconcilable with monotheism.[102] For this reason, al-Ghazali demanded that the death sentence intended by the Qur'an for apostates should also be imposed on philosophers who contradicted three basic dogmas of the Qur'an. These three dogmas are belief in God's creation of the world in time, belief in eschatology as laid down in the Qur'an and belief in the omniscience of God. Anyone who diverged from these dogmas was an opponent of the laws of God, an unbeliever and a 'clandestine apostate',[103] who deserved the death sentence: 'Whoever claims this [unbelief in the three principles], annihilates the achievement of the religious laws.'[104] Al-Ghazali also denied to these philosophers the traditional right to forgiveness if they repented. 'The secret apostate (*zindiq*)' [such as a Mu'tazilite philosopher] 'does not give up his inner confessions when he professes the words of the *shahada* [the Islamic creed]. He may be killed for his unbelief because we are convinced that he stays an unbeliever who sticks to his unbelief.'[105]

Al-Ghazali's uncompromising position, especially in his later life when he was drawn to Sufism, won approval from both traditionalist religious scholars and others who advocated a rigid, literalist interpretation of the Sharia, as well as the anti-intellectual Sufis. Thanks to state support, anti-philosophical and anti-scientific reaction spread throughout the Seljuk Empire. This not only made advances in philosophy difficult or even impossible, but also hardened the respective positions of Sunnis and Shi'ites. From now on, in the Seljuk Empire and its successor states, it was no longer logical stringency and reason that formed the yardstick for truth in philosophical and, to a lesser extent, scientific questions, but conformity with the state-supported theological and legal interpretations of the Qur'an. It is no coincidence that there were almost no further advances in philosophy, and most future intellectual achievements were in the more 'harmless' disciplines such as cartography and astronomy, above all at the time of the Mongol Il-Khanids.

From the late eleventh century, the legacy of the early Islamic philosophers and scientists from Khorasan and Central Asia was taken up by scholars in Europe, whose own cultural roots in classical antiquity had been lost in the early Middle Ages. One of the most important points of contact between the Islamic sciences and the Latin West was the Spanish city of Toledo. After the fragmentation of the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba into a number of independent Muslim kingdoms in 1031, Toledo, the cosmopolitan capital of the eponymous petty kingdom, developed into a leading centre of science and philosophical debate that attracted scholars from all over Europe. There they could explore not only Arabic texts and thus their lost classical heritage (many Greek treatises now existed only in Arabic translations) but also scientific work from India which was totally foreign to them.

An early European pioneer was Gerbert of Aurillac (*ca*. 950–1003), the later Pope Sylvester II, who stayed from 967 to 970 in the Christian city of Vic north of Barcelona and probably also studied at the nearby monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll which possessed a famous library.[106] Here he most likely came into contact with treatises on the Arabic numerals of Indian origin. According to Gerbert's disciple and biographer Richerus of Reims, after 970 he applied his new findings on the abacus, using columns on a flat board and the numbers 1 to 9 as place-markers, but he omitted the zero, which was represented by an empty column.[107] Later, in the year 984, he asked his Catalan friend Lupitus (Seniofredus) of Barcelona for his recent translation of an Arabic treatise on astronomy called *Sententiae astrolabii*, whereupon he composed his own treatise on the astrolabe *Liber de astrolabio*.[108] Al-Khwarizmi's work was later translated by Adelard of Bath (*ca*. 1070–*ca*. 1160) and Gerard of Cremona (1114–87), but it was the *Liber abaci*, a treatise written around 1202 by Leonardo Fibonacci (*ca*. 1170–*ca*. 1245), that helped to introduce the Hindu–Arabic numeral system to Western Europe, for commercial as well as scientific use.[109]

The translation movement of Arabic texts into Latin, which had started at the end of the tenth century, reached its climax after the conquest of Toledo by the Christian king Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085. Soon after this, numerous centres of translation began to appear, often based around cathedral chapters where the work was carried out by prelates and other clerics. Most of the Latin translators were proficient in Arabic and collaborated with Muslim, Jewish and Mozarabic[110] scholars. Two of the most important translators were Adelard of Bath, who tackled the astronomical and mathematical works of al-Khwarizmi and the works of Euclid, and Gerard of Cremona, who during his 30-year residence in Toledo translated more than 70 works from Arabic into Latin. Among Gerard's most important translations in the field of astronomy are the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, the critique of Ptolemy's *Almagest* by Abu Muhammad Jabir ibn Aflah (*ca*. 1100–*ca*. 1160), and the *Tables of Toledo* by the astronomer Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Zarkali (1029–87), who worked in Toledo and Córdoba and had drawn on earlier scholarship by al-Khwarizmi and al-Battani. Gerard also translated outstanding works on mathematics, including al-Khwarizmi's book on algebra[111] and Euclid's writings on geometry,[112] and books from the fields of science, medicine and philosophy by authors such as al-Razi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Archimedes and Aristotle. Later, in the thirteenth century, Hermannus Alemannus in Toledo translated works by Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd (Averroes, 1126–98) and Aristotle into Latin, while the itinerant Scottish mathematician and scholar Michael Scotus (*ca*. 1175–*ca*. 1235) produced acclaimed translations of the critique by Nur al-Din al-Bitruji (d. *ca*. 1204) of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and Ibn Rushd's commentaries on Aristotle.[113]

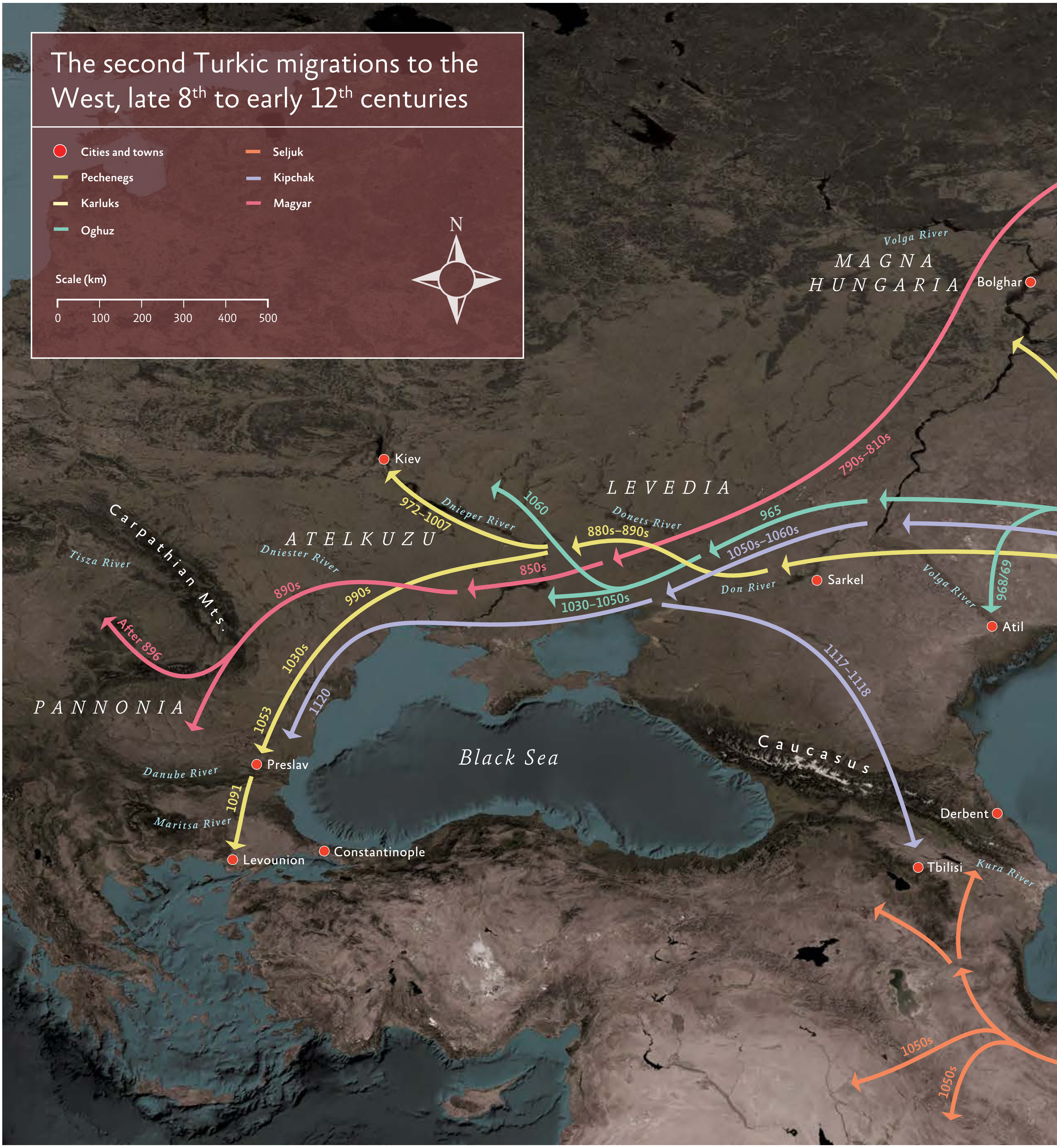
Thanks to the new knowledge gained, European scholars began to catch up with those of the Islamic world, whose understanding of many of the exact sciences (mathematics, algebra, geometry, astronomy, for example) was some 400 years ahead of theirs. By the time of the Renaissance, Europe was even gaining a competitive edge. Islamic science and philosophy may have encountered constraints in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and as a result of the Mongol invasion, yet in hindsight it remains surprising that they never had a second flowering like that of the European Renaissance. In Europe, on the other hand, neither the reign of terror of the Roman Catholic Inquisition nor the countless wars were able in the long term to stifle scientific curiosity and the quest for new knowledge which was born out of engagement with the pioneering scholarship of the Islamic world.

III

The Second Turkic Migrations to the West

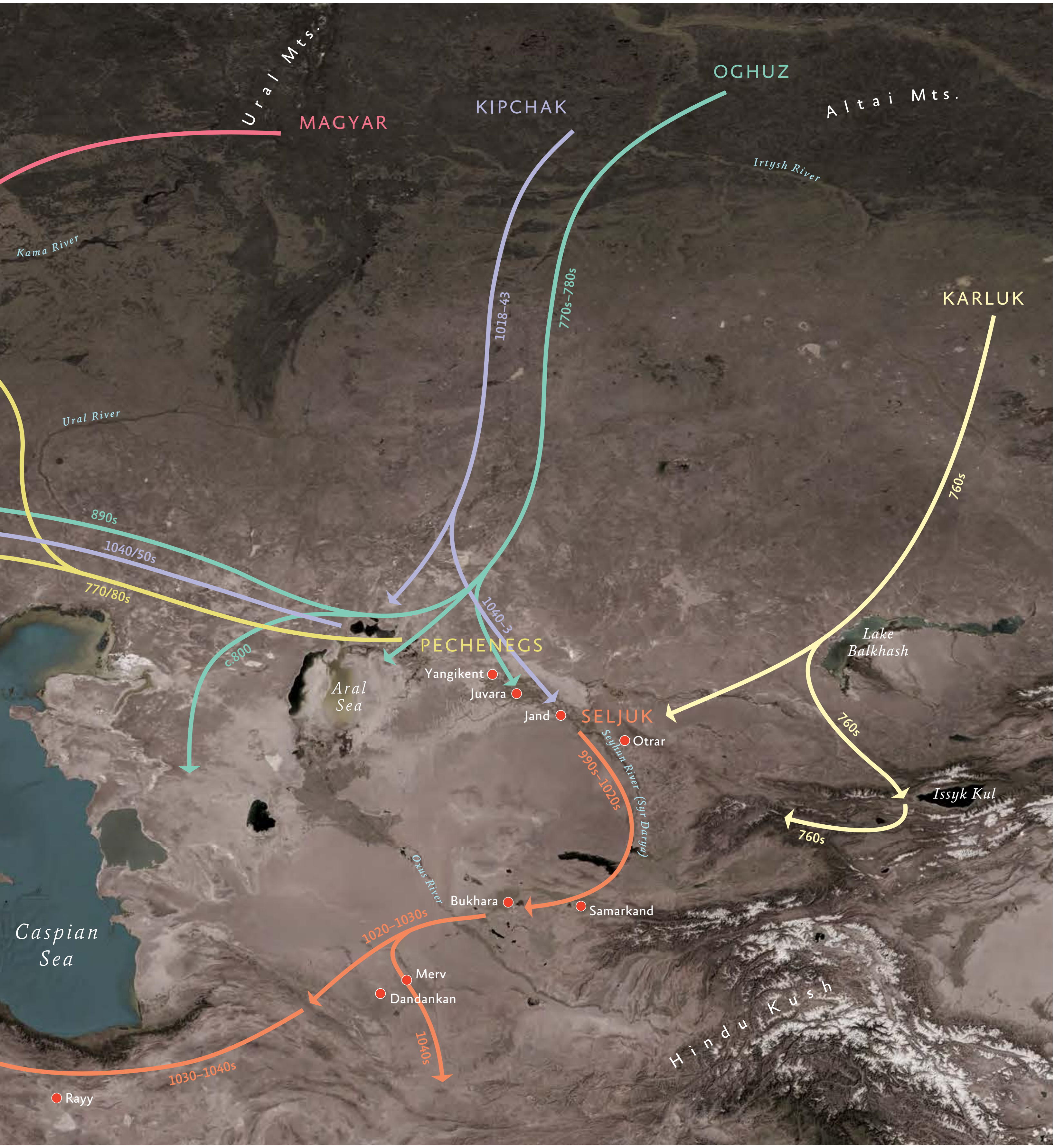
'It is always greatly to the advantage of the emperor of the Romans [Byzantines] to be minded to keep the peace with the nation of the Pechenegs and to conclude conventions and treaties of friendship with them.'

BYZANTINE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS, written around 948–52.[1]



The second Turkic migrations to the West, late 8th to early 12th centuries

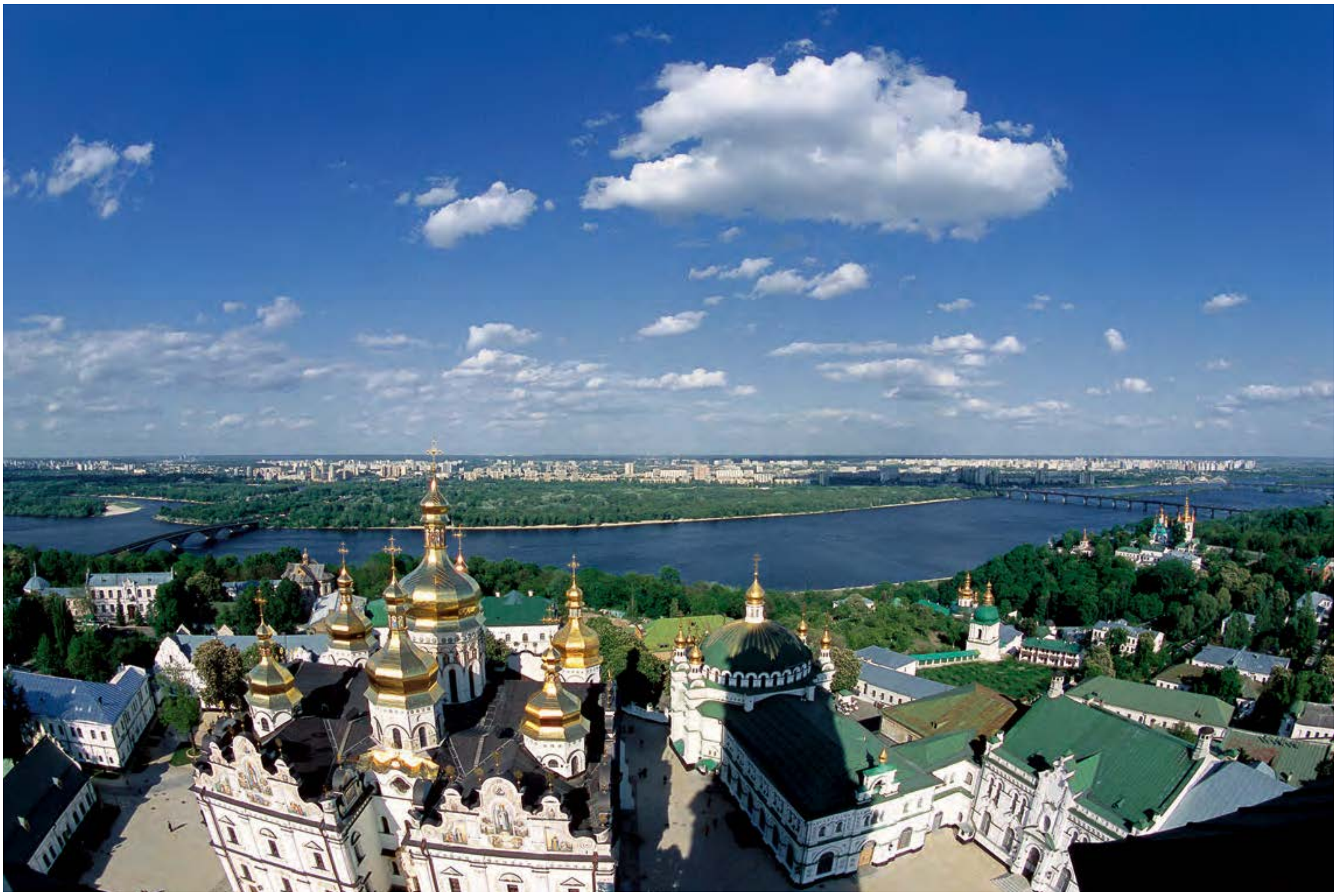
● Cities and towns
Pechenegs
Karluks
Oghuz
Seljuk
Kipchak
Magyar
Scale (km)
0
100
200
300
400
500
N
Volga River
MAGNA HUNGARIA
Bolghar
Kiev
LEVEDIA
ATELKUZU
Carpathian Mts.
Tisza River
Dniester River
Dnieper River
Donets River
Don River
Volga River
Sarkel
Atil
968/69
790s–810s
965
1050s–1060s
880s–890s
850s
1060
972–1007
890s
990s
1030–1050s
After 896
1030s
1120
1053
1117–1118
PANNONIA
Preslav
Danube River
1091
Maritsa River
Levounion
Constantinople
Black Sea
Caucasus
Derbent
Tbilisi
Kura River
1050s
1050s


Ural Mts.
MAGYAR
KIPCHAK
OGHUZ
Altai Mts.
Irtysh River
Kama River
1018–43
770s–780s
KARLUK
Ural River
760s
890s
1040/50s
770/80s
1040–3
c.800
Lake Balkhash
PECHENEGS
Yangikent
Juvara
Aral Sea
Jand
SELJUK
Otrar
Seyhun River (Syr Darya)
990s–1020s
760s
Issyk Kul
760s
Oxus River
Bukhara
Samarkand
1020–1030s
Caspian Sea
Merv
Dandankan
Hindu Kush
1040s
1030–1040s
Rayy

1. The Pechenegs

The Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (r. nominally from 913, de facto 945–59) was a witness to the beginning of the second migrations of Turkic equestrian tribes. In the first wave of migrations, the Avars from Central Asia appeared on the Pontic grass steppe around 557 or 558, on their flight from the Western Turks to the west. The Avars were a heterogeneous people consisting of Rouran and Hephthalites as well as Turco-Oghur tribes. After negotiations with Byzantium, at the behest of Constantinople they attacked and defeated some Hunnic and Slavic tribes, and then settled in Pannonia, the Hungarian Plain.[2] They were followed by Western Turkic horse warriors who advanced as far as Crimea and the Caucasus. Diplomatic contacts between the Western Turks and Byzantium led to trade agreements, and an offensive military alliance directed against the Iranian Sassanids. Coordinated operations carried out between 626 and 628 in the Caucasus and northern Mesopotamia brought about the downfall of the Sassanid ruler Khosrau II. Then, in the 630s, the short-lived empire of the Turkic-speaking Great Bulgars was founded north-east of the Sea of Azov. Thirty years later it was subjugated by the Khazars.[3] The Khazar Empire, which dominated the Caucasus, the Pontic steppe and the Volga delta, had emerged between 630 and 650 from the local Western Turkic warrior nobility, and flourished up to the late 960s; it was then crushed by an alliance of the Kievan Rus' with Turkic Oghuz.[4]

In his political legacy, *De administrando imperio* ('On the Governance of the Empire'), which outlines foreign and internal politics, Emperor Constantine summarises the political situation in the north of the Byzantine Empire at the beginning of the second Turkic migration in the first half of the tenth century: 'Originally, the Pechenegs had their dwelling on the river Atil [Volga], and likewise on the river Geïch [Jaik, Ural], having common frontiers



32. St Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, Ukraine, was founded by Prince Yaroslav in 1037 in gratitude for his victory over the Pechenegs in 1036. It was built on the site of the battle.[10] Parts of the cathedral were destroyed, first by the Mongols in 1240 and later by the Crimean Tatars. It was rebuilt in the 1630s and, following the fire of 1697, it was reconstructed in the Ukrainian Baroque style between 1699 and 1707. Photo: 2004.

with the Chazars and the so-called Uzes [Oghuz]. But fifty years ago[5] the so-called Uzes made common cause with the Chazars and joined battle with the Pechenegs and prevailed over them and expelled them from their country, which the so-called Uzes have occupied till this day. The Pechenegs fled and wandered round, casting about for a place for their settlement; and when they reached the land which they now possess and found the Turks [here the Magyars] living in it, they defeated them in battle and expelled and cast them out, and settled in it, and have been masters of this country, as has been said, for fifty-five years to this day,'[6] which means since about 893/97, for Constantine wrote his book between 948 and 952. Here Constantine sketches the expulsion of the Pechenegs by the Oghuz and the resulting expulsion of the Magyars by the fleeing Pechenegs. As Constantine specifies, the Pechenegs' new home lay in Atelkuzu (Etelköz),[7] the 'land between two rivers', which extended from the Dniester in the west as far as the Dnieper in the east, perhaps even as far as the Donets.

The origins of the Pechenegs are unclear. Emperor Constantine mentions that in the first half of the tenth century three of their eight Turkic-speaking tribes were called Kangars and formed the elite.[8] This name is close to the Chinese term *Kangjü* as well as the names *Kangu Tarman* and *Kängäräs* on the Old Turkic memorial stele in honour of Kül Tegin of *ca*. 732. On this stele, the Kangars appear as allies of the second Turkic Khaganate in the struggle against Western Turks, Türgesh and Karluks. Their homeland at that time can therefore be pinpointed east of the Aral Sea and at the lower course of the Seyhun river (Syr Darya).[9] At the beginning of the last quarter of the eighth century, the ethnographic composition of the Turkic tribes in the northern half of Central Asia was as follows: the Uyghur Empire occupied a territory that is today Mongolia; on its north-western border lived the Kyrgyz, enemies of the Uyghurs, in the valley of the River Ienissei, and the Oghuz between Lake Baikal and the Altai Mountains. South of the Altai lay the homelands of the Karluks, and west of them, that is south and west of Lake Balkhash, those of the Türgesh and On Oq. West of the On Oq and Türgesh lived the Pechenegs. In the 770s, the pressure on the Karluks, and in particular the Pechenegs, from the Oghuz who were pushing south-westwards strongly increased, for the Oghuz, who formed a turbulent confederacy apparently led by a ruler with the title *yabghu*,[10] were discontented with living under Uyghur suzerainty and were looking for new territory. The military conflicts between Uyghurs and Karluks[11] further encouraged Oghuz migration. West of the Kyrgyz, in western Siberia on the River Irtysh, lived the Turkic-Mongolic confederation of the Kimek, to which the Kipchaks probably also belonged.[12]

Military pressure exerted in turn by the Karluks, who in 766 had already wrested control of Semirechie from the Türgesh elite,[13] making them neighbours of the Pechenegs, and the threat from the advancing Oghuz, forced the Pechenegs to leave their homeland and move into the area between the Ural and Volga rivers. This migration had two consequences. On the one hand it opened a serious breach in the Khazar–Byzantine defence line against eastern steppe warriors, which, as recorded by John Skylitzes, a Byzantine historian of the later eleventh century, persuaded Constantinople to build a strong fortress for its Khazar allies: Emperor Theophilos [r. 829–42] 'received an embassy from the Khagan of the Khazars, requesting that the fortress known as Sarkel be built [in 838–41]. This seemed to be a sure fortification, protecting them from the onslaught of the Patzinags [Pechenegs] in the region of the river Tanais [Don].'[14] On the other hand, this incursion into the land between the Ural and Volga rivers, which Constantine Porphyrogenitus erroneously believed to be their homeland, incited individual Magyar tribes living in Magna Hungaria (the land of the Bashkirs) to move westwards towards the Pontic grass steppe, first to Levédia on the lower courses of the Donets and Don, and later to Atelkuzu; others fled to the Khazars in the area around the Maeotis.[15] As Constantine wrote, in the early 890s the Khazars, in alliance with the Oghuz advancing from the east, attacked the Pechenegs, who were continually launching raids on Khazar territory, with the aim of wiping them out. The alliance succeeded in driving out the Pechenegs, and the Oghuz were able to seize their pastures, but did not manage to destroy them, for the Pechenegs fought their way through the Khazar region to Levédia and Atelkuzu, where, in alliance with the Bulgar ruler Simeon I, they defeated the Magyars in the battle of the Southern Bug. The Magyars fled to the upper course of the Tisza, and the Pechenegs settled in Atelkuzu, so that their territory, which extended from the Don to the Danube, bordered on Bulgaria to the south.

Byzantium quickly recognised the possibility of tactically deploying the Pechenegs in the conflicts with Bulgaria and, above all, against the Kievan Rus',[16] for example in the years 915, 968 and 972. In 915, the Pechenegs first harassed the Kievan Rus', and then, together with Byzantium, attacked Bulgaria.[17] Nonetheless, these alliances did not prevent the Pechenegs from joining with Kiev in attacking Constantinople, in 943/44 and 970/71. Since the Pechenegs did not form an established state, it was easy for the sedentary states to enlist individual tribal support for themselves as allies or mercenaries. Only a year after some Pecheneg tribes had fought alongside the Kievan Rus' prince Sviatoslav I (r. nominally from 945, de facto 959/63–72), Sviatoslav himself fell in 972 in a

Pecheneg ambush instigated by Byzantium. According to an old custom of Turco-Mongol steppe warriors, the Pecheneg khan Kurya had a drinking vessel fashioned from Sviatoslav's skull.[18] The war between the Pechenegs and Kiev flared up again from 988 to 997 and dragged on until about 1007 without ever being resolved.

By the end of the tenth century, the Pechenegs, who were also very active as traders, in particular with Crimea, had already come under increasing pressure from their arch-enemies, the Oghuz, allies of the Kievan Rus' since 985. Between 1027 and 1035, the Pechenegs crossed the Danube several times, where they encountered the Byzantines. In 1036 they suffered a crushing defeat near Kiev, and in 1050 were driven from the Pontic steppe by the Oghuz, who for their part were under pressure from the advancing Kipchaks (Cumans),[19] forcing them to seek refuge south of the Danube. In 1053, after a defeat by the Pechenegs the previous year, Byzantium reluctantly gave official recognition to their settlement at Preslav, in north-eastern Bulgaria. Emperor Romanos IV (r. 1068–71) discovered to his cost that the Pechenegs were unreliable vassals of the Eastern Roman Empire when they betrayed him in the crucial Battle of Manzikert by switching sides to join the Seljuks. Their defection helped the Seljuks win the battle, a victory that would seriously weaken the Byzantine Empire and decide the future of Anatolia. When, 20 years later, the Pechenegs were raiding the Balkans and threatening Constantinople, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) formed an alliance with the Cumans and destroyed the invaders in 1091 at the Battle of Levounion near the Maritsa river. This enabled the emperor to ward off the looming danger of a Pecheneg–Seljuk pincer movement. Two further defeats, in 1094 by the Cumans and in 1122 by Byzantium, sealed their fate and they disappeared from history as an independent alliance of tribes.[20] Thus ended a 300-year migration, which had taken the Pechenegs over a distance of more than 3,000 kilometres.

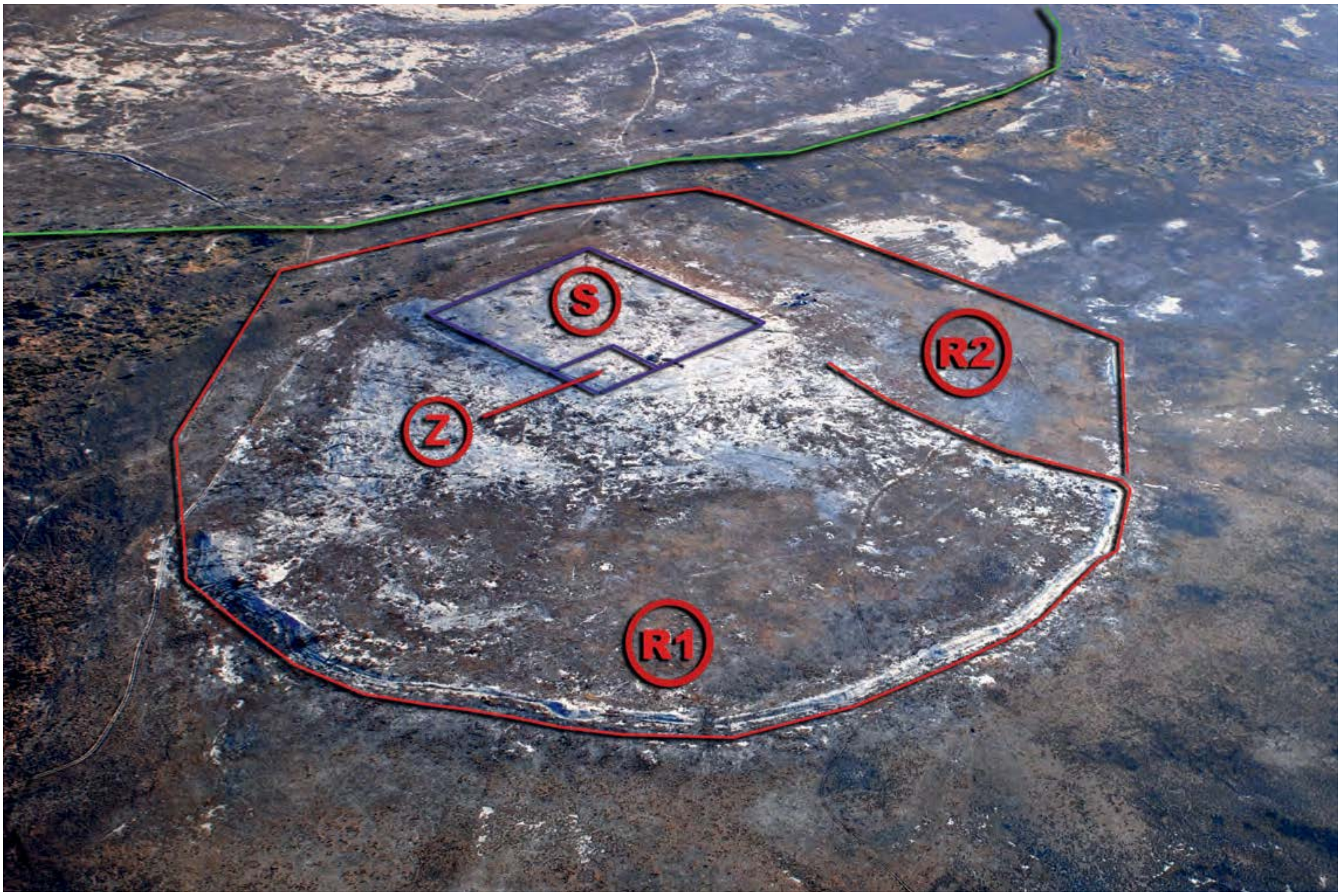
These conflicts between migrating Turkic equestrian tribes had a domino effect. The Oghuz, oppressed by the Uyghurs, Karluks and later the Kipchaks, displaced the Pechenegs three times: first from the lower course of the Seyhun river, then from the land between the Ural and Volga, and finally from Atelkuzu. The Pechenegs for their part forced the Magyars to emigrate three times, first from the region between Ural and Volga, then from Levédia and finally from Atelkuzu, whereupon the Magyars invaded Pannonia and undertook raids in Western Europe. In the wake of the Oghuz there then followed the Kipchaks, who in turn were defeated by the Mongols between 1221/1223 and 1236/40.

The Magyars, who were repeatedly harassed by the Pechenegs, originally came from the area around the Irtysh river. Their language belonged to the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family, which between the sixth and the fourth millennium BCE split into the Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric subfamilies. Samoyedic languages were spoken east and north of the Ural, while Finno-Ugric speakers migrated towards the south-west. In the course of this migration Ugric speakers broke away and settled in the region between the middle courses of the rivers Ural, Kama and Volga, in medieval sources also called *Magna Hungaria*. These forebears of the Magyars were probably hunters and trappers, who came into contact with the Huns in the second half of the fourth century and took over their economic system and pastoralist way of life. From the last quarter of the seventh century onwards, the Magyars directly faced the Turkic-speaking Volga Bulgars who settled at the confluence of the Kama and Volga[21] and were influenced by the Bulgars' language and culture. About 100 years later, in the late eighth or early ninth century, some Magyar tribes were driven further south-west by invading Pechenegs, to Levédia, north of the Sea of Azov. In the mid-ninth century the Pechenegs forced the Magyars to leave Levédia and go to Atelkuzu. Towards the end of that century, the Magyars yet again had to flee from the Pechenegs, who had themselves been driven out of some of their territory by the Khazars and Oghuz. The Magyars crossed the Carpathian Mountains and settled in the lowland plain of Pannonia, which they had already ravaged several times in earlier raids. Over the next 60 years the Magyars, who fought as lightly armoured mounted archers, raided and ravaged much of Western Europe, as the Huns had done before them. It was not until 955, at Lechfeld, near Augsburg, that the heavily armoured cavalry of the East Frankish king Otto I succeeded in routing the Magyars, and in 970 they suffered a further devastating defeat, this time at the hands of the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskes (r. 969–76). After these defeats, the Magyar elite fundamentally changed their strategy: the Magyars largely abandoned raiding expeditions, particularly against the West, became increasingly sedentary, intermarried with local populations and also allowed Pechenegs to settle. They shifted their centre of power to the east and created a stable state with an effective administration. This was a necessary step, not least because they had to compensate for the loss of income from raids. Finally, King Stephen I (r. 997–1038) forced the Magyars to become Christians.[22]

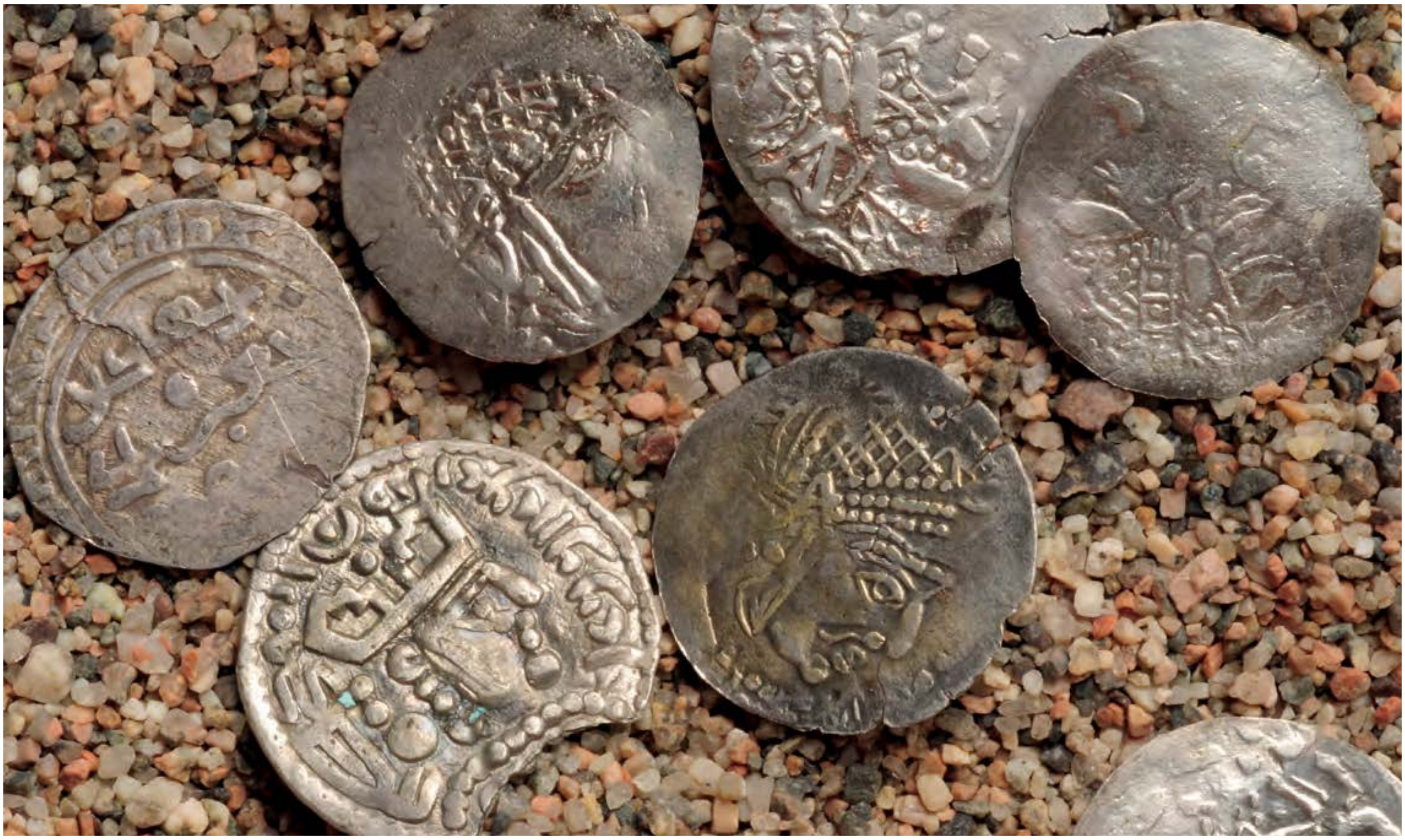
2. The Oghuz

The Oghuz were a confederacy of Turkic-speaking, semi-nomadic equestrian tribes, who, together with the Seljuks, had a profound influence on the history of Central Asia and the Near East. They contributed substantially to the Turkification not only of Mawarannahr; that is, today's Uzbekistan, but also of Turkmenistan, Iran, Azerbaijan and Anatolia. The Oghuz, Turkmen and Seljuks permanently changed the demographic composition in south-west Central Asia and the Near East. In the Oghuz, in particular the Islamised Oghuz, known as Turkmen, two fundamentally different types of civilisation can be observed. One was sedentary and urban with stable states and flourishing cultures: examples are the Seljuk and Rum-Seljuk Empires, the Ottoman Empire which emerged from them, and those of the Qara Qoyunlu and their opponents, the Aq Qoyunlu.[23] The other was nomadic – tribes and clans of horse warriors, who were constantly seeking opportunities for looting and the extortion of tribute. These groups did not form states, but more or less mobile armies, which controlled secure base areas with rich pastures, such as Azerbaijan, from which they would ride out on raids to pillage and plunder. Since such raids were extremely disruptive for the sedentary Oghuz, they often led to tensions and hostilities among them, so that the Seljuks goaded their unruly relatives to attack the states of 'infidel' Christians, like Georgia and Byzantium. But if ever the Seljuk-Oghuz central power showed weakness, the 'wild Oghuz' did not hesitate to raid and ravage Muslim Seljuk territory such as Iran as well.

As the steles in honour of the Turkic generals Tonyukuk (erected after 725), Kül Tegin (*ca.* 732) and Bilge Khagan (*ca.* 735) consistently reveal, some of the Oghuz living between Lake Baikal and the Altai Mountains were considered rebels and enemies of the khaganate led by the Ashina clan.[24] The majority of the loosely



33. The city of Juvara (today called Kesken Kuyuk Kala), standing on what were once the lower reaches of the River Seyhun (Syr Darya) in Kazakhstan, was already mentioned by the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus as far back as the fourth century. In the centre (marked S) is the *Sharistan*, the fortified city with its citadel (marked Z), while the outer quarters of the city, *Rabat* 1 and *Rabat* 2 are marked R1 and R2. Photo: 2008.



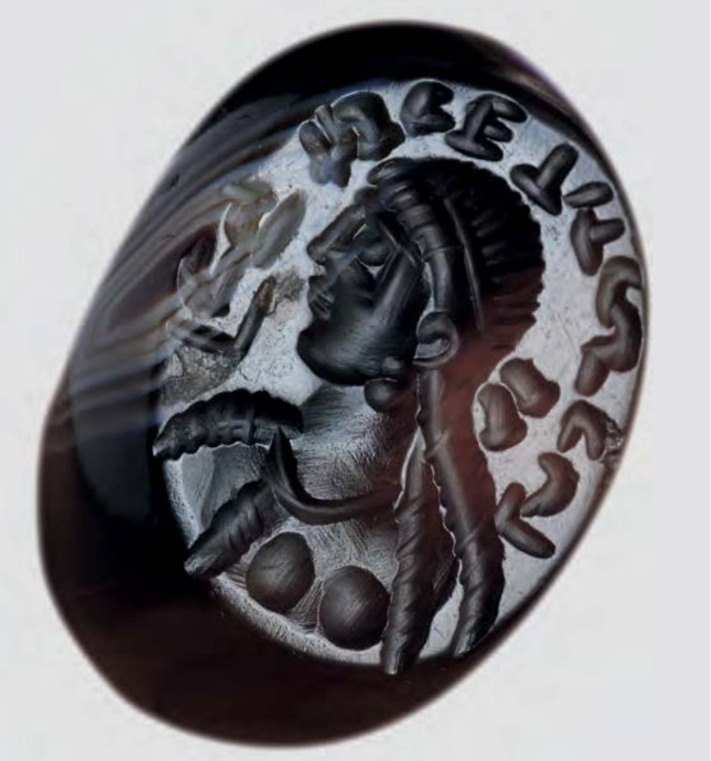
34. Medieval coins from Kazakhstan. The coins at the top of the picture are, from left to right, an unidentified thirteenth-century silver drachma from Kayalik with an Arabic inscription, and three 'Jabuyah type' silver coins of Oghuz mint from Kesken Kuyuk Kala, ninth–tenth century. The three coins at the bottom are, from left to right, a silver coin found in Otrar, dating from the time of the Bukhar Khudah dynasty, seventh–eighth century, and two 'Jabuyah type' silver coins of Oghuz mint from Kesken Kuyuk Kala, ninth–tenth century. All five silver coins of the 'Jabuyah type' were found close to the surface at the start of the 2008 excavations at Kesken Kuyuk Kala. Photo: 2008.

organised Oghuz confederation also opposed the Uyghur claim to leadership, and in the early 770s left their homeland, travelling south-westwards. Between about 775 and 783 they drove the Pechenegs out of the area between the Aral Sea and the lower course of the Seyhun (Jaxartes, today's Syr Darya) and settled there themselves.[25] Here the Oghuz lived not only from livestock farming, but also from agriculture, fishing and trade, so that they rebuilt or expanded towns and cities.[26] The Soviet archaeologist Sergei Tolstov (1907–76), who explored the Oghuz settlements in the late 1940s and also used information supplied by the geographer al-Idrisi (*ca*. 1099–1165), counted some 20 towns and cities.[27] Three cities in particular, at the lower reaches of former courses of the Seyhun, aroused Tolstov's interest: the ancient Jand (today's Jand Kala), Juvara (Kesken Kuyuk Kala) further north-west, and, still further north, Yangikent (Jankent), called Dach-i Nau in Persian; all three had at that time stood on a floodplain, which was rich in fish and easy to defend. Both Yangikent and Juvara can be found on a map in the atlas *The Book of Curiosities*, which was created by an anonymous author in the first half of the eleventh century in Egypt (fig. 38).

Although Yangikent, at 375 x 225 metres in extent, was comparatively small, it served as a winter residence of the yabghu of the Oghuz, as we learn from the travel account, completed about 988, of the geographer Ibn Hawqal, and the *Hudud al-Alam*, which was finished at about the same time by an anonymous historian.[28] Tolstov noticed that Yangikent, whose name meant 'new city', had been rebuilt and newly fortified in the mid-tenth century on the model of Chorasmia, from which he concluded that it was not until the tenth century that Yangikent replaced the significantly larger city of Juvara as the Oghuz capital.[29] East of the Seyhun, the cities of Sauran, Signak, Karnak, Karachuk, Otrar, Dahlan and Garbian formed the urban centre of the Oghuz; further east, Jadjan, north of Lake Issyk Kul, marked the eastern border of the sedentary Oghuz, while the city of Gorguz, in the delta of the River Ili, which flows into Lake Balkhash, lay on the north-eastern border. The northernmost settlements of the Yangikent Oghuz were presumably the trading centres of Nudjan and Badagan in today's central Kazakhstan.[30] West and south-west of Juvara there were hardly any Oghuz cities, for the city of Gurganj (today Konya Urgench) south-west of the desert of Kyzyl Kum belonged to Chorasmia. But it is conceivable that cities such as Gurganj, which lay on the edge of the Oghuz sphere of influence, sometimes also had to pay tribute to the Oghuz.

Numerous finds of coins and ceramics from the fifth to eighth centuries CE that have been made since the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia started systematic excavations bear witness to the great age of the city of Juvara (Huwara, fig. 33), which extended over some 530,000 square metres.[31] But Juvara (Huwara) is probably even older than that: Ammianus Marcellinus (*ca.* 330–*ca.* 395/400) in his *Res gestae* mentions three cities on the lower course of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) named Aspabota, Chauriana (Huwara) and Saga.[32] There is evidence for settlements in the region of the so-called 'swamp cities' in the delta of the Seyhun river as early as the Bronze Age; in addition, a looted cemetery of what appear to be Saka horse nomads from the early Iron Age was discovered 2.4 kilometres south-east of Juvara where the earliest Iron Age Saka kurgans have been found. Finds of coins suggest that there was trade between Juvara and the pre-Islamic princedoms of Chorasmia and Sogdiana. But silver coins of a Chorasmian type with Arabic inscriptions in three variants were also discovered which were related to the Tahirid suzerainty in the second quarter of the ninth century (fig. 34). The first variant bears the inscription *Abdallah bin Tahir* on its front and *Jabuyah Arslan* on the reverse. The first name relates to the third Tahirid ruler Abdallah ibn[33] Tahir (r. 828–44/45), and the second means 'Yabghu Arslan', which suggests that Yabghu Arslan minted coins in the name of his Tahirid overlord.[34] According to the Persian historian al-Baladhuri (d. 892), Abdallah ibn Tahir sent his son Tahir ibn Abdallah on a campaign against the Oghuz around 830: 'Abdallâh ibn-Tâhir had his son Tâhir ibn-Abdallâh raid the county of the Ghûziyah, and he conquered places that none of the Muslims before him had reached.'[35] On the coins of the second type the names change place: now the inscription on the front reads *Jabuyah malik al-guziah mawla amir al-mu'minin*, that is 'Yabghu, king of the Oghuz and client of the commander of the faithful' (that is the caliph), and the name *Abdallah bin Tahir* has been demoted to the reverse, which implicates a higher degree of independence of the yabghu from the Tahirids. But by calling himself '*mawali*', the yabghu emphasised his submission to the caliph and implied that he was a Muslim. On the coin of the third variant the name *Abdallah bin Tahir* does not appear at all, which suggests that the Oghuz yabghu was entirely independent. A coin of the second variant of the 'Jabuyah type' found in 2013 additionally bears the Arabic inscription *dharb harwua*, 'struck in Harwua'. This suggests that the Oghuz minted their coins in the delta of the Syr Darya in Huwara (Juvara) and that Huwara served as capital in the ninth century.[36]

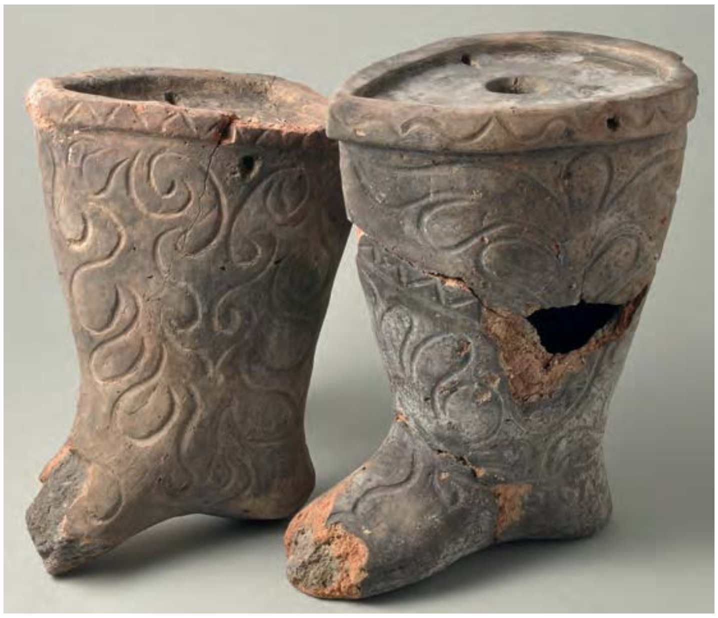
The city was divided into three quarters, the two outer quarters – *rabat 1* and *rabat 2* – and the *shahristan,* a walled inner quarter located on a 5-metre-high hill and measuring 48,300 square metres. The whole city was surrounded by a wall strengthened with a tower every 20 to 25 metres. The hill was also fortified by a wall and divided into ten sectors. The south-western sector formed the great citadel, which has a square groundplan of 60 x 60 metres. Excavations revealed a palace and temple complex with at least 34 rooms, and finds point towards a fire cult. As in Yangikent, well-preserved fragments of ceramic altars with protomes in the shape of stylised ram's heads were discovered in the palace temple of Juvara, which suggests a ram cult.[37] The archaeologists Karl Baipakov and Dmitri Voyakin, who conduct the excavations in Juvara, have pointed out that the Oghuz were still holding on to their traditional fire and ram cults in the twelfth century although Islam had been widespread in the region since the eleventh



35. Gem intaglio with an inscription in Pahlavi (Middle-Persian) *bylpyk y wyhdyn*, fourth–fifth (or first-second) century found at Juvara (Kesken Kuyuk Kala), Kazakhstan. In 2008 the inscription was translated by A.I. Kolesnikov and V.A. Livshits as *bylpyk* (daughter) of *wyhdyn* (a name), or as *bylpyk* (blessed, the literal translation being 'witness of the true faith') *wyhdyn*.[11] Photo: 2008.

century.[38] Juvara was destroyed by the Mongols around 1219/20[39] and later rebuilt 600 metres further east; from then on it belonged to the Ulus Jochi (the Golden Horde).[40] As the Franciscan friar and papal emissary Giovanni da Pian del Carpine remarked in 1246, Yangikent, unlike Juvara, did not resist the Mongols and was therefore spared destruction.[41] The size of the palace complex at Juvara, which, like the capital Yangikent, was located on an important trade route, suggests that Juvara remained a second residence of the yabghu.

Interestingly, the Oghuz elite preserved a thousand-year-old foundational myth that ultimately goes back to the Xiongnu. The historian of the Il-Khanid rulers, Rashid al-Din (1247–1318) recounts that they traced their descent back to the legendary Oghuz Khan, the young son of the Turkic Kara Khan, who far surpassed his father in energy and wisdom. As in the traditional story of the early Xiongnu, in which the ruler Touman (d. 209 BCE) fears his son Modu (r. 209–174 BCE) and seeks to eliminate him, but his son kills him instead,[42] Kara Khan planned the murder of his son Oghuz. But Oghuz discovered the plot and killed his father in battle, upon which he was appointed supreme khan.[43] And like Modu, Oghuz Khan divided his army and his people into a left and a right wing, two parallel units of twelve tribes each.[44] That this tradition was significantly older than Rashid al-Din's work is shown by the fact that Mahmud al-Kashgari (*ca*. 1008–*ca*. 1105) already mentions the 24 original Oghuz tribes.[45]



36. Ceramic incense burners in the shape of boots from the Oghuz, *ca*. tenth/eleventh century. Juvara (Kesken Kuyuk Kala), Kazakhstan. Photo: 2010.

We learn from Ahmad ibn Fadlan's account of his travels in 921 and 922,[46] in which he describes his encounters with Oghuz north of Gurganj, that Oghuz funeral rites followed the traditions of earlier Turkic peoples:[47] 'When one of their prominent men dies, they dig for him a large pit in the form of a house, and they go to him, dress him in a robe with his belt and bow, put a drinking cup of wood in his hand with intoxicating drink in it, and place in front of him a wooden vessel of mead. They come with his entire possessions and put them with him in this house. Then they set him down in it. They then build a structure over him and make a kind of cupola out of mud. Then they go to his horses and [. . .] slaughter one to two hundred at the grave down to the last one. Then they eat their flesh down to the head, the hooves, the hide and the tail, for they hang these upon wooden poles and say: "These are his steeds on which he rides to paradise." If he has killed any one and has been a hero, then they carve statues out of wood in the number of those whom he has slain, place them on his grave and say: "These are his pages that serve him in paradise."'[48]

As Constantine Porphyrogenitus relates, the Khazars and the Oghuz mounted a pincer attack on the Pechenegs in the early 890s, after which the Oghuz occupied the area between the rivers Ural and Volga.[49] Seventy years later the Oghuz formed an alliance with the Kievan Rus', who wanted to eliminate their Khazar trade competitors. The allies captured the fortress of Sarkel in 965 and the Khazar capital Atil in 968 or 969, thus dealing the death blow to the Khazar Empire. In 985 the Oghuz–Russian alliance also laid siege to Bolghar, the capital of the Volga Bulgars, after which Kiev rose to become the dominant trading power in the region.[50] The destruction of the Khazar Empire saw the collapse of the strongest bulwark against an almost unchecked migration of nomadic steppe warriors from Central Asia to eastern Europe.

At that time, the western Oghuz most probably operated independently of the yabghu in Yangikent, who had to deal with a rebellion by a group of Oghuz from whom the Seljuks would later emerge. There were now three different Oghuz centres of power: the Oghuz of Yangikent and Juvara, the rebellious proto-Seljuks and the western Oghuz. The western Oghuz, under increasing pressure from the Kipchaks, moved west, and between about 1036 and 1050 occupied the Pontic grass steppe, so that their pastures adjoined the heartland of the Kievan Rus'. The first conflicts with Kiev broke out in 1054 and ended in 1060 in a devastating defeat for the western Oghuz, who then fled to the south-west only to be routed in 1064 by Byzantium and in 1068 by the Hungarians. This in turn opened up the Pontic steppe and Atelkuzu to the Kipchaks.[51] After the destruction of the western Oghuz, some

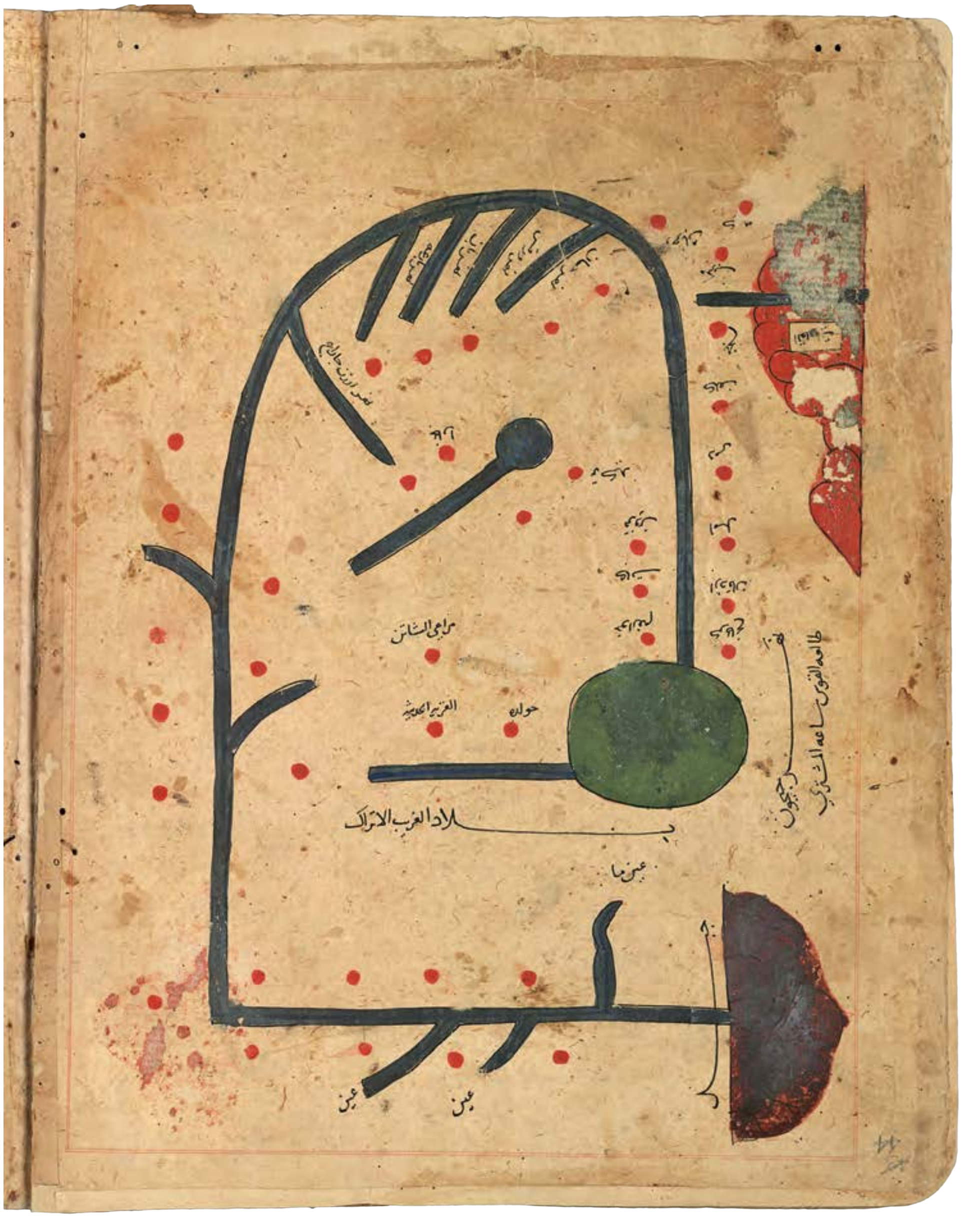
37. A modern statue of Oghuz Khan, the legendary forebear of the Oghuz, Independence Monument in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. Photo: 2014.

Oghuz groups entered the service of Byzantium and the Kievan Rus' as mercenaries; chronicles from Kiev call them *Chorni Klobuky*, 'Black Hats'.[52] The Oghuz mercenaries proved to be just as unreliable as the Pecheneg ones, for at the battle of Manzikert in 1071 they defected with one accord to the enemy, thus enabling the Seljuks to defeat Byzantium.[53]

The downfall of the Pechenegs and the western Oghuz illustrated the fact that sedentary, urban states in eastern Europe were quite able to ward off the attacks of inadequately organised Central Asian horse warriors. The high mobility of such nomadic warriors was both a military advantage and a source of political weakness, since they seldom appeared as a united force and often followed different aims. It was Genghis Khan who first succeeded in combining military mobility with central control and administration. The rulers of well-structured, sedentary states such as Constantinople or Kiev made every effort to defend strategically important territory against bands of nomadic horsemen, but they also secured their services as mercenaries in wars against other sedentary states or in defence against other equestrian warriors. The semi-nomadic pastoralists for their part were secure at home, as long as they did not threaten the sedentary states because launching attacks on horse warriors carried high risks and little prospect of significant gains.

The instability in the territory of the Oghuz of Yangikent became apparent under **Ali Khan** (r. late tenth to early eleventh century), when around 985 a power struggle broke out between him and his *subashi* (military commander) Seljuk; both belonged to the leading clan of the Qinik.[54] At the same time, Ali Khan's efforts to levy annual taxes from his Oghuz subjects caused great resentment. Seljuk had to leave Yangikent with his close followers and loyal troops; he succeeded in establishing a new power base in the city of Jand, 120 kilometres to the south-east. The fact that the Oghuz attack on Bolghar and the Seljuk's secession took place at almost the same time underlines the centrifugal forces that prevailed in the Oghuz confederation. In Jand, which lay near the border of the Samanid Empire, Seljuk and his followers adopted Islam, following the example of the converted Karluks around Isfijab. Even though it is sometimes claimed that in the pre-Mongol period Sufi missionaries were instrumental in the conversion of Turkic tribes, those were times when conversions took place en masse, when a leader together with his whole tribe, or entire armies, adopted Islam. The conversion of the Karakhanid ruler Satuk Bughra Khan (d. 955) together with '400,000 tents' of his subjects is a good example.[55]

Further evidence of the absence of Muslim missionaries is indirectly supplied by the fact that up to the thirteenth century there were no conversions to Islam among the Turkic and Mongolic peoples in Mongolia, while some people in the same populations did adopt Nestorian Christian beliefs. Gregory Abu'l Faraj (1225/26–86), better known as Bar Hebraeus, for example, reports that in 1007 a Turkic people in Asia adopted Christianity: 'And in this year [1007] the people of one of the tribes of the Inner Tûrkâyê in the East, which is called Kirîth [the Keraits], believed in Christ, and they became disciples and were baptised through the miracle which was wrought in connexion with their king.' The miracle to which Bar Hebraeus alluded, which moved the khan of the Keraits to convert to Christianity together with 200,000 clan members, consisted in the claim that St Sergius rescued him



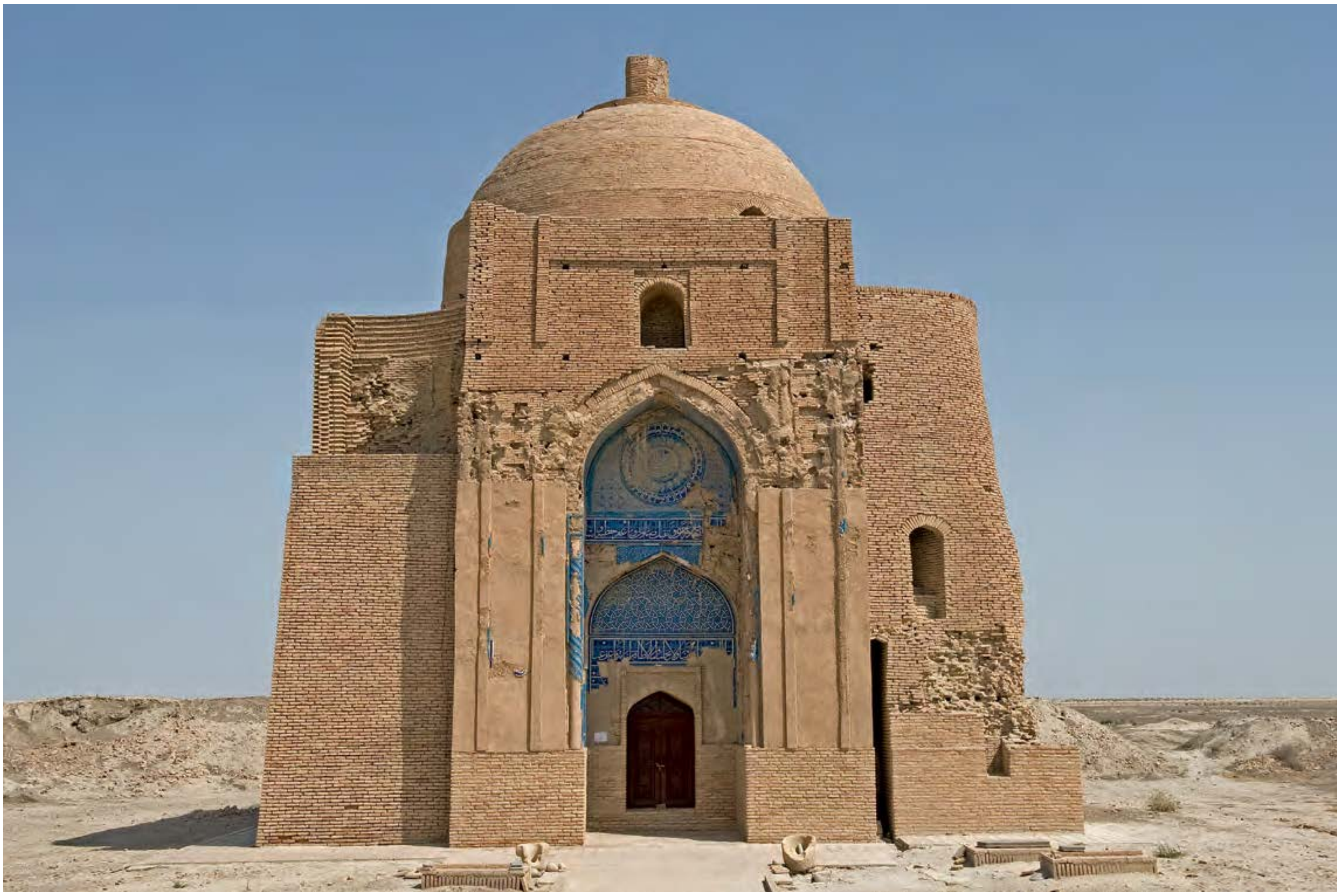
38. Map of Transoxania from *The Book of Curiosities,* an atlas produced by an unnamed author in the first half of the eleventh century. As was customary in the Islamic world at that time, the south is shown at the top and the north at the bottom of the map. Below right are mountains and above them the Aral Sea. The river rising in the mountains and flowing into the Aral Sea is (incorrectly) shown to link the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. Juvara, also called Huvarah and Khuvarah, and Yangikent, the 'new town', stand to the left (east) of the Aral Sea. The Arabic caption below the Aral Sea says 'The lands of the Guzz Turks'. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Shelfmark: MS. Arab. c. 90, fol. 44a Ch. 2.18 (Oxus map).

one day from a snowstorm.[56] The success of Nestorian Christian missionary work can also be recognised by the fact that between about 1150 and 1250 significant numbers of the Turco-Mongol Keraits, Naimans, Oirats, Merkits and Onguts were Nestorians; but there are no sources that speak of Muslims in those areas.[57]

Conversion to Islam opened up new possibilities for the Seljuks. In the name of war against infidels they launched raids into the territory of the non-Muslim Oghuz of Yangikent. This provoked a violent conflict between the two feuding clans of the Qinik, which ended only in 1042/43 with the defeat of Yabghu Shah Malik of Yangikent. At the same time, the Seljuks, under Seljuk's son Arslan[58] Israïl ibn Seljuk, offered their services as auxiliary troops to the Samanids, whose power was now crumbling and who were being hard-pressed by the Karakhanids, and settled near Nur, between Bukhara and Samarkand. With the imminent collapse of the Samanid Empire, a power vacuum in Mawarannahr was starting to appear. This, together with a lack of pastureland in Jand, spurred many Oghuz on to join Arslan Israïl ibn Seljuk some time after 992; among them were his nephews Tughril and Chagri.[59] As the geographer al-Muqaddasi (945–*ca.* 991) and al-Biruni recorded, the Oghuz who converted to Islam were called *Turkmen*.[60]

With the fall of the Samanids, the political geography of southwest Central Asia took on a new face. While the Karakhanids established themselves in Mawarannahr north of the Oxus and the Ghaznavids settled in the regions south of the river, Chorasmia and above all Khorasan were violently contested between the Oghuz of Yangikent, the Seljuks and Ghaznavids (who captured Arslan Israïl between 1025 and 1026).[61] As well as all these there were independent, marauding bands of Oghuz horsemen, joined by many followers of the defeated Israïl, who after ravaging Khorasan, advanced further west around 1025/27. They neither formed states nor established any functioning administration, but raided the rich cities, extorted tribute from those they did not kill and enslaved young women. Once a city had been thoroughly looted, they moved on like locusts. The historian Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233) reports in his work *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh*, the 'perfect history', that between 1035 and 1045 Oghuz bands like these, also called 'Iraqi Turkmen'[62] or members of the *Iraqiyya*,[63] plundered Rayy, Hamadan, Urmia in western Iran and Maragheh in Azerbaijan,[64] burnt down mosques and captured women to sell them into slavery. At Tabriz, the largest city in Azerbaijan, the Oghuz defeated the local Kurds, who fled to Mosul and further into the Hakkari mountains. In their search for new places to plunder, they raided Mosul (in today's northern Iraq) twice in a row, then they seized parts of Armenia and Diyarbakr, the ancient Roman city of Amida. They abducted so many young people that 'eventually the cost of a beautiful girl came down to five dinars and there was no demand for boys at all'.[65]

In 1034/35 the Seljuks advanced from Bukhara towards Khorasan, with the aim of settling in Chorasmia. They initially suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of Ali Khan's son and successor **Shah Malik ibn Ali** of Yangikent (r. ?–1042/43).[66] But after wresting Khorasan from the Ghaznavids in 1040, the



39. The Seljuk Maene Baba Mausoleum of the Sufi master Abu Kheyr Abu Said stands in the Tejen Valley at the foot of the north side of the Kopet Dag mountain range in Turkmenistan. Abu Said (967–1049) had significant political and religious influence on the Seljuk brothers Tughril Beg and Chagri Beg, to whom he lent spiritual support in their fight against the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas'ud. His prayers are said to have helped the brothers achieve their decisive victory over Mas'ud at the Battle of Dandankan in 1040. The mausoleum, built in the Seljuk style with a double-shell dome, was restored by the Timurids in the fifteenth century. Photo: 2014.

40. Late eleventh-century tower tomb built in honour of the first Seljuk Sultan Tughril I (r. 1038–63), east of Damghan, Iran. Tughril's actual mausoleum is at Rayy, south of Tehran. In the foreground is the grave of a young Iranian killed in the Iran–Iraq War of 1980–88. Photo: 2014.

Seljuks once more turned against Shah Malik, their relative and arch-enemy, who had been occupying Chorasmia since the winter of 1040/41. The brothers Tughril ibn Mikhail and Chagri ibn Mikhail, two grandsons of Seljuk, invaded Chorasmia and in 1042 or 1043 inflicted a decisive defeat on Shah Malik, who was now caught in a trap: with his few remaining troops he could no longer return to his heartland near Yangikent, which had been invaded by the Kipchaks. So he fled south to the coastal strip of Makran in today's Baluchistan. But a Seljuk troop tracked him down and handed him over to Chaghri Beg, who had him killed.[67] Thus the more than 50-year-old internal Oghuz rivalry between the traditional ruling line of Yangikent and the rebellious followers of Seljuk ended with the triumph of the latter.[68] The death of Shah Malik made it easier for the Kipchaks to occupy the region at the lower course of the Seyhun river, where, as al-Athir reports, 'ten thousand tents of the Turks [. . .] converted to Islam'.[69]

3. The Kipchaks

The earliest mention of the Turkic Kipchaks is found in an inscription on the so-called Selenga Stone, a stele found on the banks of the Selenga river in Central Mongolia, which was carved in honour of the Uyghur khagan Etmish Bilge Khagan (Bayanchur, r. 747–59). In the translation by its discoverer Gustaf Ramstedt, the passage in question reads: 'when Turk-Kipchaks ruled over us [Uyghurs] for 50 years'.[70] The very loose confederation of the Turkic-speaking Kimek – to which the Kipchaks probably belonged – had its centre at the River Irtysh in western Siberia. If we accept the account of the physician and author Sharaf al-Zaman Marwazi (*ca.* 1057–1125), the expansion of the eastern Mongolian Khitan, who had founded the Liao dynasty (907–1225), triggered the westward migration of the Kipchaks. According to al-Marwazi, the Qun,[71] whose name could be a variation of the ethnonym of the Cumans, fled from the Khitan to the Kimek in the early eleventh century and rapidly seized power, at least over the western Kimek groups. From as early as 1018 the Kipchaks (Cumans) began their westward and southward expansion, which broke up the Kimek confederation. One line of attack was directed against the Oghuz living between the Volga and the Ural rivers, and further on to the Pontic steppe and Atelkuzu, the other against the Oghuz of Yangikent, whose territory they seized from 1043, almost without a struggle.[72]

Between 1115 and 1125, the Ölberli, a tribe of Mongolic origin, joined forces with the Kipchaks as a result of the conflicts between the Manchurian Jurchens and the empire of the Liao, which collapsed in 1125. From the 1120s the territory of the Kipchaks, called by Persian authors *Dasht-i Kipchak* (plain of the Kipchaks) and by Russian historians *Polovetskoye Pole* (land of the Polovtsy), extended from the Irtysh in the east to the Dniester in the west or even as far as the Danube. Three large groups had now formed: in the east lived the western Siberian Kipchaks, led by the Ölberli; in the heartland of Central Asia the Kangli-Kipchaks, whose most important cities lay in the hinterland of the Seyhun river (Syr Darya); and west of the Aral Sea those Kipchaks who are called Polovtsy by Russians and Cumans by Byzantine and Latin sources, joined by individual groups of Pechenegs and Oghuz.[73] William of Rubruck's account of his journey in 1253–55 from Constantinople to Karakorum and back to Tripoli (in today's Lebanon) explicitly states that the Cumans, Kipchaks and Kangli were all members of the same linguistic group.[74]

The mostly Turkic-speaking Kipchaks, who in the east also included Mongolic-speaking tribes, formed neither a state nor an empire, nor even a confederation. The Kipchaks were divided into a number of hordes, which owned strictly delimited pasturelands assigned to individual tribes and clans. In times of peace, the clans changed their pastures according to a pattern laid down by their elders and leaders, which prevented overgrazing and conflicts over land, access to water and winter camps. Although individual khans or begs often ruled over large areas, there was neither a central authority nor any coordination between the Kipchak power bases, which was a significant factor in the rapid victories of the invading Mongols between 1221 and 1242.

The loss of freedom and the breakdown of social relationships resulting from state formation, whether for individuals, clans or tribes, and the subjection to an administration often perceived by a clan or tribe as alien, was a threat to the identity and way of life of Central Asian horse nomads. It was only in the face of an even greater threat from an expanding, sedentary state, or with the emergence of exceptionally ambitious leaders such as the Xiongnu Modu, the Turkic Bumin, Ishtemi and Tonyukuk and the Mongol Temujin (Genghis Khan) that nomadic steppe peoples were ready to form and to accept a state with a strong administrative structure. But as Peter Golden emphasises, several states controlled by steppe dynasties were not created by them but taken over: nomadic warriors conquered states which already functioned, and merely adopted the existing system of administration. 'The Qaraxanids [and Seljuks] simply grafted some basic Turkic rule on the formerly Sâmânid [or Abbasid] sedentary territory and government that they encountered. [. . .] The Qaraxanid and Seljük states were really the consequences of their conquest of already existing states.'[75] Put succinctly, the result was close cooperation between the 'Iranian men of the pen' and the 'Turkic men of the sword'.[76] The same is true for the states of the Liao and Qara Khitai,

41. Stone figures provide the most important material evidence of both the Cumans, known as Polovtsy in Russian, and of the pre-Christian Slavic peoples of what is now Ukraine. The picture taken in a Kiev park shows a replica, 267 centimetres high, of the Zbruch Idol, a sculpture believed to represent the four-headed Slavic war god Svetovid. The ninth-century original is in the Archaeological Museum in Krakow, Poland. Photo: 2004.

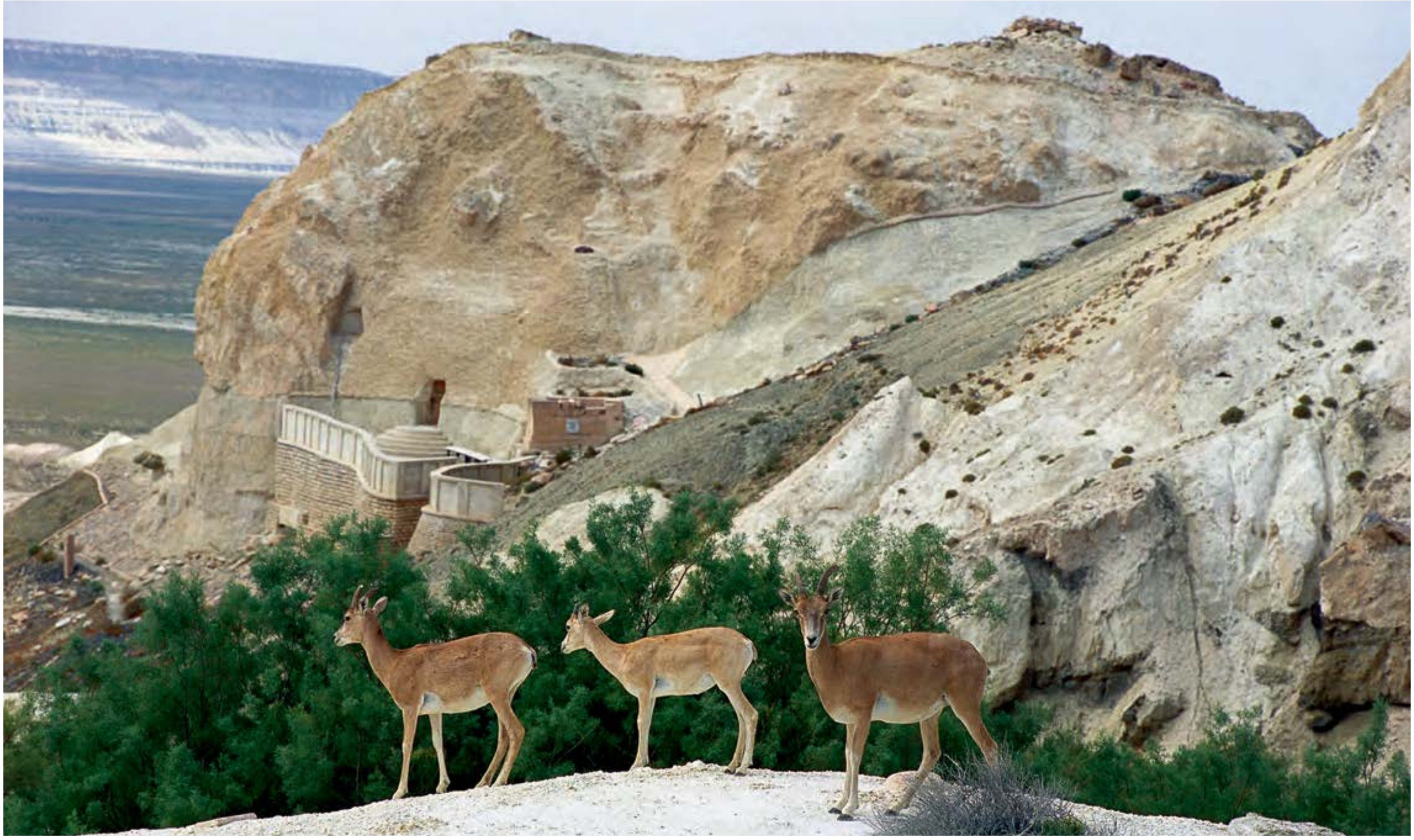
42. Chalk formations at Bozzhira on the Ustyurt Plateau on the Mangyshlak Peninsula in western Kazakhstan. In the eleventh century, Kipchak forces invaded the Mangyshlak Peninsula and conquered the Oghuz, thereby taking control of one of the trade routes linking the drainage basin of the Volga with Chorasmia and Samarkand. Photo: 2005.

who, as the Northern Wei had done before them,[77] employed dual systems of administration: they allowed the subjected sedentary population to keep their existing administrative and legal structures, while maintaining the traditional mechanisms of governance and law for members of their own tribes.

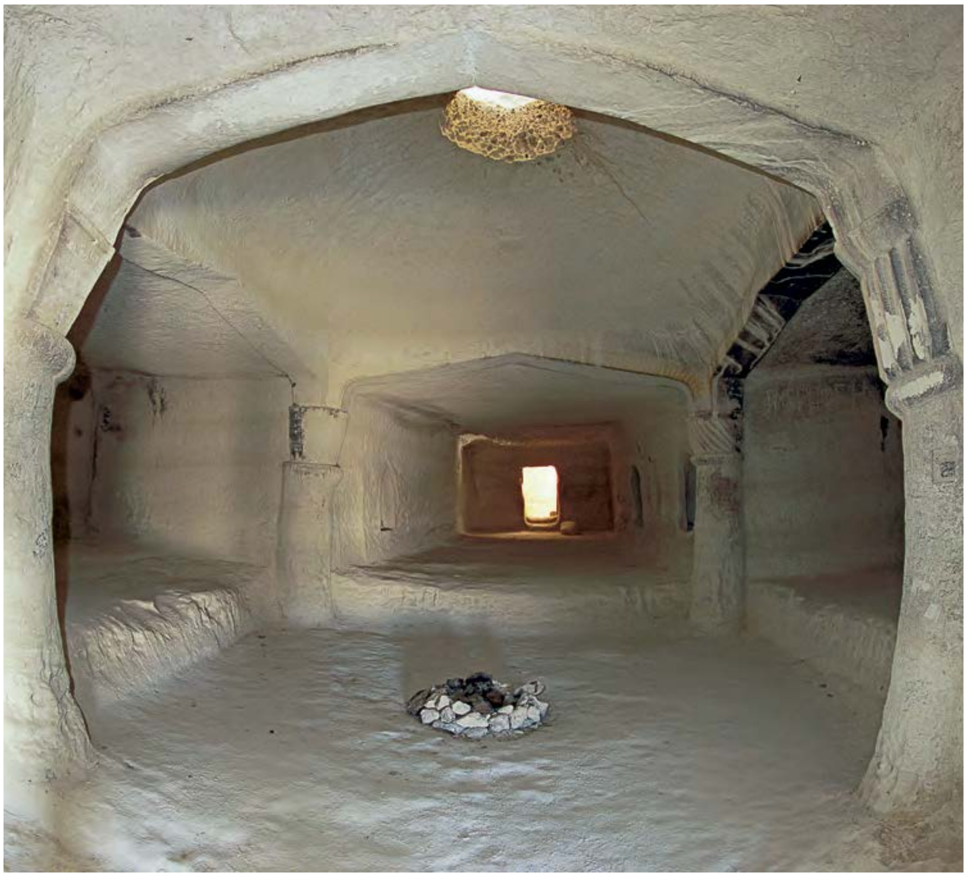
Even Genghis Khan's Mongols had to adopt a hybrid form of government with dual administrative structures once they no longer simply plundered territories they had conquered but chose to exploit them in the long term. For this reason, Genghis Khan's third son and successor Ögödei (r. 1229–41) divided the Mongol administration into two distinct parts. The empire's steppes and pastures were under the direct control of Genghis Khan's four sons and their nearest relatives, just as the founder of the state had decreed. For the urban regions of northern China, Turkestan and Mawarannahr, and soon afterwards Iran, Great Khan Ögödei created three administrations, each led by a governor general and directly responsible to Chinkai, the prime minister. The princes of Genghis Khan's family received their share of the tax revenue from the urban centres, but had no executive control over these centres.[78]

For the Kipchaks, the way of life of semi-nomadic pastoralists, and the Kipchak-Turkic language, which was a lingua franca understood in nearly all of Dasht-i Kipchak, provided a shared and unifying identity. Thanks to the *Codex Cumanicus*, the western dialect of the Kipchak language is known. This codex, assembled between 1330 and 1340, kept in the National Library of St Mark's in Venice, consists of several parts and is the work of several authors from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it was intended to help merchants, diplomats and Catholic missionaries to communicate with the Cumans. The first part, the commercial part as it might be called, translates an Italo-Latin vocabulary into Kipchak and Persian, while the second, religious part is a collection of religious and folkloric texts translated from Kipchak into Latin and Middle High German.[79] From the second half of the thirteenth century, Kipchak formed the language of everyday use within the Golden Horde, even though official documents were written in Mongolian.[80] The Tatar language, among others, derived from Kipchak.

South-east of Dasht-i Kipchak, from 1043 the Kipchaks occupied cities east and west of the River Syr Darya, including the 'swamp cities' of Yangikent, Juvara and Jand, along with Signak, Isfijab and Otrar, which were located further to the east. At the same time they seized the regions between the Syr Darya, the Aral Sea and the Ural; this gave them control over an important section of the trade routes between the Kievan Rus' and Mawarannahr as well as China. However, this dominant position in a busy urban transit region,



43. Beket Ata, an Islamic place of pilgrimage on Kazakhstan's Mangyshlak Peninsula. Beket Ata (*ca.* 1750–1813) was a Sufi master who built a number of underground mosques in the region. The three young ibexes in the foreground were not shy since they belong to the shrine. Photo: 2005.



44. The underground Shakpak Ata Mosque on the Mangyshlak Peninsula, Kazakhstan, is built on a cruciform ground plan. As in other underground mosques on the peninsula, a slender plank of wood would have previously stood in the middle of the room connecting the floor through the hole in the ceiling with the skylight and thus symbolizing Jacob's Ladder and the Tree of Life. Photo: 2005.

and the fact that Turkmen tribes regularly looted traders' caravans in Mangyshlak and on the Ustyurt Plateau, soon provoked a violent reaction. In the winter of 1065/66, the second Seljuk sultan, Alp Arslan, led a campaign against northern Chorasmia and advanced as far as Jand, where the Kipchak ruler was forced to capitulate to him.[81] Now Alp Arslan's Seljuks controlled a narrow corridor, which led north-westwards from Merv to Gurganj and extended as far as Jand, but included neither Chorasmia (apart from Gurganj) nor Mawarannahr (map 4, p. 86). The twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries were marked by the changing relationships between the Kipchaks and the expanding Chorasmian Empire. In 1127 and 1133 the Kipchaks suffered two serious defeats at the hands of the Chorasmians, who occupied Jand. Although the Chorasmian Shah Ala al-Din Tekish (r. 1172–1200) married Terken Khatun, the daughter of a Kipchak ruler, relations between Kipchaks and Chorasmia remained tense. As the successor of Shah Tekish, Terken Khatun's son, Ala al-Din Muhammad (r. 1200–20/21), ascended the throne of Chorasmia, but the princess herself controlled the Kipchak elite troops of the Chorasmian army and undermined her son's authority, so that he lost confidence in his troops. In 1219/20 this competitive mother–son relationship, marked by mutual mistrust, and hostility between Kipchaks and Chorasmians prevented the creation of a common front against the Mongols, and this led to the rapid fall of Chorasmia and the Kipchaks.[82] Most of the Kangli-Kipchaks, who remained loyal to Shah Muhammad, such as the garrison of Samarkand, were massacred by the Mongols.

The northern part of Dasht-i Kipchak bordered on the territory of the Volga Bulgars, so that the Kipchak tribes who lived there controlled the lower course of the Volga, and the Bulgars its middle reaches. In the autumn of 1223 the Mongols, led by generals Sübotai and Jebe, appeared for the first time in the Volga region, after destroying a Cuman army in the Caucasus. At first the Bulgars, probably with the help of the Kipchaks, succeeded in luring the Mongol vanguard into an ambush and defeating it at the Battle of Kernek, also known as the 'Battle of Samara Bend', but they were later defeated themselves. The Mongols were hardly weakened, for soon afterwards, they destroyed a Kangli army south-east of the Ural river and forced the Kangli-Kipchaks to pay a tribute of 100,000 horses.[83] In 1229–32 Volga Kipchaks and Bulgars merely had to endure a few minor Mongol raids on their territory, but in the winter of 1236/37 the right wing of a Mongol army, led by the future Great Khan Möngke and his brother Böchok (Budjek), launched a major assault on the Volga Bulgars and Pontic Kipchaks. While advancing against the cities of the Rus', the Mongols sought to protect their right flank from possible attacks and cover their rear; for this reason the Bulgars and Kipchaks had to be destroyed first. It was also important for the Mongols to deal with the Kipchaks, who were now the only horse nomads in Central Asia who did not recognise their supremacy. Within a short time the Mongols had destroyed the Bulgar Empire. When the Kipchaks fled to the forests on the Danube, the Mongols flushed them out like hunters organising a battue.[84] The leader of the Kipchaks, Khan Bachman, was among the dead, and the Kipchak warriors, who like the Mongols fought as mounted archers, were either incorporated into the Mongol army or sold as slaves to the Italian, Bulgarian and Muslim slave traders of the Black Sea.[85] Those Kipchaks who were integrated into the Mongol troops operating in the north-west of Central Asia and the north-east of eastern Europe soon formed the backbone of the Golden Horde.

It is an irony of history that many of the Kipchak warriors and young men enslaved in 1236/37 were sold to Egypt, where, as Mamluks, they soon joined the professional warrior elite of the Egyptian army, quite different from the Mongol forces. The Mongols had outstanding military commanders, but their army was really a militia – all healthy male adults served as warriors and received no special training[86] except on manoeuvres in the case of battues. The young Kipchaks received thorough training in all aspects of horsemanship, in handling bows and lances on horseback, and in swordsmanship with the long, double-edged rider's sword. As protection they wore chainmail or a brigandine (a short jacket with small iron plates fastened on the inside), an iron helmet and a small round shield. The young warriors were also drilled in combat in various formations, so that, according to the chosen tactics, they could fight like Western European knights as well as steppe warriors.[87] The Mamluks of Kipchak origin were the best-trained military elite of the Middle Ages.

These Kipchak Mamluks not only inflicted a decisive defeat on the Mongols in Palestine two decades later at Ain Jalut, but, under the leadership of the former Kipchak slave Baibars al-Bunduqdari (r. 1260–77), seized power in Egypt and rapidly grew to become more than worthy opponents to the Il-Khanid Mongols of Iran.[88] At the same time, in the period up until 1291, they annihilated the Crusader states. Baibars, born around 1223, had fled from the Mongol campaign of 1236–38 against the Volga Bulgars and the Kipchaks to Bulgaria, where he was sold as a slave to Sivas, in Central Anatolia. From there, the young slave reached Hama in Syria and finally Cairo, where he built his career in the guard of the Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers. After his victory over a Mongol army on 3 September 1260 at Ain Jalut, he murdered his master, Sultan

Qutuz, and continued the dynasty of the Egyptian Mamluks (1250–1517).[89]

Appearing for the first time in 1055 at the borders of the Kievan Rus', to the west of the Dasht-i Kipchak, the Cumans drove the Oghuz out of the western Pontic steppe by 1064; at the same time they raided in the southern areas of Kiev.[90] As already mentioned, in 1091 Kipchak troops helped the Byzantine emperor Alexios I to drive off the Pechenegs who were threatening Constantinople. Weary of the Polovtsy attacks, Prince Vladimir II Monomakh (r. as Prince of Chernigov 1078–94, of Pereyaslav 1094–1113, Grand Prince of Kiev 1113–25) seized the initiative and inflicted severe defeats on the Cumans in 1103, 1109, 1111, 1113 and 1116, penetrating deep into the steppe and destroying their encampments. As a result of these counter-attacks from Kiev, a number of Kipchak tribes left the Pontic steppe – some moved south-west to the Bulgars who were under Byzantine rule, while others under Khan Äträk (Otrok) found refuge with King David IV of Georgia (r. 1089–1125), who incorporated the Kipchak warriors into his army.[91] But the majority of the Kipchaks remained in the Pontic steppe, not least because the unity of the Kievan Rus' collapsed after the death of Vladimir Monomakh, and the Rus' princes fought each other, each employing Kipchak mercenaies against their opponents. The most important Kipchak campaigns were led by Äträk's sons Eltut and Könchek. Eltut fell in battle in 1180, but five years later Könchek, with his ally Koza, gained a triumphant victory over Prince Igor Sviatoslavich of Novgorod-Seversk, and took him prisoner. In 1185 the princedoms of Rus' escaped disaster only because the Kipchak victors Könchek and Koza quarrelled over the continuation of the campaign.[92] In 1203 Cumans in the service of Prince Rurik Rostislavich captured and plundered the city of Kiev, though never intending to occupy it permanently.

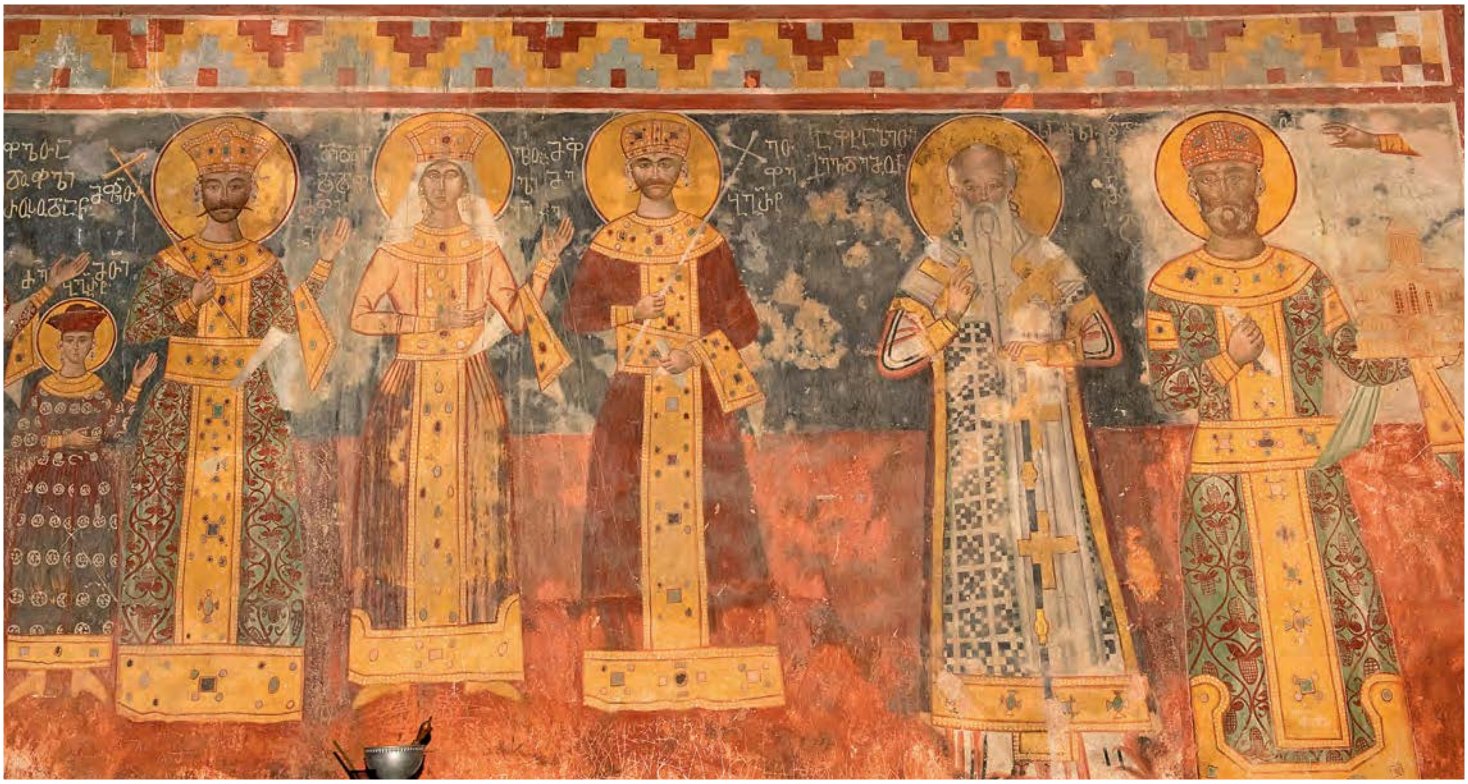
45. The ruins of Otrar, also known as Farab, a prosperous commercial centre in Kazakhstan, which stood a few kilometres from the River Seyhun (Syr Darya), destroyed by Genghis Khan's sons, Chagatai and Ögödei in 1219. Photo: 2005.

46. The Gelati Monastery near Kutaisi, Georgia, was founded in 1106 by King David IV (r. 1089–1125). Thanks to the incorporation into his armed forces of 40,000 Kipchak cavalrymen, King David succeeded in uniting Georgia and driving out the Seljuks and hostile bands of nomadic Turkmen horsemen. Photo: 2013.

Turkic-Kipchak Equestrian Warriors in the Service of the Christian Kingdom of Georgia

The move of Kipchak warriors to Georgia represents an unusual case of Turkic steppe warriors placing themselves voluntarily in the service of a Christian kingdom and fighting more or less loyally over a long period at the side of their new Christian leader against distant tribal comrades, Turkmen and Seljuks. Forty thousand Kipchak families moved to Georgia, where they were warmly welcomed by the Georgian king David IV (r. 1089–1125) – though on condition that each family should supply him with a mounted and fully equipped warrior. The initiative for this relocation probably came from King David, who was the brother-in-law of Äträk, the son of the Kipchak khan Sharukhan.[93] David's long reign was marked by a struggle for the unification and sovereignty of the Georgian state, for on his accession he controlled only western Georgia. The Georgian provinces either had to pay tribute to the Seljuks or were under Muslim rule, as were the cities of Tbilisi and Ganja (in the west of today's Azerbaijan). In addition, the whole country was repeatedly subjected to Turkmen raids and the seasonal migrations of Turkmen pastoralists, who turned arable land into pastures.

Two external events were to the advantage of King David. In 1092 both the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk and Sultan Malik Shah I were murdered, which provoked unrest and power struggles in the Seljuk Empire. Then, in 1095, Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade; the Crusaders took Damascus in 1098 and Jerusalem in 1099, forcing the Seljuks to focus on defending themselves from Christian conquerors. At the same time as the capture of Jerusalem, King David stopped paying tribute to the Seljuks and by 1105 had united the Georgian provinces. His next measure was to rid the realm of Turkmen feudal lords and turn the pastures back into arable land, which rapidly increased the productivity of the Georgian economy. Alarmed by the growing strength of Georgia, the Seljuk sultan Muhammad I Tapar (r. 1105–18) sent two punitive expeditions, one shortly after 1110 and another in 1116. Both were annihilated by David. Since David envisaged a further Seljuk attack and wanted to expand his territory into a Transcaucasian kingdom, he was in urgent need of military reinforcements. So in 1117 or 1118 he invited the Kipchak prince Äträk, who was under severe pressure from the Rus' led by Vladimir Monomakh, to come to Georgia; he settled the



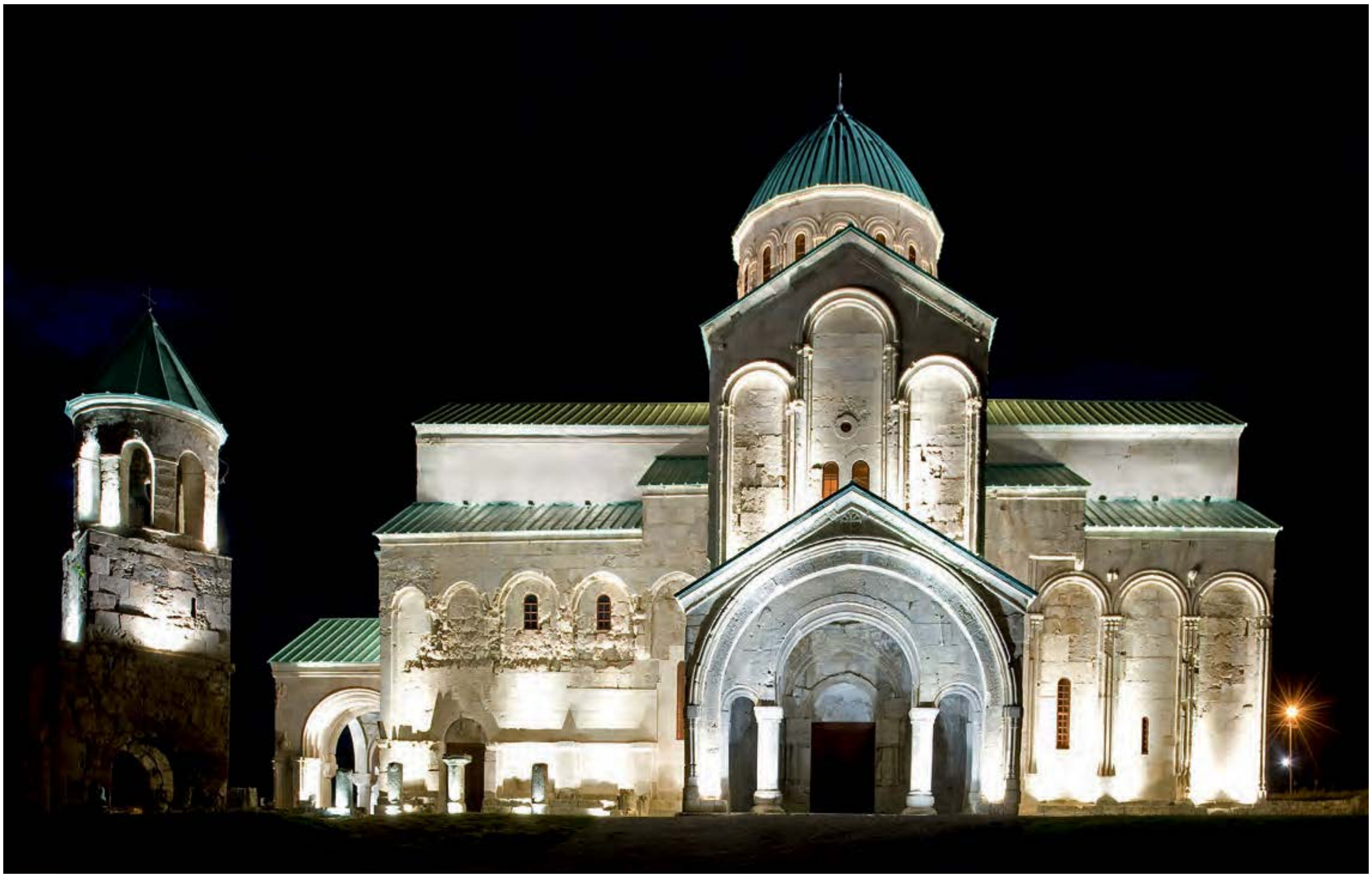
47. A sixteenth-century mural on the north wall of the north transept of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin in the Gelati Monastery in Georgia. The recognisable historical figures seen from right to left are King David IV (r. 1089–1125), with a model church; Catholicos Yevdemon Chkhetidze; King Bagrat III of Imeretia (r. 1510–65), his wife Elena and their son King George II of Imeretia (r. 1565–85) and Prince Bagrat. Photo: 2013.

new arrivals in the threatened regions in the south and east of the country. At the same time, Caucasian Alans and about 100 Crusaders joined the Georgian army.

The strengthening of Georgian military forces soon proved decisive in enabling the state to consolidate its sovereignty. In 1121 the Seljuk sultan Mahmud bin Muhammad (1118–31) called for a Holy War against Georgia and organised a Muslim coalition, composed of Seljuk troops and alliances of Turkmen and regional princes. On 12 August 1121, at Didgori, west of Tbilisi, the Georgian-Kipchak troops met the Muslim army, which was three to five times as large. To foil any possibility of flight by his soldiers, including the reputedly unreliable Kipchaks, David gathered them in a ravine and had their exit barricaded by boulders and tree trunks. Another contingent, under the command of David's son Demetrius secretly occupied the surrounding heights, while a troop of heavily armoured Crusaders appeared at the Seljuk headquarters, where they pretended to be deserters. Just as the battle began, these Crusaders drew their swords and massacred many of the senior Seljuk commanders, and while the Seljuks were in disarray, the Georgian-Kipchak cavalry rapidly destroyed their huge army. As a result of this victory, David IV regained control of the city of Tbilisi, which had been occupied by Muslims since 737, in 1122, and two years later he also took the strongly fortified city of Derbent on the Caspian Sea and the Armenian city of Ani. Thanks to its assimilation of the Turkic Kipchaks, Georgia had now become a great regional power: its territory extended from the Black Sea in the west to the Caspian Sea in the east, and from the northern Caucasus as far as eastern Anatolia in the south, and its surface area was five times as great as that of today's republic of Georgia. The victories of the Christian king David over the Muslim armies played their part in creating the legend of Prester John, the mysterious and powerful Christian priest-king who was believed by some in Western Europe to have driven back the Muslims in distant Asia.[94] Although Äträk returned to the Pontic steppe after the death of Vladimir Monomakh in 1125, many Kipchaks stayed in Georgia, gradually converted to Christianity and adopted Georgian culture, becoming an established part of the Georgian nation.[95] A century later, however, Kipchak groups in the service of Georgia proved disloyal: when Jalal al-Din, son of the Shah of Chorasmia, Ala al-Din Muhammad, who had been defeated by the Mongols, and grandson of the Kipchak empress Terken Khatun, attacked Georgia in 1225, 1226 and 1229, the Kipchaks twice defected to him.[96]

Just as they had in Georgia, the Kipchaks played a decisive role in the Balkans. The Cumans, who had lived in the western Black Sea region since the beginning of the twelfth century, took part in the Bulgarian uprising against Byzantium, which had crushed the First Bulgarian Empire in 1018 and incorporated it into its own empire as a *theme* (military province).[97] The uprising, which began in late 1185 or early 1186, was led by the brothers Ivan Asen and Theodore Peter, who founded the Bulgarian Asen dynasty (1185/86–1257/80).[98] The brothers were probably of Cuman origin, and this was why the successful Bulgarian liberation movement enjoyed the support of Cuman tribal warriors and the Vlachs, who spoke an Eastern Romance language, a variant of Vulgar Latin.[99] When the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople in 1204 and enthroned the Crusader Baldwin I of Flanders and Hainaut as first emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Bulgarians fought on the side of the 'Greek Byzantines', their former enemies, who had fled into exile. In 1205 the Bulgarian-Cuman army of Tsar Kaloyan (r. 1197–1207), the younger brother of Asen and Peter, defeated the Latin Empire forces at Adrianopolis and took Emperor Baldwin captive.[100] Thanks to this victory, the Greek Empire of Nicaea was able to assert itself and to win Constantinople back five decades later, in 1261. That the Cumans who had immigrated to Bulgaria preserved their traditional beliefs can be clearly seen in accounts of the funeral of their prince Jonah in 1241 near Constantinople. Although Jonah bore a Christian name, eight volunteer warriors and 26 horses were sacrificed at his pagan burial ceremony, and the grave was covered by a tumulus.[101]

The Mongol advances into the Caucasus and eastern Europe between 1221 and 1242 brought an end to the Kipchaks as a politically independent power. This is shown in exemplary fashion by the fate of the powerful khan of the Cumans, Kotyan (Köten). In early 1221 the Mongol expeditionary force led by Sübotai and Jebe began its military reconnaissance of the Caucasus and the central part of Dasht-i Kipchak. First, in 1221, the Mongols inflicted severe losses on the Georgian-Cuman troops of King George IV (r. 1213–23) in two battles by the Kura river, partly, it



48. The Cathedral of the Dormition, more commonly known as Bagrati Cathedral, in Kutaisi, Georgia, built by King Bagrat III (r. 973–1014). It was blown up by the Ottomans in 1692. Restoration began in 2004. Photo: 2013.

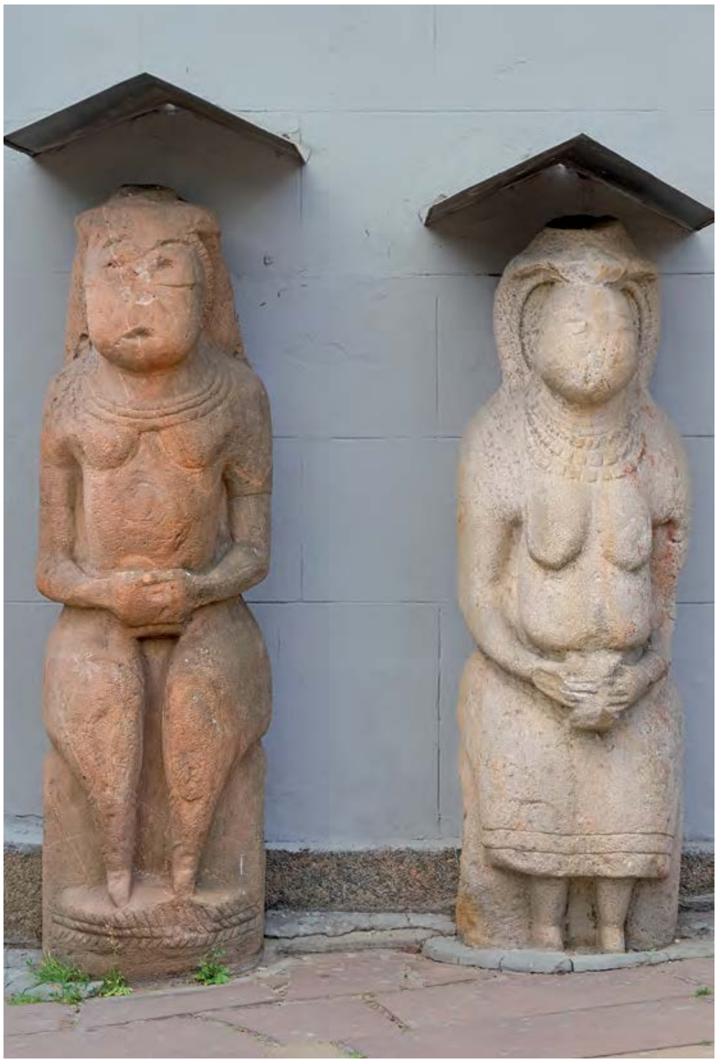
49. The fortified villages of Chazhashi, in the foreground, and, in the distance, Murk'meli are part of the community of Ushguli, Upper Svaneti, Georgia. The Svans, together with the Alans, forefathers of present-day Ossetians, offered the strongest resistance against invaders from Central Asia, such as Seljuks, Turkmen and Mongols. The Greek geographer Strabo, who died *ca.* 24 CE, sang the praises of their fighting capacity. 'The Svans [. . .] are perhaps the most belligerent and the strongest [of all]. Living in the heights of the Caucasus, they dominate all the peoples surrounding them,' he wrote.[12] In his turn, William of Rubruck points out that the Svans were never subservient to the Mongols.[13] Photo: 2013.

seems, by using duplicity. As the Georgian commander-in-chief Ivané wrote to Pope Honorius III, advancing Mongol units carried a cross in front of them as they advanced, so that the Georgians took them for Christians and hastened towards them, whereupon they were all massacred.[102] The Franciscan friar Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, who visited the Mongol Empire from 1245 to 1247, remarked succinctly: 'At first they [the Mongols] are very mild, but in the end they sting like a scorpion.'[103] The Mongols then crossed the Caucasus and at the Terek river encountered a strong army consisting of Kipchak, Alan and Caucasian warriors led by the Kipchak prince Yuri, Kotyan's brother. Faced with this superior force, the Mongols retreated to the mountains. Once again they used treachery: General Sübotai bribed the Kipchaks with half of the treasures he had plundered in Georgia, which persuaded them to abandon their Caucasian allies in the night. The Mongols immediately attacked the remaining Caucasians and Alans and slaughtered them, and then they hunted down the unsuspecting Kipchaks and killed them too – thus regaining the treasures they had given them.[104] Now the Mongols invaded Dasht-i Kipchak and plundered the city of Saqsin in the Volga Delta (today in the province of Astrakhan). After this, Sübotai reconnoitred the shores of the Sea of Azov, crossed the frozen straits of Kerch in January 1223, and destroyed the fortified trade city of Soldaia (today's Sudak), which then belonged to Venice, bringing trade in the entire Black Sea basin to a standstill.[105] When the Mongols turned further north-west, Kotyan managed to forge an alliance against them with the princes of Galicia, Volhynia, Kiev, Chernigov, Kursk, Suzdal and Rostov. Seeing the superiority of the combined Rus'-Kipchak army, the Mongols retreated eastward, until the allies, who were pursuing them in a disorderly fashion and had no central command structure, lost contact with each other. On 31 May 1223, after a nine-day retreat, Sübotai and Jebe turned and attacked their pursuers by the River Khalkha, north of the Sea of Azov; their 18,000 warriors annihilated their pursuers, who were more than 80,000 strong.[106]

As mentioned above, in the winter of 1236/37 the Mongols Möngke and Böchok (Budjek) had crushed the Volga Bulgars, after which, in 1238, Berke, later to become a khan of the Golden Horde, systematically set fire to the villages and camps of the Kipchaks of the Pontic steppe.[107] These final blows, and the destruction of their economic base, provoked a mass exodus of the Kipchaks to Bulgaria and Hungary. Kotyan fled with 40,000 warriors to Hungary and offered his services to King Béla IV (r. 1235–70) in exchange for safe asylum. Like David IV more than a century earlier, Béla welcomed the Kipchak warriors, and Kotyan even had himself baptised in 1239 as a sign of his peaceful intentions. And just as the Turkic peoples of the First Khaganate in the 560s and 570s warned Byzantium against granting refuge to the Avars who had fled from the Turks, since this would represent a hostile action,[108] Batu Khan, the nominal leader of the Mongol campaign of 1236–42, warned Béla that giving sanctuary to the Cumans constituted a *casus belli*, and demanded their extradition. King Béla did not respond to the Mongol demand and ill-treated or killed the Mongol envoys, having already put to death members of some earlier Mongol delegations.[109] Batu's letter to Béla of 1237 left no doubt of his intentions: 'I, the Qa'an [Chayn], the representative [*nuntius*] of the Heavenly King, [the one] to whom he has given power over the earth, to raise up those who submit to me and to cast down those who resist. [. . .] It would be better for you, and healthier, were you to submit willingly. I have learned, moreover, that you keep the Cumans, my slaves, under your protection; and so I order that you do not keep them with you any longer and do not have me as an enemy on their account. For it is easier for them to escape than for you, since they are without houses. [. . .] But as for you, who dwell in houses and have fortresses and cities – how will you evade my grasp?'[110] The Dominican friar Julian who brought the letter also warned Béla that once they had defeated the Hungarians, the Mongols planned to conquer Rome.[111]

But the Hungarian nobility mistrusted Kotyan, and his Kipchak warriors, who needed extensive pastures for their horses, soon came into conflict with the Hungarian rural population.[112] When, in the early spring of 1241, General Sübotai's Mongols was preparing to invade Hungary, partly in order to 'punish' the Kipchaks who had refused to accept their suzerainty, a group of Hungarian nobles who considered Kotyan to be head of a 'fifth column' of the advancing Mongols murdered him and his entourage.[113] The enraged Kipchaks immediately began to plunder and burn large areas of the countryside, then left Hungary, heading for Bulgaria. A few weeks later the Mongols invaded and, on 11 April 1241, in the Battle of the Sajó river, also called the Battle of Mohi, destroyed King Béla's army of knights, which, as a result of the Kipchaks' departure, had no mounted archers.[114]

In conclusion, we must ask why the Kipchaks, who from the mid-thirteenth century formed the military backbone of the Golden Horde and provided the ethnic basis for today's Tatars of Russia and Crimea, as well as the Kazakhs and Uzbeks, disappeared from Western history books and collective memory. For lack of



50. Stone figures of Kipchak (Cuman, Polovtsian) women in front of the National Historical Museum of Ukraine in Kiev, eleventh–thirteenth century. Stone statues like these stood at the confluence of two rivers or on top of burial mounds. As the Franciscan monk William of Rubruck noted on his journey across the Eurasian steppes between 1253 and 1255: 'The Cumans raise a large mound over the deceased and set up a statue of him, facing eastwards and holding a cup in its hand in front of the navel.'[14] Photo: 2011.

better knowledge, their name in the territory of the Golden Horde was replaced by that of the Tatars. But the Turco-Mongol people of the Tatars, who had no connection at all with the Kipchaks, had already been largely wiped out by Genghis Khan, their mortal enemy, in 1202. The incorrect designation goes back to the English historian and Benedictine monk Matthew Paris (1200–59), who in 1240 was one of the first[115] to call the Mongols 'Tartars'. In an allusion to the term *Tartarus* for the lowest place of punishment in the underworld in classical mythology, he changed the name 'Tatars' into 'Tartars', underlining their terrifying characteristics: 'In this year [1240] [. . .] an immense horde of these detestable race of Satan, the Tartars, burst forth from their mountain-bound regions, and [. . .] rushed forth, like demons loosed from Tartarus (so that they are well called Tartars, as it were inhabitants of Tartarus).'[116] Then the monk described the massacre of the Cumans by the 'Tartars': 'After having massacred all they could set eyes upon, and pillaging every place, leaving behind them the signs of universal depopulation, these Tartars (or rather inhabitants of Tartarus) arrived at the populous colony of the Cumanians [. . .] and those who could not escape were slain by their bloody swords.'[117] In other passages Matthew Paris ascribed the play on words to Emperor Frederick II or King Louis IX of France. King Louis is said to have proclaimed: 'And if these people, whom we call Tartars, should come upon us, either we will thrust them back into the region of Tartarus, whence they emanated, or else they shall send all of us to heaven.'[118] Thus the ethnonym "Tartar" came to designate the Kipchaks and their Mongol overlords.

IV

Turco-Muslim Dynasties in Southern Central Asia

'Tell him that the stability of that [Malik Shah's] regal cap is bound up with this [Nizam's] vizierial inkstand. [. . .] If ever I close up this inkstand, that royal power will topple.'

VIZIER NIZAM AL-MULK'S reply to a rebuke by his Seljuk master Malik Shah in 1092.[1]

Between the years 1000 and *ca.* 1220, the Islamic part of Central Asia was completely reconfigured, ethnically, politically and linguistically. With the exception of the Ghurids, whose language was probably of eastern Iranian origin, Turkic dynasties came to rule all of Muslim Central Asia and left their mark on it as patrons of monumental architecture, the sciences and poetry. Since the Seljuks, Karakhanids and Ghaznavids ruled at more or less the same time, there were inevitably violent struggles for supremacy. Around the middle of the twelfth century, new players entered the scene to disturb this precarious balance, for in the south the Ghurids were aspiring to the status of a new major regional power, while the Qara Khitai were emerging from the north-east. But the Qara Khitai, who were of Mongol origin, were not Muslims but Buddhists, so that for the first time a non-Muslim state conquered a region of the *Dar al-Islam*, the world of Islam. The Qara Khitai pursued a policy of religious tolerance, but they had no intention of adopting Islam, the religion of their conquered subjects, and remained Buddhists. The Mongol western campaign of 1219–23 brought this rich political and cultural diversity to an abrupt end.

1. The Great Seljuks

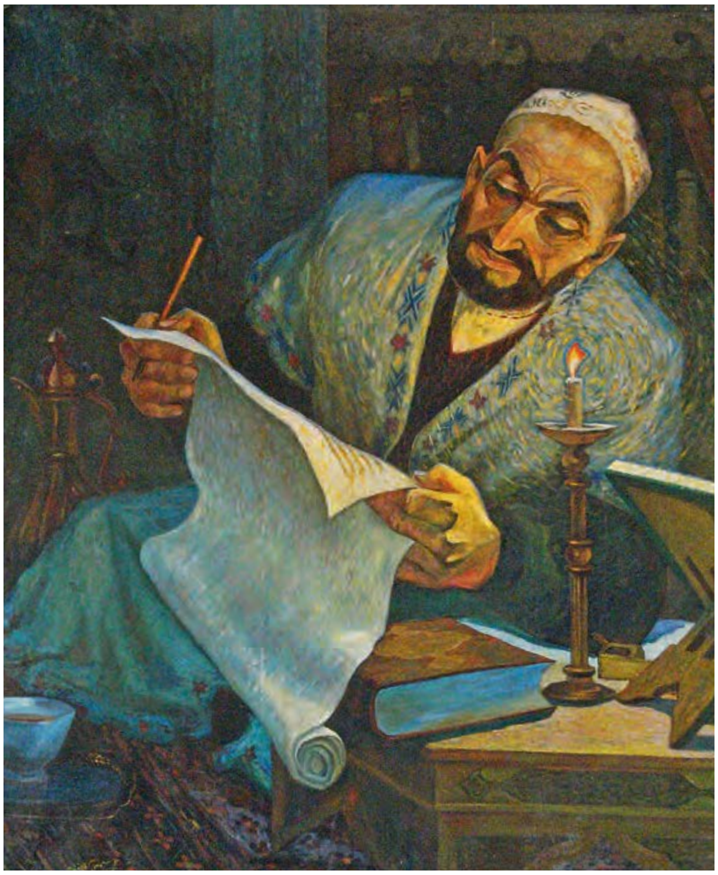
As we saw earlier,[2] in about 985, after a dispute with the yabghu of the Oghuz, the Oghuz military commander **Seljuk** (r. *ca.* 985–*ca.* 1007) fled from Yangikent to Jand, which also lay on the left bank of the Seyhun. We learn from the contemporary scholar Mahmud al-Kashgari (1008–1105) that Seljuk and his father Dukak, who was known as Timur Yaghliq, 'the man with the iron bow', came from the ruling Qiniq clan, to which the yabghu also belonged.[3] In Jand, Seljuk converted to Islam, which allowed him to consolidate his heterogeneous followers thanks to the new faith and to undertake in the name of jihad military campaigns against his 'infidel' relatives in the Seyhun delta whom he could then enslave. As Kim Hodong wrote in relation to Tughlugh Temür, khan of Moghulistan, (r. 1347–63), 'Islam provided nomadic tribal people with the consciousness of a homogenous religious community (*umma*) and religious sanction for the wars for the expansion of the domain of Islam (*jihad*). [. . .] In that sense, Islam became an

51. The mausoleum of Bab Aristan, the Sufi master and legendary teacher of Ahmed Yasawi (1094–1166), is a popular place of pilgrimage in Kazakhstan. The mausoleum was rebuilt in 1910. Photo: 2005.

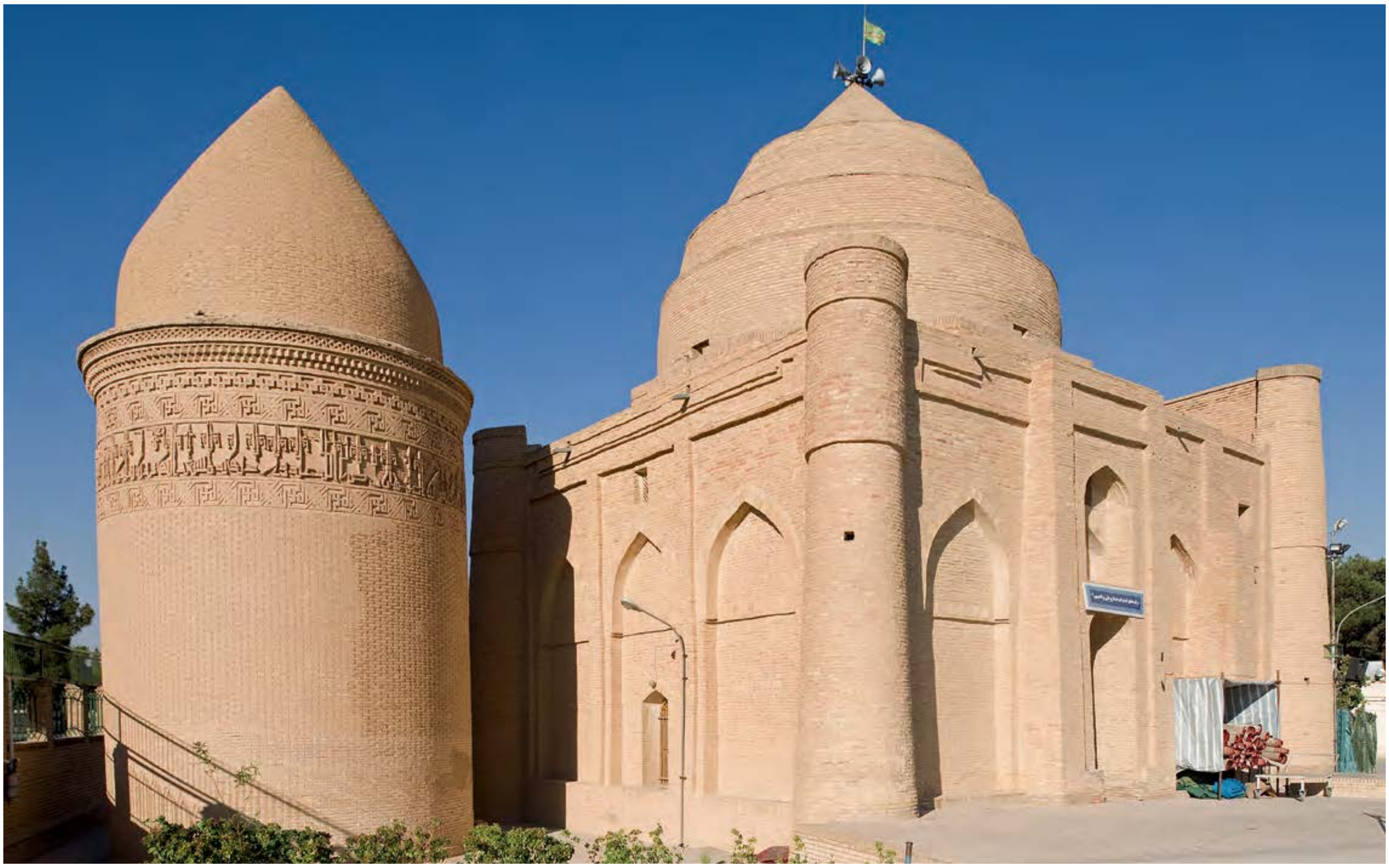
ideology of unification as well as an ideology of expansion.'[4] The contemporary chronicle *Malik-nameh*, the 'Story of the King', originally dedicated to Sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063–72), mentions that Seljuk's three sons Mikhail, Israïl and Musa (Moses), as well as two grandsons, Dawud (David) and Yusuf (Joseph), all bore biblical names.[5] Although these names are Muslim, they might also suggest a Jewish or Nestorian background for Seljuk.[6] On one of these raids, shortly after 994, Mikhail ibn Seljuk was killed, and as a result his father brought up Mikhail's sons Tughril Beg and Chagri Beg Dawud, the future founders of the Seljuk Empire.

In the 990s, several Seljuk groups departed southward to Mawarannahr, probably under pressure from the yabghu of Yangikent and to seek more pastureland. But Seljuk himself stayed in Jand, where he died around 1007.[7] Arslan Israïl ibn Seljuk was the first, with his followers, to enter the service of the Samanid ruler Nuh ibn Mansur (r. 976–97), who in 992 had to flee from his capital city, Bukhara, for several months to escape from the Karakhanid Bughra Khan. Nuh ibn Mansur offered his Seljuk mercenaries pastureland in the Nur Valley, which lay between Bukhara and Samarkand.[8] After the fall of the Samanids in 999 and the death of the last Samanid prince in 1005, Mawarannahr was ruled by Karakhanid princes, with the support of Seljuk's son Israïl and his two grandsons Tughril and Chagri. In Mawarannahr, Israïl fought alongside the Karakhanid Ali Tegin (r. *ca.* 1014/15 or 1020/21–34/35)[9] against other members of the same dynasty, the Great Khan Arslan Khan Mansur and Yusuf Qadïr Khan of Kashgar and Khotan, and he conquered Bukhara and Samarkand. Israïl reinforced his position as military commander by marrying Ali Tegin's daughter. Israïl's nephews Tughril and Chagri, however, did not benefit from their uncle's dominant position, and entered the service of the Karakhanid Bughra[10] Khan of Taraz and Isfijab.[11] Syriac and Armenian chronicles suggest that Turkmen led by Chagri ibn Mikhail undertook a campaign to eastern Anatolia in 1018 or 1021, but these dates are probably a decade too early.[12] However, it is clear that the two brothers joined their uncle Israïl in Bukhara before 1025.

In 1025 or 1026, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna formed an alliance with the Karakhanid Qadïr Khan Yusuf, crossed the Oxus and forced Ali Tegin to flee. Then he set a trap for Israïl, captured him and imprisoned him in northern India, where he died in 1032.[13] Tughril and Chagri and their followers stayed in the Nur Valley and the now leaderless followers of Israïl, allegedly 4,000 tents, asked the victor, Mahmud, for permission to settle in southern Khorasan. When the sultan had given his consent and the Turkmen[14] had moved to Sarakhs, the Ghaznavid military commander Arslan al-Jadhib of Tus was appalled: 'Why did you bring these Turkmens into your realm? You committed an error here! But now that you have admitted them, either kill them all or [at least] allow me to cut off their thumbs so that they won't be able to shoot arrows.' When Mahmud chided him for his hard-heartedness, al-Jadhib warned him again: 'If you don't do it, you'll much regret it!'[15] Al-Jadhib was to be proved right, for barely 15 years later Mahmud's generosity to the untameable Seljuks and Turkmen would cost his son and successor Mas'ud the throne and the Ghaznavids Khorasan. Another group of former followers of Israïl preferred to move slowly westward, on raids into northern Iran. Around 1028, these independent bands of Turkmen were reinforced by further Turkmen groups, after Sultan Mas'ud had defeated and driven out some of the marauding Turkmen whom he had allowed to settle in southern Khorasan only a year or two earlier.[16] As the historian al-Athir (1160–1223)[17] recorded, these Iraqiyya-Turkmen appeared for the first time around 1029 in Azerbaijan, from where they ravaged Armenian territory.[18] A year later, Mahmud's son Mas'ud (r. 1030–41) made use of the services of the Turkmen of Rayy, in order to drive out his brother Mohammad, whom his father



52. Contemporary portrait of the Turkic scholar Mahmud al-Kashgari (1008–1105) at his mausoleum near Opal (Wupoer) south of Kashgar, Xinjiang, China. Photo: 2009.



53. On the left, the Chehel Dokhtaran mausoleum in Damghan, Iran dating from the Seljuk period, built in 1055 with a decorative brick inscription in Kufic script. On the right, a square, domed building with a bastion at each corner, built in the eleventh century and known as Imamzadeh Jafar. According to a local tradition, Jafar ibn Ali, a descendent of the third imam al-Husain, is interred here. The gravestone was carved soon after the year 900. Photo: 2014.

favoured; in gratitude, Mas'ud assigned pastureland near Balkhan, in the far west by the Caspian Sea, to these Turkmen. But when, soon afterwards, Mas'ud departed on a campaign in India, the Turkmen once again began conducting raiding expeditions which reached as far as Rayy.[19]

In about 1034 or early 1035, the Seljuks who had been driven out of Bukhara again pressed towards Khorasan, led by the brothers Tughril and Chagri as well as by Musa (who had adopted the Oghuz title of yabghu) and by Ibrahim Yinal, a uterine half-brother of Tughril and Chagri. Their aim was to find refuge in Chorasmia. But Mas'ud urged Shah Malik ibn Ali of Yangikent (r. ?–1042/43) to destroy the Seljuks once and for all. Shah Malik did indeed defeat the Seljuks, who then retreated to northern Khorasan, where in 1035 they in turn defeated a Ghaznavid army sent by Mas'ud.[20] The conflict between the nomadic Seljuks and the sedentary populations of the towns and cities now escalated rapidly, for Seljuk herds were devastating precious farmland, and the nomads also cut off the cities' access to their water sources and destroyed their irrigation channels. At the same time, the Seljuks continued to plunder trade caravans. In the words of al-Beyhaqi: 'the Iraqi Turkmens had in the latter part of Mahmud's reign devoured Khorasan as if it were food laid out for hunting falcons'.[21] Although the political and economic situation in Khorasan continued to deteriorate after 1035, Sultan Mas'ud neglected the defence of his prosperous province, preferring to undertake a campaign in northern India, enticed by the prospect of rich booty. Instead of leading an army himself to Khorasan, he sent one of his generals, who was ignominiously defeated. After this, in 1037/38, the cities of Herat, Merv and Nishapur, whose inhabitants, abandoned by Mas'ud, were now starving, surrendered to the Seljuks without a fight.

In Nishapur, where **Tughril I** (r. 1038–63) declared himself sultan, the first rift appeared between the Seljuks, who were to support the maintenance of a properly administered state, and the Turkmen, who rejected it. Before occupying Nishapur, Tughril had prohibited all looting and destruction. Since it was Ramadan, Chagri at first followed his brother's instructions, but at the end of Ramadan he prepared to loot the city. In al-Athir's account, Tughril's reaction was dramatic: 'Tughril Beg then pulled out a dagger and said to him [Chagri Beg], "By God, if you plunder anything, I shall kill myself!"'[22] In contrast to the Mongols, who during their campaign of 1220/21 to Mawarannahr and Khorasan set the cities on fire and massacred the local population, Tughril saw himself as the founder of a new state, and so conquered states were not to be destroyed, but taxed. Tughril took his next logical step in 1055 after taking Baghdad; he replaced his recalcitrant Turkmen tribal warriors with disciplined slave soldiers.[23]

It was only the fall of Merv and Nishapur that persuaded Mas'ud to lead the attack on the Seljuks himself. In 1039 he managed to win a victory at Sarakhs thanks to his war elephants, but the Seljuks, who had moved their families and herds to the edges of the Kara Kum desert, returned and cut off the water supply to Mas'ud's army. As winter was approaching, they concluded an armistice: Mas'ud retreated to Herat, and the Seljuks moved out of Merv. When Mas'ud attacked again in 1040, the Seljuks had the advantage, since they fought as mounted archers, whereas Mas'ud's army, with his war elephants and infantry, was slow and cumbersome. In addition the Ghaznavid troops had a large train of camp followers, carrying food and supplies, not least because the impoverished land could not support a large army. The Seljuk army, however, travelled light, with no supply train to defend. They also burned the rare patches of grassland on Mas'ud's northward path, poisoned the wells with animal corpses, and kept launching lightning attacks on the thirsty Ghaznavid troop columns. On 23 May 1040, Mas'ud finally met the Seljuk forces between Sarakhs and Merv near Dandankan; he was heavily defeated and promptly fled to Ghazna.[24] After his victory, Tughril immediately had his tent erected on the battlefield and ordered his throne to be brought.

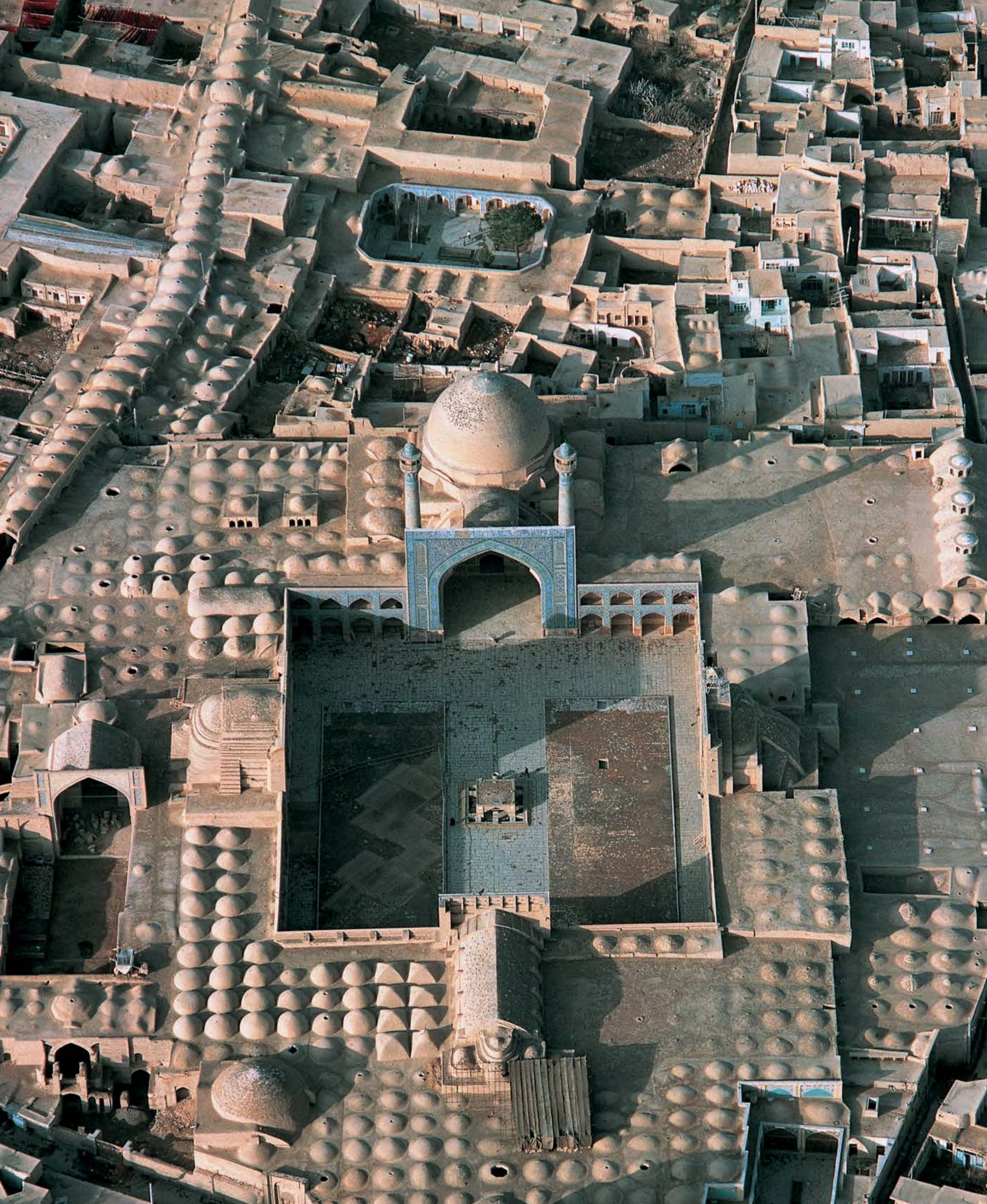
54. Icehouse No. 2 in Merv, Turkmenistan, dating back to the twelfth century. Originally Merv boasted 30 ice houses, used to store ice and perishable foods. Blocks of ice were placed in underfloor pits and the food was stored on top of them. External walls 2 metres thick and the conical shape of the building protected the goods from the heat. Photo: 2014.

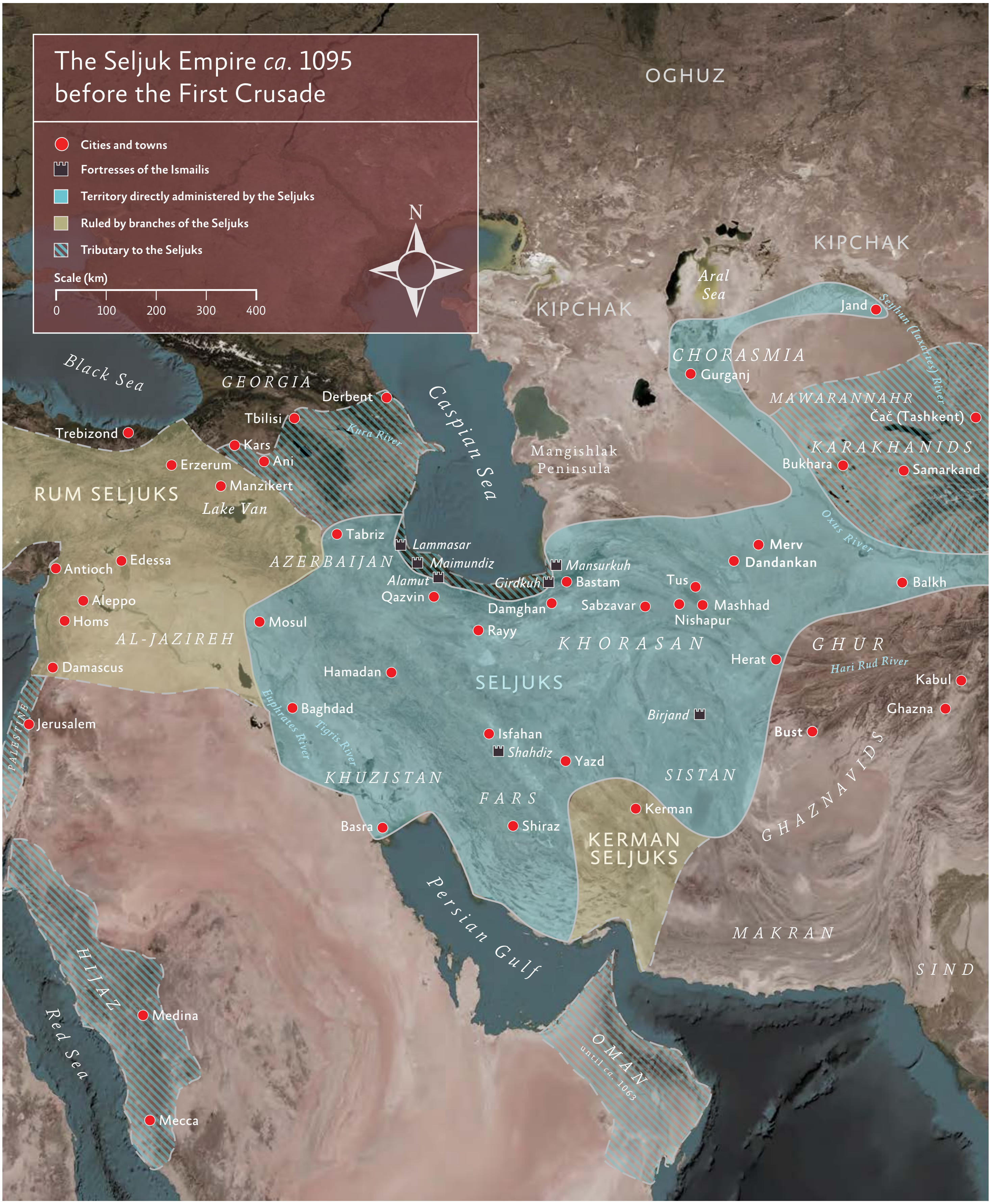
55. Gonbad-e Jabaliyeh, an octagonal building with a double-shell dome in Kerman, eastern Iran, is thought to have been built by the Seljuks in the twelfth century. It is conceivable that the building with its eight-sided ground plan was the inspiration for the Il-Khanid mausoleum of Oljeitu, traditionally known as the Dome of Soltaniyeh, built between 1305 and 1314 (fig. 183). Photo: 2001.

As Mas'ud's biographer al-Beyhaqi, who had watched the battle, reports, 'Tughril sat down on it [the throne], and all the leading men came forward and hailed him as Amir of Khorasan.'[25] With this symbolic act, the tribal leader Tughril now completed his transformation into the ruler of a fully fledged state. Meanwhile the panic-stricken Mas'ud fled onward to northern India, where sections of his army mutinied, deposed him and, in early 1041, murdered him.

After this overwhelming victory, Tughril and Chagri then decisively defeated their old enemy Shah Malik of Yangikent in Chorasmia, and turned Chorasmia into a Seljuk province.[26] But even before this, they had divided up the Muslim world as they knew it, for the most part among themselves and their closest allies. This division of the Muslim world among the victors has parallels with Genghis Khan's succession, where states and regions were shared out which had not even been conquered yet. Surprisingly, during the negotiations Sultan Tughril, who despite his achievements as a leader was no more than a *primus inter pares*, had to relinquish the regions he had already secured, and was given almost exclusively territories which remained to be conquered. His elder brother **Chagri Beg** received Khorasan with Merv as its capital, Chorasmia and those areas of Mawarannahr that he would be able to take; Israïl's son **Qutlumush** was given Azerbaijan and Armenia, where Turkmen hordes were already causing havoc; **Ibrahim Yinal** was given the regions of Gorgan and Kohistan, which were yet to be conquered, and **Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn Musa** the similarly unconquered territories of Herat, Ghur and Sistan. Despite the resistance of the new Ghaznavid sultan Maudud ibn Masud, Chagri did take the city of Balkh, and in 1042/43 Musa was able to wrest the city of Herat[27] back from Maudud, as a result of which the border between the Seljuks and the Ghaznavids in the lower valley of the Helmand, between Sistan and Bust, was stabilised. In addition, in 1045 Chagri

▶ **56.** Aerial image of the inner courtyard of the Friday mosque, Masjid-e Jami'e, in Isfahan, was rebuilt between 1071 and 1092 by the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk. It is surrounded by four *iwans* (vaulted hallways), set crosswise. The southern dome (top) was also endowed by Nizam al-Mulk, and the one on the north side (bottom) by Nizam's arch-enemy Taj al-Mulk.[15] Photo: 1976/78.





The Seljuk Empire *ca.* 1095 before the First Crusade

Cities and towns
Fortresses of the Ismailis
Territory directly administered by the Seljuks
Ruled by branches of the Seljuks
Tributary to the Seljuks
Scale (km)
0
100
200
300
400
N
OGHUZ
KIPCHAK
KIPCHAK
Aral Sea
Jand
Seyhun (Iaxartes) River
CHORASMIA
Gurganj
MAWARANNAHR
Čač (Tashkent)
KARAKHANIDS
Bukhara
Samarkand
Mangishlak Peninsula
Black Sea
GEORGIA
Derbent
Caspian Sea
Tbilisi
Kura River
Trebizond
Kars
Ani
Erzerum
Manzikert
Lake Van
RUM SELJUKS
Tabriz
Lammasar
Maimundiz
AZERBAIJAN
Alamut
Qazvin
Mansurkuh
Girdkuh
Bastam
Damghan
Sabzavar
Tus
Mashhad
Nishapur
Merv
Dandankan
Oxus River
Balkh
Edessa
Antioch
Aleppo
Homs
AL-JAZIREH
Mosul
Rayy
KHORASAN
Herat
GHUR
Hari Rud River
Kabul
Ghazna
Damascus
Hamadan
SELJUKS
Birjand
Baghdad
Euphrates River
Tigris River
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Isfahan
Shahdiz
Yazd
Bust
KHUZISTAN
SISTAN
FARS
Kerman
Basra
Shiraz
KERMAN SELJUKS
GHAZNAVIDS
Persian Gulf
MAKRAN
SIND
HIJAZ
Red Sea
Medina
Mecca
OMAN until ca. 1063

Beg's son **Kavurd** secured the province of Kerman in the south-east of Iran and then subdued Oman.[28] Finally, **Tughril**, from his capital Nishapur, was to conquer the rump empire of the Abbasids, which was controlled by the Buyids.[29] But the Iraqiyya hordes had already penetrated this region, and in 1042 Tughril moved his capital west to Rayy, even before the victory over Shah Malik of Yangikent.[30] This forced the Turkmen to abandon the partly destroyed city of Rayy, and, led by Ibrahim Yinal, they marched to Azerbaijan and as far as the Byzantine border. With Ibrahim Yinal posted to the west, Tughril had now ditched the uncontrollable, plundering Turkmen and at the same time kept them as a spearhead for future conquests. The strategy of Tughril and Ibrahim Yinal was outlined by the latter in 1048/49, in an address to newly arrived Turkmen steppe warriors: 'My lands are too small to accommodate you and to provide what you require. The best plan is for you to go and raid the Byzantines, to strive on the path of God and to gain booty. I shall follow in your tracks and aid you in your enterprise.'[31] The best motivation for a war against infidels, pleasing to God, was the prospect of booty.

While Chagri was consolidating his rule over Khorasan and his son Alp Arslan, the future successor of Tughril as sultan, was fighting off in 1043 an attack from a Ghaznavid army,[32] Tughril was slowly extending his sphere of influence in Iran and in 1051 conquered the wealthy city of Isfahan. He made this city his new capital and had its ramparts torn down, declaring: 'Only those whose power is weak need walls. One whose fortress is his troops and his sword has no need of them.'[33] Just like the Göktürk commander Tonyukuk, who around 720 had warned Bilge Khagan against the building of fortified cities,[34] Tughril realised that the defence of cities by stationary garrisons would limit the mobility of his mounted troops, and that besieged cities could turn out to be inescapable traps. Tughril's conquest of Iran and Mesopotamia was greatly facilitated by the bitter rivalries between the ruling princes of the Shi'ite dynasty of the Buyids as well as those between the Buyid princes living in Baghdad and the caliph's Sunni vizier. In December 1055 Tughril occupied Baghdad, and the caliph ordered the *khutba* (public sermon) to be proclaimed in Tughril's name, in which he recognised the political supremacy of the sultan. But immediately afterwards Tughril's Turkmen troops desecrated and plundered the caliphs' tombs in the city,[35] an action which convinced Tughril that it was time to replace his tribal warriors with a professional army and a guard made up of slave soldiers. By then, if not before, Tughril understood the advantages of a standing army, an efficient administration, and acceptance of Iranian Muslim beliefs and practices concerning the elevated role of a ruler.

To finance a professional army, Tughril adopted the *iqta* system, which was a kind of military land grant. Instead of pay, professional officers were given fixed-term lease agreements, so that they received the taxes and duties associated with the villages and landholdings in question. In exchange, the officers had to equip and maintain a certain number of soldiers and provide horses for the riders. This system lifted a burden from the state treasury, but also deprived it of the income from taxes and duties; in addition, this parcelling out of tax revenue from land removed the state's motivation for constructing transregional irrigation systems. Tughril annulled all the lease agreements issued by the Buyids and transferred all such contracts to his officers.[36] When, under Tughril's successors, the silver shortage which had persisted since the late tenth century intensified, Vizier Nizam al-Mulk extended the *iqta* to professional horse warriors, so that, as the historian al-Nishapuri reported, up to 50,000 riders possessed such land tax grants.[37] This made it possible for the vizier to provide sultans Alp Arslan and Malik Shah with a superbly equipped army which was available at any time. But after a few decades the fixed-term *iqta* had become a lifetime right and later even a form of land ownership that could be inherited, so that by the twelfth century it became extraordinarily difficult to remove the *iqta* from its owners, unless they could be charged with an offence.[38] This created a hereditary feudal military aristocracy, which in the western half of the Seljuk Empire rapidly led to political fragmentation between dynasties of provincial *atabegs* (tutors of the sons of Seljuk sultans and princes, who often became local rulers themselves).

When Tughril returned to Baghdad in 1057/58, Caliph al-Qa'im bestowed on him the honorific titles of 'Pillar of the State', 'Partner of the Commander of the Faithful' and 'King of the East and West'.[39] All three of these titles claimed by Tughril are remarkable, for in the first one the caliph recognised the sultan's supremacy in matters of national policy, and in the second he confirmed that the Turkic sultan was on the same level as himself. The third title, which was unusual in the Islamic world, is reminiscent of the old title of the Xiongnu – that of a ruler whose domain extends from the place where the sun rises to the place where it sets. This title was also intended to express Tughril's precedence over his brother Chagri Beg in Khorasan. Tughril soon found an opportunity to assume his role as pillar of the state, for in his absence both his half-brother Ibrahim Yinal and the Turkic army commander of Baghdad Basasiri, who had captured Caliph al-Qa'im, rebelled. Basasiri had changed sides and recognised the supremacy of the Ismailite Fatimid dynasty of Egypt, which had met with an enthusiastic response from Baghdad's large Shi'ite community. Tughril first defeated Ibrahim Yinal and had him strangled with his bowstring – among many Turkic peoples of Central Asia, as was also the case later with the Mongols, there was a taboo against spilling the blood of a prince; princes condemned to death were strangled or trampled to death. Then, in early 1060, Tughril defeated the rebel Basasiri, who had occupied Baghdad for a year.[40] By this act he destroyed the Fatimids' efforts to restore the unity of the Islamic world under Shi'ite leadership.

Although Tughril's motivation for his march on Baghdad was to take power over the prosperous but crisis-ridden caliphate, he could with some justification be celebrated as the saviour of Sunni orthodoxy. He had ended the supremacy of the Buyids and thwarted Fatimid ambitions, and thus breathed an additional 200 years of life into the Abbasid caliphate, which was to be toppled in 1258 by the Mongol Hülegü. But Tughril had no wish to restore to the caliphate any of the political power that it had lost since the end of the ninth century. On the contrary, he continued the model of a dual administration which had been introduced by the Buyids: the sultan had political and military power, while religious leadership was reserved for the caliph, as long as it did not impinge on politics. Under the Seljuks the caliphate lost all political authority and even had to commit itself to tribute payments to the sultan; the caliph could, however, keep the income from his personal estates.[41] The authority of the Seljuk state was not based on religion but on law and justice, or, as Nizam al-Mulk put it: 'Kingship remains with the unbeliever but not with injustice.'[42]

When Tughril died childless in 1063, he was succeeded by Chagri's son **Muhammad ibn Dawud Chagri Alp Arslan** (r. 1063–72); the honorific name Alp Arslan means 'brave lion'. Alp Arslan ruled Khorasan from the death of his father Chagri in about 1060. In 1063 he had first to eliminate his brother Suleyman and an uncle, after which, as sultan, he combined in his own person the two halves of the empire, which extended from the Oxus to the Tigris.[43] Alp Arslan's assumption of power was actively supported by his adviser and administrator Abu Ali Hasan ibn Ali Tusi (1018–92), known as **Nizam al-Mulk**. Abu Ali, who grew up in Tus, was in the service of the Ghaznavids until in 1040 he fled to Ghazna after the battle of Dandankan. He spent three or four years in Ghazna and Balkh, then returned to Khorasan to join Chagri and Alp Arslan, encouraging them to take over the existing Iranian administrative structures. When, on Tughril's death, the latter's vizier al-Kunduri favoured the militarily inexperienced Suleyman, Nizam al-Mulk gave his support to Alp Arslan, who appointed him his vizier. Nizam al-Mulk then had his predecessor, al-Kunduri, executed and rose to become the most powerful man in the Seljuk state, a position that he maintained until 1092, when he was murdered. As vizier, his political aim was to preserve the heritage of Iranian city life and culture, to protect the sedentary population from military despotism and plundering by Turkmen bands, and to consolidate a strong central authority. He achieved this by retaining and strengthening the Iranian administrative structures, promoting Sunni orthodoxy as a counterweight to the propaganda of the Ismailis,[44] who were trying to foment a coup and establish an Ismaili state under the leadership of an imam, and by creating a professional army led by an officer corps loyal only to the sultan. Nizam al-Mulk governed the empire, which enabled Alp Arslan to develop his great military strengths in an aggressive external policy. Thanks to the Khorasan-born vizier, Tughril's successors were able to consolidate the rule of the Seljuks, so that for the first time a Central Asian dynasty founded by nomadic equestrian warriors came to rule over the whole of the Middle East. Unlike the Scythians (Saka) and Huns, who also came from Central Asia, and who advanced even further west than the 32nd degree of longitude (where the capital of the Rum-Seljuks lay), the Seljuks understood how to graft their rule on to the existing political structures. The time of the Seljuks was also a period of far-reaching Islamisation for Khorasan and Mawarannahr, although new Turkic groups from the steppes made frequent incursions. From the twelfth century, some Sufi masters such as Ahmed Yasawi (d. 1166) began to spread Islam via popular mysticism on the margins of the Seljuk and Karakhanid steppes.[45] Timur-e Lang (Tamerlane), who greatly admired Yasawi, had a monumental mausoleum built above his tomb in Yasi (Turkestan) in the 1390s (figs. 57, 220).

Nizam al-Mulk was very well aware of his importance for the Seljuks, as is clear from the famous answer he sent to his master, **Malik Shah I** (r. 1072–92) in 1092, when the latter complained that he was exceeding his authority. According to Al-Athir, he wrote: 'Tell the Sultan: "If you have not already realized that I am your co-equal in the work of ruling, then know that you have only attained to this power through my statesmanship and judgement." Does he not remember when his father [Alp Arslan] was killed, and I assumed responsibility for the conduct of affairs and crushed the rebels . . .? Tell him that the stability of that [Malik Shah's] regal cap is bound up with this [Nizam's] vizierial inkstand, and that the harmony of these two interests is the means of securing all objects sought after and the ultimate cause of all objects gained. If ever I close up this inkstand, that royal power will topple.'[46] Nizam was proved right. A few weeks after his self-confident reply he fell victim to a plot which contemporary observers ascribed to the following people, who all pursued different aims: Malik Shah himself, dissatisfied courtiers, the Ismailis of Alamut and Malik Shah's wife, Terken Khatun.[47] Malik Shah longed to rule independently at last, and apparently he even planned to depose Caliph al-Muqtadi and replace him with his five-year-old grandson Ja'far, thus uniting temporal and spiritual power in one authority.[48] The courtiers for their part wanted to destroy Nizam's supremacy; the Ismailis saw the vizier as their worst enemy; and Terken Khatun wanted to rid herself of both the vizier and her own husband, in order to place her four-year-old son Mahmud on the throne, and to make herself regent. Al-Athir succinctly summarised what happened next: 'Thirty-five days after this the sultan died [probably poisoned by his wife Terken Khatun], the empire collapsed and the sword [of civil war lasting 13 years] was unsheathed.'[49]

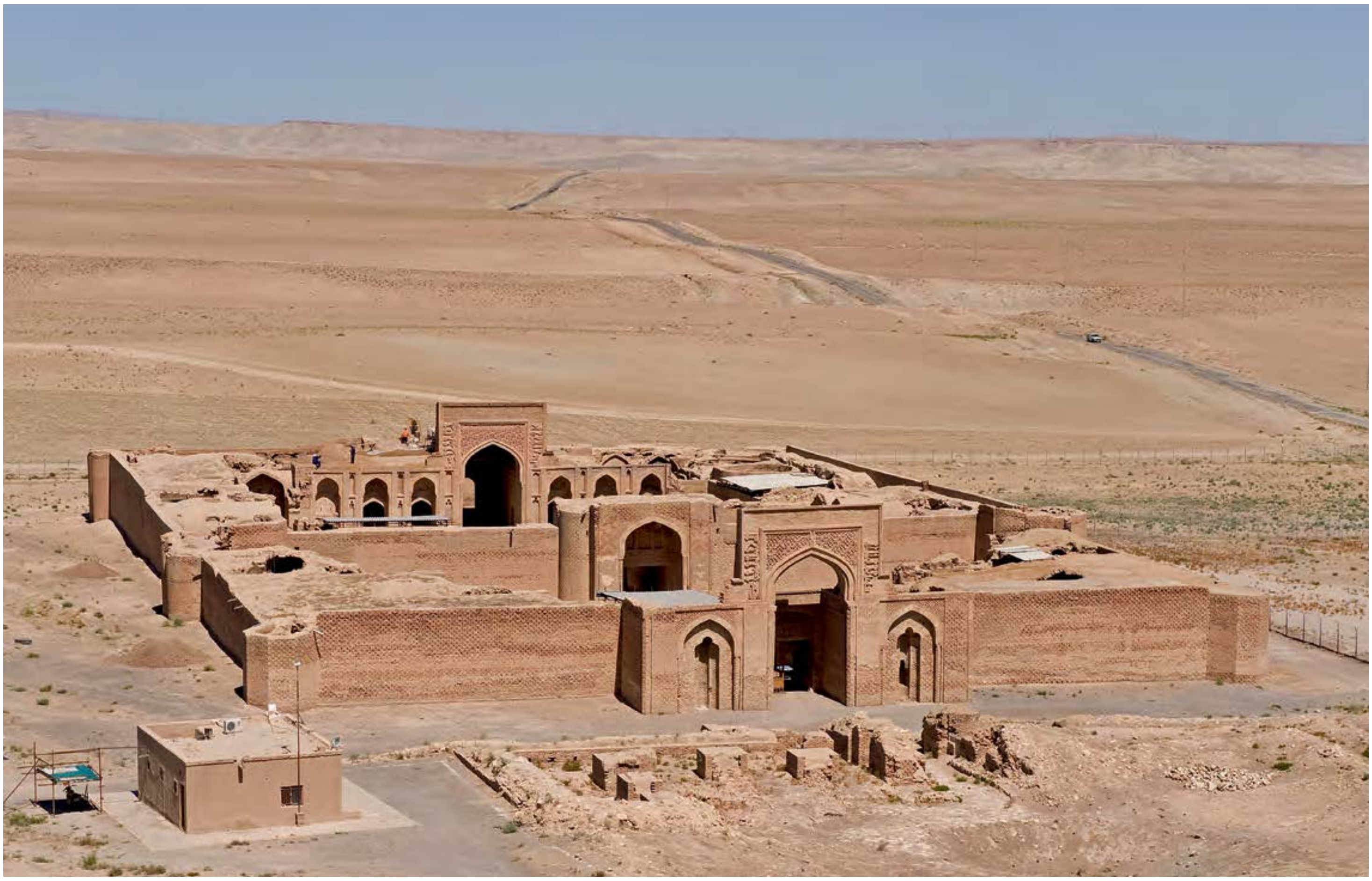
Alp Arslan and Malik Shah continued Tughril's policy of conquest, skilfully deploying the restive Turkmen bands, while Malik Shah was unable to prevent the foundation of Seljuk princedoms in Syria and Anatolia, which were de facto independent.[50] The preferred target of Turkmen military campaigns was the fertile pastureland in the plains and valleys of Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Armenian princedoms and the Byzantine east of Anatolia. Alp Arslan launched several campaigns there in his dual role as conquering sultan and traditional tribal leader. Tughril had already taken Tabriz, and in 1057/58 captured the important city of Mosul.[51] Then in 1064 and 1068 Alp Arslan followed in his tracks and led two destructive campaigns in Georgia, in 1064 capturing the Armenian city of Ani in the north-east of Anatolia, which had belonged to Byzantium since 1045, and massacring its Christian population.[52] This was not a typical campaign of conquest, as can be seen from the fact that Alp Arslan and Malik Shah maintained a unit of 'fire-throwers', *naffatun*, who systematically burnt down settlements and vineyards; at the same time, the Georgian farmers were either massacred or abducted as slaves.[53] The two sultans wanted to eradicate crop farming – and crop farmers – from what would become pastureland for their followers, a strategy also used later by the Mongols.[54] After an expedition into Yangikent, 2,000 kilometres away, to pacify marauding Oghuz,[55] in 1071 Alp Arslan crossed the inadequately fortified eastern border of the Byzantine Empire, whose depopulated region around Lake Van had for

57. Dome of the mausoleum of Ahmed Yasawi (1094–1166) in Turkestan, Kazakhstan, built in 1396–97. Photo: 2005.

decades been suffering from Turkmen invasions. At Manzikert he destroyed the army of Emperor Romanos IV (r. 1068–71) and took him prisoner. The sultan released Romanos in exchange for ransom, but the luckless emperor was soon afterwards toppled and tortured by his political opponents and died of his injuries. Since his successor Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–78) annulled the peace treaty with Alp Arslan, Seljuk and Turkmen warriors overran most of Anatolia and around 1078 got as far as Nicaea,[56] today's Iznik, a mere 100 kilometres south-east of Constantinople. From these forays there emerged the independent sultanate of the Rum-Seljuks (1077–1307, from 1243 an Il-Khanid vassal).[57] Georgia remained as the only more or less independent Christian power in the southern Caucasus,[58] and when, in 1121 and 1123, King David IV repelled two Seljuk invasions and finally drove off the Turkmen horse nomads, Turkmen pressure on Anatolia increased.[59]

Malik Shah continued his attacks to the west and south-west, in particular on the Ismaili Fatimids of Egypt. In 1071 the Seljuks captured both Jerusalem and Ramla, and in 1076 took Damascus. The attack on Cairo of 1076/77 failed, but the expedition personally led by Malik Shah to Syria of 1084–87 ended with the capture of Aleppo, Edessa and the port of Antioch, an important hub of transcontinental trade routes – a great prize.[60] In Antioch the sultan rode his horse down to the shore of the Mediterranean to celebrate the extension of his empire. But the Seljuks did not have long to enjoy their conquests on the Mediterranean coasts of Syria and Palestine, for by the end of the eleventh century a new opponent had already emerged, one whose elite warriors were well-trained and experienced fighters: the Crusaders – heavily armoured European knights and warrior monks from the military religious orders. The combination of knights in heavy armour with archers bearing bows and crossbows, fighting on foot, proved especially effective. At the start of a battle, the archers protected both the infantry, armed with lances, and the armoured riders, who lay in wait for the right moment when they would mount a concerted attack.[61] The Crusaders' greatest weaknesses were the low numbers of knights and their lack of knowledge of the steppe riders' military tactics. These included feigning flight to draw attacking armoured riders into a trap and exhaust their horses, as well as manoeuvres during which opponents were lured into places where they had no access to water.

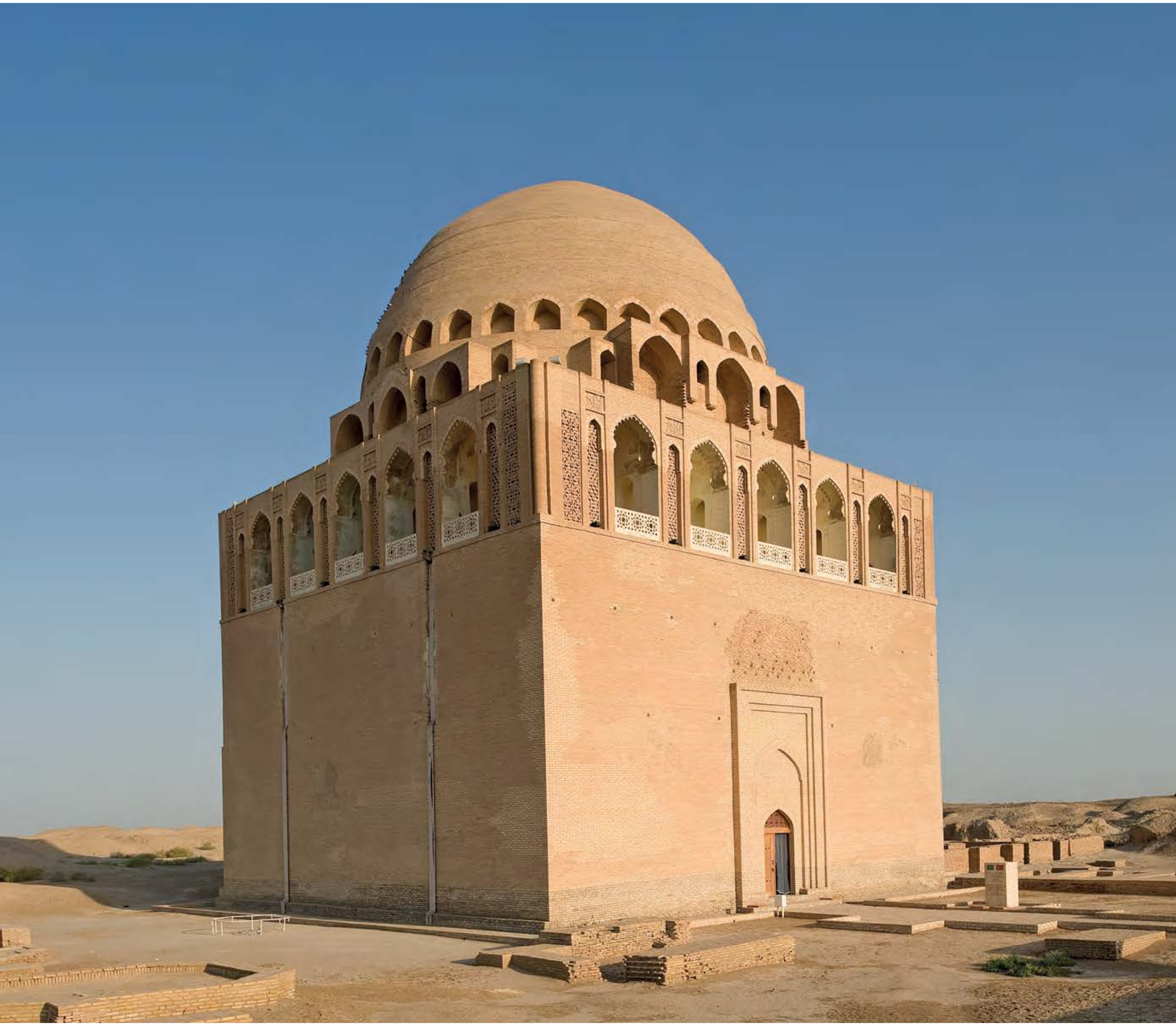
58. Modern statues of the Seljuk sultans Alp Arslan (seated, r. 1063–72) and Malik Shah I (r. 1072–92). Independence Monument in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. In the background modern luxury places of residence. Photo: 2014.



59. **The Ribat-e Sharif caravanserai dates from the Seljuk era. Situated some 130 kilometres east of Mashhad, Iran, it was built by Sultan Sanjar in 1114/15. The Sultan then commissioned an extension in the early 1150s. Photo: 2014.**

The loss of almost the whole of Anatolia to the Seljuks, and the Pecheneg threat, moved the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) to seek military help from the Pope and offer in exchange the union of the Orthodox Church of the Byzantine Empire and the Roman Catholic Church. Additional reports of Christian pilgrims being hindered from visiting the holy places of Palestine, and the vision of Pope Urban II (in office 1088–99) in rallying the feuding European princes around him in a common project, led in 1095 to the announcement of the First Crusade. The Seljuks, preoccupied with internal power struggles, were ill-prepared for this, and the Crusade culminated in 1099 in the storming of Jerusalem, which had been regained by the Seljuks only a year earlier from the Fatimids. The result was the creation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099), the principality of Antioch (1098) and the counties of Edessa (1098) and Tripoli (1102).

After the conquest of Syria and Palestine, Malik Shah turned his attention increasingly to the east. Previously, at the beginning of a campaign in late 1072, Alp Arslan had crossed the Oxus, capturing a number of fortresses on his way. The Karakhanid commander of one of them was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but in a struggle just before his execution he stabbed Alp Arslan who died of the wound four days later. The Karakhanid ruler of Samarkand, Shams al-Mulk Nasr I ibn Ibrahim (r. 1068/69–79/80), seized this opportunity and occupied Termez, but two years later Malik Shah won it back and marched on Samarkand, where Nasr I ibn Ibrahim submitted to him.[62] In 1088/89 or 1089/90 Malik Shah again set off for Khorasan and Mawarannahr. His army wrested Bukhara and Samarkand from the Karakhanids, whereupon he marched on to Uzgend, 50 kilometres east of today's Osh in south-western Kyrgyzstan. The Karakhanids of Fergana recognised his suzerainty, and Malik Shah ordered the eastern Karakhanid ruler of Kashgar and Balasaghun to submit to him as well. In view of the superior power of the Seljuks, Khan Hasan ibn Sulayman hastened to Uzgend and promised allegiance to Malik Shah.[63] Thus both the western and eastern Karakhanids became vassals of the Seljuks. Now the *khutba* was proclaimed in the name of Malik Shah



60. Built in Merv, Turkmenistan between 1140 and 1152, the so-called mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (r. 1118–53, d. 1157), was originally part of a palace and probably served as an audience hall rather than a mausoleum. The hall with its double-shell dome was restored in 2002–2004. Photo: 2014.

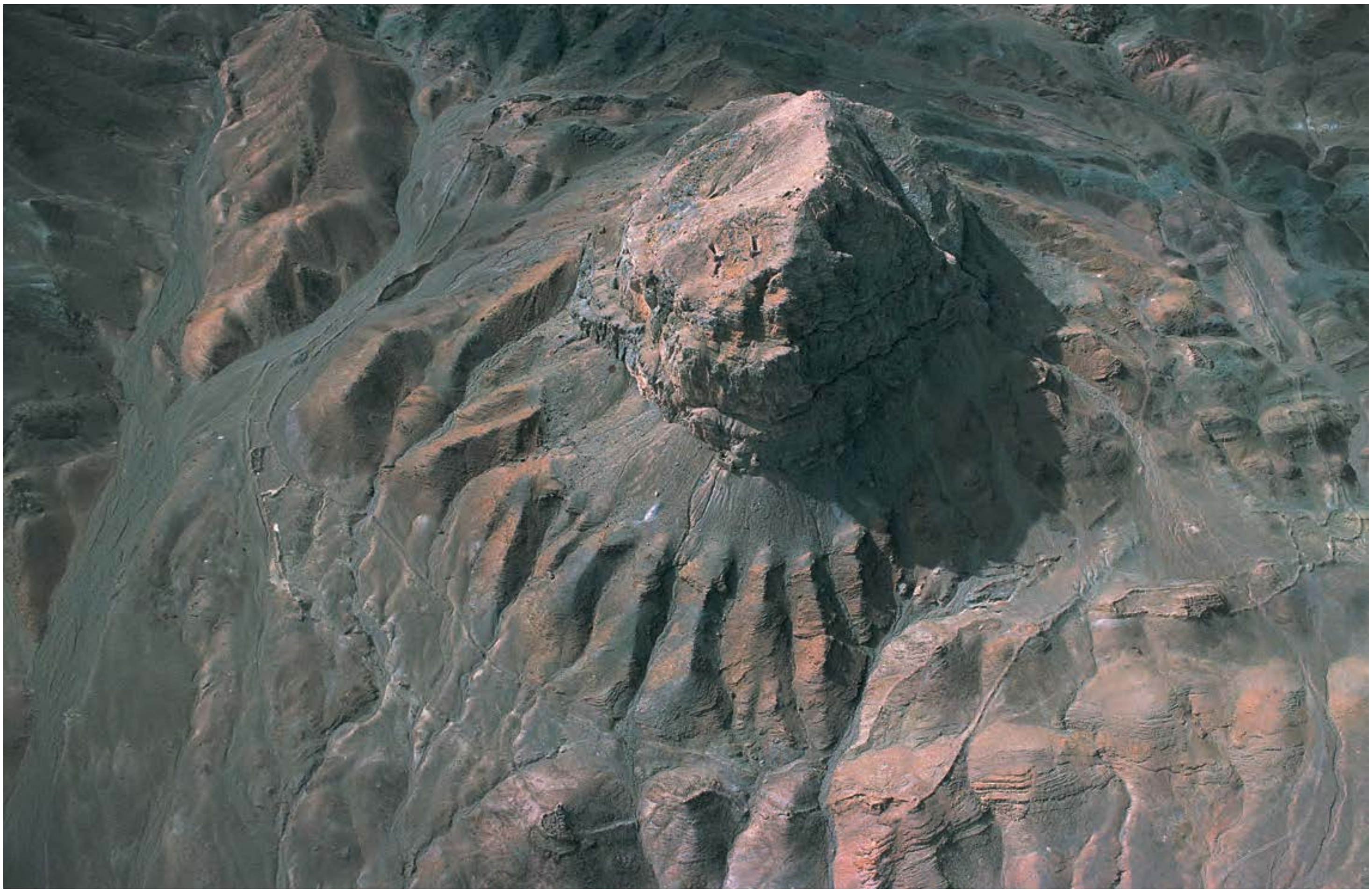
from Kashgar to Antioch and Jerusalem and as far as the holy places Mecca and Medina,[64] a distance of 4,000 kilometres; the empire of the Central Asian Seljuks now dominated large parts of the Islamic world. Yet it was by no means homogeneous, but rather resembled a leopard's coat – with provinces directly subject to the central government, local dynasties, vassal states and mutually hostile Islamic denominations.[65] The cornerstones of the empire were Nizam al-Mulk's administrative system and bureaucracy, and the *iqta*, as long as the individual land grants to the military were not hereditary and were subject to the control of the central government. For all these reasons the 30-year viziership of Nizam al-Mulk is considered the golden age of the Seljuks.

Nizam al-Mulk's cultural achievements include the introduction of madrasas in Iran and Mesopotamia, the construction of caravanserais along the major trade routes and the development of a new architectural typology, the four-*iwan* mosque (see below). When the vizier decided to support Sunni orthodoxy by introducing Nizamiyyas[66] which taught Shafi'ite law and Ash'arite theology, he adopted the Samanid ground plan for madrasas, which itself was probably modelled on Buddhist monasteries.[67] Nizam al-Mulk's most important madrasas were in Baghdad, Isfahan, Basra, Tus, Nishapur, Herat and Balkh.[68] To support trade throughout the vast Seljuk Empire, the vizier built caravanserais, at that time called *ribat* or *khan*, along the principal trade roads at intervals of a day's march of about 40 kilometres. These fortified caravanserais offered accommodation and protection from robbers, and provided access to water and animal fodder.[69] One of the best-preserved Seljuk caravanserais is Ribat-e Sharif, built around 1114/15 by the viceroy Ahmad Sanjar, the future Sultan Sanjar. It lay on the main road between Nishapur and Merv and had its own mosque (fig. 59).

The greatest architectural legacy of Nizam al-Mulk is the Friday mosque, *Masjid-e Jami'e*, the Great Mosque of Isfahan, which covers an area of 17,000 square metres and is among Iran's largest mosques (fig. 56). After Tughril's conquest of Isfahan in 1051, religiously motivated unrest had inflicted great damage on the mosque, and Nizam al-Mulk decided to rebuild it. The mosque has a large inner courtyard, surrounded by four *iwans* (vaulted hallways). The monumental domed chamber, which serves as the main prayer space, rises behind the main *iwan*, which faces the *qibla*, the prescribed direction of prayer to Mecca. The dome is supported by twelve massive piers, with trilobed squinches enabling the transition from the brick cube to the dome. Two minarets rise above the *qibla iwan*. An inscription of 1086/87 around the drum of the dome identifies Sultan Malik Shah and Vizier Nizam al-Mulk as founders of the complex. The Masjid-e Jami'e of Isfahan became the prototype for further Friday mosques in Iran and replaced the Abbasid hypostyle type, where the forest of columns obscured the view of the preacher for many of the faithful.[70]

Another important Seljuk monument which exerted a strong influence on later tomb architecture is the so-called mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (r. 1118–53, d. 1157) in Merv, Turkmenistan, which was built between 1140 and 1152 by two architects from Sarakhs in Khorasan (fig. 60). According to the geographer Yaqut al-Hamawi (1179–1229), who studied for two years in the nine public libraries in Merv, the 38-metre-high, turquoise-tiled dome of the monumental building was already visible to the traveller when still a day's journey away. At that time the cupola hall was not a freestanding structure as it is today but part of an enormous palatial complex. It probably served not as a tomb, but as an audience hall for the sultan. Its dome possessed a very early example of a double-shell construction, with light filling masonry and possibly arches on the inner shell supporting the outer shell. A double-shell dome construction allowed for reducing weight and was more resistant to earthquakes than a thick, rigid single shell. Furthermore, this technique made it possible to build discontinuous double-shell domes with an inner and outer cupola of different curvatures. As a result, the outer cupola often had a steeper gradient angle than the inner flatter one. The concept of the double-shell dome was later adopted in the huge octagonal mausoleum of the Il-Khanid ruler Oljeitu in Soltaniyeh (built 1305–*ca*. 1314 , fig. 183) and further developed by Filippo Brunelleschi in the dome of Florence Cathedral (completed in 1436). Later, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these monumental structures served as models for the mausoleums of the Mughal emperors Humayun and Akbar.[71]

For the design of the façades of monumental buildings, the Seljuks continued the tradition of Samanid ornamentation, which does not differentiate between the masonry and the external decoration.[72] Alternating horizontal and vertical patterns of the bricks, with distinct projecting elements, create an intricate play of light and shade, so that from a distance the façade gives an impression of wickerwork or a carpet with geometric designs. Moulded and carved gypsum stucco and insets of terracotta tile panels were also used to decorate façades. But in the second half of the eleventh century architects cautiously began to introduce coloured glazed brick mosaics in mainly light and dark blue tones, later supplemented with brown and black.[73]



61. Aerial photo of the secure Ismaili stronghold of Girdkuh in eastern Iran which withstood an 18-year siege by the Mongols and was only forced to surrender in 1271 when cholera broke out among the defenders. The ruins of the fortress can be seen on either side of the mountain crest. Photo: 1976/78.

The Ismailis of Alamut in the Seljuk Empire

The only political opponents whom Nizam al-Mulk could not subdue were the Ismailis of Alamut, who operated in a decentralised but coordinated manner.[74] Like all Shi'ites, the Ismailis believed that only one direct descendant of the family of the Prophet was authorised as imam to lead the community of all the Muslim believers. In the second half of the eighth century, the Ismailis split away from the Shi'ite majority. They recognised Ismail ibn Ja'afar, the second son of the sixth imam Ja'afar al-Sadiq, and his son Mohammad ibn Ismail, as the legitimate line of imams. But since Ismail had died in 760, about five years before his father Ja'far, the Shi'ite majority recognised Ismail's half-brother Musa, who was 25 years younger than Ismail, as the seventh imam and his descendants as the legitimate line. Holding fast to Ismail as the seventh imam, the Ismailis rejected Musa and split away from the Twelver Shi'ites. The Ismailis also believed that Islamic teaching should be interpreted only by someone who was divinely inspired, because Islam itself was introduced by the granting of the divine mandate to the Prophet. The highest authorities were the imam and the leading teachers, called *da'i*, appointed by him, to whom specific lands and regions were assigned. Ismaili teaching had an authoritarian character, for in contrast to the Sunni schools of law and theology, the Ismailis were not allowed to seek truth through theological interpretation and jurisprudence. The faithful were bound to believe and obey the statements of the imams appointed by God and the teachers nominated by them.

For Ismailis throughout the Muslim world, the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate (909–1171) and the subsequent conquests in Syria and Arabia had a signal effect. It seemed as though the dream of an Imamate led by a direct descendant of Ali was about to become reality, especially after the coup by General Basasiri in Baghdad of 1058/59. But Tughril rapidly restored the status quo in Baghdad and presented himself as the saviour of Sunni orthodoxy. At the same time Egypt was undergoing a crisis, and the centre of power shifted from the caliph to the vizier and army commander. Since those

Ismailis who lived in the Seljuk Empire could no longer expect liberation by Egypt, in the 1080s they began, in secret and with a strictly hierarchical organisation, to prepare for a decentralised uprising. Thanks to the historian Ata-Malik Juvaini (1226–83) from south-eastern Khorasan, we know a great deal about the history of the Ismailis of Alamut. When, in 1256, the Mongol conqueror Hülegü captured Alamut, the main stronghold of the Iranian Ismailis, he allowed Juvaini to examine the well-stocked library and archive and take away the valuable books before he had the fortress destroyed. Among the precious manuscripts there was a biography of Hasan-e Sabah, the founder of the Ismaili state of Alamut, which covered the period right up to Juvaini's own time.[75]

One of the most important leaders of the Ismaili uprising was the *da'i* of the northern Iranian province of Dailam, **Hasan-e Sabah** (d. 1124). In 1090 the Iranian Ismailis emerged from the clandestinity of the *taqiya* to attack fortresses and towns, in particular in the province of Rudbar in the Elburz mountains, and in Kuhistan, which formed the southern part of Khorasan. Their uprising was successful: the Ismailis occupied several smaller cities in Kuhistan, which broke away from the central Seljuk government. Hasan-e Sabah captured the mighty fortress of Alamut, built in 860/61, whose name means 'eagle's nest',[76] which he was never to leave again until his death. Hasan immediately extended Alamut, secured a source of fresh water, and laid in provisions so that at the beginning of 1092 he was able to resist the siege directed by Nizam al-Mulk.[77] A few months later, an Ismaili murdered the vizier. The unrest that broke out after the death of the sultan at the end of 1092 enabled the Ismailis to occupy dozens more mountain fortresses, whether by infiltration or by bribing their commanders or local military leaders. Among the most important fortresses were Lammasar and Maimundiz in Rudbar, Shahdiz and Khalinjan in the Isfahan region, others in Luristan and Kuhistan as well as the impregnable stronghold of Girdkuh (fig. 61), which held out from 1253 to 1271 against an 18-year uninterrupted siege by the Mongols.[78] The Ismailis now formed an actual state with territorial centres in Rudbar, Luristan, Isfahan and Kuhistan, which led to a stand-off between the insurgents and the ruling powers. The Ismailis could not topple the Seljuks, but could only murder individual dignitaries, while for the Seljuks themselves and the Chorasm-shahs who ruled from 1194 onwards, besieging and storming of dozens of mountain fortresses would have involved an enormous effort.

Four years after the beginning of the uprising, the Ismailis suffered an internal schism. On the death of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir in 1094, the vizier bypassed Nizar, the son whom the late caliph had designated as his successor, and installed one of his younger brothers as the new caliph. The rebellious Nizar was executed, but the Iranian Ismailis seized the opportunity to break with Cairo and appointed Hasan-e Sabah as *hujja*, the living 'proof' of the imam, that is his representative, who was now in charge of the Ismailis of Alamut, also called Nizaris.[79] Since the Nizari warriors were stationed in the many fortresses, and there were in any case too few of them to challenge the Seljuks in open battle, they chose assassination as their military tactic.[80] Politicians and commanders hostile to the Nizaris were stabbed to death in public places, in order to demonstrate the omnipresent danger that the Ismailis represented. Among their most prominent victims in Iran were Nizam al-Mulk and the two Abbasid caliphs al-Mustarshid (d. 1135) and al-Rashid (d. 1136), while in Palestine they killed Count Raymond II of Tripoli (d. 1152) and the Crusader king Conrad of Monferrat (d. 1192). Their two attempts on the life of Saladin failed.[81] Sometimes the potential victim was warned, when a *fida'i*, a partisan, who had infiltrated in the guise of a domestic servant or bodyguard, would lay a dagger with a note attached, at night beside the sleeping victim. According to Juvaini, this was how Hasan-e Sabah persuaded Sultan Sanjar to adhere to an armistice with the Nizaris for several years. Hasan sent to a bribed eunuch of Sanjar 'a dagger, which was stuck in the ground beside the Sultan's bed one night when he lay in drunken sleep. [. . .] Hasan-i Sabbah then sent a messenger with the following message: "Did I not wish the Sultan well, that dagger which was struck into the hard ground would have been planted in his soft breast." The Sultan took fright and from then on inclined towards peace with them. [. . .] I [Juvaini] saw several of Sanjar's *firmans* [royal decrees] which had been preserved in their library [at Alamut] and in which he conciliated and flattered them.'[82] Later the Nizaris also loaned out assassins for payment to friendly non-Ismaili rulers.

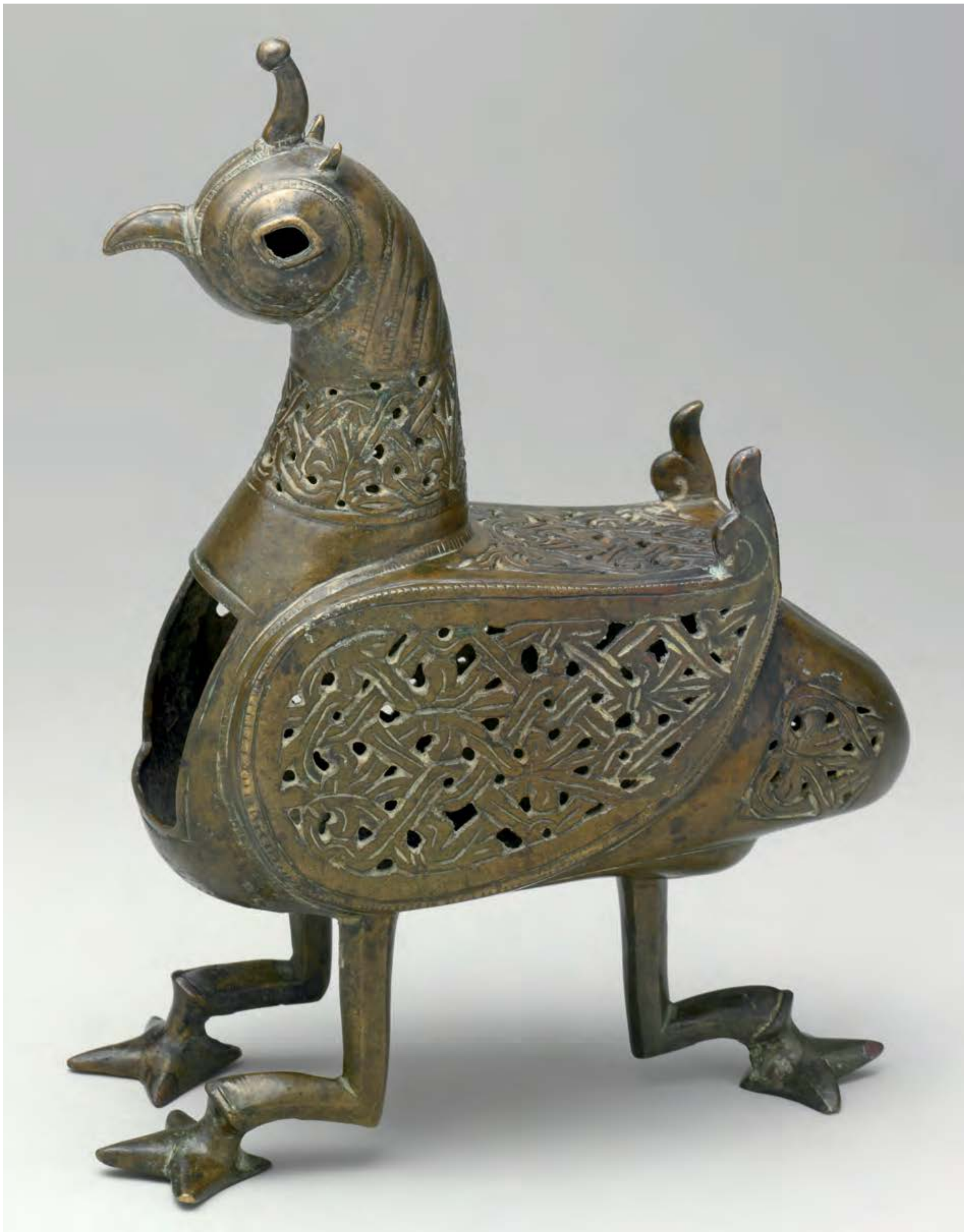
In 1164 the fourth *hujja*, **Hasan II** (r. 1162–66) announced that the advent of the Last Judgement and of spiritual resurrection was imminent, and that accordingly the *taqiya* was over and *sharia*, in particular the rules of conduct formulated in it, had lost their validity. From that day, all the faithful would understand the hidden meaning of God's message, 'and as a consequence hereof men have been relieved of the duties imposed by the Shari'at because in this period of the Resurrection they must turn in every sense towards God and abandon the rites of religious laws and established habits of worship'.[83] With this, the Nizaris confirmed the opinion of the Sunnis that they were no longer Muslims but apostates. At the same time the leader of the Syrian Ismailis, Rashid al-Din Sinan (d. 1192), known in European chronicles as 'the Old Man of the Mountain', was pursuing an opportunistic see-saw policy between Saladin's Muslim Ayyubids and the Crusaders; the Syrian Nizaris regularly paid tributes to the Christian orders of the Templars and of St John.[84] When the Last Judgement still had not come even 50 years after it had been announced, the sixth *hujja*, **Hasan III** (r. 1210–21), made a further about-turn by abjuring Ismaili beliefs and introducing the Sunni *sharia*, which brought him recognition as a regional Sunni emir. The Ismailis came to terms with this ideological capitulation on the part of their ruler by interpreting it as a radical reintroduction of the *taqiya*. As one of his last official acts, Hasan III submitted to the Mongols as soon as they crossed the Oxus.[85]

Under Hasan's successor **Muhammad III** (r. 1221–55) the Ismailis remained Sunnis in a purely formal sense, but in practice turned ever further away from Sunni orthodoxy. From the 1230s, the Mongols' anger over the Ismailis' aspiration to follow an independent path rapidly mounted,[86] which increasingly isolated the Nizaris. When envoys from Alamut came to pay their respects at the enthronement of Great Khan Güyük in Mongolia, Güyük treated them with contempt and replied to their letters with very harsh words. He then ordered his military commander Eljigidei, who was leaving for Persia, to deploy a fifth of his army in combat against the Nizaris.[87] Finally, in 1252, Great Khan Möngke decided to destroy once and for all the only two Muslim powers in the Near East that were still independent, the Ismailis of Alamut and the caliphate, and charged his brother Hülegü with this task. As Rubruck reported in 1254, Möngke's anger was further fuelled when he learned that 400 Ismaili assassins were on the way to Karakorum to stab him to death.[88] The Mongolian advance guard under General Ked Buqa failed in the siege of Girdkuh which began as early as May 1253, but Hülegü and Ked Buqa subdued Kuhistan, destroyed almost 70 Nizari outposts[89] and were approaching Rudbar. But before the Mongols entered Rudbar, some leading officers of Mohammad III had him murdered because of his increasingly irrational behaviour and they appointed his son **Khur-Shah Rukh al-Din** (r. 1255–56) as his successor.[90] Khur-Shah pursued delaying tactics, offering Hülegü a conditional surrender, but at the same time seeking the help of neighbouring Sunni princes. Presumably he hoped to stall Hülegü until the coming of winter, which would have made a longer siege impossible.

Hülegü however demanded unconditional capitulation and the destruction of all the fortresses, and on 8 November 1256, with the entire Mongolian army, took the vacillating Khur-Shah by surprise in the virtually impregnable fortress of Maimundiz. Hülegü, who had a 1,000-strong unit of Chinese experts in ballistics and units of 'naphtha-throwers', had mangonels (powerful siege engines) set up and bombarded the fortress with boulders and inflammable projectiles (such as containers filled with naphtha). Hülegü probably also used catapults with counterweights, similar to the European trebuchets. The trebuchet could fire a projectile weighing around 130 kilograms a distance of 300 metres, thus putting it virtually out of range of the defenders' deadly arrows. In addition, the besiegers also put in position a gigantic Chinese crossbow, which had a range of about 2,000 metres and fired off spears which were also filled with naphtha.[91] Khur-Shah lost his nerve and surrendered on 19 or 20 November, whereupon he, on Hülegü's orders, told all the Ismaili fortress commanders to capitulate immediately. In return he was granted safe conduct. Apart from Lammasar,[92] they all obeyed the command, and the Mongols were able in a very short time, and without suffering any losses themselves, to destroy some 35 castles stone by stone, and massacre a great number of Ismailis.[93] The example of Girdkuh, however, which did not surrender until 1271, shows that many of these mountain fortresses could have resisted a year-long siege if they had been adequately run – a view which was implicitly shared by the two Il-Khanid historians Juvaini and al-Rashid.[94]

After the destruction of the fortresses in the province of Rudbar, Khur-Shah was of no further use, but Hülegü did not have him killed immediately, since, as the historian Rashid al-Din pointedly remarked, he might still have been of help in persuading Ismaili fortresses in Syria to capitulate.[95] Hülegü therefore got rid of him by sending him to Möngke in Karakorum. Möngke refused to receive Khur-Shah, and via an envoy reproached him with the continuing resistance of the fortresses of Lammasar and Girdkuh. According to al-Rashid, Möngke expressed himself bluntly: 'Why are they bringing him and tiring a horse uselessly?' At Möngke's command, Khur-Shah was murdered in 1257 on his homeward march.[96] With the destruction of the Alamut Ismailis, Hülegü was doing a service to Sunni orthodoxy in the short term by eliminating their dangerous arch-enemy.[97] But a year later he forfeited Sunni goodwill when he destroyed Baghdad, and on 20 February 1258 had Caliph al-Mustasim Billah executed, thus putting an end to the Abbasid caliphate.[98]

Descendants of the Alamut Nizaris survived in Badakhshan, in the south of Tajikistan and in northern India, and have preserved their heritage.[99] The dissemination of the Ismaili branch of Shia Islam in Badakhshan is attributed to the traveller,[100] poet and Ismaili missionary Nasir Khusraw (1004–88).[101] Many centuries later, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Nizari leaders became public figures in Iran, and in 1818 the Shah of Persia bestowed the title of Aga Khan on the 46th imam Hasan Ali Shah, a title which was confirmed by a British-Indian court in 1866 after the imam had fled to Bombay.[102] The current, fourth, Aga Khan has reigned as the 49th Imam of an estimated 15 million Nizaris since 1957.[103]



62. Bronze bird-shaped incense burner from the Seljuk period, Central Asia or eastern Iran. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inv. no. 2008.460.

63. The ruins of the medieval town of Shahr-e Belqis in eastern Iran. Photo: 2014.

The deaths of Nizam al-Mulk and Malik Shah within a few weeks plunged the Seljuk Empire into a thirteen-year period of unrest and internal power struggles, which ended only with the enthronement of Sultan Muhammad Tapar (r. 1105–18). First, Terken Khatun, who probably had participated in the murders of the vizier and of her husband, seized power and appointed her four-year-old son **Mahmud I** (r. 1092–94) as sultan, while discontented followers of Nizam al-Mulk rallied round Mahmud's half-brother **Berkyaruq** (r. 1092–1105). The dispute between the two child sultans and their respective regents ended with the victory of Berkyaruq, after which, in 1095, he defeated a further challenger, Tutush, his uncle, who was the Emir of Damascus. In a further step, in 1097 Berkyaruq appointed his half-brother **Abu'l Harith Ahmad Sanjar** (r. as governor 1097–1118, as sultan 1118–53, d. 1157), who was about twelve years old, viceroy of Khorasan and placed an atabeg (tutor) and a vizier at his disposal. Berkyaruq spent the next five years of his reign in disputes with his stepbrother **Muhammad I Tapar** (r. as counter-sultan 1099–1105, as legitimate sultan

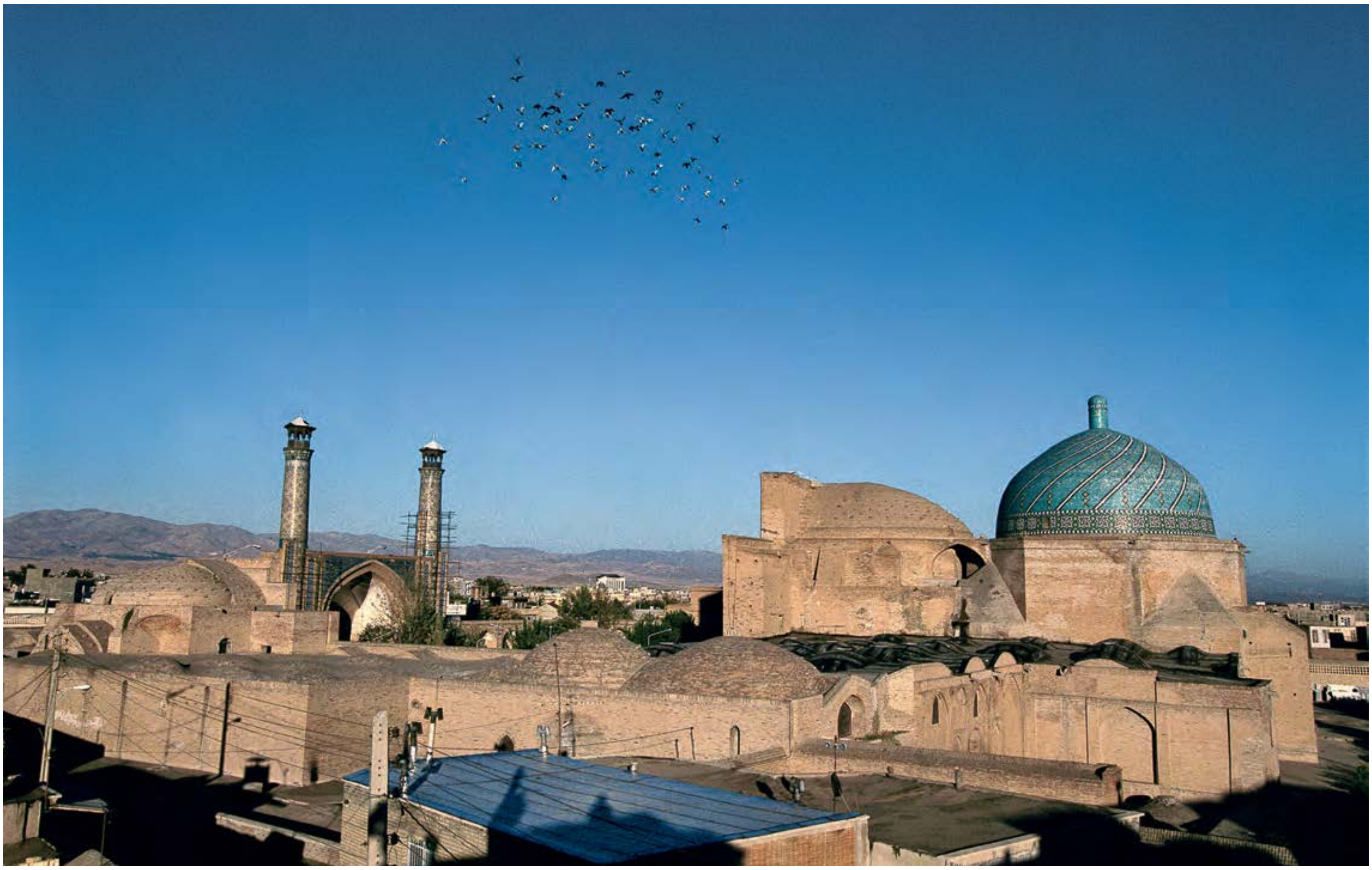
1105–18). In 1100, Berkyaruq suffered a defeat at the hands of Muhammad Tapar and set off eastward to attack Sanjar in his base, the distant city of Balkh. But Sanjar repulsed his attack and then moved his capital to Merv, in the centre of Khorasan.[104] In 1004 the three adversaries reached a compromise: Muhammad ruled the west, Berkyaruq the centre, and Sanjar retained the eastern part of the empire.

On Berkyaruq's death in 1105, another child sultan, his son **Malik Shah II** (r. 1105), was whisked onto the throne, but Muhammad Tapar had him deposed and killed, and declared himself sole ruler.[105] As soon as he took power as sultan Muhammad resolved to stamp out the Nizari 'state within a state' and to eliminate its fortresses one by one. Earlier, Berkyaruq and Sanjar had already succeeded in damping down the Nizari firestorm. Now Muhammad purged the Isfahan region of Nizaris by destroying in 1107 the fortresses of Shahdiz and Khalinjan; then he drove the Nizaris out of the province of Fars. But the attack on the Ismaili stronghold of Alamut failed, so that the sultan instructed the provincial governor Anush Tegin

Shirgir to continue the assault. Shirgir realised that it was impossible to take Alamut in one assault, so instead over the course of eight years he devastated Rudbar and laid siege to individual fortresses. In April 1118, when he was finally on the verge of definitive victory over the Nizaris, Muhammad died, whereupon the Seljuk soldiers mutinied and fled. The governor had to abandon the siege, and the Nizaris were saved from collapse.[106] On the death of Muhammad, whose nominal authority had been recognised by Sanjar, four or five young sons of Muhammad and their atabegs contended for the leadership. **Mahmud II** (r. 1118–31) emerged as victor from this dispute. But when he demanded a payment of tribute from his uncle Sanjar, the latter marched on Rayy and Baghdad and forced Mahmud to recognise him, the clan chief, as Great Sultan. In addition, Mahmud had to renounce the status symbols associated with the office, as well as Rayy and the territories belonging to it. So he was degraded to the position of a vassal of his uncle.[107]

Throughout his reign, Sanjar was preoccupied with his northern and eastern borders; above all, he had to reassert the supremacy over the western Karakhanids which had been achieved by his father, Malik Shah. In 1102, while Sanjar was away in Baghdad, the Karakhanid Qadïr Khan Jibrail of Balasaghun and Talas crossed Mawarannahr and invaded Khorasan. Sanjar hurriedly returned and defeated the intruder at Termez. He then installed the Karakhanid Muhammed II Arslan Khan in Samarkand, who reigned peacefully until 1130 and built a number of magnificent buildings in Bukhara. When, towards the end of his rule, there were disputes about the succession, Sanjar intervened and had parts of Samarkand looted. After two provisional rulers, Sanjar appointed his nephew Mahmud II Khan as ruler in Samarkand. Later in Sanjar's life, Mahmud Khan twice played a significant role: first in 1041, when Mahmud asked him for help against the Karluks, and Sanjar then suffered a crushing defeat in battle with them and the Qara Khitai, and in 1154–56, when he ruled as acting sultan during Sanjar's imprisonment.[108]

Sanjar then extended the Seljuk sphere of influence to the ailing Ghaznavid Empire. First, in 1107/8, he forced Ghur, a vassal kingdom of the Ghaznavids, which lay between Kabul and Herat, to recognise his supremacy. Juzjani, the historian of the



64. Dating from the Seljuk era, the Friday mosque of Qazvin in Iran was built between 1113 and 1120. Photo: 2001.

Ghurids, reports that the rulers of Ghur paid annual tribute to Sanjar in the form of arms, armour and fighting dogs. When, in 1151/52, the Ghurid Ala al-Din Husayn (r. 1149–61) tried to cast off Sanjar's supremacy, Sanjar captured him at Herat, releasing him only on payment of a large ransom.[109] In 1116, a struggle for succession between the two Ghaznavid princes Arslan Shah and Bahram Shah offered Sanjar a welcome opportunity to intervene in Ghazna. When the defeated Bahram Shah asked him for help, Sanjar attacked in 1117, defeated Arslan Shah, plundered the capital, Ghazna, and carried off the treasures collected by Arslan Shah's predecessors. Bahram Shah, once installed as sultan, had to commit himself to annual payments of tribute and to have the *khutba* read in Sanjar's name. In 1135 Bahram Shah felt strong enough to cast off Sanjar's supremacy and stop paying tribute, but Sanjar immediately led a surprise winter expedition to Ghazna and forced Bahram to subject himself to him again.[110] With his Ghazna campaign of 1117, Sanjar further extended Seljuk supremacy, for now the Karakhanids of Samarkand and Bukhara, the shahs of Chorasmia, the Ghurids and most recently the Ghaznavids were all obliged to pay him tribute.

Chorasmia, to the north of Khorasan, was of great strategic importance to the Seljuks, for it acted as a buffer to the troublesome Oghuz on the lower Syr Darya, a role played too by the western Karakhanids of Samarkand. Gurganj, the capital of Chorasmia, was also an important hub on the trade route to Atil, Bolghar and Rus. For this reason, Malik Shah had chosen the experienced slave officer Anush Tegin Garchai (in office 1077–97) as governor of Chorasmia. On his death, Sultan Berkyaruq appointed the Kipchak Ekinchi ibn Qochqar (r. 1097) as new governor, and the latter adopted the title of shah of Chorasmia. However, a few months later Ekinchi fell in a battle, and Berkyaruq installed a son of Anush Tegin, Qutb al-Din Muhammad (r. 1097–1127/28), as his successor.[111] While Qutb al-Din always remained loyal to Sanjar, Qutb's son Atsïz ibn Muhammad (1127/28–56) considerably strengthened the Chorasmian army and tried to cut himself off from Sanjar. In 1138 Atsïz dared to launch an uprising and as Sanjar approached, flooded the land in the central valley of the Oxus, south-east of Gurganj. But this did not prevent the sultan from defeating the Chorasmian army, killing Atsïz's son and occupying the capital, where he installed his nephew Suleiman Shah. Sanjar had hardly left Chorasmia when Atsïz drove out the Seljuks, and in the following year he conquered Bukhara. When in 1141 Sanjar suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Qara Khitai, Atsïz, in the hope of being able to retake Khorasan, advanced via Merv to Sarakhs and Nishapur. But Sanjar rallied, gathered his scattered forces again, occupied Gurganj in 1143/44, and forced Atsïz to submit once more. Now Atsïz hired Nizari *fida'in* to murder Sanjar. But that plan failed too, and in 1147 Sanjar again occupied Gurganj, forcing Atsïz to continue paying tribute.[112]

Sultan Sanjar possessed just about enough resources and military strength to keep sedentary enemies at bay, but not to subdue steppe warriors. Two such groups of different origins began to harass him from about 1137: the Turkic semi-nomadic Oghuz and the Mongolian Buddhist Qara Khitai. The Qara Khitai set in motion what was to prove a fatal development for Sanjar. They were a group of Mongolian refugees who had belonged to the ruling elite of the Liao state in the north-east of China and in Mongolia, which had fallen in 1125. Like the Uyghurs in the mid-ninth century,[113] the Qara Khitai, led by Yelü Dashi (1087–1143), fled westward, first to the Uyghurs of Kocho, from where, in about 1131/34, they captured Balasaghun, the residence of the Karakhanid Ibrahim ibn Ahmad. Numbering some 40,000 tents, the Qara Khitai now rapidly spread throughout Semirechie and displaced the Karluks, Oghuz and Kangli-Kipchaks, seizing their lands and driving them south, to Mawarannahr and the upper course of the Oxus. Still expanding, in 1137 under Yelü Dashi, who had proclaimed himself Gür-Khan, or universal Khan, they inflicted a heavy defeat at Khujand on Sanjar's nephew and vassal, Mahmud Khan of Samarkand. Four years later, Mahmud asked Sanjar for help against the Karluks, who had invaded the Samarkand region and taken over arable land for their herds. When Sanjar rushed to help his vassal, as both al-Nishapuri and the *Liao Shi*, the Chinese chronicle of the Liao, report, Yelü Dashi intervened on the Karluk side and on 9 September 1141 devastatingly defeated Sanjar on the steppe of Qatwan, not far from Samarkand: 'Eventually he [Yelü Dashi] reached Hsin-ssü-kan [Qatwan] where he met an army of 100,000, comprised of soldiers from various western countries under the command of Hu-erh-shan [Khorasan]. Ta-shih arranged his army in three parts and attacked the enemy. The western troops were completely defeated; their corpses covered the ground for 10 li [4,200 metres]. The Moslem kings surrendered and offered tribute.'[114] Thanks to this outstanding victory, the Qara Khitai, who were occupying Bukhara, extended their sphere of power as far as the Oxus; Mawarannahr and Chorasmia became their tribute-paying vassals.[115]

The spectacular defeat of the hitherto virtually invincible sultan had a huge impact. For one thing, Sanjar's reputation suffered irreparable damage: not only did he lose all his sovereign power beyond the Oxus, but for the very first time an important part of the Muslim community had fallen under the sway of 'infidels'. On the other hand, the news of the Seljuk sultan's disastrous defeat travelled as far as the Crusaders and Western European rulers, and this contributed decisively to the legend of a victorious Christian priest-king known as Prester John (Lat. *Presbyter Ioannes*), who would soon speed to the aid of the hard-pressed Crusaders.[116]

The displacement of the Oghuz by the Qara Khitai was an indirect cause of Sanjar's fall and the end of the Seljuk sultanate in Central Asia. Bloody conflicts between the Oghuz in the upper Oxus regions and Sanjar's officials in Balkh provoked the sultan into refusing reparations offered by the Oghuz and, in 1153, into taking military action against them, but Sanjar lost two battles in succession and was finally taken prisoner. Humiliated and ill-treated, Sanjar was forced to accompany the Oghuz as they looted and pillaged their way through Khorasan. According to al-Juvaini, he was locked in an iron cage every night.[117] Merv and Nishapur suffered badly, as al-Nishapuri describes: 'When [in a plundered city] nothing remained on the surface of the ground, they tortured the prisoners and stuffed dirt with salt into their mouths until they showed buried goods. [. . .] After two years, Nishapur with such ornament and expanse was so ruined and deserted that [. . .] [its places] became pastures for sheep and hiding places for beasts, birds and serpents.'[118] Meanwhile Mahmud Khan of Samarkand, whom Sanjar's remaining officials had put in place as interim ruler, tried to preserve the Seljuk rump government. In 1156 Sanjar managed to escape to Termez and then to Merv, where he died in 1157. Although he confirmed the appointment of Mahmud Khan on his deathbed, Mahmud was unable to assert his claim; in 1160 he was blinded,[119] and his power in Khorasan was divided between several commanders. Around 1163 a dam burst near Merv, which severely damaged agriculture and hastened the economic decline of northern Khorasan.[120] The tripartite struggle for Khorasan that loomed in the 1170s between the Ghurids, the Qara Khitai and the aspiring Shah of Chorasmia put an end to the rule of the Seljuk warlords.

While the empire of the Seljuks neared its end in the east with the capture of Sanjar in 1153, it was able to maintain itself in the west in a weakened form up to 1194. After the death of Mahmud II in 1131, three developments determined political history in western Iran and in Mesopotamia. The Turkic army commanders and atabegs were growing increasingly powerful and began to establish regional centres of power with a system of hereditary succession. As a result, the sultans lost their authority. And, finally, the Abbasid caliphs were gradually able to regain some political influence. In 1194 the last Seljuk sultan, Tughril III, fell in battle near Rayy against Tekish, the Shah of Chorasmia. As al-Nishapuri noted, 'the dynasty of the Seljuqs was first founded by Tughril and with Tughril it was ended'.[121]

2. The Karakhanids

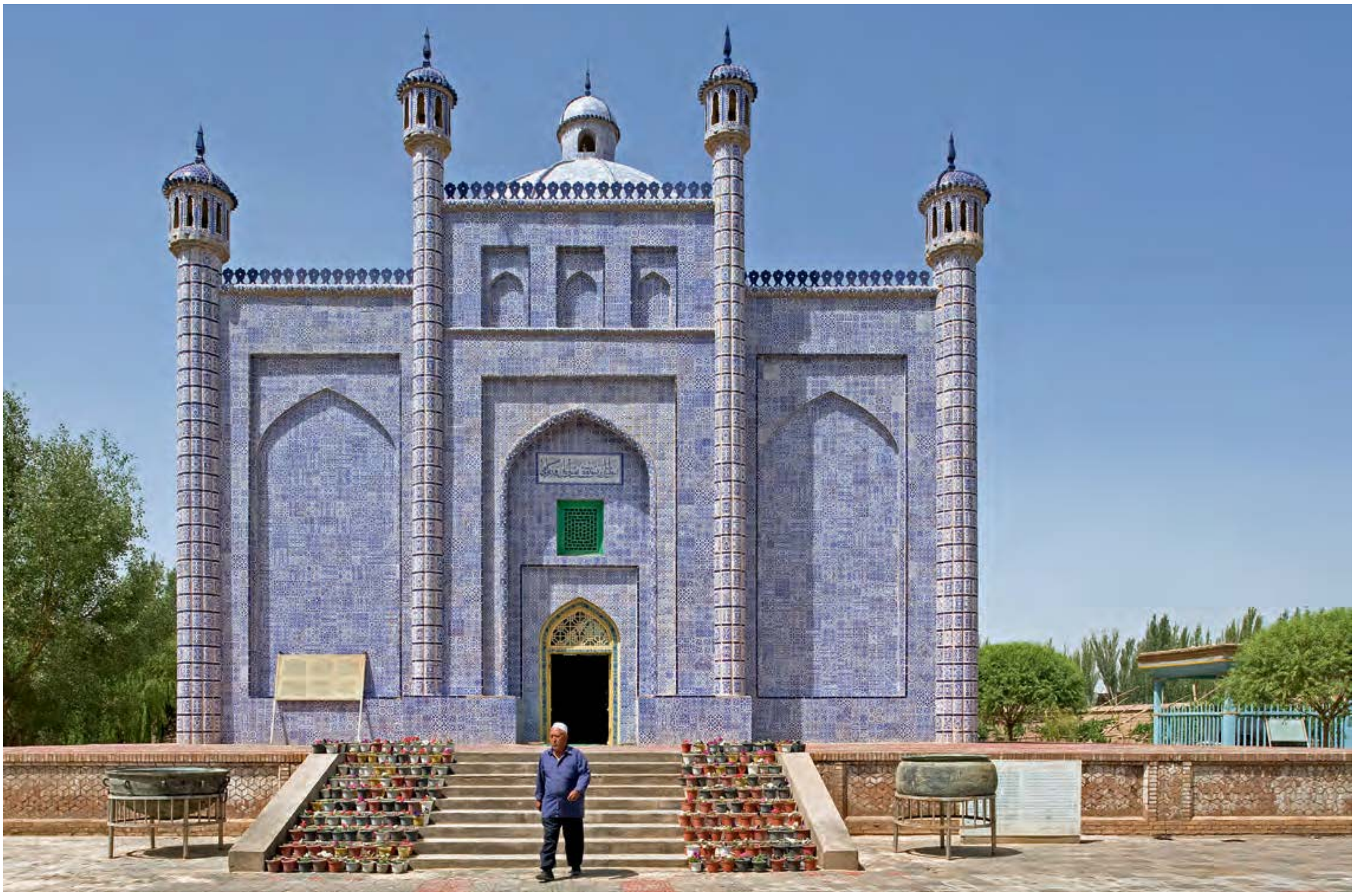
In the second half of the tenth century, the tribal confederation of the Turkic Karakhanids entered history. Unlike, for example, the Ghaznavids and Seljuks, they did not form a centrally structured state led by a military elite, but were a loose group of tribes with three transregional centres, Semirechie/Kashgaria, Mawarannahr and Fergana, which in turn were divided into individual princedoms. The Karakhanids emerged from the merger of the elites of the Turkic Karluks, Chigil and Yagma; whether the Chigil and Yagma also belonged to the Karluk group remains in dispute.[122] It seems that the Chigil formed the nucleus of the originally unified Karakhanid army.[123] The name 'Karakhanids' and the older name 'Ilek-Khanids' are in fact the creations of European Orientalists, who used these two titles to identify the dynasty. Contemporary Arabic sources call it *al-Khaqaniyya*, and Persian ones *Ahl-e Afrasiyab*, 'family of Afrasiyab', the legendary king of Transoxania.[124]

The ruling Karakhanid dynasty was organised in a similar way to that of the Göktürk Ashina clan and was based on a dual system, in which each of the two functional strands included the name of an animal which corresponded to a tribal totem. The eastern khagan, who was nominally higher in rank, was called *Arslan Kara Khagan*, which means 'lion, black, Great Khan'. His winter camps were at Balasaghun (east of Bishkek) and Kashgar; the lion was the totem animal of the Chigil. The western khagan, who was nominally of lower rank, was called *Bughra Khagan*, 'male-camel-Khagan', and his winter camp was first in Taraz, and from 999 in Samarkand; the male camel was the totem animal of the Yagma. Below the two khagans were two subordinate rulers with the functional titles of Ilek and Tegin, so they were Arslan Ilek and Arslan Tegin, Bughra Ilek and Bughra Tegin. In addition there were further governors with the titles of *Böri* (wolf), *Yagan* (elephant) and *Tughril*, *Chagri* and *Paygu* (birds of prey).[125] Since each function was linked to a special title, a prince's title would change with his status, as, for example, when an Arslan Ilek rose to become Bughra Kara Khagan, or Bughra Khagan was appointed Arslan (Kara) Khagan. The only unchangeable name, after conversion to Islam, was the personal Islamic name, but the same prince could in the course of his career also acquire several Muslim honorific names, so-called *Laqab*. Thus if the Islamic personal name is missing from a Karakhanid name, the dignitary cannot be identified with total certainty.[126]

2.1 The Unified Khaganate

It seems that the pre-Karakhanid Karluks of the region around the city of Taraz (in today's southern Kazakhstan) were driven out of their local pasturelands in 893, when the Samanid Ismail ibn Ahmad conquered the city. As a result of this defeat, the Karluks turned towards the east, to Kashgaria, where Satuk (d. 955/56) became the first Karakhanid prince to convert to Islam. According to Pritsak, Satuk was a nephew of the Great Khan Ogulchak Khan, who lived in Kashgar, having been driven out of Taraz in 893.[127] As the historian Jamal Qarshi, who lived in the thirteenth century in Kashgar, describes, Satuk, who lived in Artuj (Artush), east of Kashgar, was converted to Islam before 946 by a Samanid nobleman who was exiled there, and took the name Abd al-Karim.[128] Satuk then had a legal pronouncement issued, a *fatwa*, which stated that he was permitted to kill his heathen uncle, Ogulchak. Soon after 946 he marched with his followers on Kashgar, where he seized power and gave himself the name **Abd al-Karim Satuk Bughra Khan** (r. *ca.* 946–55/56). Satuk was succeeded by his son **Musa ibn al-Karim Baytash** (r. 955/56–?), while his brother Sulayman (father of the man who would later capture Bukhara, Bughra Khan ibn Sulayman), was given the title of Ilek.[129] Although Musa's attacks on the Buddhist kingdom of Khotan failed – Khotan did not fall until 1006, to the Karakhanid Yusuf Qadïr Khan – those to the west were successful. Musa conquered Taraz and appointed himself the new Arslan Khagan, and in around 960 persuaded the '200,000 tents' of Karakhanid families to convert to Islam.[130]

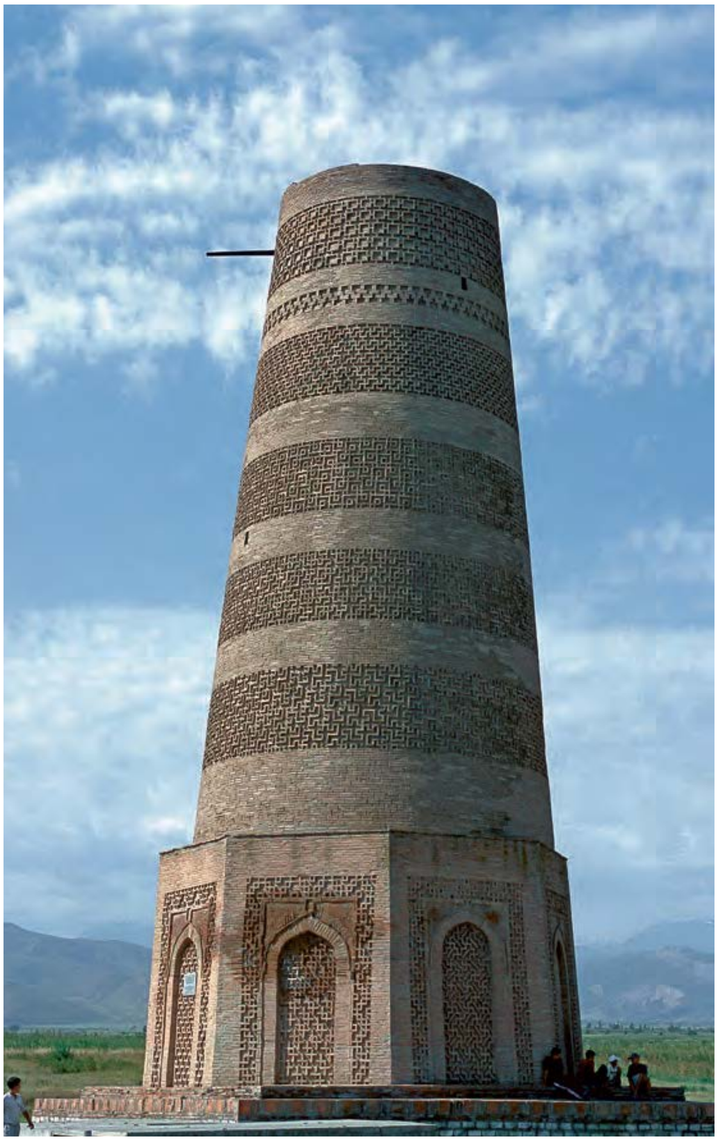
At the same time, to the west of Lake Issyk Kul, Musa founded the new capital of Balasaghun (near today's small town of Burana), also called Kara Ordu or Quz Ordu; the former Karluk city of Suyab (Ak Beshim), only a few kilometres away, became derelict over time. In Balasaghun, Musa had a victory tower built of fired brick, originally 40 to 50 metres high (fig. 66). According to the archaeologist Valentina Gorâčeva, the entrance portal was 5 metres above the octagonal base, and no traces of a mosque were found, which suggests that the tower was not a minaret belonging to a mosque but a visual expression of the triumph of the Muslim



65. The mausoleum of Abd al-Karim Satuk Bughra Khan (r. *ca.* 946–55/56), founder of the Karakhanid dynasty, in Artush, Xinjiang, China. Repeatedly destroyed by earthquakes, the mausoleum was restored in 1995. Photo: 2009.

Karakhanids and the success of their efforts at Islamisation. The victory of Islam over the religious beliefs of the Karluks, who had until recently been 'infidels', was expressed symbolically by the placing here of a Göktürk stone figure which had been removed from a kurgan and buried at a depth of 5 metres in the foundations of the tower.[131] The tower at Balasaghun is the oldest victory tower in Central Asia; further tower-like, cylindrical minarets are still standing today in Vabkent (fig. 68) and Bukhara (fig. 67), both in Uzbekistan, in Jam (fig. 78) and Ghazna (fig. 75), both in Afghanistan, and in Gurganj, in Turkmenistan (fig. 83).

The power struggles convulsing the neighbouring Samanid Empire made it a tempting target for attack by the Karakhanids. Musa's successor **Bughra Khan Hasan (Harun) ibn Sulayman** (r. ?–992)[132] conquered Isfijab in 990 and Bukhara two years later. But he died on the march back to Taraz; his successor as Arslan Khagan was his son **Ali ibn Musa** (r. 992–98), who in turn was succeeded by **Ahmad ibn Ali Arslan Khan** (r. 998–1015/16 or until 1017/18). Under the supreme rule of Ahmad, the rump Samanid state was shattered when Ali ibn Musa's son Arslan Ilek Abu'l Hasan Nasr ibn Ali (d. 1013), advancing from Uzgend, conquered Čač (Tashkent) in 997 and Bukhara in 999, almost without a struggle. At the same time the Ghaznavid sultan Mahmud occupied Khorasan, whereupon the two victors defined their common border at the Oxus. Al-Gardizi reports: 'The two rulers came to a solemn agreement that Transoxiana should be held by the Khan (i.e. the Ilig Nasr), whilst Amir Mahmud should have the lands south of the Oxus.'[133] The Karakhanid family dynasty now ruled from the Oxus to the Tarim basin, while the spheres of influence of the individual khagans, ileks and tegins were only imprecisely defined. At any rate, Ilek Nasr expressed dissatisfaction with his share of the booty, and when, in 1006, Sultan Mahmud was in northern India, near Multan, two Karakhanid armies attacked Balkh and Nishapur, whereupon Mahmud returned in a forced march and chased the intruders to the other side of the Oxus. Only a year later, Ilek Nasr again attacked near Balkh, where in early 1008 he suffered a heavy defeat. In the words of Gardizi, Mahmud 'gave orders that all the elephants should be enraged and sent forward in an attack. The Turks were immediately defeated, and Amir Mahmud's army killed large numbers of them and took many captives. Those who fled were drowned in the Oxus.'[134]

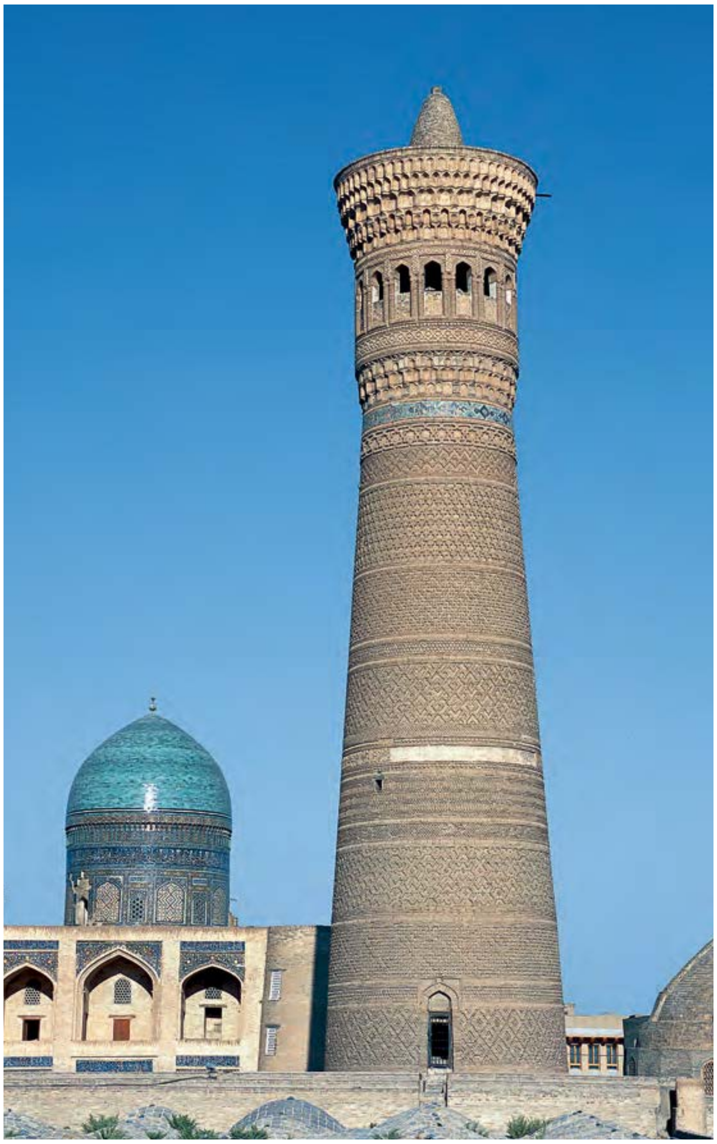


66. The early Karakhanid victory tower at Balasaghun, Kyrgyzstan, was originally between 40 and 50 metres high but has been damaged by earthquakes. It was built sometime between the late tenth or early eleventh century.[16] Photo: 2004.

This, apart from minor skirmishes, was the Karakhanids' last attempt to gain a foothold south of the Oxus. It failed not least because Sultan Mahmud made adroit use of the inter-Karakhanid disputes to drive a wedge between the hostile parties. A clear indication of inter-Karakhanid tensions is the conquest of Balasaghun in 1015/16 by Ilek **Mansur ibn Ali** (r. 1015/16 or 1017/18–24/25), who immediately had himself proclaimed Arslan Khagan. In the war against Ahmad ibn Ali, Mansur also captured Ali Tegin Ali ibn Hasan (r. 1014/15 or 1020/21–34/35). But in 1019/20 Ali Tegin succeeded in escaping, and with the help of the Seljuk Israïl ibn Seljuk he conquered Bukhara, thus becoming the most dangerous opponent of Mahmud of Ghazna. The latter therefore formed an alliance with Yusuf Qadïr Khan of Khotan and Kashgar, the later **Qadïr Arslan Khagan** (r. *ca.* 1025/26–31/32). As Gardizi relates, Mahmud crossed the Oxus on a pontoon bridge and met Qadïr Khan near Samarkand. At a magnificent feast, where choice gifts were exchanged, the two rulers decided to drive out Ali Tegin and his Seljuks.[135] Ali Tegin fled from Mahmud, who captured Israïl ibn Seljuk in 1025 or 1026 and abducted him to India, whereupon Ali Tegin returned to Bukhara, proclaimed himself first Arslan Ilek, and in 1031 Arslan Khan, and ruled Mawarannahr independently, predetermining the splitting of the Karakhanid Empire.[136] Qadïr's successor **Arslan Kara Khagan Sulayman ibn Yusuf** (r. 1031/32–40) and the Ghaznavid Masud continued the alliance against Ali Tegin; a campaign of Masud's ended in an indecisive battle against Ali Tegin and his Seljuk allies as well as in the death of the Ghaznavid vassal Altun Tash Chorasm-shah. Soon after Ali Tegin's death, his son and successor Yusuf ibn Ali (r. 1034/35–40) drove the Seljuks out of Bukhara; they initially headed for Chorasmia, where they were defeated by Shah Malik and driven off again, this time to Khorasan.[137] Even if the forced departure of the Seljuk horsemen weakened Bukhara, Yusuf ibn Ali succeeded in driving the unpredictable Seljukid Oghuz out of the Karakhanid Empire and directing their energies to Khorasan and further into Iran.

2.2 The Western Khaganate

In 1038/39 the two sons of Arslan Ilek Abu'l Hasan Nasr (d. 1013), Böri Tegin Ibrahim ibn Nasr and Muhammad ibn Nasr, occupied the Chaganiyan region, from where they attacked Yusuf ibn Ali and conquered most of Transoxania. Böri Tegin took the title of Tamghach Bughra Khagan in 1039/40. **Ibrahim I ibn Nasr Tamghach Bughra Khagan** (r. 1040–68/69) then designated Samarkand as his capital, thus completing the division of the formerly unified kingdom, whose border ran more or less along the Syr Darya. In parallel with the division of the realm, two ruling dynasties emerged: in the west, the descendants of Ali ibn Musa, the 'Alids', and in the east those of Hasan (Harun) Bughra Khan, the 'Hasanids'.[138] Contemporary sources praise Ibrahim Tamghach, who in 1059/60 incorporated Fergana into his territory, as a strict and just ruler, who introduced currency reform and had public buildings such as hospitals and caravanserais built. However, his successors **Shams al-Mulk Nasr ibn Ibrahim** (co-regent 1067/68–68/69, r. 1068/69–79/80)[139] and **Khidr ibn Ibrahim** (r. 1079/80–86/87) found themselves increasingly exposed to Seljuk pressure from the south-west, which around 1089 culminated in the conquest of Samarkand by Malik Shah. From now on until 1141 the western Karakhanids were vassals of the Seljuks, who appointed and deposed the Karakhanid Khans almost at will. For a short time, the eastern Karakhanids and Fergana also recognised the supremacy of the Seljuks. In 1095 the Sudur, the elite of the legal scholars and imams of Samarkand and Bukhara, together with army officers, organised a coup against the popular **Ahmad ibn Khidr** (r. 1086/87–89, 1092–95), whom they accused of Shi'ite heresy and had him strangled.[140] In the words of Barthold, 'this event must be regarded as the greatest of the successes gained by the priesthood in alliance with the military classes over the government and the mass of citizens'.[141] After the brief reigns of four further khans, Sultan Sanjar drove the eastern Karakhanid **Qadïr Khan Jibrail ibn Umar** (r. *ca.* 1099–1102) out of Mawarannahr; he then installed **Muhammad II ibn Sulayman** (r. *ca.* 1102–30) as Arslan Khan of Samarkand. Just under 30 years later, Sanjar once more intervened as a result of renewed tensions with the Sudur and problems of succession, and finally installed his nephew, **Mahmud II Khan ibn Muhammad** (r. 1132/33–41).[142]



67. The 46.5-metre-high Kalyan minaret, built in 1127 in Bukhara, Uzbekistan and topped by a lantern, was originally a religious Karakhanid victory tower. Until 1884, criminals condemned to death were sewn into a sack and thrown from the top of the tower. Photo taken from the roof of the Kalyan Mosque: 2004.

68. The Vabkent victory tower in the oasis of Bukhara, Uzbekistan, 39 metres high and brick-built, was erected in 1141. Photo: 2004.

After the defeat of Mahmud in 1137 and that of Sanjar in 1141 by the Qara Khitai, the western Karakhanids were forced to recognise the supremacy of the Qara Khitai, who allowed their vassals a high degree of autonomy as long as they paid tribute.[143] The new governor of Samarkand was **Ibrahim III ibn Muhammad Khan** (r. 1141–56). In this period of turmoil between 1137 and 1141, the third Karakhanid khaganate of Uzgend was formed in Fergana. While the 1150s and early 1160s were marked by conflicts with the invading Karluks, who killed Ibrahim ibn Muhammad Khan,[144] towards the end of the twelfth and in the early thirteenth century the western Karakhanid khans increasingly came under the influence of the religious caste of the Sudur. At the same time they were confronted with the aspiring military power of their western neighbours, the Chorasm-shahs, who were also vassals of the Qara Khitai. The Qara Khitai for their part were hard pressed by the nomadic equestrian warriors of the Naiman under Prince Küchlüg, who had to flee to the west from Genghis Khan. In this difficult situation the last western Karakhanid ruler, **Sultan Uthman** (r. 1202/3–12), was able to hold his ground for another decade thanks to a skilful see-saw policy between the Chorasm-shahs and the Qara Khitai. But Sultan Uthman's sphere of power was restricted to the Samarkand region, for the Sudur ruled despotically in Bukhara. When, in 1207, the oppressed population rebelled, the Chorasm-shah Ala al-Din Muhammad ibn Tekish (r. 1200–20) made use of the opportunity to intervene. He crushed the people's uprising, broke the domination of the Sudur and took over Bukhara. In contrast to the Qara Khitai, who in 1208/9 once again briefly established their supremacy over Samarkand but spared the city, in 1212 Chorasm-shah Muhammad had Samarkand's population massacred; Sultan Uthman, who had rebelled against him a year earlier, was executed.[145]

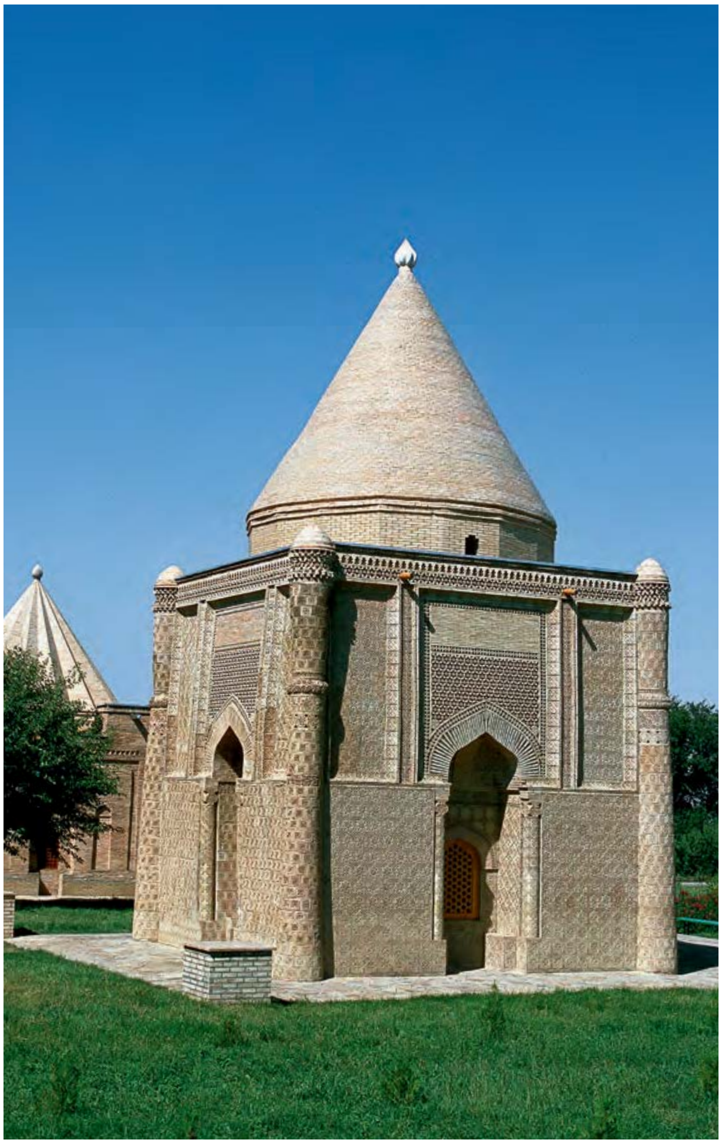
That decade, and even more so the one that followed, brought Central Asia the most painful and brutal upheavals it had ever experienced. In 1211 the Naimans put an end to the dynasty of the eastern Karakhanids; in 1212 the Chorasm-shahs and the Naimans divided up the remaining territory of the independent Qara Khitai, and Chorasm-Shah Muhammad ibn Tekish defeated the western Karakhanids. But by 1218 the Mongols had already destroyed the Naiman ruler Küchlüg,[146] and by 1221 the formerly flourishing and wealthy cities of the Chorasm-shahs such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Gurganj, Herat, Balkh, Merv, Nishapur and Tus were for the most part uninhabited piles of rubble.

2.3 The Eastern Khaganate

After the defection of Ibrahim Tamghach Bughra Khagan, the khagan of the formally unified Karakhanid Empire, **Sulayman ibn Yusuf**, became the first Arslan Khagan of the eastern Karakhanids (r. in the unified khaganate 1031/32–40, in the eastern khaganate *ca.* 1040–56, d. 1057). Arslan Khagan Sulayman ibn Yusuf retained the two capitals, Balasaghun and Kashgar, but had to concede Taraz and Isfijab to his brother **Bughra Khan Muhammad ibn Yusuf** (r. as Arslan Khan 1056–57). In 1056 the latter took over as Arslan Khan, but reigned for only a year; he was followed by **Ibrahim ibn Muhammad** (r. 1057–62), who lost control of Kashgar to a rival relative. At the beginning of the rule of his successor **Tughril Kara Khagan Yusuf ibn Sulayman** (r. *ca.* 1062–*ca.* 1083/85) Balasaghun was subject to the western Karakhanids, so that his territory was restricted to Kashgaria. Around 1068/69 or shortly afterwards, Tughril succeeded in driving the western Karakhanids out of Balasaghun and in restoring the eastern Khaganate. He was followed by his brother **Bughra Khan (Harun) Hasan ibn Sulayman** (r. post-1083/85–before 1098/99), who had already ruled Kashgar and Khotan since *ca.* 1068. In about 1089/90 Hasan ibn Sulayman had to temporarily acknowledge the supremacy of the Seljuk Malik Shah, but on the other hand he extended the Karakhanid influence eastward as far as Kucha.[147] A Karakhanid legacy is found in the language spoken today in Xinjiang by the native Uyghurs. This vernacular has not developed from the ancient Uyghur language, but from the Karakhanid, which belongs to the eastern group of Middle Turkic languages, as does the later Chaghatai, from which the Uzbek language developed.[148]

The end of eastern Karakhanid supremacy was brought about by their incompetence in dealing with rebellious horse nomads. When the Khitan Liao dynasty, which ruled in north-east China and Mongolia, was toppled by the Jurchen between 1114 and 1125, a group of the ruling Khitan of around 20,000 horsemen under their leader Yelü Dashi fled to central Mongolia. Here they were joined by several Turkic tribes, so that their numbers had doubled to 40,000 when they moved westward, to the Uyghurs of Kocho.[149] Between 1128 and 1130 Yelü Dashi mounted an attack on Kashgaria, but was driven back to Kocho in a fierce battle by Hasan ibn Sulayman's son **Ahmad ibn Hasan** (r. 1103–post-1128). Soon afterwards Ahmad ibn Hasan's successor **Ibrahim ibn Ahmad** (r. post-1128–31/34, as Ilek Türkmen until 1157/58) found himself unable to deal with a revolt by Karluks and Kangli-Kipchaks, and asked Yelü Dashi and his Qara Khitai, also called Kara-Khitan, for help. Yelü Dashi immediately led his mounted warriors to Kara Ordu (Balasaghun), which he occupied without meeting resistance between 1131 and 1134, and, in Juvaini's words, 'ascended the throne that had cost him nothing'.[150] He retained Ibrahim as a powerless vassal, downgrading him to *Ilek Türkmen*, after already having had himself declared *Gür-Khan*, the universal ruler.[151] In Balasaghun, 10,000 further Khitans strengthened the army of Yelü Dashi – warriors who, as former mercenaries of the western Karakhanid Muhammad II ibn Sulayman (r. 1102–30), had deserted to Balasaghun.[152] As Juvaini describes, Yelü Dashi then conquered Taraz, Otrar, Kashgar, Khotan and even the Uyghur Besh Baliq,[153] which served the Uyghurs of Kocho as a summer residence. The supremacy of the Qara Khitai was initially easy to endure for the Uyghurs of Kocho, since they kept their autonomy, and the Qara Khitai were Buddhists like them. Yelü Dashi then marched to Fergana and at Khujand defeated Mahmud Khan of Samarkand. With this campaign, the sovereignty of the eastern Karakhanids came to an end. At the same time, al-Husayn ibn al-Hasan (r. c. 1137–56) proclaimed himself Khagan of Fergana as vassal of the Qara Khitai. From 1211/12, Kashgar, Khotan, Balasaghun and Fergana were ruled by the Naiman Küchlüg.

The era of the Karakhanids, whether as supreme rulers or as vassals, was a golden age for the south of Central Asia. As is shown by the example of the fall of Ibrahim ibn Ahmad, the precondition for political and social stability lay in the control of

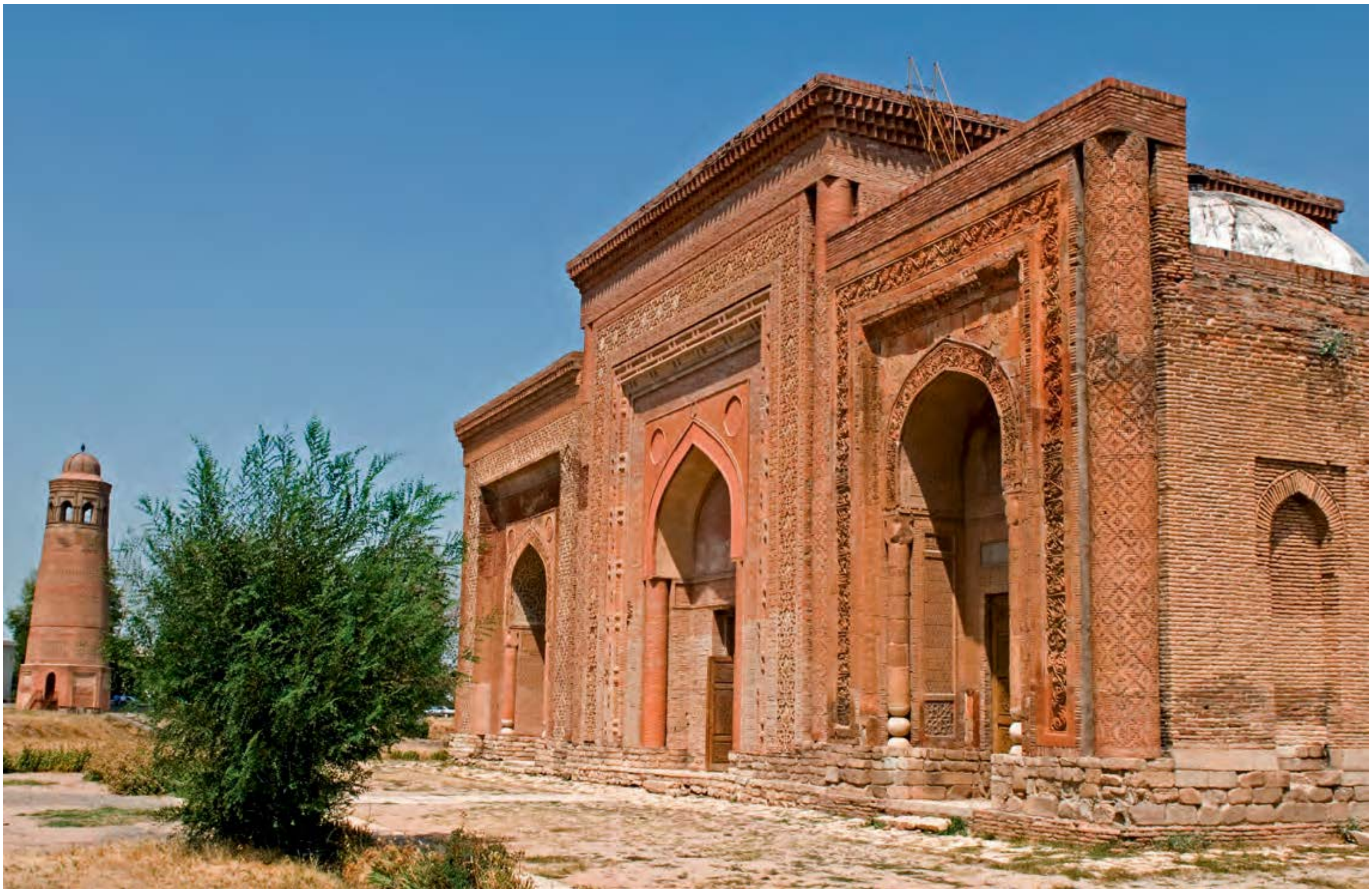


69. The Karakhanid mausoleums built in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries for Aisha Bibi and her nurse Babazda Khatun. Situated to the west of Taraz, Kazakhstan, they are modelled on the Samanid mausoleum in Bukhara. (fig. 15) They were restored in 2002. According to legend, Aisha, daughter of a prince of Samarkand, or in some versions a Sufi poet, wanted to marry a young ruler of Taraz but her father refused his permission. When she fled in secret to Taraz, her father put a curse on her and she was bitten to death by a snake. Photo: 2005.

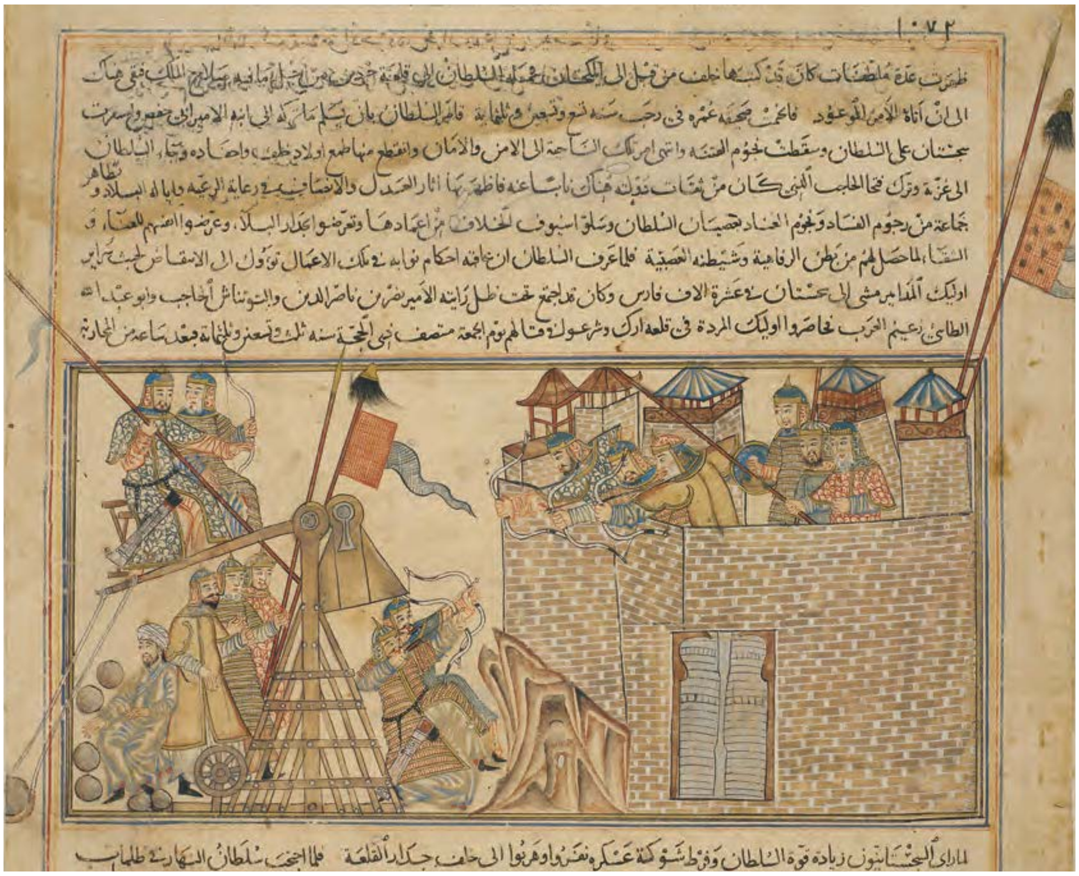
the semi-nomadic steppe warriors such as the Oghuz, Karluks and Kangli. For a long time the Karakhanids realised that they either had to incorporate the potentially dangerous tribes into their own troops, or restrict their freedom of movement in their search for pastureland, or even occasionally force them to adopt a sedentary lifestyle. As a further option, they could sell the young men from such tribes as slaves. It also seems to have been an objective for the Karakhanid rulers to keep their cities clean. It was forbidden to throw litter in the streets or public places.[154] Archaeological research in, for example, Vardana near Bukhara,[155] Novopokrovka II near Bishkek[156] and Otrar has shown that deep shafts were dug in public places, palaces, private houses and courtyards, which served as refuse pits, and could be closed off with wooden or ceramic covers. The cities also had a sewer system with ceramic water pipes, and the houses of the upper classes had small glass windows.

3. The Ghaznavids

The Ghaznavids, descended from Turkic slave soldiers, were the first Turkic dynasty to expand their power over the Iranian-speaking south-west of Central Asia. The foundations of Ghaznavid rule were laid by **Alp Tegin** (r. 962–63), the commander-in-chief of the Samanid army. In late 961, Alp Tegin, who had backed the losing candidate in the succession struggle after the death of Emir Abd al-Malik, fled from Nishapur eastwards with his personal force of 700 slave soldiers and some other warriors.[157] As C. E. Bosworth suggests, Alp Tegin was probably following the example of one of his predecessors, the Turkic general Kara Tegin Isfijabi (d. 929), who had left the empire of the Samanids and founded an autonomous principality in Bust (today's Lashgar Gah in southern Afghanistan), which was only nominally under



70. Three Karakhanid mausoleums and a Karakhanid minaret in Uzgend, Tajikistan. The dates of their construction can be ascertained from the inscriptions on each portal. The one in the middle dates from 1012/13, the one to the north, seen on the left, from 1152/53 and the southern mausoleum, on the right, from 1186/87. Here, a military commander who died in 1185 is buried, while the mausoleum of the north side contains the body of al-Husayn ibn al Hasan (r. *ca.* 1137–56), who died in 1156. It may be that Arslan Ilek Abu'l Hasan Nasr ibn Ali (d. 1013), the conqueror of Bukhara, was laid to rest in the mausoleum in the centre,[17] which underwent thorough restoration at the end of the twentieth century. Photo: 2008.



71. The Ghaznavid sultan Mahmud ibn Sebük Tegin attacks the fortress of Zarang in Sistan in the year 1003. From *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, a history of the world by Rashid al-Din Hamdani (1247–1318), produced in 1307 in Tabriz, Iran, Vellum. University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Oriental Manuscript Collection, 20f.124v.

Samanid control.[158] On his way south, Alp Tegin defeated the local prince of Bamiyan and the Hindu-Shahi ruler of Kabul and eventually took the small town of Ghazna from the local ruler Abu Ali Lawik (or possibly called Anuk[159]). It seems that Alp Tegin was then confirmed as governor of the region around Ghazna. His son and successor **Abu Ishaq Ibrahim** (r. 963–66) recognised the suzerainty of the Samanids since he needed their military support against the local Lawik dynasty that his father had driven out. After Abu Ishaq's death, the Turkic officers of Ghazna chose the commander **Bilge Tegin** (966–74/75) as their leader, which angered Alp Tegin's former arch-enemy General Fa'iq Khassa in Bukhara so much that he sent an army to Ghazna, only for it to be crushed by Bilge Tegin. His successor **Böri Tegin** (r. 974/75–77) proved to be such an ineffectual and tyrannical ruler that the population of Ghazna revolted, and the Turkic military deposed him and installed **Sebük Tegin** in his place (r. 977–97).[160]

Sebük Tegin was the true founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty. A military slave of Karluk origin, he had been Alp Tegin's closest confidant, accompanying him on his flight in 961/2. During the two decades of his rule, he pursued numerous campaigns in almost all directions to expand his sphere of influence. He first conquered Zabulistan and quickly eliminated Turkic competition in Bust, then led his army to Gardez, Kabul and further east to Laghman.[161] The lower Kabul valley was the gateway to the wealthy and densely populated princedoms of the plains of northern India, which promised infinitely richer booty than plundering sprees towards the north or north-west. For Sebük Tegin and his successors Mahmud and Mas'ud, the opportunity to extort huge ransoms from rich princes and towns, plunder Hindu temples full of golden statues, and carry off innumerable young men and women as slaves, always proved irresistible. Male slaves were either taken to Ghazna and used as forced labour, or they were sold or integrated into the military – something which in the long run undermined its effectiveness. At the same time forays into a *Dar al-Kufr* ('land of unbelief') could be justified as God-pleasing enterprises. Ghaznavid foreign policy, which like that of the Eastern European Huns was based on an economy of looting, remained unchanged until the end of the dynasty in 1186. It was directed towards India and its treasures, while the northern border of the empire formed a bulwark against foreign horse warriors. Sebük Tegin's victory against the Hindu-Shahi Rajah Jaipal in Laghman in 986/87 opened the gates to Peshawar.[162] Despite his military strength, Sebük

Tegin demonstrated his nominal loyalty to the Samanid regime by ensuring that on coins the emir's name always appeared before his own. In 994 he added Khorasan to the Ghaznavid dominion when he supported the Samanid emir Nuh II against the rebel Fa'iq Khassa. At the end of this successful campaign, he installed his son Mahmud as governor of Khorasan and occupied Balkh, Bamiyan, Ghur and Garchistan (Badghis), east of Herat.

After Sebük Tegin's death, his ineffectual son **Ismail** (r. 997–98) succeeded him on the throne. The latter's battle-hardened brother, **Mahmud**, governor of Khorasan (r. 998–1030), refused to accept this and seized power from Ismail. During the 32-year reign of Mahmud, which resembled a permanent military campaign of Napoleonic dimensions, the empire reached its greatest extent, stretching from the borders of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan in the west to the gates of Delhi in the east, and from Chorasmia in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south. Mahmud's Ghaznavid state was organised as a military dictatorship, in which all power was held by the Turkic slave army and its officer corps loyal to the sultan. Bosworth called them 'an army with a state'.[163] To manage the administration and, especially, the finances of the empire, Mahmud adopted the methods and systems of the Sassanids, and he employed administrators of Iranian origin. Unlike the Seljuks, the Ghaznavids did not finance their expensive army through the *iqta*,[164] but paid the wages of their troops in cash and also paid for their equipment and upkeep. One way in which the sultans raised the money for this was by extortionate taxation of the wealthy province of Khorasan – which later had the consequence that the province's impoverished and demoralised inhabitants offered little resistance to the invading Seljuks. The standing army was also financed by regular winter raids in India. The Ghaznavids also controlled several gold and silver mines so that they were able to mint high-quality gold and silver coins, which would not depreciate in value over time. The troops of voluntary irregular soldiers, who also went to India, were paid in booty.

In 999, Sultan Mahmud ceased to support the moribund Samanid dynasty and found a new ally in the Karakhanid leader, Arslan Ilek Abu'l Hasan Nasr. The two victors divided the Samanid rump dominion, declaring the Oxus the boundary between the two parts. When in 1006 and 1008 Nasr crossed the Oxus to try to take control over areas to the south, Mahmud repulsed both invasions, driving the Karakhanids back across the river. In the second battle, at Balkh, Mahmud used armour-plated Indian war elephants,[165] which spread panic in the Karakhanid army.[166] The Ghaznavid army combined infantry with a mixture of light and relatively heavy cavalry, as well as an important division of elephants, which

72. Late Ghaznavid polychrome human figure holding a sword, twelfth century, Afghanistan. This stucco figure was presumably used as a wall decoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inv. no. 57.51.18

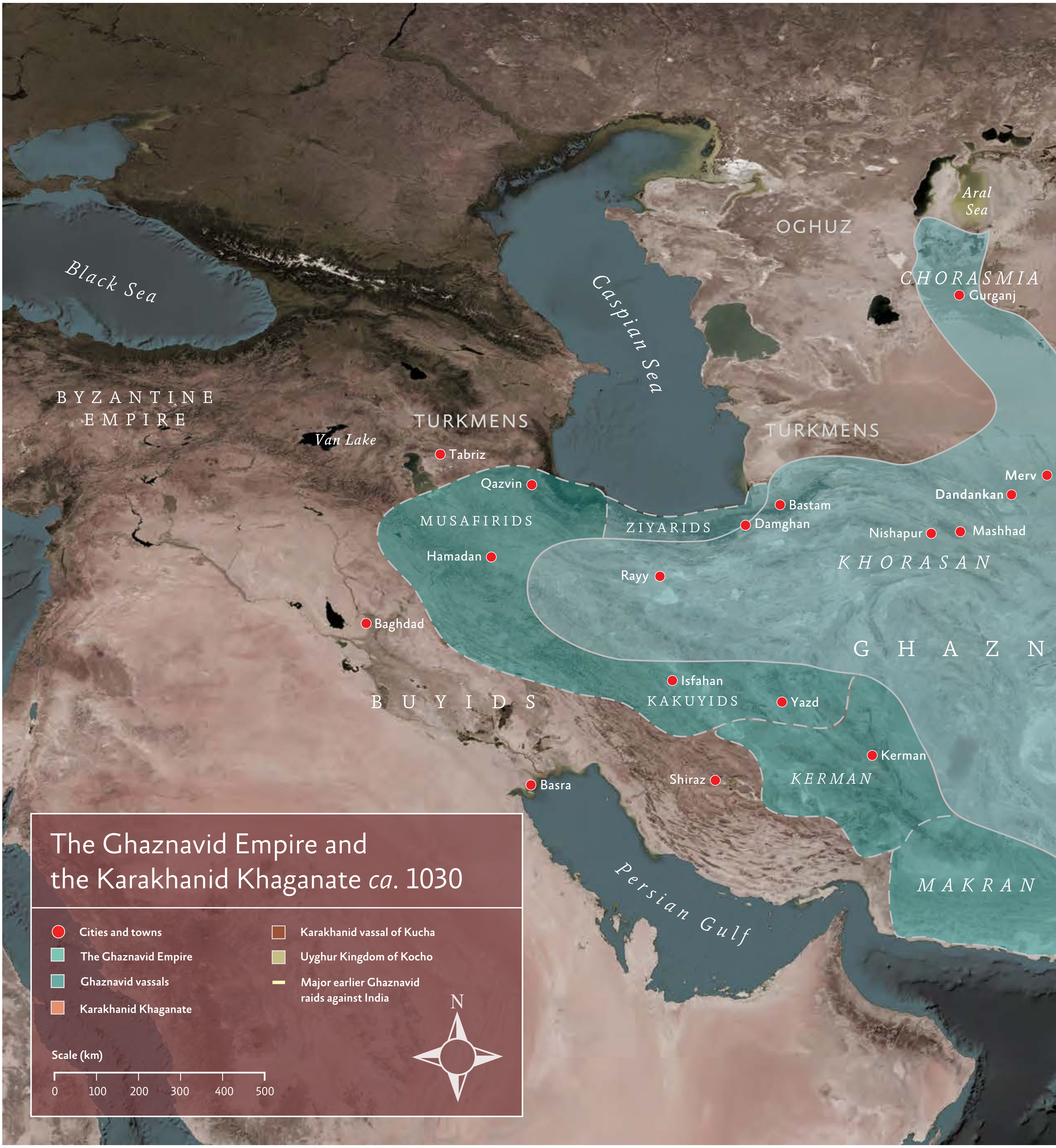
carried archers in tower-like wooden structures on their backs. It was a huge and awe-inspiring force but also a very cumbersome one, almost impossible to manoeuvre in battle and dependent on a large contingent of camp followers. There was also the danger that cornered elephants would turn around to flee, causing great disorder in the troops at their rear. As the defeat of Dandankan in 1040 would show, in comparison to lightly armoured mounted archers, the Ghaznavid army had a disadvantage in a terrain of arid steppe and desert.

Mahmud's most dangerous adversaries were the Karakhanids of Bukhara, which is why he did his utmost to keep them at bay. An excellent opportunity for this arose in 1017 when his brother-in-law, Chorasm-shah Abu 'l-Abbas Ma'mun II (r. 1009–17), whose over-conciliatory attitude towards Mahmud had infuriated the patrician class, was murdered in a coup. Seizing his chance, Mahmud invaded Chorasmia, had the members of the Ma'munid family murdered and installed the military slave Altuh Tash (r. 1017–32) as new governor.[167] Now the Karakhanids, who until the death of Chorasm-shah Abu 'l-Hasan Ali (r. 997–1008/9), had proclaimed themselves to be military protectors of Chorasmia, could no longer use the area as a deployment zone for attacks against Khorasan. At the same time, Mahmud deported the great scholar al-Biruni to Ghazna. Now the whole of south-west Central Asia was in the hands of two dynasties of Turkic steppe warriors, and in the long run this changed the way the land was used since the expansion of pastoralism put pressure on agriculture, and large areas of arable land were turned into pastures.

Despite Sultan Mahmud's intervention in Chorasmia, the Karakhanid ruler Ali Tegin (r. *ca*. 1014/15 or 1020/21–34/35), who could count on the support of the Oghuz-Seljuk cavalry led by Israïl ibn Seljuk, remained a considerable threat. Around 1025/26, Mahmud, in alliance with Ali Tegin's Karakhanid rival, Yusuf Qadïr Khan, forced Ali Tegin to retreat into the steppe, and he also captured Israïl ibn Seljuk, but as soon as Mahmud turned towards India, Ali Tegin returned to Bukhara and consolidated his position. After his limited success against Ali Tegin and his Seljuks, Mahmud made the grave mistake of allowing the leaderless Turkmen followers of Israïl ibn Seljuk to cross the Oxus and settle in Khorasan, in spite of warnings from his general Arslan al-Jadhib. And by 1028, Mahmud was indeed forced to use his troops to drive back the Turkmen, who were now plundering the region.[168] When the emir of Rayy, the Buyid emir Majd al-Daula (r. nominally 997–1028, de facto 1028–29), rather rashly asked Mahmud to help against mutinous troops, the latter seized the welcome opportunity to demonstrate his role as champion of Sunni orthodoxy. He seized Rayy without a fight, deposed Majd al-Daula, plundered the city and slaughtered the 'adherents of the Batiniyya [Ismailites] and Qarmathians'.[169] Mahmud then made his son Mas'ud governor of Rayy and commissioned him with prosecuting the war in Iran.

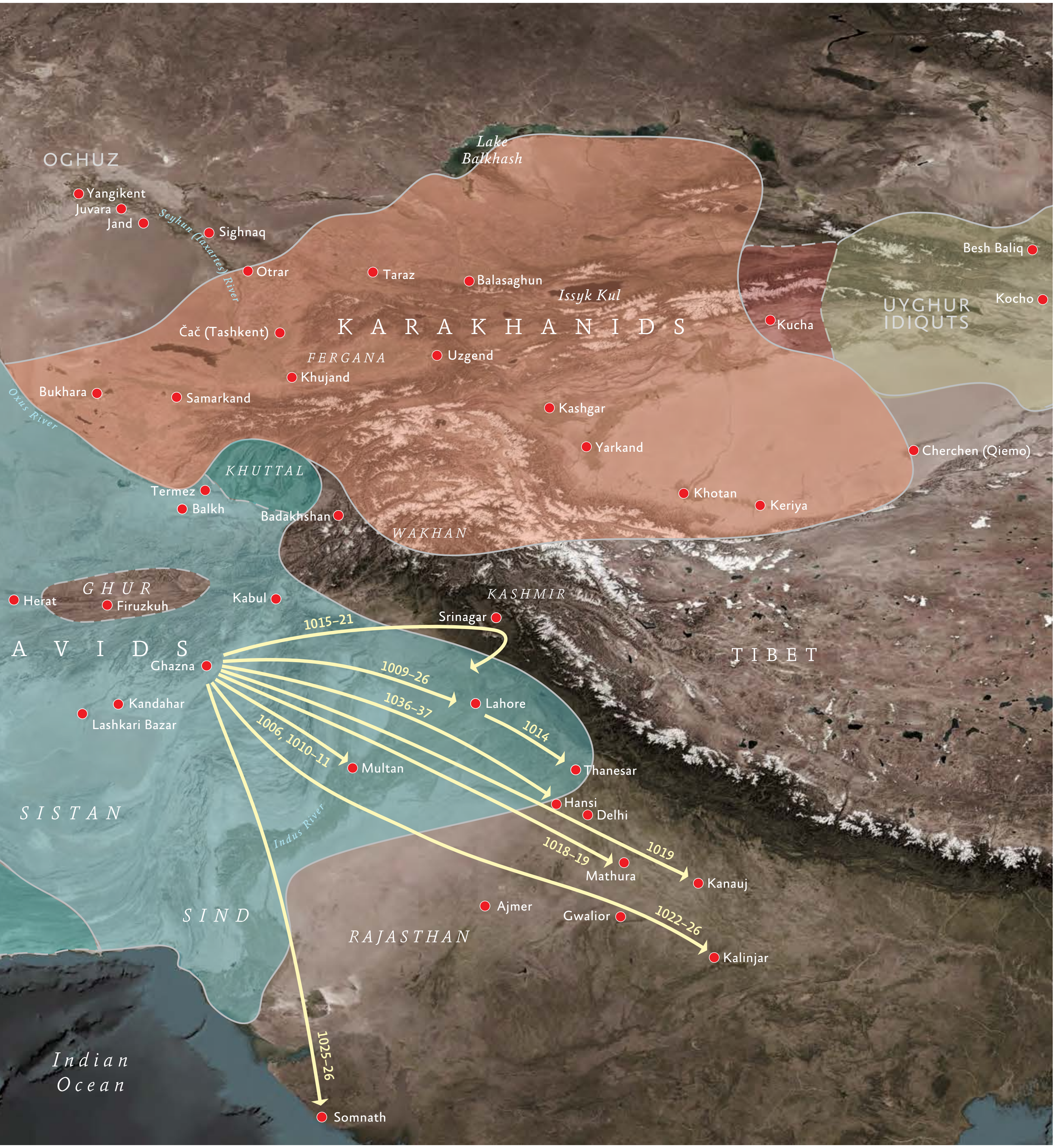
The only areas where Mahmud suffered serious defeats were the two mountainous 'pagan' regions of Ghur and Kafiristan, where it was difficult for his unwieldy army to deploy.[170] Mahmud ordered two campaigns to the Ghur region north-west of Ghazna, some 2,250 metres above sea level, in 1011 and 1020. In spite of some victories, the Ghaznavids never gained full control of Ghur, nor did they succeed in spreading the Islamic faith. Even less successful was Mahmud's campaign of 1020 to Kafiristan,[171] today's Nuristan, north-east of Kabul and Laghman, where the inhabitants held on to their animistic beliefs, even though Mahmud's aim, according to Gardizi, had been 'to impose Islam upon the people by the sword'.[172] It was not until the late nineteenth century, between 1893 and 1896, that the mountain-dwellers of Kafiristan were forcibly converted to Islam.[173] The 20 raids that Mahmud led to India, on the other hand, leaving aside the aborted sieges of the forts of Loharkot (1021/22) and Gwalior (1022/23),[174] were a military and – thanks to valuable booty – economic success. In 1001, he subdued the Hindu-Shahi Rajah Jaipal, whom his father Sebük Tegin had previously defeated in 986/87, and then in 1009 Jaipal's son Anandpal, whose residence was in Lahore.[175] In 1024 Mahmud attacked the Rajah of Bhatinda south of Lahore, who committed suicide after his defeat; Mahmud took home a booty of 280 war elephants 'and ordered that all the infidel [prisoners of war] should be put to the sword'.[176]

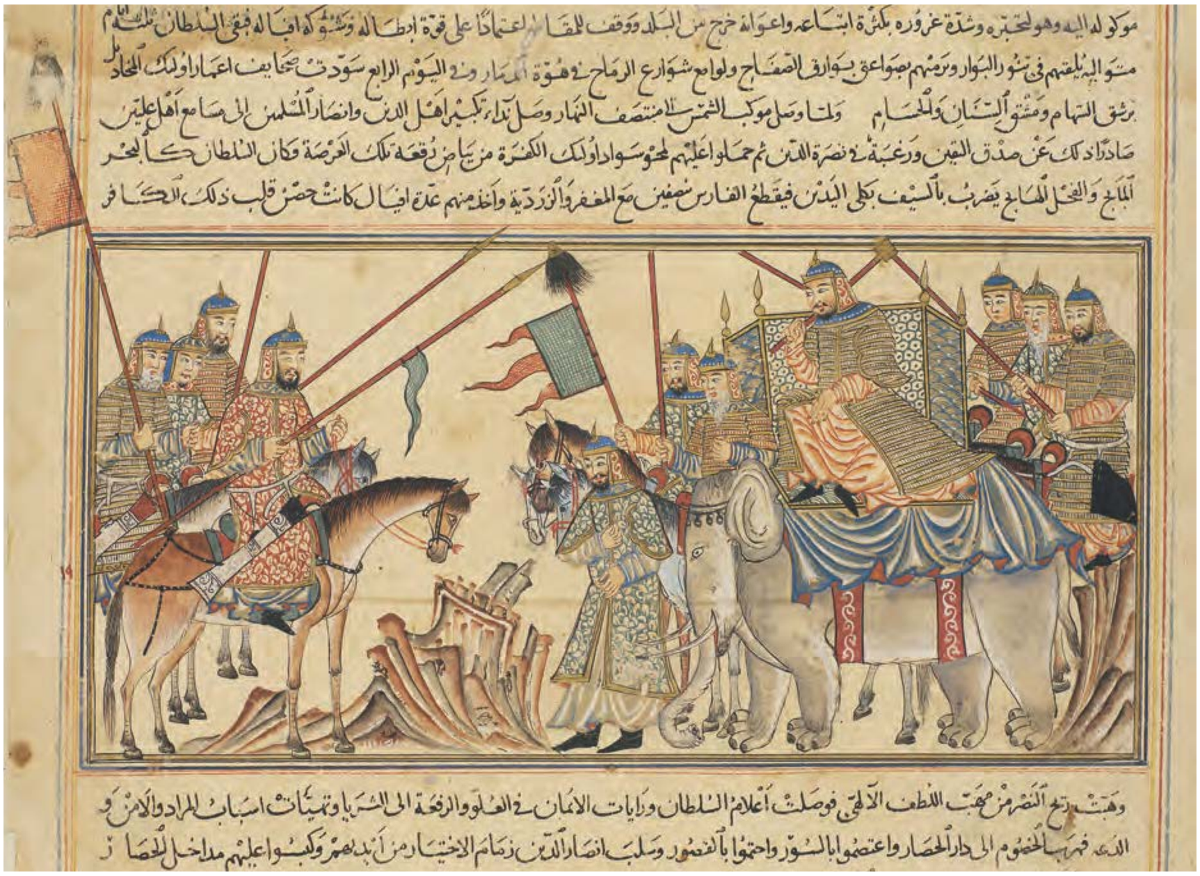
Mahmud's next target was the wealthy city of Multan on the Jhelum (or Chenab) river in the province of Sindh. Multan's population had been forcibly islamised as early as 709–11 by the Umayyad general Muhammad ibn Wasim al-Thaqafi (d. 715) but in the tenth century had converted to Shi'a Ismailism, giving Mahmud a pretext to wage war against the 'heretics'. At first Mahmud exacted an enormous ransom from Multan in 1006, then he returned in 1010/11 and had the Ismailis massacred.[177] The famous description of Timur-e Lang could equally be applied to Mahmud: 'He killed the unbelievers because they were not Muslims, and he massacred the Muslims because they were bad Muslims.' Further targets of Ghaznavid raids were the rich Hindu temples, lavishly decorated with gold and precious stones, like those of Thanesar in Daob (1014), of Mathura, the legendary birthplace of Krishna (1018/19) and of Somnath (1025/26). Every time that a temple was plundered, young men were enslaved, and large numbers of 'non-believers' were killed. In 1026, warriors of the Jats, the indigenous population



The Ghaznavid Empire and the Karakhanid Khaganate *ca.* 1030

Cities and towns
The Ghaznavid Empire
Ghaznavid vassals
Karakhanid Khaganate
Karakhanid vassal of Kucha
Uyghur Kingdom of Kocho
Major earlier Ghaznavid raids against India
Scale (km)
0
100
200
300
400
500
N
Black Sea
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Van Lake
TURKMENS
Tabriz
Caspian Sea
OGHUZ
Aral Sea
CHORASMIA
Gurganj
TURKMENS
Merv
Dandankan
Qazvin
MUSAFIRIDS
ZIYARIDS
Bastam
Damghan
Nishapur
Mashhad
KHORASAN
Hamadan
Rayy
Baghdad
GHAZN
BUYIDS
Isfahan
KAKUYIDS
Yazd
Kerman
Shiraz
KERMAN
Basra
Persian Gulf
MAKRAN


Lake Balkhash
OGHUZ
Yangikent
Juvara
Jand
Seyhun (Jaxartes) River
Sighnaq
Otrar
Taraz
Balasaghun
Issyk Kul
Besh Baliq
Kocho
UYGHUR IDIQUTS
Kucha
Čač (Tashkent)
KARAKHANIDS
FERGANA
Uzgend
Khujand
Bukhara
Samarkand
Oxus River
Kashgar
Yarkand
Cherchen (Qiemo)
KHUTTAL
Termez
Balkh
Badakhshan
Khotan
Keriya
WAKHAN
GHUR
Herat
Firuzkuh
Kabul
KASHMIR
Srinagar
1015–21
AVIDS
Ghazna
TIBET
1009–26
1036–37
Lahore
1014
Kandahar
Lashkari Bazar
1006, 1010–11
Multan
Thanesar
Hansi
Delhi
SISTAN
Indus River
1018–19
Mathura
1019
Kanauj
Ajmer
Gwalior
1022–26
Kalinjar
SIND
RAJASTHAN
Indian Ocean
1025–26
Somnath



73. The Ghaznavid sultan Mahmud defeats the ruler of Bahatiyah (India). From *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* a history of the world by Rashid al-Din Hamdani (1247–1318), produced in 1307 in Tabriz, Iran, Vellum. University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Oriental Manuscript Collection, 20 f. 126v.

of Sindh, inflicted heavy losses on Mahmud's army when he retreated from Somnath to Multan. Mahmud returned a year later to take revenge on the Jats, who had been stubbornly resisting forced Islamisation since the eighth century. As the contemporary writer Gardizi reports, Mahmud had 1,400 boats built; each boat was to carry 20 archers and be equipped with special projectiles that could be filled with naphtha. Mahmud's fleet sailed down the Jhelum and then the Indus, until it met the Jat fleet. Although the Jats had far more boats than Mahmud, their fleet was set ablaze and destroyed.[178] Further proof that the sultan had little else in mind than booty during his Indian campaigns is provided by the fact that he made no real effort to establish a civil administration in northern India.

The situation after Mahmud's death was the same as after Sebük Tegin's: Mahmud had chosen as his successor not his son Mas'ud, who was popular with the army, but his other, rather lacklustre son **Muhammad** (r. 1030, 1040–41). But just like his father 32 years before, **Mas'ud I** (r. 1030–40, d. 1041) did not accept this decision and incarcerated his brother, who had no support in the army. Mas'ud was a brave warrior but he was also suspicious and vengeful; and he lacked the strategic vision that would have been necessary to hold together such a vast and heterogeneous empire with only weak administrative structures. He made his first mistake as soon as he took power by purging the officer corps and higher administration of confidants of his father. He also failed in his attempt to extend Ghaznavid control in Iran by adding the province of Kerman to Khorasan and Rayy. The inhabitants of Kerman, who were ruthlessly exploited by Mas'ud's tax collectors, rose in revolt and drove out the Ghaznavid occupiers in 1034. Mas'ud had already made mortal enemies of Turkmen leaders in Khorasan when his general Tash Farrash had murdered 50 of them at a banquet.

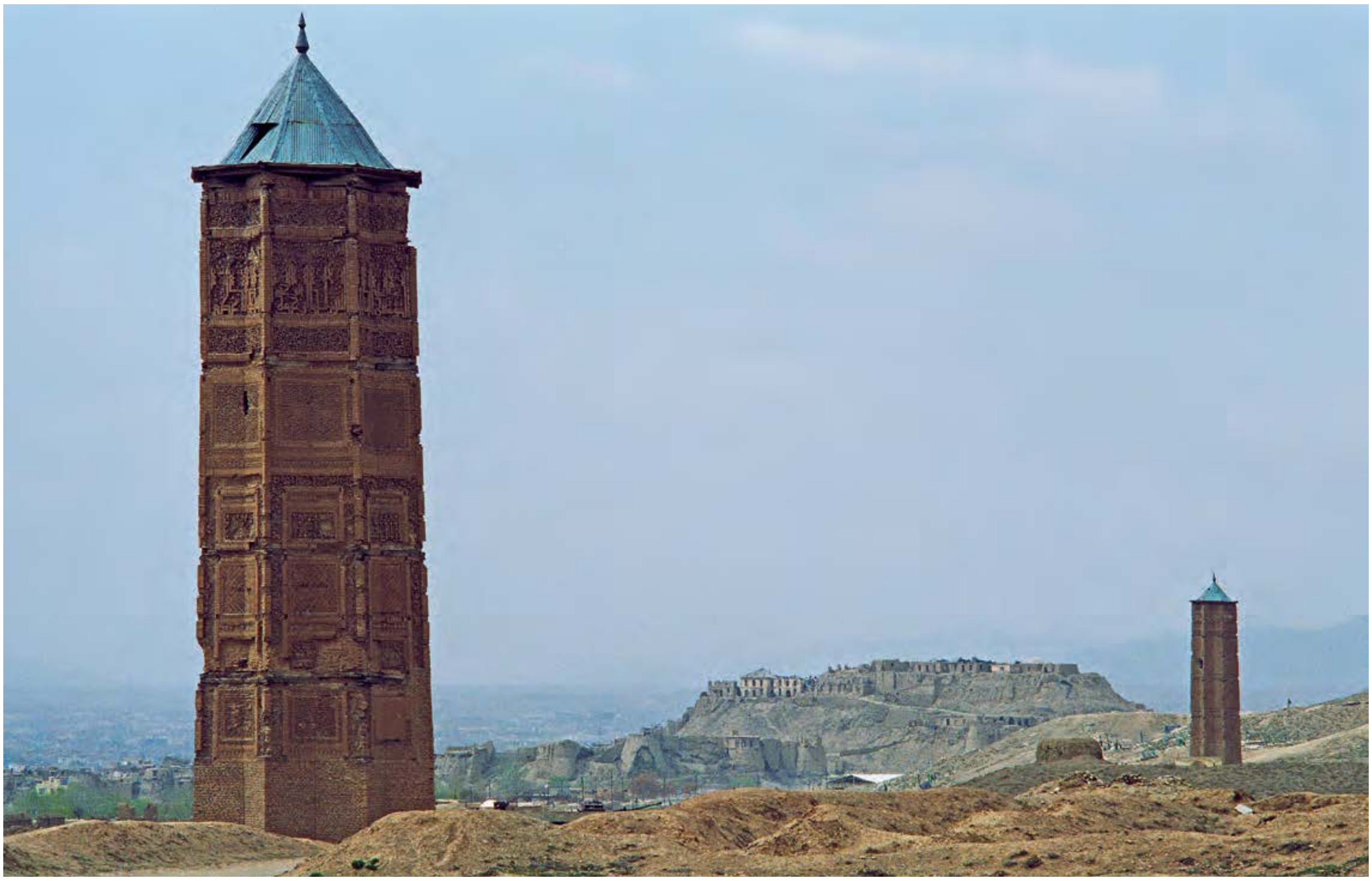
Worse still was the loss of Chorasmia, which had a strong army and provided a counterweight to the Karakhanids. Mas'ud, suspicious and resentful of the Chorasm-shah Altun Tash, ordered the latter's murder in 1031 but the plot failed. Nonetheless, Altun Tash remained loyal and fell in a battle against Ali Tegin of Bukhara in 1032. But Altun Tash's son and successor Harun (r. 1032–35) changed sides and formed an alliance with Ali Tegin, whereupon Mas'ud had him murdered. This in turn made Harun's brother Ismail Khandan into Mas'ud's arch-enemy. Although Mas'ud's ally Shah Malik of Yangikent later controlled parts of Chorasmia, Mas'ud, through his ill-considered policies, deprived himself of the support of Chorasmia in the conflict against the Turkmen led by Tughril and Chagri, which soon intensified. In northern India, Mas'ud was more successful: in 1033 he crushed the rebellion of his commander Ahmad Inal Tegin, and in 1036/37 he captured the fort of Hansi north-west of Delhi; but at the same time the situation in Iran and Khorasan deteriorated.[179] In 1038, Turkmen drove the Ghaznavids out of Rayy, and in 1039 Mas'ud's unwieldy army, made even slower by its large contingent of camp followers, failed to inflict a decisive victory over the highly mobile Turkmen cavalry. Tughril and Chagri, using a strategy of 'burnt earth' and poisoned wells, waited until the enemy was drained and exhausted. They then attacked in May 1040 near Dandankan, at a location of their own choosing, and annihilated Mas'ud's forces. Instead of assembling a new army in his power base of Ghazna to prepare the defence of the heartland, Mas'ud, against the recommendations of his advisers, fled to India in a panic, laden with all his treasures.

Mas'ud's secretary, the historian Abu' Fadhl Beyhaqi (995–1077), who had participated in the battle of Dandankan, described the desperate attempts to dissuade Sultan Mas'ud from his planned flight. When Mas'ud sent a letter to his vizier, who was successfully resisting a Turkmen siege in Balkh, informing him that he was about to leave Ghazna and flee to northern India, Beyhaqi sent a secret message to the vizier asking him to try and change the sultan's mind. The vizier's warning to his master was clear: 'If the lord is on the move because our enemies are fighting at the gates of Balkh, he should know that they haven't dared to enter the town and our troops have the upper hand. [. . .] Why does the lord have to reside in India? Let him pass the winter in Ghazni. [. . .] The lord must know for sure that, if he goes to India, and takes all the royal womenfolk and treasuries to there, and this news becomes generally known, reaching friend and foe alike, the prestige of this great empire will be dissipated and everyone will become increasingly avid to get a share of it. [. . .] Moreover, what reliance can one place on the gholams [slave-soldiers] when the lords' treasuries will have to be laid open to them while travelling in the open country?'[180] But in his panic, Mas'ud ignored the warnings and set off to India.

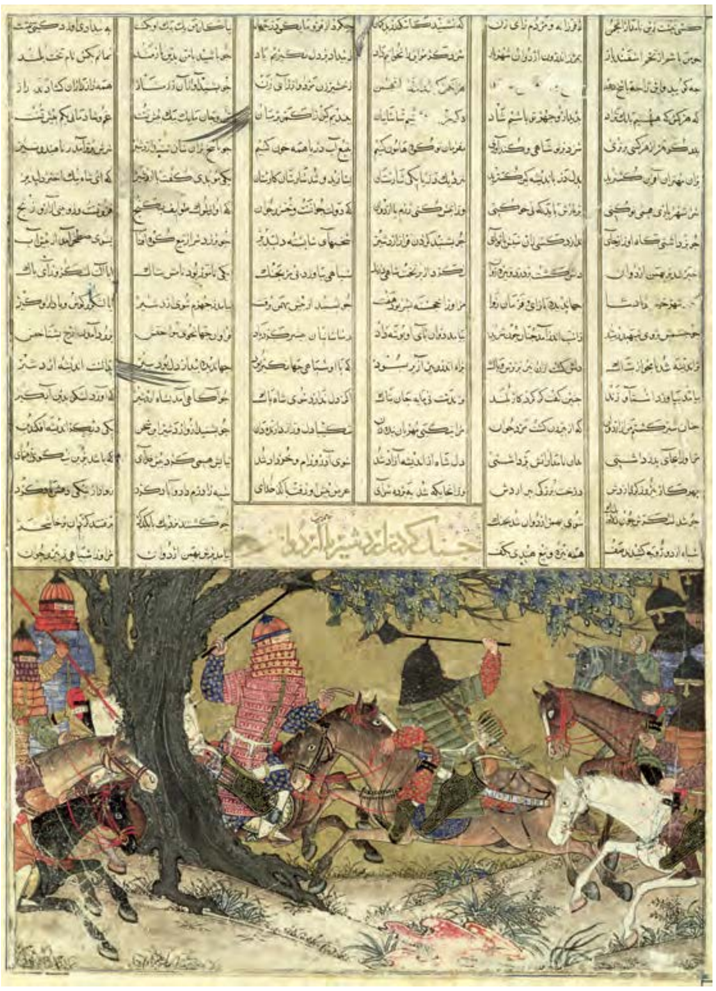
74. Spice market in Kabul, Afghanistan. Spices were one of the key commodities traded in the Central Asian markets. Photo: between 2002 and 2006.

In mid-December, the troops accompanying him revolted near Taxila, having lost all respect for their sultan. They plundered his treasures, made his blinded brother Muhammad the new sultan and killed the luckless Mas'ud on 17 January 1041.[181] With this defeat and Mas'ud's flight, the Ghaznavids lost their western territories, and their dominion shrank to the regions of eastern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Punjab, with the two centres of power Ghazna and Lahore.

The cultural achievements of the early Ghaznavids, unlike those of the Abbasid and Samanid rulers, were not the result of any genuine interest that Mahmud and Mas'ud had in scholarship, poetry or the visual arts. The two sultans' principal ambition was to be acclaimed by poets and immortalised in monumental architecture. Famous scholars such as al-Biruni were kept at the court like trophies, while the court poets broadly felt into two categories: mere flatterers and true artists of the word. The most famous among the latter was Hakim Abu 'l-Qasim Ferdowsi (940–1020) from Tus. In 977, the Samanid court commissioned him to continue the work that the poet Abu Mansur Daqiqi had begun writing in prose. The initiative to collect pre-Islamic histories and myths written in Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and translate them into New Persian came from the governor of Tus, Abu Mansur Muhammad (d. 962 or 963), who had delegated this task to his minister Abu Mansur Mamari. The work, to which the poet Abu Mansur Daqiqi made a major contribution, was called *Shahnameh-i Abu Mansur*, the 'Book of the Kings of Abu Mansur'. Abu Mansur Daqiqi had been murdered in 977 at the behest of orthodox Islamic legal scholars, who condemned his efforts to revive the Old Iranian heritage.[182] Ferdowsi completed his epic *Shahnameh* in some 50,000 verses in 1010. There had already been a first version in 994 but the overthrow of the Samanid dynasty by the Ghaznavids led the poet to develop the epic further and complement some sections concerning contemporary history with praise of the Ghaznavid sultan Mahmud. Like earlier 'books of kings' from the time of the



75. The two victory towers at Ghazna, Afghanistan, where the Ghaznavids had their summer palaces, with the citadel in the background. To the left in the foreground is the tower, commissioned by Sultan Mas'ud III ibn Ibrahim (r. 1099–1115). Now measuring 20 metres, it was formerly 24 metres taller. The upper half collapsed during an earthquake in 1902. The patron's name appears on a scroll in interlaced Kufic script just below the top of the tower. The second tower in the background was built on the orders of Bahram Shah (r. 1117–*ca*. 1157).[18] Photo: 2010/11.

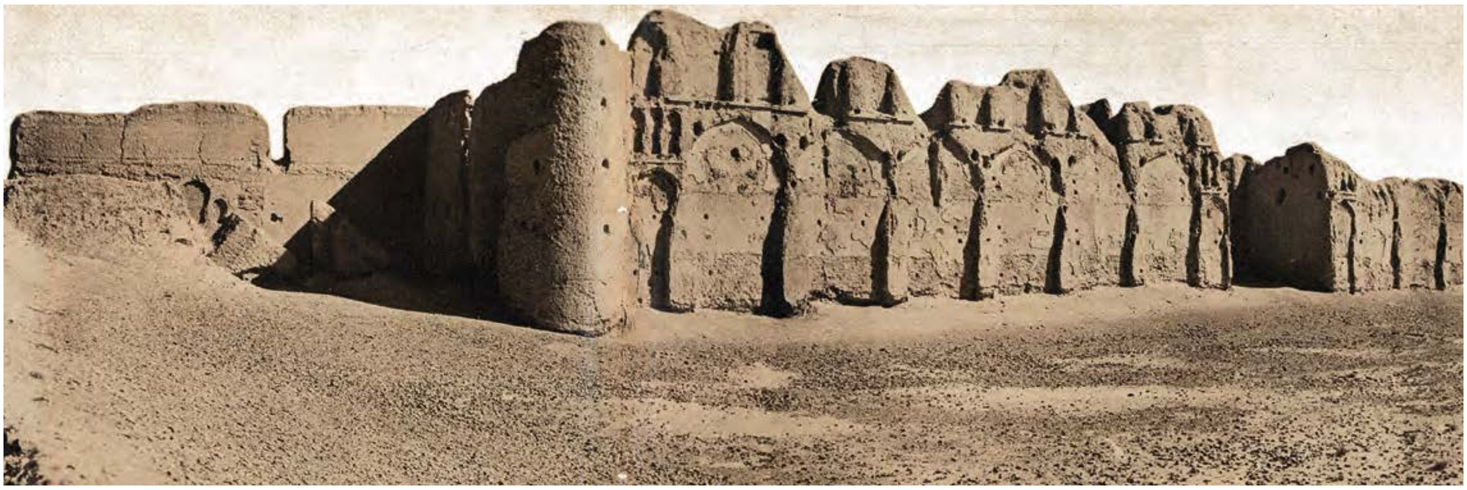


76. Ardashir battling against Bahman, son of Ardavan. The two adversaries attack one another with maces. Illustration from the *Shahnameh*, the Persian *Book of Kings* by Abu'l-Qasim Ferdowsi (940–1020). Persian School, *ca.* 1325–50; watercolour, ink and gold on paper. Detroit Institute of Arts, USA.

Sassanids, Ferdowsi's epic was a mythological history from creation to the present. Its main theme concerned the conflicts between Iran in the west and Turan in the east. Contrary to a view already widespread in Ferdowsi's time, that the Turanians were the ancestors of the Turkic peoples, in older sources both adversaries speak Iranian. They tell of the epic struggle between the sedentary Iranians and the horse nomads of Iranian origin beyond the Oxus and in Sistan, such as the Massagetae, Saka[183] and Kangju-Alans, that is the Turanians. But by the eleventh century, some groups among the Karakhanids and the Seljuks had come to believe that their ancestors were related to the Turanians.[184]

The two sultans Mahmud and Mas'ud celebrated their powerful position in the south-west of Central Asia in the monumental architecture of their two residences, Ghazna, which was the capital and summer residence, and Lashkari Bazar, 450 kilometres south-west and 7 kilometres north of Bust (figs. 80a–b), which was the winter residence. In Ghazna, Mahmud built administrative residences, a large Friday mosque and a grand palace whose walls were covered with geometric and zoomorphic terracotta decorations. In Laskhari Bazar, Mahmud is said to have personally designed and supervised the construction of the *al-Askar*, a palace complex whose name meant 'the military camp' (fig. 77). The audience hall of the sumptuous southern palace, which was completed in 1036, had rich relief decoration on the walls, above friezes that depicted, among other things, Mas'ud's bodyguards in full life size and dressed in splendid clothes. A canal ran through the audience hall and surrounding rooms and provided running water for the palace.[185] Later Mas'ud's grandson, Mas'ud III (r. 1099–1115) built a 44-metre victory tower in Ghazna, made of fired brick, with star-shaped ground plan, and decorated with knotted Kufic inscriptions. Unfortunately the upper half was destroyed by an earthquake in 1902. Not far from Mas'ud's tower, his son Bahram Shah (r. 1117–*ca.* 1157) built another, similar tower (fig. 75).[186] With this the two sultans followed the example of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud, who had built the 62 metre-high, so-called Kutlugh-Timur minaret in Gurganj (fig. 83).[187] The Karakhanids, Seljuks, Ghaznavids, Ghurids and Chorasm-shahs left a total of 70 such minarets, which symbolised the presence of Islam.[188] The palaces of Ghazna and Lashkari were plundered and destroyed in 1150/51 by the Ghurids; Ghazna was plundered a second time in 1160/61 by bands of Oghuz. When the Ghurids drove out the Oghuz in 1173/74, the palace of Ghazna was rebuilt with a less lavish interior. Ghazna was finally razed to the ground in 1221 by the Mongols.[189]

The history of the later Ghaznavids, after their defeat at Dandankan, was shaped by their increasing focus on the Indian subcontinent, a cautious or even obsequious relationship with the Seljuks, and failed attempts to keep the troublesome Ghurids at bay. After Mas'ud's death, the second term in office of **Muhammad ibn Mahmud** (r. 1040–41), whom the mutinous soldiers had put on the throne on 21 December 1040, turned out to be very short: in the spring of 1041, Mas'ud's son **Maudud** (r. 1041–48) defeated him and, to avenge the death of his father, had Mohammad ibn Mahmud and his family executed.[190] In the heartland, Maudud managed to restore some stability to the Ghazna region, but Balkh and Herat fell to the Seljuks.[191] Over the following eleven years, four sultans quickly succeeded one another. Notable events in this time were the putsch of the Turkic slave officer and commander-in-chief **Tughril** in 1052, the bloodbath that he initiated among the Ghaznavid ruling family, and a failed assault of the Seljuk Chagri Beg on Ghazna.[192] Apart from an abortive attack on Balkh in early 1073, **Ibrahim ibn Mas'ud** (r. 1059–99), after this turbulent decade,



77. **The main entrance in the southern façade of the southern palace of Lashkari Bazar 7 kilometres north of Qala-i Bust, Afghanistan. The River Helmand flows past the palace on the left of the picture. The name is derived from the Persian Lashkar Gah meaning 'soldiers' caserne'. The palace was built on the orders, first of Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud (r. 998–1030) and then of his successor Mas'ud (r. 1030–40). Lashkari Bazar was destroyed by Genghis Khan in 1221, then laid to waste by Timur-e Lang at the end of the fourteenth century. *The Illustrated London News*, 25 March, 1950. Photo: 1930s.**

finally made peace with the Seljuks and revived the empire's economy.[193] Sultan Ibrahim was succeeded by his son **Mas'ud III ibn Ibrahim** (r. 1099–1115), who built one of the two victory towers of Ghazna (fig. 75). During his reign, which is only documented in fragments, neighbouring Ghur fell under the suzerainty of the mighty Seljuk Sanjar Shah, which represented a danger for Ghazna's sovereignty.[194]

Mas'ud III was succeeded by his son **Shirzad** (r. 1115–16), who after only one year in office was deposed and killed by his brother **Malik Arslan** (Arslan Shah) (r. 1116–17, d. 1118). Malik Arslan ordered the blinding or arrest of all his brothers, but one, Bahram Shah, escaped with a single companion and fled to Sanjar Shah in Merv. According to one anecdote, the fugitives' horses were shod with shoes that were turned backwards, to confuse pursuers.[195] This conflict gave Sanjar the chance to extend Seljuk suzerainty to Ghazna; he defeated Malik Arslan in 1117 near Ghazna, had the city thoroughly and brutally plundered and put **Bahram Shah** (r. 1117–*ca.* 1157) on the throne as his tributary vassal. Malik Arslan's attempt to win back Ghazna after Sanjar's retreat ended in his defeat and death in 1118. When Bahram Shah stopped his tribute payments in 1135, Sanjar surprised him with a sudden attack, and he had to flee to Lahore. After Ghazna was ransacked again, Bahram confirmed his submission, and Sanjar returned to Balkh and Bahram to Ghazna.[196]

Although Bahram Shah, as Sanjar's vassal, could count on Sanjar's support in the case of an extreme threat, the situation was less clear when it came to pressure from expansionist princes of the Ghurids, who were also Sanjar's vassals. In the late 1140s, the Ghurid territory was divided among seven brothers; among these Sayf al-Din Suri (r. 1146–49) ruled in Istiya, and Qutb al-Din Muhammad (r. 1146–47), who called himself *Malik al-Jibal*, 'King of the mountains', founded the later summer residence Firuzkuh (Jam) in central Afghanistan.[197] After falling out with Suri, Qutb sought refuge with Bahram Shah in Ghazna, but the latter suspected Qutb of being a spy and had him poisoned. Suri decided to avenge his murdered brother and in 1148 marched with his infantry – the Ghurids were mountain-dwellers and traditionally fought on foot – and an additional division of cavalry to Ghazna, which he took by storm. As the historian Minhaj al-Din Juzjani from Firuzkuh (1193–after 1265/66), who was part of the extensive ruling family of the Ghurids, reports in great detail, the victorious Suri gave Ghur and Firuzkuh to his brother Baha al-Din Sam (r. 1149) and stayed with only a few troops in Ghazna. But he had underestimated Bahram Shah, who put together a new army in the Punjab and returned in 1149. He caught up with Suri while he was fleeing to Ghur and had him crucified.

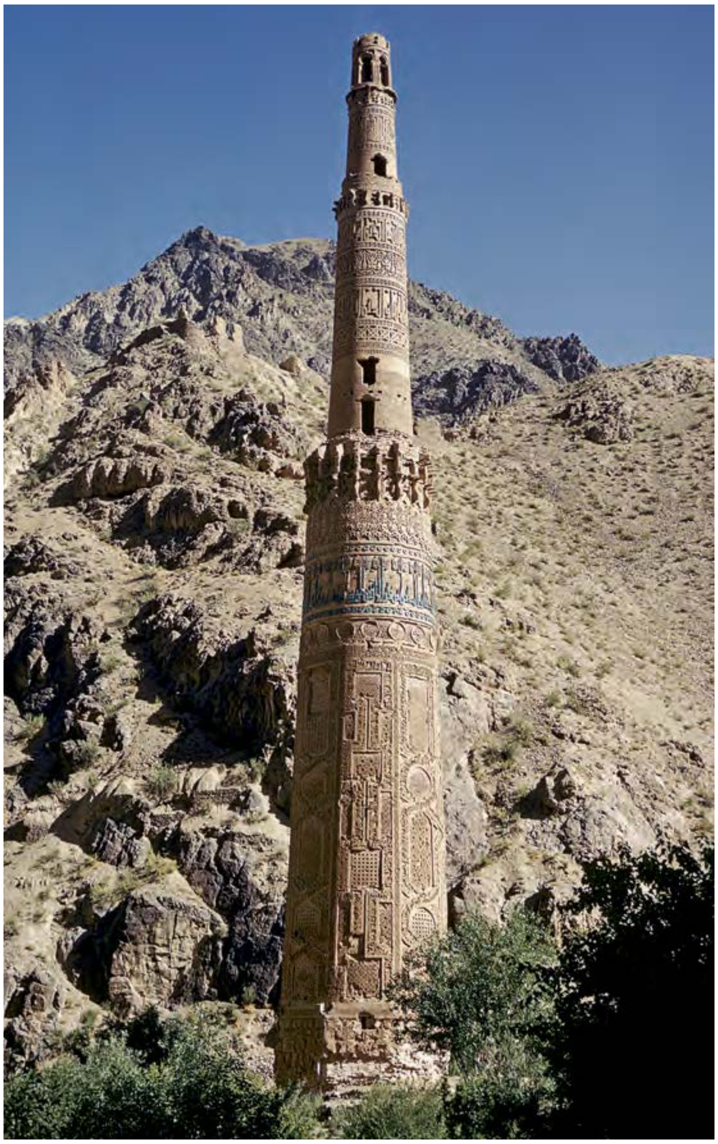
This provoked the wrath of another brother of Saif al-Din Suri and Qutb, Ala al-Din Husayn (r. 1149–61), who swore revenge. In 1150, he marched to Ghazna and defeated Bahram Shah and his elephants three times in a row. The Ghurid infantry protected itself from the enemy's volleys of arrows with the *karwah*, a pavise-like framework of bullock hides stuffed with cotton. 'When the foot-soldiers of Ghur place this [screen] upon their shoulders, they are completely covered from head to foot by it; and when they close their ranks, they appear like unto a wall, and no missile or arms can take any effect on it, on account of the quantity of cotton with which it is stuffed.'[198] This battle formation was somewhat similar to the Roman *testudo* or tortoise, in which the first row of a compact standing division of legionaries held their rectangular shields forward, and the following rows held them over their heads in such a way that they also covered the following rows, as the shields overlapped.[199]

Bahram Shah fled, and Ala al-Din Husayn and his soldiers embarked on a seven-day orgy of violence and destruction. 'During these seven days, the air, from the blackness of the smoke, continued as black as night; and those nights, from the flames raging in the burning city, were lighted up as light as day.'[200] All the splendid mosques, madrasas and palaces went up in flames, and so did Ibn Sina's unique library, which had been brought from Isfahan to Ghazna in 1034. The Ghurid conquerors also had no scruples about desecrating tombs: they exhumed and burned the bones of all but three Ghaznavid sultans. The destruction of Ghazna and the murder of some 60,000 male inhabitants gained Ala al-Din the epithet *Jahan-Suz*, 'the world burner'. On the march back to Ghur, Ala al-Din also put the palaces of Lashkari Bazar to the torch and carried out yet another atrocity. He had all the high-ranking citizens rounded up in Ghazna. Then 'bags were filled with earth of Ghaznîn, and placed upon their backs, and [they were] brought along with him [over hundreds of kilometres] to Fîruz-koh, the capital; and, on reaching it, the Sayyids [the nobles] were put to death, and their blood was mixed with the earth which had been brought from Ghaznîn, and from it several towers were erected on the hills of Firuz-koh.'[201]

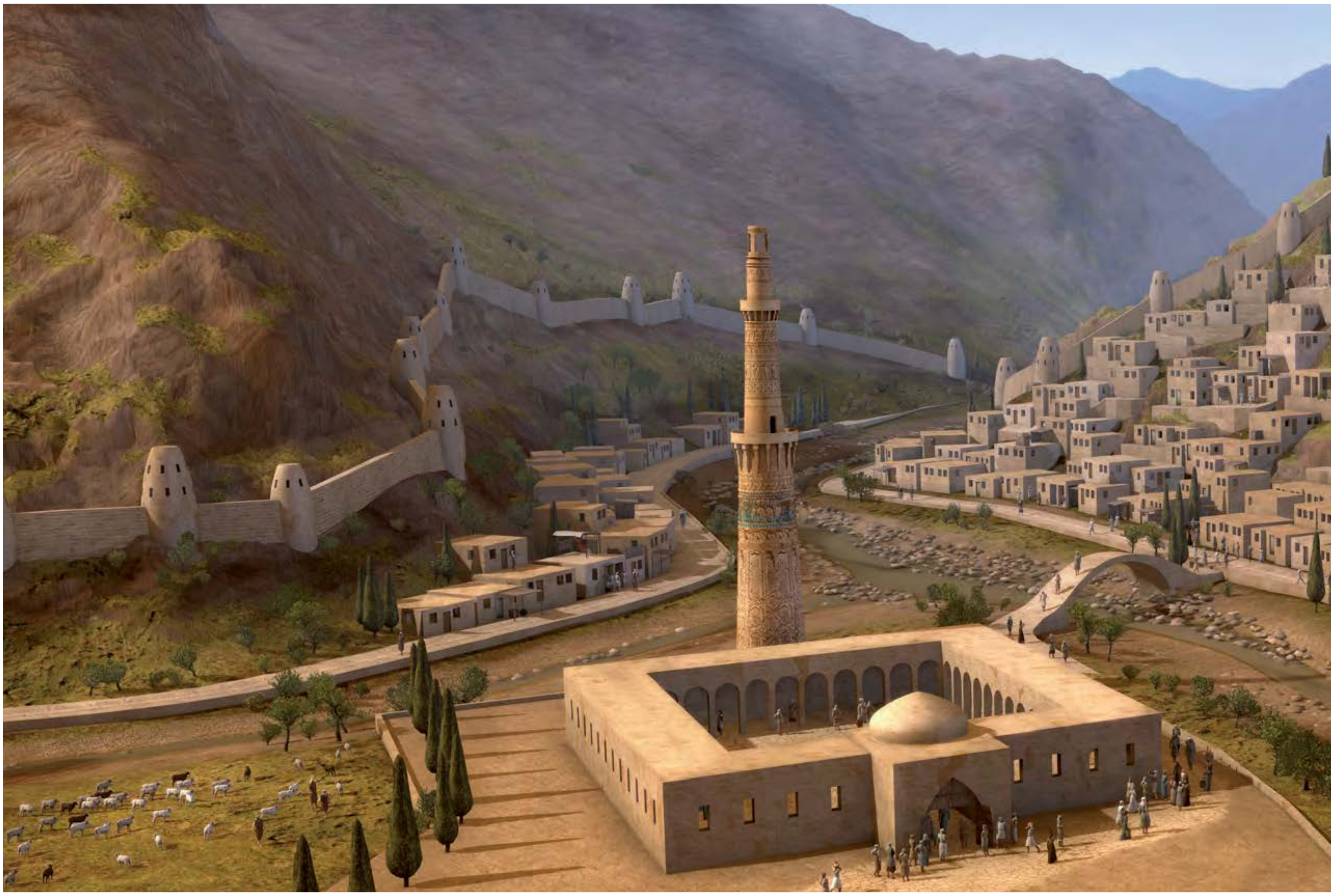
After the retreat of the Ghurids, Bahram Shah returned to Ghazna, where he probably died in 1157. His son and successor **Khusrau Shah** (r. 1157–60) soon had to face another attack by Ala al-Din Husayn, who finally annexed the region of Bust. Then, as a result of the capture of Sanjar and the collapse of Seljuk authority in Central Asia, another enemy appeared on the scene – one who threatened both Ala al-Din's successor Sayf ad-Din Muhammad (r. 1161–63) and the last Ghaznavid **Khusrau Malik** (r. 1160–86, d. 1191). After Khusrau Malik had fled from Ghazna, bands of Oghuz started attacking the city in 1160/61 and in 1163 advanced into Ghur, where they killed Sayf al-Din Muhammad in battle. The Oghuz seized Ghazna, until they were driven out in 1173/74 by the Ghurids. Khusrau Malik managed to hang on in Lahore for another quarter century, until the Ghurid Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad conquered the city in 1186 and captured him; five years later Mu'izz al-Din had Khusrau Malik and his son Bahram Shah killed.[202] This was the end of the Ghaznavid dynasty, and the Ghurids inherited their territories in the Punjab.

4. The Ghurids

The history of the short-lived military state of the Ghurids in central Afghanistan was shaped to a large extent by the geography of its heartland. The region east of Herat is very rugged, with fertile valleys between steep mountain ranges over which few paths led. The valley of the Hari-Rud, with the cities of Chaghcharan, Firuzkuh and Chisht, formed the heartland of Ghur. Later, Herat in the Hari-Rud valley and Bamiyan and Ghazna were added; the last two were autonomously governed by parallel dynastic branches of the Ghurids. Neither the mountain-dwellers of Ghur nor the



78. The minaret or victory tower of Jam, Afghanistan. The 62-metre-high minaret, built in the second half of the twelfth century, stands at Firuzkuh, the Ghurid summer capital. Photo: 1971.



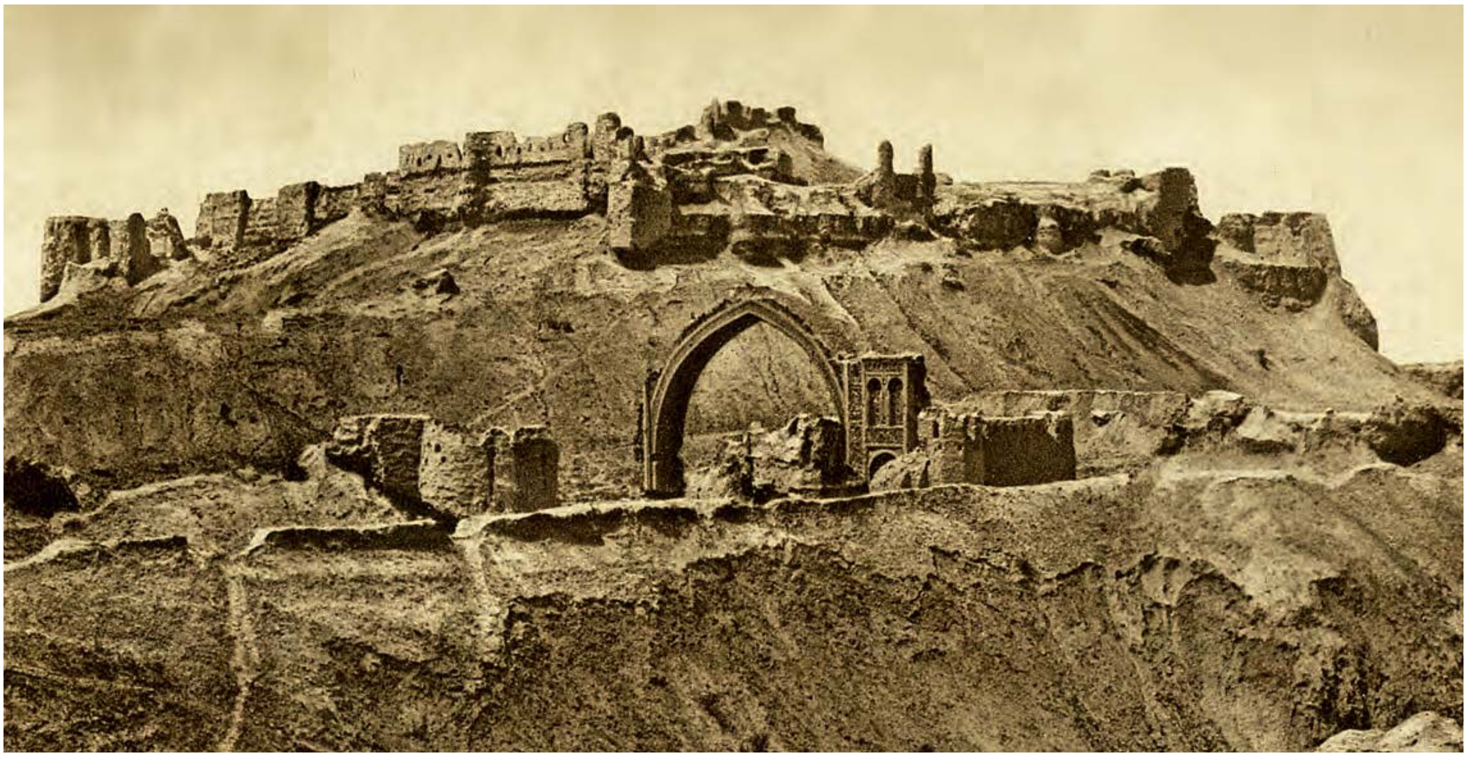
79. Illustration, based on archaeological data, of the Ghurid summer capital at Firuzkuh in central Afghanistan, situated in the narrow valley of the Hari Rud river. Presumably there was a mosque close to the victory tower built in 1174/75 or, from 1193/94 onwards. Sometime after 1215/16 the city was massively reinforced by the addition of fortifications, which is why it was able to withstand the first Mongol siege of 1220/21 and only submitted in 1222/23 when the Mongols deployed siege catapults.

ruling family of the Shansabani, whose name probably derives from the Middle Persian *Wišnasp*, were Turkic, and were most probably eastern Iranian Tajiks.[203] That the Shansabani were linked to Iranian culture was also demonstrated by the fact that their sultans were generous patrons of Persian literature, something that led to the strong influence of Persian culture on Muslim northern India.

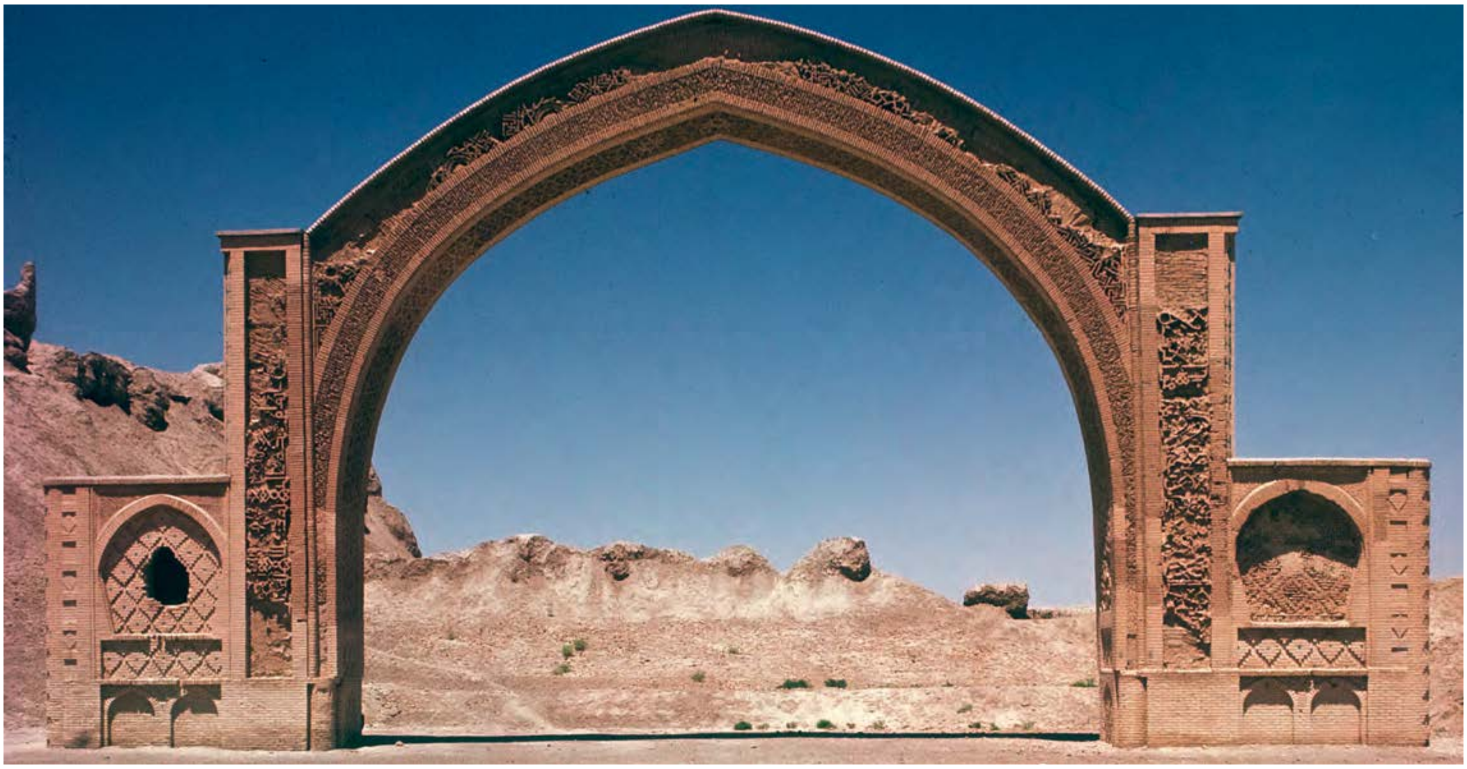
The first ruler mentioned by Juzjani is **Suri ibn Muhammad** (r. *ca.* second half of the ninth century). He was attacked by the Saffarid Yaqub ibn al-Layth al-Saffar (r. 861–79) but managed to escape into one of the many mountain fortresses. Juzjani adds that Suri was only one of several chieftains, who were constantly at war with each other, and that the people of Ghur remained to some extent non-Muslims.[204] After a few attacks by Sebük Tegin towards the end of the tenth century, the Ghaznavid Mahmud and his son Mas'ud launched two campaigns (1011 and 1020) to bring Ghur under their control. They installed the Shansabani **Abu Ali ibn Muhammad** (r. *ca.* 1011–*ca.* 1035) as king. The next ruler was **Abbas ibn Shith** (r. *ca.* 1035–*ca.* 1060), who deposed his uncle Muhammad. When some unhappy leaders complained to Ibrahim ibn Mas'ud of Ghazna about Abbas, Ibrahim replaced him with his son **Muhammad ibn Abbas** (r. *ca.* 1060–*ca.* 1080?).[205] It seems that Ghur descended into chaos under Muhammad's successor **Qutb al-Din Hasan** (r. *ca.* 1080–1110); the sultan of Ghazna probably considered it too insignificant to warrant another intervention.

With Malik **Izz al-Din Husayn ibn Hasan** (r. 1100–46), peace and stability returned to Ghur, even though in 1107/8 he had to

accept the suzerainty of the Seljuk Sanjar.[206] The fact that Sanjar asked for fighting dogs, weapons and armour as tribute, suggests that the Ghurids were good swordsmiths, who possessed large deposits of iron ore. The next generation of Ghurid rulers consisted of the seven sons of Izz al-Din Husayn, and it ushered in a phase of expansion. Izz al-Din's successor was **Sayf al-Din Suri** (r. 1146–49), who according to tribal law had to divide power with his six brothers, including Qutb al-Din Muhammad (r. 1146–47), who founded the summer residence Firuzkuh in the Hari-Rud valley (fig. 79). As described above,[207] Qutb fled to Ghazna after a quarrel with Suri, where he was poisoned by Bahram Shah in 1147. After Bahram Shah had also captured Qutb's brother Malik Suri and had him crucified, another brother, **Baha al-Din Sam I** (r. 1149), got involved. Baha equipped an army and marched to Ghazna but because he died on the way – a natural death, it seems – the fourth brother, Sultan **Ala al-Din Husayn** (r. 1149–61) took on the leadership and set fire to Ghazna in 1150 and to Lashkari Bazar near Bust in 1150/51.[208] But his triumph over Ghazna made Ala al-Din overreach himself. Setting off from Firuzkuh, he followed the Hari-Rud downstream and threatened the rich trading city of Herat, which belonged to the Seljuk Empire, but its sultan Sanjar inflicted a crushing defeat on him, took him prisoner and demanded a high ransom for his release.[209] After his return to Ghur, Ala al-Din welcomed Ismaili missionaries from Alamut and divided the empire into three regions: he kept the heartland of Ghur, the north and the west for himself, gave the east to Fakhr



80a. The free-standing arch below the Qala-i Bust citadel in Afghanistan. The citadel is close to the confluence of the rivers Helmand and Arghandab and was already mentioned by the first-century Greco-Roman geographer Isidore of Charax, by Pliny the Elder (*ca.* 50 CE) and the Persian scholar al-Tabari.[19] *Hudud al-Alam*, a tenth-century work by an unknown author, described Bust, the city situated between Herat and Kandahar, as 'The Gate of Hindustan'.[20] The photo was taken in 1915–16 by Oskar von Niedermayer, a German army officer who led a delegation of German and Indian diplomatic representatives to Kabul in 1915–16 , or by the Austrian refugee Emil Rybitschka in the same period. The reported aim of the German led expedition was to persuade the Afghan emir Habibullah to enter the war on the side of the German-Turkish alliance and to launch an attack on British India. Oskar von Niedermayer, *Afghanistan* (Leipzig, 1924), pl. 137.



80b. The Qala-i Bust Arch south of the Ghaznavid winter palace, Lashkari Bazar, Afghanistan. The free-standing triumphal arch dates from the Ghurid period in the second half of the twelfth century. The slightly pointed archway has a span of 25 metres and is flanked by two supporting pillars with carved scroll motifs. Photo: 1975.

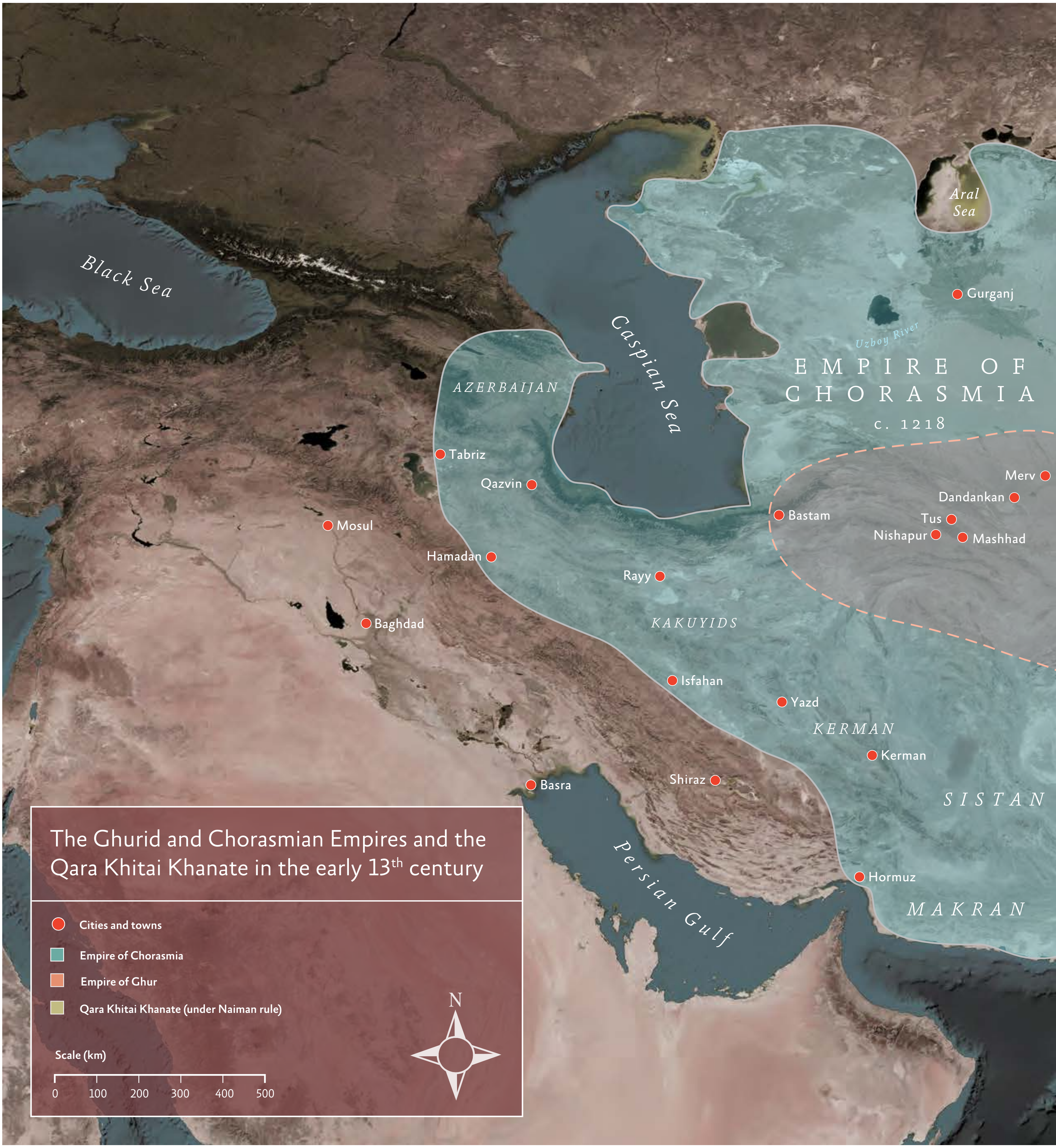
al-Din Masud (r. 1146–63) based in Bamiyan, and a third line of the dynasty received the south with Ghazna at its centre, which served as a springboard for further conquests in northern India. Towards the end of his reign, Ala al-Din seized the city of Bust from the Ghaznavids and immediately had it rebuilt (fig. 80a).

The famous minaret of Jam (fig. 78), in an almost inaccessible region of western Afghanistan, probably derives its name from the Persian *masjed-e jameh*, 'congregational mosque'. Together with the monumental arch of Bust (fig. 80b) and the Friday mosque of Herat (fig. 212), it is one of the few surviving architectural monuments of the Ghurids. Built of fired brick, the minaret, 215 kilometres east of Herat, was explored for the first time in 1957 by André Maricq, who identified the location in the narrow valley of the Hari-Rud – today little more than a hamlet – as Firuzkuh, the former capital and summer residence of the Ghurids.[210] Firuzkuh, with its harsh winters and heavy snowfall, served the sultans mostly as a summer residence; the winter residence, Zamin-i Dawar, was further south.[211] When Qutb al-Din Muhammad made Firuzkuh (which means 'the turquoise mountain' or 'mountain of victory') his capital in 1146, the city was already a seasonal centre of trade, as the 58 Perso-Jewish tombstones that have been discovered there document. These tombstones bear inscriptions in New Persian and Hebrew and date from 1115 and 1215 – the earlier stones were erected before the foundation of the royal residence. It is very probable that there was a Jewish trade settlement in Firuzkuh, as in Ghazna, Balkh and Merv.[212] As archaeological research shows, Firuzkuh possessed two or more large forts or fortified palaces as well as several watchtowers. The city covered an area of at least 9.5 hectares, possibly twice as much (fig. 79).[213]

The reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad (r. 1163–1202) marked the zenith of the empire, and a 62-metre tower minaret was erected in his honour,[214] as the inscription in ornate Kufic script[215] tells us. The tower was built either in 570 AH (1174/75 CE) and celebrated the reconquest of Ghazna from the Oghuz, or, if the date was 590 AH (1193/94 CE), it celebrated the victory of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din's brother Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad over the Rajput king Prithviraj in the second Battle of Tara'in in 1192, a victory which led to the conquest of Delhi.[216] The decline of Firuzkuh started at the end of the twelfth century. As Juzjani reports, floodwater from the Harid-Rud destroyed the main mosque of the city.[217] Soon after this, in 1199, revolts started when Sultan Ghiyath switched his support away from the pietistic sect of the Karrammiyya towards the established Shafi'i school of Sunni Islam, transferring the government to Herat at the same time. Archaeological research in 1960, 2003 and 2005 suggests that very close to the tower, which stands alone today, there was once a large building, perhaps the mosque mentioned by Juzjani.[218] In this case, the tower served not only as a monument celebrating military success but also as a minaret. After Firuzkuh fell to Chorasmia in 1215/16, its fortifications were strengthened, so the city was able to withstand a first siege by the Mongols in 1220/21. During the second siege, Genghis Khan's son Ögödei used trebuchets (siege catapults), and the city fell in 1222/23.[219]

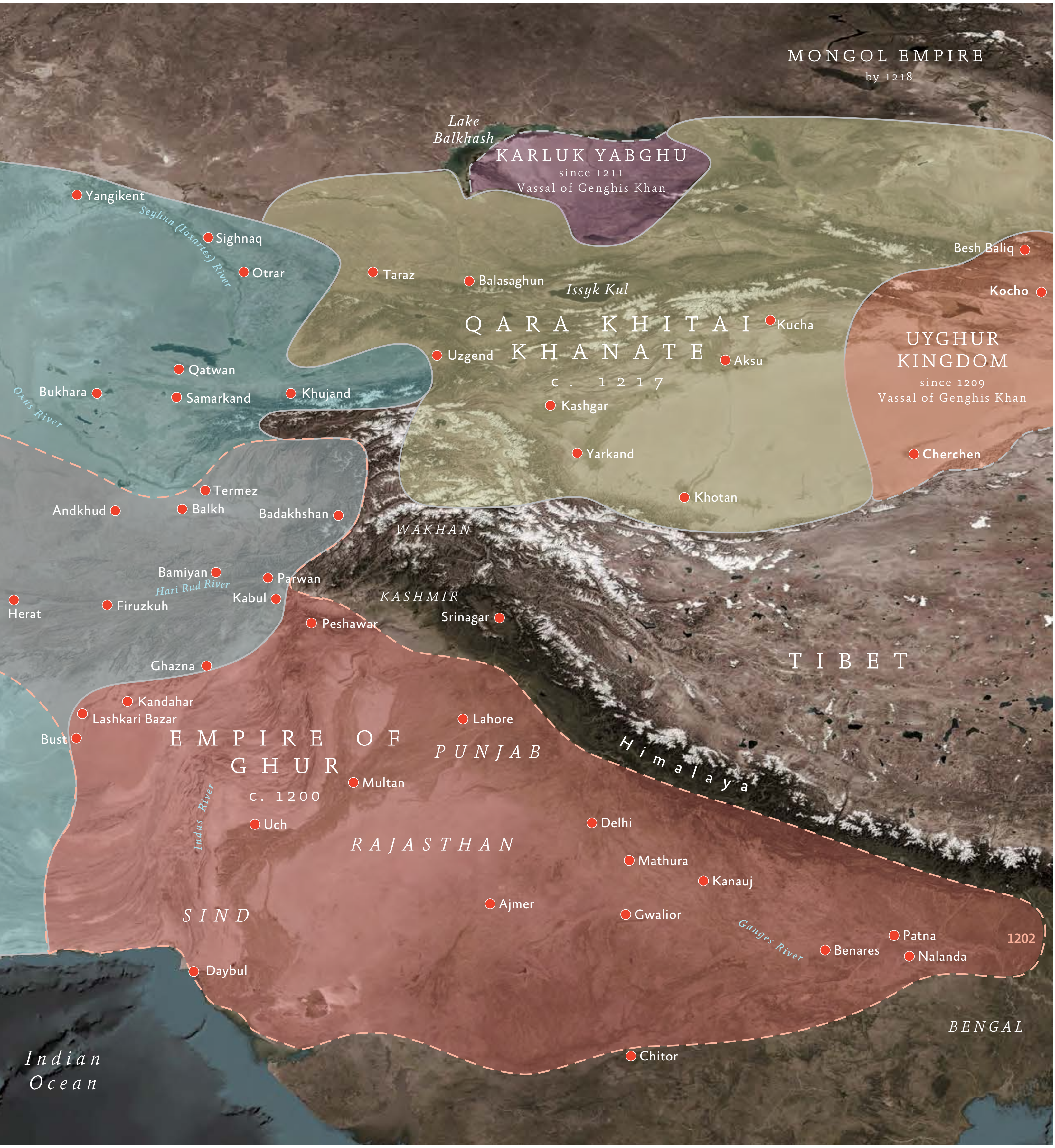
After only two years, **Sayf al-Din Muhammad** (r. 1161–63), a staunchly orthodox Sunni who had Ismaili missionaries killed, fell in battle against the Oghuz.[220] He was succeeded by the brothers Sultan **Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad** (r. 1163–1202) and **Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad** (r. 1202–6), who rather than fighting each other chose to collaborate. After driving the Oghuz out of Ghazna in 1173/74, Ghiyath al-Din left Ghazna and the southern regions to his brother and returned to Firuzkuh. In 1175, he conquered Herat and gradually expanded the empire north-westwards; having captured Kerman, he set out to conquer Khorasan, which brought him in conflict with Chorasmia. At that time, Chorasmia was suffering from the effects of a fratricidal struggle between Chorasm-shah Ala' al-Din Tekish (r. 1172–1200) and Sultan Shah (r. as counter-shah 1172–93), in which both brothers entered swiftly changing alliances with the Ghurids and the Qara Khitai. In 1190, Sultan Ghiyath defeated Sultan Shah, the Chorasmian pretendant to the throne, near Merv and wrested some areas of Khorasan from him.[221] When in 1198 the Ghurid Baha al-Din Sam II of Bamiyan (1192–1205/6) conquered the city of Balkh, which was a vassal of the Qara Khitai, a large army of the Qara Khitai and of Chorasm-shah Ala' al-Din Tekish launched a counter-attack on Ghur. But the two brothers, Sultan Ghiyath and Mu'izz, carried off a great victory on the Oxus, and after the death of Tekish two years later, they captured Sarakhs, Nishapur and Merv – expanding the Ghurid Empire to its greatest extent.[222]

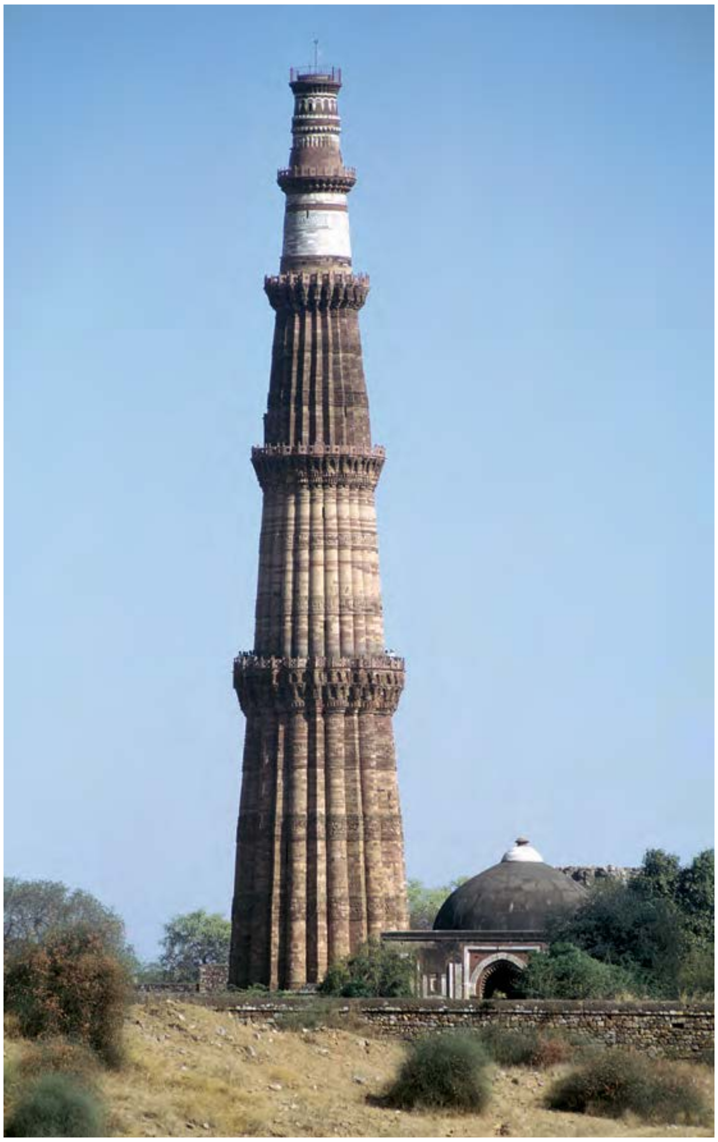
The Ghurids also quickly enlarged their territory to the south. In 1178, Mu'izz conquered Multan and Uch, in 1179/80 Peshawar and in 1186 Lahore, where he captured the last Ghaznavid sultan, Khusrau Malik. Five years later, he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Rajput king Prithviraj of Ajmer and Delhi and only just managed to escape to Ghazna, but he returned in 1192, and this time, in the second battle of Tara'in, he had a great victory. After this, the Turkic general of the Ghurids, Qutb al-Din Aybak (d. 1210), seized Delhi, and in the following years Ghurid armies conquered Gwalior, Malwa, Bihar and even parts of Bengal.[223] One of the most significant casualties of the Ghurid eastern campaign under the Turkic general Ikhtiyar al-Din Khilji was the Buddhist monastery



The Ghurid and Chorasmian Empires and the Qara Khitai Khanate in the early 13th century

Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Persian Gulf
Uzboy River
EMPIRE OF CHORASMIA
c. 1218
AZERBAIJAN
KAKUYIDS
KERMAN
SISTAN
MAKRAN
Gurganj
Tabriz
Qazvin
Mosul
Hamadan
Rayy
Baghdad
Bastam
Merv
Dandankan
Tus
Nishapur
Mashhad
Isfahan
Yazd
Kerman
Shiraz
Basra
Hormuz
● Cities and towns
Empire of Chorasmia
Empire of Ghur
Qara Khitai Khanate (under Naiman rule)
Scale (km)
0 100 200 300 400 500
N


MONGOL EMPIRE
by 1218
Lake Balkhash
KARLUK YABGHU
since 1211
Vassal of Genghis Khan
Yangikent
Seyhun (Iaxartes) River
Sighnaq
Otrar
Taraz
Balasaghun
Issyk Kul
Besh Baliq
Kocho
QARA KHITAI KHANATE
c. 1217
Kucha
Uzgend
Aksu
UYGHUR KINGDOM
since 1209
Vassal of Genghis Khan
Qatwan
Bukhara
Samarkand
Khujand
Oxus River
Kashgar
Yarkand
Cherchen
Termez
Andkhud
Balkh
Badakhshan
Khotan
WAKHAN
Bamiyan
Parwan
Hari Rud River
Herat
Firuzkuh
Kabul
KASHMIR
Srinagar
Peshawar
TIBET
Ghazna
Kandahar
Lashkari Bazar
Lahore
Bust
EMPIRE OF GHUR
c. 1200
PUNJAB
Himalaya
Multan
Indus River
Uch
Delhi
RAJASTHAN
Mathura
Kanauj
Ajmer
Gwalior
SIND
Ganges River
Patna
1202
Benares
Nalanda
Daybul
BENGAL
Indian Ocean
Chitor



81. **The victory tower in Delhi, India, standing 72.5 metres high, was built on the orders of the Ghurid military leader Qutb al-Din Aybak in 1199. Following the death of his master Sultan Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad in 1206, Aybak, formerly the sultan's slave, appointed himself autonomous ruler of Delhi (r. 1206–10) and founded the Slave dynasty, also called Ghulam dynasty (1206–90). Photo: 1971.**

and centre of learning Nalanda in Bihar. Nalanda could receive up to 10,000 students, and it was here that the Chinese monk, scholar and translator Xuanzang stayed in the late 630s. General Khilji sacked the monastery in 1193, and ordered the slaughter of all the monks and students. When some Ghurids enquired about the content of the vast monastery library, it turned out that not a single person able to read had survived the mass killing.[224] When Ikhtiyar al-Din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji also tried in 1206 to launch an attack on Tibet from Bengal, he suffered a terrible defeat in Assam.[225] After the murder of Sultan Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad (r. 1202–6) Qutb al-Din Aybak declared himself *Malik*, King of Delhi. He thus founded the Mamluk dynasty of Delhi, sometimes referred to as the Slave Dynasty (1206–90), the first of five sultanates of Delhi.[226] Aybak died in 1210 after an accident while he was playing polo and was succeeded by the incompetent Aram Shah (r. 1210–11), who was deposed by Shams al-Din Iltutmish (r. 1211–36) after a year. In the 1220s, Sultan Iltutmish was able to prevent attacks by the Mongols, not least because he refused to enter into an alliance with Genghis Khan's enemy Jalal al-Din Manguberdi of Chorasmia.[227]

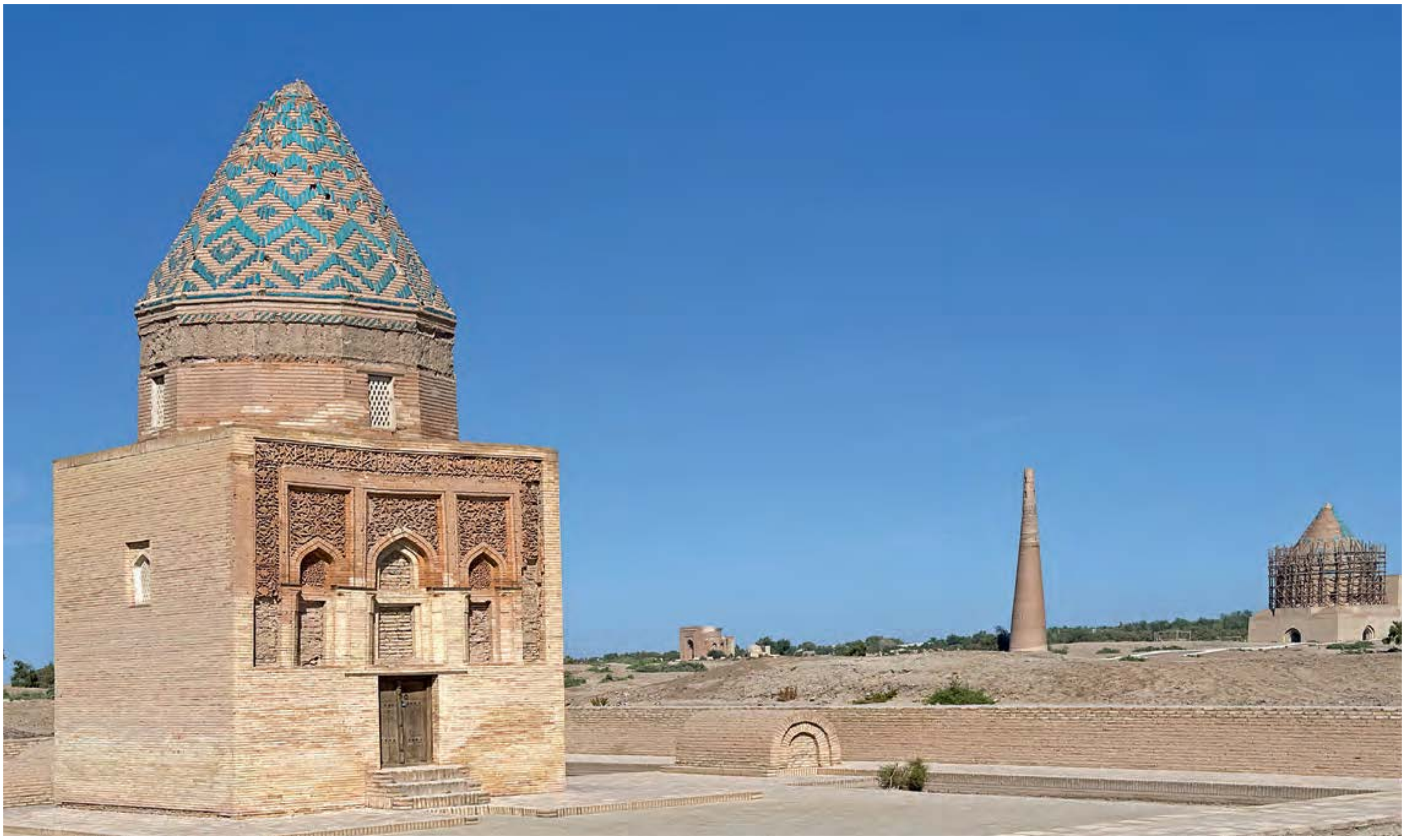
The most important part of the architectural legacy of Aybak is no doubt Quwwat-ul-Islam ('Might of Islam'), a mosque whose construction was started in 1193 and completed in 1229 by Iltutmish. To make way for it, 27 Hindu and Jain temples had been destroyed, and their spoils were used in the construction. Richly decorated columns from the temples can still be seen today in the arcades of the central courtyard. The most prominent feature of the complex is Qutb Minar, the 72.5-metre minaret that Aybak started to build in 1199 and which was only completed in 1368. As André Maricq, the first to research the minaret of Jam, understood, Qutb Minar was made from four superimposed, tapering cylindrical shafts and surrounded by projecting balconies and resembled the minaret of Jam.[228]

The Ghurids' successes in Khorasan turned out to be short-lived. Sultan Ghiyath was succeeded by his brother Sultan **Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad**, also known as Shihab al-Din (r. 1202–6), who in 1204 attacked the Chorasmian capital Gurganj. Chorasm-shah Muhammad ibn Tekish (r. 1200–20) responded by flooding the narrow strip of land between the Oxus and the Kara Kum Desert and asked Zhilugu, the Gür-Khan (ruler) of the Qara Khitai (r. 1177/78–1211) for military support. The alliance of the Qara Khitai, led by their commander-in-chief Tayangu, with Uthman ibn Ibrahim of Samarkand and Sultan Muhammad ibn Tekish, inflicted a crushing defeat on Sultan Mu'izz near Andhkud on the Oxus. Mu'izz immediately made peace and relinquished all of Khorasan except Herat; but on his return from an Indian campaign he was murdered.[229] After his death, the empire rapidly disintegrated because the generals who were running military operations in northern India declared their independence and at the same time conflicts erupted not only within the Shansabani clan but also between Ghurid and Turkic slave officers. The Ghurid commanders favoured Baha al-Din Sam of Bamiyan, and after his death in 1205/06 his sons Ala al-Din and Jalal al-Din, whereas the Turkic troops preferred **Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud** (r. 1206–12) and their wishes prevailed. As so often in the Islamic Middle Ages, it was Turkic military slaves who at a specific moment determined the succession of their nominal overlords.

Chorasm-shah Muhammad recognised the weakness of the new sultan, who had failed to establish his authority in northern India and in Ghazna. After a thirteen-month siege of Herat, he marched upstream along the Hari-Rud and captured Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud in 1208/9. Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud remained on the throne of Firuzkuh as the Chorasm-shah's vassal, but around 1212 he was assassinated. His successor **Baha al-Din Sam II** (r. 1212–13) was kidnapped by Muhammad, and the next sultan, **Ala al-Din Atsïz** (r. 1213–14), was killed by Taj al-Din Yildiz, a Turkic warlord who ruled over Ghazna, and who then installed **Ala al-Din Muhammad ibn Ali** (r. 1214–15/16) as puppet sultan. Chorasm-shah Muhammad reacted to the possible threat that came from Yildiz by occupying Firuzkuh in 1215/16, capturing the last Ghurid sultan and driving Yildiz out of Ghazna; Yildiz fled to Lahore. The victorious Muhammad then appointed his son Jalal al-Din (d. 1231) as governor of Ghazna, putting an end to the dynasty of the Ghurids.[230] But Chorasmian rule over Ghur, Ghazna and Herat had ended already in 1220/21 after the first Mongol attack.

5. The Ma'munids, Altuntashids and Anushteginids of Chorasmia

Around the end of the tenth century, Chorasmia, which according to al-Biruni had been governed by the Afrighid dynasty since 305,[231] was divided into two. In the eastern half resided the Afrighids in their capital Kath, on the right bank of the Oxus. The western half of Chorasmia was governed by princes whose names are unknown; they may already have belonged to the Ma'munid dynasty. Their capital was Gurganj, on the left bank of the Oxus. Both halves were vassals of the Samanids. As the anonymous geographical work *Hudud al-Alam* published in 982–83 noted, 'the town [Gurganj] abounds in wealth, and is the gate to Turkestan and resort of merchants'.[232] The city owed its wealth to its position at the end of a trade route, which linked Mawarannahr with the cities on the lower Volga and those of the Rus'. This economic success was the reason for the rivalry with Kath and the secession from the Afrighids. In 995, **Abu Ali Ma'mun I ibn Muhammad** (r. 992–97)



82. The city of Gurganj, Chorasmia, Turkmenistan, twice destroyed by Tolui Khan and Timur-e Lang. From left to right, the mausoleum of Sultan Il-Arslan ibn Atsïz (r. 1156–72), the fourteenth-century mausoleum attributed to Turabeg Khanum, the so-called Qutlugh Timur minaret built between the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the so-called Mausoleum of Sultan Ala al-Din Tekish (r. 1172–1200). Like Sultan Sanjar's audience hall in Merv, the latter was neither free-standing nor a mausoleum, but an audience hall and throne room.[21] Photo: 2014.

conquered Kath and had the last Afrighid ruler, Abu Abdallah Muhammad (r. 967–95), executed. At the same time he assumed the title of Chorasm-shah and founded the short-lived **dynasty of the Ma'munids** (992–1017). The Samanids were far too weak to prevent the reunification of Chorasmia. It seems that Abu Ali Ma'mun was murdered by his own bodyguards in 997. He was succeeded by his son **Abu 'l-Hasan Ali** (r. 997–1008/9), who was keen to establish friendly relations with his powerful neighbour Mahmud of Ghazna and married his sister. At the same time, the Chorasm-shah filled his capital with grand public buildings and invited the most famous scientists such as al-Biruni and Ibn Sina to his court.

But the splendour of Gurganj, with all its illustrious scholars, and the honorary titles bestowed by the caliphs, provoked the envy of the Ghaznavid Mahmud, and this would soon lead to the downfall of Abu 'l-Hasan's successor **Abu 'l-Abbas Ma'mun II ibn Ma'mun** (r. 1009–17). Mahmud demanded formal submission from the new Chorasm-shah as well as large tribute payments and the handing over of all scholars. Ma'mun II was unable to find any military allies so he submitted, but the army rose up in revolt. Ma'mun was killed in March 1017 and replaced by his young nephew **Abu 'l-Harith Muhammad** (r. 1017). The murder of Ma'mun II, who according to levirate custom had married the widow of his deceased brother Abu 'l-Hasan, gave Sultan Mahmud a fitting reason to go to war. Under the pretext of avenging his murdered brother-in-law, he besieged Chorasmia in July 1017, deposed Abu 'l-Harith and had the ringleaders of the rebellion executed. He then incorporated Chorasmia into the Ghaznavid Empire and appointed his military slave **Altun Tash** (r. as governor 1017–32) as governor of Chorasmia with the title of a Chorasm-shah. Thus the **Altuntashid dynasty** (1017–41) succeeded the Ma'munids.[233]

83. The Karakhanid victory tower in Gurganj, 62 metres high and dated between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was restored by the governor of the Golden Horde, Qutlugh Timur (in office 1321–36), which is why it bears his name. Konye Urgench, Chorasmia, Turkmenistan. Photo: 2014.

Altun Tash, who had begun his military career under the Ghaznavid Sebük Tegin, proved to be a successful commander in the battle of Balkh against the Kharakanid ruler Ilek Nasr in 1008, and from 1010/11 was an able governor of Herat. He protected Chorasmia against the various Oghuz bands at a time when Oghuz were pushing neighbouring Khorasan into chaos. At the same time, Altun Tash hired Oghuz steppe warriors and established a guard loyal to him, which Sultan Mahmud and his successor Mas'ud saw as a threat. Both sultans tried in vain to lure their vassal to Ghazna but Altun Tash knew exactly what awaited him there. In 1032 Sultan Mas'ud gave Altun Tash the order to attack the Kharakanid prince Ali Tegin of Bukhara. Altun Tash obeyed and suffered fatal injuries in the inconclusive battle of Dabusiya near Bukhara.[234] His son and successor **Harun ibn Altun Tash** (r. 1032–35) was reluctantly confirmed by Sultan Mas'ud but demoted to deputy of the nominal Chorasm-shah; the title of the latter was given to his own son Said ibn Mas'ud.[235]

Two years later Harun rebelled, adopted the title of Chorasm-shah and formed an alliance with his arch-enemy Ali Tegin. Although Ali Tegin died a few months later, Harun continued his campaign and threatened the city of Merv in early 1035, but Sultan Mas'ud bribed some members of Harun's bodyguard, who murdered him during the siege of the city.[236] Harun's murder enraged his brother and successor **Ismail Khandan** (r. 1035–41). Since Ismail Khandan had formed an alliance with the Seljuks, who were gradually wresting control over Khorasan from Mas'ud, the latter allied himself with the Seljuks' principal foe, Shah Malik ibn Ali of Jand. He confirmed Shah Malik as the future ruler of Chorasmia once it was subdued. In the winter of 1040/41 **Shah**

84. The main gate of the ruined city of Izmukshir, south-east of Gurganj, Chorasmia, Turkmenistan, which prospered between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Photo: 2014.

Malik (r. 1041–42/43) conquered Chorasmia and moved to Gurganj as the new Chorasm-shah. Ismail Khandan fled to the Seljuks, who had just beaten Mas'ud in the battle of Dandankan. Without his Ghaznavid ally, Shah Malik was unable to withstand the Seljuk attack of 1042 and 1043. Chorasmia became a Seljuk province with frequently changing governors.[237]

The governor appointed by the Seljuk ruler of Chorasmia, Malik Shah I, was the military slave **Anush Tegin Garchai** (in office *ca.* 1077–*ca.* 1097), a Kangli-Kipchak, who probably came from Garchistan in northern Afghanistan.[238] Anush Tegin founded the dynasty of the **Anushteginids** (*ca.* 1077–1220/21), whose rule over Chorasmia was only interrupted for a few months by the military slave **Ekinchi ibn Qochqar** (r. 1097) appointed by Sultan Berkyaruq. When Ekinchi died in the same year, Berkyaruq installed the son of the founder of the dynasty, **Qutb al-Din Muhammad I ibn Anush Tegin** (r. 1097–1127/28), as new governor, again with the title of Chorasm-shah.[239] Qutb al-Din was able to consolidate his power and was succeeded by his son **Atsïz ibn Muhammad** (r. 1127/28–56). In the first decade of his rule, the new Chorasm-shah expanded his territory, but remained loyal to Sanjar Shah and accompanied him on some campaigns. At the same time, he secured his northern and north-eastern borders, constantly threatened by marauding Oghuz, by annexing the Mangyshlak Peninsula and the whole Ustyurt plateau and by conquering the important trade city of Jand in 1133, from where he penetrated deep into the Kipchak steppe.[240] As described above, the three attempts by Atsïz in 1138, 1143/44 and 1147 to shrug off Sultan Sanjar's overlordship failed, as did his plan to have the sultan murdered by two hired Ismailis from Alamut.[241] Although Sanjar was furious about his disloyal vassal, he accepted his third submission in 1148 and left him in his office as Chorasm-shah; Sanjar probably valued a strong and stable Chorasmia, which served as a buffer to the Oghuz, more highly than Atsïz's disloyalty.

Atsïz also suffered a setback through an invasion by the Qara Khitai. Whether he was initially a secret ally of the Qara Khitai, in order to avenge the execution of his son by Sanjar, as al-Athir assumed, remains uncertain.[242] At any rate, after the Battle of Qatwan, Erbüz, the commander-in-chief of the Qara Khitai, invaded Chorasmia in 1142 and caused much devastation, forcing Atsïz to agree to pay a yearly tribute of 3,000 gold dinars.[243] Despite

85. A 150-kilometre stretch of the River Oxus, which extends from Gaz Achak almost to the Dayahatin caravanserai, forms the frontier between Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Photo taken from Turkmenistan: 2014.

this defeat and the military supremacy of the Qara Khitai, who left their vassals a relatively free hand as long as they received tribute, in 1152 Atsïz attacked Jand, which in the early 1140s had regained its independence from Chorasmia. Although Kamal al-Din, the Karakhanid ruler of Jand, was also a vassal of the Qara Khitai, Atsïz was able to take back Jand practically without a fight.[244] Atsïz's son and successor **Il-Arslan ibn Atsïz** (r. 1156–72) remained subordinate to the Qara Khitai but otherwise ruled independently from the western Seljuks. He undertook a few forays into Khorasan, and in 1158 supported Karluk divisions when they asked for help against the Karakhanid khan of Samarkand. Since the Qara Khitai refused to intervene in the conflict and offer military aid to their vassal in Samarkand, the latter had to give in and agree to pay reparations to Il-Arslan and the Karluks.[245] In 1171, Il-Arslan was dragged into another war by the Karluks, which ended with a defeat at the hands of the Qara Khitai, to whom he had refused the yearly tribute.[246]

After Il-Arslan's death in 1172, a 20-year civil war broke out in Chorasmia, as well as a long struggle for supremacy in south-west Central Asia between the Qara Khitai, Chorasmians and Ghurids, which in the end Chorasmia won. Immediately after the death of Il-Arslan, the queen Terken Khatun[247] installed her young son, the crown prince **Sultan Shah** (r. as counter-shah 1172–93) on the throne and acted as regent. But the older half-brother **Ala al-Din Tekish** (r. 1172–1200), who ruled in Jand as governor, refused to return to Gurganj and sought refuge with Chengtian, the empress of the Qara Khitai (Yelü Pusuwan, r. 1164–77). Tekish offered a large part of Chorasmia's treasures to the empress, as well as a yearly tribute in return for her military help. The empress sent her husband Xiao Duolubu, the *fuma* of Muslim sources,[248] to Chorasmia with a large army. Realising they were outnumbered, Sultan Shah and his mother fled, and Tekish was enthroned on 11 December 1172. The two fugitives asked their Seljuk vassal of Nishapur, al-Mu'ayyid, for help, and he launched an attack in 1174. But Tekish was well prepared and annihilated the enemy army as it marched through the desert south of Gurganj. He captured al-Mu'ayyid and had him executed. Sultan Shah managed to flee to the Ghurids, but his mother was captured and killed by the pursuers.[249]

In the second half of the 1170s, Tekish felt strong enough to shrug off the overlordship of the Qara Khitai and had one of their tribute collectors killed. The Qara Khitai offered military support to Sultan Shah, who was exiled in Ghur, and an army led by the *fuma* marched to Gurganj. In preparing his defences, Tekish chose a method that his predecessors had used already: he opened the dykes of the Oxus and flooded the road to Gurganj. Xiao Duolubu broke off the offensive but gave Sultan Shah a troop contingent with which the latter defeated some local rulers of Khorasan, gaining control over Sarakhs, Merv, Abiward and Tus.[250] Meanwhile, Chorasm-shah Tekish was facing problems not only on his southern border but also in the north, where the Chorasmian town of Jand stood on the frontier with the Kipchak steppe and its belligerent horse warriors. To secure this northern border, Tekish married the daughter of Khan Akran of the Kangli or the tribe of the Baya'ut, which belonged to the federation of the Yemek.[251] This marriage also had the advantage that Tekish could easily hire Kipchak steppe warriors for his army and that thanks to her position his wife disposed of troops herself. But this alliance proved to be a two-edged sword, since the Kipchak warriors in the service of Chorasmia were excessively brutal and cruel, which made Chorasmian rule bitterly unpopular. And since the Kangli-Kipchaks put loyalty to their tribe above that to their lords, these horse warriors and their commanders were a security risk. As Tekish's son and successor Ala al-Din Muhammad (r. 1200–20/21) soon found out, the Kipchak officers were bound by the will of his mother Terken Khatun, who was hostile to him, something that during the conflict with Genghis Khan would have catastrophic consequences. Despite the alliance with the Kangli or Yemek, Tekish had to undertake a punitive expedition to Jand and Signak against Qadïr Buku Khan in the winter of 1194/95. It nearly ended in a defeat since parts of his Kipchak troops deserted to the enemy during the battle.[252]

The defeat of his rival Sultan Shah by the Ghurids near Merv in 1190[253] and his death in 1193 opened the path to the south-west for Tekish. In 1192 he intervened in the conflict between the Seljuk sultan Tughril III and the Atabeg ruler Qutlugh Inanch of Rayy on the side of the latter. He went to Rayy and demanded that his name should be proclaimed directly after that of the caliph in the *khutba*. Then he returned to Khorasan, leaving a garrison in Rayy. Tughril used the absence of the Chorasm-shah to drive out the Chorasmian garrison in 1193, but Tekish marched back to Rayy in 1194 and killed the last sultan of the Great Seljuks in battle. In the following years Tekish conquered the whole of northern Iran, Hamadan and Isfahan so that Caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180–1225) reluctantly had to send him an investiture patent confirming him as ruler of Iran and Turkestan in 1199.[254]

The year 1198 saw a swift change of alliances, typical enough for the time. At first, a large army of the Qara Khitai and Chorasmians attacked Ghur, but this ended in a defeat and many losses for the Qara-Khitai. Then Gür-Khan Zhilugu (r. 1177/78–1211) blamed the Chorasm-shah for the disaster and demanded enormous compensation. He emphasised his demand by sending an army led by the *fuma*. Seeing no way out, Tekish quickly made peace with the Ghurid sultan Ghyath and fended off the Qara Khitai attack. When Tekish died in 1200, after a 28-year reign full of wars and conflicts, the Ghurids besieged important cities in Khorasan,[255] and at the same time the northern Iranians rose up in revolt and massacred all the Chorasmians that they could lay their hands on.[256]

Because of the internal political weakness of the Qara Khitai and the Ghurids, Sultan Tekish's son and successor **Ala al-Din Muhammad II ibn Tekish** (r. 1200–20/21) was able to expand his rule further. But his empire was a colossus built on sand for it lacked a homogeneous administration and an ideology that could provide any sense of collective identity. His control over the army, especially the Kipchak divisions, was limited, and the commanders, with the exception of his son Jalal al-Din, were incompetent. In these adverse conditions, Sultan Muhammad acted without courage or concept. Unlike him, his main adversary Genghis Khan ruled over a newly established nation with a strong structure and a clear ideological vision. He had rid himself of all competitors, his rule was undisputed, and the Mongol army was unconditionally loyal. What was more, thanks to an officer corps which he had put together solely according to principles of performance and loyalty, Genghis Khan disposed of excellent, trustworthy commanders. These commanders, such as Mukali in northern China or Sübotai and Jebe in Central Asia, Russia and in the Caucasus, were some-times more than his match when it came to the art of war, and they independently pursued and achieved the aims of war given to them, however far away, over many years. Genghis Khan himself, through a more than 20-year struggle that also led him through bitter defeats and a humiliating capture, had become a leader with unswerving self-confidence. The khan commanded one of the best war machines in history. Sultan Muhammad on the other hand led a motley army, whose elite troops were loyal not to him but to his hostile mother.

When Muhammad II ascended the throne in Chorasmia, his nephew Hindu Khan ibn Malik Shah also declared a claim to the crown. The challenger enjoyed the support of the Ghurids, who in turn were goaded by Caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180–1225) to attack Chorasmia. The Ghurids took some important cities in Khorasan and installed Hindu Khan in Merv as their puppet Chorasm-shah.

But Muhammad swiftly reconquered Khorasan, and Hindu Khan fled to Ghur.[257] As explained above, the attack of the Ghurid Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad on Gurganj failed, and his painful defeat near Andhkud during his retreat forced him to relinquish Khorasan, with the exception of Herat. Since Muhammad wanted to prevent the Qara Khitai from capturing Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad, who was besieged in the fort of Andkhud, and from seizing Ghur, which he wanted to annex himself, he sent him a secret message: 'For the honour of Islam I should not like a Moslem Sultan to fall into the snare of unbelievers and be slain at their hands. It is therefore advisable for thee to offer as ransom for thy person all that you hast.'[258] Mui'zz paid a huge ransom, and four years later, Muhammad conquered Herat and made the subdued Ghyath al-Din Mahmud his vassal.[259] By 1215/16 Muhammad had conquered Ghurid territories outside of India.

After the victory of Andhkud and the murder of Mu'izz al-Din, which started the decline of the Ghurids, Sultan Muhammad felt strong enough to intervene in Transoxiana, which was under Qara Khitai control. In 1207, when the son of a manufacturer of shields named Sanjar organised a popular uprising in Bukhara against the ruling caste of Islamic legal scholars, Muhammad intervened and crushed the revolt. But when in early 1208 he was trying to meet Sultan Uthman of Samarkand, with whom he had forged a secret alliance against the Qara Khitai, a Qara Khitai army blocked his path. The battle ended in a draw and Muhammad was captured. It seems that he escaped thanks to a ruse. He swapped his clothes with a servant who pretended to be Muhammad; now Muhammad disguised as a servant persuaded the Qara Khitai to let him go so that he could get a ransom for the Chorasm-shah.[260] Muhammad returned to Gurganj, and, while the Qara Khitai were besieging Samarkand, he undertook a successful campaign against the Kangli-Kipchaks to secure his northern border.

Genghis Khan's violent unification of the different Turkic and Mongolic peoples and tribes of Mongolia into a new Mongol nation had enormous consequences for the history of Central Asia from 1208 onwards. After Genghis Khan's victory over the Merkit ruler Toqto'a and his ally, the Naiman prince Küchlüg at the beginning of 1208, two vassals of the Qara Khitai rebelled and voluntarily subjugated themselves to Genghis Khan: the idiqut of the Uyghurs (1209) and the khan of the Karluks, Arslan (1211). This weakened the Qara Khitai,[261] and to make matters worse for them, more and more Merkit and Naiman horse warriors fled into their realm and to the Kipchaks; their leaders could not expect any mercy from Genghis Khan even if they capitulated. As can be seen from the example of the Naiman prince Küchlüg, these fugitives represented a danger for the states of Central Asia in more than one respect: not only were they experienced warriors but a country that received them also risked becoming a target of a Mongol attack. In late 1208, Küchlüg and his followers fled to Gür-Khan Zhilugu, who welcomed the refugees because he hoped to integrate them in his army. But Küchlüg noticed that the ageing Gür-Khan was weak and that the Chorasm-shah Muhammad was eager for power. Pretending he was doing this to help the Gür-Khan, Küchlüg returned to western Mongolia in 1209 and gathered the many dispersed groups of the Naiman to create a new army. As the historian Rashid al-Din noted, Küchlüg now forged an offensive alliance with Ala al-Din Muhammad, whose aim was the destruction of the Qara Khitai: 'It was decided that the sultan [Muhammad] would head toward Gür-Khan from the west while Güshlüg came from the east, and together they would catch the Gür-Khan in the middle and eliminate him.'[262] With this military pact Muhammad ignored the advice that Tekish had given once, 'never to quarrel with the Gür-Khan, for he was, they [Muhammad's forefathers] said, a "mighty dam behind which loom powerful opponents", that is Mongols, Naimans, and other Turks who merited concern.'[263] Indeed Muhammad Shah, by helping to eliminate the buffer state of the Qara Khitai, became a direct neighbour of the Mongols, whose military power he initially underestimated.

In 606 AH (1209/10 CE), Muhammad and Küchlüg put their plan into practice. Küchlüg invaded the empire of the Qara Khitai and began plundering their cities so that Zhilugu had to recall the garrison stationed in Samarkand. Sultan Muhammad immediately occupied the city, whereupon the united forces of Muhammad and Sultan Uthman marched northwards and in the late summer of 1210 faced the commander-in-chief of the Qara Khitai, Tayangu, near Taraz. The battle ended in a draw but Sultan Muhammad managed to capture Tayangu. Almost at the same time, probably at the beginning of 1211, Zhilugu defeated Küchlüg, who fled eastwards. The Gür-Khan's victory persuaded the Karakhanid Uthman of Samarkand to change sides, and he offered his renewed submission. But when Tayangu's plundering troops returned from Taraz to Balasaghun, the inhabitants closed the city's gates as they were hoping the Chorasmians would liberate them. A few days later, the Gür-Khan reached his rebellious capital, seized it and, according to Juvaini, had 47,000 inhabitants massacred.[264] But the victorious Gür-Khan thoroughly misunderstood the situation: he left his army in the autumn of 1211 and went hunting near Kashgar, where he was surprised and captured by Küchlüg, who had reorganised his troops. Küchlüg had thus usurped power.[265] In the meantime Sultan Muhammad took advantage of the conflict between Zhilugu and

86. **The mighty Narikala Fortress in Tbilisi, Georgia could not prevent the massacre of all the city's Christians by the Chorasmian Shah Jalal al-Din in 1226. Photo: 2013.**

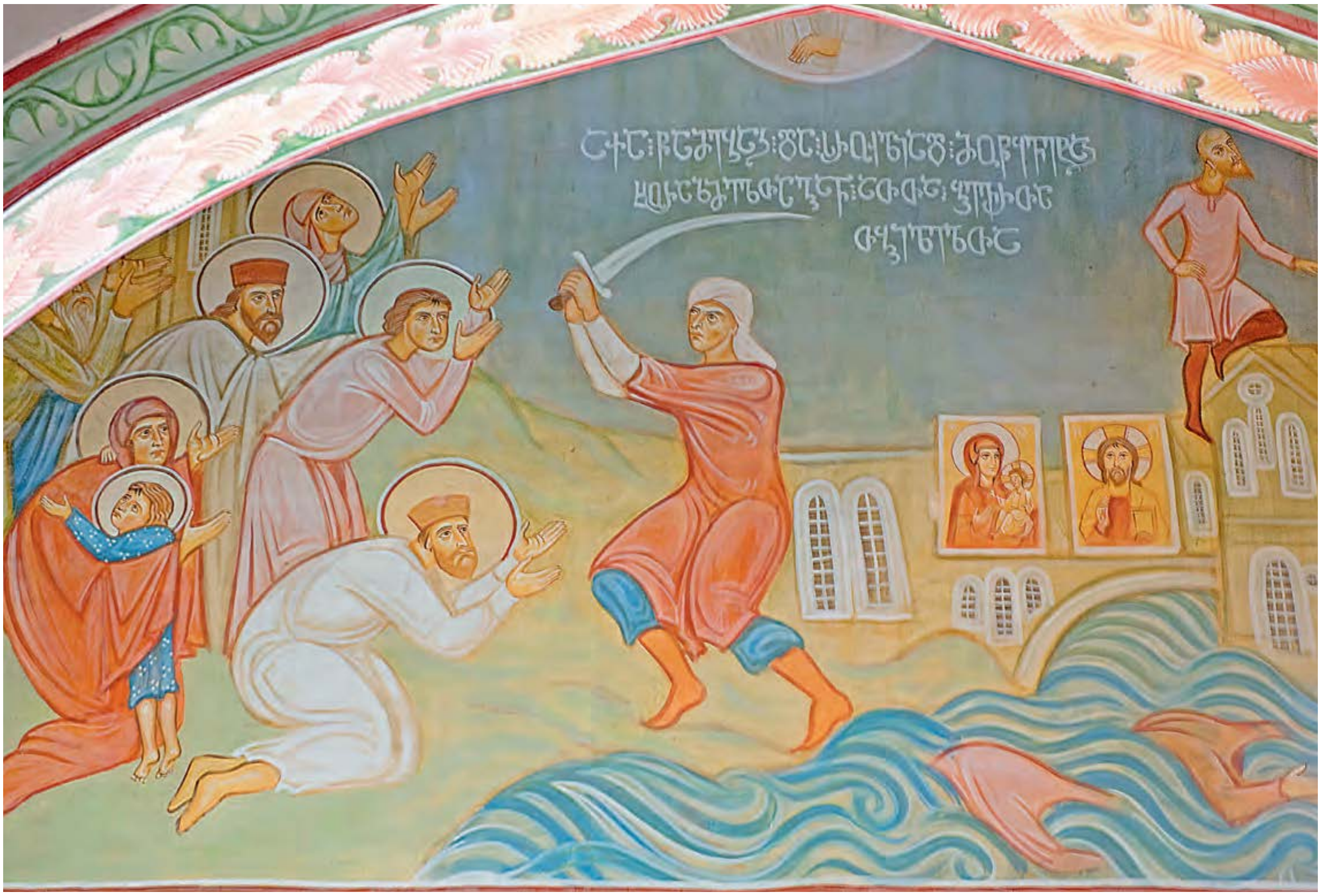
Küchlüg to consolidate his rule over Transoxiana and to seize areas east of the Syr Darya. In 1210–12 he seized Fergana and Otrar and reconquered the rebellious city of Samarkand, whose population he massacred.[266] But when Muhammad demanded that his former ally Küchlüg hand over the captured Gür-Khan and a part of the state treasury of the Qara Khitai, the latter initially used delaying tactics, and then, in 1213/14, suggested that the dispute be decided in single combat. Muhammad panicked and relinquished the areas around Isfijab, Tashkent and Fergana.[267]

Since Ghur had been conquered by 1215/16, and Muhammad could not expand his empire further eastwards, he turned westwards against the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir. Correspondence found in Ghur between al-Nasir and the rulers of Ghur had shown that the caliph had incited the Ghurids several times against him and had even sent Ismaili assassins to kill him, which intensified Muhammad's fury.[268] To legitimate the attack on al-Nasir he now planned, he took a Shi'ite position according to which the Abbasids had usurped the caliphate from Ali's family, the only rightful heirs, and asked legal scholars whom he had commissioned to appoint a Sayyid, a descendant of al-Husain, called Ala al-Mulk, as counter-caliph. He then marched against Baghdad, but in the winter of 1217/18 heavy snowfall west of Hamadan forced him to turn back. Most of his soldiers perished in the cold.[269] While he was waiting in Iran for an opportunity to launch a new attack he received the news that a large Mongol trade caravan had appeared in Otrar. Muhammad immediately returned to Chorasmia and made his son Rukn al-Din Ghur-Sanji (d. *ca*. 1221/22) ruler of Iran.[270]

The dates of the first diplomatic contacts and the first military conflict between Chorasmia and the Mongols are disputed. According to Juzjani, Sultan Muhammad seized the initiative as early as 1215, sending an embassy to Genghis Khan when he was besieging Zhongdu, today's Beijing, to assess the Mongol military strength. When the envoys reached Zhongdu, which had just been conquered, they got a first impression of the brutality of Mongol warfare: 'When we arrived . . . [we saw] from a considerable distance a high white mound. . . . [The guides explained]: "The whole of it is the bones of men slain".'[271] Directly before the destroyed city, they also passed a huge pyramid of human bones, which came from 60,000 women who had jumped from the city walls, preferring suicide to rape or slavery. Genghis Khan welcomed the Chorasmians, gave them precious gifts and in a message to Muhammad emphasised that he was ready to enter into a friendly relationship with them and valued free trade: 'Say ye unto the Khwarezmians that I am the sovereign of the sun-rise, and [he is] the sovereign of the sun-set. Let there be between us a firm treaty of friendship, amity and peace, and let trades and caravans on both sides come and go.'[272] Whether Genghis Khan was honest about wanting to conclude a long-term peace treaty with the Chorasmians or whether he simply wanted to complete the conquests of northern China first before choosing a new target is not known. The second hypothesis is supported by the fact that by early 1216 he returned to Mongolia although the northern Chinese dynasty of the Jin (1115–1234) was by no means defeated yet, and that in 1217 he appointed his commander Mukali (in office 1217–23) as viceroy of northern China.[273] At any rate, Genghis Khan and his successors always avoided waging war against two enemies at the same time; at first they allied themselves with one of the two enemies or won their compliance with reassuring words; when they had annihilated the first adversary they attacked the supposed ally.

According to Jalal al-Din's biographer al-Nasawi (d. *ca.* 1250) and Juvaini, it was Genghis Khan who took the initiative for diplomatic relations. Al-Nasawi reports that Genghis Khan sent an embassy to Muhammad Shah before 1218, which included the Chorasmian Mohammad Yalavach, the later governor of the cities of Transoxiana and Turkestan (in office 1229–39). The Mongol khan expressed his desire for peace and free trade but compared Muhammad with 'the dearest and most loved of my sons',[274] which put the latter into a subordinate position and humiliated him deeply. When Muhammad angrily questioned the Chorasmian Yalavach about the military strength of Genghis Khan, Yalavach, fearing for his life, mollified the shah with the answer that his army was incomparably stronger than the Mongol one.[275] This lie was to prove fatal for Muhammad, since it was probably then that he decided to go to war against the khan.

Juvaini's version is similar to that of Nasawi but it makes a direct connection with the infamous massacre of Otrar which provoked the destruction of most cities in Central Asia. According to Juvaini, three Chorasmian traders went on a private trade



87. Contemporary mural in the Church of St Nicolas in the Narikala Fortress in Tbilisi, Georgia, showing the mass execution of Tbilisi's Christians ordered by the Chorasmian warlord Jalal al-Din in 1226. Only those who instantly accepted the Muslim faith were spared. Photo: 2013.

mission to Genghis Khan, who gave them a message for Sultan Muhammad: 'Human wisdom so requires it; that the duties of friendship should be observed; [. . .] that we should keep open the paths of security, frequented and deserted, so that merchants may ply to and fro in safety and without restraint.'[276] Then the khan organised a large trade caravan, which included 450 Muslim traders and which carried very precious goods looted in northern China, which were meant to be traded in Chorasmia.[277] The Mongol delegation reached the city of Otrar in 1218. The city's governor Inalchuq, a cousin of Muhammad's mother Terken Khatun, desired the treasures that the Mongol traders had brought, and under the pretext that they were spies, he planned to confiscate the goods and to murder the traders and envoys. He had them arrested and sent a messenger to Muhammad Shah, who at that time was in Iran. Convinced of his military superiority, Muhammad endorsed the crime: 'Without pausing to think the Sultan sanctioned the shedding of blood and deemed the seizure of their goods to be lawful, not knowing that his own life would become unlawful. [. . .] Ghayir-Khan [Inalchuq] in executing his command deprived these men of their lives and possessions, nay, rather he desolated and laid waste a whole world and rendered a whole creation without home, property or leaders. For every drop of their blood there flowed a whole Oxus' of the blood of the people killed by the Mongols in retaliation.[278] Despite his outrage over the murder, Genghis Khan gave Sultan Muhammad a last chance to prevent a war. He sent three envoys to the sultan and demanded that he deliver Inalchuk. But Muhammad had probably already made up his mind to go to war and also did not have the authority to hand over a cousin of his mother to the enemy, which is why he murdered the three envoys as well.[279] The execution of foreign envoys was a clear reason for war, and Genghis Khan began planning and organising his campaign to the west, during which Mongol divisions would reach the Caucasus and the Indus within three years.

The dating of the first battle between Chorasmia and the Mongols that was provoked by the sultan is controversial: P. D. Buell[280] and Timothy May[281] suggest 1209/10, Michal Biran[282] 1216, Richard Gabriel[283] 1217/18, Paul Rachnevsky[284] states it is 'probably' 1218. The medieval authors Juzjani,[285] Juvaini[286] and al-Rashid,[287] on the other hand, as well as A. Boyle,[288] date this first battle to after the massacre of Otrar; that is, to 1218. If one considers what paralysing terror this first encounter with a smaller Mongol army caused in Sultan Muhammad it is inconceivable that the battle took place before 1218 and that the sultan despite it had Mongol visitors and envoys killed twice afterwards. The current author thinks that Genghis Khan had to secure the flanks of his route of march before his attack on Chorasmia, which started in 1219, which is why in 1218 he sent two small armies westwards with 20,000 men each. General Jebe attacked Küchlüg, who fled, was captured in the Pamirs of Badakhshan and executed.[289] General Sübotai and Genghis Khan's oldest son attacked the Merkits, who had lived on the upper Ienissei river since around 1205/6 when they had settled there after a defeat. The Merkits fled to the region of Jand, where Sübotai caught up with them and massacred them. When Sultan Muhammad learned of the Mongol advance, he assembled a large army and marched northwards. Then 'he came upon a battle-field, where he beheld great piles of dead and fresh blood. Amongst the fallen a wounded man was discovered and questioned. It being ascertained that the Mongols had been the victors [. . .] the Sultan [. . .] hurried after them.' When Muhammed was in sight of the Mongols and prepared for battle, he received the following message from Sübotai and Jochi: 'We have no authority from Chingiz-Khan to fight with thee.'[290] But Muhammad, confident that his army outnumbered the enemy troops, attacked. It was a fierce battle, and Jalal al-Din had to intervene to save his father from capture. The Mongols retreated under cover of night, and in the morning Sultan Muhammad fell into a state of paralysing panic given the high losses that the relatively small troop of Sübotai had inflicted on his large army. In al-Rashid's words: 'So overwhelmed was he [Muhammad] by fear that the doors of clear thought were closed to him.'[291]

Juvaini and Nusawi are both of the opinion that Sultan Muhammad had caused the catastrophe which now befell the Muslim part of Central Asia in three different ways: firstly by destroying the buffer state of the Qara Khitai, secondly by the murder of the two Mongol embassies and thirdly by his cowardly behaviour afterwards. Instead of defending Mawarannahr with his numerically superior forces, he abandoned his empire and fled westwards without a fight. And Genghis Khan understood how to foment Muhammad's fears through psychological warfare. Via Chorasmian deserters, he sent forged letters purporting to be from Chorasmian commanders to Terken Khatun and Muhammad, with the result that Muhammad's faith in his Kangli troops decreased further while Terken Khatun relinquished Chorasmia without a fight in early 1219 and had all hostages from subjected states who lived at the court murdered.[292] And when the Mongols attacked Mawarannahr in four separate columns simultaneously in the winter of 1219/20,[293] Muhammad fell into a blind panic and decided to flee without a fight, although his son Jalal al-Din Manguberdi asked him for permission to lead the Chorasmian army against the Mongols. In Juvaini's florid prose: 'Sultan Muhammad

[. . .] was seeking a hole in the ground or a ladder to the heavens in order to place him out of reach of the boundless army and to tread heavily upon the stirrups of flight before their onrush.'[294] His last order, to divide his powerful army between the garrison of the numerous cities of Mawarannahr and Khorasan, turned out to be a catastrophic mistake. With this, he deprived the Chorasmians of their numerical advantage, and the Mongol horse warriors, who possessed special units of Chinese siege engineers, were able to seize even well-fortified cities in a short time one by one. Jalal al-Din protested vehemently: 'To scatter the armies through the lands and turn tail before an enemy whom one has not encountered [. . .] is the mark of a craven wretch, not the path of a mighty lord. If the sultan does not decide to advance, and do battle, and charge, and fight at close quarters, but persists in his decision to flee, let him entrust the command of the valiant troops to me, so that we may set our faces towards the warding off [these] events.'[295] But Sultan Muhammad could not be persuaded to give up his plans for flight and his unwillingness to entrust Jalal al-Din with the army. His empire quickly descended into chaos; he himself was driven like a hunted deer by Sübotai and Jebe through Transoxiana, Khorasan and Iran, and in December 1220 or January 1221 he died a lonely man on an island in the south-western Caspian Sea.[296] As al-Nasawi reports, Genghis Khan ordered the execution of the avaricious governor Inalchuq after his conquest of Otrar: 'He made Inal Khan appear before him and ordered that the molten gold [he had stolen] be poured into his ears and eyes.'[297]

It is not clear which of his two sons, Uzlaq Shah and Jalal al-Din, Muhammad Shah designated as successor,[298] but at any rate both brothers, who had accompanied their father until his death, returned to Chorasmia. When **Jalal al-Din Manguberdi** (r. in western Iran 1224–31) learned that his brother Uzlaq Shah, together with some of his commanders, planned to murder him, he fled to his city of Ghazna, where he was governor.[299] From here he started a counter-offensive with a rather ragtag army of Ghurids, Kangli and Khalaj and defeated a Mongol division that was besieging a fort in north-eastern Afghanistan. Genghis Khan then sent his adoptive son and commander Shigi Khuthuku with 30,000 men. In the ensuing battle of Parwan in 1221, Jalal al-Din ordered his soldiers to fight on foot but to keep their saddled horses ready. When the attacking Mongols withdrew on the second day of battle to reform, Jalal's warriors mounted their fresh horses, attacked in full force and inflicted a decisive defeat on Shigi Khuthuku. This was the only significant defeat that the Mongols suffered during their western campaign of 1219–23. Immediately after the victory, Jalal's army started quarrelling over their portions of the spoils and split up so that he returned to Ghazna. When Genghis Khan heard of Shigi Khutukhu's defeat, he immediately marched southwards and in the late summer of 1221 defeated the numerically superior Chorasmian prince south-west of Rawalpindi near Dinkot on the Indus. Jalal al-Din managed to escape across the Indus, but because the Sultan of Delhi, Iltutmish, fearing Genghis Khan's revenge, refused to give him refuge, he and his followers fled to Isfahan, which he made his capital.[300]

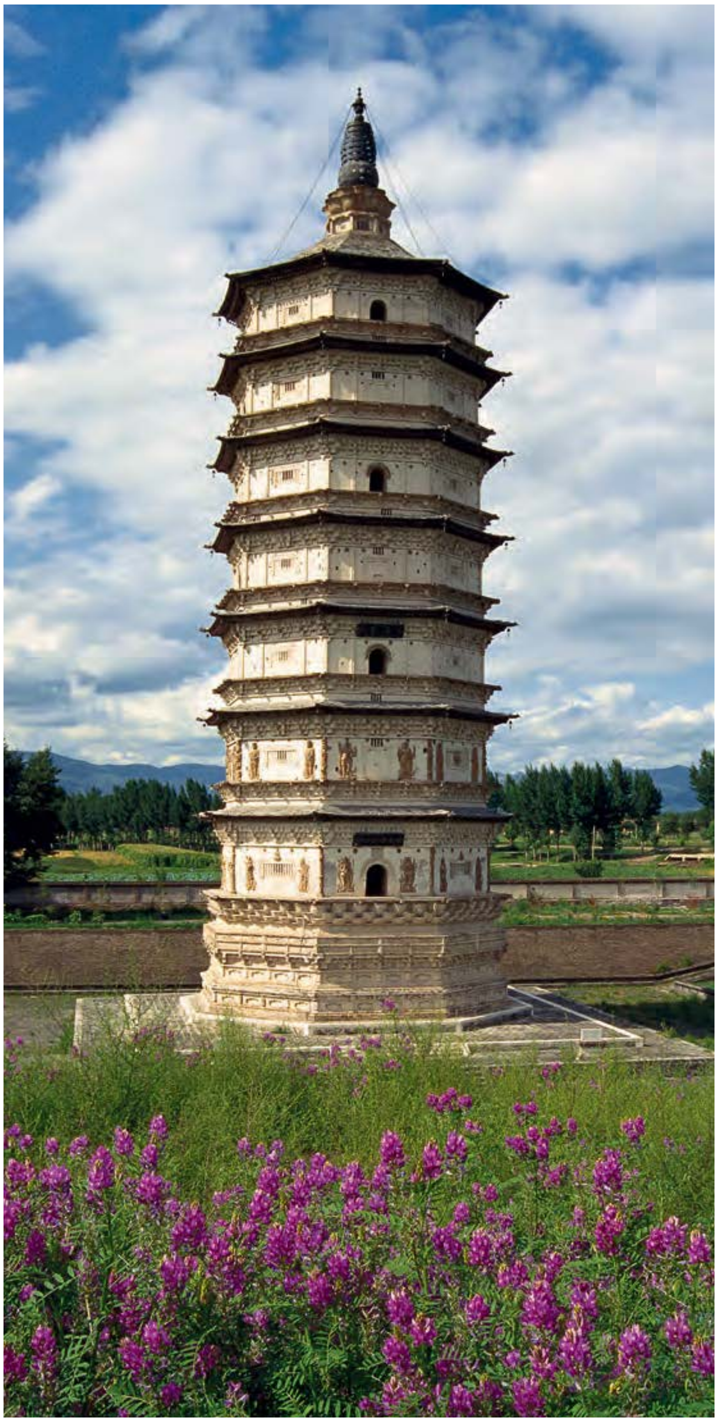
After Genghis Khan had returned to Mongolia in 1123 and Sübotai and Jebe had also left Iran, Jalal al-Din was relatively safe in the western part of the Chorasmian Empire. Instead of trying to reconquer the now devastated and depopulated areas of Chorasmia and Mawarannahr, which would have provoked a new Mongol campaign, he turned to the north-west against the Christians of Georgia whom he hated. In 1225 he defeated the Georgians, whose army had already been decimated by Sübotai and Jebe,[301] and in 1226 massacred all the Christians in Tbilisi who did not immediately convert to Islam. In the following year the Georgians took Tbilisi back, but Jalal al-Din defeated them again in 1229, because the Kipchak contingent of 20,000 men deserted to him on the battlefield of Bolnisi.[302] But from 1227 small Mongol divisions began invading Iran, trying to capture Jalal. In August 1228 they were victorious before the gates of Isfahan, but suffered such heavy losses that they returned to Mawarannahr.[303] Two years later, the Chorasmian army suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Rum-Seljuk Kai-Qubad and the Ayyubid al-Ashraf.[304] Soon after this, Jalal al-Din learned that Genghis Khan's son and successor Ögödei had sent General Chormaghun to Iran with a 30,000-strong army, intent on destroying what was left of Chorasmia. Jalal fled immediately and was murdered in 1231 in Kurdistan.[305] But the odyssey of the Chorasmian horse warriors did not end with the death of their sultan. They hired themselves out in northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia and were held in high regard as mercenaries there until the Mongol general Baiju succeeded Chormaghun in 1241 and defeated the Rum-Seljuk sultan Kai Khosrow II in 1243.[306] Fearing the Mongols, the Chorasmians entered the service of the Egyptian sultan Malik al-Salih Ayyub. In the summer of 1244 they wrested Jerusalem from the Crusaders, massacred the Christian population, and in the autumn of the same year they crushingly defeated the last great Crusader army in Gaza near al-Harbiyya. Two years later Ayyub rid himself of the unruly and all too powerful Chorasmians, by having their leader killed.[307] In Chorasmia and most of Khorasan, urban life practically came to a standstill after Genghis Khan's western campaign, and some regions of Chorasmia became desolate forever.

V

Buddhist States of the Liao, Qara Khitai and Tanguts

'A settled life is to an explorer what a cage is to a bird.'

The Russian explorer **PYOTR KOZLOV** shortly before his discovery of the Tangut city of Khara-Khoto on 19 March 1908.[1]



88. The octagonal Pagoda of the Complete Huayan Sutra, popularly known as Bei Ta, White Pagoda, built during the Liao dynasty between 983 and 1031 near Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, China. Both the Liao and the Tanguts were followers of Esoteric Buddhism, in which the figures of specific groups of buddhas and bodhisattvas, arranged in the shape of a mandala, played an important role. One such arrangement, a special favourite with the Liao, consisted of a central statue of Vairocana, the Supreme or Universal Buddha, surrounded by eight bodhisattvas. It was this that inspired the Liao to introduce the pagoda on an octagonal ground plan, which went on to supplant the rectangular design favoured by the Tang dynasty.[22] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Hohhot belonged to the Kingdom of the Onguts, some of whose rulers were Nestorian Christians, which explains why there are several Nestorian inscriptions inside the pagoda. Photo: 1995.

The period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries saw huge upheavals in Central Asia and northern China, including ethnic and linguistic ones. Between the sixth century and the first half of the twelfth century the history of Central Asia had been shaped by the waves of migration of Turkic peoples to the west. From the tenth century these peoples adopted Islam as soon as they entered Islamised territory, and some Turkic dynasties became champions and protectors of Sunni orthodoxy after their conversion, unlike the Qara Khitai and the first three generations of Mongol conquerors, who refused to adopt the religion of their conquered subjects.[2] But the Battle of Qatwan in 1141 rang in a new chapter of Eurasian history of migration: Mongol peoples pushed westwards, and they were either Buddhists, like the Qara Khitai, or, as was the case with Genghis Khan's Mongols, they remained followers of a folk religion and were not concerned about the religion of the peoples they subjugated as long as they recognised the supremacy of the Great Khan. As we have seen before, the expanding eastern Mongol people of the Khitan pushed the Turkic Kipchaks and Oghuz to the west.[3] And unlike the Turkic peoples, who focused almost exclusively on the west and only sought to dominate northern China once, during the Turkic-Sogdian rebellion led by An Lushan (755–63), the Mongolic, Manchurian and Mongol conquerors also pushed southwards. Thus the dynasty of the Liao (907–1125) brought a period of foreign dominance by Mongol and Manchurian peoples to northern China, which would last for nearly 500 years, until 1368.

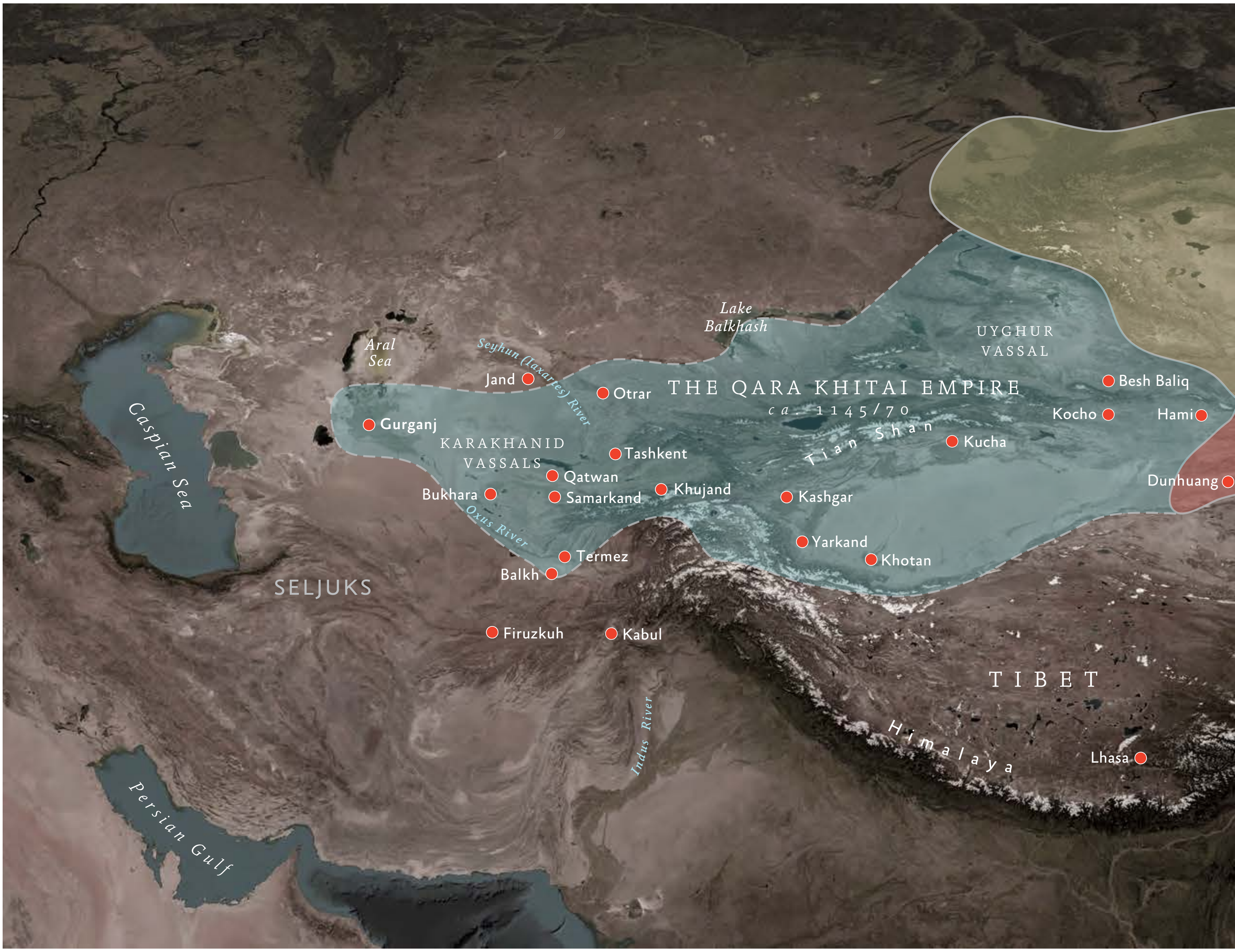
1. The Liao Dynasty

The Qara Khitai, also known as Kara Khitan,[4] made forays into Uyghuristan and Semirechie from 1128. The Qara Khitai were Mongolic refugees, who had been driven out of their homeland in northern China and Mongolia by the Manchurian Jurchens between 1117 and 1125.[5] Their language was related to the proto-Mongolian languages with Tungusic loan words and originated from the Yuwen branch of the Xianbei. Around 406 they became tributaries of the Northern Wei, who were related to them. After 479, under pressure from the Rouran, the Khitan left their central Mongolian homelands and went south-eastward, settling in the upper valley of the Liao in today's province of Liaoning. During the following four centuries their history was shaped by conflicts with the Chinese dynasties of the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907); in most cases they had to accept the suzerainty of their stronger neighbours. In 751, for example, they managed to drive off an attack by An Lushan, a Turkic-Sogdian general in Chinese service, but four years later they were defeated by him and degraded to Chinese vassals once more. When An Lushan's rebellion collapsed in 763, the Khitan became vassals of the victorious Uyghurs but still had to pay tribute to the Tang. The end of the Uyghur khaganate in 840 changed little for the Khitan, who had to recognise Chinese suzerainty from 842.[6]

The eight tribes of the Khitan made the decisive step from a loose confederation of semi-nomadic pastoralists to the empire of the **Liao** (907–1125) when in 907 they elected **Ambagyan** (Chinese **Abaoji**) as their new khagan. Abaoji (r. as elected leader 907–16, as emperor 916–26) was an energetic military commander who cleverly used the collapse of the Chinese Tang dynasty to expand his territories westwards towards Mongolia and south-westwards into the areas of Chinese vassals. Having already liquidated several leaders of rival tribes, he staged a putsch in 916. Since the tribal rules of the Khitan demanded that an elected khagan had to be confirmed in his office by the tribal leaders every three years, Ambagyan would have had to undergo a third confirmation. He declared himself emperor instead and thus founded a new dynasty, which in 947 adopted the name of his homeland's river, the Liao. To give stability to his new empire, Abaoji ordered the construction of the Supreme Capital, Shangjing, 190 kilometres north of the (now Inner Mongolian) city Chifeng, in 918. With its palaces, administrative and merchant quarters and Buddhist temples, the city was modelled on Chinese capitals.[7] Abaoji also introduced a dual administration, which was fully implemented in 947. The northern administration was responsible for the semi-nomadic pastoralist tribes and their grasslands, the southern administration for the sedentary peoples and the crop farmers, especially the Han Chinese population. The northern administration consisted entirely of Khitan, whereas in the southern administration junior posts could also be held by the Chinese.[8]

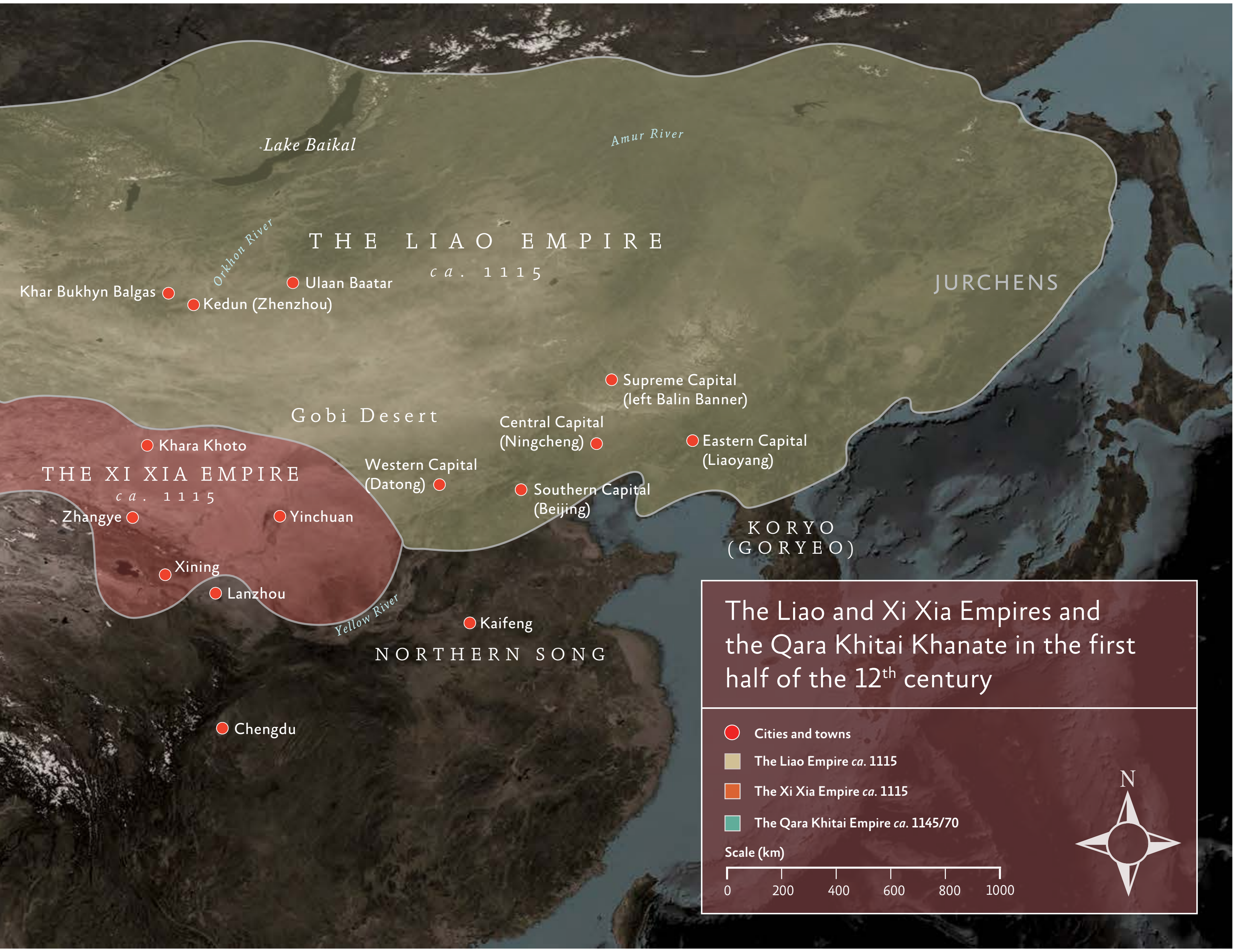
To further consolidate the national identity of the Khitan, Abaoji introduced his own script. The so-called 'large' script, inspired by Chinese characters, was introduced in 920. The script consisted of logograms, each of which represented a word. As mentioned by the *Liao Shi* (the chronicle of the Liao), a second 'small' script, was introduced four years later; some researchers have claimed this was modelled on the Uyghur script, but the characters also have visual similarities with Chinese ones. The characters were phonograms, combinations of letters representing speech sounds, and each word was made up of between two and seven of these characters.[9] Both scripts were written vertically from top to bottom, with the first line on the right-hand side.[10] To date, neither of them has been fully deciphered. In 924 Abaoji penetrated deep into Mongolia, which had been infiltrated by the Khitan for decades, and occupied the former capital of the Uyghurs, Ordu Baliq (Karabalgasun). The *Liao Shi* reports: 'The emperor arrived in the old Uigur city. He ordered that the old stone tablet of Bilgä Khaghan be erased and reinscribed in Ch'i-tan, Turkic and Chinese to commemorate his meritorious deeds.'[11] Immediately after the conquest of Central Mongolia Abaoji offered to let the

89. The pagoda in Tianning Si, or Temple of Heavenly Tranquillity, in Beijing, was built around 1100. The pagoda, based on an octagonal ground plan, is 57.8 metres and 13 storeys high. Photo: 2015.


Lake Balkhash
Aral Sea
Seyhun (Jaxartes) River
Jand
Otrar
THE QARA KHITAI EMPIRE
ca. 1145/70
UYGHUR VASSAL
Besh Baliq
Kocho
Hami
Caspian Sea
Gurganj
KARAKHANID VASSALS
Tashkent
Tian Shan
Kucha
Qatwan
Bukhara
Samarkand
Khujand
Kashgar
Dunhuang
Oxus River
Yarkand
Khotan
Termez
Balkh
SELJUKS
Firuzkuh
Kabul
TIBET
Indus River
Himalaya
Lhasa
Persian Gulf

Uyghurs of Gansu return to their original homelands.[12] Their refusal to take up this offer had far-reaching consequences for the ethnic composition of Mongolia as it allowed Mongolic tribes, above all the semi-nomadic Khitan, to spread unhindered in the sparsely populated area. The Mongolisation of Mongolia, which until then had been mostly Turkic, was now irreversible. To keep the unruly Mongol horse nomads under better control, the Khitan built fortified cities such as Khermen Denzh, Ulaan Kherem, Chintolgai Balgas and Khar Bukyn Balgas (fig. 96) in the river basins of the Kerulen and Tola.[13]

The death of Abaoji (temple name:[14] Taizu) in 926 revealed the fundamental problem of the new dynasty, which would plague it to the last; that is, the failure to accept primogeniture as the governing principle of the imperial succession. Leading members of the Yelü disputed the crown prince's accession to the throne over and over again. Abaoji's eldest son Prince Bei (d. 937) failed to sustain his claim, defeated by the resistance of his mother Shulü Ping (posthumous name: Chunqin, d. 953), who favoured her younger son **Deguang** (r. 927–47) with herself as regent. At Abaoji's burial, Shulü Ping broke with a well-established custom of the Khitan: although more than 300 humans were sacrificed in honour of the deceased emperor, she herself refused to follow her husband to the grave. Instead, she cut off her right hand and laid it on the coffin.



The Liao and Xi Xia Empires and the Qara Khitai Khanate in the first half of the 12th century

Lake Baikal
Amur River
Orkhon River
THE LIAO EMPIRE
ca. 1115
JURCHENS
Khar Bukhyn Balgas
Ulaan Baatar
Kedun (Zhenzhou)
Supreme Capital (left Balin Banner)
Gobi Desert
Central Capital (Ningcheng)
Eastern Capital (Liaoyang)
Khara Khoto
Western Capital (Datong)
THE XI XIA EMPIRE
ca. 1115
Southern Capital (Beijing)
Zhangye
Yinchuan
KORYO (GORYEO)
Xining
Lanzhou
Yellow River
Kaifeng
NORTHERN SONG
Chengdu
● Cities and towns
The Liao Empire ca. 1115
The Xi Xia Empire ca. 1115
The Qara Khitai Empire ca. 1145/70
Scale (km)
0
200
400
600
800
1000
N

She survived the amputation, forced Prince Bei to abdicate, for fear of his life, and Deguang (temple name: Taizong) ascended the throne.[15] Like later Liao empresses, Shulü Ping was a highly influential politician and commanded a powerful army.[16] Deguang himself was a skilful military leader who continued the expansionist policy of his father, who not long before his death had subjugated the southern Manchurian kingdom of Bohai. In 936, Emperor Deguang had the chance to annex a substantial part of northern China when Shi Jingtang, governor of the Later Tang dynasty (923–36), rose in rebellion and asked the Khitan for military assistance. Emperor Deguang defeated the Later Tang army at Taiyuan in Shanxi province and installed the rebel as the first ruler of the new dynasty of the Later Jin (936–47), who would be puppets of the Khitan. In exchange, in 938 the Later Jin had to cede to the victorious Khitan the so-called Sixteen Prefectures that lay along the border, from Pingcheng in Shanxi to the shore of the Bohai Sea east of Beijing. The Liao Empire was now divided into five 'circuits' or regional administrations, each with its own capital: the Supreme Capital Shangjing in the north, the Western Capital Pingcheng (renamed Datong, 'Great Unity' in 1048), the Southern Capital at today's Beijing, the Eastern Capital Liaoyang in the province of Liaoning and the Central Capital Zhongjing near what is now

90. Silver gilt hat adornment 8.2 centimetres high from the tomb of Yelü Abaoji's son-in-law near Chifeng, Inner Mongolia, China. Early Liao dynasty (907–1125). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, China.

Ningcheng south of Chifeng in Inner Mongolia.[17] Deguang launched an attack on the city of Kaifeng, but this failed and he was forced to withdraw some months later in the face of Chinese resistance.

The late 970s saw the Han Chinese Song dynasty (960–1279) emerge as a serious adversary of the Liao. In 979 the Song attacked the latter's vassals, the Northern Han (951–79), defeated a Khitan army sent to their assistance, and took Taiyuan. But the Song emperor Taizong overestimated the victory he had won. He marched on Beijing with the intention of conquering the Sixteen Provinces, only to suffer a serious defeat on the Gaoliang river south of the city, which forced the Song to adopt a more defensive posture toward the Liao. After a more than 20-year stalemate, the two sides made peace, as the Song were unable to take the Sixteen Prefectures while the Liao could not consolidate their incursions into the densely populated Song Empire, though these attacks did harm the Song economy. Concluded in 1005 (or 1004), the Treaty of Shanyuan confirmed the territorial status quo and imposed on the Song the payment of an annual tribute of 100,000 silver taels and 200,000 bales of silk. When in 1042 the Song suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of the Tanguts of Minyak, the Liao raised the tribute payable to 200,000 taels and 300,000 bales of silk.[18] While the payment of tribute might at first sight seem highly demeaning for the Song, it was economically most advantageous, for it was significantly cheaper for the Song to pay tribute than to wage war. What is more, the Song enjoyed an enormous surplus in their trade with the Liao, which the Liao counterbalanced in silver. And since the Liao used more than half the Chinese silver tribute to purchase Chinese products such as silk, weapons, tea and gold jewellery, the tribute paid by the Song also supported the Chinese economy. As Eric Trombert remarks, the Song's payments of tribute to the Liao and the Tanguts show that silver was becoming a serious competitor to silk as a form of international currency from the eleventh century on.[19]

Towards the end of the tenth century the Khitan found themselves faced with an ambitious power on their south-eastern frontier as well: in 936 the Korean Koryo dynasty (Goryeo, 918–1392) had united the Korean Peninsula under their rule and begun gradually to extend their territory northward, making a clash with the Liao inevitable. After the Khitan's first Korean campaign of 992–93, the Koryo had to admit that their alliance with the Song was worthless, and they chose to recognise the nominal overlordship of the Liao. Two more costly invasions by the Khitan in 1011–12 and 1018–19 ended in military stalemate: the Koryo remained the nominal vassals of the Liao, who were not, however, able to prevent the Koreans from fortifying the whole length of their northern border with a wall of stone.[20] During the early eleventh century the Liao's external conflicts shifted to the south-western frontier, as the Khitan undertook four campaigns between 1006 and 1027 in a vain attempt to conquer the Gansu Uyghur kingdom. The actual beneficiaries of these efforts were the Tanguts of Minyak, who between 1028 and 1036 succeeded in taking the great cities of Gansu and advancing as far as Shazhou (Dunhuang).[21] The rising power of Minyak also put the Khitan in their place when the Tanguts defeated an attempted Liao invasion in 1044. Following Liao's second, more successful campaign in 1050, Minyak agreed to recognise Liao supremacy and to pay formal tribute.[22] In the mid-eleventh century the boundaries between the five kingdoms of Liao, Song, Koryo, Minyak and Kocho stabilised. The Liao Empire had too few warriors to allow further territorial expansion; on the other hand, the Khitan's highly mobile cavalry, which enjoyed an almost inexhaustible supply of horses from their Mongolian pasturelands, were so dangerous that no neighbour dared launch a frontal attack on the Liao. As the *Liao Shi* graphically put it, 'surrounded on the four sides by militant peoples, [Liao] crouched in their midst like a tiger whom no one dared to challenge'.[23]

Part of the Khitan elite became Buddhist by 902 at the latest, when their first Buddhist temple was built. When in 916 Abaoji asked his courtiers and counsellors what should be declared the state religion, they all said Buddhism, even though the emperor and crown Prince Bei favoured Confucianism.[24] In fact, the Khitans' Buddhism also incorporated elements of Confucianism, Daoism and traditional belief: 'The Liao rulers [. . .] remained emotionally tied to the ideas of their nomadic tribesmen. They were eager to clothe their new imperial experience in the garments of a new "imperial" religion; and this new religion had to be compatible with their old tribal beliefs which they did not intend to discard.'[25] Unlike Confucianism with its strictly hierarchical conceptions and its conviction of the superiority of sedentary cultures over those of nomadic barbarians, Buddhism was in this respect neutral and prepared to accept alien gods and spirits into its pantheon. The Liao not only built magnificent temples and stupas and sponsored the production of fire-gilt bronze figures of high quality, but also published a critical edition of the *Tripitaka*, the Buddhist canon, which was an improvement on earlier editions such as that of the Song. Unfortunately, this work, carved into 579 woodblock volumes, has not survived. The Liao were also anxious to preserve the Buddhist canon for posterity by inscribing it in some durable material, for they believed that the year 1052 would mark the beginning of the degenerate age of the *mofa* or 'Latter Day of the Law', when Buddhist teaching would perish from men's minds. The Liao thus continued a project already begun at the Yunjusi (also known as the Cloud Dwelling Monastery) near Beijing under the Sui dynasty, between 605 and 618. Between around 1020 and 1095 they had the Khitan Buddhist codex carved on 4,260 stone tablets, which in 1118 were buried on the temple lands. Older stone texts were walled up in nearby mountain caves.[26]

During the second half of the eleventh century the Liao Empire encountered more and more difficulties. In 1063 there was a rebellion during which a grandson of **Emperor Shengzong** (r. 982–1031) ambushed **Emperor Daozong** (r. 1055–1101) while he was out hunting. The wounded emperor was able to escape, and his mother Ren Yi took charge of the imperial guard to drive off the attackers. Two years after this, the chancellor and military leader Yelü Yixin, a member of the ruling clan, rose to power by establishing an ascendancy over Emperor Daozong. Yixin consolidated his rule through lies and intrigues, persuading the emperor to order his loyal and faithful wife to commit suicide (on the spurious grounds that she had had a sexual liaison with one of her entourage) and then to exile his eldest son, whom Yixin then had killed. Only in 1081, when the chancellor was planning an attack on the new young

91. Silver gilt crown, Liao dynasty, dating from 1018 or earlier. The woman's crown was among grave goods found in the tomb of Princess Chen, a granddaughter of the Liao Emperor Jingzong (r. 969–82), and of her husband Xiao Shaoju, brother-in-law of Emperor Shengzong (r. 982–1031). The small figure on the top of the crown perhaps represents the philosopher Laozi. Research Institute for Cultural Goods and Archaeology of the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia, China.

92. Blue silk skirt embroidered with dragons, each holding a pearl in its mouth. In China, the dragon was regarded as the animal of the east, symbolising the emperor. The pearl represented the rising sun and was seen by Buddhists as a wish-fulfilling jewel, Liao dynasty, first half of the eleventh century. Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg, 2011. Inv. no. 5252.

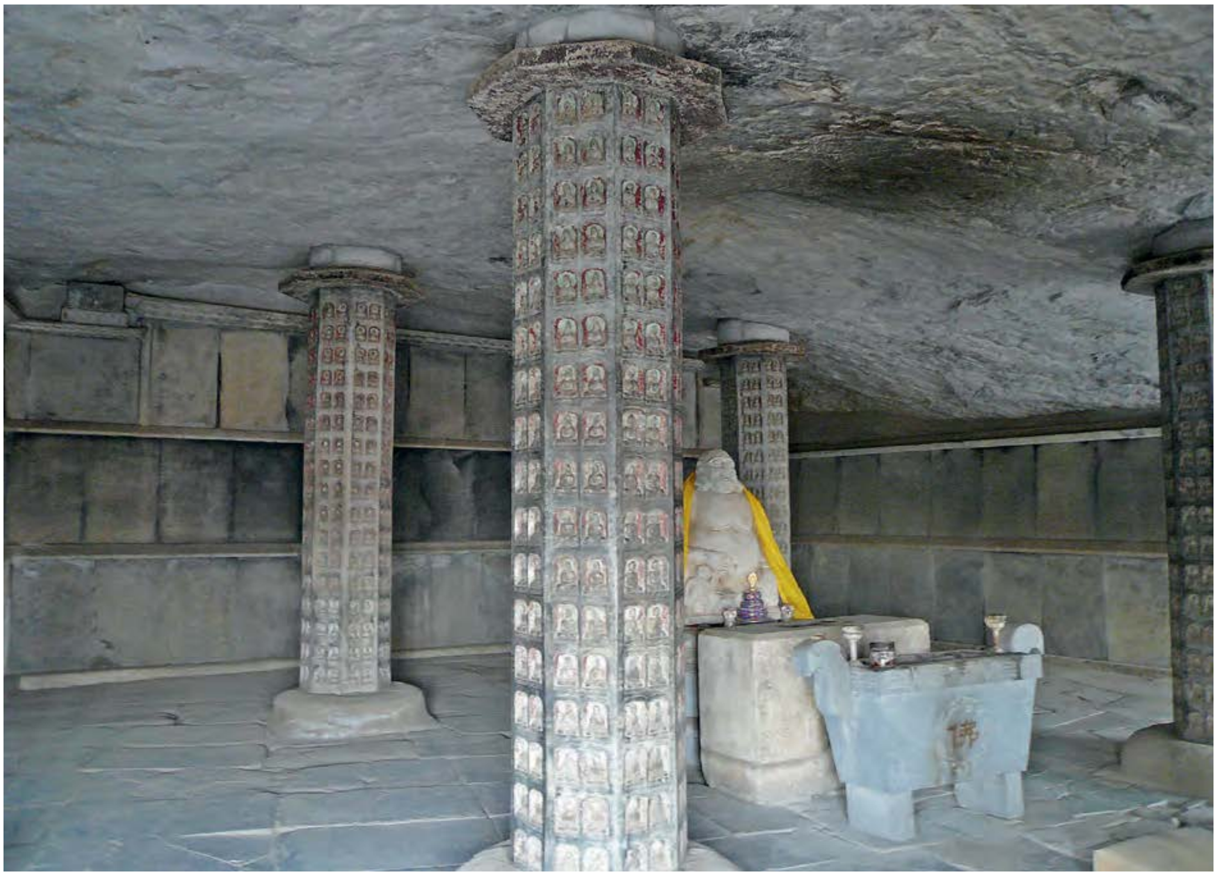
heir did Daozong recognise the danger. He banished Yixin from the court and had him executed not long after. The anti-Chinese laws that Yixin introduced, however, had devastating effects on the cohesion of ethnically mixed Liao society. Among other activities, these prohibited hunting, dealing in copper, the production of patterned satins, and the private publication of books. The ethnic Khitan themselves, who lived as pastoralists, suffered terribly because of an exceptionally heavy snowfall in the winter of 1082–83, which killed most of their livestock and horses. And at the same time, two major tribes started to challenge the authority of the Liao: these were the Zubu in Central Mongolia, probably a Tatar tribe, and the Tungusic Jurchens in eastern Manchuria.[27]

The last Liao emperor **Tianzuo** (r. 1101–25) was too passive to re-establish the dynasty's authority and its control over the still-powerful army. The fall of the Liao began with the rebellion of the Jurchens under their ruler Aguda (r. 1113–23), who in 1115 declared himself emperor of the new Jin dynasty (1115–1234), whose name means 'gold'. When he began his attacks on the Liao in 1114, other subject peoples also rebelled, and in 1117 a huge Liao army scattered without putting up a fight. When the Jurchens captured the Supreme Capital in 1120 and the Central Capital in 1122, the Song hoped to take advantage of the Khitan collapse by retaking the Sixteen Provinces. Yet when the Song forces sought to capture the Southern Capital they came up against the commander Yelü Dashi (b. *ca.* 1087), a member of the Liao ruling clan, who quickly put them to flight. Two years later, though, the Liao's prospects were so dim that Yelü Dashi – who had fallen into the hands of the Jurchens in 1123 but had managed to escape a few months later – abandoned his emperor Tianzuo, proclaiming himself king of the remaining Khitan in 1124. The Jurchens brought the Liao dynasty to an end in 1125 when they captured Tianzuo,[28] and by early 1127 they had conquered not only the whole territory of the Liao, but also all of north-east China, including the city of Kaifeng.[29]

93. ***Sancai* (three colour) glazed ewer in the shape of a dragon fish, also known as sea dragon (*makara* in Sanskrit), lying on a lotus flower, Liao dynasty. The ewer was discovered in 1975 in Keerqinzuoyizhong Banner, Inner Mongolia. Municipal Museum of Tongliao, Inner Mongolia, China.**

2. The Qara Khitai, Central Asian Successors of the Liao

Yelü Dashi (r. 1124–43), founder of the **Qara Khitai dynasty** (1124–1213/18), escaped to the north-west, reaching the Khitan garrison town of Khedun, also called Zhenzhou, in 1124.[30] There he succeeded in winning over the 20,000 horsemen of the garrison, as well as a number of Turkic tribal groups, so that he eventually stood at the head of an army of some 40,000 mounted men. But he was still far too weak to mount an attack on the Jurchens, who by 1127 were even stronger than they had been in 1124, when Yelü Dashi had had to flee from them: they now had armies of more than 100,000 men. His forces did, however, have the military advantage over east Central Asian states such as the Uyghur kingdom of Kocho and the weakening Karakhanids, not least because they had an almost inexhaustible supply of horses. And he may well have hoped, too, that the Khitan, who served the Karakhanids as mercenaries in Central Asia, would join him. Wealthy from international trade, the cities of east Central Asia were certainly a tempting prize, and in 1128 or 1129 Yelü Dashi set out south-west to arrive at Besh Baliq, the summer capital of the Uyghurs of Kocho.[31] Yelü Dashi's first attack on Kashgaria miscarried when he was defeated by the Karakhanid Ahmad ibn Hasan (r. 1103–after 1128) and had to withdraw to Kocho. Not long afterwards, though, Ahmad's successor Ibrahim bin Ahmad made the mistake of asking Yelü Dashi (who had proclaimed himself Gür-Khan, or 'universal ruler') for military assistance against the rebellious Karluks and Kangli. The homeless Khitan seized on the opportunity, taking Ibrahim's capital Balasaghun without a fight between 1131 and 1134 and demoting the ill-advised khagan to *Ilek Türkmen*.[32] The Khitan thereupon expelled the Karluks, Kangli and Oghuz from their long-established pasturelands between the Issyk Kul and Otrar, while



94. In this cave above the Yunju Si (the Cloud Dwelling Monastery) c. 75 km south-west of Beijing, China, stone tablets inscribed with Buddhist sutras — discourses of the Buddha that constitute the basic text of Buddhist scripture – have been kept since the early seventh century. Unusually, the tablets in this cave are set into the wall, while those in the other, walled caves are stacked tightly together. Photo: 2006.

they compelled Kashgaria, Khotan and the Uyghurs of Kocho and Besh Baliq to recognise their supremacy; but the attempt in 1134 to resurrect the fallen Liao Empire by sending an expeditionary force to the east was a miserable failure.[33] The destruction of the Liao Empire and the withdrawal of Yelü Dashi's followers from Mongolia led, however, to a power vacuum, for the Jurchens were concentrating on the extension of their territory in China. In the north, they pursued a 'classically Chinese' static defence strategy, neither attacking Mongolia nor maintaining garrisons there. They simply established an armed line of defence in the southern steppe and contented themselves with playing Mongol and Turkic tribes off against each other. It was this power vacuum that allowed the meteoric rise of Genghis Khan.

The Qara Khitai then pushed south, to the lush grasslands of Fergana, where in 1137 they defeated Mahmud Khan of Samarkand, Seljuq vassal of Sultan Sanjar. Driven out of Fergana and Semirechie, the Karluks flooded into the agricultural region around Samarkand, where they caused great damage. When Mahmud Khan begged Sultan Sanjar for assistance, Yelü Dashi took advantage of the opportunity to extend his rule over Transoxiana and went to the aid of his earlier opponents, the Karluks he had expelled from their lands. In the autumn of 1141 the steppe-warrior cavalry of the Qara Khitai and the Karluks defeated the Persian cavalry of the Seljuqs on the Qatwan steppe north of Samarkand. As the Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) aptly remarked: 'If the two groups [armies] are equal in number and strength [weaponry], those who are the best suited for nomadic life will prevail.'[34] Sultan Sanjar had to withdraw beyond the Oxus and the Qara Khitai conquered all of Transoxiana and Chorasmia, making the local rulers their vassals.[35] After the conquest of Balkh south of the Oxus, the territories of the Qara Khitai extended from Balkh, Khotan and Hami in the south to the Kyrgyz on the Ienissei and the Upper Irtysh in the north, and from the Caspian and the Oxus in the west to the Altai and the Uyghurs of Kocho in the east.

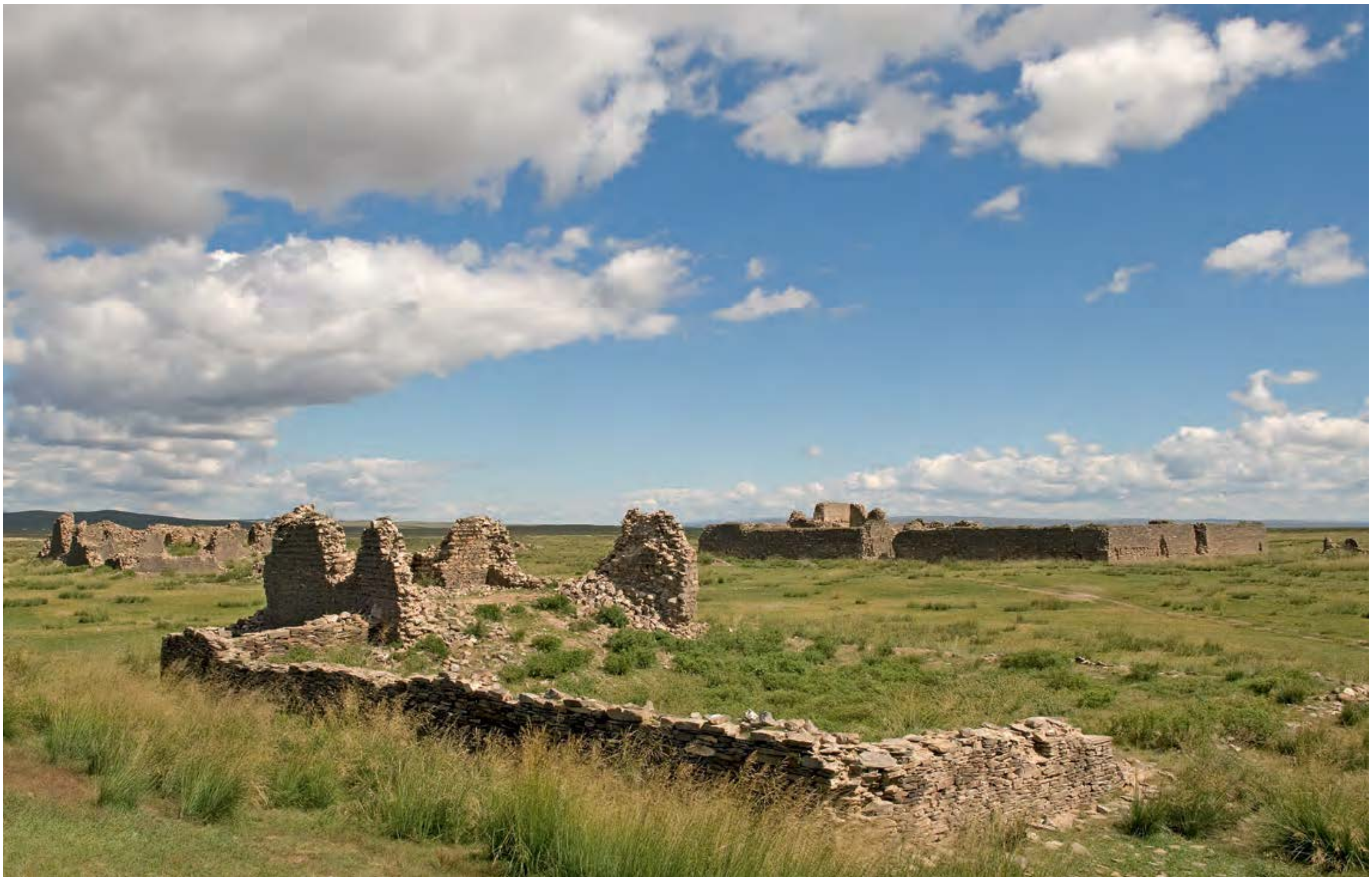
As mentioned earlier,[36] these two victories over the Seljuk Empire by a non-Muslim ruler caused quite a stir among the Crusaders and in Europe more generally. A year after the loss of the Christian County of Edessa to the Emir of Mosul in 1144, the bishop and historian Otto von Freising reported that a pious Christian king called John had won a victory in Asia against a Muslim ruler. In 1157, von Freising confirmed his 'report' to Emperor Frederick I, known as Barbarossa, after which, some time

95. **Yin Shan Ta Lin, or the Silver Mountain Pagoda Forest, 50 km north-east of Beijing, China. The pagodas stand on what was once the site of the Fahua Temple, built under the Tang dynasty (618–907), restored under the Jin (the empire of the Jurchen, 1115–1234) and extended by the Yuan. The Pagoda Forest was burnt down during the Japanese invasion of 1940. The picture shows the five Jin pagodas, arranged in a mandala-like pattern. Photo: 2015.**

between 1160 and 1165, the imperial chancellor Rainald von Dassel forged a supposed letter from this 'presbyter John' to Emperor Manuel I Komnenos of Byzantium.[37] Later, in 1221, Cardinal Jacques de Vitry would describe Küchlüg, the last ruler of the Qara Khitai, who had successfully held his ground against Mohammad Shah of Chorasmia, as King David, son of Prester John.[38]

For the civilian population, the Qara Khitai conquest of Transoxiana passed without bloodshed or any great destruction, bearing no resemblance to the pillage and massacres they had endured at the hands of the Mongols scarcely 80 years earlier, so that trade and the wider economy suffered little. The Qara Khitai were content, too, with indirect rule. They certainly had a powerful army and plenty of horses, allowing them to intervene rapidly if need be, but within their empire they represented a minuscule minority. They therefore developed a model of indirect rule that the Mongols would later adopt, though the latter applied it in a much more ruthless fashion. The Qara Khitai required that their vassals recognised their overlordship and punctually paid the taxes imposed on them. To this end, they appointed to each vassal an official called a *shihna*[39] who oversaw the collection and remittance of taxes, much like the Mongol *darughachi* or *basqaq*. It seems that the Qara Khitai also ensured that their vassal's cities were not over-taxed. When, for example, Alp Tegin,[40] whom Yelü Dashi had made governor of Bukhara, began to prey upon the people of that city after his ruler had returned to Balasaghun, the contemporary author Nizami-e Aruzi reports that in 1143 he received the warning: 'Let Alp Tegin know that, although wide distance separates us, our approval and displeasure are near at hand.'[41] The Qara Khitai refrained, however, from military intervention in conflicts between their vassals, except when their own interests required it. For a semi-nomadic horse people who shunned cities, the Qara Khitai were unusually sensitive to the needs of urban populations. They lived peacefully with their herds on the grassy plains around Balasaghun, Uzgend, Qayaliq, Almalyq and Kashgar.[42] To avoid any danger of losing control over the officer corps, the Gür-Khans abandoned the *iqta* system of rewarding military service through land tenure and, like the Ghaznavids, paid the army in cash. Furthermore, soldiers were strictly forbidden to pillage within the confines of the empire.

The Qara Khitai were careful to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity. They retained the Chinese court ceremonial of the Liao, confirmed the ranks of their vassals with seals and silver tablets inscribed in Chinese,[43] used both Chinese and Khitan languages in the administration and issued coinage of a Chinese type.[44] They avoided incorporating Muslim forces into their standing army, with its traditional decimal organisation, which was composed exclusively of steppe horsemen; the Muslim auxiliaries provided by their vassals remained in separate units.[45] The Qara Khitai also retained their religion, a Buddhism infused with traditional tribal and cosmological conceptions that included the veneration of the divinities of sky, earth and fire, to whom they offered animal sacrifices – a religion that may be characterised as a tribal Buddhism. As semi-nomads and high-ranking horse warriors, the Qara Khitai elite lived in yurts and left no distinctive religious architecture. The Qara Khitai never contemplated turning to Islam: their divinities had brought them victories against many Muslim rulers, so they had no reason to adopt the religion of their defeated vassals. Like steppe peoples generally, the Qara Khitai were tolerant in matters of religion. They took it that any religion that met minimum ethical requirements might serve as an acceptable way of connecting the people of a given society to the divine and the supernatural. They destroyed neither mosques nor minarets, for example allowing the construction in 1196–99 of the 39-metre-high minaret of Vabkent (fig.68). The Nestorian Church of the East also flourished in their territories, with its two metropolitan sees of Samarkand and Kashgar and Nawakat near Balasaghun. Testimony to the existence of these Christian communities are the gravestones discovered in Semirechie; these have an incised cross and most bear an inscription in the Syriac, Karakhanid

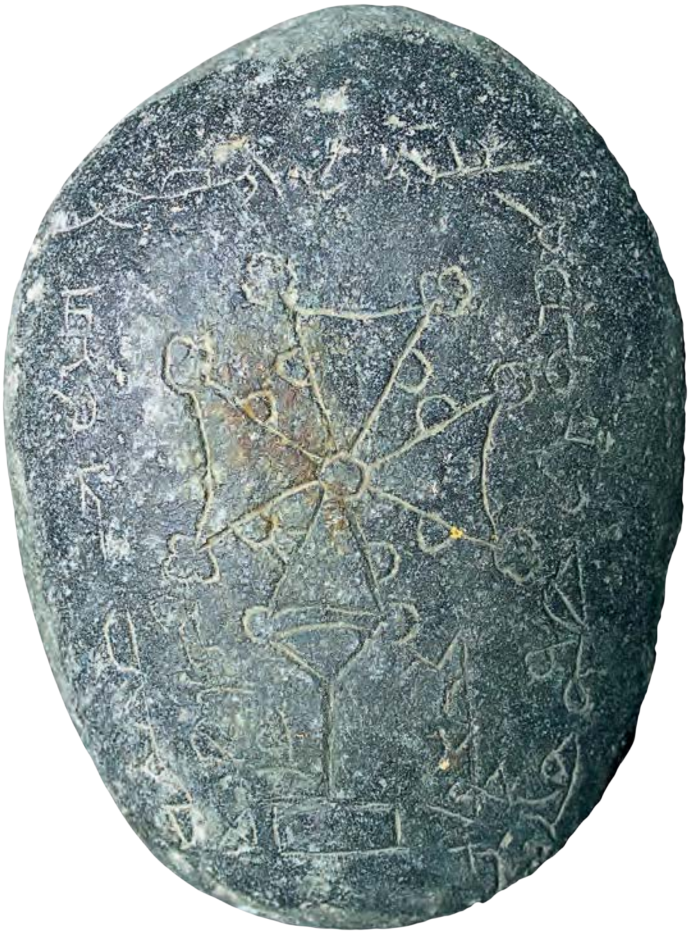


96. **The ruined city of Khar Bukhyn Balgas, Mongolia. *Balgas* means 'ruins', while *Khar Bukhyn* translates as 'black bull'. Built in stone by the Khitan, it was surrounded by ramparts and a moat. The Buddhist stupa outside the north-eastern corner of the city (not visible in the photo) was built in the seventeenth century. Photo: 2012.**

Turkic or Chagataiid Turkic languages rendered in the Estrangela Syriac script of the Nestorian Church. The earliest gravestones date from the years 1095 to 1115, the last from 1345.[46]

On taking power after Yelü Dashi's sudden death his widow **Xiao Tabuyan** (r. 1143–50) was immediately confronted by a series of problems. In 1143/44 Sanjar raised a challenge to the Qara Khitai overlordship of Chorasmia by taking Gurganj and forcing Atsïz to pay tribute not only to the Qara Khitai but to him as well. In early 1144, Karluk bands plundered the city of Bukhara, and were only driven out again in around 1148/49.[47] In 1146, a Jurchen envoy came to Xiao Tabuyan and found her hunting on horseback. Refusing to dismount, seeing himself as the representative of a superior power, he demanded that the empress herself should do so, to receive in an attitude of proper submission the commands of the Son of Heaven. Enraged, she had the envoy executed on the spot.[48] Xiao Tabuyan was succeeded by Yelü Dashi's son **Yelü Yilie** (r. 1151–63), who took a somewhat passive attitude to the military activities of Atsïz and Il-Arslan ibn Atsïz of Chorasmia, and made no attempt either to take advantage of the imprisonment of Sultan Sanjar in 1153. When Yelü Yilie died, he was succeeded by his sister **Yelü Pusuwan** (r. 1164–77) – again underlining the great standing of noblewomen among the Qara Khitai, as earlier among the Liao. Called 'Empress Chengtian' in the chronicles, Yelü Pusuwan pursued a more active foreign policy than her brother had done. In 1168, her forces occupied Balkh, and three years later she sent an army to Chorasmia when Shah Il-Arslan failed to pay the annual tribute.[49] In 1172, she actively intervened in the struggle for the succession that broke out on Il-Arslan's death that year, between his sons Sultan Shah[50] and Ala al-Din Tekish. In exchange for a promise of greater tribute, she sent a large army under her husband Xiao Duolubu to Chorasmia and set Tekish on the throne after Sultan Shah had fled.[51] In 1177, however, the imperial court was shaken by scandal, as the *Liao Shi* reports: 'Empress Ch'ên-t'ien was married to Hsiao To-lu-pu [Duolubu] but maintained illicit relations with his younger brother [. . .] Hsiao P'u-ku-chih. After making her husband Prince of Tung-p'ing, she had him murdered. The father [of the brothers], Hsiao Wo-li-la, put troops around the palace, and both the empress and her lover were shot to death.'[52] It was presumably the meritorious General Wolila, who had commanded the left wing at the Battle of Qatwan, who arranged the succession, setting Yelü Yilie's younger son **Yelü Zhilugu** (r. 1177/78–1211, d. 1213) on the throne as the fifth and last Gür-Khan.

During his long reign, Gür-Khan Zhilugu faced three challenges that in the end he was unable to overcome. Firstly, his collectors of tribute became ever more greedy and ruthless in their exploitation of local rulers and their peoples, making those vassals increasingly receptive to the offers of other, newly emergent powers. In 1209, for example, the Uyghurs of Kocho ended up killing Zhilugu's representative and recognising the supremacy of Genghis Khan,[53] just as the Karluks would do two years later. The same went for the cities of Transoxiana: 'All [the cities of Transoxiana and especially Uthman of Samarkand] were tired of the long rule of the gür-khan and had come to detest his revenue officials [. . .] and local administrators [. . .] who, contrary to their former practice, had begun to conduct themselves in a lawless and oppressive manner.'[54] The Gür-Khan had lost control of his high officials. The second danger was the rising military power of Chorasmia, the third the steadily growing stream of refugees from Mongolia, who were escaping the struggle for power that



97. **Nestorian gravestone for a woman, made from a large pebble. The inscription in the Estrangela script appears to include the words *qustans*, a Syriac loan-word from Sogdian, meaning teacher, and *emeh d-ispah-salar*, 'mother of the ispahsalar', the latter being Persian for 'military commander'. The stone is dated 1573 on the Seleucian calendar, corresponding with 1262 CE. The earliest similar gravestone to show a date is from 1095 CE.[23] Historical Museum of Tashkent, Uzbekistan.**

raged there, and more especially Genghis Khan's attempt to subjugate all its tribes. Zhilugu maintained Yelü Pusuwan's involvement in Chorasmia, and between 1178 and 1181 put troops at Sultan Shah's disposal to assist him in conquering cities in Khorasan after Sultan Tekish had killed a Qara Khitai tax collector.[55] Though Kipchak raids on the Middle Syr Darya were no threat to Zhilugu, around 1194/95 Toghril, the ruler of the large Keraïte tribe, arrived at his court seeking refuge and military assistance. Toghril had seized power by killing his brother and had been driven out of Central Mongolia by an uncle or younger brother named Erke Kara, who had formed an alliance with the powerful Naiman tribe. Toghril fled to the Gür-Khan, who was willing to offer him shelter but prudently declined to lend him any troops. A year later, Toghril fell out with Zhilugu and returned to Mongolia, where he sought help from his earlier ally Genghis Khan.[56]

Towards the end of the twelfth century, Zhilugu had to start focusing his attention on his southern border and to the threat represented by the Ghurids. In 1198 the Ghurid Baha al-Din Sam of Bamiyan occupied the city of Balkh. In response, the Gür-Khan dispatched a large army, but it was crushingly defeated by the forces of the brothers Sultan Ghiyath and Mu'izz. Six years later, in alliance with Shah Muhammad of Chorasmia, the Qara Khitai would have their revenge on the Ghurids at the Battle of Andkhudh, though Muhammad managed to rob the Qara Khitai of the fruits of their victory by concluding a separate peace with the Ghurid Mu'izz al-Din.[57] Although the Qara Khitai had won a victory, they were in reality the losers, for Muhammad Shah gained more power and the Ghurids would go on to take Termez from them in 1205. As explained earlier,[58] Zhilugu's lack of foresight when he took in the Naiman prince Küchlüg and his followers in late 1208 proved fatal. Küchlüg allied himself with Shah Muhammad of Chorasmia to embroil the Gür-Khan in a war on two fronts. While Zhilugu was able to defeat Küchlüg, Tayangu, his supreme commander in the west, was captured by Muhammad Shah. The Gür-Khan finally underestimated the defeated Küchlüg when in autumn 1211 he went out hunting in Kashgaria without sufficient protection. **Küchlüg** (r. 1211–18) took him prisoner, deposed him and awarded him a meaningless title. The usurper Küchlüg, an enemy of Genghis Khan's, was ousted and killed by the Mongol General Jebe in 1218. Zhilugu's death in 1213 marked the end of the Qara Khitai Empire, as the *Liao Shi* records,[59] and the Qara Khitai lost their distinctive national identity. They had incurred heavy losses between 1208 and 1211 – Juzjani mentions another severe defeat at the hands of Muhammad Shah in 1211[60] – and the surviving warriors were incorporated either into the Chorasmian or, after 1219/20, the Mongol army. While the Qara Khitai in Muhammad's service were excellent warriors, their loyalty was doubtful. When in 1220 the sultan retreated from Transoxiana to Balkh with an army composed of Qara Khitai and Kipchak fighters, conspirators among the Qara Khitai planned to take him prisoner and deliver him to Genghis Khan to gain the latter's favour. But one of the plotters warned the sultan, who escaped by night, and the Qara Khitai joined Genghis Khan's army.[61]

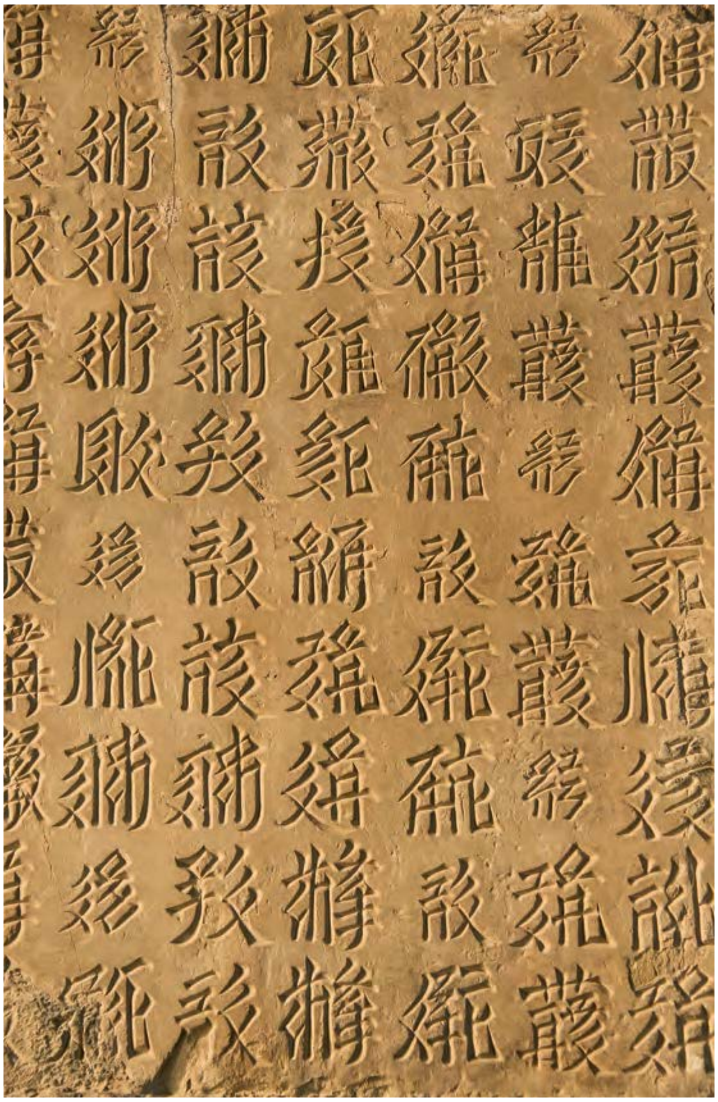
Genghis Khan not only absorbed the Qara Khitai warriors into his army, he also called on the services of the educated official class. Many of his counsellors and administrators came from the former imperial house, as can be seen from the fact they bore the name of Yelü. The most renowned of these was Yelü Chucai (1189–1243), whom Genghis Khan took as one of his most valued advisers after his conquest of Zhongdu (Beijing) in 1215. Genghis Khan's successors also used his services. The year after Genghis died in 1227, his youngest son, Regent Tului, charged Yelü Chucai with ending the banditry that plagued northern China, a task he speedily accomplished. Then, in 1229, he took part in the discussions initiated by Great Khan Ögödei (r. 1229–41), on the use to be made of northern China. Traditionalist military leaders like Sübotai and Begter proposed the systematic extermination of the region's agrarian population so that the depopulated farmlands could be converted to horse pasture, as only the large-scale extension of the Mongolian steppe to the south would make it possible to conquer the Southern Song Empire. Adopted by Mongols and Seljuqs elsewhere, such a strategy might strike us as shocking, but 'Chinese peasant production, the basis of Chinese economy, was belittled by the nomads who considered peasants to be no more a part of a political universe than were the domestic animals of the steppe'.[62] Yelü Chucai, on the other hand, argued vehemently for a more intelligent, long-term approach to the exploitation of northern China, emphasising the tax revenue that might be extracted from the existing economic structure. Yelü Chucai convinced Ögödei, who asked him to create a new taxation system for the region.[63] By his intervention, Yelü Chucai saved northern China from a genocide of frightful proportions and also the destruction of most of its flora and fauna.

Qara Khitai in Mongol service introduced their new masters to the *Yam* (*örtöö*) messenger system that had already been used by the Liao. Because the Mongol Empire with its vassal territories extended over vast distances, from the Yellow Sea to Anatolia and the Vistula, and Mongol troops were highly mobile, a system was needed that could transmit orders and reports even faster. This

Mongol postal system consisted of a network of relay stations some 30 to 50 kilometres apart, each supplied with water and fodder, and which kept messengers and fresh mounts at the ready day and night.[64] According to Marco Polo, in an emergency – on the outbreak of rebellion, for example – this allowed a courier or rather the message to travel more than 500 kilometres a day.[65] To prevent misuse, every messenger carried an official pass, an inscribed tablet called a *paiza* (*gerege*), which allowed the bearer to call on the services of the civilian-run post stations. Until the system was reformed by Great Khan Möngke (r. 1251–59),[66] foreign merchants too could make use of the services of the post stations and claim free accommodation, the *paiza* in this case acting as a kind of passport. The Mongol messenger system also served the purposes of military intelligence and played an essential role in keeping the empire together. Finally, for the administration of urban areas, the Mongols adopted from the Qara Khitai the office of the resident receiver of taxes known as the *shihna*; each city had a Mongol *darugha,* the plenipotentiary representative of the Great Khan, with a *basqaq* beneath him who collected the taxes.[67]

In south-eastern Iran the regional dynasty of the **Qara Khitai of Kerman** (1222/23–1305/6) survived into the early fourteenth century as vassals of the Mongols.[68] They were the descendants of the Qara Khitai **Baraq Hajib** (r. 1222/23–35) who had been sent to Chorasmia as a tax collector and had then been captured by the Chorasm-shah in his battle against Muhammad Shah in 1210. Baraq first served Sultan Muhammad and then his son Ghiyath al-Din as governor of Isfahan, where he converted to Islam. When in 1222 a Mongol expedition under Tolun Cherbi approached Isfahan, he departed for India, together with his followers, only to be attacked by the governor of Kerman on the way. In the words of Juvaini, ‘Between five and six thousand men [of Kirman] set out

98. The curtain wall and entrance to the imperial necropolis of the Xi Xia dynasty (982–1227), near Yinchuan, Ningxia, China, containing the tombs of nine emperors and those of 250 nobles and high officials. Photo: 1995.



99. Extract from a Dharani Buddhist text in the Tangut language and script on the north-facing interior wall of the Cloud Terrace *Yuntai* at the Juyong Guan Pass, built in 1342 close to the Great Wall of China north of Beijing. Photo: 2015.

regarding them [Baraq's Qara Khitai] as so much quarry, nay considering them a table set for dinner. [. . .] He [Baraq] ordered the women also to put on men's clothes and prepare for battle.'[69] Emerging victorious, Baraq Hajib conquered Kerman and was confirmed in his rule by the caliph, who granted him the title of Qutluq Sultan. Later, as a sign of his submission he sent his son as hostage to the Great Khan Ögödei, who confirmed him in his post as governor. Baraq Hajib's successors ruled as governors of Kerman until 1305/6, when Il-Khan Oljeitu deposed the last of the Qara Khitai for falling behind with the payment of tribute. Marco Polo, who visited Kerman on both his journey out, in early 1272, and his journey home in 1294, was impressed by the quality of the steel weaponry produced from the local iron ore.[70]

3. Minyak, the Tangut Empire

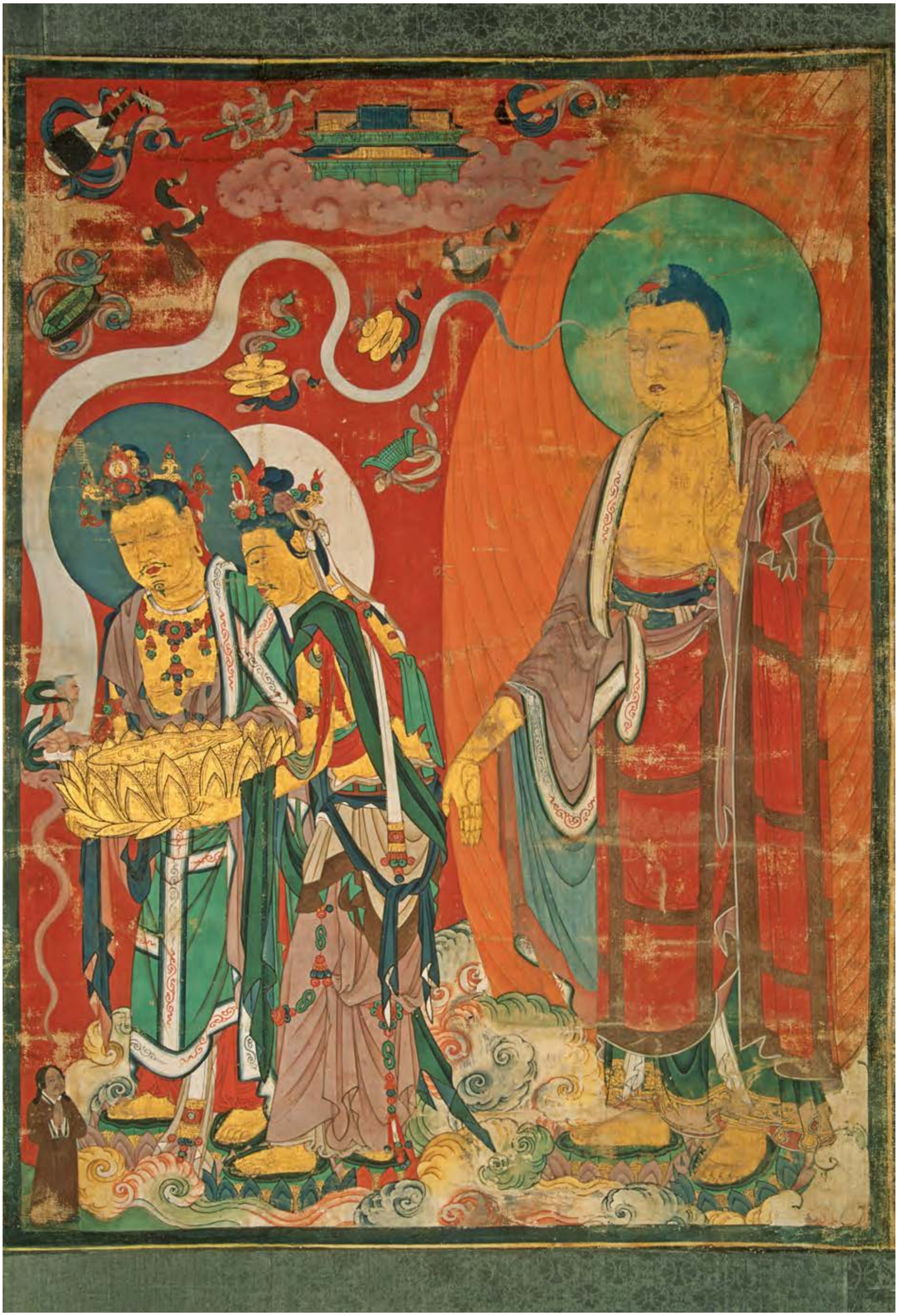
The region of Gansu had served as the crucial link between east Central Asia and China since the second century BCE. On the one hand, its geographical situation lent it great strategic importance, as it controlled the Silk Road's passage through the narrow Hexi Corridor; on the other, it had played a leading role in the development of Buddhist schools of art since the fifth century CE. In the time of the Northern Liang (397–439), Gansu served as a bridgehead into China for Central Asian Buddhist art, markedly influenced by northern India. This can be seen from the early art in the cave temples of Mati Si, Tianti Shan, Wenshu Shan, Jianti Si and Dunhuang. In the following centuries distinctively Chinese forms gained in importance, and they were enriched by influences from Tibet in the eighth and ninth centuries.[71] In the time of the Tangut state of **Minyak** (982–1227) a school of Buddhist painting and sculpture emerged in the region, dominated by Chinese and Tibetan elements in which Central Asian influences were evident for the last time, and during the final phase of Tangut culture that developed in Khara-Khoto under Mongol domination, Nepalese stylistic influences would be added to the mix. The Islamisation of what is today's Xinjiang region and the collapse of Minyak led to the disappearance of Central Asian Buddhist art.

The Tanguts, who called themselves *Minyak* in their own Tibeto-Burman language, were the successors of the East Tibetan Qiang, who lived in today's province of Qinghai and the northwestern part of Sichuan. The Tibetan occupation of the kingdom of Azha between 640 and 663 forced the local elite and their followers, called the Dangxiang in the Chinese chronicles, to flee to Gansu. A century later, around 756/57, the expanding Tibetan Empire drove them even further east, into the Ordos Loop formed by the Yellow River.[72] There the Tanguts lived as pastoralists, deriving part of their wealth from the sale of horses to China. When in 982 the Song dynasty sought to incorporate the Tanguts into their empire, a nobleman named **Li Jiquian** (r. 982–1004) rebelled, declaring his independence, but was then compelled to recognise the supremacy of his powerful neighbours, the Liao. The next ruler of Minyak, which the Chinese called Xi Xia, or Western Xia, was **Li Denming** (r. 1004–32). As Minyak was bordered to the east and south by the regional great powers of Liao and Song, it could expand only to the west. After several successful campaigns against the Uyghurs of Gansu, Li Denming – who made the city of Zhongxing (Yinchuan in Ningxia) his capital in around 1028 – and his successor **Li Yuanhao** (r. 1032–48) between 1028 and 1036/37 took the whole of Gansu and the Koko Nor. Now Minyak controlled the Silk Road through the Hexi Corridor and its southern offshoot through the Koko Nor, which gave an enormous boost to the Tangut economy, for all trade caravans were subject to a transit tax of ten per cent.[73]

Alongside this military and economic expansion, Li Yuanhao took measures to strengthen Tangut identity. Following the example of the Liao, in 1036 he introduced the Tangut script that had been commissioned by his predecessor, which boasted almost 6,000 characters. This predominantly logographic script resembled the Chinese one, but was more complicated, each individual character being composed of many more strokes (fig. 99). The Tangut language and script would continue to be used for some two centuries after the fall of the Tangut Empire in 1227. In 1038, Li Yuanhao commissioned the translation of the Buddhist canon into the Tangut language and encouraged its dissemination by means of woodblock printing. A printed version of the canon in the Tangut language and using the Tangut script was discovered in the early twentieth century at the site of the city of Khara-Khoto, which had been abandoned some five centuries earlier.[74] The texts suggest that Tangut Buddhism had merged influences from the Northern School of China's Chan (Zen) Buddhism, called Huayan Chan, with the veneration of Buddha Amitabha characteristic of the Chinese Pure Land school (*Jingtu Zong*) and with the Tibetan esoteric Buddhism represented by the Karma Kagyupa school.[75] The monastic centre of Wutai Shan played a crucial role in the development of Tangut Buddhism. During the next two centuries the Tanguts built countless Buddhist temples and stupas, octagonal in base or general plan, as well as a 34-metre-long and 5-metre-high Buddha at Zhangye; they also restored or repainted many caves at Mogao and at Yulin in Anxi county.[76] Finally, towards the end of 1038, Li Yuanhao proclaimed himself the Emperor **Jingzong**,[77] so that there were now three 'sons of heaven' in China, the emperors of the Song, Liao and Xi Xia. Li Yuanhao's proclamation was seen as an intolerable provocation by the Song, and led to a war that lasted from 1040 to 1044. While the Tanguts won three spectacular victories, they were unable to conclusively defeat the Song, whose population was much larger. Under the terms of a peace treaty of 1044, Li Yuanhao abandoned the use of the imperial title in international diplomatic communications, while the Song undertook to pay an annual tribute of 153,000 bales of silk, 30,000 catties[78] of tea and 72,000 silver taels. The agreement represented a success for the Minyak, not least because the Song confirmed their common frontier as it stood.

After Li Yuanhao fell victim to a plot in 1048, the clans of two successive imperial widows seized power, so that the emperors **Yizong** (Weiming Liangzuo, r. 1048–67) and **Huizong** (Weiming Bingchang, r. 1067–86) were purely puppets of their mothers and maternal uncles. It was not until 1094 that **Chongzong** (Weiming Qianshun, r. 1086–1139) finally broke the maternal clan's power monopoly and restored the primacy of the imperial house itself. In the second half of Chongzong's reign, Minyak profited from the collapse of the Liao and peaceful relations with the Jurchen, who were absorbed in their battle with the Song. Chongzong's successor **Renzong** (Weiming Renxiao, r. 1139–93) modified the officially promoted national identity when he recognised Confucianism as a second state religion and had Confucian temples built and Confucian texts translated into Tangut. At the same time, he introduced the Chinese system of state examinations for those applying to hold public office. With these measures, Renzong sought to provide imperial rule with a Confucian framework and to improve the quality of public officials, not least in order to limit the power of noble clans and senior military officers, who were notoriously corrupt.

The accession of **Huanzong** (Weiming Chunyou, r. 1193–1206) marks the beginning of Minyak's period of decline, which was shaped by three Mongol invasions. Minyak was less populous and militarily weaker than Jin, the empire of the Jurchens, so that in 1205 it became Genghis Khan's first target outside Mongolia. It is likely that the khan wanted to test the effectiveness of his army against a sedentary state with fortified cities before leading it against the Jin,[79] just as in 1936–39 Hitler and Göring intervened with the Condor Legion in the Spanish Civil War, testing the Luftwaffe and its new Messerschmitt Bf 109 fighter under war conditions. In fact, it was during their second campaign of 1209–10 that the Mongols learned techniques for besieging and storming strongly defended cities and fortresses. During their first campaign in northern Minyak in 1205, which was commanded by the Khitan prince Yelü Ahai, the Mongols captured a number of fortresses and won much booty, especially camels.[80] Following these defeats, Huanzong lost his throne to **Xiangzong** (Weiming Anquan, r. 1206–11). In the autumn of 1209, immediately after the voluntary submission of the Uyghurs of Kocho, Genghis Khan led a second campaign against Minyak. Like the Xiongnu in the days of the Western Han,[81] the Mongols crossed the Etzin Gol delta (Chinese: Heishui Cheng) with its many strongly defended fortresses to reach Minyak, where after a series of victories they laid siege to the fortified city of Volohai. When they found no way of taking the walls by storm, Genghis had recourse to a legendary ruse: he offered to



100. Buddha Amitabha and the bodhisattvas Mahasthamaprapta and Avalokiteshvara, each standing on two lotus flowers. The bodhisattvas hold out a lotus throne to welcome the soul of a righteous man making his way to Amitabha's paradise of *Sukhavati*. Thirteenth-century Tangut thanka, distemper on canvas, found at Khara-Khoto, Inner Mongolia, China. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia. Inv. no. XX-2411.

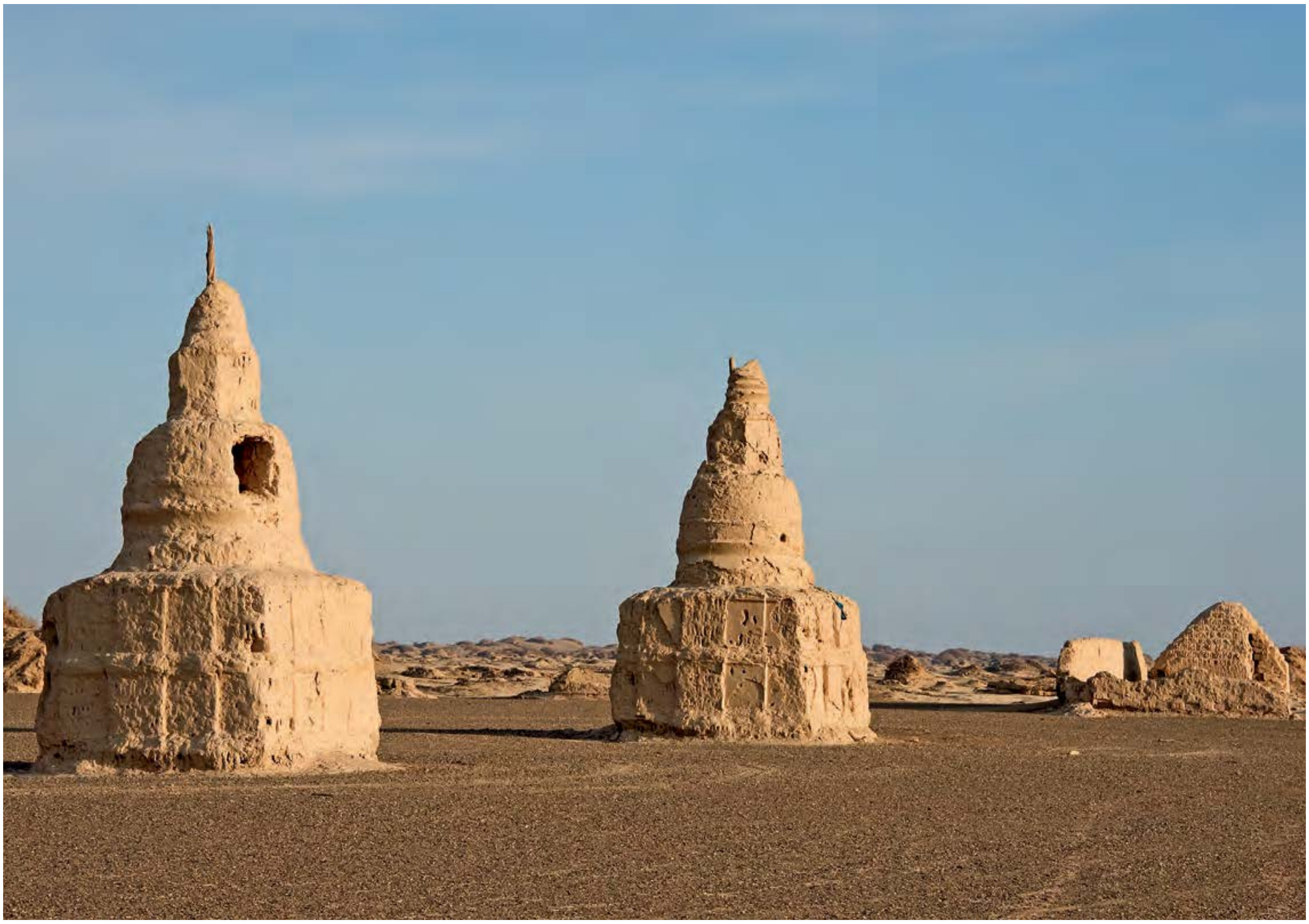
101. The Tangut fortress Arven Tokhoi Durbeljin in Inner Mongolia, China, built during the Xi Xia era on the western bank of the River Etzin Gol. The river has washed away the fortress's south-eastern wall. Photo: 2011.

withdraw if Volohai paid tribute of 1,000 cats and 10,000 swallows. Hardly had these creatures been delivered than he ordered that a tuft of wool be tied to the tails of each, that the tufts be set on fire and the birds and animals set free. The cats rushed back home and the birds returned to their nests, and soon the city was ablaze. While the inhabitants struggled to extinguish the flames, the Mongols climbed over the city walls.[82] When afterwards the Mongols proved equally unable to take the capital, Genghis had the Yellow River diverted in order to try and flood the city. Yet in early 1210 the dyke broke and the water flooded the Mongol camp as well. The city remained impregnable, and Genghis Khan accepted the nominal submission of Xiangzong, who retained control of his state and army despite having to pay heavy tribute and promising to provide the Mongols with military assistance in the event of war.[83] Genghis Khan had not achieved what he set out to do, but he had come to learn (as evidenced by his later attack on Jin in 1211) that fortified cities could not be taken without siege engineers. Xiangzong, though, was deposed, to be replaced by Emperor **Shenzong** (Weiming Zunxu, r. 1211–23).

In 1218, shortly before the start of Genghis Khan's great campaign in the west, a Mongol envoy demanded that Minyak honour Emperor Xiangzong's promise to provide troops when required, only to receive a scornful answer from minister Asha Gambu, the real power in Minyak: 'Since Genghis Khan's forces are incapable of subjugating others [on their own], why did he go so far as becoming khan?'[84] Asha Gambu might well have refused to provide troops for this expedition, but Tanguts and Mongols were allies in the eastern Chinese theatre of war. For Minyak took advantage of the Mongol viceroy Mukali's attacks on Jin and supported him with an army of 50,000 men.[85] But Mukali died in 1223, and not long afterwards Emperor Shenzong abdicated in favour of his son **Xianzong** (Weiming Dewang, r. 1223–26), who immediately withdrew Tangut troops from northern China and made peace with Jin. When Genghis Khan, who was south of the

Hindu Kush, learned of this troop withdrawal and the dangerous shift in alliances, and also of a new counter-offensive by the Jurchen, he immediately returned to Mongolia.[86] In the winter of 1225/26 he set off on his last campaign, but was seriously injured on the way when he fell from his horse while hunting. He refused to turn back, however, believing that the Tanguts would take it as a sign of weakness.[87] In early 1226 his army captured Heishui Cheng, as the Chinese called Khara-Khoto, and slowly fought its way towards the capital Zhongxing, with the Tanguts putting up a fierce resistance. Emperor Xianzong died as the battles went on, and was succeeded on the throne by Emperor **Mozhu** (Weiming Xian, r. 1226–27). With the capital still resisting in the early summer of 1227, Genghis Khan escaped the coming summer heat by withdrawing to the Liupan Mountains, where he died from the consequences of the earlier hunting accident. Not long before his death, Emperor Mozhu, seeing no way out, had offered his surrender, which the dying khan accepted, implicitly promising him and his followers safe passage. Yet his last words to his commanders again testify to the more-than-unreliable character of Mongol promises: 'Do not reveal my death, and absolutely do not wail or moan lest the foe realise what has happened. When the people of Tangut come out on the promised day, annihilate them all.' As Rashid al-Din curtly records: 'The commanders, as ordered, concealed the event until the people came out [in autumn 1227] and slew them all.'[88]

While the Mongols razed the capital to the ground, they did allow the rebuilding of Khara-Khoto, 570 kilometres to the north-west, whose city walls, still standing today, date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In distant Khara-Khoto, Tangut Buddhist art enjoyed a final flowering, while the rest of the Tangut lands underwent rapid Islamisation in the 1290s. At that time, the region, which corresponds to today's province of Ningxia, was under the



102. In the foreground, two mud brick pagodas dating from the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, north-west of Khara-Khoto in the Etzin Gol Valley, Inner Mongolia, China. The shape of the stupa standing on a cuboid base suggests that they were built under the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Photo: 2011.

103. The south wall of the former Tangut city of Khara-Khoto, Inner Mongolia, China, Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Photo: 2011.

control of Prince Ananda (1270–1307), a grandson of Kublai Khan. Despite his Buddhist name, Ananda was an ardent Muslim who forced the 150,000 men under his command to convert to Islam and ordained the circumcision of Mongol boys.[89] After the collapse of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) Khara-Khoto briefly belonged to the Mongol dynasty of the Northern Yuan (1368–1635). Around 1372 the city was attacked by General Feng Sheng of the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368–1644), who forced it to capitulate by cutting off its water supply, a then common military tactic.[90] The discovery by Pyotr Kozlov of a scroll painting dating from the time of Tögüs Temür (r. 1378–88) of the Northern Yuan shows, however, that Khara-Khoto was definitively abandoned only in the late fourteenth century, probably on account of a water shortage and the fall into disuse of the trade route to the city of Karakorum, which occurred towards the end of that century.[91] Once the city was abandoned, the whole oasis rapidly returned to desert.

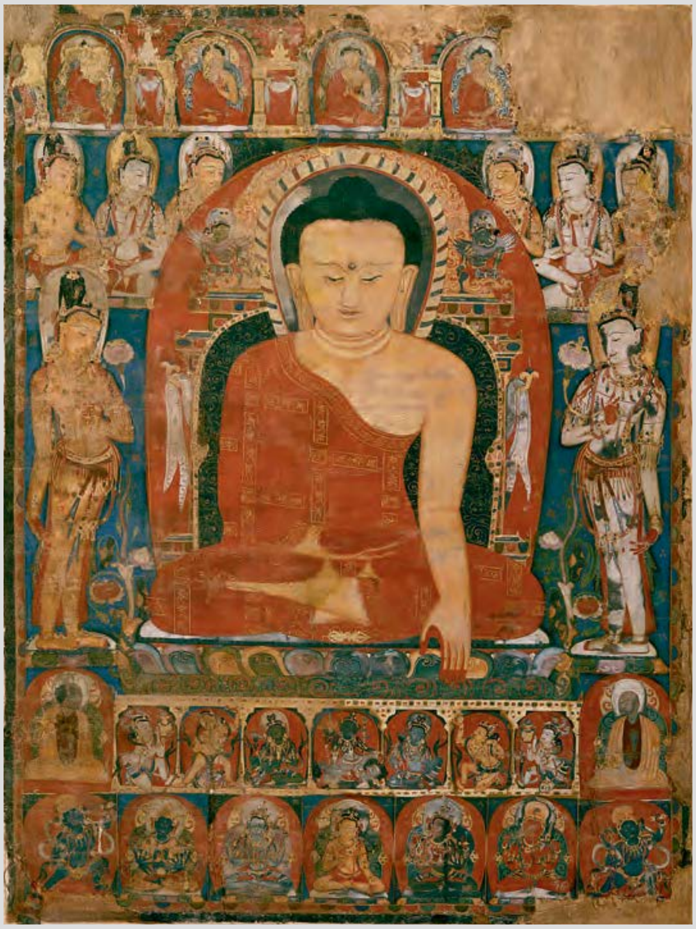
Kozlov's finds in Khara-Khoto in 1909 show that in the latter years of Tangut Buddhism the cult of Buddha Amitabha promoted

by the Chinese *Jingtu Zong* school was widespread. Numerous scroll paintings show Buddha Amitabha and the bodhisattvas Mahasthamaprapta and Avalokiteshvara receiving the soul of the righteous departed at the moment of rebirth into Amitabha's paradise of *Sukhavati*[92] (fig. 100). Very popular, too, were scroll paintings with representations of Vaishravana, one of the Four Heavenly Kings, source of protection and wealth, or of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara[93] (fig. 108). The Gyalwa Karmapa, the head of the Kagyüpa school of Tibetan Buddhism, is believed to be an emanation of Avalokiteshvara. The second karmapa, Karma Pakshi (1203/6–83) is not only depicted on a Khara-Khoto scroll painting alongside Medicine Buddha Bhaisajyaguru,[94] but very probably also visited the city on his journey from Gansu to visit the Great Khan Möngke at Karakorum in 1256.[95]

Pyotr Kozlov Discovers Khara-Khoto

The Tangut city of Khara-Khoto was rediscovered by the Russian **Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov** (1863–1935). While the Russian ethnographer G. N. Potanin had heard native Torguts speak of a ruined city in the sands while journeying along the Etzin Gol in 1886, he had been unable to visit it. In 1892, V. A. Obruchev attempted to find the mysterious city, but the locals refused to tell him anything, just as they did with Kozlov in 1900.[96] Pyotr Kozlov had been nineteen when he met the famed explorer Nikolai M. Przhevalsky (1839–88), and the following year he accompanied him on his fourth Central Asian expedition, which lasted from 1883 to 1885. The expedition's aim was to discover the source of the Yellow River, to solve 'the riddle of the Lop Nor', and finally to make its way to Lhasa. Przhevalsky's dream of reaching the Tibetan capital would remain unfulfilled, since the expedition was forced to turn around when still some 250 kilometres away.[97] Kozlov was also a member of Przhevalsky's fifth expedition of 1888, but the explorer died of typhus on the Issyk Kul lake at the very start of the journey, leaving Mikhail Pevzov to take over the leadership for a new attempt in 1889–90. Kozlov then joined Vsëvolod Roborovsky's expedition of 1893–96, replacing the latter as leader when he was taken ill in 1895. In exploring the dried-up beds of the Konche Darya and the Kum Darya in the north-west of the Lop Nor desert (in the Chinese province of Xinjiang), Kozlov twice missed the opportunity to solve the 'riddle of the Lop Nor'. In the course of his second expedition of 1877, Przhevalsky had discovered a lake on the south-western edge of the Lop Nor desert that he identified as the legendary Lop Nor lake of antiquity. Yet Przhevalsky's lake was a degree further south than was indicated on the Chinese map of 1862, itself based on ancient data; hence geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen's insistence that the ancient lake had been located dozens of kilometres further north.[98] In 1890 Kozlov followed the course of the almost dried-up and rapidly shrinking River Konche Darya, and in 1893 he followed further east the bed of the completely dry Kum Darya, yet he failed to understand what he saw, namely that the legendary Lop Nor lake that had dried up in around 330 CE had lain on the eastern continuation of the Kum Darya. Had Kozlov followed the bed of the Kum Darya even further, he would have discovered the dried-up basin of the former Lop Nor lake. Three years later, Sven Hedin travelled in Kozlov's footsteps and solved the riddle.[99]

Kozlov undertook his first expedition to Mongolia and Tibet on his own account in 1899–1901, discovering one of the sources of the Yellow River and mapping the watershed between the Yellow River and the Yangtse Kiang and that between the Yangtse Kiang and the Mekong.[100] On the Upper Mekong, Kozlov's travelling chests aroused suspicion: '"Is it true," they asked, "that there are great eggs in there, with soldiers hidden inside, who hatch out and fight when need be?"'[101] Kozlov's second expedition took him to Urga (Ulaan Baatar), where he met the thirteenth Dalai Lama who lived in exile there. His third, in 1907–9, took him to north-west Sichuan. On the banks of the Etzin Gol he succeeded this time in obtaining reliable guides, thanks to the generous gifts offered to a Torgut prince. On 19 March 1908, Kozlov's dream came true, as he found himself standing before the mighty ruins of Khara-Khoto, 'the Black City' as the Torguts called it. Unsystematic excavations yielded Buddhist figures and scroll paintings together with Tibetan, Persian and Tangut manuscripts.[102] From the locals Kozlov heard the legend of the city's fall: after the Chinese besiegers had cut off the water supply in or around 1372, the last prince of Khara-Khoto was faced with a choice, capitulate or die of thirst. He and his loyal followers decided upon death. First they killed their women and children and buried their treasures in a still-undiscovered well inside the citadel; then they made a breach in the north wall and charged out to meet their deaths fighting in the besiegers' camp.[103] Kozlov left the Etzin Gol on 30 March, to meet the thirteenth Dalai Lama at the Kumbum



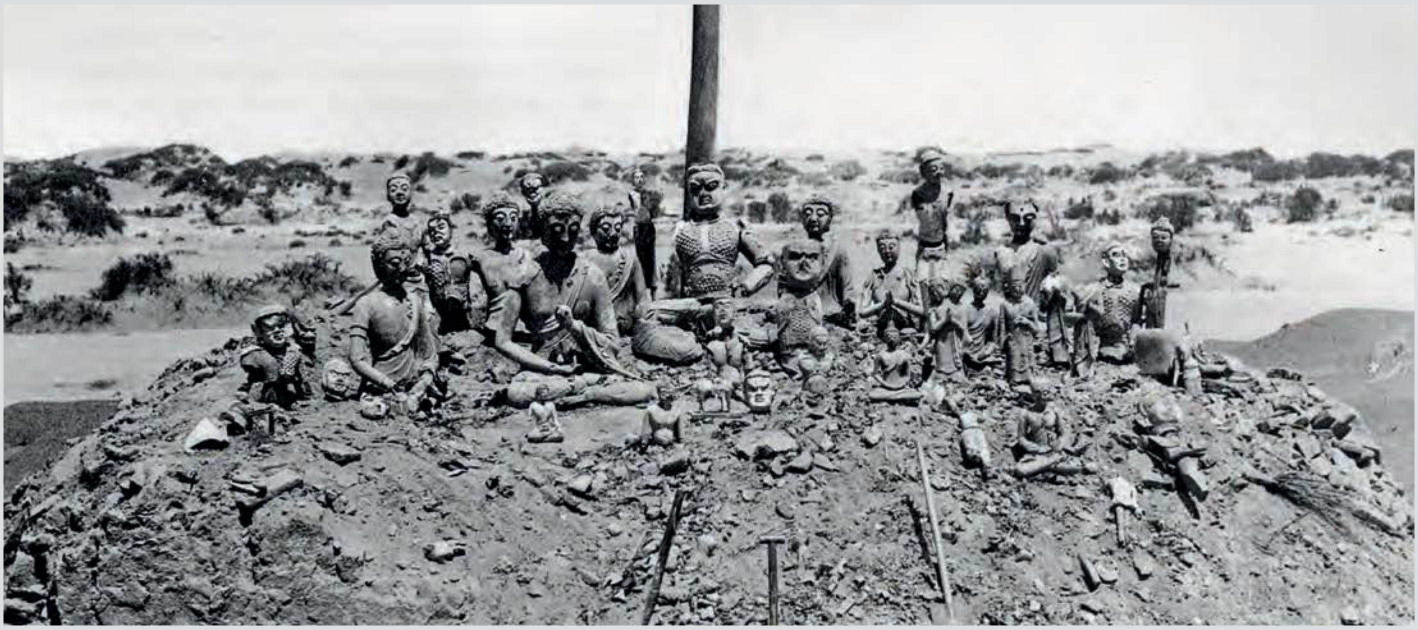
104. Buddha Shakyamuni in the Vajrasana, or 'diamond pose'. He touches the earth with the fingertips of his right hand to call her witness of the truth of his words. Twelfth-century Tangut thankha, distemper on canvas from Khara-Khoto, The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia. Inv. no. XX-2323.

monastery. On 27 December 1908, Kozlov received orders from St Petersburg: rather than mapping north-west Sichuan, he was to return to Khara-Khoto and continue excavations.[104]

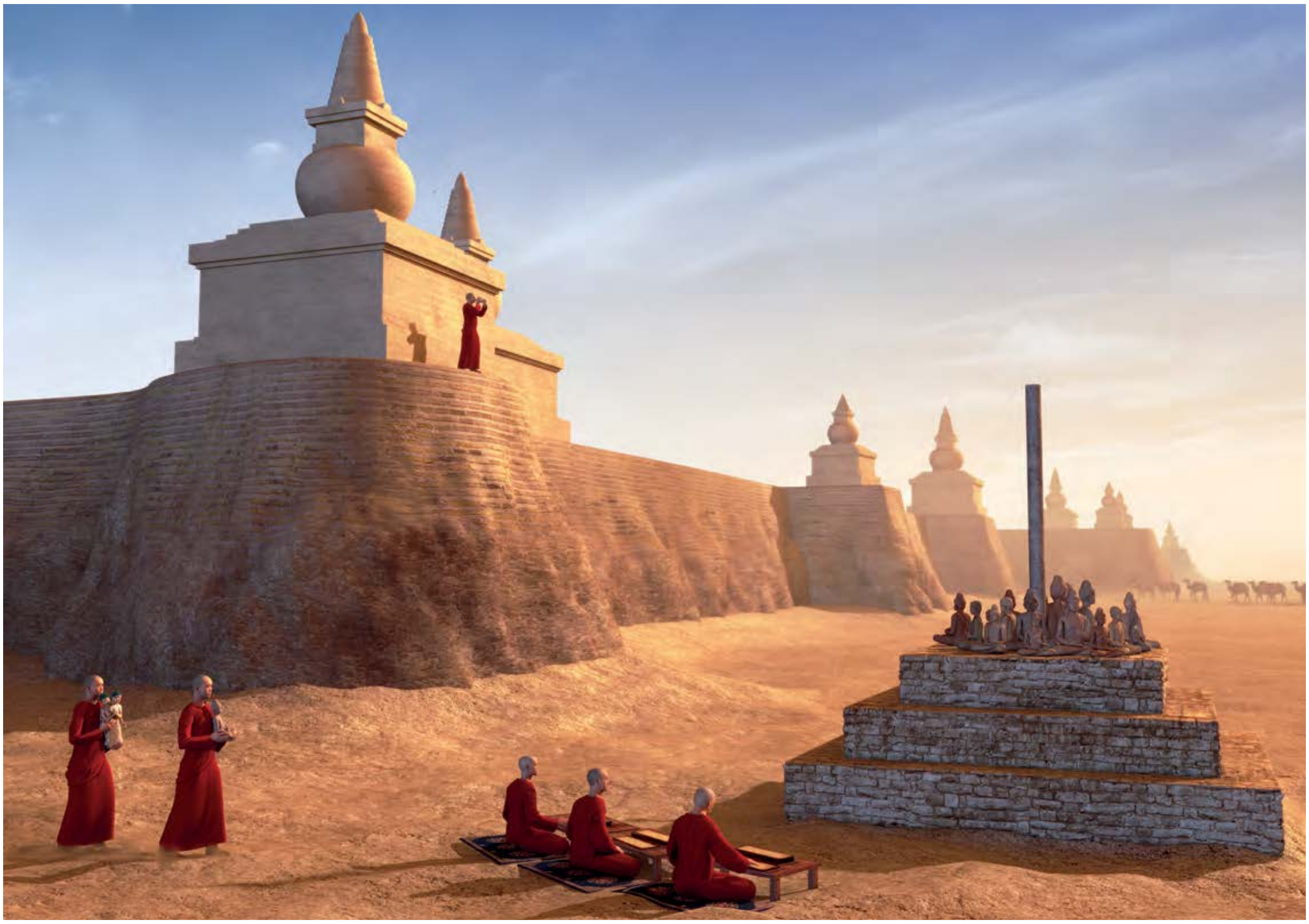
On 22 May 1909 Kozlov arrived back at Khara-Khoto. The city was rectangular in plan, 472 metres by 384, and was protected by a 10-metre-high defensive wall with two gates protected by L-shaped projections. Kozlov first excavated a Buddhist temple with wall paintings and found paper banknotes of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). A high point of the dig was the excavation of a stupa (Mongolian: *Ssuburgan*) outside the walls, scarcely 300 metres west of the western gate. As Sir Aurel Stein realised in 1914, based on examination of the surviving foundations and a photograph of Kozlov's, the 10-metre-high stupa had consisted of a three-stepped rectangular base, a circular drum and a cylindrical dome.[105] As one of Kozlov's workers told Stein, the stupa had no visible entrance. Unusual for the area, its form recalled that of stupas in Tibet and in the Tibetan-influenced Pamirs. Inside the stupa, which served as a tomb for a monk buried in a seated position,[106] the first excavators discovered hundreds of manuscripts, Buddhist books printed on imperial-yellow paper, scroll paintings and figures in wood and metal. Kozlov then discovered, in the middle of the stupa, a unique group of figures, arranged in the form of a three-dimensional mandala: 'On the floor of the tomb, round the pole, facing towards the centre, stood as many as twenty [seated], large clay statues of life-size, before which lay large books, just as before lamas reading their services.'[107] These figures were probably a votive offering for the deceased (fig. 107).[108]

One of Kozlov's companions discovered east of Khara-Khoto a second ruined city named Boro-Khoto which the expedition didn't investigate, due to lack of time.[109] Then Kozlov decided to return home. Unfortunately, he was exhausted and lacked the means to take these unique clay figures back to St Petersburg, except for a crowned Buddha[110] and a two-headed standing Buddha (fig. 106). The rest he buried 400 metres south of the stupa. Furthermore, he had neglected to properly document his excavations. On departing from Khara-Khoto he noted: 'The further we travel from the dead city, the more I am overcome by an inexplicable sorrow. It felt as if something had been left behind in those lifeless ruins, something near and dear to me with which my name would henceforth be indissolubly associated, something from which one parted only with a heavy heart. Many, many times I looked back at the fortified walls enveloped in dust, taking my leave as if from an old friend.'[111] In total, Kozlov took back with him to St Petersburg 280 scroll paintings on silk, hemp, linen or paper, twelve fragments of wall painting, figures of clay, wood and metal, *tsa-tsas*,[112] miniature stupas in wood, as well as manuscripts and block-printed documents.[113]

When Kozlov returned to Khara-Khoto in the summer of 1926 to recover the statues, he could not find them. 'Where he [Kozlov] had buried a number of large clay figures, because he had been unable to carry them away, there was nothing but a heap of sand. There could be no mistake, he had marked the spot precisely on his plan. All his searching and digging availed nothing, the statues had disappeared.'[114] What Kozlov did not then know was that Langdon



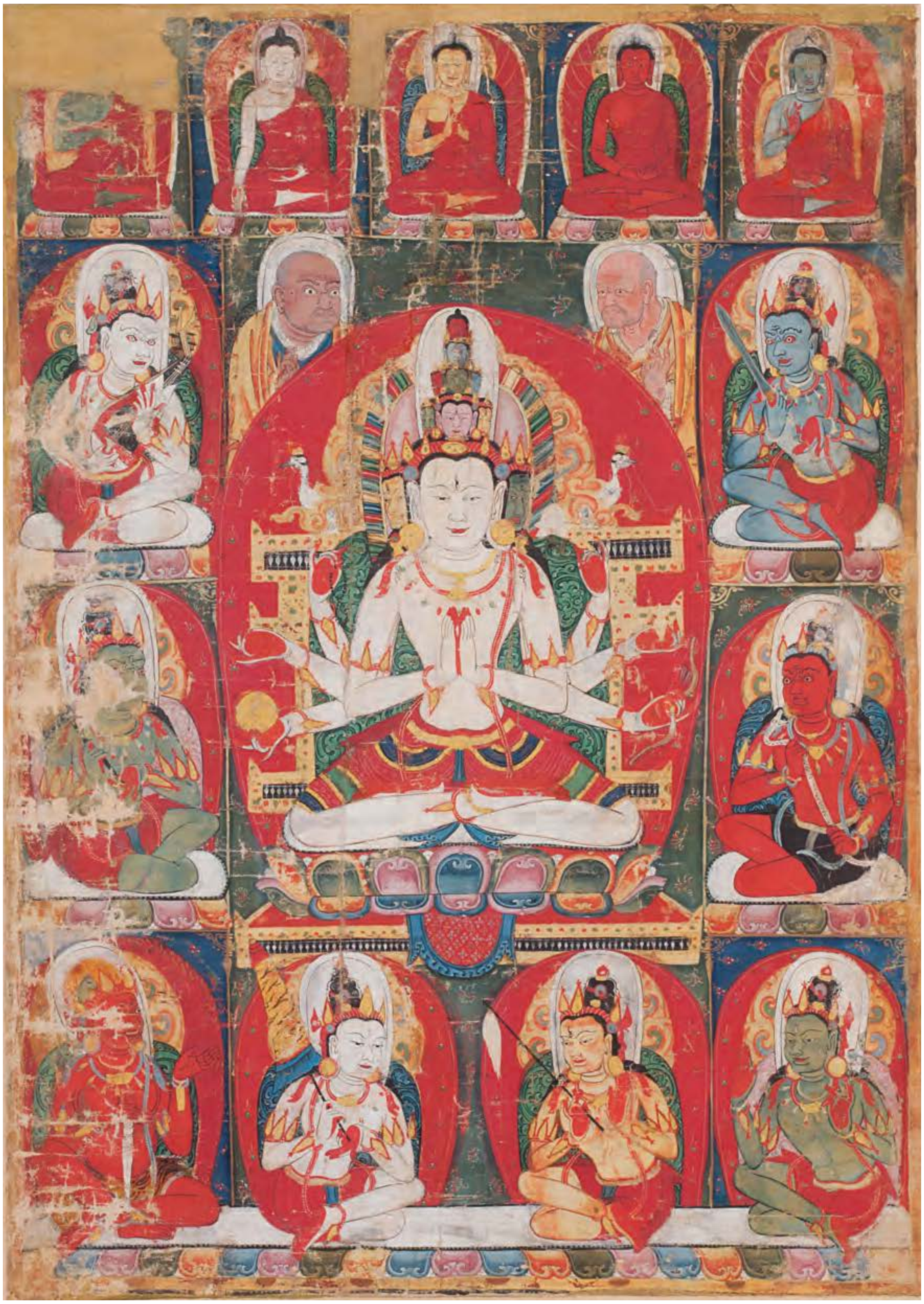
105. The stupa excavated in June 1909 by the Russian explorer Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov, barely 300 metres from the west gate of the city of Khara-Khoto, Inner Mongolia, China. When Kozlov returned to the site in 1926 to collect the clay statues pictured here, which he had reburied seventeen years before in the sand, he failed to find them. It seems that bounty hunters and the American archaeologist Langdon Warner had dug them up three years before. In the right foreground of the photo we see a smaller standing figure of a two-headed Buddha, which is today kept in the Hermitage Museum, St Peterburg, Russia (see also fig. 106). Photo: June 1909: Pyotr K. Kozlov in *Mongolija i Amdo i mertvij gorod Xara-Xoto* (Moscow, 1923), p. 553.



107. An illustration based on archaeological data on the Khara-Khoto stupa excavated by Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov in 1909. It contained about two dozen Buddhist figures modelled in clay, arranged in the form of a three-dimensional mandala around a central wooden pole. The picture shows two Buddhist monks bringing clay figures to the unfinished stupa, while three more monks recite from Buddhist scriptures. On the north-western corner of the wall stands a monk blowing a conch. In the background are pagodas placed on top of the western city wall.

Warner (1881–1955) of Harvard's Fogg Museum had visited Khara-Khoto in November 1923 and dug up Kozlov's cache at the western end of the southern wall, taking several of the clay figures with him. A comparison between photographs of Tangut clay figures held by the Fogg Museum, published in 1996, and a photograph of Kozlov's taken in 1909 (fig. 105) indicates that these were without a doubt the same pieces.[115] Warner himself indirectly confessed to having carried off a predecessor's finds: 'Perhaps Stein or Kozlov had left them [the figures] there, hoping some day to come back.'[116] Given the scale of the site, much of it under sand, and the short time that Warner spent in Khara-Khoto, one has to assume that it was one of Kozlov's local labourers who led him to the cache. Aurel Stein had visited Khara-Khoto in 1914, discovering in the western part of the city 230 documents in Chinese, 57 in Tangut and a few in Uyghur, Turkic or Tibetan, as well as a fourteenth-century Persian manuscript dealing with the times of Muslim prayer.[117] Another notable discovery was a Mongol-Chinese banknote circulated by Kublai Khan during his first regnal period (*Nianhao Zhongtong*) of 1260–64.[118] The last archaeologist to work in the Etzin Gol before World War II was the Swede Folke Bergman, who went there in 1927, 1930, 1931 and briefly in 1934.[119] Kozlov himself crowned his career in 1924–25 with the excavation of the Xiongnu necropolis at Noïn Ula in Central Mongolia.[120]

◀ **106.** The 62-centimetre-tall figure of a two-headed buddha, modelled in clay with traces of gilt and paint, which Kozlov unearthed in Khara-Khoto, Inner Mongolia, in 1909 (fig. 105). It was created in the early thirteenth century, the era of the Tangut Xi Xia dynasty (982–1227). The figure illustrates a legend known to date back to the seventh century.[24] Two Buddhist believers had independently ordered a statue of the Buddha from the same sculptor. Because they paid him so little, the sculptor only produced a single statue. When the two disappointed buyers stood before the figure, the Buddha took pity on them and caused it to split in two from the waist upwards.[25] The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia. Inv. no. X-2296.



108. Avalokiteshvara (Guanyin), the Bodhisattva of perfect compassion, seen in his Ekadasamukha, or eleven-headed, form with eight arms. Tangut thanka, distemper on canvas, late twelfth to thirteenth century, Khara-Khoto, Inner Mongolia, China. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia. Inv. no. XX-2355.

VI

The Rise of the Mongols

‘There is no better place for an enemy of our nation than the grave.’

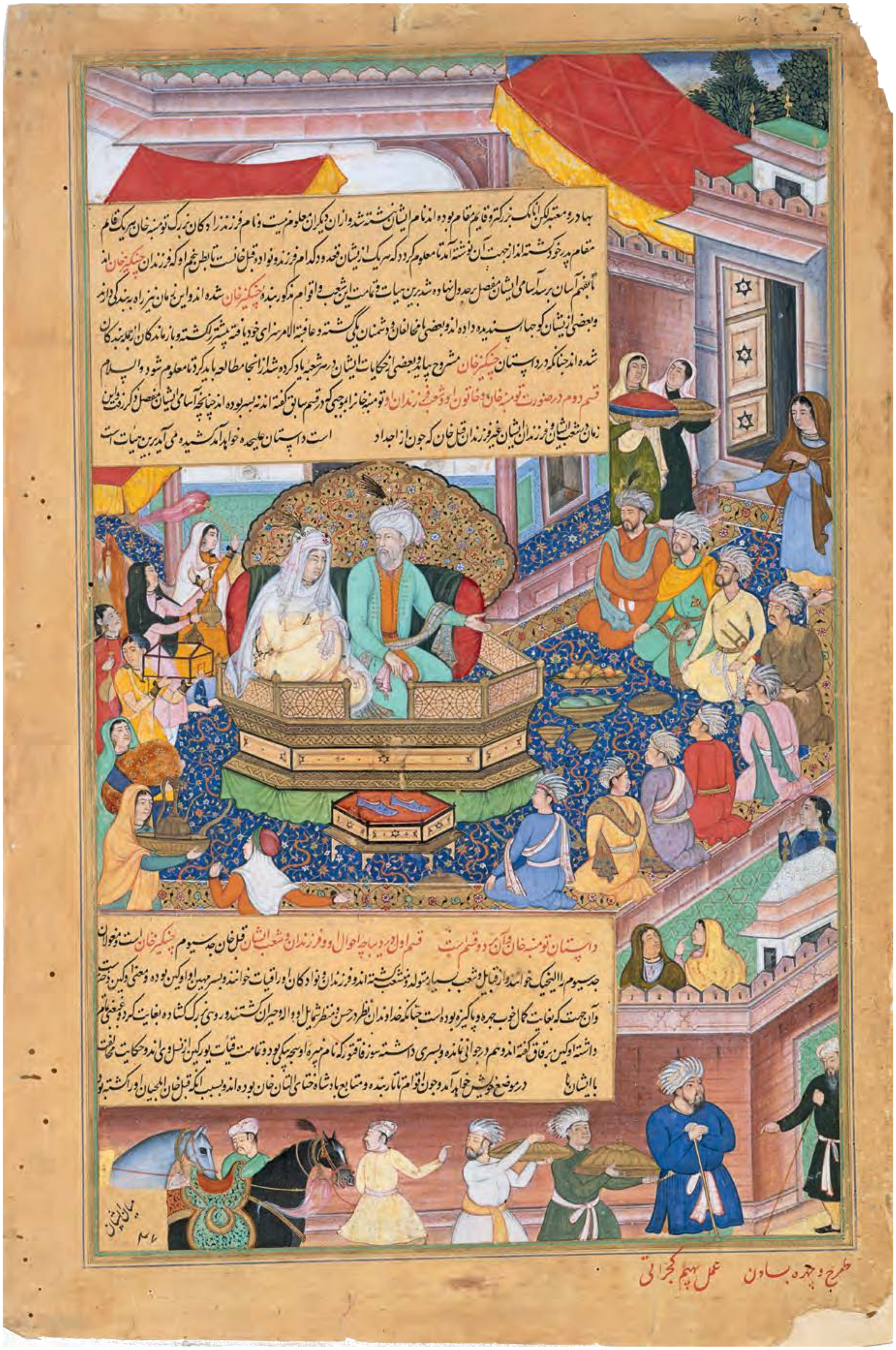
GENGHIS KHAN’s reply to his son Jochi, who was appealing for clemency for a prisoner.[1]

Covering around 33 million square kilometres,[2] the empire founded by Genghis Khan (1162 or 1167–1227) was the largest land empire ever known, more than three times the size of today's USA, and five times as large as the empire of Alexander the Great. While Alexander's empire collapsed immediately on its founder's death, for half a century (1206–60) the Mongol Empire remained united under the leadership of the Great Khans, and then divided into four large khanates and a few smaller hordes. These four khanates lasted until the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and the last distant descendants of Genghis Khan, though only nominal rulers, were the last Great Mughal of India (deposed 1857) and the Emir of Bukhara (deposed 1920). The Mongol Empire was also the final major power to be created by a steppe people, not least because the Mongols possessed the overwhelming majority of the horses of Central Asia. With the coming of firearms, and their industrial production, foot-soldiers began to acquire greater power than horse warriors; the people of the steppes lost their great strategic advantage as mounted archers. The rise of the Mongols led by Genghis Khan is all the more astonishing since in the 1170s and 1180s they were among the weakest and most quarrelsome tribes of Mongolia. Yet their attacks on the sedentary states were so fast and devastating that contemporaries compared them to natural disasters or interpreted them as God's curse. As the Armenian historian and eyewitness Kirakos Gandzakets'i wrote: '[The Mongols] spread throughout the plains, mountains and valleys like a multitude of locusts or like torrential rains pouring down on the land [. . .] killing as if enjoying themselves at a wedding or a drinking-bout. The whole country filled up with the corpses of the dead yet there was no one to bury them.'[3] Muslim and Latin chroniclers for their part interpreted the Mongol attacks as God's punishment for the sins of mankind, the Latin ones adding the advent of the Antichrist and the beginning of the Apocalypse.[4] The Mongols, on the other hand, venerate Genghis Khan to this day as the godlike founder of their nation and protector of their homeland.

Unlike Alexander's Macedonians or the Muslim armies of Arab conquerors, the Mongols propagated neither a worldview nor a form of civilisation. A good indication of their meagre cultural footprint is the fact that the use of the Mongolian language remained restricted to the Mongols themselves – in China, indigenous people were for a time even forbidden to learn it.[5] Mongolian remained the vernacular of the Mongols and the official language of the higher administration of the empire. The contrast with the triumphal progress of Arabic is all the more striking since the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula in Muhammad's times were no larger than those of the Mongols; in addition the army of the first caliphs was significantly smaller than Genghis Khan's, which was 129,000 strong by 1227. The fundamental difference between Mongols and Arabs was that the Arabs possessed in Islam a clearly codified, comprehensive and easily understandable religion, but the Mongols had no equivalent. Put simply, the leader of the Arabs was a prophet, while the leader of the Mongols was a warrior.[6] Even though Mongolian Great Khans were convinced that the all-powerful god Tengri had charged them with subjugating the whole world, they had no religious message which would have been relevant outside Genghis Khan's clan. They sought not to win converts to their religion, but to translate their heavenly mandate of authority into political reality. And in contrast to the Muslim rulers, who saw themselves ideally as custodians of the *Dar al-Islam*, the 'house of Islam', Mongol leaders saw their empire as a family possession. In the Mongol vision of the world, there was therefore no community of the faithful; rather, the only justification for the existence of non-Mongol people lay in their economic and military usefulness.

1. Sources for the History of the Mongols

Thanks to a wide variety of sources we are relatively well informed about the history[7] of the Mongols.[8] These sources fall into five groups: chronicles commissioned by Mongol rulers, in Mongolian or Persian; independent Muslim sources; Chinese annals; Armenian and Georgian historians as well as the accounts of Latin ambassadors, missionaries and traders. The Mongols of Genghis Khan were the first steppe people to write or commission their own chronicles, and we know of two important ones written in Mongolian. The first, the ***Altan Debter*** ('Golden Book'), was an unedited collection of unbound sheets. Most Mongols were strictly forbidden to read it – that was a privilege reserved for princes and nobles from the ruling dynasty. The original is lost, and all we have is a Chinese compilation, the *Shengwu qinzhenglu*.[9] But the *Altan Debter* is indirectly preserved insofar as it served as a source for Rashid al-Din Hamdani's *Jamia al-Tawarikh* (see below). The other chronicle, which we know as ***The Secret History of the Mongols***, comes from Genghis Khan's closest circle, and was most probably written or assembled by his adopted son Shigi Khutuku, who accompanied him on his military expeditions. The original version, presented at the imperial gathering (*kuriltai*) in the Year of the Rat (1228), comprises paragraphs 1 to 268 and ends with the death of the founder of the dynasty; it is in the form of an epic, and even



109. Tumanba Khan, a legendary ancestor of Genghis Khan, with his wife and his nine sons. Folio from a *Chingiznama* (*Book of Genghis Khan*), recording the life of the conqueror. This illustrated manuscript on paper was probably produced in Lahore around 1596 for the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inv. no. 48.144.

describes some inglorious episodes in the conqueror's life, such as the murder of his half-brother Bekhter and his painful defeats. In the course of the thirteenth century, paragraphs 269 to 281 were added and some amendments were made to the original version. The original is lost and preserved only in a phonetic transcription in Chinese characters.[10]

Two highly important works were created under the Mongol Il-Khanids (1259/60–1335): Juvaini's *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha* and Rashid al-Din's *Jamia al-Tawarikh*; both historians were among the leading politicians of the Il-Khanate. **Ala al-Din Ata Malik Juvaini** (1226–83) was the brother of Shams al-Din Juvaini (d. 1284),[11] a grand vizier and finance minister to three Il-Khans. Ata Malik first belonged to the staff of Emir Arghun Aqa, the governor of Iraq and Iran.[12] He accompanied the founder of the dynasty, Hülegü, on his campaign against the Ismailis, and was appointed governor of Baghdad in 1259. The Juvaini brothers were also significantly involved in shaping the ideological direction of the Il-Khanate along pre-Islamic lines; they gave the new state the official name 'Iran' and had the former Sassanid temple complex Takht-e Suleyman restored and expanded into a ruler's palace (fig. 174).[13] Juvaini's *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha* ('The History of the World-Conqueror') relates how the Mongols conquered the Muslim part of Central Asia, Iran and Mesopotamia, up to 1260. Surprisingly, Juvaini did not shy away from mentioning the massacre of entire city populations. Thanks to his position he would probably have access to secret documents, but in 1246 and 1252–53 he also spent time in Karakorum at the court of the Great Khan, where he began to write his history.[14]

Rashid al-Din Hamdani (1247–1318) served the Il-Khans Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) and Oljeitu (r. 1304–16) as vizier; in 1318, he was falsely accused of having poisoned Il-Khan Oljeitu and executed, just as Shams al-Din Juvaini had previously been. Rashid was very cultured and made efforts to reform the understanding of Islam and to put into perspective the uncompromising claim of the *jihad*, the battle against 'infidels'. He resisted the doctrine, prevalent at the time, of abrogation, *naskh*, according to which 400 earlier moderate verses were arbitrarily abrogated in favour of later intolerant *surahs*: 'If we [. . .] claim that the "sword verses" abolish all other divine commandments [which express tolerance] we approve of blind butchering, which is against God's will.'[15] It was Il-Khan Ghazan who commissioned Rashid to write a history of the Mongols, after which Oljeitu ordered its extension into a universal history which would also cover China, India (including a short life of Buddha[16]) and the Franks (Western European Christians). The outstanding value of the *Jamia al-Tawarikh* derived from Rashid's sources: his work was based not only on Juvaini's *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, but also on the *Altan Debter*, to which Ghazan had granted him access. In addition, both the Il-Khan Ghazan, who was considered very cultured, and Kublai Khan's permanent envoy to the Il-Khanid court, Bolad (*ca*. 1240/41–1313), provided valuable information. Bolad made Rashid familiar with the rule and conquests of Kublai Khan and with the Chinese style of painting (figs. 162, 175). Rashid wrote his work in Persian and had it translated into Arabic and copied at his scriptorium in Tabriz. Of the 24 known illustrated original copies, only two are preserved; the others were destroyed when the scriptorium was plundered on Rashid's death, or went missing in other ways.[17]

Among the chronicles and histories not commissioned by Mongols, the most significant Muslim text is the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* of **Minhaj al-Din Juzjani**;[18] the most important Chinese source is the ***Yüan Shi***, completed in the 1370s, which covers the period from the birth of Genghis Khan to the end of the Yüan dynasty (1271–1368).[19] Another valuable Chinese account is the *Xiyuji*, written by the Daoist monk **Li Zhichang** and translated into English in 1931 as *The Travels of an Alchemist*.[20] In the *Xiyuji,* Li describes the journey of his master Changchun from Khanbaliq to Afghanistan, where he met Genghis Khan several times between 1222 and 1223. On the Near East, two Armenian sources are of importance: **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**'s *History of the Armenians*, whose theme is the history of Armenia and the Near East up to 1267,[21] and *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient* (*The Flower of Histories of the East*) written in France by the Armenian prince **He'tum**, also known as He'tum [or Hayton] of Corycus, or simply He'tum the Armenian (1230/45–*ca*. 1314).[22] He was a nephew of King He'tum I of Cilician Armenia (r. 1226–69) and initially an army commander. As a result of his opposition to King Het'um II (r. with interruptions 1289–1307) he went into exile and joined the order of Premonstratensians. In 1307, Pope Clement V commissioned him to write a history of the Orient; the third of its four volumes is a history of the Mongols.[23] A special position in the sources is occupied by the account of the Nestorian monk and diplomat **Rabban Bar Sauma** (*ca*. 1225–94). A member of the Nestorian Ongut tribe, he was an ambassador first for Kublai Khan and later for Il-Khan Arghun; he was the only person of his time to record a journey all the way from

◀ **110. Kazakh eagle hunters in Bayan Ölgii Province in north-western Mongolia. Every year the Golden Eagle Festival in mid-October marks the beginning of the hunting season. Photo: 2011.**

Khanbaliq (Beijing) as far as Rome, Genoa, Bordeaux and Paris. His chronicle, published in English translation in 1928 under the title *The Monks of Kublai Khan*,[24] not only gives a fascinating account of his travels, but also offers a description of medieval Europe from the point of view of a cultured Mongol.[25]

The fifth group of sources includes the reports of Latin diplomats, missionaries and traders who undertook journeys to Mongol territory.[26] Among the most important are the works of two Franciscan monks.[27] **Giovanni da Pian del Carpine** was the first Latin chronicler to visit Great Khan Güyük in Mongolia. His account of his journey, written in 1247, includes a throrough analysis of Mongol military tactics and some carefully considered recommendations for conducting war against the Mongols.[28] A little later, **William of Rubruck** travelled to meet Great Khan Möngke, and has left us a comprehensive description of the Mongol Empire (written in 1255).[29] At the same time, two Dominican delegations travelled to the Mongol Il-Khanids: **Simon de Saint-Quentin** reported after 1248 on the ill-fated mission of Ascelin di Cremona to General Baiju,[30] while **André de Longjumeau**'s account of his visit to Iraq is preserved only as a summary in Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora* (written in 1259).[31] Also in the thirteenth century, **Marco Polo** wrote his famous record of his travels in Asia from 1271 to 1295 with his father Niccolò and uncle Maffeo.[32] In the fourteenth century (1330/31), **Odorico da Pordenone**[33] described his journeys as a missionary to India and China from 1317 to 1330; however, it is not clear whether Odorico himself visited all the places he wrote about. One source which concentrates on transcontinental commerce is **Francesco Balducci Pegolotti**'s manual on every aspect of trade between the Italian republics, the Near East, Central Asia and China (completed 1343).[34] Finally, two diaries from the time of Timur-e Lang (r. 1370–1405) provide a lot of valuable information. In 1404 the Castilian envoy **Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo** was in Samarkand; in his journal *Embajada a Tamorlán* (English translation: *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy González de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand*),[35] published in 1582, he described courtly life in Timur's capital. The second account is the personal narrative and description of Asia from the perspective of a slave warrior, the Bavarian knight **Johannes Schiltberger**. In 1396 he was captured in battle and forced into military service by the Ottomans and then, in 1402, became a prisoner of the Mongols; from then until his escape in 1426, he served various Timurid princes. Schiltberger's manuscript is lost; the first printed edition was published in 1460.[36]

2. Mongol Tribes in the Mid-twelfth Century and the Ancestors of Genghis Khan

In the mid-twelfth century the territory of Mongolia was split into several tribes, who were in continual conflict with each other. Political instability was exacerbated by the fact that these tribes were not united social entities, whose internal cohesion was secured by a common ancestor. Rather, they were loose communities based on self-interest. The nomadic pastoralists joined whichever regional leader they believed could best fulfil their expectations. For those who were discontented there were two options for formalising their move to a different tribe. They could renounce their previous tribal affiliation, declare themselves to be followers, *nökers*, of their chosen new leader, and join him with their families and herds. A closer, much more selective connection with a new leader or a leading member of a foreign tribe was the institution of blood brotherhood, *anda*, in which two men swore eternal loyalty to each other and pledged mutual support.[37] In peacetime, such transfers to another clan or tribe had no major implications, as long as the renegades were not forcefully prevented from defecting by their previous leader. In times of war, though, they had obvious consequences; in peacetime a tribal leader had little authority over the members of his tribe apart from penal matters, but in the event of war he demanded unconditional obedience. The formation of new clans and tribes was made easier by the fact that although leaders had to come from a noble family, birth alone was no guarantee of rank. Lack of leadership skills, above all in war, in itself meant disqualification and removal from power. It was thanks to these rules that Genghis Khan, who came from a noble but totally impoverished family, was able to form a new warrior elite practically out of nothing, and could either unite or destroy the mutually hostile tribes.

At this time, north-western Mongolia was ruled by the **Naimans** (map 8, p. 181). In the preceding two centuries they had driven away the Kyrgyz to the north and the Keraites to the east. The Naiman elite used a Turkic language, but as a result of their regular contacts with Qara Khitai who spoke a Mongolic language, the Naimans also adopted many Mongolic words and customs. The Naimans were predominantly Buddhists, though an important minority (including figures such as Prince Küchlüg) adopted Nestorian Christianity. Nonetheless, profession of faith among steppe-dwellers by no means excluded traditional beliefs or shamanistic practices. The horse

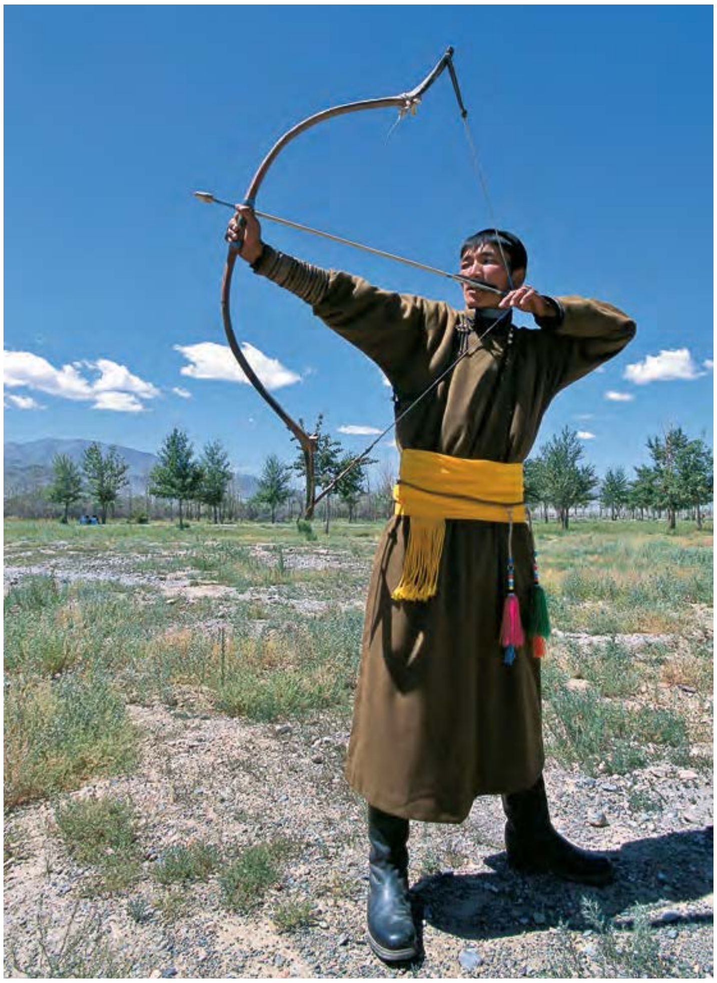
111. A camel caravan crosses one of the Khongoryn Els sand dunes in the Gobi Desert in southern Mongolia. Together, these cover an area around 100 kilometres long and 12 kilometres wide and, in places, reaching a height of up to 300 metres. Photo: 2001.

nomads hardly ever adopted an entire system of faith, but selected only individual aspects – from Christianity, for example, they chose the cross as a symbol of resurrection and omnipotence, expressed by the four points of the compass, and the appearance of Jesus as a miraculous healer. William of Rubruck was struck by the highly syncretistic faith of the Mongols: 'I saw a man recently dead for whom they had hung up between high poles sixteen horses' hides, four towards each quarter of the earth, and they had laid down *comos* [fermented mare's milk] and meat for him to drink – and for all that they were claiming that he had been baptised.'[38] During the rise of Temujin (Genghis Khan), the rivalry between the Naimans and the Keraites dominated the Mongolian steppes. Inanch Bilge Bögü, the khan of the Naimans, supported Temujin's rival Jamuka, as soon as Temujin had contracted blood brotherhood with Toghril, the Keraite khan. When, after 1195, Inanch Khan died, his power devolved to his sons Buiruk and Tayang, who were hostile to each other. Temujin made use of the enmity between the brothers by eliminating both in separate campaigns, Tayang Khan in 1204 and Buiruk Khan in 1206; only Tayang's son Küchlüg was able to escape from the massacres.[39]

To the north of the Naimans, the **Kyrgyz** led a nomadic life by the Upper River Ienissei. In 840 they had broken up the Uyghur Empire, but had not formed a stable successor state, and were thus finally driven out of central Mongolia by the Khitan around 924. In 1207 and 1217 the Kyrgyz submitted to the Mongols.[40] South-east of the Kyrgyz were the Mongolian-speaking **Oirats**, one of the so-called 'forest peoples'; at the same time as the Kyrgyz, they, too, acknowledged Genghis Khan's supremacy without a struggle.[41] East of the Oirats, that is south-east of Lake Baikal, lived the **Merkits**, on the lower course of the River Selenga. They spoke a Mongolic language, and their economy was based on pastoralism, fishing, hunting and trading in furs. No love was lost between the warlike Merkits and Temujin, mainly because of the abductions of two women. Temujin's father, Yesügei, had once abducted Hoelun, the bride of the Merkit Chiledu, who became Temujin's mother. A troop of Merkits led by Toghto'a Beki took their revenge 20 years later, around 1183/84, with an attack on Temujin's camp. Temujin managed to escape, but left behind his wife Börte, who was carried off by Toghto'a Beki and given in marriage to the brother of the deceased Chiledu, Chilger. With the help of Toghril, the khan of the Keraites, Temujin was able to rescue his wife. But since Börte gave birth to her first son Jochi (the name means 'stranger' or 'guest') soon after her liberation, it is quite likely that Chilger, not Temujin, was Jochi's biological father. Although Genghis Khan recognised Jochi as his firstborn son, the suspicion of illegitimacy stood in the way of all Jochi's claims to be Genghis Khan's successor. In a number of battles in 1204, 1206, 1208 and 1218 the Mongols crushed or enslaved the Merkit warriors.[42]

South of the Merkits lived the **Keraites**, whose territory extended as far as the Gobi Desert. The Keraite elite were of Turkic origin, but by the twelfth century they were bilingual or spoke mostly Mongolian. The Keraites were Nestorians. According to the polymath Bar Hebraeus, in 1007 a khan and his people were converted to the Nestorian Church of the East; it is most likely that these were the Keraites.[43] Indeed, names of the ancestors of Toghril Khan (r. with interruptions 1165/71–1203) were often Christian ones. Toghril's grandfather was called Marghuz (Marcus); he was captured by the Tatars and delivered to the Jin emperor, who had him nailed to a wooden donkey. Marghuz was succeeded by Toghril's father Qurjakuz (Cyriacus). Immediately upon his father's death, between 1165 and 1171, Toghril murdered two of his half-brothers and made himself khan. When his uncle, the Gür-Khan (a title), toppled him, Toghril turned to Yesügei, who again placed him on the throne. Around 1183/84 the young Temujin, whose father Yesügei had been poisoned by Tatars around 1174/75, reminded Toghril that he owed the throne to Yesügei, and Toghril then adopted him as his own son. When Toghril, in 1194 at the latest, was deposed for a second time, Temujin again helped him to regain the throne, in 1196. In the same year, Temujin inflicted a heavy defeat on their common enemy, the Tatars.[44]

But their brotherhood in arms would end some six years later, when Temujin proposed an alliance by marriage to Toghril, according to which his son Jochi would marry Toghril's daughter. This proposal represented Temujin's claim to become the successor to Toghril, the ageing khan of the Keraites, and it was indignantly challenged by the latter's son, Nilka-Senggum. Toghril's answer was similarly contemptuous: 'Does he [Genghis Khan] not recognise that I am his liege and he is my vassal? Go back and tell him that I would rather burn my daughter than give her to his family in marriage.'[45] Following this provocative affront, Toghril and Nilka-Senggum prepared for war. After an initial victory by the Keraites over Temujin's Mongols, they were then decisively defeated and the fleeing Toghril was killed by a Naiman. In contrast to the Tatar elite, whom Temujin had exterminated without exception in 1202, he integrated the Keraites into his army and married off Toghril's Nestorian nieces. He himself took Ibaka Beki as a wife. He gave Bektumish Beki to Jochi, and the youngest of the three sisters, Sorkaktani Beki (d. 1252), to his youngest son, Tolui.[46] Sorkaktani became the most influential princess of the Mongols – she was the mother of the future Great Khans Möngke (r. 1251–59) and Kublai (r. 1260–94), and of Il-Khan Hülegü (r. 1259/60–65). After the death of Great Khan Güyük in 1248 she mounted a successful palace coup, when her line, that of Tolui, who died in 1232, ousted that of Ögödei, whose line had produced the first two Great Khans.[47] Tolui was also given Toghril's granddaughter Dokuz Khatun as his wife, and after his death, according to the custom of levirate marriage, she married his son Hülegü.[48]



112. An archer takes aim at the annual Naadam Festival in Ölgii, western Mongolia. The festival held in mid-July includes wrestling and archery competitions, as well as a horse race over a distance of up to 35 kilometres. Photo: 2002.

113. **The city walls of Olon Süme-in Tor, Inner Mongolia, China. It was the capital of the Ongut tribe, whose ruling family belonged to the (Nestorian) Church of the East. In the 1930s and 1940s archaeologists found many Nestorian gravestones in and around the city, as well as the badly decayed ruins of Bishop Giovanni da Montecorvino's Catholic church built *ca.* 1295. Photo: 1998.**

East of the Keraites, the Mongols led a nomadic existence, as did the Mongolic-speaking **Tatars** even further east, who consisted of six groups, each with its own military leader. In the twelfth century, the quarrelsome Tatars served the Jin of northern China as auxiliary troops to fight against their enemies, such as the Keraites and Mongols. As they had done with the Keraite khan Marghuz in the mid-1150s, Tatars kidnapped Khan Hambaghai, a Mongol ruler, and handed him over to the Jurchen. 'The Altan Khan [of Jin] ordered, as was their custom, that he be nailed on a wooden donkey until he died.'[49] At the behest of the Jin, around 1260/61 the Tatars attacked Hambaghai's successor Kutula and destroyed the Mongol tribal elite.[50] Since a little later Temujin's own father Yesügei was poisoned by Tatars, he swore to take vengeance on a grand scale. In 1202 he crushed the Tatars in battle, gave their wives and children as slaves to his warriors, and slaughtered the men: 'We shall measure the Tatars against the linchpin of a cart, and kill them to the last one.'[51] One of the Tatar boys who escaped the massacre was the later military commander and supreme judge Shigi Khutuku, whom Temujin took into his family as his adoptive son.[52] It was part of Temujin's strategy, in order to break down tribal boundaries and form a united nation, to distribute the wives of defeated tribes among his Mongol warriors. His ambition was not for his Mongol tribe or clan to dominate the others – it was for the tribes to be united in one single Mongol nation.

South of the Tatars lived the Mongolian-speaking **Qonggirat** in the region of the Greater Khingan mountains. At an early date, their leaders became related by marriage to the Mongols, for Temujin's ancestor Khabul Khan (r. pre-1125–*ca.* 1147) took a Qonggirat princess as his chief wife.[53] Their alliance with the Mongols was further strengthened when Temujin took the Qonggirat Börte as his own chief wife. In 1201, after Temujin's brother Kasar, without Temujin's agreement, had attacked and plundered the Qonggirat, they changed sides and joined Temujin's rival Jamuka. Two years later, when Temujin had suffered an initial defeat at the hands of Toghril and was in a dangerous situation after many of his followers had deserted him, the Qonggirat returned to his side. Thanks to the support of their warriors, Temujin decisively defeated Toghril.[54] From now on the Qonggirat enjoyed a privileged position with the Mongols and the Yuan dynasty.

South of the Gobi Desert lived the Turkic tribe of the **Onguts**, descendants of the Shatuo, who in the tenth century had founded the short-lived dynasties of the Later Tang (923–36), the Later Jin (936–47) and Later Han (947–50).[55] They had been charged by the Jin with the task of guarding a section of the Great Wall, so that the Mongols called them Ongut, the name deriving from *öngüt* ('wall').[56] Their alliance with Temujin began in 1204 when their khan, Alakush Teginkuri, warned him of an impending attack by the Naiman Tayang Khan. Seven years later, when Genghis Khan undertook his first attack on the Jin, Alakush Khan opened the gates of the Great Wall to him. In gratitude, Genghis Khan gave his daughter Alaqai Beki in marriage to Alakush's son.[57] When, soon after, some nobles on the side of the Jin murdered Alakush and his son, Alaqai Beki ruled the Onguts as regent until 1246. The familial bonds between the descendants of Genghis Khan and the Onguts remained close, as is clear from the example of King Körgüz (d. 1298). Kublai Khan gave him two granddaughters as his wives, and he served Kublai as a successful army commander; in 1298 he was captured and executed by the Chagataiid Khan Du'a, the ally of Kublai's arch-enemy Qaidu.[58] Since the Onguts were Nestorians, Marco Polo mentioned King Körgüz ('King George') as 'the sixth in descent from Prester John'.[59] The most prominent Onguts were the two Nestorians Rabban Sauma and his companion Markos, who in 1281 was appointed as Patriarch Mar Yahballahah III (in office 1281–1317) of the Church of the East.[60] Shortly after 1294, the Catholic Bishop Giovanni da Montecorvino (in office 1294–1328) succeeded in 'converting' King Körgüz to Catholicism, and he had a Catholic church built in his northern capital of Olon Süme (fig. 113), which already possessed a Nestorian church. After Körgüz's death, the Ongut converts returned to the Eastern Church.[61]

114. Nestorian gravestone from Olon Süme inscribed in Turkic language and Syriac script. Museum of Beilingmiao, Inner Mongolia, China. Photo: 1998.

The home of the **Mongols**, a tribe which in the twelfth century lived between Keraites and Tatars by the Rivers Onon and Kherlen, originally lay further to the north-east, within the northern loop of the River Amur. The annals of the Tang call them *Mengwu* and describe them as a member of the Shiwei group of peoples; it is said they lived as hunters and fishers, and made their breastplates out of fish scales. In the tenth century the Mengwu slowly began to migrate to the south-west, to the Onon and Kherlen regions. Their migration is symbolically hinted at in the myth of their origin, according to which the Mongols are descended from a blue wolf and a white fallow doe, two creatures of the forest. They crossed a great water (Lake Baikal?), and reached the mountain of Burkhan Khaldun, where their son Batachikhan was born. Nine generations later the descendant of the wolf and doe, Dobun Mergen, married the young Alan Qoa, and they had two sons. However, after the death of Dobun, Alan Qoa bore three more sons, said to have been conceived supernaturally, one of them being Bodunchar, the ancestor of the lineage of the Borjigin, from which Temujin also emerged. Remarkably, the official lineage here passes through Alan Qoa, a fact which indicates the high position of noblewomen among the Mongols. Bodunchar's grandson Dutun Menen married Monolun (called Nomolun in the *Secret History*), who was very rich and owned horses and sheep, which suggests that the Mongols had meanwhile become successful herdsmen.[62]

The first historically identifiable figure is Dutum Menen's son **Qaidu Khan** (r. ?–pre-1125), who took revenge for the murder of his mother Monolun by the Mongol tribe of the Jalaïr and laid the foundation stone for the *Qamugh Mongghol Ulus*, the 'state of all the Mongols'. Qaidu's successor **Khabul Khan** (r. pre-1125–*ca*. 1147), the great-grandfather of Genghis Khan, seems to have expanded his power base: the *Secret History* reports that 'Qabul Qa'an ruled over all the Mongols'.[63] Khabul undertook a number of raiding expeditions against the northern border of the Jin, whose expeditionary army he repelled shortly before his death.[64] After this defeat, the Jin assigned the task of weakening the emergent

Mongols to the Tatars. In the mid-1150s they abducted **Khan Hambaghai** (r. *ca.* 1147–mid-1150s), who came from the Tayichiud sub-clan, and handed him over to the Jin, who, as explained above, nailed him to a wooden donkey. Khabul's eldest son Ökin Barqaq met the same fate.[65] Hambaghai's successor was Khabul Khan's son **Kutula Khan** (r. *ca.* mid-1150s–60/61) of the Kiyad sub-clan.[66] In spite of thirteen campaigns against the Tatars, Kutula was unable to break their power, and around 1260/61 they defeated him so decisively that the first *Qamugh Mongghol Ulus* collapsed.[67] After Kutula's death the scattered clans could not agree on a successor; only a few clans of the Tayichiud and Kiyad declared themselves followers of **Yesügei Ba'atur** (d. *ca.* 1174/75), a grandson of Khabul Khan. Yesügei did not rule all Mongols and was also never chosen as khan. He fought a running battle with Tatar tribes, and when, between 1162 and 1167[68] he returned home from a successful battle with one of them to learn that his chief wife Hoelun had given birth to her first son, he named the child after the Tatar chieftain he had just killed, Temujin, 'blacksmith'.[69]

115. A Mongol horsehead fiddle. One of the legends attached to this two-string instrument is as follows: Once upon a time a fairy fell in love with a married man and gave him a magic horse that would bring him to her every night. She made her lover promise always to rub the horse dry before reaching home, so that no one would notice how hard the animal had been working. Once the man forgot to take this necessary precaution. His wife noticed that the horse was soaked with sweat and became so angry that she killed it. Without the horse, the man could no longer reach his beloved, so he consoled himself by making a bowed string instrument with a horse's head to accompany his sad songs about his lost love. Museum of Fine Arts, Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia.

3. Genghis Khan and the Creation of a Mongol Nation

The rise of **Genghis Khan** (r. *ca.* 1184–87/90, *ca.* 1195–1227) to become the ruler of all of Central Asia was not a linear one, but was punctuated by a number of setbacks.[70] The first serious blow came around 1174/75, when Tatars poisoned his father Yesügei and first the Tayichiud, who were among his followers, and then the Kiyad left the camp of the widow Hoelun.[71] Why none of Yesügei's brothers married the widow, as was the practice under the law of levirate marriage, is not related by the *Secret History.* The family of Hoelun, who was left behind with her four sons and two sons-in-law, rapidly became impoverished. In another internal family crisis around 1180, Temujin, together with his younger brother Kasar, shot his older half-brother Bekhter with a bow and arrow.[72] The cause was certainly not a quarrel over hunting spoils, as some have alleged, but a power struggle over the potential leadership of the Kiyad sub-clan. Temujin was the eldest son of Yesügei by his chief wife Hoelun, and as such could lay claim to leadership; but the older Bekhter had the option of levirate marriage, that is of marrying Temujin's mother when he came of age, and demoting Temujin to a son-in-law. But this fratricide was programmatic for Temujin and later for the Mongol conduct of war, insofar as everyone who blocked or resisted him was eliminated. With this murder, Temujin had removed his rival, but his action aroused the mistrust of a Tayichiud leader, who seized him and held him prisoner for about a year.[73]

After a successful escape, Temujin began to gather around him young men of his own age, with whom he undertook small raiding expeditions. He made his decisive bid for power in 1183/84, when he subjected himself to Toghril, the khan of the Keraites, who promised him: 'I shall bring together for you your divided people.'[74] Temujin very soon had occasion to take up Toghril's offer of help, when his bride Börte was abducted by Merkits, to avenge Yesügei's abduction of Hoelun. This and other events convinced Temujin that the nomads of Mongolia would never achieve prosperity and strength until tribal barriers were broken down and the lawlessness of the steppe was brought to an end. Before Temujin asked Toghril for help, he turned to the spirit of the holy mountain Burkhan Khaldun and, bowing nine times to the morning sun, promised to sacrifice to him every day.[75] This action is evidence of Temujin's belief that he could make direct contact with the highest deities, which two or three decades later led to the conviction that the highest god of all, Tengri, had personally chosen him as his instrument for world conquest – whoever opposed him, Genghis Khan, would be a rebel against Tengri's commandment and must be destroyed. For the campaign against the Merkits, Toghril made 20,000 men available, but delegated the command to Temujin's former childhood friend Jamuka, the leader of the Jadaran. After the liberation of Börte, Temujin had lived with Jamuka as his *nöker* (follower or companion), until in 1185 Temujin wanted his independence back and left him, together with his followers.[76] Soon afterwards, either still in 1185 or in 1189,[77] Temujin had himself declared khan of some Mongol clans. This represented a provocation to Jamuka, who gathered a strong army and in 1187 or 1190 decisively defeated Temujin's army at the battle of Dalan Balzhut, about 250 kilometres east of Ulaan Baatar. While Temujin himself escaped, Jamuka inflicted a savage revenge on his enemies: 'Jamuqa had the princes of the Činos [who had allied themselves to Temujin] boiled alive in seventy cauldrons.'[78] This was a way of preventing the survival of their spirits, which might take revenge from beyond the grave.[79]

A gap of several years now appears in the *Secret History*, up to the help given to Toghril and the first victory over the Tatars of 1196; Rashid al-Din also notes laconically that Temujin had to endure some difficult years until God made him strong again.[80] Temujin may have fled to the Jin, who had an interest in keeping a possible adversary of Jamuka's near at hand, should Jamuka become too powerful. In fact, in 1196 Temujin took on the role of ally of the Jin when, together with Toghril, he defeated the Tatars. His next step was to establish a permanent camp at Avraga, at the confluence of the Kherlen and Tsenker rivers.[81] He then liquidated some princes of the Kiyad Mongols and in 1198/99 defeated the Naiman Buiruk Khan. In view of his growing power, in 1201 various tribal princes elected Jamuka as Gür-Khan (universal khan), and his group was quickly joined by factions of the Naimans, Merkits, Oirats and Tayichiud. In solidarity 'they jointly hacked the backs of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of friendship'.[82] The killing of large animals not only counted as a sacrifice to the gods, but also symbolised the fate of an oath-breaker. For the last time, Toghril and Temujin took up arms together and defeated Jamuka's coalition at Köyitän, near the River Khalkha, not least because Jamuka's alliance collapsed even before the battle was over. On the first day of the battle an arrow hit a vein in Temujin's neck. He was allegedly saved by Jelme who sucked the blood from the wound, for the archers often used poisoned arrows in battle. By ensuring a continuous flow of blood Jelme strongly reduced the danger that Temujin would die of poison. Temujin quickly recuperated and on the next day crushed the Tayichiud. Taking revenge for past humiliation, he had all the men who could be captured put to death. He spared only the archer who had killed his horse under him with a well-aimed arrow, and named him *Jebe*, 'arrow'; Jebe soon became one of Temujin's closest confidants and, together with the commanders Sübotai, Jelme and Kublai, one of his 'four hunting dogs'.[83]

1000
AB5565135

116. **Current Mongolian banknote with a portrait of Genghis Khan. The note has been slipped inside a knot in a blue *khata*, a Buddhist fabric offering. In Mongolia, the colour blue symbolises the god known as the Eternal Heaven, or *Möngke Tengri*. Photo: 2001.**

In 1202, as the khan made ready for his decisive attack on the Tatars, he issued the following orders to his army: 'If we overcome the enemy, we shall not stop for booty. When the victory is complete, that booty will surely be ours, and we will share it among ourselves. If we are forced by the enemy to retreat, let us turn back to the point where we began the attack. Those men who do not turn back to the point where we began the attack shall be cut down!'[84] The aim of these orders was to teach his equestrian warriors discipline and to transform an assembly of individual warriors into a united, manoeuvrable army. First, Temujin forbade premature looting, since the object of every battle was to destroy the enemy, in particular its officers, so that a victory was achieved only after a successful pursuit. Secondly, the booty belonged to all, and it was the khan's responsibility to distribute it fairly and ensure that the widows and orphans of fallen warriors received a share. Thirdly, in the event of defeat the warriors had to reassemble at a specific place, rather than fleeing in disorder to their homes. Whoever fled would be killed. As mentioned above, Temujin did indeed destroy the Tatars. But at the beginning of 1203 he was unexpectedly attacked by Toghril and put to flight. However, Toghril failed to pursue Temujin, who then reassembled his troops, gained a decisive victory towards the end of 1203 and merged the Keraites with his Mongols.[85] Temujin's last remaining opponents within Mongolia were now Buiruk Khan, Tayang Khan and Jamuka. Tayang Khan fell in the battle in 1204, and in 1205 the fleeing Jamuka was handed over to Temujin, who (according to the taboo against the spilling of princely blood) had him smothered to death, rolled up in a carpet.[86] Buiruk Khan was crushed in 1206. In the previous year, Temujin tested his army against a sedentary adversary, who possessed fortresses and fortified cities, and undertook a campaign against Minyak, the territory of the Western Xia.[87]

Temujin was not only a successful general, but also a far-sighted statesman and outstanding judge of character. He realised that it was only by destroying their social structures that he could weld together the many subordinate tribes into a Mongol people, and so he reorganised the warriors and their families according to military principles. At the same time he broke the power of the tribal leaders in favour of his own commanders, whom he chose solely according to merit. And since at that time he was already planning wars of conquest outside Mongolia, he introduced permanent compulsory military service for all healthy men between 15 and 60 years of age,[88] which led to a seamless militarisation of Mongolian society. At the same time the future state needed a central administrative structure, which Temujin modelled on that of the Keraites. To this end, in the year of the Tiger, 1206, Temujin summoned a *kuriltai* (a political and military council) at the upper course of the River Onon. First, Temujin had himself declared Genghis Khan by the highest shaman, Kököchu Teb Tengri, in front of the gathered tribal and clan leaders and officers. 'Kököchu Täb Tängri [. . .] said: "God has given the rulership of the face of the earth to you. [. . .] God has commanded that your title be Genghis Khan."'[89] This enthronement of Temujin by Teb Tengri has parallels in Western European imperial coronations by the pope, which implied a higher authority of religious over worldly power. As for the title 'Genghis Khan', it is interpreted either as 'ocean'; that is, 'universal khan', or 'severe,

117. Re-enactment of the advance of a *zagun*, a 100-strong Mongolian cavalry unit. The black banner, or *tuq*, in the centre of the picture is made from nine horses' or yaks' tails and was a symbol of war. In peace time, a white *tuq* was used. Photo: 2006.

fierce khan'. The Arabist François Pétis de la Croix, who died in 1695, and who had access to Persian documents that are lost today, confirms that at his enthronement ceremony Genghis Khan was reminded that in the event of misconduct the god of the heavens (Tengri) would withdraw the authority bestowed upon him.[90]

Next, Genghis Khan gave the million people subjected to him the name of *Qamugh Mongghol Ulus*, 'great nation of the Mongols', and replaced hereditary titles of nobility with the titles of a new military aristocracy. For from now on, every military or civil function was subject neither to a clan nor a lineage, but to the state headed by the Great Khan. Then, following the model of the Xiongnu Modu Chanyu,[91] he divided the army and men fit to bear arms according to the decimal system, into groups of ten, *arban*, of 100, *zagun*, of 1000, *mingan*, and of 10,000, *tümen*.[92] These new units replaced the previous divisions into tribes and clans. Men not fit for war had to perform civilian duties for a certain number of days, for example producing and repairing weapons, making felt, collecting fuel or guarding the officers' herds. Brothers and families were allowed to stay together, but they were forbidden on pain of death to leave their assigned unit, which hugely restricted the nomads' traditional freedom of movement and rendered the practice of blood brotherhood impossible. The introduction of a military aristocracy, whose material usefulness also benefited widows and orphans, as well as the decimal division of the military, laid the foundations for the development of feudalism and the attachment of the previously nomadic livestock breeders to a particular territory.

The higher officers received special gold *paizas* (pendants) as tokens of authority; for commanders of a *tümen* they were engraved with a tiger's head, for an army commander or *örlüg* with a lion under a sun and moon, and for a prince, with a falcon.[93] Each leader for his part was responsible for ensuring that the unit entrusted to him was at all times ready for mobilisation and battle. A decree, *bilig*, of the Khan ordered: 'Commanders of ten thousand, one thousand, one hundred [and ten] should keep their soldiers in such order and in such readiness that whenever a command is given, they should mount without regard to day or night.'[94] Incompetent commanders were punished and demoted. These radical measures transformed what had formerly been mutually hostile tribes and clans into one single standing army; the militarisation of society was complete.

Genghis Khan transferred practically all important military functions to his followers, *nökör*, regardless of their earlier social status, and for the highest administrative tasks he preferred to choose former officials of the Naimans, the Keraites and later the Tanguts. As far as his relatives and clan members are concerned, Genghis Khan had earlier already liquidated most of the leaders of the Borjigin, and he usually transferred nominal or subordinate positions to close family members – that is, his mother, his brothers and sons. In addition to his regular army, Genghis Khan created a personal guard, called *keshik*, which functioned not only as a permanent bodyguard, but also as a training unit for future leaders and for the management of chosen hostages, who had to serve in it. This guard formed a sort of rudimentary elite group. The most important unit of the fighting force was the group of 1000, *mingan*, which was commanded by a *noyan*. At the *kuriltai* of 1206, Genghis Khan appointed 88 *noyan* for his 95 *mingan*,[95] so that the regular army numbered 95,000 men.[96] Added to these were the ten elite *mingan* of the imperial guard, bringing the Mongol fighting forces in 1206 to a total of 105,000 men. Up to 1227 the number of soldiers even increased to 129,000 men.[97] The larger units of the *tümen* were assembled on an ad hoc basis and a *noyan* was appointed as their supreme commander, or *örlüg*.[98] With the beginning of the wars of conquest further military units were added, for example siege engineers and mounted auxiliaries, as well as infantry units consisting of prisoners, who served as 'fodder for arrows' and 'padding' for the bridging of moats. The military aristocracy created by Genghis Khan was based on three pillars: loyalty and career, provision for widows and orphans, and booty. The solidarity of the army, however, demanded that it remained busy and generated rich booty, which meant continual wars of conquest in ever more remote lands.[99] Logically the first major military target was the wealthy realm of the Jin, but the khan first moved against Xi Xia, to try out his new army, to steal horses and secure his right flank. When these economically necessary wars were abandoned a century later on geographical, logistic or ecological grounds, the majority of the Mongolian steppe warriors soon became impoverished, and the capability of the army declined, as becomes clear in the final decades of the Mongol Yuan dynasty.

As part of his administrative and legal reforms, the khan gave the Uyghur Tata Tunga, who had served the Naiman Tayang as seal-bearer, the task of developing a specific Mongolian script. Tata Tunga chose as a model the Uyghur script, which itself was derived from the Sogdian and Aramaic scripts. The Mongolian script, still in use today, runs from top to bottom and column by column from left to right. In addition, all official documents were to be valid only after they had been stamped by Tata Tunga. The khan then appointed his half-brother Belgutai, the brother of the formerly murdered

Bekhter, as minister of state and issued draconian laws to end widespread lawlessness: murder, blood feuds, abduction of women, rape, theft of livestock and stealing in general were now punishable by death. These laws were of course valid only within the Mongol community, not in dealings with foreign peoples. To enforce his new laws universally and preserve them from corruption, Genghis Khan appointed his adoptive son, the Tatar Shigi Khutuku, supreme judge and ordered him to write down all new and future laws in a Blue Book, *köke debter*: 'Execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment. Furthermore, writing in a blue script [on white paper] register all decisions about the distribution [of booty and appanages] and about the judicial matters of the entire population, make it into a book.'[100] The *köke debter*, the new codex of civil law, which was accessible to all Mongols was not, however, identical with the so-called Great *Yasa* (*jasaq*) of Genghis Khan, for this was intended only for his successors and the most important princes. The *yasa*, now lost, regulated matters such as the mobilisation of the army, the conduct of war, dealings with defeated enemies, foreign policy, the choice of a Great Khan, the ceremonies at a *kuriltai* and religious taboos. So the *yasa* consisted of directives for the rule and conduct of war of the descendants of Genghis Khan, while the *köke debter* was a compendium of judicial precedents.[101]

Since Genghis Khan, at the *kuriltai* of 1206, had left open the question of the relationship between worldly and spiritual power, the conflict between Genghis Khan and Teb Tengri, as well as their respective sons, rumbled on, until around 1210 it came to a head. Teb Tengri, to whose father, Mönglik, Genghis Khan had once given his own mother Hoelun as his wife, attempted to bring under his control the ten *tümen* whom he had assigned in 1206 to his mother, now deceased, and his youngest brother Temuge Otchigin. He also built up a rapidly growing entourage among the former Keraites. It was only after Teb Tengri had intrigued by means of slander against Genghis Khan's brother Kasar and publicly humiliated Temuge Otchigin that the khan took action and had Teb Tengri killed.[102] In this way Genghis Khan not only secured the supremacy of his imperial power over that of the shamans, but also took over Teb Tengri's position as chosen interlocutor of God. From now on, before any important decision, Genghis Khan himself consulted the supreme god known as the Eternal Heaven, *Möngke Tengri*, and asked for his agreement. In this way, before the campaign against the Jin in 1211, he ascended a mountain by the sources of the River Kherlen and called on Tengri for three days. On the fourth day, like Moses, he came down from the mountain and announced: 'Tengri has given me victory. Now we will get ready that we may wreak our vengeance upon the Altan Khan.'[103] From now on, if not before, Genghis Khan and his successors regarded their campaigns of conquest in China and Central Asia, later in the Near East and Eastern Europe, as the fulfilment of the will of God, made manifest to them, whose mandate they possessed.[104] With this in mind, Genghis Khan's successors usually began their letters to foreign rulers: 'By the power of the Eternal Sky, [We] the Oceanic Khan of the whole great people; Our Command. This is an order sent to . . .'[105] In the context of this worldview, which glorified the Great Khan and his people as instruments of the Eternal Heaven, foreign nations and their rulers had no alternative to obedience and voluntary subjection, other than their destruction as atonement for their rebellious disregard of the divine will. Conversely, the Mongols were forbidden to make peace with a nation which refused to be subjected. Accordingly, the Mongols used for 'peace' the Turkic word *il (el)*, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also meant 'submissive' and 'obedient'.[106]

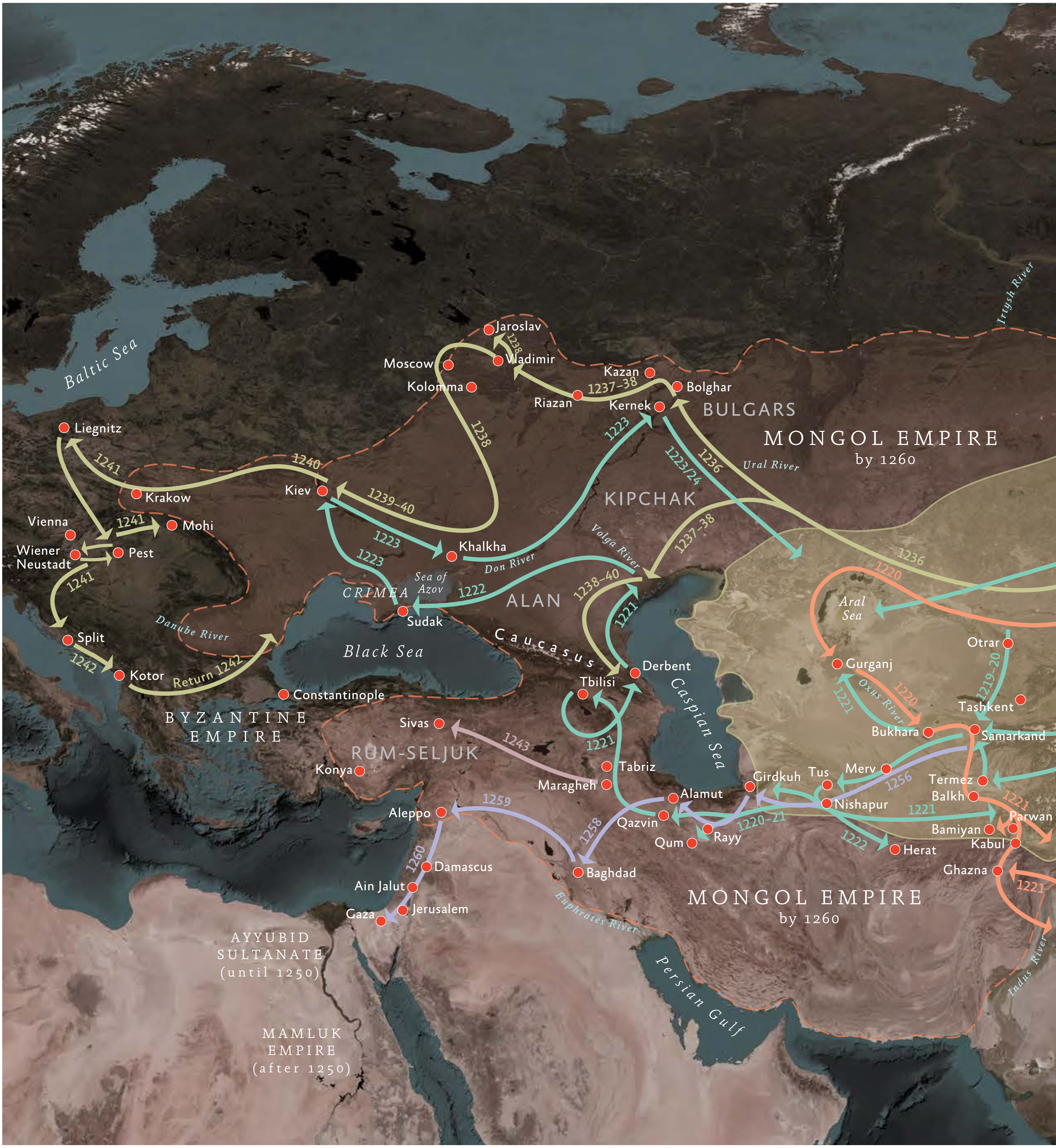
4. Genghis Khan's International Campaigns

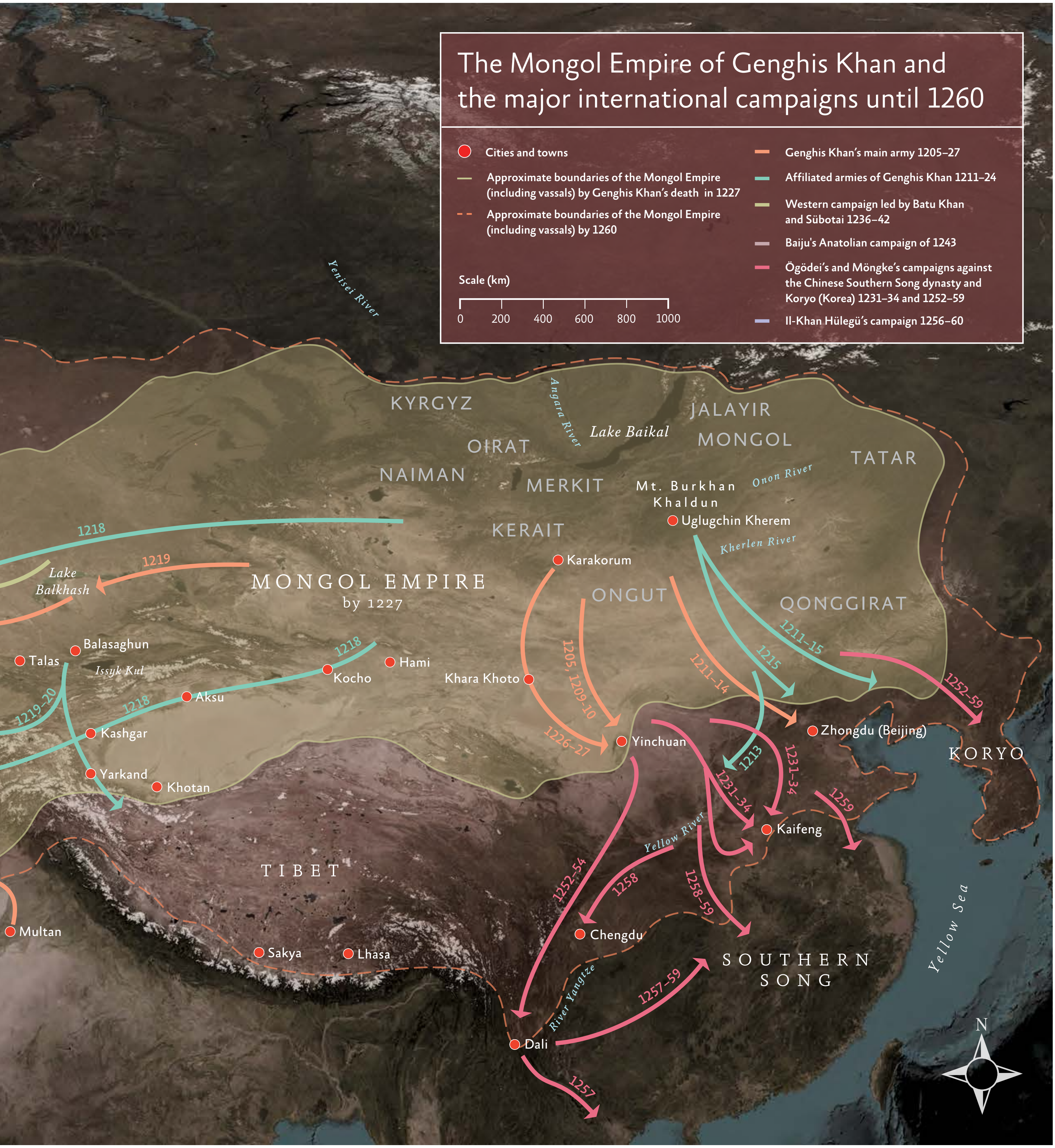
After the two campaigns to Xi Xia in 1205 and 1209/10 as well as the voluntary submission of the Uyghur Barchuk in 1209 and the Karluk Arslan in 1211,[107] Genghis had no reason to fear any opponent from the south-west. Instead he could focus on the war against the Jin, ostensibly to avenge his ancestors Hambaghai and Ökin Barqaq. The true aim of his war was to end economic dependence on the Jin and to procure rich booty for his warriors. The planning of the campaign and the coordination of the Mongol armies, as later with the first western campaign of 1218–23 and the Russian campaign of 1236–42, was the responsibility of General Sübotai (1175/76–1248).[108] When the Mongol armies advanced in the spring of 1211, they encountered no resistance. They broke through the outer defence system some distance in front of the Great Wall, which had been constructed at the end of the twelfth century; the local auxiliary Ongut troops promptly defected to their side. In the months that followed, the Mongols inflicted three shattering defeats on the Jin in Shanxi and took possession of the imperial herds of horses, so that the Jin cavalry were robbed of their reserve horses. During the siege of Xijing (Datong), Genghis Khan suffered an arrow wound, and he retreated to the Onguts at Dolon Nor. In 1212 an army leader rebelled in the

118. **Larger than life-size modern statues of a Mongol horse warrior and Genghis Khan at the entrance to the Government Palace in Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia. Photo: 2012.**

north-east of the Jin Empire; he gathered disaffected Khitans around him and subjected himself to Genghis Khan, who in return recognised him as vassal king of the Khitan.[109] In the autumn of 1213 the Mongols invaded again and in the winter of 1213–14 began to besiege the capital, Zhongdu (today's Beijing). Meanwhile, whole armies of the Jin had joined the Mongols, who had developed strategies for taking cities. They first forced the tens of thousands of captured farmers to climb the siege ladders, so that the unfortunate prisoners were shot down by the defending forces and plunged into the city moats; by the end, the moats were completely filled up with corpses. At the same time, Genghis Khan set up special siege troops composed of Jin siege engineers who had defected to him, and who were in possession of catapults and huge crossbows.[110] When in the spring of 1214 an epidemic broke out among the besieging troops, Genghis Khan offered negotiations, at the end of which the Jin emperor paid an enormous tribute of gold, silver, jewellery, silk and young slaves, and recognised the supremacy of Genghis Khan, who then withdrew to the north.

No sooner had the Mongols departed than the Jin emperor moved his capital to Kaifeng in the interior, to gather his forces out of reach of the Mongols' lightning campaigns. The emperor's flight gave Genghis Khan a new ground for war, so that in early 1215 he ordered General Mukali to take Zhongdu. Together with Khitan allies, on 31 May 1215 Mukali captured the city and subjected it to appalling looting, while securing the Jin state treasures for the khan.[111] With the fall of Zhongdu, the destruction of the Jin cavalry and the defection of the north-eastern provinces, the Jin no longer represented a threat to Mongolia. On the other hand, the barely 50-year-old khan had to realise that, in view of the countless fortified cities and the inexhaustible supply of Chinese soldiers, a complete conquest of northern China would take several more years. So in 1216 he returned to Mongolia and in 1217 appointed the *noyan* Mukali plenipotentiary viceroy of northern China, instructing him to hold the Jin in check with 25 *mingan* and auxiliary Khitan and Tangut troops.[112] But it was Sübotai who completed the conquest of the Jin Empire in 1234 with the taking of Kaifeng.


Irtysh River
Baltic Sea
Jaroslav
1238
Vladimir
Moscow
Kolomma
Kazan
1237–38
Bolghar
Riazan
Kernek
BULGARS
MONGOL EMPIRE
by 1260
Liegnitz
1238
1223
1223/24
1236
Ural River
1241
1240
Kiev
1239–40
KIPCHAK
Krakow
Vienna
1241
Mohi
1223
Khalkha
Volga River
1237–38
1236
Wiener Neustadt
Pest
1223
Don River
1220
1241
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
1222
ALAN
1238–40
Aral Sea
Sudak
1221
Danube River
Caucasus
Otrar
Split
Black Sea
Derbent
Gurganj
1219–20
1242
Kotor
Return 1242
Tbilisi
Caspian Sea
Oxus River
1220
1221
Tashkent
Constantinople
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Sivas
1243
1221
Bukhara
Samarkand
RUM-SELJUK
Konya
Tabriz
Maragheh
Girdkuh
Tus
Merv
1256
Termez
Alamut
Balkh
Nishapur
1221
Aleppo
1259
Qazvin
1220–21
Parwan
1258
Rayy
Bamiyan
Qum
1222
Kabul
Herat
1260
Damascus
Baghdad
Ghazna
Ain Jalut
1221
Jerusalem
MONGOL EMPIRE
by 1260
Gaza
Euphrates River
AYYUBID SULTANATE
(until 1250)
Persian Gulf
Indus River
MAMLUK EMPIRE
(after 1250)

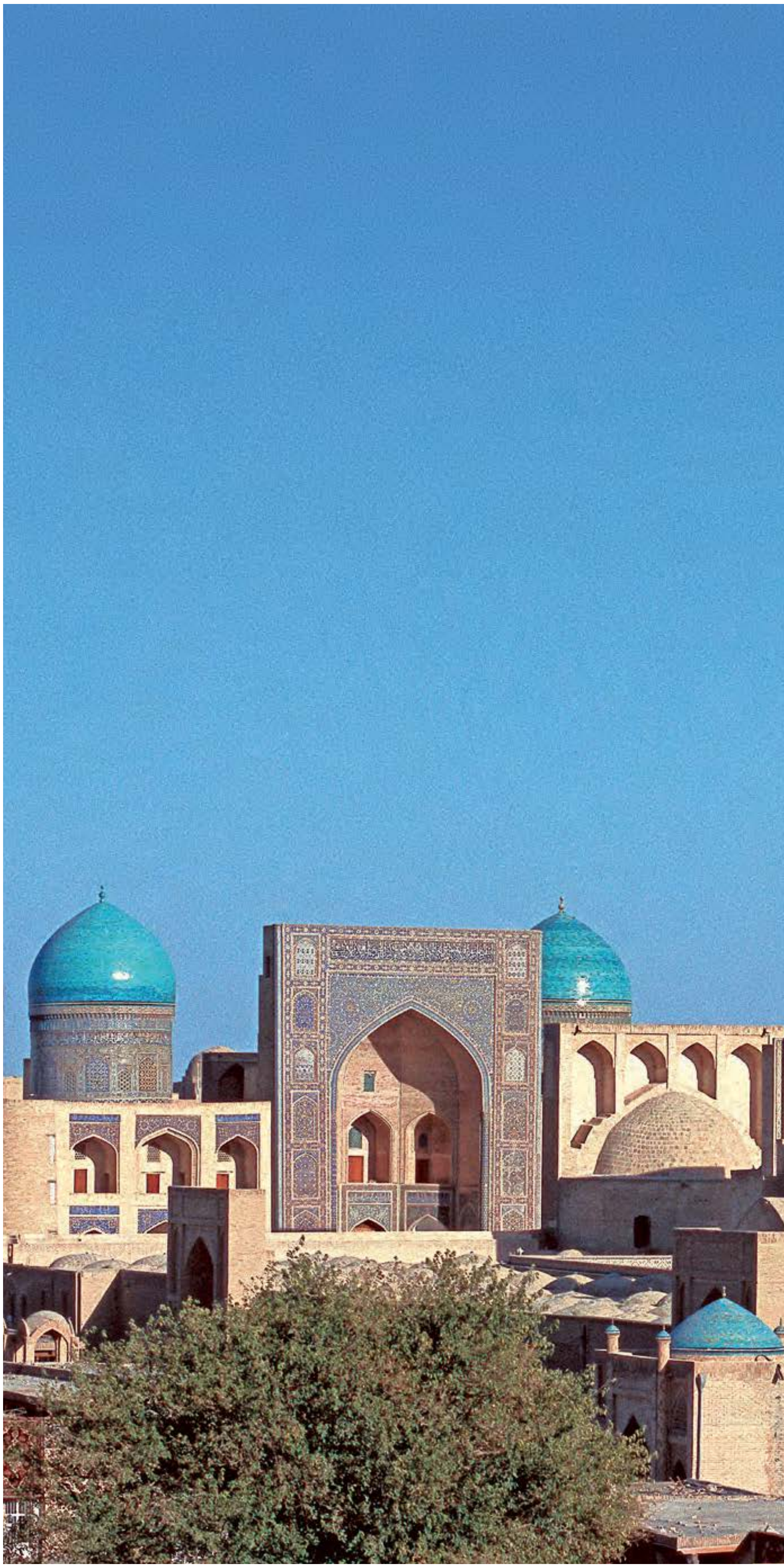


The Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan and the major international campaigns until 1260

● Cities and towns
Approximate boundaries of the Mongol Empire (including vassals) by Genghis Khan's death in 1227
Approximate boundaries of the Mongol Empire (including vassals) by 1260
Scale (km)
0
200
400
600
800
1000
Genghis Khan's main army 1205–27
Affiliated armies of Genghis Khan 1211–24
Western campaign led by Batu Khan and Sübotai 1236–42
Baiju's Anatolian campaign of 1243
Ögödei's and Möngke's campaigns against the Chinese Southern Song dynasty and Koryo (Korea) 1231–34 and 1252–59
Il-Khan Hülegü's campaign 1256–60
Yenisei River
KYRGYZ
Angara River
Lake Baikal
JALAYIR
MONGOL
OIRAT
TATAR
NAIMAN
MERKIT
Mt. Burkhan Khaldun
Onon River
Uglugchin Kherem
KERAIT
Kherlen River
1218
1219
Lake Balkhash
MONGOL EMPIRE
by 1227
Karakorum
ONGUT
QONGGIRAT
Balasaghun
Talas
Issyk Kul
1218
Hami
Kocho
Khara Khoto
1205, 1209–10
1211–14
1215
1211–15
1252–59
1219–20
Aksu
1218
Kashgar
1226–27
Yinchuan
Zhongdu (Beijing)
KORYO
1213
1231–34
1231–34
Yarkand
Khotan
1259
Kaifeng
Yellow River
TIBET
1252–54
1258
1258–59
Yellow Sea
Multan
Chengdu
Sakya
Lhasa
SOUTHERN SONG
River Yangtze
1257–59
Dali
1257
N

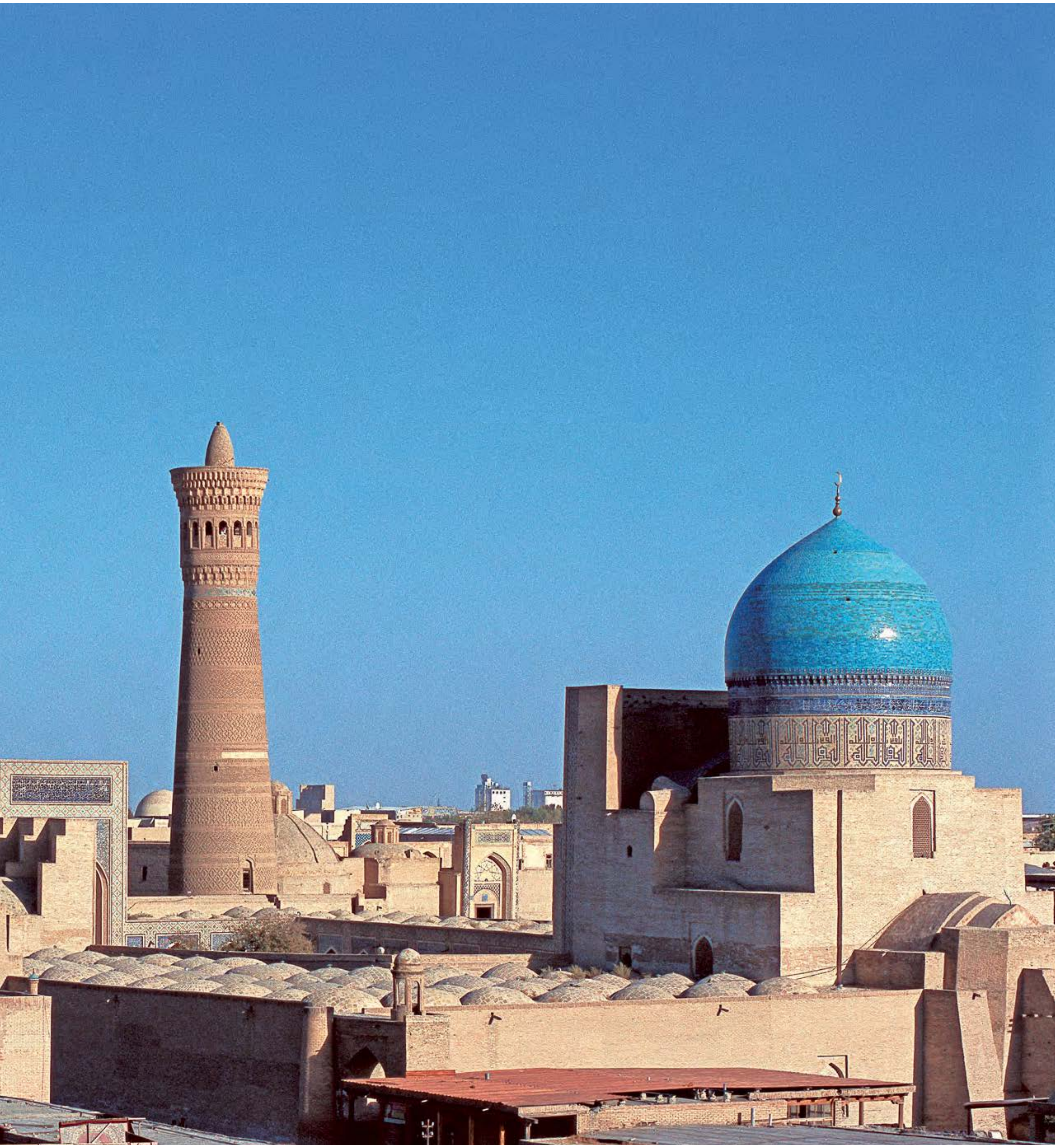
Even before the murder of his ambassador in Otrar in 1218, Genghis Khan planned a western campaign. This is clear from the fact that, either during the war against the Jin or at its end, he instructed his close adviser Chinkai to set up a supply centre for the army between the Khangai Mountains in central Mongolia and the Dzungarian plain. Chinkai (1169–1252), who was a Nestorian and had served the khan since 1202, created the manufacturing and farming site known as *Chinkai Balghasun* in the south-west of today's Mongolia. There he settled 10,000 Chinese and Tangut prisoners of war, craftsmen and farmers, who had to produce weapons, armour and foodstuffs in large quantities, to provide for the army on the planned campaign to the west.[113] That the Mongols precisely planned the routes of their armies and supply lines is also evident from the fact that in 1218 Genghis Khan sent his son Chagatai ahead to build roads and 48 bridges in the Tian Shan mountains between Luntai (Kucha) and Almalik.[114]

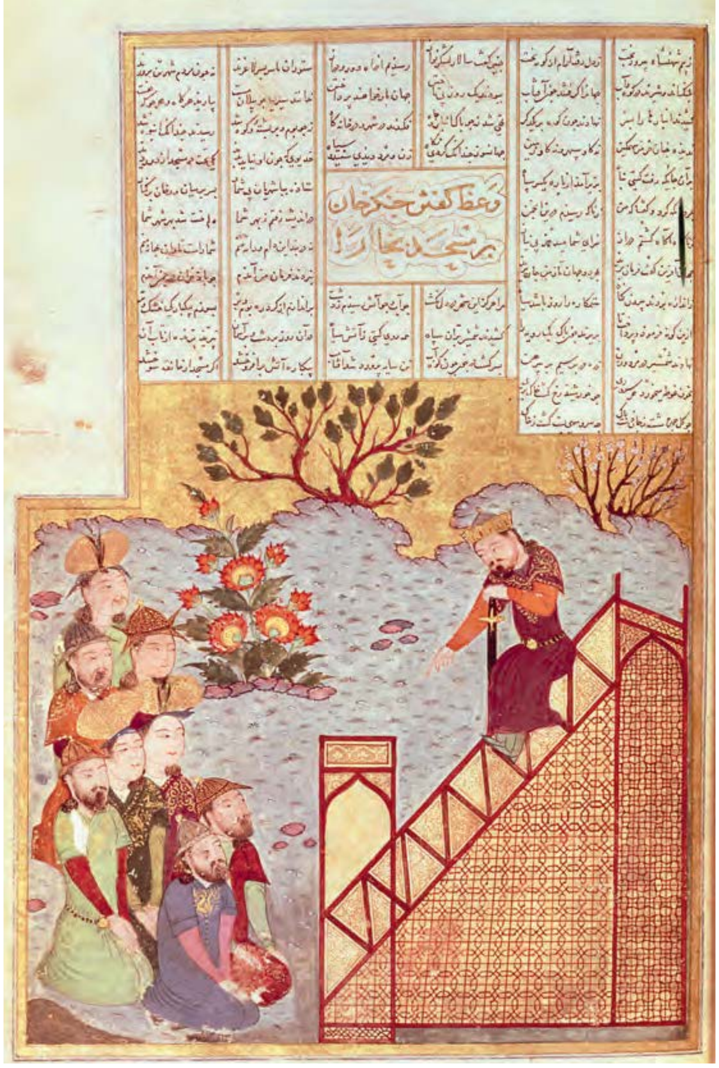
After the *noyan* Jebe had destroyed Küchlüg in the autumn of 1218 and thus cleared the Mongol armies' lines of approach of their enemies, Genghis Khan, if the *Secret History* is to be believed, settled the question of his succession, since the Mongols knew no dynastic tradition.[115] Although the eldest son of a leader had a certain claim to the succession, the youngest son would inherit his father's possessions; that is, his camp, wives and herds, so he too could claim the succession. Of the four sons of Genghis Khan by his chief wife,[116] none had the calibre of his father, as we can gather from the khan's own words. He described Jochi (d. 1227) as proficient at hunting, Chagatai (d. 1242) as mindful of tradition and warlike, but arrogant, Ögodei (d. 1242) as gifted and generous, but pleasure-loving, and Tolui (d. 1232) as a victorious military leader, but mean.[117] When Genghis Khan called a family council before leaving for Chorasmia, the discord between the brothers came to the surface. According to Rashid, the khan favoured his youngest son, the successful army commander Tolui,[118] but according to the *Secret History* he preferred his firstborn, Jochi. But the second eldest, Chagatai, abused Jochi as 'bastard offspring of a Merkit',[119] and the two came to blows. Finally the brothers and the khan agreed on Ögödei as crown prince, and Tolui promised to serve him as commander of the army. But the khan was under no illusions about his sons and envisaged future conflicts: 'Why should you two [Jochi and Chagatai] go so far as to cooperate



---

119. In early March 1220 Genghis Khan seized the city of Bukhara and burnt it to the ground. Only the Kalyan Minaret survived the devastation. On the left is the Mir-i-Arab Madrassa, built in 1535/36. On the right, the Kalyan Mosque completed in 1514. Photo taken from the mosque's roof: 2004.





120. **Genghis Khan reprimands Bukhara's notables, telling them that they themselves are to blame for the destruction of their city, since God sent him there as punishment for their sins. Folio on vellum from a *Shahanshah namah*, *ca.* 1397–98, Persian School. British Library, London. Or 2760 fol. 61.**

with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many. Extending the camps [grazing grounds] that can be easily divided, We shall make each of you rule over a domain and We shall separate you.'[120] The khan assigned four steppe areas to his sons, where they should set up their main camps: Tolui, as the youngest, received his father's territory; that is, northern and central Mongolia, Ögödei the pastures between Altai, Dzungaria and Lake Balkhash, Chagatai the pastures between Uyghuristan and Syr Darya, and Jochi, in addition to his *ulus* at the Upper Ienissei,[121] the Kipchak steppes west of Kayalik that were still to be conquered. When Genghis Khan died in 1227, Ögödei and Tolui divided the empire between them on a functional basis: Ögödei, as Great Khan, took over the government and administration, and Tolui, who acted as regent up to the enthronement of Ögödei in 1229,[122] was in charge of the armed forces. Under his direct command were 101,000 warriors of pure Mongolian origin out of a total army of 129,000 men; the remaining 28,000 men were divided among Tolui's three brothers and other family members such as Temuge.[123] But Tolui died in early 1233 in mysterious circumstances. The *Secret History* and Rashid both suggest in coded language that Ögödei forced him to drink poison,[124] as a result of which the new Great Khan obtained more control over the armed forces, although *de jure* Tolui's widow Sorkaktani Beki had a claim on three-quarters of the army.[125]

In early 1219 Genghis Khan mobilised his fighting force of a total of 150,000 men, with the aim of attacking Chorasmia. In order to advance as fast as possible while keeping the advantage of surprise, and to dispense with the need for a large baggage train, as well as to confuse Muhammad Shah of Chorasmia, the khan divided his army into four units operating independently of each other, according to the motto 'march divided, fight united'. The Mongol high command conducted war on the principle of *mission-type tactics*: the army commanders were given strategic objectives and a precise time schedule, which was to be strictly observed. But the specific tactics used by them to carry out their task were left to their initiative and judgement of the situation. In the case of the Chorasmian campaign of 1219–20 the southernmost and smallest unit under *noyan* Jebe, who had just killed Küchlüg, crossed the Pamir and the Oxus at Termez, so that it threatened Muhammad's capital Samarkand from the south. When Muhammad Shah sent his last mobile reserves against Jebe, the latter's troops ground them down. The second fighting unit under Jochi conquered the Fergana valley with its capital Khujand.[126] While the third army under Chagatai and Ögödei stormed Otrar after a tough siege and threatened Samarkand from the north, the western army under Genghis Khan, Tolui and the chief of staff Sübotai, unnoticed, moved around the Aral Sea on its western side and crossed the desert of Kyzyl Kum which was believed to be an insurmountable obstacle. Now the main army emerged behind the line of defence of Muhammad Shah at his rear, forming an acute threat to Bukhara.

As if they were taking part in some gigantic battue (*nerge* or *jerge*), the four independently operating armies converged at around the same time on Samarkand and surrounded the Chorasmian troops, causing Muhammad Shah to panic.[127] He had already greatly facilitated the Mongols' advance by spreading out his numerically superior army among the large cities in the east of his empire and at the border fortresses, instead of deploying his forces in a solid group against the Mongols of Chagatai and Ögödei, who were besieging

Otrar, and challenging them to open battle. Instead of fighting, as his son Jalal al-Din repeatedly urged him to do, the sultan fled, pursed by Jebe and Sübotai, first to Balkh, then to Nishapur and then to northern Iran, where he eventually died.[128] The border fortresses in the east proved just as useless as the French Maginot Line in World War II, while the Mongol invasion of Chorasmia anticipated the German western campaign in May and June 1940 in terms of strategy and mobility.[129] Jebe's and Jochi's divisions as well as the main army circumvented the enemy fortress and suddenly emerged at their rear, so that they were able to capture one city after another. The British military historian and theorist Liddell Hart (1895–1970) paid tribute to the brilliant strategy of Genghis Khan and Sübotai, who, with their highly mobile, independently operating advance guards, demoralised and confused the enemy to such an extent that they lost their orientation and initiative: 'The armoured caterpillar car or light tank appears the natural heir of the Mongol horsemen, for the "caterpillars" [tanks] are essentially mechanical cavalry.'[130] As early as the 1920s, at least eight years before the famous book of Heinz Guderian (1888–1954), *Achtung Panzer* (1937), Liddell Hart recommended the use of mobile, independent armoured units that would confuse and cripple the enemy before the main attack.

The Mongols' successes were based on their superior conduct of war. Before battle began, spies would reconnoitre possible lines of approach, sources of water and pastures for horses, and collect information about the enemy armies. Since the Mongols avoided hand-to-hand fighting and at the beginning of a battle sought as far as possible to weaken and disorganise the enemy through superior archery power, their main weapon was the asymmetrical reflex bow. As described by del Carpine, every horseman owned two to three bows with different ranges,[131] three quivers with various types of arrow, and a battle axe. Warriors in the heavy cavalry had in addition a slightly curved sabre, a lance, a helmet and lamellar body armour, which, as Matthew Paris noted, left their backs uncovered; their

121. The Kepter Khana building in Shahriyar Ark, the Seljuk palace quarter of the city of Sultan Kala in Merv, Turkmenistan. Like the rest of the city it was destroyed in 1221 by Genghis Khan's youngest son, Tolui. The name of this long, narrow building with corrugated walls and a ground plan of 22 x 8 metres translates as 'pigeon loft'. It may be that it actually was a pigeon loft; that is, the royal post office, or an archive or library. Photo: 2004.

122. The late-medieval city walls of Balkh, Afghanistan. The city was razed to the ground by Genghis Khan and was not rebuilt until the late 1330s, only to be seized by Timur-e Lang in 1369/70. The walls were repaired with rammed earth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and when Sultan Abdul Mumin (r. 1598) commissioned their reconstruction he is said to have ordered that work-shy labourers be immured in the walls.[26] Photo: 2010/11.

horses were also armoured.[132] In addition every horseman had two to four replacement horses at his disposal,[133] so that during a protracted battle he could repeatedly mount a new steed. The Mongol army consisted almost exclusively of mounted warriors, of whom 60 per cent were light and 40 per cent heavy cavalry. At the start of a battle, each *tümen* was drawn up in five lines: two lines of heavy cavalry in front and three lines of light cavalry at the rear. The commanders stood behind the lines and gave their orders by means of messengers, coloured pennants and whistling signal arrows. The light cavalry would attack first in several waves, by passing through the gaps in the lines of the heavy cavalry standing in front, and let loose a hail of arrows on the enemy. As soon as the enemy front faltered, the heavy cavalry attacked in a body and mowed down their opponents. But if the enemy advanced, the light horsemen, still firing with their bows, retreated in an orderly fashion, until the enemy encountered the armoured horsemen. If the enemy lines stood their ground despite the hail of arrows, the light horsemen withdrew and attempted to attack them from the sides or even from behind.

But if a Mongol army encountered an army from sedentary states, consisting of infantry and heavily armoured horsemen fighting with lance and sword, the Mongols chose the tactics of simulated flight. A relatively large division of light horsemen were sacrificed as decoys, attacking the enemy directly, only to flee in apparent disorder after suffering losses. These simulated flights, lasting hours or even days, were intended to separate the pursuing heavy cavalry from the slower infantry, to tire the armoured horses and lure the pursuers into an ambush. First the flanks of the dispersed column of pursuers came under intensive fire; next the heavy Mongol cavalry, still fresh, massacred the exhausted and disorganised enemy.[134] Classic examples of this tactic were the victories at the River Khalkha over three Russian armies (1223) and at the Battle of Legnica (Liegnitz) over a north German army (1241). These complicated manoeuvres were practised in winter battues. For example, a sickle-shaped line of horsemen, dozens of kilometres long, first drove the game in front of it, after which the wings advanced faster than the centre and finally closed in on each other,

thus completely enclosing their prey. 'The Mongol army became a huge human amphitheatre with thousands of terrified animals crowded in the arena.'[135] Ultimately, the Mongols were very willing to learn, as can be recognised by their adoption of Chinese and Persian siege techniques. The weaknesses of the Mongol armies lay in the vulnerability of the composite bow in wet weather, the lack of trained elite units and their dependence on horse pastures – problems which led them to retreat from Syria and Hungary on several occasions.

On dealing with enemy urban populations, Genghis Khan gave the following directive: 'All the face of the earth from the going up of the sun to its going down, [has been] given [to me by God]. . . . Whosoever, therefore, shall submit [without resistance], mercy shall be shown unto him and unto his wives and children and household; but whosoever shall not submit, shall perish together with all his wives and children and kinsmen.'[136] If a city surrendered without a fight, the population was usually spared, even though at the next city siege the captured male population were often used as 'arrow fodder'. Nor did Genghis Khan always honour his decree, as the conquest of Balkh in 1221 shows: although the population there surrendered without a struggle, he had them massacred without exception.[137] The same fate was suffered by Ghazna; here he drove the population like hunted animals on to an open field and assigned one or two dozen people to each Mongol soldier, who had to kill them immediately. Massacres such as these often involved more than 100,000 victims per city. If a city or garrison offered resistance, its inhabitants were annihilated as a punishment and deterrent; rebel cities were razed to the ground. The only people spared were craftsmen and technicians, who were carried off to work as slaves in army supply or production centres south of the Gobi desert and north of Beijing; two side effects of this practice were that Islam was propagated in China and that the reconstruction of Transoxania was hindered. As a consequence of this form of warfare, the Muslim urban south of Central Asia suffered large-scale depopulation, while individual regions returned to desert after the systematic destruction of local irrigation channels.

After the fall of Otrar in the autumn of 1219, in early March 1220 Genghis Khan took Bukhara, where, according to Juvaini, he mounted the pulpit in the central mosque and announced to the assembled notables and traders: 'I am the punishment of God. If you had not committed great sins, God would not have sent a punishment like me upon you.' (fig. 120) Because the citadel outside the city offered bitter resistance, the khan 'gave orders for all the quarters of the town to be set on fire [after it had been thoroughly looted]. Then the people of Bokhara were driven against the citadel [as arrow fodder] [. . .]. The moat had been filled with animate and inanimate and raised up with levies and Bokharians [forced to scale the scaling ladders]. [. . .] Of the Qangli [Kipchak] no male was spared who stood higher than the butt of a whip. Of the Khwarazmian the youths and full-grown men that were fit for such service were pressed into a levy for the attack on Samarqand and Dabusiya.'[138] Such events, and even crueller ones, took place over the months that followed at the storming of Samarkand, Gurganj, Balkh, Banakat, Merv, Nisa, Nishapur, Termez, Herat, Bamiyan, Ghazna and Peshawar. In 1220–23 the two *noyans* Sübotai and Jebe also plundered Qazvin, Hamadan, Ardabil, Maragheh, Täbris, Tbilisi, Derbent, Soldaia (Sudak) and Astrakhan. A conservative estimate, based on half the numbers of victims given by Juvaini and Juzjani, still amounts to about three to four million civilians who lost their lives in the Mongol genocide.[139] Genghis Khan's four-year campaign in Muslim Central Asia resembled a war of extermination.

After the fall of Samarkand, the khan divided his assembled forces into three armies. Sübotai and Jebe were given the task of pursuing and killing the fleeing Muhammad Shah, and when the latter died in early 1221, the khan approved Sübotai's new plan to cross the Caucasus and reconnoitre the western Kipchak steppes. The Khan gave Sübotai two years, after which he was to meet Jochi, coming from the west with fresh troops, north of the Caspian Sea by the Volga, and together they were to destroy the Bulgars and northern Kangli.[140] The 9,000-kilometre march of Sübotai and Jebe, lasting three years, is remarkable, not only for the fact that an army consisting of only three *tümen* managed to survive at all in unknown and hostile regions, but also because of the astonishing geographical knowledge demonstrated by the Mongols. Without rudimentary maps it would not have been possible to determine

123. **The Shahr-e Zohak Fortress, built by the Ghurids on the foundations of a Sassanid fort, stands guard over the eastern entrance to Afghanistan's Bamiyan Valley. After his grandson Mutugen fell during the siege of the fortress in 1221, Genghis Khan ordered the slaughter of all living creatures in Bamiyan, human and animal. Photo: 2010/11.**

a meeting point thousands of kilometres away and two years in the future. In the Pontic steppe and the Crimea Sübotai must have acquired additional knowledge about the geography and the political and economic conditions of eastern Europe which moved him, in 1235, to plead fervently at the *kuriltai* of Great Khan Ögödei for a second western campaign.[141] The campaign commanded by him (1236–42) was a military masterpiece, but at the same time, for lack of rich booty, an economic failure.

The second army was handed over to Jochi, Chagatai and Ögödei, with the aim of completing the conquest of Chorasmia. Since the wealthy city of Gurganj was in future to be part of Jochi's apanage, he wanted to spare the city, which was stubbornly defending itself; Chagatai and Ögödei however wanted to plunder it as thoroughly as possible (fig. 27). When Genghis Khan heard of the dispute, he sent Tolui, who sorted out the matter in April 1221 with his usual savagery: he had the city razed to the ground and 'each individual soldier got twenty-four Muslims [to be killed], and the number of Mongol soldiers was in excess of fifty thousand', which makes a total of 1.2 million dead.[142] Shortly before this, the khan had sent Tolui to Khorasan, where he perpetrated similar massacres in Merv and Nishapur – in Nishapur, Tolui had the murdered population beheaded and several pyramids of skulls built with the heads of men, women and children, anticipating the skull pyramids of Timur-e Lang.[143] A tragic high point of Tolui's devastations was the storming of Herat in June 1222, which, according to Juzjani, cost more than two million lives.[144] These massacres of unprecedented dimensions show that for the Mongols of Genghis Khan's generation, a human life which could not be directly used in the context of their steppe civilisation was entirely worthless. In addition, a systematic depopulation of hostile areas made military 'sense' to the extent that it radically reduced the danger of later rebellions.

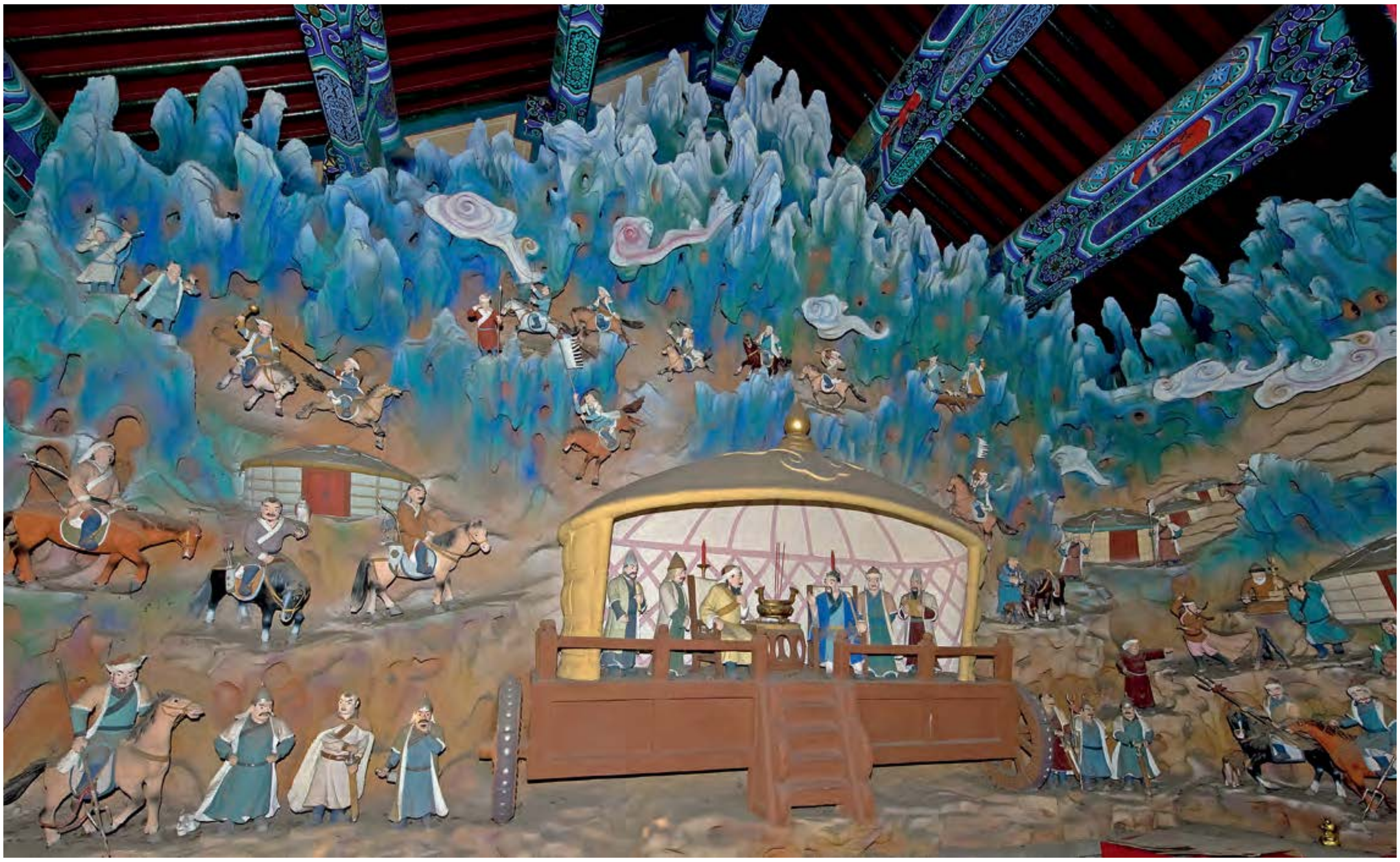
For his part, Genghis Khan took his third army in pursuit of Jalal al-Din, since the latter was preparing a counter-attack in what is today's Afghanistan. Sultan Muhammad's death had by no means weakened the beleaguered Chorasmian Empire; on the contrary, the cowardly sultan was replaced by his skilful and courageous son Jalal al-Din. Genghis Khan more than equalled his son Tolui in ruthless savagery, as is evident from the massacres in Balkh[145] and Bamiyan in 1221. Since Mutugen, a son of

124. The Lao Lu Tang Hall, built in 1228 in the Daoist Temple of the White Cloud, or Baiyun Guan in Beijing, China. Sometime after 1223, Genghis Khan appointed the monk Qiu Chuji, known in the west by his Daoist name Changchun, to take charge of the temple. In 1219, the Daoist master, founder of the Dragon Gate sect, an offshoot of the Quanzhen, or 'Complete Truth' School, was summoned by Genghis Khan to Afghanistan. His hope was that the monk could offer him an elixir of immortality. Although Changchun could not provide such an elixir, he earned the respect and goodwill of the ageing khan, who rewarded him with the stewardship of the Baiyun Temple, also decreeing that the Daoists should be exempt from paying taxes. Changchun's Dragon Gate sect drew also on the precepts of both Buddhism and Confucianism. The hall is dedicated to the Seven Immortals of the Quanzhen School, of which Chang Chun is one. Photo: 2015.

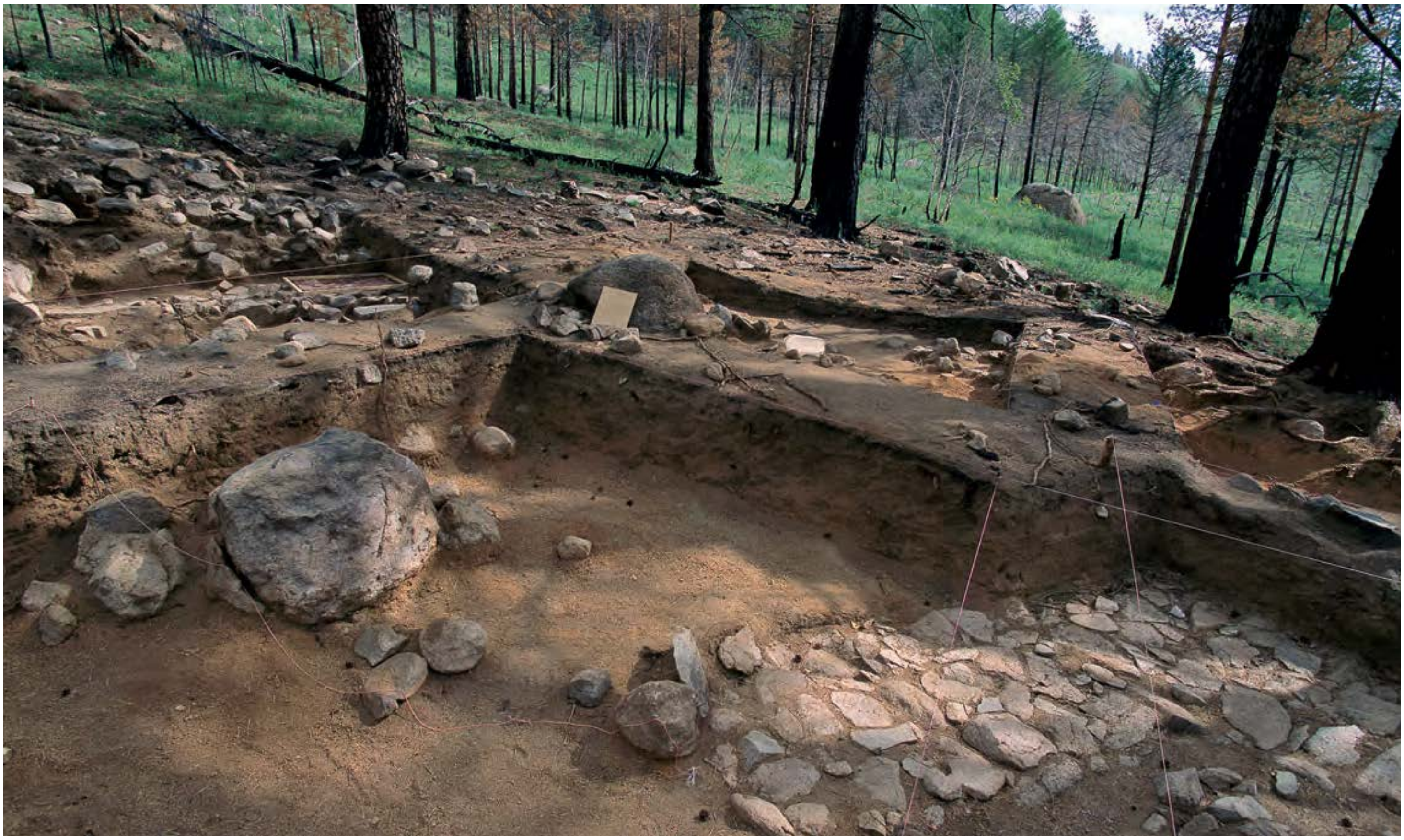
Chagatai's and Genghis Khan's favourite grandson, had fallen at the siege of the Taligan fortress of Bamiyan, the khan ordered that, in revenge, all living creatures in the city, men, women, children, infants, down to dogs and cats, should be killed.[146] After the defeat of Shigi Khutuku near Parwan, the khan defeated Jalal al-Din at the Indus, but he escaped.[147] After this victory, Genghis Khan even considered crossing the Himalayas via northern India and Bengal and attacking Minyak from the south. But since an attack on Multan failed because of rain, which impaired the use of the Mongolian composite bows, the khan decided to return via Afghanistan.[148] Before the departure for Mongolia, Genghis Khan apparently set up a rudimentary form of administration in the conquered territories;[149] at the beginning of 1223 he organised a grand battue, in which all his sons except Jochi took part. Jochi, who was staying in the Kazakh steppe, was angry at the senseless destruction in Transoxania and refused several times to come and join his father. According to Juzjani he even planned to found his own independent domain. Jochi died suddenly in early 1227, and it is not inconceivable that, as Juzjani presumes, his father had him poisoned in order to avoid future conflict with Chagatai.[150]

On the return march to Mongolia in 1223 Genghis Khan was initially accompanied by the Chinese Daoist Changchun, whom he had summoned to Afghanistan a year earlier, hoping to obtain an elixir of immortality from him. When the khan fell from his horse while hunting, and an attacking boar suddenly stopped, instead of injuring him as he lay on the ground, Changchun interpreted the event as a warning from heaven that the ageing khan should give up hunting.[151] But Genghis Khan ignored the warning and actually died following a further hunting accident, during his last Tangut campaign in August 1227.[152] On his deathbed, the khan is said to have commanded his sons Ögödei and Tolui to conquer the world and never live in peace with any people who did not voluntarily submit to them.[153] As the khan had ordered, the commanders concealed his death and killed all the inhabitants of the Tangut capital when they surrendered.[154] Then they returned to Mongolia with the body of their dead ruler. 'Picking up his coffin, they [the commanders] set out upon the return, slaying every creature they encountered along the way until they reached the ordus [of Genghis Khan].'[155] Marco Polo confirmed that during the funeral procession of Genghis Khan as well as that of Möngke, everyone who had the bad luck to come accidentally within eyeshot was killed.[156]

Like the grave of Alexander the Great, that of Genghis Khan has never been found; even Rashid al-Din cites two different places. According to the first version, Genghis Khan chose his own future burial site by the sacred mountain of Burkhan Khaldun. This, too, is where Tolui and his sons Möngke and Arik Böghe are believed to have found their last resting place. In the second version, the khan's body was brought to his home near Deluun Boldog by the River Kherlen, which lay six days' journey east of Burkhan Khaldun. It was here that two years later Great Khan Ögödei sacrificed to the spirit of his father 40 noble, jewel-bedecked virgins and some chosen horses.[157] Various traditions stress the plan of keeping the grave secret: 50 warriors are said to have buried the khan, who were then killed by 50 more warriors, who in turn suffered the same fate; others related that 1,000 horses were led over the grave to obliterate all traces of it.[158] A further difficulty for the identification of the site is that it is uncertain which of the mountains of the Khentii range east of Ulaan Baatar is identical with the Burkhan Khaldun revered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While most scholars have searched around today's Burkhan Khaldun[159] without success, the Mongolian archaeologist Dambyn Bazargur is convinced that the khan was buried near his birthplace of Deluun Boldog, where the *kuriltai* of 1206 also took place. In 2001 and 2002 Bazargur carried out excavations about 100 kilometres east of the official Burkhan Khaldun, on the mountain known as Binder, 1,194 metres above sea level. Here, at a place called Uglugchyn Kherem, he came across a stone enclosure up to 4 metres in height, 3,200 metres in length and with a pentagonal ground plan; within it, he identified more than



125. The Daoist master Changchun and Genghis Khan converse in a yurt in 1222/23. Contemporary relief in the Qiu Chuji Hall of the Baiyun Temple in Beijing, China. Photo: 2015.



126. Excavations were carried out in summer 2002 by a team of Mongolian and American archaeologists searching for the tomb of Genghis Khan on a mountainside at Uglugchyn Kherem near the town of Binder, eastern Mongolia. After some 60 graves were discovered, work had to cease for political reasons and has never been resumed. Photo: 7 July 2002.

60 untouched graves. But the excavations were halted at the end of July 2002 for political reasons, so that it remains open whether the complex dates back to the time of the Khitan or the Mongols.[160] The further traditional version, repeated in the chronicle *Erdeni-yin Tobchi*, written in 1662, according to which only an empty coffin was buried in Mongolia, while the body of Genghis Khan was interred in the Muna mountains between Baotou and Hohhot (Inner Mongolia), is a legend which came into being only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[161] Its purpose was to promote a cult of Genghis Khan in the Ordos region.[162]

VII

The United Mongol Empire

‘You can conquer an empire on horseback but you cannot rule it from horseback.’

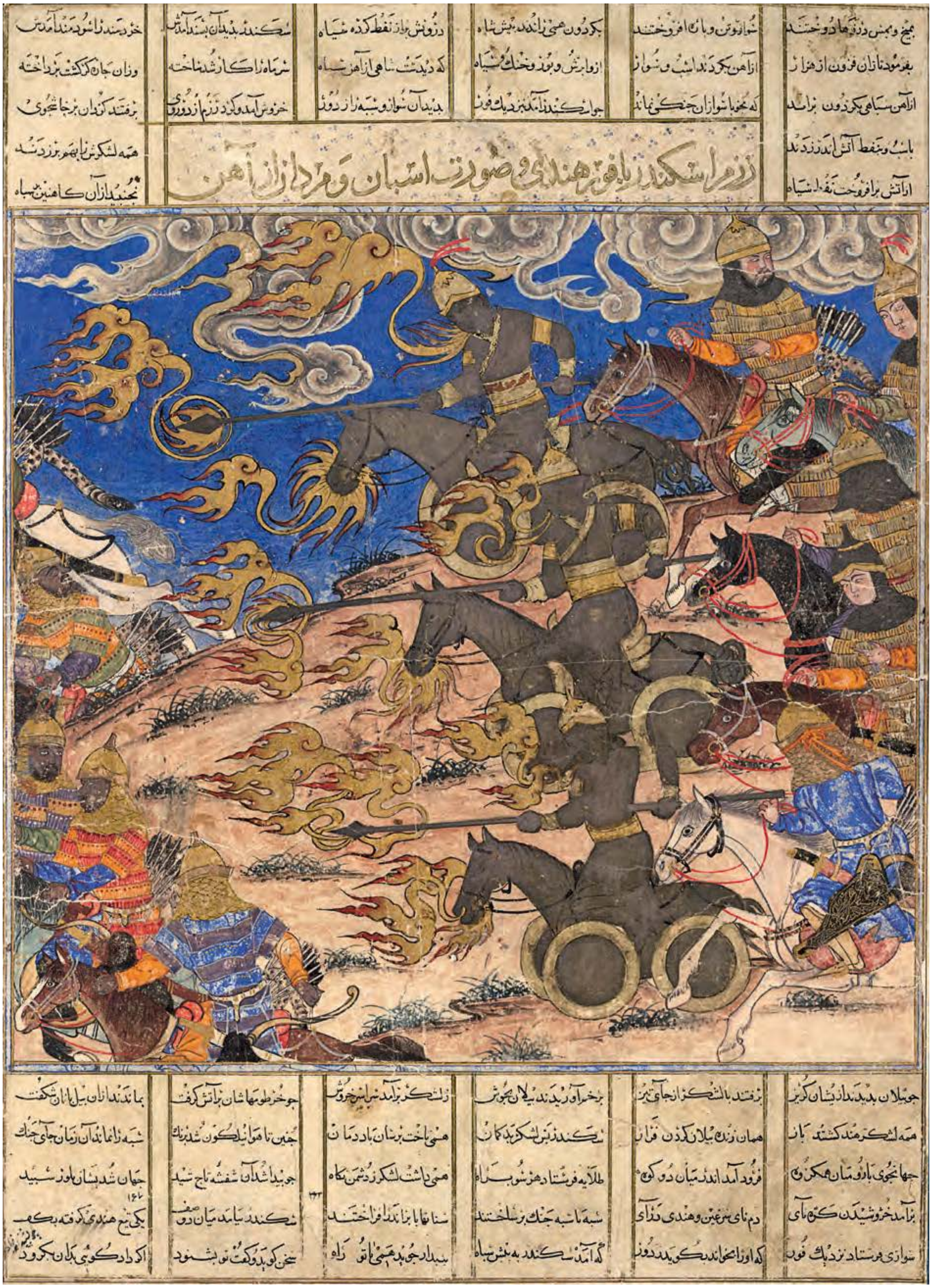
Alleged admonition of YELÜ CHUCAI (1189–1243) to Khan Ögödei.[1]

1. Great Khan Ögödei and the Construction of Karakorum

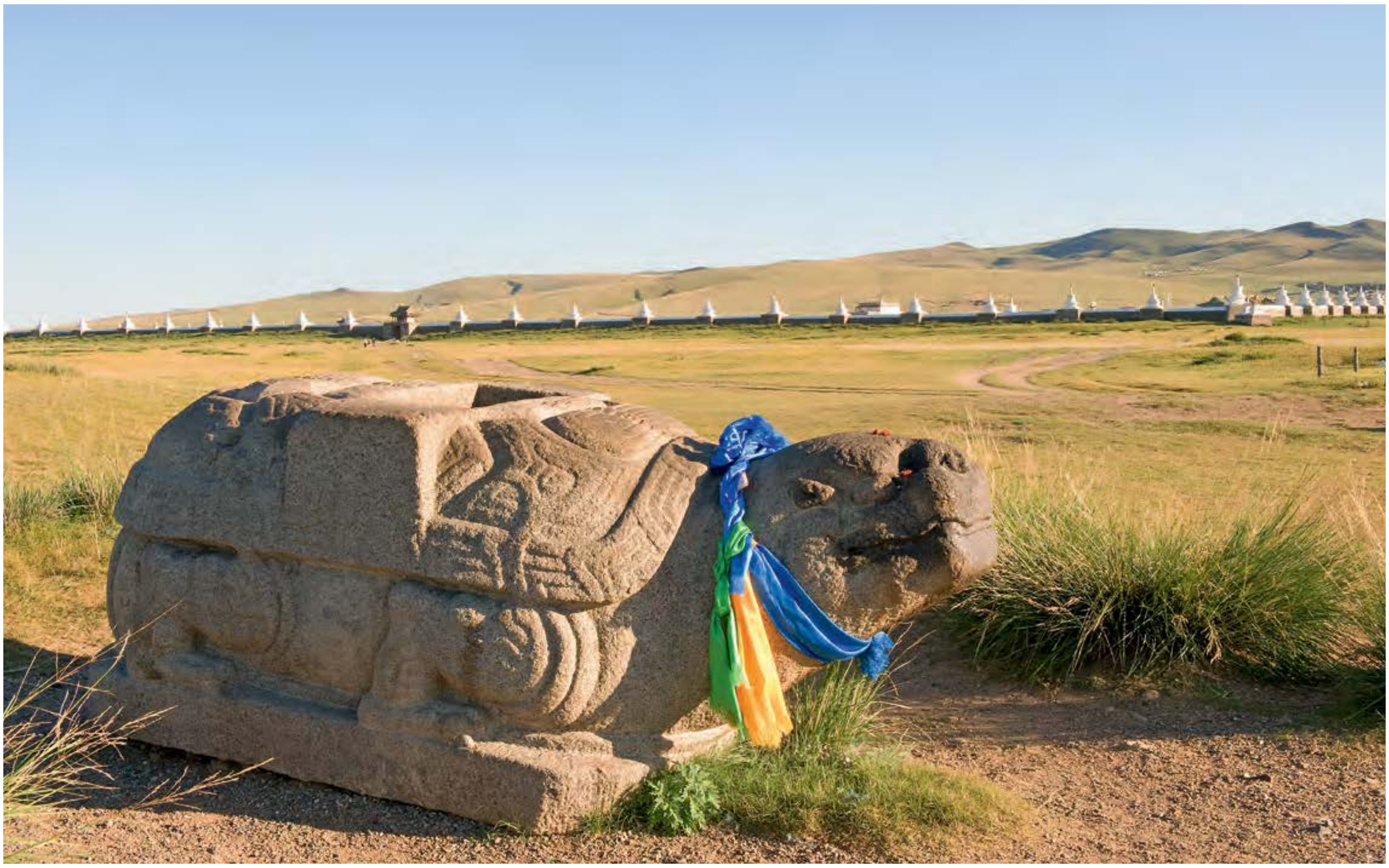
Genghis Khan is considered to have been the founder of the Mongol nation, but it was **Ögödei** (r. 1229–41), his third son, who established the Mongol state. But even though it is generally accepted that Ögödei had been designated crown prince in 1219,[2] it was Genghis Khan's fourth son **Tolui** (r. as regent 1227–29) who took over military command on his father's death, and for two years managed government affairs. Rashid al-Din reports: 'Tolui Khan mounted the imperial throne in the home yurt, where Genghis Khan's throne and his great ordus were. Most of the time he was in attendance upon Ögödei Qa'an, and he played an important role in his enthronement as qa'an.'[3] Tolui controlled an army of 101,000 Mongol warriors, but he did not dare to declare himself Great Khan. He exercised a considerable influence over the army, but conceded to Ögödei the title of Great Khan and the administration of the conquered territories. When Tolui died in 1233, probably poisoned, his widow Sorkaktani Beki steadfastly refused to marry Ögödei's son Güyük, for this would have placed the army under the direct control of the Great Khan.[4] Ögödei faced a very difficult task: on the one hand the ruling family regarded the conquered territories as their own possessions, but on the other the future empire was already threatened with fragmentation and clearly could not be administered without a central governing structure. Ögödei attempted to square the circle by linking together the two existing models of governance: the traditional rule of the steppe by the dominant clan and the administrative structures of sedentary states. At first Ögödei succeeded in ensuring a functioning equilibrium and reining in the family's aspirations, but in the course of the late 1230s he lost his long-term perspective.

Ögödei followed the lead of Genghis Khan in 1219, when he assigned pastureland to his sons as appanages, but issued no edicts regarding the urban centres. He confirmed the division of the steppes under Tolui, Chagatai, Jochi's sons Orda and Batu, minor princes, and himself, choosing Central Mongolia as his seat of government and conceding his appanages to his son Güyük.[5] He removed the richest and economically most important regions – China, Great Turkestan which consisted of Mawarannahr, Turkestan proper and Uyghuristan,[6] and Iran – from the princes' control and transferred them to the Great Khan, who was to govern them for the use of all descendants of Genghis Khan. This decision applied both to occupied areas and to those still to be conquered. For the princes, this new form of government meant dividing their appanages into two: a prince or princess ruled a specific steppe region, but was not permitted to interfere in the administration of the assigned urban areas, instead receiving only a share of the corresponding centrally raised income. In 1229 Ögödei created two fiscal and administrative bodies, run by civilian officials, one for northern China, the other for Great Turkestan, adding a third, for Iran, two or three years later. All three were subordinate to the chancellor and keeper of the seal, Chinkai, who in turn was subordinate to the Great Khan. With this reform Ögödei laid the foundations for a civil state, not least by withdrawing the governance of China, Great Turkestan and Iran from the local rulers and separating civil from military power. The region of Great Turkestan was governed by the Chorasmian Mahmud Yalavach (d. 1254), northern China by the Khitan Yelü Chucai, and Iran first by the Qara Kitai Chin Temür and after his death in 1235/36 by the Nestorian Uyghur Körgüz (George).[7] These three governors were rather like civilian viceroys. Among their responsibilities were population censuses, raising and collecting taxes, and the rebuilding and maintenance of towns and irrigation systems. For the administration of towns and cities they installed officials called *darughachi*, and for the collection of taxes *basqaqs*. The Mongol word *daru* means both 'to stamp' and 'to oppress'.[8]

Mahmud Yalavach, his son Masud Beg, and Yelü Chucai were especially notable for the valuable rebuilding work they undertook in the regions under their jurisdiction. The Muslim Mahmud Yalavach (the second part of his name is the Turkic word for 'messenger'), governed Great Turkestan with the core region of Mawarannahr from 1229 to 1239. Despite a lack of skilled workmen, he supervised the reconstruction of towns and cities and proper maintenance of irrigation canals. He also introduced a comprehensive tax reform, which abolished the arbitrary special taxes imposed by Mongol princes and revitalised trade. When he refused to sign over land that belonged to the Great Khan to Chagatai, the latter forced his brother Ögödei to dismiss him. The Great Khan then appointed him governor of northern China and installed his son Masud Beg (d. 1289) as new viceroy of Great Turkestan. Masud governed an area stretching from the Aral Sea to Minyak; in the early 1260s he saved Samarkand and Bukhara from raids by the Chagatai khan Alghu (Chagatai's grandson, r. 1260–66). In 1269 Masud prevented a further raid on Samarkand, this time by the Chagatai khan Baraq (r. 1266–71). At the subsequent peace talks between Baraq and his opponent, the Ögödeid[9] Kaidu, Masud extracted from both the promise that they would no longer prey on the cities and peasants: 'They swore an oath on gold and stipulated that henceforth they would dwell in the mountains and plains and


رزم اسکندر با فور هندی و صورت اسبان و مردان از آهن

127. Iskander (Alexander the Great) deploys flame-throwing iron cavalrymen and iron horses mounted on wheels against Fur (also known as Porus), king of India. Folio from a manuscript on paper from the *Great Il-Khanid Shahnameh* ('Book of Kings') of Ferdowsi, probably produced in Tabriz, Iran, *ca.* 1330–40. The miniature illustrates Alexander's alleged attack of the Indian king's war elephants with iron horsemen and horses on wheels filled with burning oil. In fact, since the late 1230s, the Mongols possessed flame throwers and simple firearms. Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, USA. Inv. no. 1955.167.



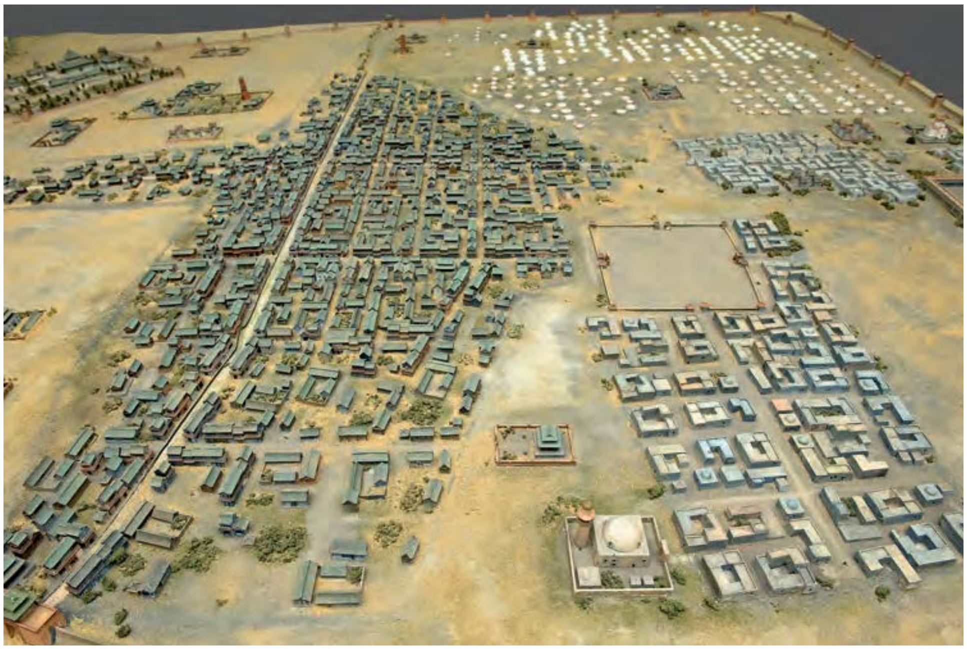
128. A thirteenth-century stone tortoise which once served as the base for a stele on the site of the former Mongolian capital, Karakorum. In the background are the north-western walls of the Erdene Zuu Buddhist Monastery. Photo: 2012.

not hang around cities, or graze their animals in cultivated areas, or make exorbitant demands on the peasants.'[10] Without Masud Beg the two Chagatai khans would have looted the two richest cities in Transoxania and also taken tax revenue from them.

During the Mongol war of conquest against the Jin of 1231–34, both sides used fire-lances as well as gunpowder containing saltpetre. This explosive powder was used to propel projectiles and in the manufacture of heavy grenades and firebombs. The latter were launched with catapults against fortresses. The Mongols also used smoke bombs to hide their movements during battles.[11] This made Mongolia the second state, after China, to use firearms. After Yelü Chucai (in office 1229–40, d. 1243), as early as 1229, had strongly argued against the destruction of northern China's sedentary population and opposed the plans of generals like Sübotai to transform the whole region into one vast pasture for their horses, he then undertook a radical reform of the tax system. He introduced universal land tax on a household basis and poll tax on all adults, as well as taxes on luxury goods and commercial transactions. At the same time he abolished the tax exemption granted by Genghis Khan for monks and monasteries, which had caused considerable losses for the state, since it had allowed monks and monasteries to become tax-free landowners and traders. In 1234–36 Yelü Chucai carried out a census of the whole population of northern China. But soon after its completion, Ögödei began giving way to the traditionalist elements in the Mongol hierarchy and, overriding Yelü Chucai's strong opposition, extended the system of princely appanages throughout northern China. In 1239 Ögödei took a further fateful step, disempowering his viceroy and replacing his taxation system with tax farming. He put the Muslim trader Abd al-Rahman in charge of tax collection for northern China, who then installed his own tax farmers. In the tax farming system, the tax farmer agreed a fixed tax sum with the ruler, which was to be paid either in advance or periodically; if the leaseholder collected more tax revenue than was covered by the agreement, he would pocket the surplus himself. From now on, the Chinese population was helplessly at the mercy of the leaseholders' greed, and their tax burden rocketed to unaffordable heights. The leaseholders additionally exploited their plight by taking on the role of moneylenders and giving debtors credit at extortionate interest rates. Countless tax debtors thus fell into irreversible dependence on the leaseholders and were compelled first to sell their property and eventually to sell themselves and their families into slavery. This development, which reached its peak under the regency of Ögödei's widow Töregene (r. as regent 1241–46), was equivalent to a feudalisation of China by exploitative steppe warriors and their henchmen. It was not until some 20 years later that Kublai Khan brought much-needed reforms to the tax system in China.[12]

Ögödei's next measure to consolidate the state, in 1235, was to establish the capital, Karakorum, as permanent seat of government and a centre for the storage of booty, tributes and treasures.[13] According to the *Yüan Shi* (the 'History of Yuan') and a bilingual Mongolian-Chinese inscription of 1346, Genghis Khan determined the site of the future capital: 'In the fifteenth year after Genghis Khan had mounted the great throne [in 1220] he established the capital at Qorum.'[14] The choice of the Orkhon Valley for the future capital was of symbolic importance, for it not only represented a rejection of Genghis Khan's home in the upper valley of the Kherlen river, but also implied a direct line of succession from the mighty steppe kingdoms of the Göktürks and Uyghurs, whose centres of Khöshöö Tsaidam and Karabalgasun lay not far from Karakorum.[15] The Persian historian Juvaini, who twice visited Karakorum, was impressed by the ruins of the Uyghur city of Ordu Baliq (Karabalgasun), 30 kilometres away, where he also saw the famous trilingual stele of 821 and had it deciphered.[16] The new city had a prestigious location, but its geographical position was problematic, since the climatic and ecological conditions made it impossible for the officials, courtiers and troops stationed there to be self-sufficient. In addition the city was outside the trade routes. As Rashid al-Din observed, Karakorum was dependent on constant supplies of foodstuffs: 'He [Ögödei] had commanded that every day five hundred carts loaded with foodstuffs and drink should be delivered there.'[17] The city's vulnerability showed up particularly clearly in the fratricidal struggle between the brothers Arik Böge and Kublai lasting from 1260 until 1264. Since Arik Böge ruled from Karakorum and Kublai controlled northern China, Tangut and Kocho, the latter blocked the supply of food to the Orkhon Valley, causing the capital to starve.[18] Later Arik Böge was forced to capitulate.

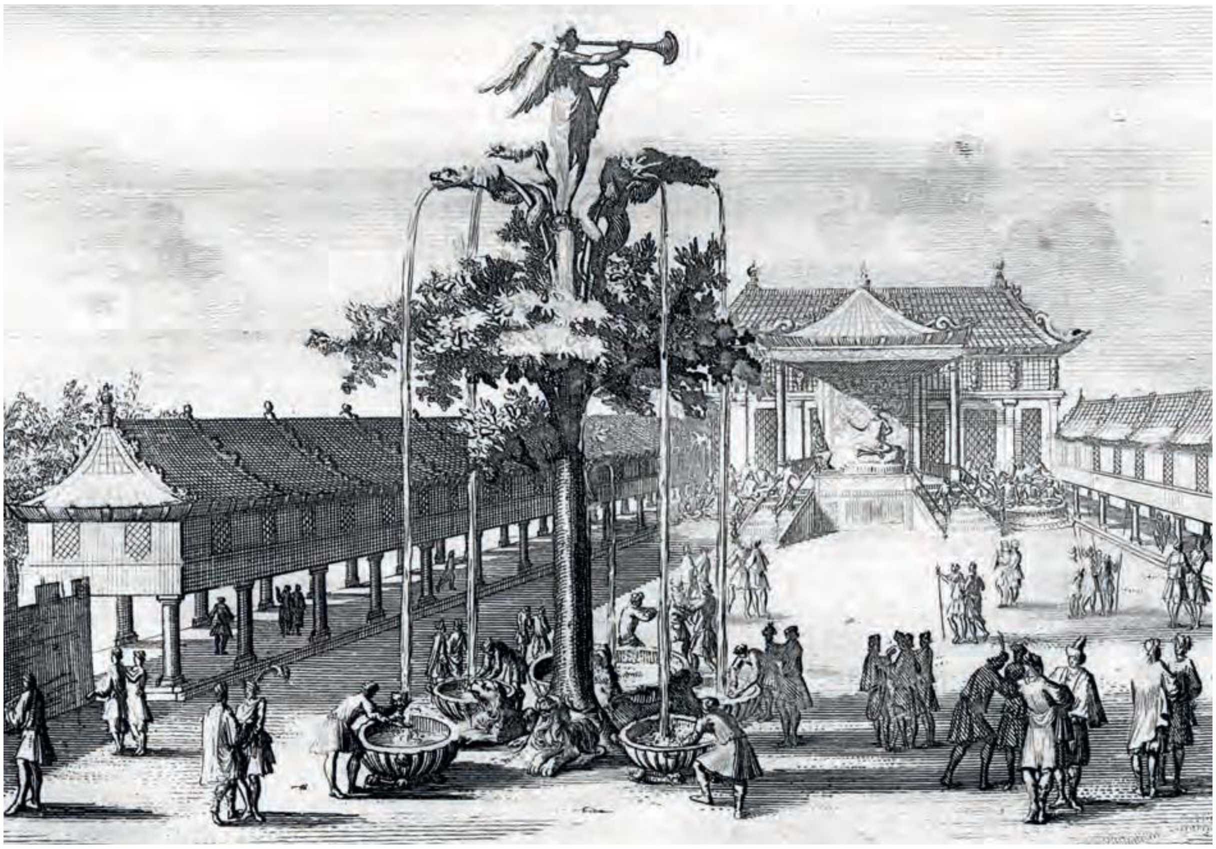
Ögödei ordered the building of city walls and a palace in the Chinese style, which was inaugurated as early as 1236.[19] It was only the forced resettlement of Chinese and Tangut architects and labourers that made the building of Karakorum possible. Ögödei then initiated the construction of a Buddhist temple, which was completed by Möngke Khan in 1256; Möngke also had a monumental stupa built.[20] The Buddhist terracotta figures and fragments of paintings brought to light by archaeological excavations bear a great similarity to similar finds from Khara-Khoto, which strongly suggests that the Buddhist buildings and sculptures were created by deported Tanguts.[21] In any case, in the 1230s Buddhism was already enjoying imperial support. From William of Rubruck, who was in Karakorum in 1254, we know that the majority of the city's population was foreign



129. Mock-up of the city of Karakorum, founded in 1235 by the Great Khan Ögödei. In the right foreground stands a mosque, in the middle runs the main thoroughfare, while a yurt encampment can be seen in the background on the right. Karakorum Museum, Kharkhorin, Mongolia. Photo: 2012.

– Central Asian officials, Chinese labourers and Muslim traders.[22] It possessed twelve Buddhist (and perhaps Daoist) temples, two mosques and a Nestorian church.[23] William also described the silver tree providing drinks mentioned by Rashid,[24] which the Parisian goldsmith Guillaume Bouchier, who had been captured in Belgrade, had made in 1254 for Möngke Khan, and which stood in the audience hall of the palace. 'The large tree made of silver [has] four silver lions at its roots, each one containing a conduit-pipe and spewing forth white mare's milk. There are four conduits leading into the tree, right to the top, with their ends curving downwards, and over each of them lies a gilded serpent. [. . .] One of the pipes discharges wine, a second caracomos [kumys, fermented mare's milk], a third bal [made from honey], and a fourth rice ale. [. . .] Between the four pipes, at the top, he [Bouchier] made an angel holding a trumpet, and beneath the tree a cavity capable of concealing a man. [. . .] So when drink is required, the head butler calls to the angel to sound the trumpet. On hearing this, the man concealed in the cavity then blows strongly on the pipe that leads to the angel, the angel puts the trumpet to its mouth, and the trumpet gives out a very loud blast. When the stewards in the chamber [outside the hall] hear this, each pours his drink into the appropriate pipe, and the pipe spurt[s] it out.'[25]

In excavations carried out in Karakorum since 2000, archaeologists found a seven-nave Buddhist temple with square ground plan, which, as we learn from an inscription of 1346, had been restored between 1342 and 1346. This temple with 8 x 8 columns, at whose bases some 100,000 *tsa-tsas* (small clay offerings) were deposited, was dedicated to Tathagata Buddha Vairocana and designed in the form of a mandala; a ceramic figure of Vairocana, about 5 metres tall, was enthroned in the centre, and a further Tathagata Buddha was placed at each of the four points of the compass.[26] Today, the ruins of Ögödei's palace most probably lie under the monastery of Erdene Zuu, founded in 1585/86; building material from the ruins of the abandoned city of Karakorum was used in the monastery's construction.[27] The discovery in the north-east of the city of small fragments of wall painting with inscriptions closely resembling the Estrangelo script used by the Nestorians suggests that what the archaeologists found here was indeed the Nestorian church



130. The Silver Tree, a fountain for dispensing drinks, designed for Möngke Khan by the Parisian goldsmith Guillaume Bouchier in 1254. Copper engraving 1735. Williame of Rubruck, 'Le voyage de Guillaume de Rubruquis, en diverses parties de l'Orient & principalement en Tartarie et à la Chine', Pierre Bergeron, *Voyages fait principalement en Asie dans les XII, XIII, XIV, et XV siècles: Accompagnés de l'Histoire des Sarasins et des Tartares*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1735), pp. 95–96.

131. Fashioned from clay, probably by Tangut artists, a 30-centimetre-tall unfired relief figure of Tathagata Buddha Amoghasiddhi from the great Buddhist Temple in Karakorum, Mongolia, second half of the thirteenth century. Karakorum Museum, Kharkhorin, Mongolia.

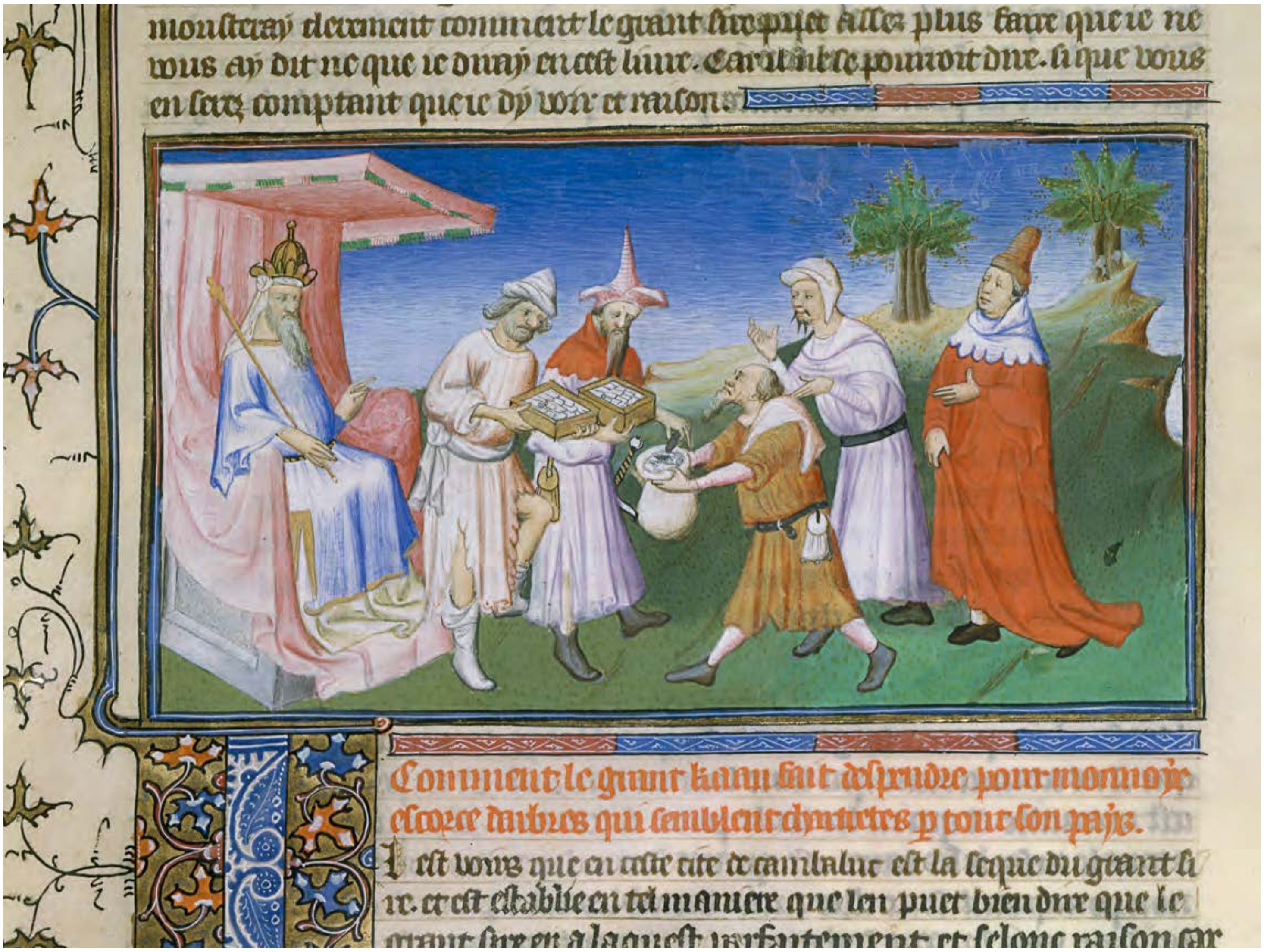
mentioned by William of Rubruck.[28] Whether, as sometimes claimed, the city was destroyed in 1388 by a Chinese army which inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols, is uncertain, in the absence any discovery of a burnt layer during excavations.[29]

In 1236 Ögödei introduced an important measure to encourage trade and safeguard reserves of the precious metals gold and silver. The *Yüan Shi* reports: 'An imperial decree was enacted that paper money should be printed and brought into circulation.'[30] Paper money was not a Mongol invention, for the Tang dynasty (618–907) had in 812 already begun to issue *fei qian*, government bonds known as 'flying money'. The first genuine paper money came on to the market around 1000, during the Northern Song period (960–1126), when Sichuan traders issued paper notes, *jiaozi*, backed by metal coin reserves. In 1023/24 the government declared that it had the issuing privilege for paper money, which was backed by reserves in silk yarn, gold and silver to conserve the value of the paper notes. The Jin (1115–1234) and Southern Song (1126–1279) dynasties continued the use of paper money.[31] However, the circulation of paper money under Ögödei and Möngke, recorded by William of Rubruck in 1254,[32] remained confined to individual regions. It was only thanks to Kublai Khan's (r. 1260–94) currency reform of 1261 that paper money became a generally widespread method of payment. The Florentine merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti described it as follows: 'Whatever silver the merchants [from Europe] may carry with them as far as Cathay the lord of Cathay will take from them and put into his treasury. And [. . .] they give that paper money of theirs in exchange. This is of yellow paper, stamped with the seal of the lord aforesaid. And this money is called *balishi*; and with this money you can readily buy silk and all other merchandise that you have a desire to buy. And all the people of the country are bound to receive it.'[33] In order to ensure the success of his new paper money, Kublai abolished all other regional paper currencies and made it a punishable offence to refuse to accept paper money as a means of payment. The government issued two types of paper notes: one, *si chao*, was backed by silk yarn reserves, and the other, *zhong tong yüanbao*, which rapidly established itself, by silver reserves. The *zhong tong yüanbao* were accepted for the payment of taxes and were freely convertible to silver.[34] Kublai's generally accepted method of payment was a decisive factor in the economic unification of China, which had been politically divided up to 1276. But when Kublai's successor Temür Khagan (1294–1307) committed himself to the payment of absurdly high subsidies to relatives and nobles, he was forced to sell 80 per cent of the state silver reserves, causing a massive loss of confidence and an inflationary spiral.[35]

132. Glazed terracotta mask, from the great Buddhist Temple in Karakorum. Karakorum Museum, Kharkhorin, Mongolia.

Here it should be mentioned that in ancient and medieval China and Central Asia trade didn't always deal with goods produced by craftsmen, farmers or fur hunters out of their free will in order to obtain a profit, but these goods were often tributes and taxes coerced by states and their elites under threat of force. In Owen Lattimore's words, 'the commodities going by caravan from China to Inner Asia [and further west] consisted in large part of tribute collected by nobles and by the state, before being consigned to the hands of privileged merchants'.[36] This statement applies to the Mongol Empire and its successor khanates as well as previously to the ancient Turkic and Uyghur Khaganates and the Chinese dynasties of Han and Tang.[37]

After subjugating the northern Chinese Jin in 1234, Ögödei needed a new target to keep the army occupied and to acquire new booty, for the Great Khan was profligate in his expenditure of state resources. At a *kuriltai* with the princes and military commanders, it was decided that four campaigns would be launched. While three smaller armies would be sent against Korea and the Southern Song and to the Near East, the majority of Mongol troops would once and for all crush the Kipchaks and Bulgars, conquer Russia and advance into Eastern Europe. For the western campaign, all four ruling lines offered troops and leading members as commanders, namely Tolui's sons Möngke and Böchök, Ögödei's sons Güyük and Kadan, Ögödei's brother Kölgän, Chagatai's sons Büri and Baidar, and Jochi's sons Batu, Orda, Shaiban and Tangqut. Ögödei appointed Batu Khan as nominal supreme commander; but Batu was too inexperienced to lead such a difficult campaign, so he



133. Marco Polo described how foreign merchants trading in China had to exchange their precious metal currency – invalid under Kublai Khan's regime – for banknotes. On the left of the picture, Kublai Khan is seen observing a transaction. Folio from the *Livre des merveilles,* commissioned by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy and completed between 1410 and 1413, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Fr. 2810, fol. 45r.

appointed the veteran Sübotai as chief of general staff and operational field commander.[38] The Mongols attacked in the autumn of 1236, as soon as the rivers began to freeze over. They crushed the Bulgars, who in 1223 and 1229 had still successfully offered resistance, the Ölberi, the Mordvins and the Kipchaks, led by Khan Bachman, whom they either integrated into their own army or sold as slaves to Black Sea traders.[39] The following winter (1237/38), they turned towards the northern Russian princedoms, whose cities they destroyed one by one and whose population they systematically massacred. The Mongols' success was aided by the fact that the northern Russian princes had not taken on board the lesson in the art of war that their southern Russian colleagues had had to learn at Khalkha in 1223 – they were unwilling to combine their forces in order to combat the aggressor with superior numbers. In addition, their cities had no stone walls, only wooden palisades, which could be easily set ablaze with the use of siege catapults. Thus the Mongols in quick succession stormed Riazan (where they either skinned alive the surviving inhabitants or impaled them), Kolomna, Moscow, Vladimir, Suzdal, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Gorodeč, Yuriev, Dimitrov, Wolok, Tver and Torzhok. The northernmost city, Veliky Novgorod, escaped destruction only because the city of Torzhok, south of Novgorod, offered prolonged bitter resistance. When it finally fell, the spring thaw had transformed the frozen plain into an impassable morass of mud as far as Novgorod, and the Mongols pulled back.[40]

Between 1238 and 1240 the Mongols secured their southern flank by first defeating the Kipchaks of the Pontic steppe, who fled with their leader Kotyan Khan to Hungary, where they were warmly welcomed by King Bela IV.[41] They then fought the Alans in the Caucasus, without being able to defeat them, and conquered Derbent. As William of Rubruck reports, in winter 1254/55 the Caucasian Alans and Svans were still independent;[42] they were not subjugated until 1277–78, by Möngke Temür of the Golden Horde (r. 1266/67–80). Being prized warriors, many Christian Alans were forcibly recruited and at the time of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) formed the Asud guard, which was stationed around Beijing. These Alans were held in such esteem that in 1336 Emperor Toghon Temür (r. 1333–68/70) allowed them to send their own delegation to Pope Benedict XII (in office 1334–42) to ask for a new archbishop. The new archbishop, John of Marignolli (in office in China 1342–45), was received by the emperor himself in 1342, underlining the importance of the Alan guard.[43] In the summer of 1240 the Mongols, under Möngke, resumed their attacks on Russian cities and destroyed Chernigov, Pereiaslav and, on 6 December, Kiev, the greatest city in Russia. Dozens of smaller towns were also razed to the ground. Despite all these military successes, in 1240 a serious rift occurred between Batu and the princes Güyük and Büri, who accused Batu of military incompetence and arrogance. This shows what a deep chasm existed between the Jochids on the one hand and the Ögödeids and Chagataids on the other. Ögödei then ordered Güyük and Büri back to Karakorum. Most probably they took their own forces with them on their return march in the winter of 1240/41.[44]

The next military target was the wealthy kingdom of Hungary, which also possessed lush pastures. In addition, King Bela IV had to be punished for having had Mongolian ambassadors murdered and granting asylum to Kotyan Khan and his Kipchaks.[45] Although, since Batu's letter to Bela of 1237 at the latest, the Western and Central European powers were forewarned of the impending attack, they offered no assistance to the frontline princes of Hungary, Poland, Silesia and the Teutonic Order. The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX waged war against each other for secular supremacy in Italy, while the French king Louis IX was preoccupied with warding off the territorial demands of the English ruler Henry III; no one was prepared to spare soldiers for a common defence of Europe.[46] The Mongol Empire was united, while Europe was a patchwork of mutually hostile states.[47] As he did with all large-scale military operations, Sübotai divided his army into several columns in order to secure the flanks of the main force and prevent enemy armies from combining with each other. While four columns encircled Hungary, the fifth army column under Kadan and Baidar turned north and invaded Poland. After destroying Cracow, they were confronted on 9 April 1241 at Liegnitz (Legnica) by Henry II, Duke of Silesia. Henry was in command of a heterogeneous army of Silesian and Polish knights, poorly armed foot-soldiers and knights of the Teutonic Order. The lack of coordination among the European princes is evident from the fact that Henry had no idea that an army of 50,000 men under King Wenceslas I of Bohemia was hastening to his rescue, and was a mere day's march away. Despite heavy losses, Kadan and Baidar gained an outstanding victory and destroyed the entire northern European army.[48]

Two days later, on 11 April 1241, Sübotai inflicted an equally annihilating defeat on King Bela at Mohi, where about 60,000 Hungarians were killed.[49] At Liegnitz and Mohi the Mongols used firearms, and it is possible that Western Europe adopted the use of gunpowder from the Mongols; at any rate, Roger Bacon was the first, in 1267, to describe a usable formula for the preparation of gunpowder.[50] After Mohi, the Mongols systematically laid waste to and depopulated Hungary – Sübotai probably intended

134. An *obo*, a cairn of religious significance, surrounded by the skulls of sacrificial animals, on a hill above Kharkhorin, Mongolia. Photo: 2012.

to extend the existing horse pastures by transforming arable land. At the same time, Kadan went in pursuit of the fleeing King Bela, reaching Wiener Neustadt (south of Vienna), Zagreb, Udine and Spalato (Split). But he was unable to capture Bela, who had fled to the Adriatic island of Trogir, and he turned back.

In early 1242, Batu and Sübotai received the news that Ögödei had died on 11 December 1241 and that his widow Töregene had taken power as regent. Since a new Great Khan had to be elected and formally confirmed at a *kuriltai* of the princes and top military commanders,[51] Sübotai and the eight remaining princes – Güyük, Büri and Möngke had already returned earlier – abandoned the campaign and returned to Karakorum, speeding up their progress by a mass execution of prisoners of war. Batu Khan too, for lack of enough troops of his own, left Hungary and returned to his camp, Sarai, by the lower Volga, north of Astrakhan. Batu did not take part in the *kuriltai*, since he barely had a claim to become Great Khan and feared the enmity of the Ögödeids. On the other hand, thanks to his supremacy over Russia, he had sufficient resources to found a state of his own, the future Golden Horde, and soon incorporated Kipchaks into his own army.[52] But apart from raids by the Golden Horde in Poland, Lithuania and Hungary, there were no further western campaigns launched by the Great Khan. Ögödei's successors pursued other priorities, and the campaign of 1236–42 had brought in little booty. Central Europe was also lacking in adequate pastureland, and the wooded regions were unsuitable for the Mongol cavalry.

Although, just as with the Mongols, the European armies' greatest weapon was their cavalry, and the European knights were as belligerent and courageous as the steppe riders, the Europeans remained hopelessly inferior to the Mongols. The most important reasons for this were, on the one hand, their almost complete lack of firepower, namely of compact units of soldiers armed with long-range weapons,[53] in particular of mounted archers, and on the other their loss of mobility, the actual strength of all cavalry, because both knights and horses were so heavily encased in armour that they became slow and incapable of manoeuvring, and also tired easily. The European armies also possessed neither proper chains of command, nor logistical organisation, nor communication systems nor intelligence services. Their leaders were hereditary princes, while the Mongol commanders were selected officers or princes who had learned the art of war from experienced generals. With the exception of the disciplined religious orders of knights, their horsemen fought not as a disciplined unit, but as individuals, and the infantry consisted mostly of poorly armed and inexperienced peasants. Nonetheless, even with all their advantages, the Mongols were not invincible, as was shown by the successes of the Mamluks from 1260 onwards.[54]

135. Stone statue of a dignitary, sitting holding a goblet in his left hand, from Dornod Aimag, north-eastern Mongolia, thirteenth/fourteenth century. National Museum of Mongolia, Ulaan Baatar.

2. The Regency of Töregene and Great Khan Güyük

Since Ögödei became increasingly dependent on alcohol as he got older,[55] his second wife **Töregene** (r. as regent 1241–46) had filled the power vacuum and taken charge of the affairs of state, so that after his death it was easy for her to continue doing so as regent. Ögödei had disinherited his two eldest sons Güyük and Köden, and appointed his grandson Shiremün crown prince. But Töregene thwarted Shiremün's claim and intrigued to place her son Güyük on the throne. She bought support by dismissing Ögödei's competent ministers and governors and transferring their offices to her own followers. While Chinkai and Mahmud Yalavach fled to Güyük's brother Godan (Köden, d. 1251), who was stationed in Gansu, and Masud Beg to Batu Khan, Körgüz was killed. In northern China, Töregene handed over additional powers to the greedy Abd al-Rahman, who made shameless use of them, and she made the Persian slave Fatima her chief adviser.[56] But Batu Khan, whom Güyük had deeply offended during the western campaign, refused to come to Karakorum to ratify the latter's election, which delayed his enthronement. This eventually took place in 1246, in the presence of countless delegations from subjected lands and neighbouring states, including the father of Alexander Nevsky,[57] Grand Prince Yaroslav II of Vladimir and Suzdal, whom Töregene ordered to be poisoned, and the papal delegate Giovanni da Pian del Carpine.[58]

Güyük (r. 1246–48) rapidly put an end to the corruption that had been rampant under his mother. He ordered the execution of Abd al-Rahman and Fatima and the reinstatement of Chinkai and Masud Beg in their offices.[59] Soon afterwards Töregene died, perhaps poisoned. Güyük then had Genghis Khan's youngest brother, Temuge Otchigin, executed, because he had also laid claim to the throne, and intervened in the succession of his uncle Chagatai, who had died in 1242. Chagatai had appointed his grandson Kara Hülegü (r. 1242–46, 1251) his successor, and the young Kara Hülegü reined in the *ulus* of the Chagatai Khanate, together with his mother Ebuskun. But Güyük wanted to bring this *ulus* under his control, so he deposed Kara Hülegü and replaced him with the incompetent, chronically alcoholic Yesü Möngke (r. 1246/47–52).[60] At the same time he promoted his tutor Qadaq (d. 1251/52), a Nestorian Naiman, to minister of state. In Rashid's judgement, 'he [Güyük] entrusted all the tying and untying and binding and loosing of affairs to Qadaq and Chinkai'.[61] The outstanding positions of the two Nestorians caused del Carpine and

136. **Built between 1268 and 1295, Lhakhang Chenmo, or the 'Great Temple', at the Sakya Buddhist Monastery, resembled a fortress. Its construction was commissioned by Chakna, a civil administrator of Tibet and a brother of Chögyel Phagpa, as a token of the Sakya Order's political supremacy. Tibet Autonomous Region, China. Photo: 1985.**

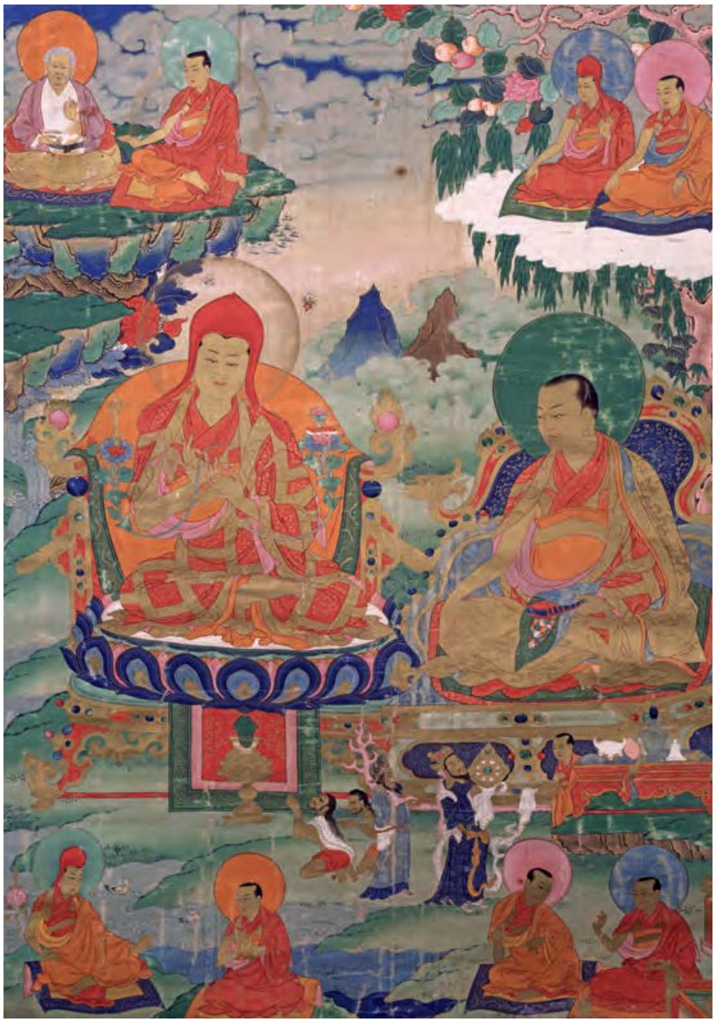
Juvaini to surmise that Güyük had great sympathy for Christianity, though in fact this was very far from true.[62] Finally, Güyük incurred the enmity of Sorkaktani Beki when he withdrew 3,000 soldiers from her control. Sorkaktani, the chief of the Toluid line, remained silent, but sought an alliance with Batu Khan, which in 1251 led to the fall of the ruling line of the Ögödeids.[63]

In the ten years between Ögödei's death and Möngke's enthronement, there were a few, relatively minor, campaigns. In the west, in 1243, General Baiju defeated the Rum Seljuk Sultan Kai-Khosrow II at the Battle of Köse Dağ and made the sultanate a Mongolian vassal.[64] According to the Dominican friar and diplomat Simon de Saint-Quentin, at the beginning of this campaign Mongols took two Latin mercenaries prisoner and immediately forced them to take part in a gladiatorial combat. Facing certain death, the two Franks made a swift agreement and suddenly attacked the Mongol spectators, killing fifteen of them and severely injuring a further 30.[65] The Mongol triumph at Köse Dağ induced King He'tum I of Cilician Armenia (r. 1226–69) to submit to the Mongols, since he hoped for military aid from them. He sent his brother Sampad to Karakorum, and in 1247 Sampad pledged his allegiance to Güyük. In September 1254 King He'tum I had his vassal status confirmed by Möngke in Karakorum.[66] In return, Cilician Armenia, like Georgia, had to place troops at the disposal of the Mongols.[67] And when, in about 1244, Baiju captured Amida (Diyarbakır), Nisibis and Edessa and sent an ultimatum to the Crusader prince Bohemund V of Antioch (r. 1233–52), Bohemond, too, capitulated in 1246.[68]

In 1247 Güyük divided Georgia into two kingdoms,[69] and replaced Baiju with his right-hand man Eljigidei, who in 1248 sent two Nestorian ambassadors to the French king Louis IX in Nicosia. Louis had landed in Cyprus on his way to the Seventh Crusade and received Eljigidei's ambassadors on 20 December 1248. The Mongol supreme commander in Iran and the Near East appeared to offer King Louis a military alliance, proposing that he himself would attack the Caliph in Baghdad and Louis should at the same time land in Egypt and put pressure on the Mamluks in Cairo. A coordinated attack on Baghdad and Cairo would prevent the two Muslim powers from supporting each other. But Eljigidei's real intention was to find out Louis' plans and military strength, for he feared an attack by the French king on the Mongol vassal state of the Rum Seljuks or on northern Syria. As King Louis' contemporary Simon de Saint-Quentin already believed, Eljigidei wanted to lure the Crusader army as far away as possible from Anatolia and Aleppo; his proclaimed sympathy for the Christians, according to Saint-Quentin, was a complete sham.[70] Ten years earlier, Peter des Roches, the Bishop of Winchester, had expressed himself more bluntly when Muslim ambassadors from the Near East proposed an anti-Mongol alliance: 'Let us leave these dogs to devour one another, that they all may be consumed, and perish.'[71]

But King Louis was enthusiastic, all the more so when the Mongol ambassadors claimed that Güyük and Eljigidei had been baptised as Christians. Together with Eljigidei, he imagined he could attack the Mamluks in a pincer movement and drive them out of the Holy Land. He immediately sent his own delegation to the Great Khan, which was led by the Dominican André de Longjumeau (d. after 1253). But both André's journey and Louis' crusade ended in fiasco. In April 1250 Louis was taken prisoner while marching on Cairo, and released only on payment of a huge ransom. And by the time André reached Eljigidei, Güyük was already dead, and the Mongol commander sent him on to the regent, Oghul Qaimish, Güyük's widow. She received the Frankish envoy at the Mongol court near Lake Alakol in eastern Kazakhstan but interpreted his letters and gifts as being an offer of complete submission from the Christian kings of Western Europe. She gave André a letter to take back, in which she demanded that King Louis should come in person bringing a tribute of silver and gold. If Louis did not obey, he and his people would be destroyed.[72] There was no question of the conversion of the Mongol ruling family to Christianity. While André was reporting back to King Louis in 1251, Oghul Qaimish and Eljigidei were both executed by Güyük's successor Möngke.[73]

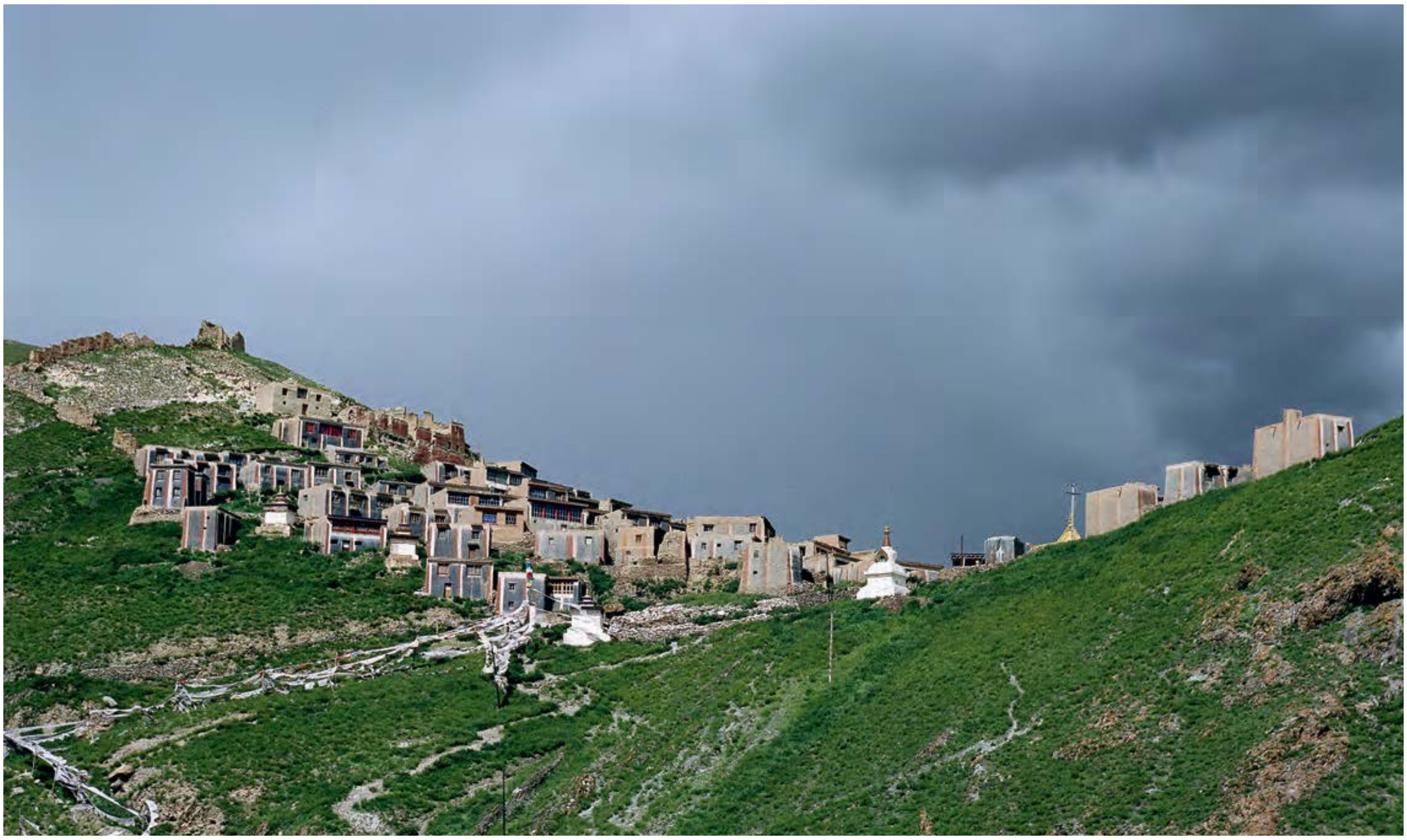
In the east, Güyük sent out a small army against the Southern Song. A few years earlier, his brother Köden (Godan) had begun the conquest of Tibet, which at that time consisted of a number of religious and secular princedoms. In 1240 Godan sent his general Dorda Darkhan to Tibet to find a suitable prince who would offer him the nominal submission of Tibet. Four years later, a Mongol mounted division sent by Godan demanded that Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen Pal Zangpo (1182–1251, fig. 137), the spiritual leader of the Buddhist monastic order of Sakya, from the powerful Khon family, should follow it to Lake Kokonor (Qinghai). This invitation was actually an order,[74] and in 1246 Sakya Pandita, accompanied by his nephews Chögyel Phagpa (his later successor) and Chakna, arrived at Kokonor. There, in 1247, Godan appointed the Sakya leader as secular ruler of Tibet and instructed him to write letters to the Tibetan princes and abbots, ordering them to submit to him. In 1264 or 1265 Kublai Khan appointed Chögyel Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltsen nominal viceroy of Tibet[75] and Chakna civil administrator with responsibility for raising taxes and troops; he sent both back to Sakya, accompanied by a troop of horsemen. When, in 1267, Chakna died suddenly, and the rivals of Sakya, the order of the Kagyü-Drigungpa – which presumably already enjoyed the support of Kaidu, Kublai's arch-enemy – were causing unrest, Kublai sent an expeditionary corps and in 1268 brought Tibet under direct Mongol administration. To demonstrate the supremacy of the Sakya order, the new civil administrator had the fortress-like Lhakhang Chenmo, the 'great temple', built near the Sakya



137. On the left, Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen Pal Zangpo (1182–1251), the fourth of the Five Sakya Forefathers, on the right is his nephew Chögyel Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltsen. Scroll painting from central Tibet, eighteenth century. Collection of Rubin Museum of Art, New York, USA. Acc. no. P1998.14.1.

mother-house (fig. 136). But Phagpa was ordered back to China. In 1269 Kublai declared the new Mongolian script, developed by Phagpa and derived from the Tibetan alphabet, to be the national script. This 'square script' as it was known because of its orthogonal shape, had 41 letters and was more precise than the script derived from the Uyghur for rendering the sounds of Mongolian and other languages of the region, but it failed to gain acceptance (fig. 165).[76] Phagpa died in 1280, probably poisoned, and five years later a new revolt of the Drigungpa broke out, when Kaidu had placed troops at their disposal. In 1290 Kublai's army crushed the rebellion and burned down the monastery of Drigung Thil (fig. 139). In 1358 Changchub Gyaltsen of the Phagmo Drupa order put an end to the political supremacy of the Sakya.[77]

The old conflict between Batu Khan and Güyük continued to smoulder, for Batu's refusal to come to Karakorum had meant that he did not recognise the Great Khan. As Giovanni da Pian del Carpine observed, Güyük therefore began to prepare for war in the autumn of 1246 on the pretext that he was planning a new western campaign.[78] A year later he mobilised his guard and moved westward to the appanage of the Ögödeids at the River Ili. He then ordered Batu to come to Ili, where he had assembled a great army. At this moment Sorkaktani Beki thwarted Güyük's plans: she sent a secret envoy to Batu, warning him of Güyük's intentions.[79] Batu now stopped at Almalyk, south of Lake Balkhash, and sent his brother Shaiban to Güyük. Shaiban met Güyük ten days' march west of Besh Baliq, but Güyük died there in the spring of 1248. According to André de Longjumeau, Güyük was poisoned by an agent of Batu's, but William of Rubruck's sources report that he was killed by Shaiban.[80] Güyük's death meant the cancellation of the campaign, and the empire was spared a fratricidal war. Güyük's chief wife, **Oghul Qaimish** (r. ad interim 1248–51), was appointed regent, pending a decision on his successor, although Batu imposed the condition that she should not dismiss Güyük's government.[81] By warning Batu of Güyük's impending attack, Sorkaktani Beki gained him as an ally in the upcoming choice of the next Great Khan.



138. According to legend, the Jiekundo Dondrubling Monastery was constructed on the site of a hermitage built around 1265 by Chögyel Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltsen, the fifth of the Five Sakya Forefathers. But it was not until 1398 that Sakya Dagchen Sherab Gyaltsen established the monastery itself. Nevertheless, Phagpa's presence did much to help spread the Buddhist faith in a region where Bön, the indigenous religion of Tibet, predominated. Reconstruction of monasteries destroyed by the Chinese in the 1950s and 1960s began in 1977. The monastery and the nearby town of Gyêgu (Jiekundo) were seriously damaged in the earthquake of 14 April 2010. Kham Region, Qinghai Province, China. Photo: 1999.

139. In the late 1280s, the Drigung Thil monastery, founded in 1179 some 130 kilometres east of Lhasa, was engaged in bitter rivalry with the Sakya order for political supremacy in Tibet, not least through military support from Kublai Khan's arch-enemy Kaidu. Kublai's troops burnt down the monastery in 1290, which was then rebuilt. After it was completely destroyed in the 1960s, rebuilding began again in 1983. Tibet Autonomous Region, China. Photo: 1997.

Spies, Diplomats and Missionaries: The Franciscan Monks Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck

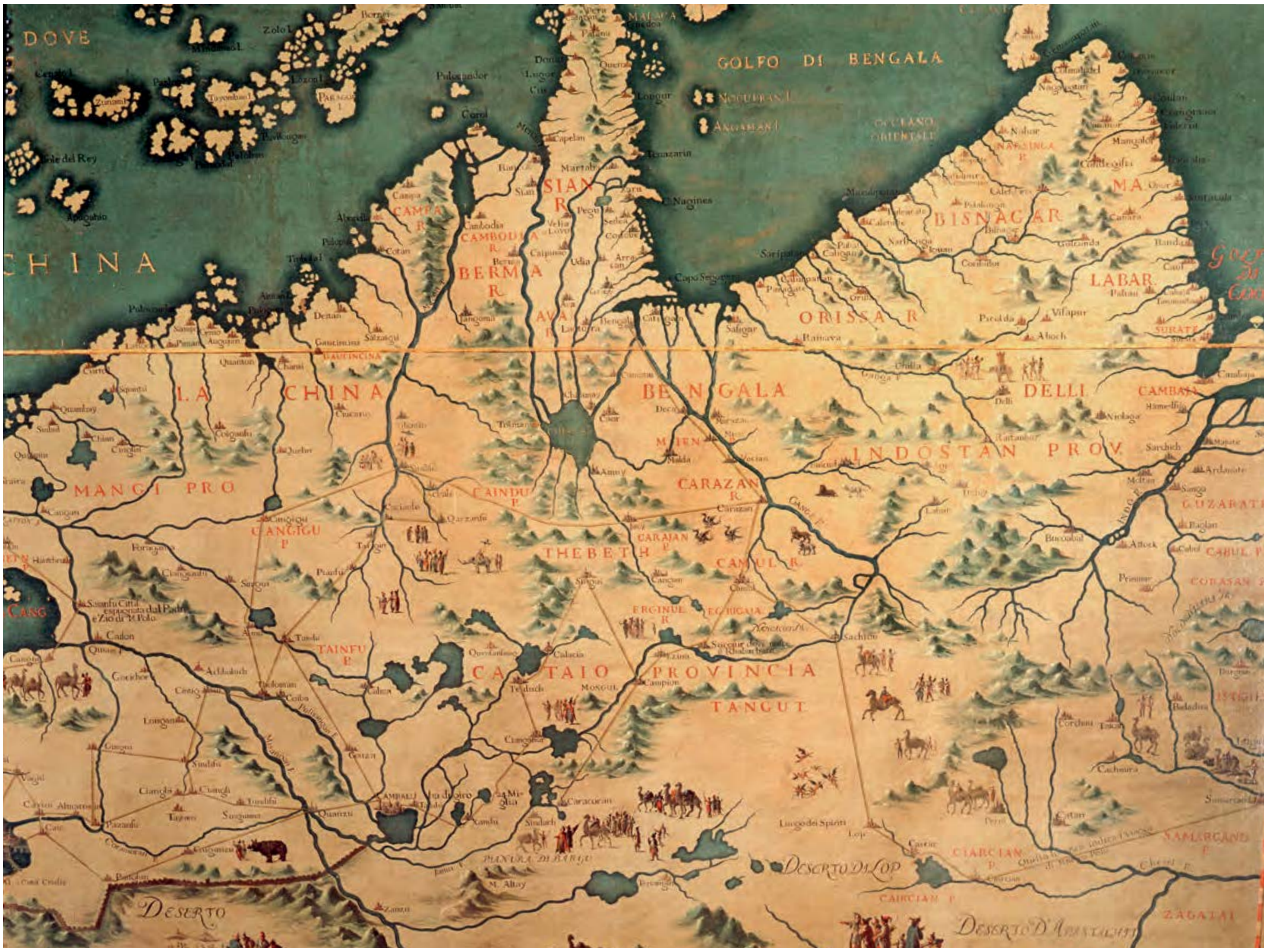
In the early thirteenth century Western Europeans were remarkably ignorant about the geography of the vast regions east of Cumania, the Russian cities, Iran and the Oxus. The geographical knowledge of classical antiquity had long been lost, and no one was interested in the Arabic translations of classical geographers such as Ptolemy. Knowledge of Asia was confined to biblical ideas about the sources of the Four Rivers of Paradise, and of the peoples of Gog and Magog, who belonged to Satan, augmented by legends of Alexander the Great and belief in various monsters. Among these were the the dog-headed Cynocephali, the one-footed Monopodi, the Antipodes with reversed feet, the headless Blemmyae whose faces were on their chests, the long-eared Panotii, horned Pygmies, thousand-year-old Hyperboreans, satyrs and cannibals.[82] In view of such ignorance it is not surprising that rumours about the priest-king Johannes (Prester John) found favour, and that the Mongol invaders were equated with the peoples of Gog and Magog let loose by Satan. None of the Western rulers had anything like intelligence services as used by the Mongols.[83] Astonishingly, it was not a secular ruler but Pope Innocent IV who in June 1245, at the Council of Lyon, not only had Emperor Frederick II deposed, but also placed the tract *remedium contra Tartaros* on the agenda.[84] Before the Council had begun, Innocent had already sent four delegations to the Mongols, for he had heard that they treated ambassadors with respect; he wanted more details about this threatening people, in particular about the beliefs and intentions of its ruler. The Franciscan Giovanni da Pian del Carpine was to travel to the Mongol ruler by the northern route, across the Kipchak steppe, while his fellow Franciscan, **Lawrence of Portugal**,[85] and the two Dominican friars, André de Longjumeau and Ascelin of Cremona were to depart for the Near East and there give their letters to the first Mongol commander they met, to be passed on to the Great Khan.[86]

While nothing is known of Lawrence's journey, **André de Longjumeau** met the Nestorian prelate in the service of the Mongols, Simeon Rabban Ata, and in 1246 or 1247 gave the two papal letters to a Mongol officer. André's second mission to the Mongols, this time as emissary of King Louis to the Great Khan, was not much more successful than the first, for it confirmed that an alliance between equal partners was out of the question, and that for the Mongols peace was synonymous with unconditional submission and payment of tribute. The despatch of **Ascelin of Cremona** to General Baiju in the summer of 1247 was equally fraught; Baiju wanted to execute Ascelin because of his overbearing manner and Ascelin escaped death only thanks to the intervention of Eljigidei. The latter then immediately chose a Nestorian and a Turk to hand over a letter personally to Pope Innocent IV. Eljigidei's letter stressed the divinely ordained world domination of the Mongols and demanded that the pope should offer his submission to them in order to escape destruction. The two Mongol emissaries met the pope, who was then based in Lyon, in the summer of 1248. In his answer to Eljigidei, Innocent implored the Mongols to give up their erroneous beliefs and no longer massacre Christians. Innocent, who had already read Giovanni's report and Güyük's letter, understood that neither a dialogue nor a political agreement with the Mongols were possible.[87]

Although in diplomatic terms Giovanni's mission was a failure, the Franciscan was an outstanding observer whose account of his journeys provides invaluable information. In it, he analysed the geography, the climate, the people and their customs and religious views, the rulers and above all the army, as well as the way the Mongols conducted warfare, along with recommendations for strategies on how to fight them. Giovanni's report to Pope Innocent IV reads just like a military handbook. **Giovanni da Pian del Carpine**, born about 1180, left Lyon on 16 April 1245 with the additional task of persuading leading orthodox bishops and princes to join the Roman Catholic Church. In Wroclaw (Breslau), Giovanni gained a travelling companion, Benedict of Poland,[88] and the two monks travelled via Kiev to Batu's tent city near Sarai on the Volga, where they arrived on 4 April 1246. Before they could obtain an audience with Batu Khan they were symbolically cleansed by walking between two blazing fires.[89] They then had to bow in front of a felt statue of Batu Khan's deified ancestor Genghis Khan, taking care not to step on the threshold of Batu's yurt – this offence was punishable by death.[90] Shortly before, Prince Michael of Chernigov had refused to bow in front of Genghis Khan's statue and was trampled to death as a result.[91] Since Batu knew of Güyük's impending enthronement, he kept to Mongol protocol and sent Giovanni to the capital, Karakorum, more than 4,000 kilometres away. On the ride through the Kangli region, 'we found many skulls and bones of men lying in heaps over the ground [. . .] [and] innumerable destroyed cities, destroyed forts and many deserted villages'.[92] Three months later, the two monks reached Güyük's camp, half a day's ride (about 25 kilometres) south of Karakorum, where about 4,000 envoys and bearers of tribute had arrived on the occasion of Güyük's enthronement. But Güyük was angry because the papal delegates had come without tribute, and deliberately allowed them to go hungry. Since the market was in Karakorum, where they were not allowed to go, they depended on the support of a Russian goldsmith.

It was not until November 1246 that Qadaq and Chinkai brought Güyük's written answer to the pope. The most important passages were: 'By the power of the Eternal Sky, [We] the Oceanic Khan of the whole great people; Our command. This is an order sent to the great Pope. [. . .] And if you keep to your word, thou, who art the great Pope, together with all the kings, must come in person to do homage to Us.' Güyük then justified the destruction of Hungary on the grounds that King Bela had not obeyed the orders of Genghis Khan and Ögödei, and had killed the Mongolian ambassadors. Then he continued: 'By the power of God [. . .] [He] has delivered all the lands to Us; We hold them. [. . .] Thou in person at the head of all kings, you must all together at once come to do homage to Us. We shall then recognize your submission. And if you do not accept God's command and act contrary to Our command We shall regard you as enemies.'[93] Güyük's message was clear: anyone who did not bow to the commands of the Great Khan, which was equivalent to the will of God, was a rebel against God's commandment and must be punished. On 18 November 1247 the two Franciscans arrived back in Lyon.

In the chapter on 'How to fight the Tartars' in his *History of the Mongols*, after a detailed analysis of the Mongolian army, their weaponry, organisation and battle tactics, Giovanni gave the following advice: since the Mongols had destroyed even those states and peoples that had submitted to them, massacring them or using them as arrow fodder in battles, no reliance should be placed on their word, and they should be fought. To do so, a closed defensive front must be formed, under the control of a high command with a common plan. In addition to the existing types of weapon, divisions of archers and crossbowmen should be formed. The Christian armies should be divided according to the decimal system, with corresponding hierarchies of command, and follow strict discipline. Looting should be forbidden and purposeless exhaustion of horses had to be avoided. Every army needed scouts, spies and a sufficient number of sentries. The armies must by no means move into battle as a closed unit, but form separate divisions and fight in a coordinated manner; it should be ensured that enough reserves stood ready to counter surprise manoeuvres on the enemy's part. On no account should an apparently victorious division be tricked into pursuing the enemy if they appeared to be fleeing, for this would invariably lead them into a trap. And a 'scorched earth' strategy must be pursued on the enemy's approach route: stocks of provisions and hay should be carried away or burned, so that the Mongols' horses would get no nourishment. City fortifications and fortresses must be built of stone, and their defenders should never allow the Mongols to place their siege catapults in position. Defenders should also ensure that nearby rivers could not be diverted in order to flood cities. Finally, Giovanni also pointed out that the Mongols recruited

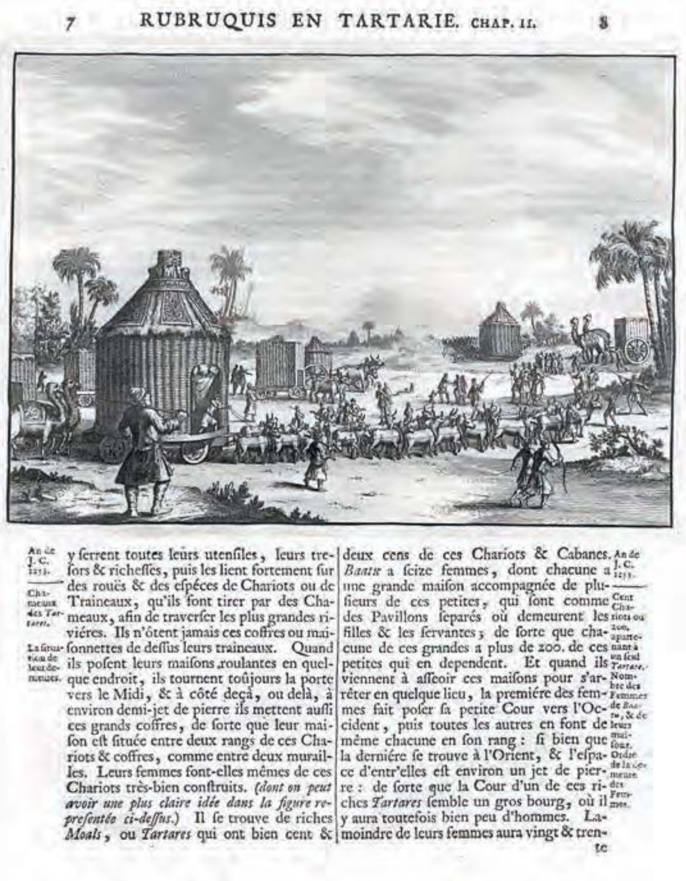


140. Map of East Asia as a mural painting in the Map Room of the Doge's Palace in Venice, Italy, produced in the sixteenth century and restored in the eighteenth. Here, north is at the bottom of the map and south at the top. Karakorum, capital of the Mongol Empire, is shown as Caracoran in the centre foreground, with the capital of the Yuan Empire Cambalu (Khanbaliq) to its left. Doge's Palace, Venice.

soldiers by force from subject peoples, for example Georgians, Armenians, Cumans and Rum Seljuks, and these auxiliary troops could easily be persuaded to switch sides.[94]

Even before William of Rubruck, in about 1251 or 1252, the Latin knight **Baldwin of Hainaut** had visited the Mongol capital at the behest of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II (r. 1228–61). Emperor Baldwin had twice tried in 1242 to prevent the Mongol prince Kadan from causing devastation in Macedonia or Thrace. Baldwin was victorious in the first battle, but in the second he was defeated and had to offer his submission, at least nominally. A year later, the ***noyan*** (commander) Baiju, after his triumph over the Rum Seljuks, threatened all three the Latin empire of Constantinople and the Greek empires of Nicaea and Trebizond. Trebizond submitted immediately, and both Constantinople and Nicaea had to come to an agreement with the Mongols. It seems most likely that the delegation of the nobleman Baldwin of Hainaut, who met and advised the departing William of Rubruck after his return from Karakorum, had represented a gesture of submission on behalf of Baldwin II. Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes of Nicaea (r. 1222–54) made efforts to mollify the Mongols: in 1254 William of Rubruck met envoys from Nicaea in Karakorum who were trying to 'win time' without having to submit.[95]

By the time the Franciscan **William of Rubruck** (d. after 1257) left Constantinople for Mongolia, on 7 May 1253, the political ground had shifted since Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's journey there. In Karakorum, Great Khan Möngke nominally ruled the entire empire, but in practice there was a condominium between Batu Khan in the west and Möngke in the east of the empire, as



7 RUBRUQUIS EN TARTARIE. CHAP. II. 8

An de J. C. 1253.

Chameaux des Tartares.

y ſerrent toutes leürs utenſiles, leurs treſors & richeſſes, puis les lient fortement ſur des rouës & des eſpéces de Chariots ou de Traineaux, qu'ils font tirer par des Chameaux, afin de traverſer les plus grandes riviéres. Ils n'ôtent jamais ces coffres ou maiſonnettes de deſſus leurs traineaux.

La ſituation de leur demeures.

Quand ils poſent leurs maiſons roulantes en quelque endroit, ils tournent toûjours la porte vers le Midi, & à côté deçà, ou delà, à environ demi-jet de pierre ils mettent auſſi ces grands coffres, de ſorte que leur maiſon eſt ſituée entre deux rangs de ces Chariots & coffres, comme entre deux murailles. Leurs femmes font-elles mêmes de ces Chariots très-bien conſtruits. *(dont on peut avoir une plus claire idée dans la figure repreſentée ci-deſſus.)* Il ſe trouve de riches *Moals*, ou *Tartares* qui ont bien cent & deux cens de ces Chariots & Cabanes.

An de J. C. 1253.

Cent Chariots ou 200. appartenant à un ſeul *Tartare*.

Nombre des Femmes de *Baatu*, & de leurs maiſons.

Baatu a ſeize femmes, dont chacune a une grande maiſon accompagnée de pluſieurs de ces petites, qui ſont comme des Pavillons ſeparés où demeurent les filles & les ſervantes; de ſorte que chacune de ces grandes a plus de 200. de ces petites qui en dependent.

Ordre de la demeure des Femmes.

Et quand ils viennent à aſſeoir ces maiſons pour s'arrêter en quelque lieu, la premiére des femmes fait poſer ſa petite Cour vers l'Occident, puis toutes les autres en font de même chacune en ſon rang: ſi bien que la derniére ſe trouve à l'Orient, & l'eſpace d'entr'elles eſt environ un jet de pierre: de ſorte que la Cour d'un de ces riches *Tartares* ſemble un gros bourg, où il y aura toutefois bien peu d'hommes. La moindre de leurs femmes aura vingt & trente

141. Batu Khan and his army on the move. As Rubruck writes, their large yurts were tied securely on to wagons drawn by up to 22 oxen. Copper engraving 1735, William of Rubruck, 'Le voyage de Guillaume de Rubruquis, en diverses parties de l'Orient & principalement en Tartarie et à la Chine', in Pierre Bergeron, Voyages fait principalement en Asie dans les XII, XIII, XIV, et XV siècles: Accompagnés de l'Histoire des Sarasins et des Tartares, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1735), pp. 7–8.

the latter stressed to William at their last audience: 'There are two eyes in one head, and yet in spite of being two they have only one sight, and where one turns its glance so does the other. You came from Baatu, and by way of him, therefore, you must return.'[96] And of course King Louis IX of France had been bitterly disillusioned by the letter from the regent Oghul Qaimish, which she had given to André de Longjumeau in 1250, for it contained an unequivocal threat of war.[97] He therefore instructed William, who had accompanied him on the ill-fated Egyptian campaign, not to present himself as his ambassador, but as a simple monk. William had heard from Friar André that German Catholics captured in Hungary were serving as slaves at Talas in Semirechie, and he wanted to bring them comfort and also to proclaim the Gospel to the Mongols. But since Louis was interested in current information on the Mongols' plans, he gave William a letter of recommendation to Sartaq Khan (d. 1257), Batu Khan's eldest son, who was said to be a Nestorian.[98]

After three days' journey, William met the Mongol commander Scacatai (Chagatai?) north of Soldaia (Sudak), and was highly impressed by his tent encampment: 'We encountered Scacatai's wagons loaded with dwellings [yurts], and I felt as if a great city were on the move towards me.' The Mongolian yurts were firmly fixed on wagons 9 metres wide, drawn by oxen, and William 'counted twenty-two oxen to one wagon, hauling along a dwelling, eleven in a row' (fig. 141).[99] From here, William rode to meet Sartaq, at a spot between the Don and Volga rivers. When Sartaq was informed of Louis' written message, he believed, because of a faulty translation of the letter from the Latin, that King Louis was asking the Mongols for military help against the Muslims, and so he promptly sent William to his father, Batu Khan. William was now considered by the Mongols to be a diplomat in disguise. On meeting Sartaq, William realised that the Mongols did not define themselves primarily by their religious affiliation but by their allegiance to the Mongol nation. Hence the Christian faith of a prince revealed nothing about his political preferences.[100] Batu Khan questioned William about King Louis' motivations for the campaign of 1248–50 in the Near East and sent him on to Great Khan Möngke. On his way, William was the first Western European to observe that the Caspian Sea is landlocked, and that 'Cathaia' (China) was identical with the land of Seres of classical antiquity. He also put an end to the myths of human-like monsters and the priest-king John by denying their existence.[101] Like Giovanni da Pian del Carpine before him, William was struck by the many ruined cities in Semirechie: 'There used to be sizeable towns lying in the plain, but they were for the most part completely destroyed so that the Tartars could pasture there, since the area affords very fine grazing lands.'[102] William's observation confirms that the Mongols deliberately destroyed urban areas to transform them into pastureland. Although he despised the Nestorians as buffoons and drunkards, he acknowledged their presence in 15 cities of northern China, and was happy to enter one of their churches near Kayalik in eastern Kazakhstan: 'And on entering their [Nestorian] church we chanted joyfully, at the top of our voices, the Salve Regina, as we had not seen a church for a long time.'[103] But William did not understand that the Nestorians rejected the crucifix not because they denied the Crucifixion, but because they revered the 'empty' cross as a symbol of parousia (the second coming of Christ) and of the Resurrection.[104]

On 4 January 1254 William met Möngke for the first time west of Karakorum, and on 5 April he reached the capital. He described its different quarters, with temples, mosques and the church as well as the palace, which he compared to a five-nave church, with the famous silver tree standing in it.[105] In Karakorum William received disturbing political news: based entirely on warnings from his trusted soothsayers, Möngke had apparently decided against another European campaign. Instead, he had sent one brother, Kublai, against China and another, Hülegü, against the Assassins of

Alamut, the caliph of Baghdad, the Seljuks of Anatolia and Emperor Vatatzes of Nicaea; this posed a serious threat to Crusader strongholds in both Palestine and Constantinople.[106] As we see from the destruction of the Assassins in 1256 and the capture of Baghdad in 1258, William was well informed. In his letter to King Louis, Möngke showed himself to be as uncompromising as Güyük and Oghul Qaimish before him: 'This is the order of the everlasting God. "In Heaven there is only one eternal God; on earth there is only one lord, Chingis Khan." [. . .] In the power of the everlasting God through the great Mo'al [Mongol] people: the edict of Mangu Chan to King Louis, ruler of the French. [. . .] When you hear and believe it, if you are willing to obey us, you should send your envoys to us; in that we shall be sure whether you wish to be at peace with us or at war.'[107] Möngke had realised that William was not Louis' official ambassador and that Louis did not (yet) regard himself as a vassal of the Mongols. Not until the Mongols' defeat at Ain Jalut in 1260 did their attitude to the Western European kings and popes change; their letters no longer demanded submission, but sought a military alliance against the Mamluks.[108]

In religious terms, too, William's mission ended in failure. He neither met the German slaves,[109] nor did he manage to convert anyone. He correctly assessed that Möngke merely wanted all representatives of the various religions to pray for him, but he himself 'believes in none [religion] of them. [. . .] And yet they all [representatives of various religions] follow his court as flies do honey.'[110] Then William was challenged to take part in one of the theological disputations, a kind of verbal jousting which was very popular with the Mongol rulers. Möngke commanded that Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and possibly Manicheans should debate with each other; but anyone who personally insulted an opponent would be punished with death. In the debate, the first contenders were the representatives of the two Semitic–monotheistic religions against the Manicheans; the latter lost. But when the Nestorians wanted to debate with the Muslims, the latter withdrew, and the Nestorians had a successful discussion with a Uyghur Buddhist. In the end, William concluded in disappointment: 'No one said, "I believe, and wish to become a Christian." When it was all over [. . .] everyone drank heavily.'[111]

William's religious failure was also the result of his own intolerance, for he bitterly attacked other religions and threatened those unwilling to convert with hellfire. Möngke chided him about this, though in a friendly way: 'The nurse at first lets some drops of milk into the infant's mouth, so that by tasting its sweetness he may be enticed to suck; only then does she offer him her breast. In the same way you should persuade Us, who seem to be totally unacquainted with this doctrine, in a simple and rational manner. Instead, you immediately threaten Us with eternal punishments.'[112] At their last audience on 31 May 1254 Möngke taught William a further lesson: 'We Mo'als [Mongols] believe that there is only one God, through whom we have life and through whom we die, and towards him we direct our hearts. [. . .] But just as God has given the hand several fingers, so he has given mankind several paths [religious messages]. [. . .] God has given the Scriptures to you, and you Christians do not observe them; whereas to us he has given soothsayers, and we do as they tell us and live in peace.'[113] With this little parable, Möngke, who put his own trust in shamans and, in particular, soothsayers,[114] was saying that all religions were equally true, since they all represented forms of human religiosity approved by the only God. Two years later, Möngke manifested a preference for Buddhism, when he supported Buddhist building projects in Karakorum: 'If all these religions [i.e. Daoism, Confucianism, Christianity, Islam] were carefully examined as to their origins, one will see that no one of them can be compared to Buddhism. [. . .] As the five fingers all project out from the palm, so Buddhism is the palm from which others stem.'[115] Buddhism, which was inclusive and not monotheistic, thus came closest to Möngke's vision.

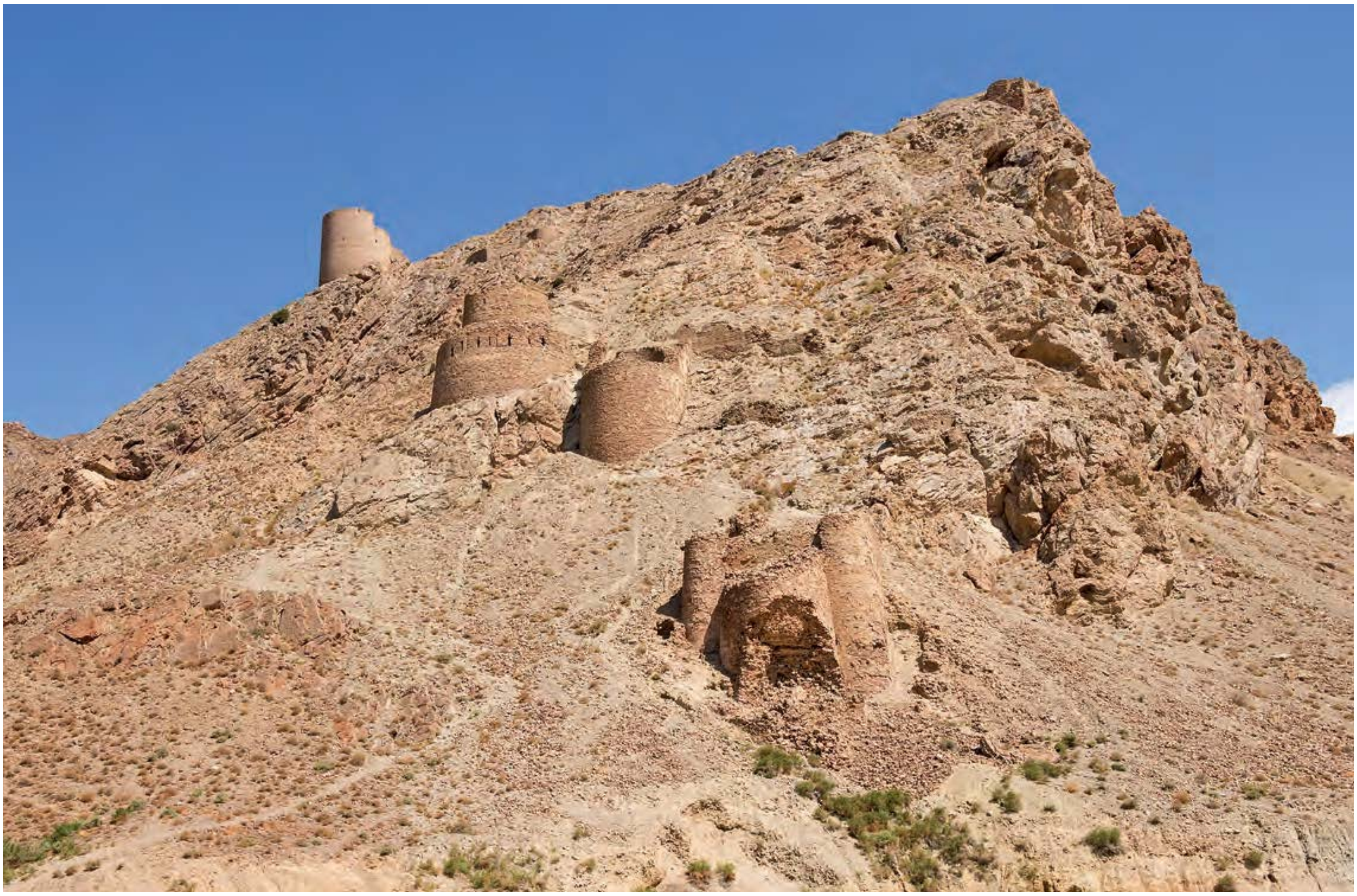
As Peter Jackson stresses, the Mongols' pluralism should not be confused with indifference or selfless tolerance.[116] The khan wanted representatives of all religions to pray for him, and he was above all interested in specialists in the present world, such as soothsayers, astronomers, healers and magicians, who could influence the weather. Religious tolerance also ended where the taboos of the steppe began, such as contaminating water by washing clothes in it,[117] crossing a threshold[118] or a refusal to worship a felt figure of Genghis Khan. In contrast to Islam and Catholicism, which used force and the Inquisition to establish the recognition of their beliefs, which could not be grasped by the power of reason, the Mongol elite did not seek to disseminate faith in their chief god, Tengri; rather they sought recognition of their political claim that Tengri had bestowed on them the sovereignty of the world. For this reason, in the Mongol Empire, as long as one recognised their claim to political leadership, the world of thought and faith remained free – in contrast to Europe, where in 1252 Pope Innocent IV allowed torture in the trials of the Inquisition, and King Louis IX, in the struggle with the southern French Cathars, encouraged the spread of the Inquisition, which actively sought out dissidents in order to condemn them.

William of Rubruck, who returned to Tripoli (in Lebanon) in August 1255, Giovanni and Longjumeau were not only courageous travellers, but contributed significantly to the broadening of horizons and increase in the geographical knowledge of the day.

3. Möngke, the Last Great Khan of the United Mongol Empire

With the death of Güyük the long awaited moment had arrived for the Toluids, led by Sorkaktani Beki (d. 1252), to settle accounts with the Ögödeids. When Sorkaktani's husband Tolui had died in early 1233, probably poisoned, and then Güyük had seized some of her soldiers in 1246, she formed an alliance with Batu Khan and warned him that Güyük was planning an attack. Sorkaktani, a Nestorian, must have been a remarkable woman, as Rashid judged: 'Sorqaghtani Beki [. . .] was the most intelligent woman in the world. Thus both her [four] sons and the army were at her command.'[119] She was such a skilled diplomat that neither Ögödei, nor Töregene, nor Güyük succeeded in entirely wresting an important part of the Mongol army from her (admittedly poorly defined) control. With Batu, Sorkaktani had won the most powerful of the still living descendants of Genghis Khan as an ally, and the Toluids and Jochids rapidly agreed on her eldest son Möngke (1209–59) as a candidate for the succession, while the regent Oghul Qaimish failed to persuade the Ögödeids and Chagataids to agree on a common candidate of their own. Soon after Güyük's death, Batu, suffering from gout, summoned a *kuriltai* at his camp near Kayalik, but most of the sons of Güyük, Ögödei and Chagatai refused to come and only sent representatives. In 1249 or 1250 this rump *kuriltai*, led by Batu, elected Möngke as Great Khan, whereupon Batu charged his half-brother Berke with accompanying Möngke to Mongolia with a strong escort, and there organising the second *kuriltai* that gave legal confirmation of the election.[120] When leading Ögödeids and Chagataids declined to take part in this second assembly, Batu Khan ordered Berke: 'Seat him on the throne! [. . .] And any creature that disobeys the Yasa will lose his head.'[121]

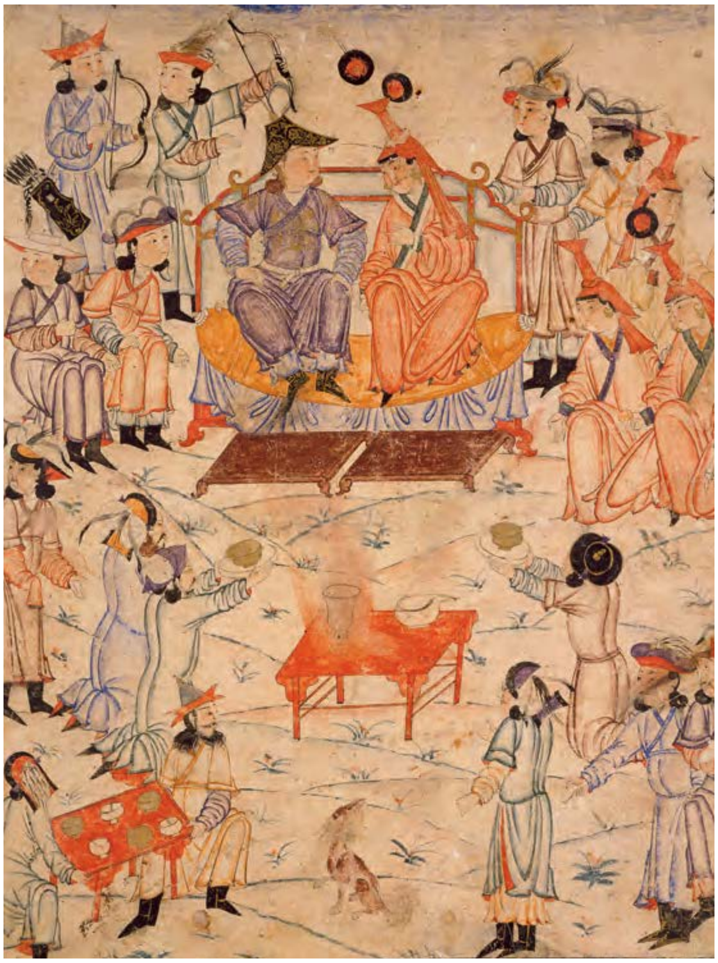
In 1251, without waiting for the arrival of Ögödei's son Shiremün and Güyük's son Nakhu, this second *kuriltai* confirmed **Möngke** (r. 1251–59) as Great Khan. When, after a few days, Möngke received the news that Shiremün and Nakhu were



142. Mansurkuh, the Assassin stronghold 15 kilometres east of Girdkuh, Iran, destroyed by the Mongols in the 1250s. Photo: 2014.

approaching with a heavily armed escort party, he had them intercepted and arrested; he then ordered a comprehensive purge. Dozens of princes, followers and *noyans* of the Ögödeids and Chagataids were executed, including Büri, Yesü-Möngke, Oghul Qaimish, Chinkai, Qadaq and Eljigidei; the princes Shiremün, Nakhu and Yesün-Toqa were assigned armies in order to fight at the front line.[122] As a result of this *kuriltai*, Ögödei's line was almost wiped out, Chagatai's was seriously weakened and the lines of Tolui and Jochi divided the Mongol Empire between them. Möngke was formally Great Khan of the unified empire, but in practice the autonomous ruler in the west was Batu Khan, to whom Möngke owed the title of khan. Möngke himself confirmed to William of Rubruck that the government was effectively a condominium: 'Just as the sun spreads its rays in all directions, so my power and that of Baatu are spread to every quarter.'[123] The new, inherently unstable power structure of a double rule has similarities with the Göktürk division of the First Khaganate into a nominally leading eastern half of the empire and an autonomous western half.[124]

Möngke's first official acts were to reform and streamline the government administration. He reinstated the reliable governors Mahmud Yalavach and Masud Beg in their offices in northern China and Great Turkestan and confirmed the status of Arghun Aqa in Iran. He then abolished all the current *paizas* and many princely privileges, severely limited the right to make use of the state postal system, made it a punishable offence to cause harm to crop farmers, and drastically curtailed the expenditure of the imperial court. He also ordered new censuses to be taken and unified the tax systems.[125] Not satisfied with the attainment of the title of Great Khan, and the elimination of the hated Ögödeids, the four sons of Sorkaktani decided to found two satellite khanates outside the Jochids' sphere of control. Instead of opting for a struggle for power with Batu, Möngke chose to give his brothers Kublai (1215–94) and Hülegü (*ca*. 1218–1265) the task of conquering new lands and setting up to new khanates, subordinated to him. With this strategy he pre-empted the Jochids and secretly sabotaged their claims to take part in conquests and derive future income from them. Towards the end of 1251 or the beginning of 1252, Möngke defined three military targets: the chief ones were western Asia and southern China, and the secondary one was Korea. He handed over the subjection of the Southern Song to his brother Kublai, assigning Sübotai's son Uriyangkhadai to him as field commander, and delegated the conquest of western Asia to his brother Hülegü, to whom he assigned the Nestorian commander Ked Buqa as his general.[126] The basic concept of the two campaigns was the same: both brothers were subordinate to the Great Khan, they had clearly defined military targets, they each had an experienced commander from Möngke's entourage at their side, and the Great Khan reserved the right to appoint and remove important leaders and officials within his brothers' territories.[127] Even when Batu Khan and the Chagataid regent, Orghina Khatun, supplied troops for the western campaign, Möngke instructed Hülegü to stay in western Asia after its conquest, despite the official command to return to Mongolia.[128] In this way the three brothers transformed the allegedly joint campaigns into Toluid enterprises.



143. A Mongol khan and his wife sit enthroned, surrounded by servants. Miniature on paper believed to have been painted in Tabriz, Iran, in the early fourteenth century. Saray-Alben (Diez Album A, fol. 70, p. 22). Oriental Collection, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

As a result of poor Mongol leadership and tough resistance, the Korean campaign, begun in 1252, turned out to be so difficult that it took seven years to compel the Koreans to recognise Mongol supremacy. The China campaign in the densely populated territory of the Southern Song with its many rivers and lakes, its rice fields and hot, humid climate, also presented great challenges to the Mongols. Kublai and Uriyangkhadai decided not to mount a frontal

144. The mountain-top Ismaili castle at Girdkuh, Iran, was one of the Assassins' strongest fortresses. After the Assassin surrender of 1273, the Mongols continued to occupy it for several decades. The ruins stand on the top of the highest mountain in the center. Photo: 2014.

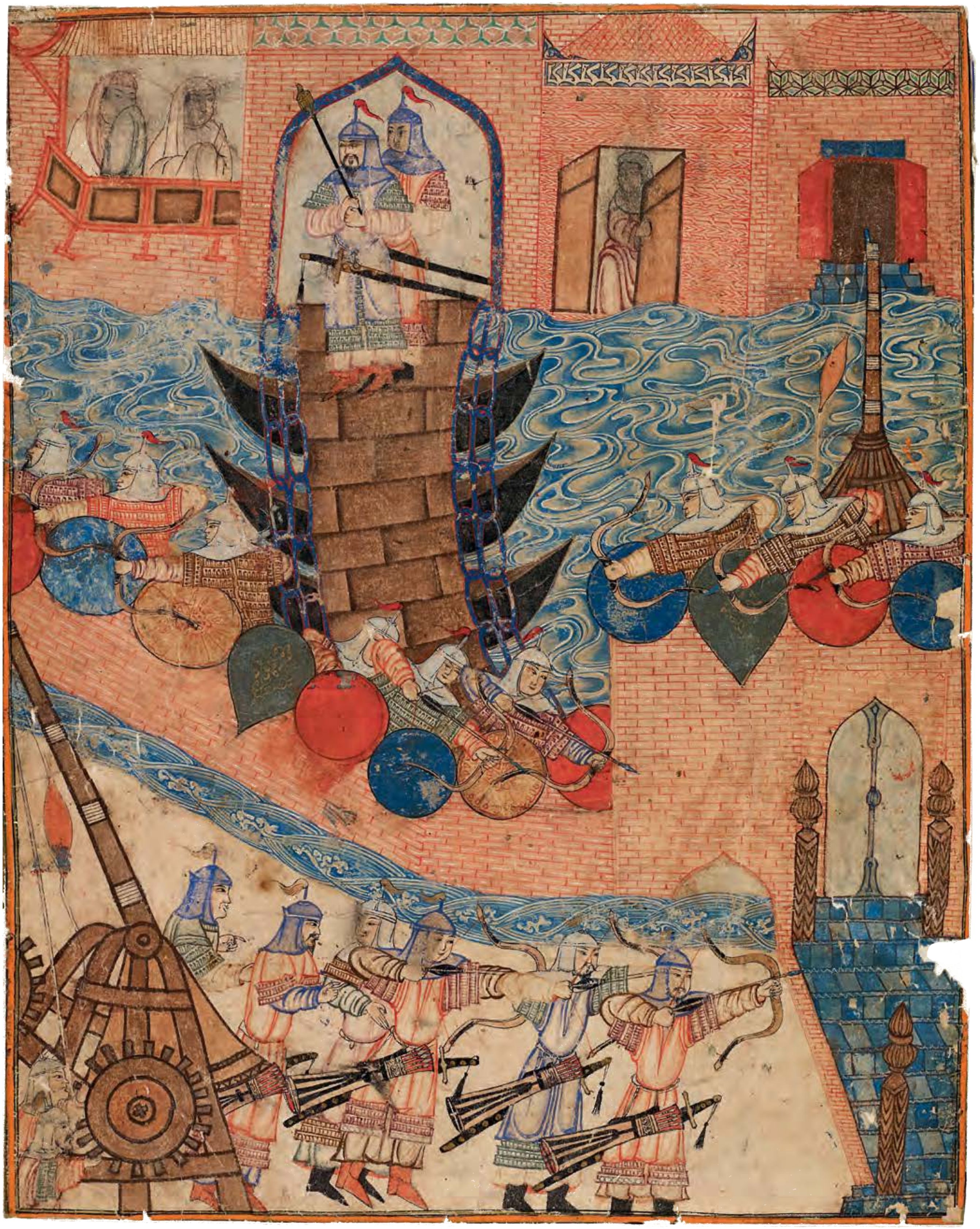
attack on the Song, but instead to circumvent them on their west flank and occupy the kingdom of Dali (Yunnan). Kublai captured Dali in the winter of 1253–54 thanks to a stratagem of the young *noyan* Bayan (1236–95). Since the Dali army was entrenched on the opposite bank of the Jinsha river, Bayan ordered sheepskins to be inflated to make rafts which were tied together, and with these moved the army across the river by night. In the early morning they surprised and destroyed the enemy.

Kublai left the local royal dynasty in place, albeit under the supervision of Mongol governors. Towards the end of 1254 he rejoined Möngke, while Uriyangkhadai pacified the local tribes south of Dali and, by 1257, also forced the kingdom of Annam (northern Vietnam) to submit. Meanwhile, Kublai reformed the Mongol government of northern China; he encouraged agriculture and trade, and in 1256 decided to build a new capital for his territory in Inner Mongolia, near Dolon Nor. Originally named Kaiping, this city lay barely 300 kilometres north-west of Beijing. When, in 1264, Kublai had ordered the building of Zhongdu, the 'middle capital', on the site of today's Beijing, Kaiping was renamed Shangdu (Xanadu), 'upper capital'; it then served Kublai as a summer residence. Zhongdu was called by the Chinese Dadu, 'great capital', by Turkic-speakers Khanbaliq, 'city of the Khans' (Marco Polo's Cambaluc), and by the Mongols Daidu.[129]

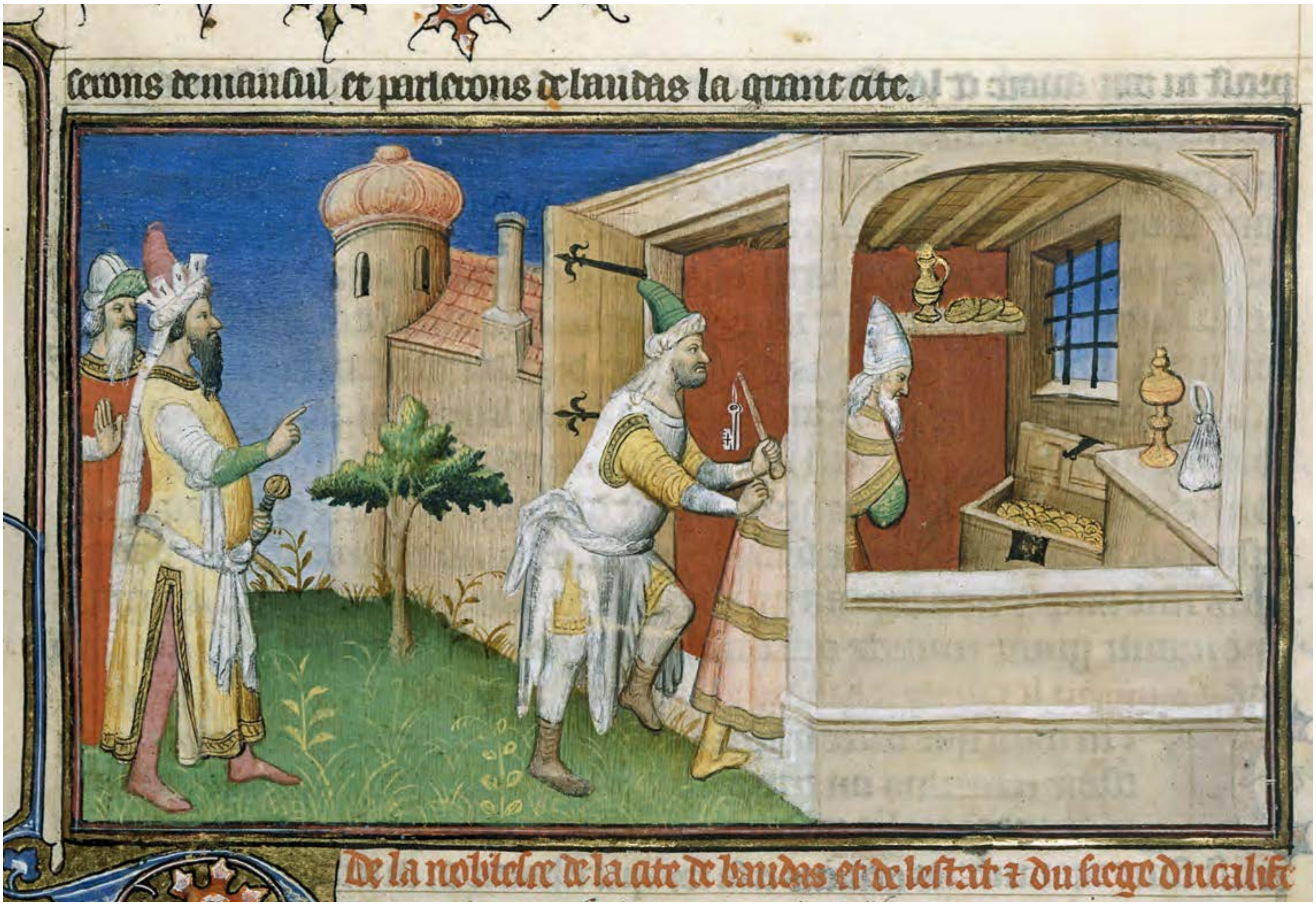
Kublai's construction of a capital in a land with a sedentary population was a provocation to Möngke, since it challenged Karakorum's pre-eminence as capital of the empire and seemed to him to presage a breakaway of northern China under Kublai's leadership. So in 1257 Möngke sent a commission to investigate and purge Kublai's governors. To save his position and probably his life, Kublai travelled to Möngke's court in 1258 and begged him for forgiveness. But Möngke could not in any case do without Kublai, since a violent conflict between Buddhists and Daoists in China was turning into civil war, and he needed Kublai's troops and specialist units for the conquest of southern China. First of all, Kublai summoned Buddhist and Daoist leaders to a congress in Kaiping. The main bone of contention was two Daoist texts which allegedly proved that Buddhism was merely a simplified version of Daoism, which no less a figure than the great philosopher Laozi

had drawn up for the uncultured Indians. Therefore Buddhism was to be subordinated to Daoism and its property and possessions were to be handed over to the Daoist administration. But the Buddhists, led by Phagpa Lama, exposed these two texts, purportedly by Laozi, as forgeries, whereupon Kublai declared the Buddhists to be the victors. He demanded that the Daoists return the Buddhist temples and monasteries they had seized and burn the two forgeries. In 1281, since the Daoists had ignored Kublai's instructions, he ordered the burning of all Daoist texts and the corresponding printing blocks, except those of the *Dao de Jing*.[130] In 1258 Möngke, angry about the lack of progress of Kublai's campaign, took over the leadership of a new attack on the Southern Song in four columns. After Chengdu had been taken, the advance of the main army commanded by Möngke began to falter, and then, on 11 August 1259, the Great Khan died suddenly, either of dysentery or from an arrow wound.[131] His death was of direct importance for southern China and the Near East, for both Kublai, who was besieging Wuchang (a part of Wuhan) and Hülegü, who was threatening Cairo, broke off their campaigns, giving southern China some respite and sparing Egypt from a Mongol attack.

Möngke gave Hülegü precise instructions: 'Begin with Quhistan and Khurasan, and destroy the fortresses [of the Ismailites]. Rip up Gird Kuh and Lambasar fortress and turn them upside down. [. . .] When you are finished there, head for Persia and eliminate the Lurs and Kurds who constantly practise brigandage along the highways. If the Caliph of Bagdad comes out to pay homage, harass him in no way whatsoever. If he is prideful [. . .] let him join the others [in death]. [. . .] [Then] return devastated lands to flourishing state.'[132] Although the Ismailis of Alamut had already submitted to Genghis Khan in 1221, they pursued an independent foreign policy; they are even said to have attempted to murder Möngke.[133] Earlier, in 1238, they had tried to woo Western European rulers to join an anti-Mongol alliance.[134] In August 1252, Hülegü sent Ked Buqa ahead with a smaller army to destroy the Ismailis' eastern Iranian fortresses (fig. 142), a mission he achieved successfully, barring a few exceptions, such as Girdkuh (figs. 61, 144).[135] The campaign of the main army of more than



145. The siege of Baghdad by Hülegü's Mongol troops early in 1258. In the foreground we see a siege catapult and a moat running between Baghdad's city walls and the Caliph's palace. Miniature on paper believed to have been painted in Tabriz, Iran, in the early fourteenth century. Saray-Alben (Diez Alben), fol. 70, p. 7, no. 01). Oriental Collection, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.


lerons de mausul et parlerons de baudas la grant cite.
De la noblesce de la cite de baudas et de lestat ⁊ du siege du calife

146. **In February 1258 Il-Khan Hülegü locked the tight-fisted Caliph al-Mustasim Billah in the room where he kept his treasures and left him to die of hunger and thirst. Folio from the *Livre des merveilles,* commissioned by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy and completed between 1410 and 1413. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Fr. 2810, fol. 9 r.**

100,000 men[136] was a great logistical challenge; before they set out, Hülegü had roads and bridges repaired, had pastures reserved for horses on the route of march, and ordered the construction of ferries to cross rivers and canals. He also asked Kublai to provide from China a strong siege and artillery corps with naphtha-throwers.[137] Hülegü did not reach Samarkand until the autumn of 1255 and there he met the viceroy Argun Aqa in Kish (Shahr-i Sabz). On 1 January 1256 he crossed the Oxus on a pontoon bridge.[138] As we have seen, the Ismaili *hujja*, Khur-Shah Rukh al-Din, who had been entrenched in the fortress of Maimundiz, capitulated in mid-November, after which Hülegü had all the Ismaili fortresses razed to the ground, massacring great numbers of Ismailis.[139]

When peace had been established in north-western Iran, Hülegü demanded that Caliph al-Mustasim Billah should subject Baghdad to him and raze the city walls; the caliph contemptuously refused. The Mongols reached Baghdad in early 1258. In accordance with their usual siege tactics, they erected a palisade around the whole city, and with its protection they positioned the siege artillery (fig. 145). The caliph did not realise the hopelessness of the situation until 29 January, when it was too late, and then sent the Nestorian patriarch Makika II (in office 1257–65) to negotiate with Hülegü, whose chief wife Dokuz Khatun was a Nestorian. The caliph capitulated on 10 February 1258. Three days later, a week of plunder and general slaughter commenced; only the Nestorians and their living quarters were spared. Before Hülegü left the devastated city, apparently nauseated by the stench of rotting corpses, he ordered the execution of the caliph and all his family.[140] He'tum of Corycus describes what happened: Hülegü led al-Mustasim to the chamber which contained his former treasures and asked him mockingly why he had not used these to acquire mercenaries and allies. Then he continued: 'Such an important and great master

147. The Citadel of Aleppo in Syria, built by the Ayyubid Sultan Zahir Ghazi (r. 1193–1215) fell to Il-Khan Hülegü in January 1260. Following their defeat at Ain Jalut on 3 September 1260, the Mongols were forced to evacuate Aleppo and Damascus in the winter of 1260/61, whereupon the victorious Mamluks rebuilt the Citadel. In 1400 it was destroyed again, this time by Timur-e Lang, but after his withdrawal the Mamluks reconstructed the building yet again. Photo: 2002.

should not nourish himself on other food. So we are giving you all these precious objects that you loved so much and preserved so greedily, to feed on.' Then Hülegü locked the caliph in the room, where he died of hunger and thirst (fig. 146).[141] So ended the history of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.[142]

When Hülegü had carried out his mission for Möngke, he designated the city of Maragheh in north-western Iran as his new capital, and ordered an astronomical observatory to be built there for the polymath Nasir al-Din Tusi. Next, in the autumn of 1259, he attacked the Ayyubid princedoms of Syria, probably with the aim of controlling the trade routes from Great Turkestan to the Mediterranean. He might have been encouraged in this by the Christians of Iraq and Syria, who experienced the Mongol attack as liberation from Muslim oppression. Hülegü first subdued the Kurds in the Hakkari mountains, then Edessa, Nusaybin (Nisibis) and Harran, and arrived at Aleppo (fig. 147), where King He'tum I of Cilician Armenia and Count Bohemund VI of Antioch (r. 1252–75) joined him with their troops. King David VII Ulu of Georgia (r. 1247–70), however, refused to take part in Hülegü's Syrian campaign, since his troops had suffered heavy losses at the siege of Baghdad.[143] Together, the Mongol prince and military leader, whom the Christians of northern Syria celebrated as a 'second Constantine', while his wife was called a 'second Helen', the Armenian king and the Latin Crusader count rode into Aleppo on 24 January 1260. Shortly afterwards, the city of Hama submitted without a struggle, and on 1 March 1260 Damascus opened its gates to the three rulers; but Count Bohemund was instantly excommunicated by Pope Alexander IV (in office 1254–61) because of his alliance with Hülegü. Meanwhile it rapidly became clear to those in the Latin strongholds of Palestine that Hülegü and his two Christian allies were subduing the Muslim princes of Syria not out of any love for Christianity, but because these two princes were battle-seasoned vassals of the Mongols. The notion that Hülegü's campaign was motivated by sympathy with Christianity proved to be a fatal error on the part of the Christians in the Near East and Palestine. Hülegü was interested only in increasing and consolidating his power, and any loyal vassal was a welcome ally. Soon after the capture of Damascus, Ked Buqa attacked Hebron, Ascalon, Jerusalem and Nablus and demanded that the Crusaders should destroy their own fortresses (fig. 148). He then placed a strong division in Gaza to prevent a counter-attack by the Mamluks.[144]

The hard-pressed Crusaders, who controlled only a narrow coastal strip of Palestine, implored the European powers in vain for help, and when Ked Buqa laid waste to the Christian city of Sidon they could see that the Mongols posed an even greater threat than the Muslims. After the destruction of Sidon, the Crusaders were forced to take sides in the incipient war between the Mongols and the Mamluks of Egypt, for the Mamluk Egyptian sultan Saif al-Din Qutuz (r. 1259–60), mistrustful of the guarantees that the Mongol ambassadors offered in return for his submission, had had them crucified.[145] He was preparing for war, a war that he wanted to conduct outside Egypt, in Palestine. At this critical moment, in the summer of 1260, Hülegü, whose horses could not get enough fodder in Syria and were suffering from the heat,[146] received two ominous reports: his brother and ally Möngke had died, and Jochi's descendant Berke Khan (r. 1257–66) had begun to withdraw the troops that had been placed at his disposal and was evidently hostile to him. Some of Berke's Kipchak groups, prevented from returning to their homes, fled to the Mamluks. Hülegü immediately headed east with most of his army, leaving Ked Buqa behind in Palestine with only 10,000 men.[147] When Hülegü heard that Kublai had proclaimed himself the new Great Khan, he returned to Tabriz, near the borders of the territory of Berke's Golden Horde. This new situation was favourable to the plans of Qutuz and his army commander Baibars al-Bunduqdari, who demanded safe conduct and provisions from the Crusaders. After a long debate about whether they should perhaps even fight alongside the Mamluks, the Crusaders decided to spare their few warriors and simply grant Sultan Qutuz safe conduct. Qutuz and Baibars, with an army of Kipchak slave soldiers and Chorasmian mercenaries, advanced along the coast as far as the Crusader fortress of Acre and set a trap for Ked Buqa at Ain Jalut, north of Jerusalem: during the battle

148. Krak des Chevaliers, the Crusader castle on Syria's frontier with Lebanon, belonged to Latin Empire Crusaders from 1110 to 1271. Following the earthquakes of 1157 and 1170, the fortress was re-built in the Gothic style. It was taken over by the Knights of St John, also known as the Hospitallers, who, in common with other leading Crusaders played a waiting game during the war between Hülegü and Sultan Baibars. After Hülegü's death in 1265 and that of Louis IX, who died in Tunis in 1270, Baibars had a free hand in Syria. He attacked Krak des Chevaliers, which surrendered on 8 April 1271. The fortress was damaged during the civil war in Syria which broke out in 2011. Photo: 1978.

there on 3 September, part of the Mamluk forces feigned retreat and lured Ked Buqa's warriors out of a secure position. The main Mamluk force then surrounded them, and destroyed them in hand-to-hand fighting.[148] Ked Buqa, who fell in the battle, had not considered that the Kipchak slave soldiers on the enemy side were as well versed in the military tactics of the steppe as he was himself.[149]

The Mamluks took advantage of the situation and advanced into Syria, where on 10 December they defeated a second Mongol army at Homs, which Hülegü had sent for the defence of Syria. But because of the increasing tensions with Berke, who had adopted Islam, Hülegü was unable to intervene in person and had to stay in Azerbaijan to ward off an anticipated attack by Berke.[150] At the latest after this second defeat in succession, it was clear that the Mamluks' professional cavalry, with their command of the tactics of steppe warfare, were superior to the Mongols. The myth of Mongol invincibility was thus shattered in the Near East. The Mongol advance and the destruction of the Ayyubid princedoms of Syria, as well as the retreat behind the Euphrates that followed, had created a power vacuum in Syria which was quickly filled by the victorious Mamluks. They annexed the land, including Damascus and Aleppo, but excluding the county of Antioch and the Nizari fortresses. Even though the Mongol Il-Khanate[151] founded by Hülegü in 658 AH (1259/60 CE) undertook five further attacks on Syria, in 1281, 1299, 1300, 1303 and 1312/13, it was never able to drive out the Mamluks. On the contrary, Sultan Baibars I (r. 1260–77), who had murdered Qutuz on his return to Cairo, in 1268 captured the city of Antioch, while Sultan Ashraf Qalawun (r. 1279–90) took Tripoli in 1289, and Sultan Khalil (r. 1290–93) in 1291 eliminated the Crusaders' last bastions on the Near Eastern mainland. Sultan Baibars also gradually subdued the Syrian Nizaris. They had joined the anti-Mongol resistance, but the sultan would suffer no independent centre of power in Syria. Between 1271 and 1273 he occupied the Nizaris' last eight fortresses, marking himself out as a champion of Sunni orthodoxy, all the more so because the Mamluks revived a nominal Abbasid caliphate in Cairo.[152]

The rise of the Egyptian Mamluks was also devastating for the Mongol vassal state of Cilician Armenia, for between 1266 and 1295 it suffered ten Mamluk raids and from 1285 also had to pay tribute to the Mamluks.[153] Later, the Crusaders were criticised as short-sighted because of their benevolent attitude of neutrality towards the Mamluks of 1260. But would they have had a better alternative? Hardly, for first they were too weak in numbers to intervene in the war, and secondly they realised that Hülegü was guided not by religious sympathies, but only by pragmatism. Unlike King Louis in 1248, the Crusaders had seen through the Mongols' double-dealing, and were convinced that after a victory over the Mamluks, the Mongols would destroy them in the same way, or at least demand the destruction of their fortresses with an ultimatum; the Crusaders had also not forgotten the Mongol massacres in Poland and Hungary of 1241/42.[154] In the words of Peter Jackson, 'the Franks of Syria and Palestine were facing a new antagonist and [received] deliverance at the hands of an old one'.[155]

For the history of the Mongol Empire and its neighbours, 1260 was a decisive year. In the east a fratricidal war began between Kublai and Arik Böge for the title of Great Khan, and in the west, two years later, the Inner-Mongolian war started between the Il-Khanate and the Golden Horde around Iranian Azerbaijan, Georgia and Arran (today's Republic of Azerbaijan). These Inner-Mongolian versions of the Wars of the Diadochi put an end to the centrally led campaigns of conquest and expansion; from now on, military struggles would only take place inside the existing empire, with the exception of Kublai's wars of conquest in Southeast Asia and against Japan. Egypt was thus not only spared further attacks, but could also set itself up as a stronghold of Islamic culture and a champion of Islam. When the power struggle for the title of Great Khan was decided in 1264 in favour of Kublai Khan,[156] the Mongol Empire fragmented into four independent khanates, though these were not identical with the four *ulus* allotted by Genghis Khan: Tolui's *ulus* in Mongolia was incorporated with Kublai's Chinese khanate, Ögödei's *ulus* in Dzungaria had disappeared and Chagatai's *ulus* was soon usurped by the Ögödeid Kaidu, who emerged as a kingmaker. Only Jochi's *ulus* remained as the Golden Horde, and the Persian Il-Khanate was a new state. As far as the four lines of descent from Genghis Khan are concerned, the Ögödeids (with the exception of Kaidu) were now completely out of the picture and the Chagataids were weakened, while the Jochids enjoyed a resurgence in the Golden Horde as well as in the subordinated White Horde of Orda.[157] The real winners of the disputes were the Toluids, who ruled the wealthy Chinese and Persian khanates as well as the Mongol homeland, and had seized Azerbaijan from the Jochids, whose territory it was. The Toluids' only setback came from Kaidu, who held his ground in Turkestan and prevented a Toluid land corridor from being created between China and the Il-Khanate.[158] The division of the empire into four khanates, often in conflict with each other, put an end to the supposed *Pax Mongolica*. If we bear in mind the meagre or even non-existent pastures of Southeast Asia, Syria and Western Europe, it is clear that the borders of Mongol expansion coincided with the limits the Mongols faced in their use of horses and equestrian divisions in battle.

VIII

The Independent Mongol Khanates

'I called out saying, "I am Baraq, your king [of the Khanate of Chagatai]. Give me a horse," [but] not one paid the slightest attention to me.'

The unhorsed BARAQ KHAN, ruler of the Chagatai khanate, on his disastrous defeat by the Il-Khan Abaqa near Herat on 22 July 1270. Unlike King Richard III, who finds himself in the same predicament in Shakespeare's play, Baraq survived the battle.[1]

1. A Battle of Brothers

Möngke's death on 11 August 1259 brought an end not only to the unity of the Mongol Empire but to the dominance of the steppe over the urban centres. Of the four potentially serious pretenders to the Great Khanate, two renounced any claim: Hülegü, who governed in the Middle East, and Berke, who ruled the steppes of Kipchak, Russia and the Caucasus. Neither of them was willing to risk their still uncertain hold on their territories for the sake of the title. For this reason, the rivalry between **Arik Böge** (r. 1260–64), who controlled Mongolia from Karakorum, and **Kublai** (r. 1260–94), ruling as viceroy in northern China, came to a head. The two brothers were ill-disposed to one another; they subscribed to different ways of life and different political visions. Arik Böge lived the life of a traditional Mongol steppe ruler, and sought to continue to govern from Karakorum, while Kublai had recognised that his future centre of power would lie not on the steppes but in China, with its great cities.

Kublai did not end his war against the Southern Song immediately upon Möngke's death, but only in the spring of 1260, when Arik Böge threatened his capital Kaiping. Kublai hurried back to his territories and on 5 May had himself proclaimed Great Khan by a *kuriltai* he convened for the purpose; Arik Böge then summoned a *kuriltai* of his own that elected him Great Khan in June. Arik Böge enjoyed the support of Möngke's immediate family, of the Jochid Berke Khan and of the Chagatai; Kublai was supported by Il-Khan Hülegü and by Kadan, one of Ögödei's sons. As governor of Besh Baliq, Kadan controlled Kocho, Gansu and Tangut, not only securing Kublai's north-western flank but barring Arik Böge's access to supplies from that region.[2] But with battles of their own to fight, Hülegü and Berke played no role in the struggle for power. Kublai first cut off vital supplies from the city of Karakorum, which soon capitulated, forcing Arik Böge to retreat to the upper Ienissei. After losing a battle against Kadan, Arik Böge helped Chagatai's grandson Alghu to seize power in the Chagatai khanate, hoping to gain access to its resources. After Kublai had defeated Arik Böge in 1261, Alghu accepted his invitation to change sides and, in 1262, cut off his former ally's supplies. Arik Böge managed to take Alghu's headquarters near Almaliq, since Kublai had been unable to come to Alghu's aid on account of an uprising in northern China. But his brutal massacre of Alghu's captured troops provoked revulsion, and many of his notable followers distanced themselves from him. In 1264, faced with an imminent counter-attack from Alghu, Arik Böge surrendered to his elder brother Kublai, who is said to have had him poisoned two years later.[3]

Kublai's success had its price. The Great Khan's rule of the empire was little more than nominal – he had to recognise the de facto independence of Hülegü[4] and Alghu and tacitly acknowledge Berke's autonomy in the west to secure his claim over the eastern part.[5] And not much later the usurpation of power in the Chagatai khanate by the Ögödeid Kaidu, no friend of Kublai's,[6] prevented the development of a land corridor between the allied khanates of China and Iran. Möngke's empire broke apart into four great independent khanates, whose economic power rested no longer on the steppes but on conquered agricultural or urban territories with their own rich resources. Mongolia itself became an impoverished backyard to China. The steppe's hegemony over northern China and Central Asia, which had been established by the Xiongnu and maintained by the two Turkic khanates, the Uyghurs, and finally Genghis Khan, had ended forever. It was an irony of history that the fatal blow was delivered by a grandson of the great Genghis himself.

The Mongol political world now consisted of the **Toluid khanate**, consisting of northern China and Mongolia, which gave birth to the Chinese Yuan dynasty, the **Chagataid khanate** in central and southern Central Asia, the **Il-Khanate** in Iran and the Middle East, and the **Jochid khanate** in north-western Central Asia and southern Russia, that would become the Golden Horde. The latter was made up of three hordes, that of Batu, the most powerful, and those of his younger brother Shaiban and elder brother Orda.

2. The Chinese Yuan Dynasty

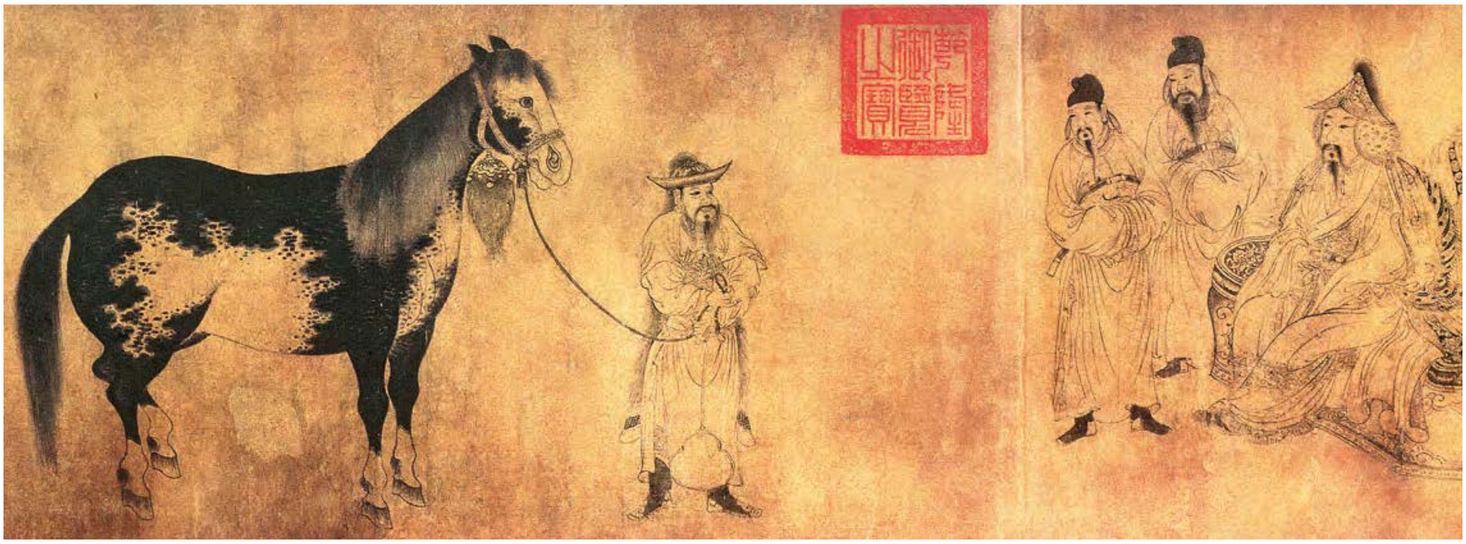
2.1 Kublai Khan

Kublai faced no easy task as the ruler of northern China and Mongolia. The Mongols were only a tiny minority and unsuited to the tasks of administration. He needed to be accepted by his northern Chinese subjects if he were to send his forces to fight the Southern Song without fear of rebellion at home. At the same time, he had to maintain the mental and physical battle-readiness of his warriors, ensuring they did not soften from contact with the comforts of sedentary life. Finally, he had to defeat the dynasty of the Southern Song, which hoped to reconquer northern China and which had an almost inexhaustible supply of troops at its disposal in southern China. Confucian nationalists in both parts of China called on their respective rulers to reunite the land, which had been divided since 907. The geography and climate of southern China presented a further challenge to the Mongols: this was a landscape of canals and rice fields, with deep gorges in the south-west, all of which not only hindered the movement of mounted troops but meant there was little pasture for their horses. In the tropical heat and damp of southern China lurked diseases to which the Mongols were unaccustomed. On top of all this, the many enemy strongholds and the mighty river fleet of the Southern Song, equipped with flame-throwers and simple rockets, meant that the Mongols had to deploy new kinds of weapons if the great offensive launched in 1268 was to succeed.

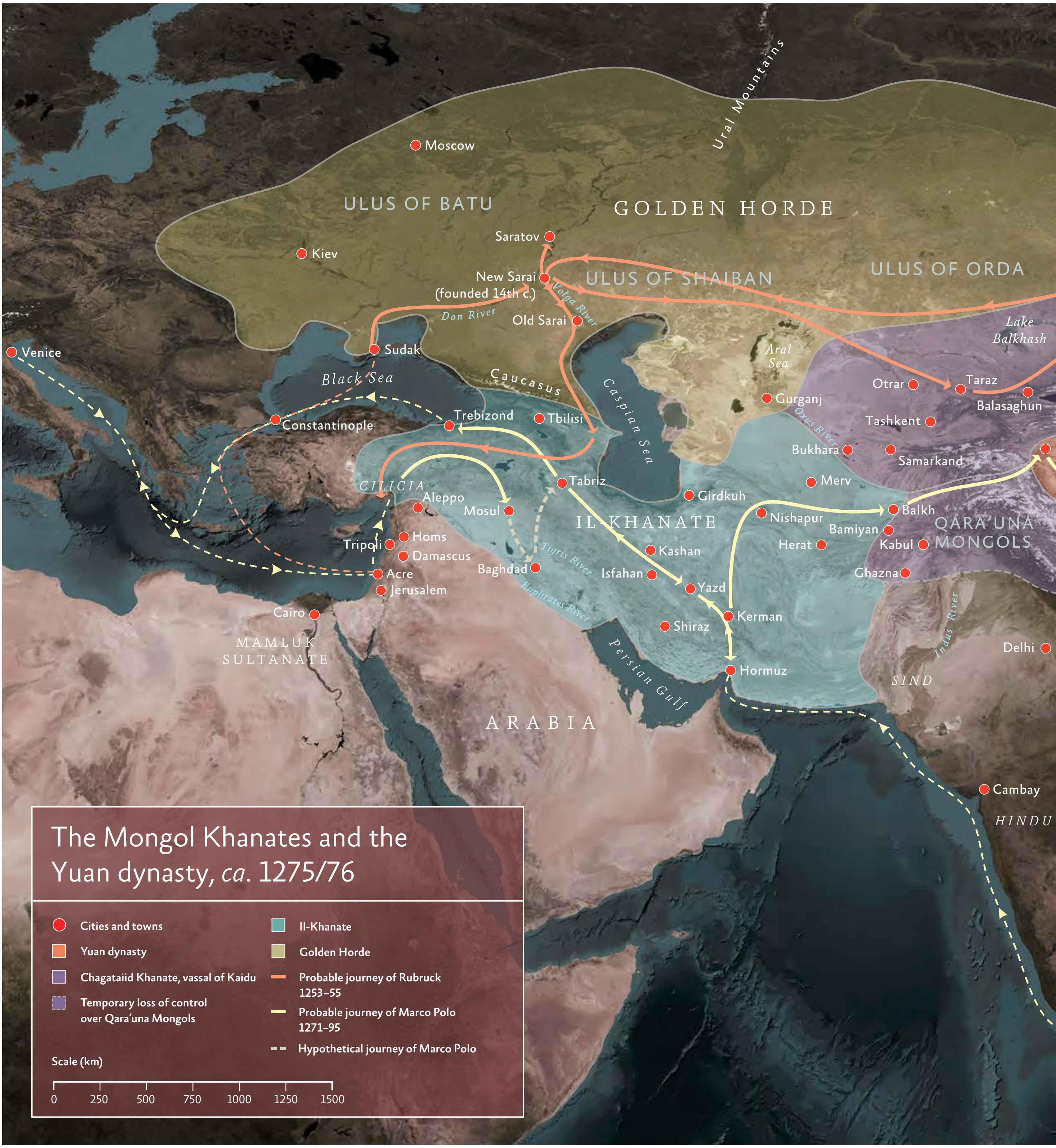
Kublai therefore incorporated Chinese infantrymen into his army and – assisted by the vassal state of Korea, already experienced in naval warfare – he built a river fleet of his own, which was even provided with basic firearms. Alongside this fleet, a transfer of technology from Iran would prove decisive: in 1271, Kublai's nephew, Il-Khan Abaqa (r. 1265–82), sent him two siege engineers named Ismaïl and Ala al-Din, who built for him 'large Frankish catapults' hitherto unknown in China.[7] These were counterweighted trebuchets invented in Byzantium and further developed in the eastern Mediterranean, capable of firing projectiles – like rocks or firebombs – weighing up to 130 kilograms, a distance of some 300 metres. With his river fleet and his superior artillery, Kublai forced the Southern Song to surrender, nonetheless taking care not to damage the southern Chinese economy. The last heir to the Song throne, a child of seven, died in 1279 in the sea battle of Yai Shan.[8] Kublai's triumph ended the 370-year-old division of China, winning him the recognition of Chinese nationalists, despite the fact that the reunification had been brought about not by a Chinese but a 'barbarian'.

2.1.1 A Hybrid Model of Government and Cultural Exchange with the West

Domestically, Kublai took many steps to consolidate Mongol rule. Since traditional Mongol society had known no specialisation, but Kublai wanted not just to conquer but also to govern the largest agrarian country in the world, he adopted Chinese institutions and also employed non-Chinese specialists in the fields of administration, science and technology. In 1271 he founded the **Yuan dynasty** (1271–1368), whose name means 'origin' or 'originating force' in Chinese, thus inscribing himself in the long succession of Chinese emperors and dynasties. As the Mongols represented less than two per cent of the population of the now reunited China, Kublai chose to govern differently from his predecessors, the Liao and the Jin (Jurchen), who had run a dual administration and employed many Chinese officials. Kublai decided upon a unitary administration but divided the population by ethnicity into a four-class society, at the top of which stood the Mongols, and beneath them the Central and Western Asians (such as the Alans), called *Se Mu*, followed by the northern Chinese, the *Han Ren*, and last of all, the southern Chinese, the *Nan Ren*. According to the census of 1290, there were around a million Mongols, a million *Se Mu*, 10 million *Han Ren* and 60 million *Nan Ren*.[9] Mongols and *Se Mu* occupied practically all the leading positions in the administration, the higher ranks of the officer corps and the imperial guard, as well as some 30 per cent of all other public offices, with Central Asian Muslims being favoured in the finance ministry and the tax administration, with the result that Persian emerged as the lingua franca of the Mongol administration. But Nestorian Christians, too, could make a career in the

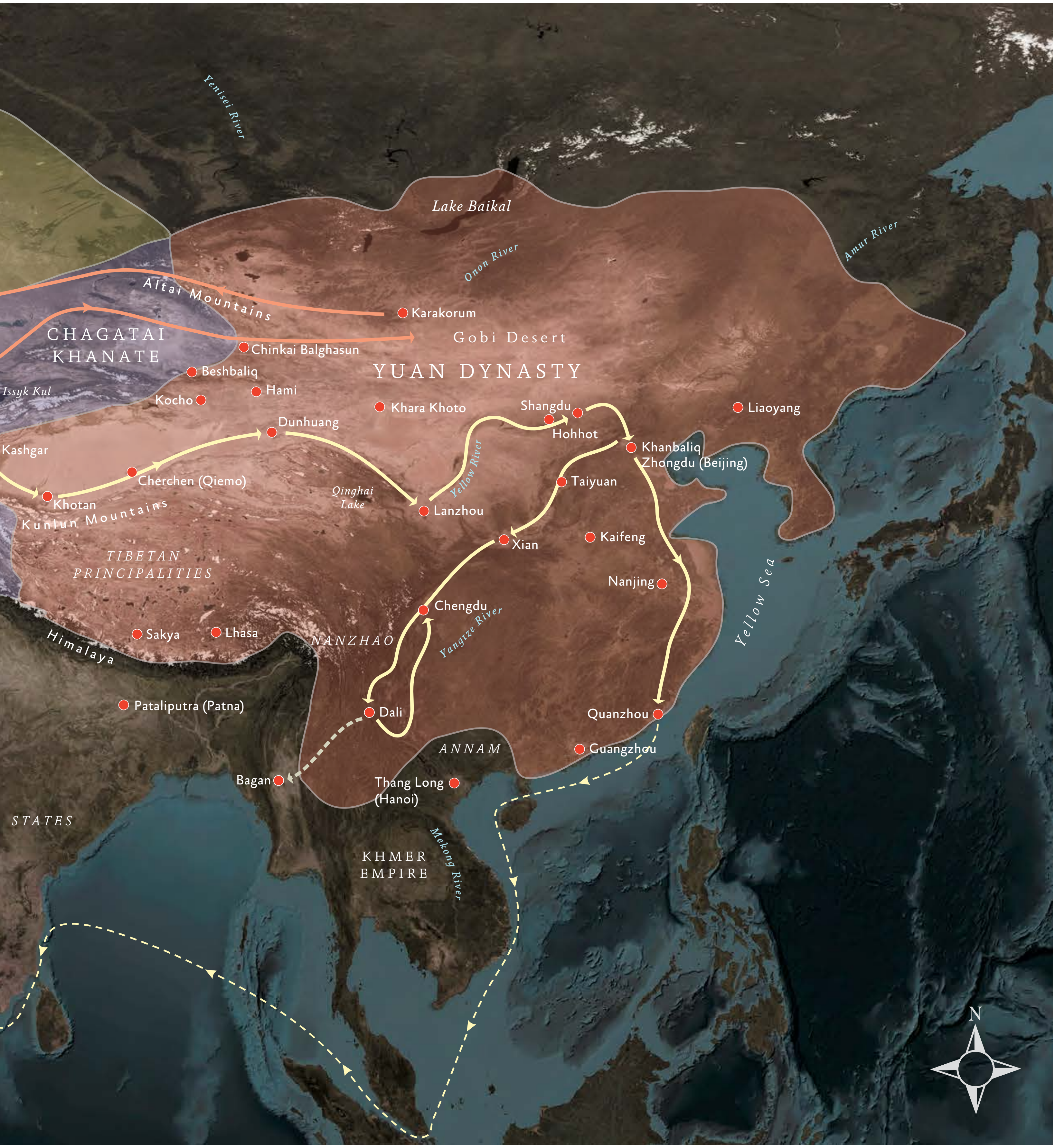


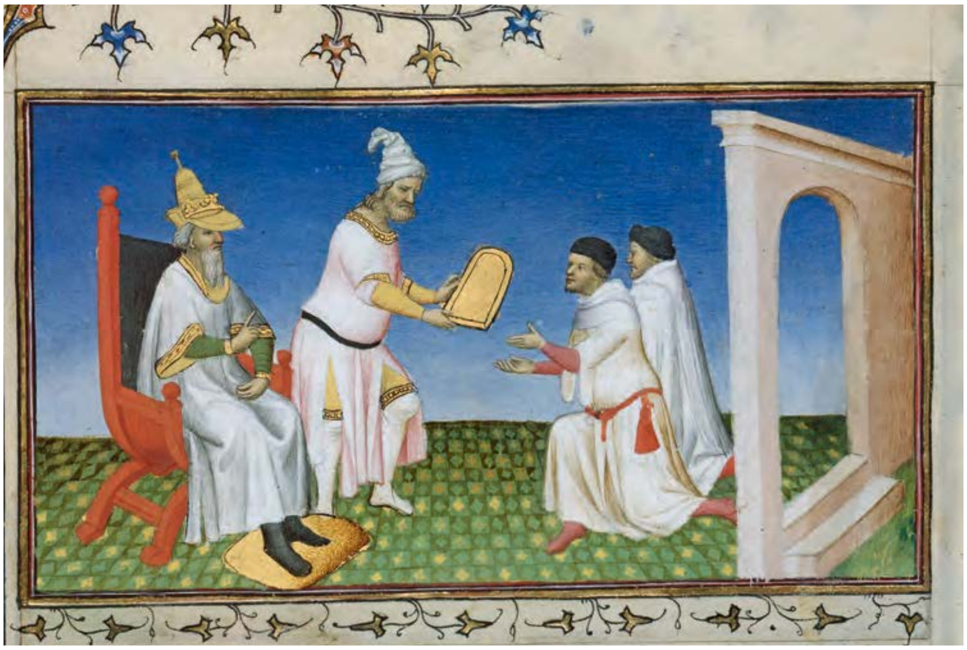
149. ***The Heavenly Horse.*** **Copy on silk fabric of Zhou Lang's 1342 original. Ming era (1368–1644). The scene probably shows a delegation of the Alan guard, just returned from Avignon, presenting Emperor Toghon Temür with a sturdy French warhorse. National Palace Museum, Beijing.**



The Mongol Khanates and the Yuan dynasty, *ca.* 1275/76

Moscow
ULUS OF BATU
GOLDEN HORDE
Ural Mountains
Saratov
Kiev
New Sarai
(founded 14th c.)
ULUS OF SHAIBAN
ULUS OF ORDA
Volga River
Don River
Old Sarai
Lake
Balkhash
Venice
Sudak
Aral
Sea
Black Sea
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
Otrar
Taraz
Balasaghun
Gurganj
Oxus River
Tashkent
Constantinople
Trebizond
Tbilisi
Bukhara
Samarkand
CILICIA
Tabriz
Girdkuh
Merv
Aleppo
Mosul
IL-KHANATE
Nishapur
Balkh
QARA'UNA
MONGOLS
Bamiyan
Tripoli
Homs
Damascus
Herat
Kabul
Kashan
Tigris River
Baghdad
Isfahan
Acre
Ghazna
Jerusalem
Yazd
Euphrates River
Indus River
Cairo
Kerman
Shiraz
Delhi
MAMLUK
SULTANATE
Persian Gulf
Hormuz
SIND
ARABIA
Cambay
HINDU
● Cities and towns
🟧 Yuan dynasty
🟪 Chagataiid Khanate, vassal of Kaidu
▨ Temporary loss of control over Qara'una Mongols
🟦 Il-Khanate
🟨 Golden Horde
— Probable journey of Rubruck 1253–55
— Probable journey of Marco Polo 1271–95
- - Hypothetical journey of Marco Polo
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000
1250
1500


Yenisei River
Lake Baikal
Onon River
Amur River
Altai Mountains
Karakorum
CHAGATAI KHANATE
Gobi Desert
Chinkai Balghasun
Beshbaliq
YUAN DYNASTY
Issyk Kul
Hami
Kocho
Khara Khoto
Shangdu
Liaoyang
Dunhuang
Hohhot
Kashgar
Khanbaliq
Zhongdu (Beijing)
Yellow River
Cherchen (Qiemo)
Taiyuan
Qinghai Lake
Khotan
Lanzhou
Kunlun Mountains
Kaifeng
Xian
TIBETAN PRINCIPALITIES
Nanjing
Yellow Sea
Chengdu
Yangtze River
Sakya
Lhasa
NANZHAO
Himalaya
Pataliputra (Patna)
Dali
Quanzhou
ANNAM
Guangzhou
Bagan
Thang Long (Hanoi)
STATES
KHMER EMPIRE
Mekong River
N



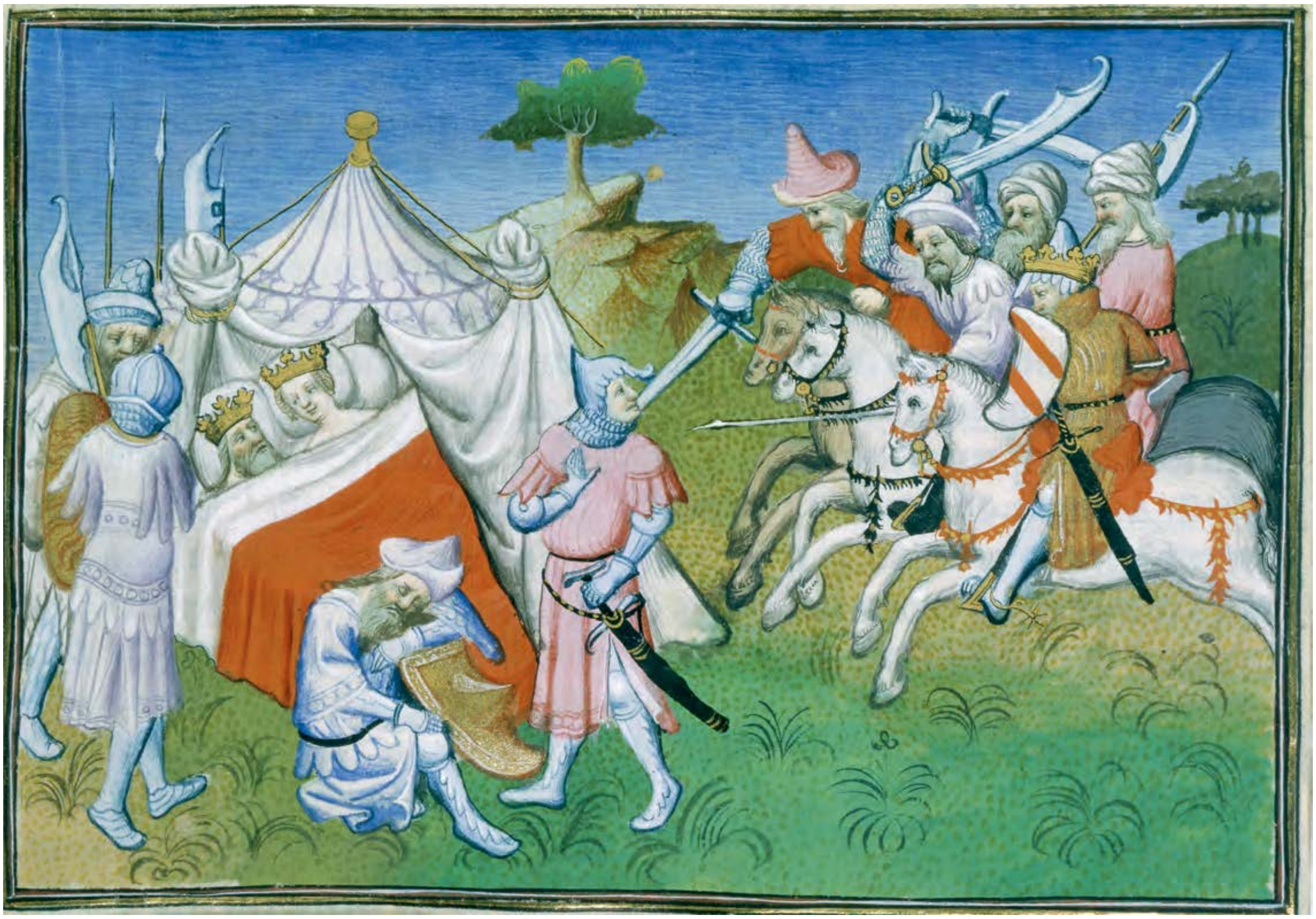
150. Kublai Khan observes the brothers Niccolò (*ca.* 1230–94) and Maffeo Polo (*ca.* 1230–1309) in 1268 as they receive a golden *paiza,* a tablet entitling the Venetians to free transport and free board and lodging wherever they went. Folio from the *Livre des merveilles,* commissioned by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy and completed between 1410 and 1413, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Fr. 2810. fol. 3v.

administration, as witnessed by the example of vice-*darughachi* Mar Sargis, mentioned by Marco Polo. Born in Samarkand, between 1277 and 1280 or 1282 he governed the strategically important city of Zhenjiang at the junction of the Imperial Canal and the Yangtse; yet he was at the same time a priest, and founded seven monasteries in and around the city.[10] Within the Imperial Guard, the elite of the army, a privileged position was enjoyed by 30,000 Christian Alans (called in Mongolian Asud), who had been deported from the Caucasus to Mongolia and northern China in the mid-thirteenth century, and who were distant descendants from the Sarmatians of Antiquity.[11] For the remaining posts, the Han Ren – who included the Jurchen and the Khitan – were preferred over the Nan Ren. With this distribution of functions according to ethnicity, Kublai avoided the path taken by his younger brother Hülegü in the Middle East, who had put his administration in the hands of the conquered Persians.

The Catholic Alans[12] still played a predominant role in the imperial army in 1336, when Toghon Temür (r. 1333–68), the last Yuan emperor, wrote a letter in support of a petition from the Alan Guard – whose commander was head of the imperial military committee – to Pope Benedict XII (in office 1334–42).[13] Toghon Temür's letter to the pope, in which he also asks for horses, continues the contact with the West that Kublai had initiated in 1267 when he entrusted Niccolò and Maffeo Polo with taking a request to the pope to send him 100 learned men. Led by the Genoese merchant Andalò da Savignone, the delegation of fifteen Alans arrived in Avignon in 1338. There they asked the pope for a bishop, because the Catholic archbishop of Khanbaliq, Giovanni da Montecorvino, had died in 1328. Montecorvino had been in China since 1294 and had built two churches in Khanbaliq, not far from the palace.[14] Pope Benedict appointed Giovanni de' Marignolli (in office in China 1342–45, d. 1353), who arrived in Khanbaliq with his Alan companions in 1342. Marignolli's arrival caused a sensation at the imperial court: not because Toghon Temür was impressed by the man himself, but because the bishop had brought with him a splendid warhorse, a gift of the pope that was understood as a tribute offering. The emperor was so enthused that he commissioned the court painter to produce a portrait of the horse, and asked a court poet for an ode, in which the animal was compared to the stallions of Wu Di: '[Emperor] Wu Di of the Han sent out 200,000 soldiers and barely obtained a few horses from Ferghana; but now the Heavenly Horse is come without the exertion of one soldier.'[15] (fig. 149) Marignolli misunderstood this imperial enthusiasm for the pope's gift, believing that the emperor was on the point of converting to Christianity.[16]

Kublai Khan and the Polos

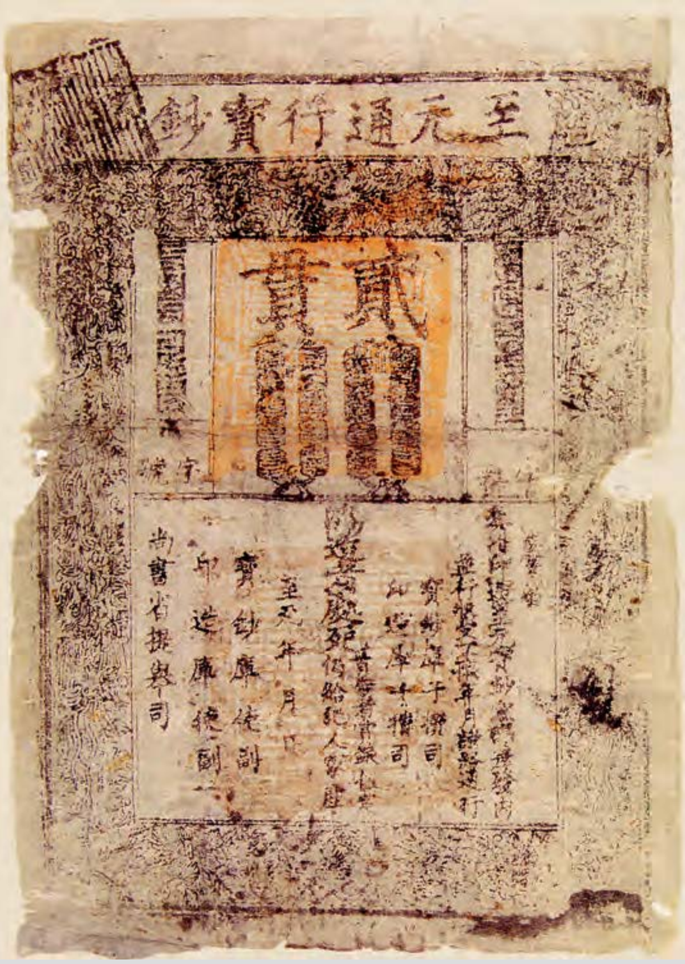
The adventures of the three Polos were the joint outcome of the Venetian trading presence in the Black Sea, three intra-Mongol wars, and Kublai Khan's desire for European scholars. The Polos, a Venetian merchant family, had a house in Constantinople, capital of the Latin Empire,[17] which since 1204 had accorded extensive trading privileges to Venice. After some years in Constantinople, the brothers Niccolò (*ca.* 1230–94) and Maffeo Polo (*ca.* 1230–1309) left the city around 1259 or 1260, moving to their trading post in Soldaia (Sudak) on the southern coast of Crimea, where they traded in precious stones. As Crimea belonged to the Golden Horde of Berke Khan (r. 1257–66), they travelled to Berke's court of Sarai on the Volga. By then, in March 1261, supported by Venice's arch-rival, Genoa, the Byzantine emperor of Nicaea, Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259–82), had regained Constantinople from the Latins, burning the Venetian quarter to the ground and having many of the Venetian prisoners blinded. The Polos could no longer hope to return to Venice via Constantinople. Not long after, a conflict developed between Berke and Hülegü over Azerbaijan, making the Caucasus and eastern Black Sea region impassable. The brothers therefore turned east, reaching Bukhara in 1262 or 1263, where they stayed for three years because the conflict within the Chagatai khanate and the war between the brothers Kublai and Arik Böge prevented them from travelling further. It was not until Kublai's victory that they had an opportunity to continue their journey: an embassy sent by Hülegü to Kublai halted at Bukhara and the Polos joined the group. They reached Kublai Khan in 1266/67, probably in Shangdu, and he received them in friendly fashion. He entrusted the Polos with a letter to the pope, in which he asked to be sent 'a hundred persons of our Christian faith; intelligent men acquainted with the Seven liberal arts'.[18] It seems very unlikely that Kublai wanted



151. Kublai Khan's army surprises in 1287 the rebel Prince Nayan of Manchuria in bed with his wife, while a guard remains asleep. Folio from the *Livre des merveilles,* commissioned by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, and completed between 1410 and 1413, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Fr. 2810, fol. 34r.

100 missionaries, as is sometimes claimed, since he was close to Buddhism, and Christianity offered him no political advantage. What the emperor surely wanted was men of scholarly and scientific ability, the Seven liberal arts, after all, being grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, mathematics, geometry and astronomy.[19] Provided with a golden *paiza* (fig. 150) that identified them as emissaries of the Great Khan, the two Polos reached the eastern shore of the Mediterranean again in spring 1269.[20] They were, it would seem, the first Latin Europeans to have reached north-eastern China in the Middle Ages.

In Acre, capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Polos met the newly elected Pope Gregory X (r. 1271–76). The pope was interested in establishing diplomatic relations with Kublai, because in the autumn of 1271 there was a coordinated, if finally unsuccessful, military operation against the Mamluks by the English Prince Edward (later Edward I) and the Il-Khan Abaqa's general Samaghar,[21] and the pope hoped to win the favour of Abaqa's nominal overlord. He gave the Polos a letter for Kublai, but sent with it not 100 learned men but only two Dominicans. These took fright at Sultan Baibar's counter-offensive and faint-heartedly took their leave of the Polos after only a few days.[22] The two brothers went on without them, accompanied by Niccolò's son Marco (1254–1324). Because of the war in Central Asia between Kublai Khan and his Il-Khanid allies and the Ögödeid Kaidu, who had compelled the Chagataids to support him, the Polos chose a southern route avoiding the Ögödeid and Chagataid territories between the Oxus and Ili rivers. The three men crossed Iran (Marco later recorded their encounter with oil wells in Georgia or Azerbaijan)[23] to arrive at the port of Hormuz. From there they hoped to take ship for China, but were horrified at the Arab vessels they saw: 'The ships are wretched affairs and many of them get lost; for they have no iron fastenings, and are only stitched together with twine made from the husk of the Indian nut.'[24] They therefore decided to take the land route, travelling north-east to Balkh and Badakhshan, where Marco heard of rich deposits of rubies and lapis lazuli, and on to Kashgar. In the Wakhan Corridor, Marco was struck by the presence of the large wild sheep that would later be named after him (*Ovis ammon polii*), and in the high Pamirs he noted the lower boiling point of water, which made cooking more difficult.[25]

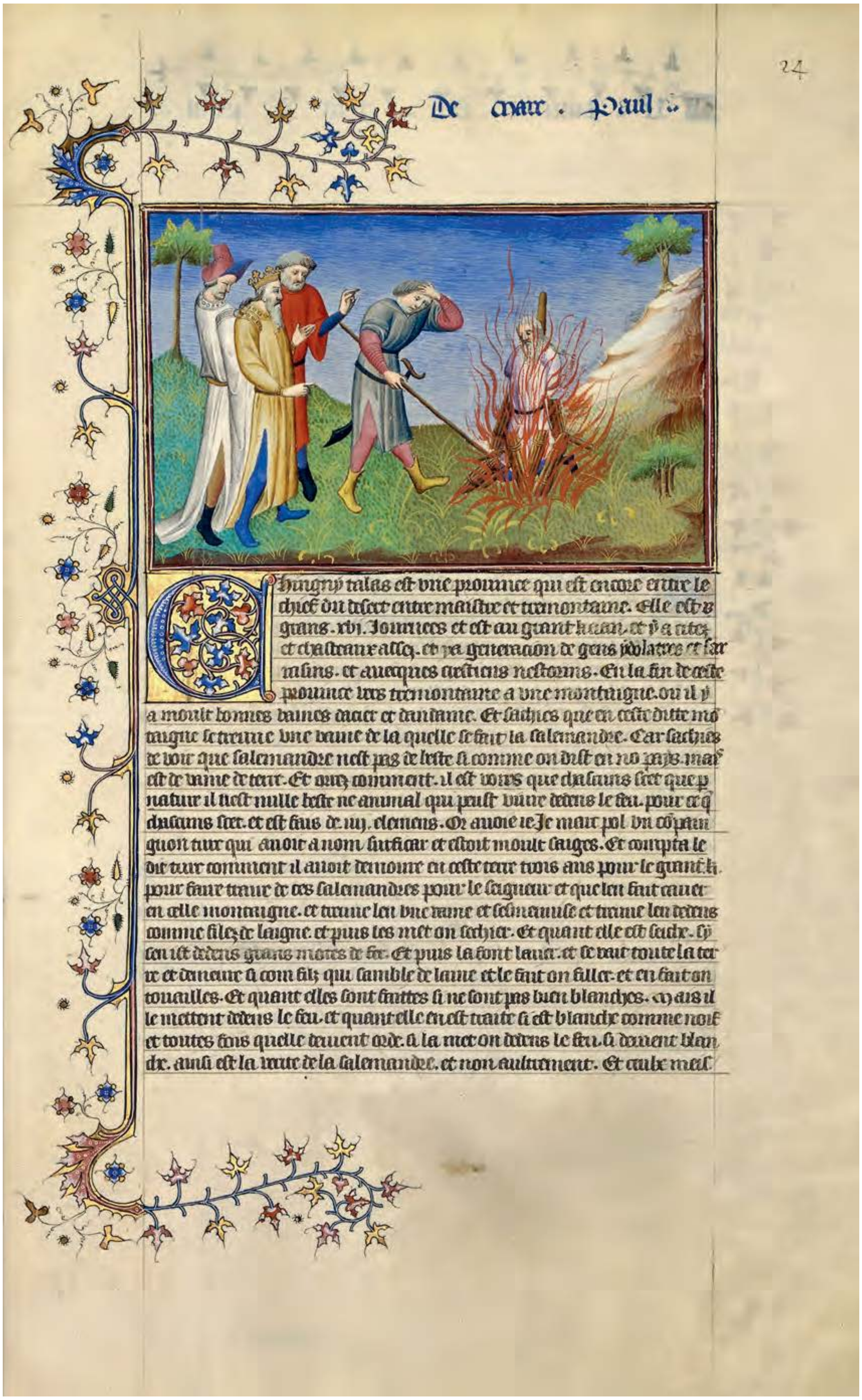


152. Paper banknote printed in the woodblock technique and issued in 1287, Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, China.

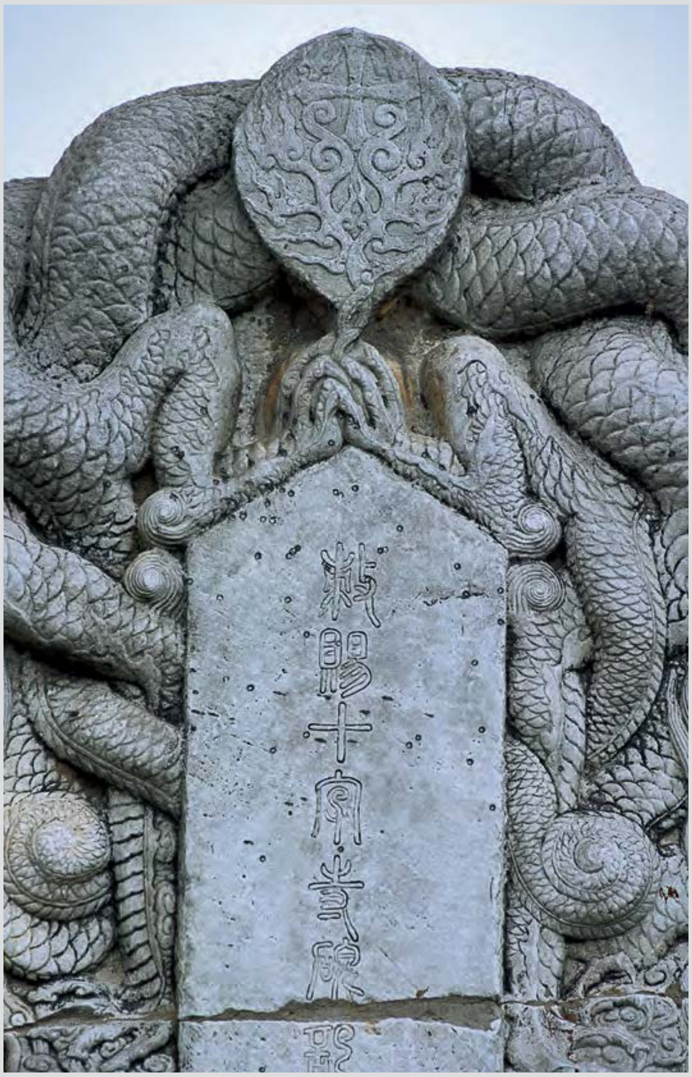
Leaving Kashgar, the Polos followed the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert, where, crossing the Lop Nor, Marco experienced hallucinations, like the Buddhist pilgrim monks Faxian and Xuanzang before him.[26] 'When travellers are on the move by night [because of the great heat during day], and one of them chances to lag behind [. . .] he will hear spirits talking, and will suppose them to be his comrades. Sometimes the spirits will call him by name; and thus shall a traveller ofttimes be led astray so that he never finds his party.'[27] In the province of Tangut, Marco witnessed a Buddhist cremation, at which the deceased was provided with symbolic gifts made of paper: 'And when it [the body] reaches the burning-place the kinsfolk are prepared with figures cut out of parchment and paper in the shape of men and horses and camels [. . .] and all these they burn with the corpse.'[28] Another funerary custom also attracted Marco's attention: among the Mongols, the parents of a deceased boy and those of a deceased girl wedded their dead children at a solemn ceremony, burnt the marriage agreement, and henceforward treated each other as related by marriage.[29] In 1275, the three Polos reached Kublai's summer capital of Shangdu, where the khan received them in a palace of bamboo that could easily be dismantled and rebuilt somewhere else.[30] The imperial court probably took the Polos to be a papal embassy bearing tribute, redounding to the greater glory of the emperor. Marco reported that Kublai regularly hunted while in Shangdu, taking with him a leopard – most likely a cheetah – on his horse's crupper.[31]

Kublai soon entrusted Marco with administrative tasks,[32] which enabled him to travel to Chengdu, Dali and Kunming in southern China, perhaps even to the Burmese capital of Bagan, which Marco called 'Mien'. He did in any case describe the first, failed Burma

153. The King of Ghinghintalas (assumed to be in eastern Turkestan) observes how wearing an asbestos tunic can protect a man from fire. Folio from the *Livre des merveilles,* commissioned by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy and completed between 1410 and 1413, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Fr 2810, fol. 24r.



campaign of 1277–79; only in 1287 did Kublai's grandson Esen Temür succeed in capturing Bagan and compelling Burma to pay tribute.[33] Marco was the first European to mention Japan, which in 1281, helped by a typhoon, beat off Kublai's second attack.[34] Marco Polo's book also tells of a dangerous pincer offensive launched by Kaidu from the west and Prince Nayan from the east. In 1285, Kaidu incited the Tibetan Buddhist Kagyü-Drigungpa order to revolt against the dominant Sakyapas loyal to Kublai, while the Chagataid Du'a, at his behest, besieged Kocho in the Uyghur lands and then in 1286 launched a successful attack on Besh Baliq.[35] Only a year later Kaidu began to threaten Mongolia, and Prince Nayan, a descendant of Genghis Khan's half-brother Belgutei, rose up in Manchuria. The 72-year-old Kublai thought the situation so dangerous that he led the campaign against Nayan in person, capturing him in battle and afterwards putting him to death (fig. 151). Although Nayan was a Nestorian, the Christians in Kublai's empire suffered no retribution.[36] When Muslims and Buddhists at court taunted the Nestorians, saying that Nayan's god had been no help to him, the emperor reassured them: 'Nayan was a disloyal and traitorous rebel against his Lord, and well deserved that which had befallen him. Wherefore the Cross of your God [which Nayan displayed on his banners] did well in that it gave him no help against the right.'[37]



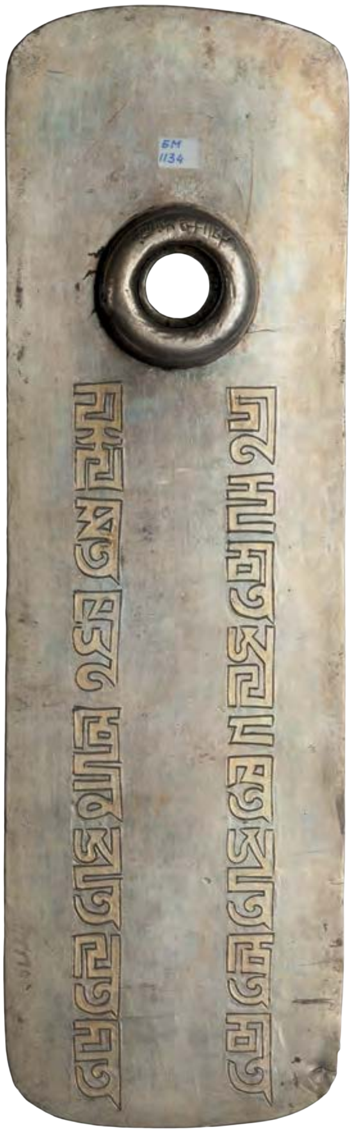
154. Upper section of the front of a Nestorian stone stele in Fang Shan, China. The seven characters state: 'this stele proclaims that by imperial edict this is the Monastery of the Cross'. At the very top a cross is visible. In 1919, two large inscribed steles were found near Fang Shan, situated 70 kilometres south-west of Beijing. The larger stele, 273 centimetres high, is inscribed on both sides. The front, dating from 1365, declares that the restoration of the Nestorian monastery was completed in 1357 and praises the wisdom of Emperor Toghon Temür (r. 1333–68), who authorised the reconstruction.[27] Photo: 2001.

In his account of his travels Marco describes China's many peculiarities,[38] such as the Mongol and Se Mu domination of the administration,[39] the use of paper money (fig. 152), the postal system,[40] the cowrie-shell currency used in Yunnan[41] and the salt used for payment in Tibet,[42] the extensive mining of coal,[43] the silk industry of Taiyuan (Shanxi) and the *nasij* gold brocade (fig. 158) produced in Sindachu,[44] heat-resistant asbestos (fig. 153)[45] and, of course, porcelain (fig. 160).[46] Marco also tells of how Kublai built the Imperial Canal from Hangzhou to Khanbaliq[47] and of the imposing ocean-going ships whose hull might consist of up to thirteen vertical, watertight compartments[48] – should such a ship spring a leak, the water would go no further than the affected compartment, the others remaining dry and the vessel staying afloat. The Chinese discovered the principle of the bulkhead in the twelfth century, while it came into use in the West only in the late eighteenth century.[49]

The Polos remained in China for 17 years.[50] Only in late 1291 or early 1292 did the khan give them permission to return home, asking them to escort the Mongolian princess Kököchin, who was intended as bride of the Il-Khan Arghun (r. 1284–91), on the sea journey to Iran. As well as gifts for themselves, the khan gave them letters to the Pope and the kings of France and England. Together with Kököchin, the Polos embarked at the great seaport of Zaytun (Quanzhou), cosmopolitan starting-point of the maritime silk route, home to large Muslim, Nestorian, Latin and Hindu communities.[51] By the time the Polos reached Hormuz in 1294, Arghun was already dead, so his brother and successor Gaikhatu (r. 1291–95) gave the princess to Arghun's son Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) as his bride. A year later, the Polos finally reached Venice, after a 24-year absence.[52] Marco Polo, however, had one more unwelcome adventure before him, for he would be taken prisoner at the sea battle of Curzola, fought between Venice and Genoa in the autumn of 1298, and released only in the late summer of the following year. He used the period of his imprisonment to dictate his memoirs to a fellow-prisoner, the writer Rustichello da Pisa, whose short text he probably later expanded upon himself, with the result that his celebrated book, *Il Milione*, exists in several different versions.[53]

The Yuan imperial administration resembled a colonial system of government. Of the ten provinces, only the central province consisting of Hebei, Shandong, Shanxi and Inner Mongolia, fell directly under the emperor, whereas the remaining provinces were governed by a civilian general administrator, who was answerable to the central government secretariat. This was led by two prime ministers, who also directed the six government ministries: the ministries of finance, war, rites and foreign relations, justice, personnel, and public works.[54] The governors were each monitored by a *darughachi*, who answered to the finance minister. The provinces enjoyed a wide-ranging autonomy, with the central government retaining sole control only of foreign and economic policy and military affairs. As Kublai doubted the loyalty of his civil servants, he adopted that very Chinese institution, the Censorate, which watched over government servants, and granted it extensive powers. Kublai's hybrid governmental structure combined the traditional form of rule of the northern steppe empires and the Chinese model of administration, though with little involvement of the Han Chinese themselves. However, the appanages granted to Mongol princes by Kublai's predecessors were a considerable burden on state finances.[55] Although Kublai succeeded in reducing them in number, his weaker successors expanded them again to such an extent that the demands of those enjoying such privileges could only be accommodated by the sale of silver reserves and an inordinate expansion in the mass of paper money in circulation, which contributed decisively to the fall of the currency and the collapse of state finances that ensued.[56]

The contradiction between a mobile army of steppe warriors and a sedentary state was one that Kublai Khan could not resolve. The traditional Mongol army was self-sufficient, since those liable for service had to provide horses and weapons for themselves. For this they would be compensated in booty. As nomadic pastoralists and hunters, the Mongols were born warriors, whose everyday life gave them all the training they needed. To be stationed in a Chinese garrison did not suit them at all. Nor did the land allocated to Mongol soldiers in northern China produce enough for their upkeep and armament, so they soon had to sell it. The Yuan dynasty's wars yielded little booty, if any, and the Mongol warriors found themselves in the contradictory position of being owners of agricultural land who were nevertheless expected to be soldiers available for mobilisation at any moment. Many Mongols stationed in China ended up dependent on greedy tax collectors, who also lent out money at usurious interest; they sank into poverty and were forced to sell their children into slavery.[57] Furthermore, soldiers in stationary postings stopped handling horses and weapons on a daily basis, and they lost some of their fighting ability. And as the Mongol heartland, reduced in 1307 to the mere province of Lingbei,[58] no longer enjoyed an inflow of tribute and booty but suffered an exodus of young men and horses, it rapidly fell into poverty.



155. A silver *paiza*, 30.5 centimetres long, with gilt inscription in 'square' Phagpa script, named after its creator Lama Phagpa. On the front surface are three vertical lines, while on the back, shown in the photo, there are two of them. Five additional Chinese characters engraved in the circular bulge surrounding the hole read 'Proclamation no. 42'. The Mongolian inscription translates as follows: 'By the power of the Eternal Heaven, blessed be the name of the Immortal Khan. He who does not show due respect shall be brought down and put to death.' 1269 or later.[28] The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Inv. no. BM-1134.

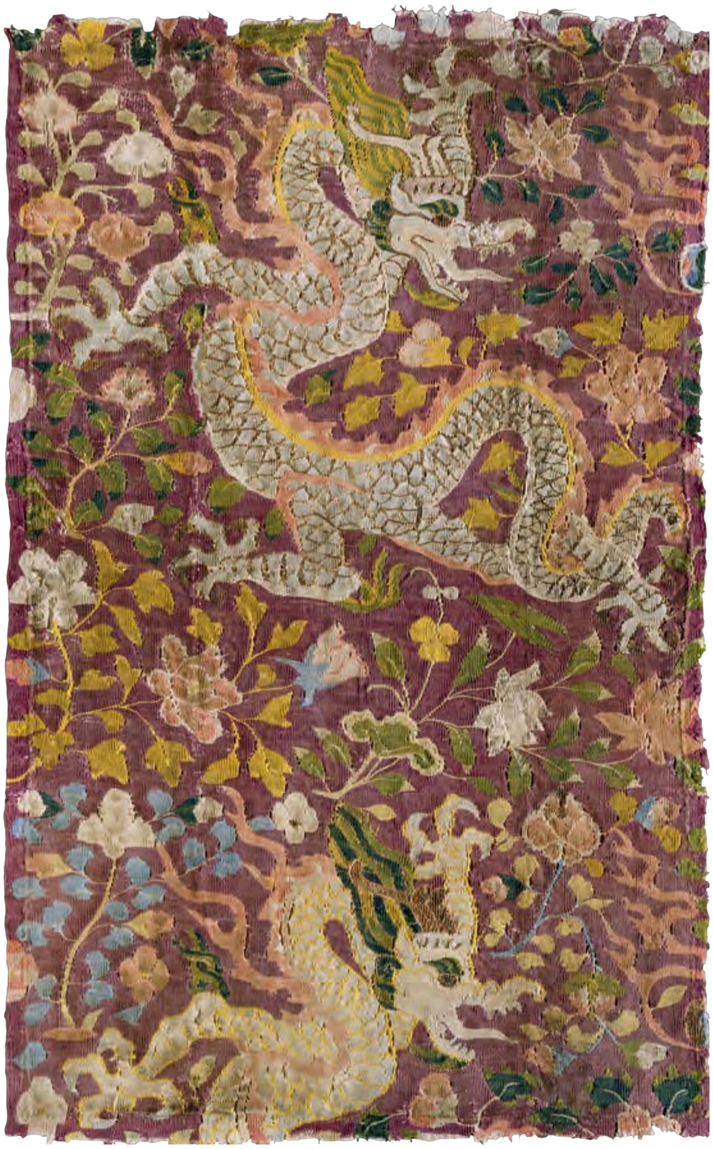
In 1264, even before his attack on the Song, Kublai ordered the creation of a new capital, Zhongdu (Khanbaliq, Daidu),[59] near the site of today's Beijing, indicating a continuity with the Jin dynasty, whose own capital had been in the same area. Khanbaliq was rectangular and symmetrical in plan, with north–south and east–west

156. White stupa in the Miaoying Temple, Beijing, China. The stupa was built in 1279 by the Nepalese artist and architect Aniko (1244–1306). Photo: 2005.

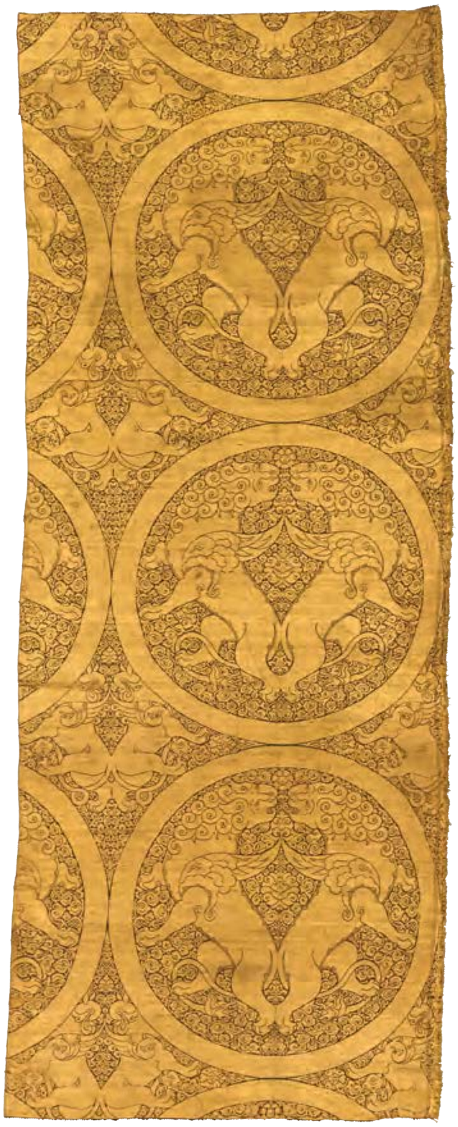
axes running from city gate to city gate, and the main streets were so wide that nine horsemen could ride side by side.[60] The city walls were 28.6 kilometres long. However, Zhongdu – where from 1274 on Kublai lived in his palace except in summer – had the disadvantage that the surrounding region did not produce enough grain to feed the city, so that it had to be supplied with rice and wheat from the south. As transport by land was inefficient and transport by sea unreliable because of typhoons, Kublai Khan ordered the restoration and extension of the Imperial Canal (now known as the Grand Canal), which had first come into use in the year 609/10. Completed in 1293, and mentioned admiringly by Marco Polo,[61] the Imperial Canal, linking Hangzhou in the south to Khanbaliq in the north, was 1,800 kilometres long. It supplied the capital with food and stimulated China's internal trade and thus greatly contributed to the economic reunification of the country. When the Yellow River changed its course to the north in 1344, it made the Imperial Canal unusable and caused an economic crisis. Seven years later, by mobilising 170,000 soldiers and workers, the Mongol imperial chancellor Toghto'a (1314–56), who had earlier overseen the composition of the official annals of the Liao, Jin and Song dynasties, succeeded in diverting the river back to its southern course and reopening the Imperial Canal. It then remained in uninterrupted use until the 1850s, when the Yellow River again shifted north.[62] Other measures to promote economic activity by Kublai Khan were the introduction of a unified paper currency[63] and a uniform tax code, the adoption of foreign technologies and the promotion of health, education and agriculture. The Yuan encouraged cotton production in China and the cultivation of rice and tea in Iran and the Middle East.[64] Kublai's preference for merchants over scholars, however, represented a reversal of values in a China where scholars had traditionally ranked far higher than merchants in the social hierarchy.

Two kinds of foreign experts were employed in Kublai's China: First deported prisoners of war who worked as slaves on the building of Karakorum or at specialist manufactories in Chinkai Balghasun, Besh Baliq,[65] Xunmalin and in the region of Chahar, near Zhangjiakou, producing weapons, armour or consumer goods such as silk fabrics. Particularly popular among the Mongols were the *nasij* (Chinese: *nashishi*) silk textiles, named after an originally

Central Asian technique in which decorative motifs are introduced during the weaving process with the addition of gold or silver thread, normally in the weft. To produce this thread, gold or silver leaf was applied to a core material such as paper thread.[66] These *nasij* silks were favoured by Mongol and particularly Il-Khanid rulers as gifts for Western sovereigns, among them the pope. In Italy, it was called *panno tartarico* or 'Tartar cloth', often used to wrap the relics of Christian saints. As Lauren Arnold observes, 'it is ultimately ironic that a fair proportion of the *panno tartarico* that came to rest in medieval church treasuries was actually the product of Muslim weavers forced to weave in China'.[67] These *nasij* textiles, which European merchants also bought in the markets of Laiazzo (Ayas in Cilicia, on the eastern Mediterranean), Caffa, Soldaia and Tana (Tanaïs) on the Black Sea, as well as in Tabriz in Iranian Azerbaijan, were so highly prized in Western Europe that they were copied by Italian silk weavers and depicted in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century paintings.[68] Chinese-Mongolian textile patterns were even more influential in neighbouring Iran, with dragons, phoenixes, clouds and curious rock formations all making their appearance in fabrics, ceramics and book miniatures of that country.[69] So there were transfers in both directions: at first Central Asian and eastern Iranian prisoners of war brought *nasij* brocade to China, then



157. Silk and metallic thread tapestry of the type known as *kesi* with a pattern of dragons and flowers from Uyghur eastern Central Asia (present-day Xinjiang), eleventh to twelfth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inv. no. 1987.275. After the Mongols had deported Uyghur weavers to the manufactories north of Khanbaliq, this style from eastern Central Asia spread to China.

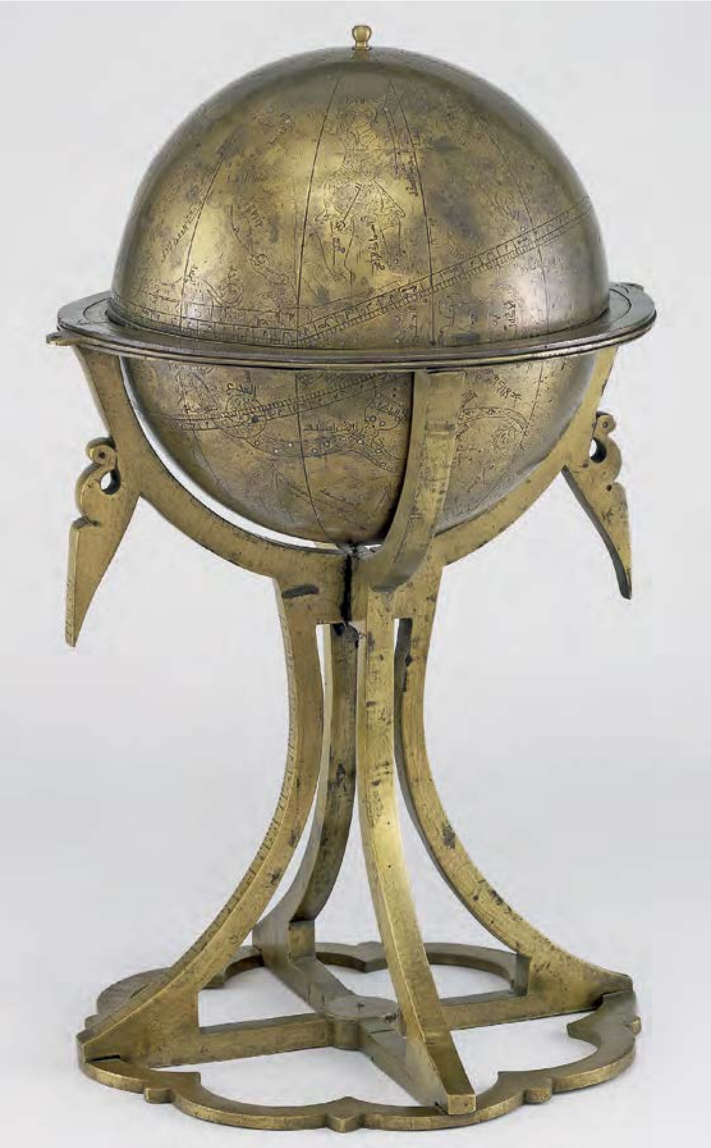


158. Cloth of gold with winged lions and griffins, Central Asia, mid-thirteenth century. Members of the Mongol elite were particularly fond of *nasij* silks of this kind, woven from gold or silver thread. The arrangement of pairs of winged lions and griffins, set inside medallions and in the spaces between, originated from eastern Iran and western Central Asia. Cleveland Museum of Art. Inv. 1989.50.

returning craftsmen and Chinese merchants took Chinese motifs to Central Asia and Iran.

The second group of experts comprised artists and applied scientists such as astronomers, geographers, agronomists and physicians, who more or less willingly entered Mongol service, and by doing so made a massive contribution to cultural exchange between China and Central Asia and the Middle East. A good example is the astronomer Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Tahir (Chinese: Zhamaluding) from Bukhara, who first produced a celestial map for Möngke[70] and then in 1267 presented Kublai Khan with seven 'Islamic' astronomical instruments produced in China, including a celestial and a terrestrial globe, an armillary sphere showing the movements of the celestial bodies, and an astrolabe to measure their angles. In 1271 Jamal set up the Islamic Astronomical Bureau in Khanbaliq, and between 1286 and 1291 he directed the production of a geographical compendium including maps of the whole Mongol Empire.[71] Jamal's terrestrial globe was exceptional in featuring a grid in coloured ink representing the Islamic system of longitude and latitude. The use of a grid of longitude and latitude to precisely identify a location in space and in relation to other similarly precisely identified locations[72] went back to the Persian geographer Muhammad ibn Najib Bakran of Tus, in Khorasan, who in 1208/09 produced a map of the world for Shah Muhammad II of Chorasmia, more than a century before Hamdallah Mustawfi al-Qazvini produced his in 1340.[73] As Bakran recorded in his *Jahan-nameh* or 'Book of the World' of 1244, his now lost map had a grid of longitude and latitude drawn in red that made it possible to determine the location of each place, while east–west lines divided it into seven climatic zones.[74] Jamal al-Din's terrestrial globe of 1267 was thus derived from Bakran's world map, and the early-fourteenth-century grid maps of the Yuan dynasty, like those of 1330/31, originated as two-dimensional projections of Islamic terrestrial globes.[75]

Another innovation of the Yuan dynasty is the famous blue and white porcelain commonly attributed to the Ming dynasty



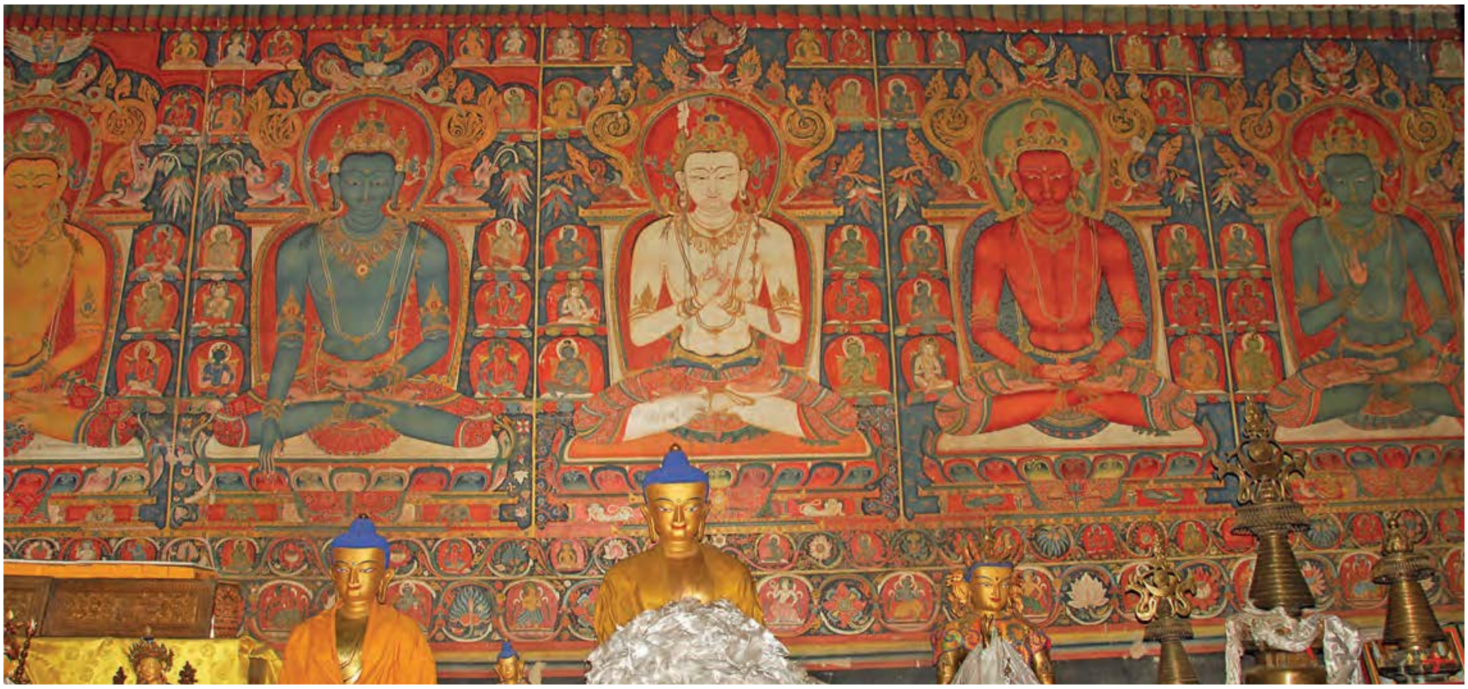
159. A brass celestial globe, 24.1 centimetres in diameter, probably fashioned in Maragheh, Iran by the astronomer Mohammad ibn Hilal, in 1275–76. It is widely thought that Hülegü deported the astronomer from Mosul to Maragheh sometime around 1262. Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Tahir may well have made a similar celestial globe for Kublai Khan in 1267. The British Museum, London, ME OA 1871.3-1.1 a,b.

160. Glazed, blue and white porcelain bowl from the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, China.

(1368–1644) fig. 160. Its production in fact began in the Mongol period, in great part because Kublai freed government potters from the aesthetic requirements of the Song imperial court and its scholar officials, restoring their creative freedom. They began to experiment with new techniques and materials, including the cobalt that came from Il-Khanid Iran.[76] The export of porcelain to the riparian states of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf significantly contributed to the growth of maritime trade.[77] The fragile porcelain was packed 'with a mixture of sand, earth, soya bean and wheat and sprinkled with water, which then produced a solid mass. When [the container] reached its destination [the mass] was once more sprinkled with water and the porcelain emerged intact.'[78] Camels were unsuited to the transport of such heavy chests whereas ships could cope easily with large consignments.

In matters of religion, Kublai continued his ancestors' policy of tolerance, so long as no religious practice infringed Mongol law.[79] He found a willing tool in the Tibetan Buddhist dignitary Chögyel Phagpa, who bestowed on him an exalted religious and pseudo-historical status in a way that would have been unthinkable for a Confucian, Muslim or Christian scholar or religious authority. Kublai appointed Phagpa his *ti-shi* or imperial preceptor.[80] The lama for his part declared the emperor to be a *cakravartinraja*, an ideal ruler, fulfilment of the Buddhist notion of the righteous king.[81] Moreover, he also recognised Genghis Khan and Möngke as righteous kings. The three Mongol rulers were no longer mere successors to the fallen Chinese dynasties of the Jin and the Song, but stood in the line of that illustrious paragon the Emperor Ashoka, and Kublai was even glorified as an embodiment of Manjushri, bodhisattva of wisdom, honoured as a divinity by Buddhists. This was not entirely new: early forms of such caesaropapism had emerged in the Tibetan Empire by the eighth and ninth century.[82] Kublai's goodwill towards Tibetan Buddhism also found expression in art and in a new alphabet: as mentioned earlier,[83] he charged Phagpa Lama with the development of a new script, which did not however succeed in gaining broad acceptance (figs. 155, 165).[84] In the mid-1260s Phagpa introduced the young Nepalese artist Aniko (1244–1306) to the emperor, who entrusted him with several building projects in Daidu (fig. 156) and at Mount Wutai. As imperial supervisor of art and architecture, Aniko also contributed to the development of the celebrated Newar-Yuan-style. Famous examples of this style can be seen in the wall paintings of the Serkhang temple at the Shalu monastery in Central Tibet (fig. 161).[85]

Apart from the victory over the Southern Song, which brought about the reunification of China, itself probably the most significant legacy of the Genghisids, Kublai's efforts on the foreign policy front were not unambiguously successful. In the north, he succeeded in retaining control of the Mongol heartland and its supply of horses, and also in repelling Kaidu's offensive. In the

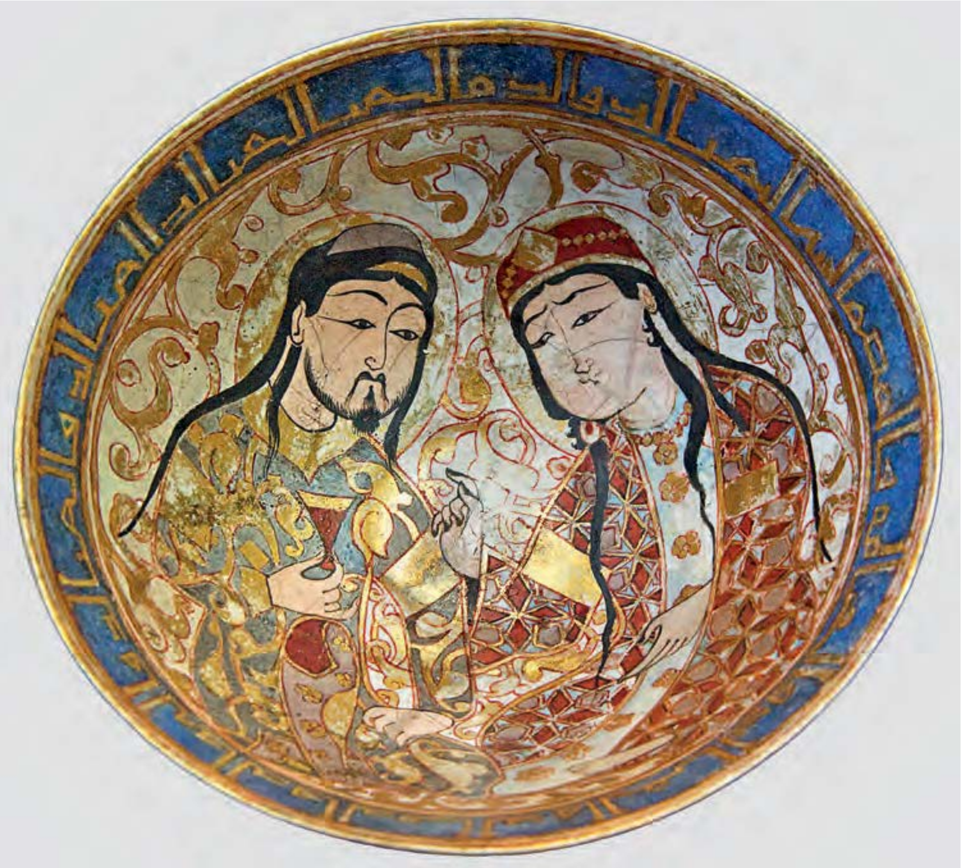


161. The five Tathagata Buddhas in the Segoma Lhakhang Chapel of the Serkhang Temple in the Shalu Monastery, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. The mural depicting the Five Wisdom Buddhas (left to right) Ratnasambhava, Aksobhya, Vairocana, Amitabha and Amoghasiddi was painted in 1306, possibly a little later[29] during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Photo: 2006.

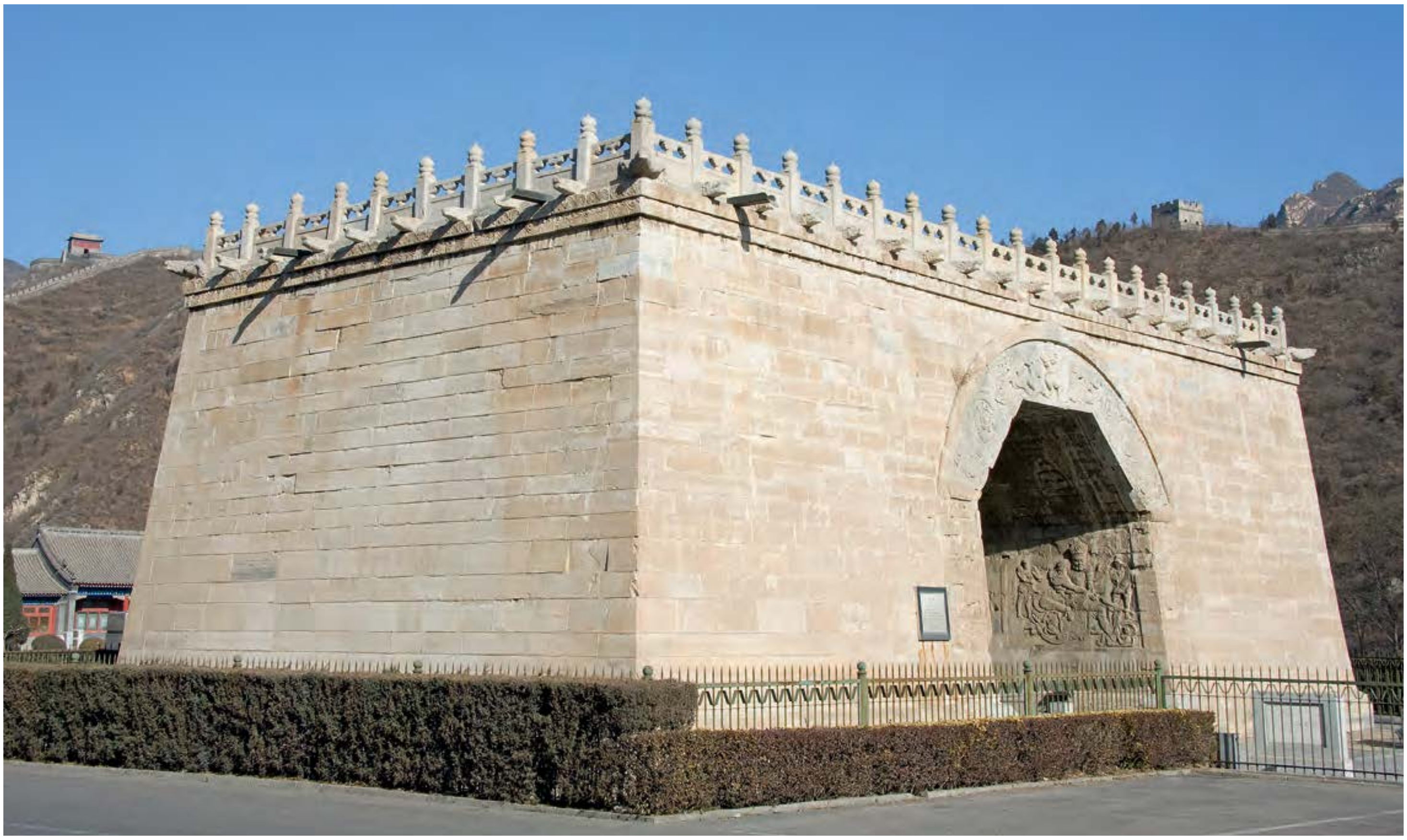
west, he had to put up with a stalemate, for while he had been able to fend off Kaidu (except in Uyghuristan) he had not been able to defeat the Kaidu-controlled Chagatai khanate and so establish a strategically desirable land connection between China and friendly Il-Khanid Persia. In the east, his attacks on Japan in 1274 and 1281 saw the destruction of the invading fleets, while in the south the numerous expeditions to Burma, Annam (northern Vietnam), Champa (southern Vietnam) and Java resulted at best in purely nominal recognition of Kublai's overlordship but often ended in serious defeats.[86] These militarily ineffectual expeditions were a heavy burden on the imperial finances and destroyed the myth of Mongol invincibility. We might ask whether another, more mercantile strategy would have proved more profitable, along the lines of that pursued by the Russian merchant family of the Stroganovs in Siberia, from the sixteenth century on,[87] or the British East India Company in India, from the seventeenth century. These two 'public-private partnerships' sought less tribute or political recognition but rather a trading monopoly whose profits they shared with their respective governments. Military force was employed only when necessary; the ever-present threat of its use was often sufficient. The Mongol Empire was a traditional military empire, while Russia and Great Britain created prototypes of today's global economic empires. In any event, Mongol expansion reached its maximum extent in the time of Kublai: although the political unity of the Mongols was broken, the lands under their rule extended 8,000 kilometres, from Korea to Poland, Syria and Anatolia.

2.2 Kublai's Successors and the End of the Yuan Dynasty

Kublai Khan's successors would have to deal with his legacy, facing increasing financial and economic problems, a weakened military, abuses by the Buddhist clergy, and domestic power struggles. All these would lead to social unrest, rebellion, and finally to the expulsion of the Mongols from China.[88] Kublai was succeeded on his death in 1294 by his grandson **Temür Khan** (1294–1307), who immediately upon his accession to power sold off a great part of the silver reserves in order to pay bribes and meet the claims of holders of appanages, thus undermining trust in the paper currency. The most significant foreign policy event during the reigns of Temür and his successor **Khaishan** (r. 1307–11) was Kaidu's death from wounds received in battle in 1301,[89] upon which the Chagataid



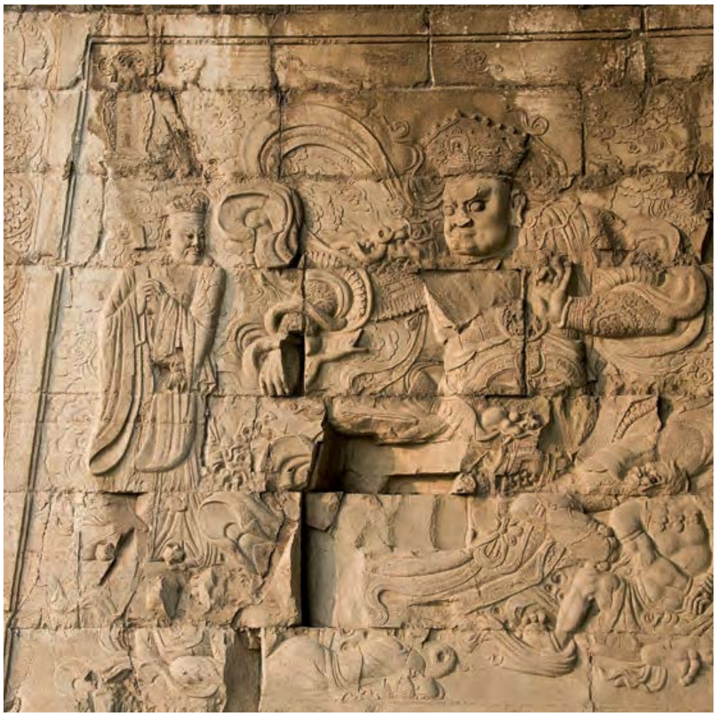
162. Lustre-painted fritware, early thirteenth century, probably from Kashan, Iran. A striking feature of the bowl is the influence of Chinese porcelain. The clothing and facial features of the couple portrayed, one dressed in blue and gold, the other in red and gold, are clearly inspired by Chinese art. The influence of Chinese art on Iranian works of art was even more accentuated under the Il-Khanid Dynasty (1259/60–1335). Abbasi Museum, Tehran, Iran.



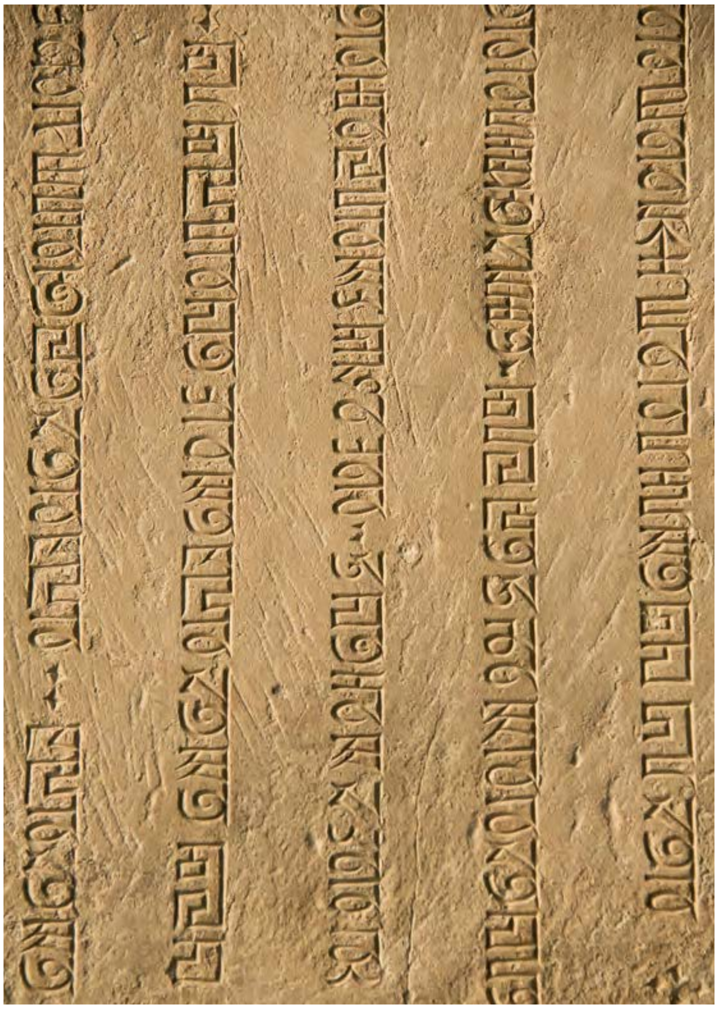
163. **The Cloud Terrace – or Yuntai – built in 1342 on the Yuyong Guan Pass north of Beijing, China. Originally there were three white marble stupas mounted on the 9.5-metre-high marble platform, but these were destroyed soon after the Yuan dynasty collapsed in 1368. Buddhist incantations and Dharani texts are carved on the inner surfaces of the east- and west-facing sides of the Yuntai in six different languages and scripts; in Sanskrit language and Lantsa script; in Mongol in 'square' Phagpa script; in Uyghur written in Uyghur script derived from Sogdian script; in Tangut language and script; in Chinese language in ancient Chinese script; and in Tibetan language and script. Photo: 2015.**

Du'a opened peace negotiations with Emperor Temür, leading in 1303–4 to a brief restoration of peace among the Genghisids and the liquidation of the *ulus* of Ögödei.[90] In 1313, Khaishan's successor, his younger brother **Ayurbarwada** (reg. 1311–20), introduced a change whose consequences would be felt right up to the start of the twentieth century. He brought back the Confucian state examinations and thereby restricted appointments to high state office to those intimately familiar with the Four Books in the edition of the neo-Confucian Zhu Xi (1130–1200), the five classics ascribed to Confucius, and the corpus of Neo-Confucian commentary.[91] By doing this, Ayurbarwada sinicised the state elite and also reduced the level of learning required to enter civil service to that which had applied under the Song dynasty, which had fallen in 1279. The fifth Yuan emperor, **Shidebala** (r. 1320–23), was a fanatical Buddhist. His reign was cut short after he twice withdrew financial support from the princes; the Alan imperial guard killed him on 4 September 1323 and replaced him with **Yesün Temür** (1323–28), who sought to reassert traditional Mongol values. When Yesün died, a bloody struggle for the succession ensued, in which emperors **Aragibag** (r. 1328) and **Khoshila** (r. 1329) were both murdered; **Tugh Temür** (r. 1328–29, 1329–32) was no more than a puppet of the high officials El Temür and Bayan, who sought to curb the ever-increasing state deficit through the sale of offices. The next emperor was **Irinjibal** (r. 1332), a child who ruled in name only and who died, probably poisoned, only a few weeks after becoming ruler.

Mongol power came to its end during the reign of **Toghon Temür** (Shunti, r. 1333–68), last of the Yuan emperors. His minister Bayan introduced radical anti-Chinese measures intended to secure the threatened pre-eminence of the Mongols and the Se Mu.[92] The minister Toghto'a (in office 1340–44, 1349–55) succeeded in stabilising the currency for a while; he repaired the Imperial Canal and re-established central government control over military commanders who were acting like independent warlords, and he also pacified several rebellious provinces.[93] Yet Toghto'a was then dismissed and banished, provoking the collapse of the central government, which now controlled only the capital and the surrounding region. In the provinces, struggles broke out between Mongol warlords on the one hand and the rebels of the Red Turban Army and fundamentalist proponents of Confucian renewal on the other. In 1356 the great city of Nanjing fell to the rebel leader Zhu Yuanzhang, the future Emperor Hongwu of the Ming dynasty, who by 1367 would control nearly all of south-east China and enter into an alliance with the Confucian revival movement.[94] Emperor Temür, however, had taken refuge in a world of his own, marked by debauchery and the disconcerting and exotic rituals of Tibetan Buddhist Tantrism. Among these were elaborate theatrical and dance performances, orgiastic sexual practices and even human sacrifices in honour of the 'wrathful deity' Mahakala. All this was repugnant to the Chinese, and it caused them to revolt.[95] The haughty Tibetan lamas, who formed a kind of state within a state,[96] had already caused outrage in the days of Kublai Khan, for example when in 1285 the Tibetan or Tangut monk Yang Lian Zhen Jia had plundered the graves of the Southern Song imperial family and desecrated the bodies of the dead, an act which had fuelled the hatred of the Southern Chinese who had been subdued only in 1276.[97]



164. Buddhist Heavenly King of the West and Lord of the Harvest, Guangmu Tianwang (Virupaksha in Sanskrit), holds a snake in his right hand. The syllables of his Chinese name translate as follows: *Guang* means 'wide' and *mu* means 'eye' or 'view', hence the 'All-seeing King of Heaven'. The identity of the figure is confirmed by the inscription shown in the top left.[30] Southern end of the western inner surface of the Cloud Terrace, or Yuntai, on the Yuyong Guan Pass, China, 1342. Photo: 2015.



165. Extract from a Buddhist Dharani in Mongol language and 'square' Phagpa script. Interior surface of the western side of the Cloud Terrace, or Yuntai, on the Yuyong Guan Pass, China, 1342. Photo: 2015.

2.3 Withdrawal to Mongolia and Establishment of the Northern Yuan Dynasty

In 1368, Zhu Yuanzhang sent his armies against Daidu. Toghon Temür fled to Shangdu with 60,000 loyal Mongols,[98] leaving rebel leader Zhu to proclaim the new, Han-Chinese dynasty of the Ming, taking the name Hongwu (r. 1368–98), meaning 'immensely martial'.[99] In 1369, Toghon Temür (who then ruled as Northern Yuan emperor, 1368–70) was driven even further north, where he probably founded the city of Bars Qotan on the River Kherlen.[100] As the legitimate heirs of Genghis Khan, he and his successors laid claim to Mongolia and to the title of emperor, which is why they became known as the **Northern Yuan** dynasty (1368–1635). Toghon Temür was succeeded by his son **Ayushiridara** (r. 1370–78), who moved his capital to Karakorum and repelled a major offensive of the Ming in 1372.[101] Having suffered severe defeats at the hands of the Ming in 1380 and 1388, Ayushiridara's brother and successor

Tögüs Temür (r. 1378–88) was killed by a descendant of Arik Böge named **Yesüder** (r. 1388–92), who had allied himself with the Oirats of Western Mongolia.[102] The killing of Tögüs Temür inaugurated almost 100 years of intra-Mongol power struggles, which came to an end only with the accession of Dayan Khan (r. *ca.* 1479–*ca.* 1517).[103] Finally, it is worth noting that the last years of the Yuan offer striking parallels with the end of Manchuria's Qing dynasty (1644–1911/12): national hatred for a foreign ruling caste, a paralysed administration, a weak military, broken finances, popular rebellions in the south, and an out-of-touch, decadent elite. It seems that history does indeed sometimes repeat itself.

3. The Chagatai Khanate

Unlike the Yuan and Il-Khanid dynasties, the **Chagatai khanate** (1227–1346/47) in Central Asia did not rest upon the structure and territory of a defeated empire. It was characterised from the start by a number of distinctive socio-cultural features that would eventually contribute to its downfall in the mid-fourteenth century. In the north-east lived Turkic semi-nomads, who were naturally closer to their Mongol conquerors than the urban, largely Iranian-descended inhabitants of the south-west, with its great cities of Samarkand and Bukhara. The pastoralist horsemen of the north-east were shamanists who held city dwellers in disdain, seeing them only as a source of booty. The Muslims of the south-west, for their part, were merchants, artisans and crop farmers who shunned their semi-nomad neighbours as uncivilised infidels and lived in fear of their raids. The boundary between the two regions had been established by Ögödei in his reforms of 1229, when he brought Turkestan and Uyghuristan under central government control, appointing Mahmud Yalavach as governor, so that only the grasslands of the north-east remained under Chagatai's direct control. The frontier with the administrative region of northern China ran along the border of Uyghuristan (Xinjiang) to Tangut (Gansu),[104] making Uyghuristan a bone of contention between the Chagatai khanate and China's Yuan dynasty.

Chagatai (r. 1227–42) was succeeded by his grandson **Kara Hülegü** (r. 1242–46), son of Mutugen, who had fallen at Bamiyan in 1221. But because he wanted to keep tighter control of the khanate, Great Khan Güyük replaced Kara Hülegü with Chagatai's fifth

166. Copper statue of the sleeping Buddha Shakyamuni in the Temple of the Recumbent Buddha (Wofo Si) in Beijing. Cast in 1321, the statue is 5 metres long and weighs 54 tonnes. Photo: 2015.

167. The Taralingin Durbejin fortress (in Chinese Dong Da Wan Chen) on the east bank of the River Etzin Gol was built under the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) and extended during the Ming era (1368–1644). Inner Mongolia, China. Photo: 2011.

son, the alcoholic and ineffective **Yesü Möngke** (r. 1246/47–52).[105] The Toluid coup of 1251 further weakened the khanate, after Möngke Khan reinstated **Kara Hülegü** (r. 1251) and commanded him to kill Yesü Möngke, who had opposed his nomination as Great Khan. But Kara Hülegü died on his way to the khanate, so it was his widow **Orghina Khatun** who, in agreement with Möngke Khan, took power, had Yesü Möngke killed, and ruled as regent for her young son **Mubarak Shah** (r. 1252–60). The power struggle between Arik Böge and Kublai brought Orghina's rule to an end and drew the khanate into the maelstrom of civil war, since both contenders believed that control over its rich resources would be militarily decisive. Kublai appointed the Chagataid Abishgha as khan in place of Orghina, but he was captured and put to death by Arik Böge's forces. Arik Böge then made Chagatai's grandson **Alghu** khan (r. 1260–66), requiring his support against Kublai in the form of tribute, horses, weapons and food. Alghu took control of Bukhara and Samarkand, but in 1262, rebelled against Arik Böge, killing his tribute-collectors and declared his support for Kublai. He thus deprived Arik Böge of access to the khanate's resources. In addition, Alghu took Chorasmia and Otrar from the Jochids.[106] He then secured the support of Orghina (by marrying her) and Masud Beg, the experienced administrator of Central Asia.[107] But just as it seemed that peace was returning to the khanate under Alghu's rule, the Ögödeid Kaidu appeared on the scene and rapidly compelled the khanate to recognise his suzerainty.

3.1 The Chagatai Khanate as Vassal of the Ögödeid Kaidu

Kaidu (1236–1301, r. de facto 1271–1301) was a grandson of Ögödei to whom Möngke had granted the region around Kayalik. The fratricidal war of succession of 1260–64 offered him the opportunity to restore the *ulus* of Ögödei. Around 1264, with Berke's help, he led a successful attack on Alghu, but soon thereafter suffered a devastating defeat from whose consequences he was saved only by Alghu's death in early 1266. With Alghu dead, Orghina set her son **Mubarak Shah** (r. 1266) on the throne, but without the consent of Kublai, who immediately appointed **Baraq** (r. 1266–71), who had grown up at his court. No sooner had Baraq unseated Mubarak Shah than he rebelled against Kublai, plundering the city of Khotan within his former lord's domains. That same year, Kaidu attacked Besh Baliq in north-east Uyghuristan, though Kublai's counter-offensive in 1268 drove him far into the west, to Talas, and brought him into conflict with Baraq. After an initial victory over Kaidu on the River Jaxartes, followed by a defeat at Khujand against Kaidu and his ally Möngke Temür of the Golden Horde, Baraq opened peace talks with Kaidu in the spring of 1269, with Masud Beg serving as mediator. Baraq retained two-thirds of the revenue of Transoxiana, giving up the other third to Kaidu and his ally Möngke Temür; in addition, Barak and Kaidu promised not to trouble the cities under Masud Beg's administration.[108] As his next move against Baraq, Kaidu persuaded him to mount a reckless attack on the region of Herat, Ghazna and the upper Indus, which had originally been allotted to the Chagataids but was later granted by Möngke to his brother Hülegü. The campaign ended in Baraq's massive defeat at the hands of the Il-Khan Abaqa, near Herat on 22 July 1270, which forced him to withdraw, wounded, to Bukhara.[109] But in 1271, Abaqa's continued preoccupation with his eastern borders prevented him from sending General Samaghar enough troops for the joint attack on Mamluk Syria that they had planned with Prince Edward.[110]

Baraq's disastrous defeat now offered Kaidu the chance to liquidate his rival and to make himself ruler of the khanate. He encircled Baraq's camp, and Baraq died either from his wounds, from paralysis or from poison. His officers surrendered to Kaidu, who in 1271 declared himself khan of the restored khanate of Ögödei (1271–1310), claiming for himself the right to appoint the khans of Chagatai so that the Chagatai khanate became his vassal. Kaidu now ruled over an area that had the makings of a strong Central Asian state, yet he spent the next three decades at war, mostly against Kublai Khan, and failed to endow his khanate with stable structures. Kaidu first appointed **Negübei** (r. 1271–72), one of Chagatai's grandsons, as vassal khan of Chagatai. When Negübei formed an alliance allied with the sons of Alghu and

168. Kazakh yurts pitched near Lake Karakul, with the 6,292-metre-high Kongur Shan in the background. Xinjiang, China. Photo: 2009.

169. Six lakes form a chain called Band-e Amir, Bamiyan Province, Afghanistan. Each one is dammed up by barriers formed by naturally occurring travertine rocks. Photo: 2010/11.

Baraq to rebel against Kaidu's overlordship, Kaidu had him killed and appointed **Buqa Temür** (r. 1272–82) in his place. But Buqa Temür was neither in good health nor an effective ruler, and was quite unable to keep Alghu's and Baraq's sons in check.[111] Hearing of the power struggles in the Chagatai khanate, in 1272 Abaqa sent an army that thoroughly looted Bukhara and then put the city to the torch.[112] With his victory at Herat and his destruction of Bukhara, Abaqa secured Khorasan for the Il-Khanids. Three years later, Alghu's sons Chübai and Qaban once again destroyed Bukhara, whose revenues flowed directly to Kaidu. Rashid al-Din tells that the war-ravaged city remained uninhabited for seven years before being rebuilt from the ground up by Masud Beg, on Kaidu's instructions, around 1283.[113] It was only Kaidu's reconciliation with Baraq's family that allowed Masud Beg to accomplish this and restore the city's trade and agriculture. For in 1282 Kaidu appointed Baraq's son **Du'a** (r. 1282–1307) as khan, a man who would remain a true ally until Kaidu's death. Even so, this cooperation between Chagataids and Ögödeids remained precarious, since Du'a retained command of his own troops and created a kind of state within the emerging Central Asian state.[114]

Soon after acceding to power, Du'a began to re-establish his sovereignty over the southern regions in today's Afghanistan that had been lost to the Il-Khanids, Herat excepted. His aim was to regain control over the Qara'una-Mongol warriors of diverse origins whom Genghis Khan, Ögödei and Möngke had stationed in Afghanistan as occupation forces. They had a reputation for being redoubtable fighters but unruly ones. After his victory in 1270, Abaqa had sought to win the Qara'una to his side, appointing as their commander first the dethroned Chagataid Mubarak Shah (in office 1270–79), then his son. In the early 1290s, however, Du'a managed to bring the eastern Qara'una, who lived between Kunduz and Ghazna, under his control, and put his son Qutlugh Khwaja in command. Possession of Ghazna opened the door to India to the Chagataids, and in the years after 1292 they followed in the footsteps of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids, conducting several campaigns of plunder in India and in eastern Iran. In 1299/1300 the Qara'una even defeated the Sultan of Delhi, but had to withdraw with their rich booty when Qutlugh Khwaja received a mortal wound.[115] The descendants of these Qara'una-Mongols, who intermarried with the local mountain

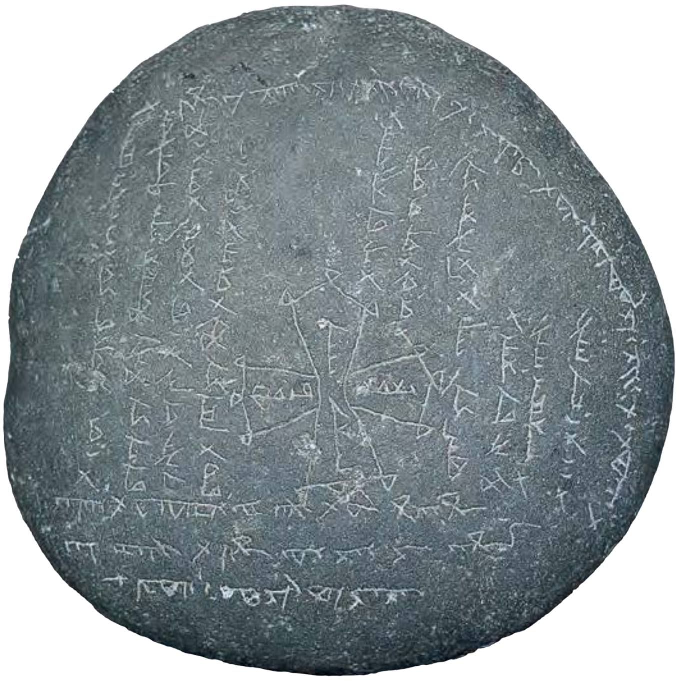
Tajiks, are the Hazaras of central Afghanistan, whose Hazaragi dialect of Persian contains many words of Mongolian origin.[116]

Kaidu gained little advantage from his military endeavours against Kublai Khan, whose authority as Great Khan he refused to recognise. Though Kaidu could prevent Kublai, who was often fighting several wars simultaneously, from controlling Central Asia, he was never able to challenge Kublai's hegemony. The real victim of this 30 years' war was Uyghuristan, whose irrigation systems, agriculture and urban centres suffered long-term damage, as exemplified by the case of Kashgar. While Marco Polo, around 1272, had noted a thriving city, Rabban Sauma recorded some five years later that 'the city was empty of its inhabitants, because it had been already plundered by the enemy [Qaidu]'.[117] At first, the advantage lay with Kaidu. In 1271, Kublai had sent his fourth son Nomuqan west, accompanied by a number of princes, to compel Kaidu's submission. But Nomuqan's campaign was unsuccessful, and in 1276 his princely companions rebelled.[118] They took Kublai's son prisoner and handed him over to Kaidu, who passed him on in turn to Möngke Temür, khan of the Golden Horde.[119] Under threat from Baraq's sons, Kaidu refused the offer of an alliance from the rebellious princes, who then attacked and plundered Karakorum in 1277 until they were driven off by an army of Kublai's.[120] Nevertheless, the princes' rebellion cost Kublai first the region of Almalik, then Besh Baliq ten years later in 1286, followed by Hami in 1290, so that the Tarim Basin was slipping out of his grasp. Fifteen years earlier, in 1275, Prince Du'a had besieged Kocho for six months without success; on his withdrawal, the Uyghur Idiqut ('Holy Majesty') Khochkhar Tegin (r. 1266–before 1283), a vassal of Kublai's, shifted his capital to Hami; from there, around 1283, his successor Ne'üril Tegin (r. before 1283–1318) fled further east, to the province of Gansu. But Kaidu's efforts to incite rebellion by the Mongol prince Nayan and the Drigungpa of Tibet came to nothing, as did his own attack on Karakorum.[121]

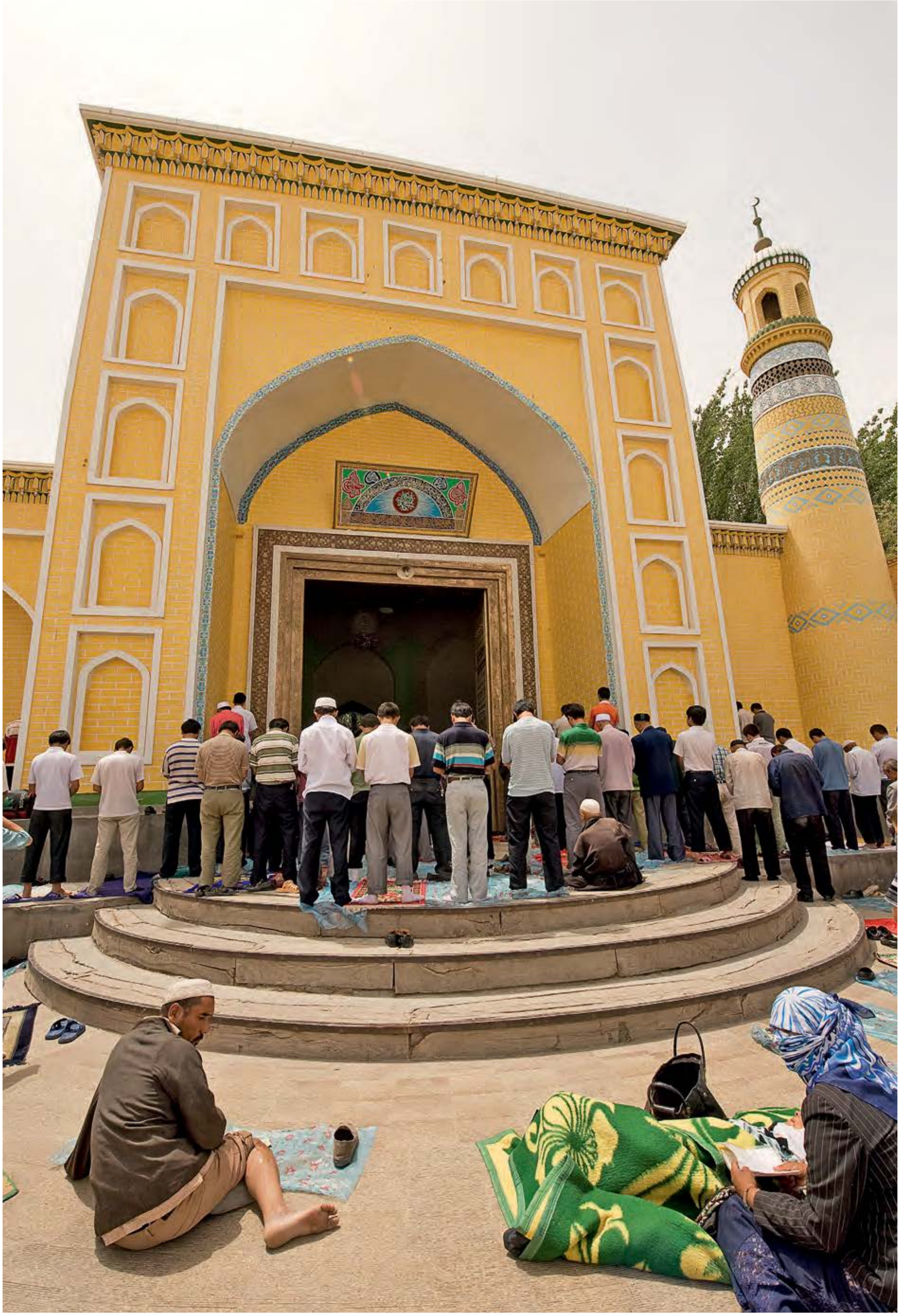
When, in 1298, Kublai's brother-in-law Körgüz, the Christian king of the Onguts, was captured by Du'a on the Ienissei and killed, Kublai's successor Temür Khan decided to deal once and for all with the danger that Kaidu represented.[122] The time was propitious, for over the previous decade the Golden Horde had distanced itself more and more from Kaidu and Du'a. Temür made the young prince and future emperor Kaishan (1281–1311) commander of a large army, which he led to victory south of the Altai; during the third battle, in September, Kaidu was mortally wounded.[123] In spite of his success, financial problems made Kaishan leave Uyghuristan and return home.

3.2 The Khanate Regains its Independence

Kaidu's death gave Du'a an unexpected opportunity to recover the khanate's independence. He first employed intrigue to make sure that it was not Kaidu's eldest son Orus who was chosen to succeed him but the weaker **Chapar** (r. 1303–6/7). He then decided to make peace with Emperor Temür, seeking not only to secure the independence of the Chagataid khanate but also to annex the Ögödeid lands. As Du'a represented no danger to Temür, he was happy to agree. The two former opponents probably agreed, too, that they should then proceed to deal with the troublesome Ögödeids for good. Du'a first pressurised the inexperienced Chapar to join the peace, which led to a complete though short-lived truce among the Mongol states in 1304, ending a conflict that had lasted since 1260. In 1306, however, Du'a and Prince Kaishan attacked and defeated Chapar, who was then deposed and replaced by the puppet ruler **Yanchichar** (r. 1307–10). At the same time, Du'a



170. Nestorian silica gravestone. Discovered in 1963 near Saruu on the southern shore of Lake Issyk-Kul, in Kyrgyzstan, it bears a lengthy Turkish inscription in Syriac script, which reads as follows: 'According to the reckoning of King Alexander, it was in the year 1647 [i.e. 1335 CE], on 14 December [. . .] at the first light of dawn, in the year of the mouse, Khan Jenkshi [Changshi] set himself upon the throne, at the head of the empire [of the territory of the Chagataids] and prepared for this Alma Khatun a commemoration [. . .] she was a new bride [. . .] this woman fled in the year of the pig [. . .] she died at the exact age of 26. [. . .] May a memorial be built to her and may she never be forgotten by her friends.'[31] The young Nestorian woman, who bore the honorific title *khatun*, was the wife of Khan Changshi (r. 1335–37), who supported the Nestorians and the Catholic missionaries and had one of his sons baptised with the name John. Soon after his early death in 1337, the Christians of Almalik were massacred by the Muslim Ali Sultan (r. 1339/40–*ca.* 1341/42). Toktogul Satulganov Museum, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Photo: 2004.

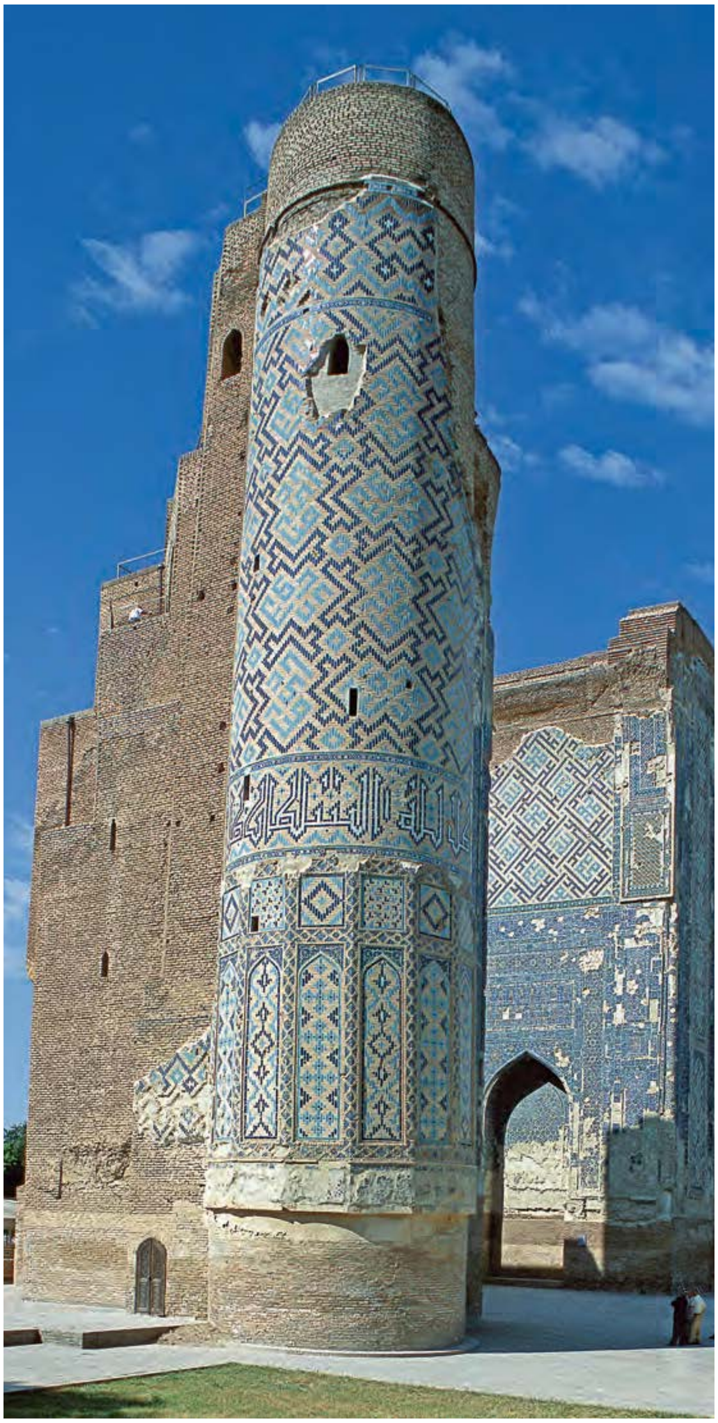


171. Relatives carry a sick person, here seen in the foreground wrapped in a green blanket and lying on the ground, to Friday prayers at the Id Khah congregational Mosque in Kashgar, Xinjiang, China, on which building began in 1442. Its present shape dates to the mid-nineteenth century. Photo: 2009.

172. A trader in Kashgar's bazaar selling dried snakes and bats, various types of grain, dried nuts and berries, herbs, salt crystals, tea, cigarettes and a variety of powdered spices. Kashgar, Xinjiang, China. Photo: 2009.

arranged the murder of Kaidu's warlike daughter Khutulun, who had often accompanied her father on campaigns and who in 1303 had taken the side of her brother Orus.[124] Only the death of Du'a in 1307 prevented the complete liquidation of the Ögödeids. Du'a's successor, his son **Könchek** (r. 1307–8) ruled for just a year. He was followed by the Muslim **Nalighu** (Naliqoa, r. 1308–9), brother of Du'a's predecessor Buqa Temür. However, Nalighu's attempt to force the Chagataid elite to adopt Islam led to unrest among the officers, who espoused the cause of Dua's son Kebek, and the khan was killed. **Kebek** (r. 1309–10, 1319/20–26) immediately faced an uprising by Kaidu's sons, which he decisively defeated. Chapar and Yanchichar fled into Chinese exile and the Ögödeid lands were divided between the Chagataids and the Yuan.[125] With this, Kaidu's dream of an Ögödeid empire in Central Asia faded forever.

In 1310 a *kuriltai* elected Kebek's older brother **Esen Buqa** (r. 1310–19/20) as khan. Tensions very soon developed with the Yuan over the line of the new border and questions of trade. Fearing an alliance between the Yuan and the Il-Khanids, Esen Buqa attacked on both fronts. In Il-Khanid Khorasan, in 1312, his army suffered a severe defeat, and his two offensives against the Yuan in Uyghuristan two years later also failed, though his scorched earth policy still did enormous damage to the hydraulic infrastructure. Immediately afterwards, the two brothers again attacked Khorasan. The Yuan took advantage of their absence from home, and in 1316/17 drove deep into the Chagataid khanate, reaching Talas and Lake Issyk Kul. After this success, the imperial troops returned to Uyghuristan, where they restored Idiqut Ne'üril Tegin as ruler, bringing him back from exile in Gansu.[126] Returned to power, **Kebek** (r. 1319/20–26) made peace with Emperor Shidebala in 1323. He agreed to pay tribute to the Yuan and in return was probably made ruler of the impoverished Uyghuristan, no longer so attractive to the Yuan, either financially or logistically. In any event, documents of 1338 and 1339 show that Kocho was under Chagataid control and the Chagataids inaugurated a new ruling dynasty.[127] After making peace with the Yuan, Kebek sought to revive trade and agriculture by reorganising the administration, moving his capital to Qarshi, southwest of Samarkand, and introducing a new standard coinage



173. **The north-facing portal of the Ak Saray – 'White Palace' – or of its audience hall in Shahr-e Sabz, Uzbekistan.[32] At its highest point, the arch, which collapsed around 1800, was 49 metres high. The height of the tower is 65 metres. Timur-e Lang, who was born near Kesh, as Shahr-e Sabz was formerly known, ordered a great palace to be built in his home town. Work began around 1380 and continued until 1405, but was never completed. The Spanish diplomat Ruy González de Clavijo, who visited the palace in 1404, wrote: 'These palaces had a long entrance and a very high gateway. [. . .] In front of the first entrance there was another gateway, leading to a great courtyard. [. . .] The courts led to the body of the building, by a broad and lofty doorway, ornamented with gold and blue patterns on glazed tiles, rich and beautifully worked. On the top of this doorway was the figure of a lion and a sun, which are the arms of the lord of Samarkand.'[33] Photo: 2004.**

for the whole khanate. At the same time, he undertook further campaigns of plunder in India and again attacked Khorasan, whereupon the Il-Khanids attacked and crushingly defeated his brother Tarmashirin in Afghanistan.[128]

Kebek was succeeded by his brother **Eljigidei** (r. 1326–30), who intervened in support of Koshila in the power struggle in Khanbaliq. Eljigidei's death was followed by a period of unrest and marked by religious conflict, which seventeen years later would result in the division of the khanate. Eljigidei's successor **Du'a Temür** (r. 1330–31) ruled only a few months before being replaced by **Tarmashirin** (r. 1331–34). As reported by the explorer Ibn Battuta (1304–68), who journeyed through Central Asia between 1331 and 1334, the cities of Bukhara, Samarkand, Merv and Balkh at that time lay in ruins.[129] Unlike Eljigidei, who had been well-disposed toward the Christian and Buddhist minorities, Tarmashirin was a staunch Muslim who held *sharia* above traditional Mongol law. His partiality toward Muslim urban civilisation aroused the wrath of traditional princes, who deposed and killed him in 1334. Now began a fierce struggle for power, a clash of two ideologies, with the Muslim, urban way of life led by professional army commanders on the one hand and the shamanistic, semi-nomadic culture of Chagatai's descendants on the other. This tore the khanate apart, with at least six successive khans coming to power in twelve years. The first of these, **Buzan** (r. 1334–35?) was soon replaced by **Changshi** (r. 1335–37), whose own wife, who died in the year of his accession, had been a Nestorian (fig. 170).[130] Residing at Almalik in the east of the khanate, he showed favour to the Nestorians, Catholic missionaries and Buddhists, many of whom lived in Almalik and the Chu valley. Some 700 Nestorian gravestones found in those areas, mostly dating from the 1250s to 1345, show that a thriving Nestorian community existed there in the Chagataid period.[131] Changshi was murdered in 1337 by his brother **Yesün Temür** (r. 1337–39/40), whose reign saw an outbreak of plague in the Issyk Kul region in 1338–39. It is possible that the Black Death that killed a third of Europe's population between 1347 and 1353 had its origins here, in today's Kyrgyzstan.[132] Around 1339/40, the Ögödeid **Ali Sultan** (r. 1339/40–*ca.* 1341/42), a fanatical Muslim, seized power and then carried out a massacre of Christians, killing Richard de Bourgogne, the Catholic bishop of Almalik, and six other Franciscans.[133] The persecution of non-Muslims, along with the ravages of the plague, a severe decline in trade and years of domestic conflict brought about the disappearance of many towns in north Kyrgyzstan, while fields returned to steppe and the region's economy was reduced to pastoralism.

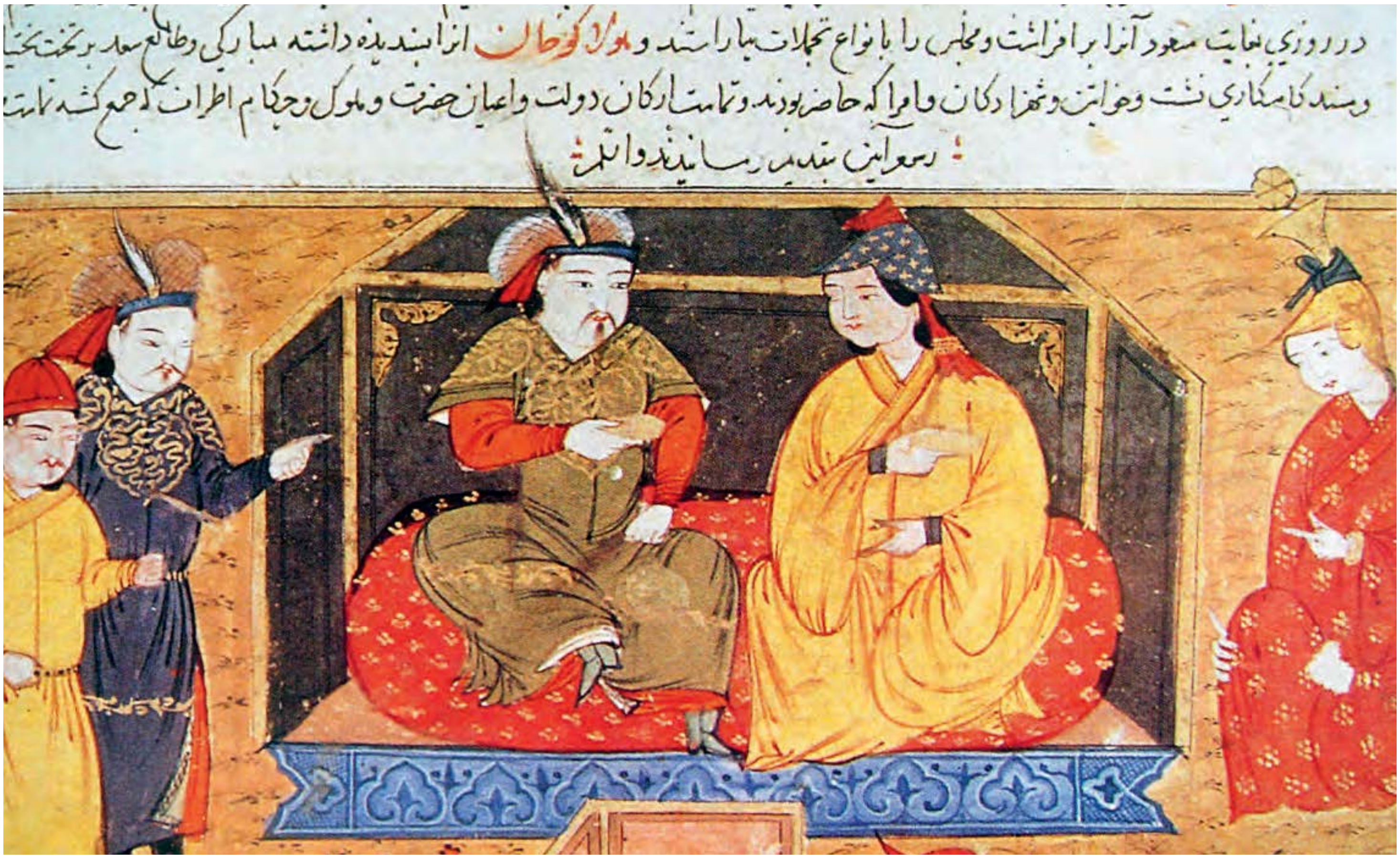
3.3 The Division of the Khanate

The Chagataids quickly removed Ali Sultan, replacing him with **Muhammad ibn Pulad** (r. 1342–43?), who was soon succeeded by **Qazan ibn Yasaur** (r. *ca.* 1343–46/7). As Qazan attempted to consolidate his authority, Emir Qazaghan, the leader of the Qara'una, rose up in 1346/47 and killed him. **Emir Qazaghan** (r. 1346/7–58) now controlled the south-western part of the khanate, comprising Transoxiana, Afghanistan and also eastern Khorasan, which Qazan had succeeded in conquering when the Il-Khanids collapsed. By this time at the latest, the khanate had split into south-western and north-eastern halves. Qazaghan refrained from taking the title of khan, to which Genghisids alone were entitled; he called himself 'emir' or 'commander', and legitimated his rule by appointing the Ögödeid **Danishmendji** (nominal ruler 1346/47–48) as khan; two years later he replaced him with the Chagataid **Bayan Quli** (nominal ruler 1348–58). All power, however, lay with the emir, who continued the campaigns of plunder in northern India, also looting Herat. In 1358, Qazaghan was murdered and succeeded as emir by his son **Abdullah** (r. 1358–*ca.* 1359). But his choice of Samarkand as his capital angered the leaders of two local tribes, Hajji Beg of the Barlas and Buyan of the Suldus. They expelled Abdullah, and **Buyan** (r. *ca.* 1359–60, d. 1362) became emir of what remained of the *ulus* of Chagatai. Buyan was weak, however, which allowed Tughluq Temür Khan – ruler of Moghulistan to the east – to invade Transoxiana in 1360. Hajji Beg fled, but Timur-e Lang (Tamerlane), his nephew and earlier comrade in arms, recognised Tughluq Temür as his overlord and was rewarded with the governorship of southern Uzbekistan, which had been Hajji Beg's. Not long afterwards, Timur made an alliance with Sheikh Husayn, a grandson of Emir Qazaghan, and in 1369/70 managed to gain power over the *ulus* of Chagatai.[134]

174. Takht-e Sulayman, or 'Throne of Solomon' was built in the early 1270s by Il-Khan Abaqa (r. 1265–82). It stood on the ruins of a former Adur Gushnasp fire temple and a shrine to the goddess Anahita. Sassanid monarchs were crowned at this important national monument. The site, which is called Ganzak or Ganjeh in Pahlavi, is set on a 25-metre-high limestone plateau covering an area of 330 x 250 metres. In the middle of the plateau is a tiny lake, 60 metres deep, fed by an underground spring. The curtain wall and its bastions date back to the Sassanid era. Beyond the lake, we see the ruined northern *iwan* (vaulted hall) of the palace, surrounded by scaffolding. Three kilometres north-west of Ganjeh (on the left of the picture) is the 110-metre-high cone of an extinct volcano, known as Zendan-e Sulayman, or 'Prison of Solomon', on whose steep slopes a Zoroastrian shrine once stood. Azerbaijan Province, Iran. Photo: 2001.

The history of the north-eastern part of the khanate followed a similar course. In 1347, **Emir Bolaji**, the leader of the Dughlat tribe of Mongols, who also controlled the cities of the western Tarim Basin, such as Kashgar, Khotan and Aksu, appointed **Tughlugh Temür,** said to be a son of Esun Buqa, to be khan of Moghulistan (r. 1347–60 in Moghulistan, 1360–63 in the whole khanate), as the eastern part of the khanate was known in Persian.[135] Unlike the khans of the south-west, Tughlugh Temür was a strong ruler at the head of a tribal confederation, and he was able to curb the power of the Dughlats. In 1354 he converted to Islam and immediately embarked on a campaign of Islamisation among the Chagataid elite. The army general and historian Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat (1500–51), cousin of Babur, the Timurid founder of the Mughal Empire, recounts that Tughlugh Temür and the Muslim cleric who converted him 'then decided that for the propagation of Islam they should interview the princes one by one, and it should be well for those who accepted the faith, but those who refused should be slain as heathens and idolaters'.[136] Having thus dealt with the princes who rejected Islam, Tughlugh Temür promoted the new religion as an ideological means of unifying the tribes under him.

The murder of Emir Abdullah in Transoxiana and the weakness of Buyan Suldus offered Tughlugh Temür the opportunity to occupy Transoxiana and undo the division of the khanate. When he attacked in spring 1360, most of the emirs surrendered, while Hajji Beg Barlas fled. Betraying his tribal leader Hajji Beg, Timur-e Lang defected to Tughlugh Temür, who awarded him the region of Kesh (Shahr-e Sabz in southern Uzbekistan) and command over Hajji Beg's warriors. But as soon as Tughlugh Temür had left Mawarannahr, Hajji Beg returned and Timur-e Lang's newly acquired forces crossed back over to him, so that Timur lost this first struggle over the leadership of the Barlas. A year later, Tughlugh Temür invaded again and had Buyan Suldus and a number of emirs executed; Hajji Beg died as he fled once more. Once Tughlugh Temür had overcome resistance in the south-west of the newly reunited khanate, he installed his son Ilyas Khwaja as viceroy there before returning to Moghulistan.[137] The killing of the emirs, however, had enraged the south-western tribes, who now sought blood vengeance against the Moghuls they disparaged as *jete*,



175. Il-Khan Hülegü with his Nestorian chief wife Dokuz Khatun, widow of his father Tolui. In accordance with the rules of levirate marriage, Hülegü was able to marry Dokuz Khatun, since she was not his mother, after his father's death in 1233. From *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, a history of the world by Rashid al-Din Hamadani (1247–1318) produced in 1307 or later. University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Oriental Manuscript Collection.

meaning bandits and vagabonds. They united behind Timur-e Lang and the Qara'una leader Sheikh Husayn, who defeated the occupying Moghul forces towards the end of 1364. In early summer 1365, now khan himself, **Ilyas Khwaja** (r. 1363–65) returned to Mawarannahr and defeated both rebels. But his siege of Samarkand failed, mainly because an epidemic killed about a quarter of his horses, and he had to withdraw again from Transoxiana, after which Sheikh Husayn and Timur-e Lang returned. But such alliances of convenience never lasted long, and the power struggle between the two leaders ended with Sheikh Husayn's death in 1369.[138]

In Moghulistan, Emir Bolaji's younger brother **Qamar al-Din Dughlat** (r. 1365–*ca*. 1390) took advantage of Ilyas Khwaja's failure to seize power in Mawarannahr. He had him poisoned, eliminated all Tughlugh Temür's other sons (except Khizr Khwaja[139]) and proclaimed himself khan. A claim to the title of khan by a non-Genghisid could only be illegitimate, which gave Timur-e Lang the pretext to attack Qamar al-Din as a usurper. But although he led six campaigns against Moghulistan between 1371/72 and 1390, he never succeeded in capturing Qamar, who fled to the Altai around 1390 and disappeared. Nonetheless, Timur-e Lang's campaigns caused political chaos, for Qamar's heavy defeat around 1382 prompted two tribal leaders to launch a struggle for power: these were Emir Khudaidad Dughlat, who put forward Tughlugh Temür's son **Khizr Khwaja** (r. *ca*. 1383–99) for khan, and Engke Tura, who backed the Chagataid Gunashiri. It was Timur-e Lang who settled the matter, decisively defeating Engke Tura in 1389, leading Khudaidad and Khizr Khwaja to submit to him. Gunashiri, who had waited on the outcome of events, went on to found the little kingdom of Hami; his successor, his brother Engke Temür, would submit to the Ming dynasty in 1403.[140]

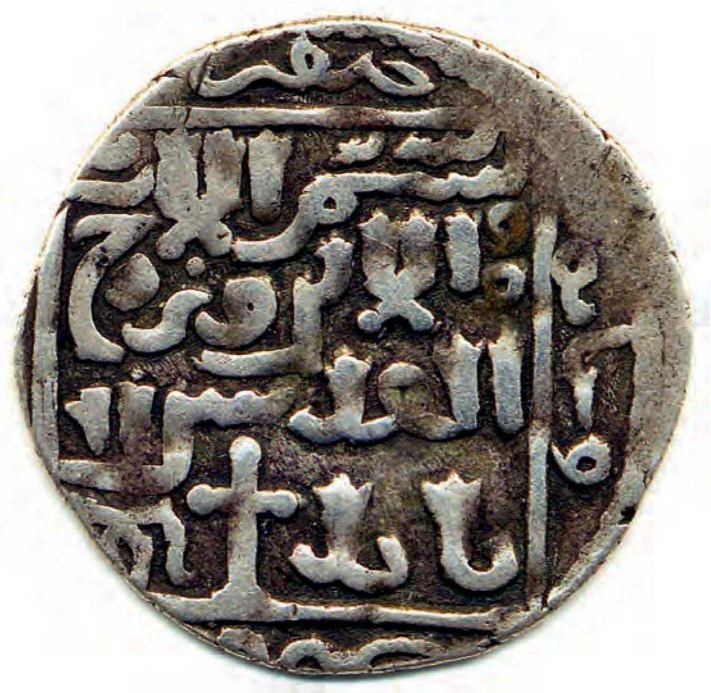
176. Glazed clay figure of a horseman with two drums. Il-Khanid era (1259/60–1335). Abbasi Museum, Tehran, Iran.

4. The Il-Khanids in Iran

In the period between Söbotai and Jebe's campaign of 1220–22 and Hülegü's invasion of 1256–58, Iran, Transcaucasia and Azerbaijan more or less descended into anarchy. Jalal al-Din Manguberdi plundered the southern Caucasus and part of Azerbaijan before being decisively defeated by the Mongolian general Chormaghun (d. 1241), who chose Azerbaijan as the Mongol power base in the Middle East.[141] He and his successors Baiju (d. *ca*. 1260) and Eljigidei (d. 1251) made vassals of the Christian kingdoms of Georgia and Cilician Armenia together with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, exacting tribute from them. But it was the **Il-Khanids** (1259/60–1335) who laid the basis for a centralised Mongol state in Iran. Unlike the Chagataids, the Il-Khanids succeeded in bridging the contradiction between a traditional, nomadic warrior-aristocracy on the one hand and the centralised administration of an urbanised territory on the other.

4.1 The Non-Muslim Il-Khans

The first steps towards state formation were taken by **Hülegü** (r. 1259/60–65) when he separated civil administration from the military command structure, appointing Shams al-Din Juvaini – brother of Ala al-Din Ata Malik Juvaini, the historian and governor of Baghdad – to be grand vizier and minister of finance, posts he occupied from 1262 to 1284.[142] Hülegü's title, meaning 'subordinate khan', which first appears in 657 AH (1258/59 CE),



177. Obverse of a silver dirham which Il-Khan Arghun (r. 1284–91) minted for his vassal state Georgia. The Arabic text reads: 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the only God'; a cross is stamped on the lower left of the coin. Private collection.

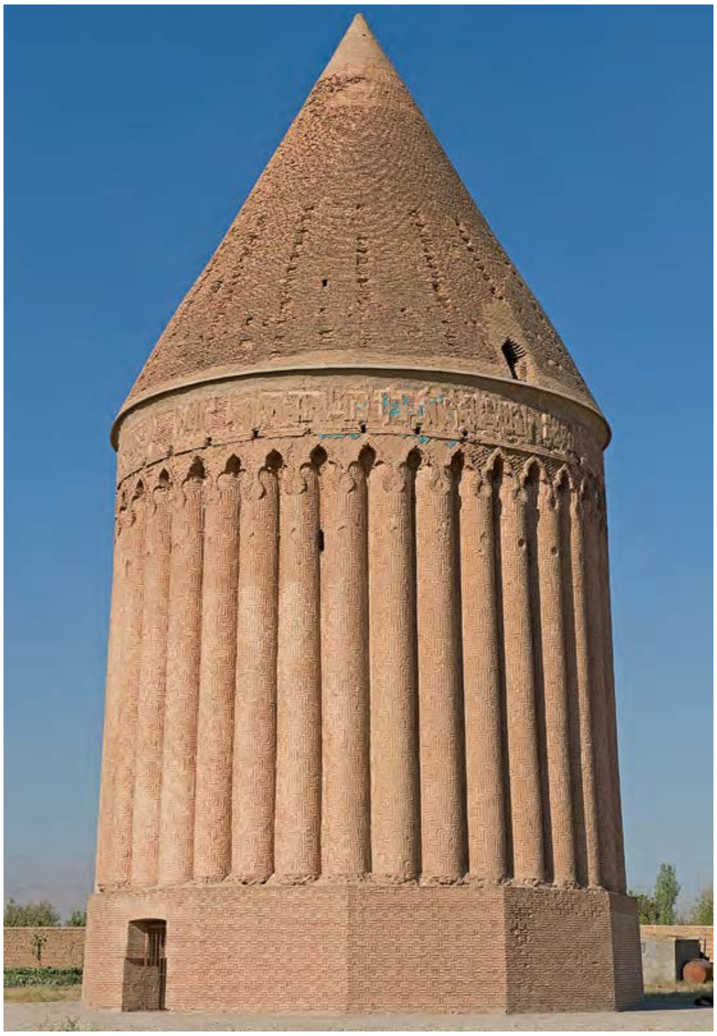
shows that he recognised the Great Khan's overlordship. Hülegü's first coins bearing this title were minted the following year, in 658 AH (1259/60 CE), which is regarded as the year of the dynasty's foundation.[143]

The first two Il-Khans, Hülegü and Abaqa, enjoyed no peace, for they faced war on three fronts: in the east, Kaidu and the Chagataids threatened Khorasan and western Afghanistan; in the west, the Mamluks invaded Syria and in the north the Golden Horde was descending on Azerbaijan. The danger in the north-west was all the greater since the Mamluks and the Golden Horde had formed an alliance. Behind the Golden Horde's attacks, which hastened the end of Mongol unity, lay the frustration of its khan, Berke (r. 1257–66). It had in fact been he and his brother Batu Khan who placed Möngke on the throne in 1251, bringing the Toluids to power. Some years later, though, the former kingmaker Berke lost ground in the Middle East to the Toluid Hülegü. Berke, who had come to power by poisoning his two predecessors Sartaq (r. 1256–57) and Ulaghchi (r. 1257), was enraged because Hülegü had seized Azerbaijan, the southern Caucasus and north-western Mesopotamia and had expelled the Jochid collectors of tribute. The loss of Azerbaijan, with its rich pastures and profitable trade routes, was particularly painful, all the more as the three Jochid princes Balagai, Tutar and Quli had each contributed a *tumen* of Kipchak-Mongol warriors to Hülegü's campaign of conquest.[144] Berke claimed that Hülegü had usurped lands that according to Genghis Khan's will rightly belonged to the Jochids, since he had granted Jochi the territories west of Kayalik and Chorasmia 'as far in that [western] direction as the hoof of Tatar horse had penetrated'.[145] And as Sübotai and Jebe had in fact passed through Azerbaijan and Transcaucasia, Berke had a right to these territories.[146] In any event, Batu could never establish himself as sovereign ruler there, for the territories were governed by military commanders answerable to the Great Khan, even if individual tribes acknowledged the overlordship of the Golden Horde.

The execution or poisoning of the three Jochid princes Balagai, Tutar and Quli[147] in the winter of 1259/60, and the murder of two of Berke's emissaries, triggered a massacre, in which each side killed the other khanate's traders[148] and forced Kipchak forces to flee the Il-Khanate. The Kipchaks fled either to Mamluk Egypt or to Afghanistan and Sind, where they reinforced the ranks of the Qara'una.[149] The Persian historian Wasaf (d. 1323) writes that Hülegü ordered 'that Berke's merchants [. . .] who had come to Tabriz to trade [. . .] and had great and innumerable riches, all be killed. [. . .] Berke [. . .] seeking in turn to revenge this deed put to death the merchants of the khan's [Hülegü's] realm and did the same with their possessions. The roads in and out [connecting Sarai on the Volga with Tabriz] and the merchant's journeys were much reduced, once the devils of enmity had leapt from the jar of time.'[150] By then at the latest the so-called *Pax Mongolica*, which was supposed to ensure safe passage to merchants throughout the Mongol Empire, was over. It was these events that triggered Berke's diplomatic and military offensive. In 1261, the Muslim convert Berke made contact with Hülegü's arch-enemy, the Mamluk sultan Baibars, calling on him, in the name of their shared faith, to continue his war against his infidel cousin in Iran. To adherents of the Genghisid ideal of an empire under the government of a single family, Berke's letter was an outrage, encouraging a non-Genghisid enemy to attack another member of the family. Baibars quickly seized the opportunity to encircle Hülegü, and the following year sent an embassy to Berke that indeed declared that Islam called for jihad against infidels, even one's own relatives.[151]

In 1263 Baibars and Berke formed an official military alliance that brought the Mamluks great advantages: firstly, it took a great deal of military pressure off Egypt, as Hülegü now had to deal with a war on two fronts, and secondly, friendship with the Golden Horde guaranteed a regular supply of young Turkic slaves to be trained as soldiers in Egypt. The alliance between Egypt and the Golden Horde also profited from the newly won dominance in the Black Sea of the mercantile republic of Genoa. With the Treaty of Nymphaeum in 1261 the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII

Palaeologus of Nicaea had granted his Genoese allies extensive trading privileges in the form of rights of settlement in Galata on the Golden Horn, together with exclusive rights of navigation in the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. In addition to this, the Genoese had acquired the port of Caffa (Feodosia) on the south coast of Crimea from a prince of the Golden Horde.[152] The powerful position of the Genoese merchant fleet on the Black Sea enabled trading contacts between the Mamluks, who had only a small fleet, and the Golden Horde, who had none, by creating a sea route all the way from the Don to the Nile. In 1271, Prince Edward (soon to be King Edward I) of England was enraged by the fact that Christian Genoese and Venetians were continuing to trade extensively with the Mamluks, who were threatening the few Crusader strongholds.[153] Both the Italian mercantile republics got round the papal embargo on trade with the Mamluks by using Cyprus as an entrepôt[154] to disguise the ultimate destination, just as the US embargo on Iran after the 1980s was circumvented via the Caspian Sea and various Gulf States.

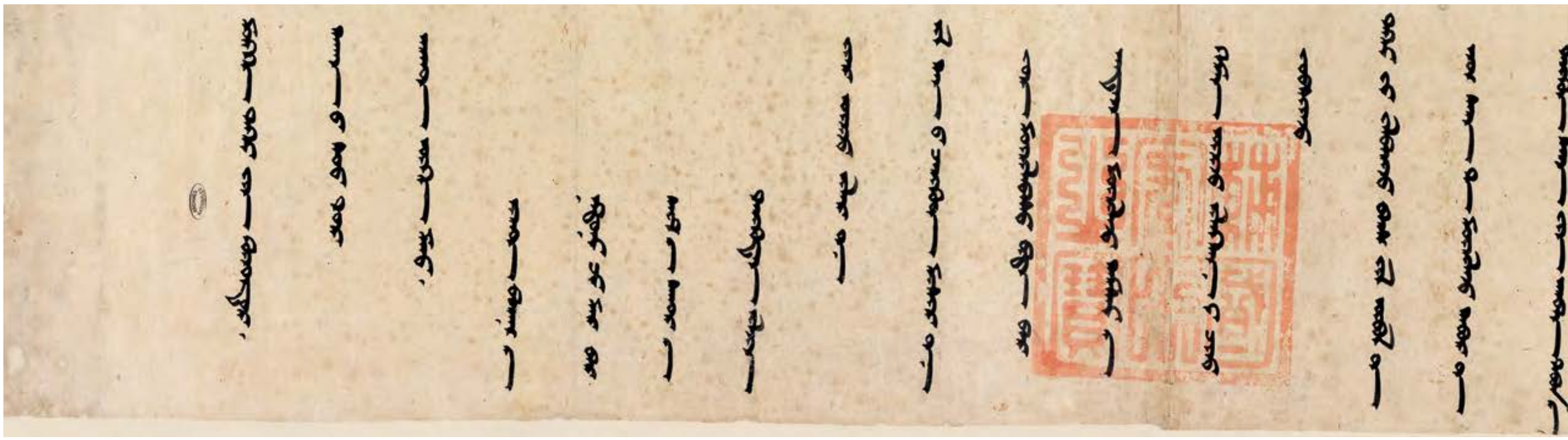


178. Il-Khanid memorial tower 24 metres high, at Radkan, north-west of Mashhad, Iran, second half of the thirteenth century. Photo: 2014.

Surrounded by enemies, Hülegü had no choice. He had to make allies of the Mamluks' rivals: the Pope, the Latin kings of Western Europe, and also the Italian republics of Genoa and Venice, which controlled the Mediterranean.[155] Between 1262 and 1313, the Il-Khanids sent at least nineteen embassies to Western rulers, offering a military alliance against the Mamluks, frequently coupled with a tempting promise to hand over a conquered Jerusalem to the Crusaders.[156] Apart from the unsuccessful Syrian joint venture of the Mongol general Samaghar and Prince Edward of England, the Il-Khanids' offer of alliance met with no response from Western Europe. There were many reasons for this: the Latins distrusted the Mongols, suspecting that if there was a shared victory they would forget their promises and turn against their allies. Chronicler and confidant of King Louis IX, the French knight Jean de Joinville (d. 1317) believed that 'Whenever the Mongols wish to make war on the Saracens they send Christians [Georgians and Armenians] to fight against them, and on the other hand employ Saracens in any war against Christians.'[157]

That the Mongols did not keep their promises was evident from the number of times they abandoned their vassals or allies. In 1266 they failed to respond to Baibars' attack on their loyal vassals, the Cilician Armenians, and the capture of the Cilician crown prince Leo, even though the Cilician port of Laiazzo (Ayas) was of great economic importance, standing as it did at the end of the traditional Middle trade route from Mawarannahr, as well as the southern 'Spice Route' from India via the port of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf. As the war between the Mamluks and the Il-Khanate was also an economic one, the Mamluks launched ten major invasions of Armenian Cilicia between 1266 and 1305, seeking to control or destroy this trade gateway to Asia.[158] Later, in 1268, the Mongols did not offer any military support to their vassal Bohemond VI of Antioch when he was attacked by the Mamluks, so that he lost his whole principality with the exception of Tripoli.[159] And in 1302 the Mongols again showed how unreliable they were. Responding to Il-Khan Ghazzan's appeal of 1300, Henry II, the Lusignan king of Cyprus, his brother Amaury, and Jacques de Molay, grand master of the Knights Templars, established a bridgehead to Palestine on the little island of Arwad. When in 1302 the Mamluks besieged the small garrison, Il-Khanid support failed to materialise and the island fell.[160] The following year, the Il-Khanids suffered a resounding defeat at Damascus.

The Latins also rejected an alliance with the Mongols because they had forgotten neither the atrocities they had committed in



179. Letter sent by Il-Khan Arghun to King Philippe the Fair of France in 1289 and carried to Paris by the Genoese merchant Buscarello de Ghizolfi. In it, Arghun refers to an envoy of Philippe's who, in company with Rabban Sauma, visited him the previous year, asking him, as previously agreed, to join forces with the French King to attack Syria and seize Damascus. Arghun also pledged to hand over Jerusalem to Philippe. The Chinese characters on the seal read as 'Seal of the Head of State and Bringer of Peace'. Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France. Ms. Inv. AE/III/202.

Poland, Russia and Hungary nor Ked Buqa's destruction of Sidon. Moreover, the Il-Khanids tended to lose most of their battles with the Mamluks, and most of their few victories were won with the substantial involvement of Georgian and Armenian forces. And, finally, the French and English kings were absorbed in building their own national states, while the Holy Roman Empire had seen an interregnum from 1254 to 1273, which meant that the early Habsburgs had to concentrate on consolidating their rule. In any event, in 1323, the last Il-Khan, Abu Said – or his all-powerful commander-in-chief, Choban – would conclude a peace treaty with the Mamluks.[161]

Berke's military offensive began in summer 1262, when his forces defeated Hülegü's vanguard south of Derbent in the Caucasus. In the counter-offensive, the Il-Khanid army inflicted a severe defeat on Nogai (d. 1299), one of Berke's generals, but then in early 1263 succumbed to a surprise attack by Berke on the River Terek, where it was defeated with many losses. Despite this grievous defeat, Hülegü succeeded in pushing the border northward to the Darial Gorge, north of the main crest of the Caucasus Mountains, thereby robbing the Golden Horde of their natural rampart in the south.[162] As Nogai launched another attack the following year, he learned of Kublai's victory and of his confirmation of Hülegü as the lawful ruler. As Kublai had also sent reinforcements of 30,000 Mongolian horsemen to support his brother, Nogai withdrew without a fight.[163] Hülegü died in early 1265, and his funeral was the only one of an Il-Khanid ruler in which humans were sacrificed.

On his accession in 1265, Hülegü's successor, his eldest son **Abaqa** (r. 1265–82) had to fight off another invasion by the Golden Horde's general Nogai. When this failed, Berke called up a second army, only to die in 1266 in the attempt to cross the River Kura, whereupon his army disintegrated and his successor Möngke Temür (r. 1266/67–80) made peace with Abaqa.[164] Abaqa devoted his whole reign to consolidating the Il-Khanate. In 1270, he put an end to the ambitions of the Chagataid Baraq at the Battle of Herat, and three years later he burnt down Bukhara, which had served as a launching-pad for attacks on Khorasan. In 1275, Abaqa lured his Iranian vassal Shams al-Din I Kart (r. 1245–75, d. 1278) – who ruled the region of Herat and who had followed an opaque and vacillating policy during the war against Baraq – to Baku and Tabriz, where in 1278 he had him poisoned.[165] The unrest that then broke out in Herat forced Abaqa to install Shams al-Din's son Rukhn al-Din (Shams al Din II, r. 1278–95) as the new ruler. In terms of domestic policy, Abaqa continued his father's work of construction. He confirmed Shams al-Din Juvaini as vizier and appointed Ata Malik Juvaini as deputy governor of the provinces of Iraq and Fars. Abaqa and the Juvaini brothers developed a new state ideology that emphasised the independence of pre-Islamic Iran and its culture, portraying the Il-Khanids as successors of the secular Sassanid kings. Thus in the early 1270s Abaqa had a palace built at the Zoroastrian shrine of Takht-e Sulayman, south-east of Maragheh and Tabriz, where the fire temple of Adur Gushnasp had once stood and the pre-Islamic kings had been crowned (fig. 174). The location had excellent pastureland and even the Sassanid encircling wall with its 38 bastions still stood. By building his palace on the ruins of the fire temple and decorating it with painted friezes depicting episodes from the *Shahnameh*, the national epic, Abaqa positioned himself as the heir to the Sassanids and to the legendary heroes of Iran.[166]

In the later years of his reign, however, Abaqa suffered two great failures. In 1276, the vizier of the Rum-Seljuks, who were vassals of the Il-Khanate, invited the Mamluk sultan Baibars to take control of their territory, which he did in spring 1277. He defeated the occupying Mongol army east of Kayseri in Central Anatolia but quickly withdrew again as Abaqa hastened to the scene and had the traitorous vizier executed.[167] Three years later, Abaqa launched a major invasion of Syria, sending his younger, militarily inexperienced brother Möngke Temür against Aleppo. This brought the Mamluk sultan Qalawun (1279–90) hurrying to Syria, forcing Möngke Temür to retreat. In the autumn of 1281, Möngke Temür again crossed the Euphrates. On 30 October, reinforced by large contingents from Leo III (sometimes counted as Leo II) of Armenian Cilicia, Demetrius II of Georgia, and the Order of St John of Jerusalem, the Mongol army attacked Sultan Qalawun at Homs. The Christians formed the right wing of the Mongol army and quickly put the enemy's left wing to flight. In the centre, however, Möngke Timur had left the battle upon being wounded, followed by most of his Mongols, so that early victory ended in complete disaster.[168] The contemporary Armenian chronicler Prince He'tum wrote disdainfully: 'Möngke Temür, who had never experienced battle, then withdrew without reason, for fear of a few Saracens [Mamluks], abandoning the field of victory and forsaking the King of Armenia and others of his commanders, who had put the enemy to flight.'[169]

After Abaqa's death from alcoholic poisoning, Hülegü's seventh son Tegüder, supported by most of the emirs, became Il-Khan instead of his rival, Abaqa's eldest son Arghun. Tegüder had originally been baptised Nicholas but had converted to Islam before his accession, taking the name **Ahmad** (r. 1282–84). His first actions were to have the churches of Tabriz destroyed and to launch a systematic persecution of Christians, throwing the Ongut Nestorian patriarch Mar Yahballaha III into prison. Thanks to the intervention of Ahmad's mother, Qutui Khatun, who was also a Nestorian, Mar Yahballaha escaped with his life and regained his freedom.[170] Then, against the express advice of the commanders who had just made him ruler, he dispatched two embassies to Cairo – in 1282 and 1283 – charged with establishing peaceful diplomatic relations with the Mamluks. Sultan Qalawun received the first mission coolly and mistreated the second, so Ahmad lost much of his support among the army. Ahmad's foreign policy u-turn had been a failure, not least because he had sacrificed his allies, the Armenian Cilicians. For in 1283 Sultan Qalawun had devastated Cilicia as far as Laiazzo and two years later compelled King Leo III to pay a ten-yearly tribute.[171] Now a number of anti-Mamluk emirs, who disapproved of Ahmad's efforts at Islamisation, intervened in the conflict between Ahmad and the rebellious Arghun on the side of the latter. They freed him from imprisonment, and 'Arghun, who had been a prisoner when night fell, woke up in the morning as the emperor of the face of the earth'.[172] Ahmad was seized and put to death on 10 August 1284, and on the next day **Arghun** (r. 1284–91) ascended the throne. One of his first official acts was to have Shams al-Din Juvaini executed on the basis of slanderous accusations by his enemies, despite his earlier declaration of a general amnesty.[173] Even the Syriac bishop and historian Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) had held Juvaini in great respect: 'And the whole kingdom of the House of Mâgôgh [the Mongols] hung on his finger, for he was very sagacious with an understanding nature.'[174]

Like Abaqa, Arghun wanted to drive the Mamluks out of Syria. Ultimately, it was not only a matter of avenging past defeats

180. The Armenian Monastery of Saint Thaddeus in north-western Iran. The small church, built of black stone, was erected in 1319–29 and restored in 1490. A donation from the Persian crown prince Abbas Mirza paid for the white stone addition to the west side of the church, built in 1810–20. The construction of the first church towards the end of the Il-Khanid dynasty suggests a return to a more tolerant official attitude to religion. Photo: 2001.

but also of recovering control over the western terminus of the Middle and Southern trade routes coming from Mawarannahr. The Mamluks' occupation of Syria and their devastation of Cilicia meant that the flow of transcontinental trade now ran either from Tabriz north-west to Trebizond or avoided the Middle route altogether in favour of the Northern one, via Sarai, Crimea and the Black Sea, thus losing the Il-Khanate a significant source of income.[175] For these reasons, Arghun sought a military alliance with the Latin powers of Western Europe. In 1285 he sent an embassy to Pope Honorius IV (in office 1285–87), one of whose members was the Nestorian physician Isa Kelemechi ('Jesus the Translator', in Chinese Ai Xie). Isa had already served Güyük, and in the early 1280s Kublai had sent him to the Il-Khanate as translator for his ambassador Bolad.[176] In the letter that Isa gave the pope, Arghun proposed a coordinated attack on Egypt.[177] In 1287 Arghun sent the Ongut-born Nestorian prelate Rabban Bar Sauma to Rome and then to King Philip IV (the Fair) of France (r. 1285–1314) and Edward I of England (r. 1272–1307), whom the Nestorian met in what was then the English duchy of Gascony; these monarchs received Arghun's emissary with great honour, but nothing concrete came of the proposed alliance.[178] Despite this, in 1289 Abaqa summoned the Nestorian patriarch Mar Yahballah III and asked him to consecrate a tent-church that stood alongside his own tent. He also took the occasion to have his son Oljeitu baptised Nicholas in honour of Pope Nicholas IV, whom Rabban Bar Sauma had met in Rome.[179] That same year he sent Buscarello de Ghizolfi, a Genoan in his service, to carry letters to Philip of France and Edward of England. The letter to Philip refers to an assurance the king was said to have given to Rabban Bar Sauma, that he was prepared to undertake a joint attack on Egypt, and went on: 'We will start in the winter of the tiger year, in the last month [January 1291], and in the spring, on the 15th day of the first month [15 February 1291], we will camp at Damascus. If you [the king] send your troops at the stated time, and we, with the help of heaven, defeat these people and conquer Jerusalem, we will hand it over to you' (fig. 179).[180] Yet this mission, too, proved fruitless and Arghun died in March 1291, poisoned by an elixir compounded of mercury and sulphur prescribed to him by an Indian quack, that was claimed to increase longevity.[181] In the same year Acre, the last Crusader stronghold in Palestine, fell to the Mamluks.

Of the three candidates to the succession, Ghazan, Gaykhatu and Baydu, it was Arghun's brother **Gaykhatu** (r. 1291–95) who became Il-Khan. The khan, who had been given the Tibetan name of Irinjin Dorje by Buddhist monks at his court, was notorious for his immorality and extravagance, which ruined the state finances.[182] Hoping to generate new financial resources, in 1294, after discussions with Kublai's ambassador Bolad, Gaykhatu introduced his own copy of the Chinese paper money. While Kublai's *chao* was backed by silver reserves, the Il-Khanate was practically bankrupt, and the Iranian currency lacked the backing of any precious metal. The contemporary chronicler Rashid al-Din describes the disastrous results: 'On the Saturday 19th of Shawwal [12 September 1294] the *chaos* were brought out in Tabriz and put into circulation. A command was issued that anyone who did not accept them would be immediately executed. [. . .] [Therefore] most of the people of Tabriz chose to leave the town. Goods and victuals were withdrawn from the market [. . .] and such a bustling city was totally emptied of inhabitants [. . .] and caravans ceased coming. [. . .] and tax revenues completely fell away.'[183] The *chao* was withdrawn after less than two months. Soon afterward, **Baydu** (r. 1295) rose up and had Gaykhatu killed, whereupon the Il-Khanate threatened to descend into civil war between contending emirs.

Rabban Bar Sauma and Rabban Markos: Nestorian 'Marco Polos' from Asia

At the same time as Marco, Niccolò and Mafeo Polo were living in China, an Ongut Nestorian travelled from Khanbaliq (Beijing) to Baghdad, Constantinople, Rome, Paris and Bordeaux. This was Rabban Bar Sauma (*ca.* 1225–94), who received the tonsure in 1248 and who lived from 1255 at a monastery in the Fang Shan mountains south-west of Khanbaliq (fig. 154). In 1260, a young man called Markos (1245–1317), son of the archdeacon of Olon Süme, became his pupil before taking monastic vows three years later. In 1275, Markos expressed his long-standing wish to make a pilgrimage to the graves of the patriarchs in Mesopotamia and the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the two monks set off not long after. In the Ongut capital of Olon Süme they met the princes Ai Buqa[184] and Kun Buqa before travelling in Marco Polo's footsteps to the west. From Tangut they went on to Miran, and in 1277/78 they reached Kashgar on the southern trade route through the Tarim Basin, where they were shocked by the destruction wrought by Kaidu in a city whose wealth, Nestorian churches and beautiful gardens had been admired by Marco Polo only five years earlier.[185] The two monks then met Kaidu in Talas before reaching Hülegü's old capital of Maragheh in early 1280. They visited many pilgrimage sites but the war with the Mamluks meant they had to forgo Jerusalem. Probably because the Onguts enjoyed official status as envoys of Kublai Khan,[186] the Nestorian Catholicos (Patriarch) Mar Dinkha I (in office 1265–81) asked them to travel to Abaqa's new capital Tabriz and to obtain for him the Il-Khan's confirmation of his patriarchate, which he had been awaiting for fifteen years. The Il-Khan immediately granted their request, whereupon Mar Dinkha appointed Markos metropolitan of 'Cathay and Ong' (that is of China and the Onguts), bestowing on him the name of Yahballaha, meaning 'God-given', and made Rabban Bar Sauma vicar-general. But the return of war to Central Asia made it impossible for them to journey home and they withdrew to a monastery near Mosul. When Mar Dinkha died in February 1281, the electoral college, for political reasons, unanimously appointed the Ongut Yahballaha to be the new Catholicos (in office 1281–1317). Abaqa confirmed the election and delivered to him the seal that Möngke had granted the patriarchate as a sign of its authority. The anti-Christian policy of Abaqa's successor was a first trial for the two Onguts: the new Il-Khan had them both imprisoned in 1283. Only the intercession of influential emirs and of Ahmad's mother Qutui Khatun would save them from death.[187]

In 1286 Arghun decided to send another embassy to the Latin sovereigns in the attempt to forge an offensive alliance against the Mamluks. As his ambassador he chose the polyglot Christian Rabban Sauma, who set off in early 1287, travelling via Trebizond to Constantinople, where he was received by Emperor Andronicus II (r. 1282–1328). The attempt to inveigle the Byzantine emperor into a military alliance was futile, however, for Andronicus pursued a policy of neutrality, maintaining diplomatic and commercial relations with the Golden Horde, the Mamluks and the Il-Khanate.[188] Rabban Sauma travelled onward to Naples where on 23 June 1287, standing on the roof of his inn, he witnessed the sea battle in the War of the Sicilian Vespers between the fleet of a Sicilian–Aragonese alliance and the forces of Charles of Anjou and his allies. In Rome Rabban Sauma was received by twelve cardinals, for Pope Honorius IV had died in April and no successor had yet been found. Their encounter was marked by a clash of interests, as Rabban Bar Sauma sought a political discussion while the cardinals, wishing to avoid one, focused on theological matters. Having explained to them the dyophysite belief of the Nestorian Church, he refused to enter into a debate on the *filioque*,[189] declaring: 'I have come from remote countries neither to discuss nor to instruct in matters of the Faith, but I came [. . .] to make known the words of King [Arghun] and the Catholicos.'[190] In Genoa, his next port of call, Arghun's ambassador was received warmly enough, but because of the Ligurians' see-sawing alliances his request was ignored.

In Paris, Rabban Bar Sauma made a pilgrimage to all the important churches, as he had in Constantinople and Rome before. While King Philip enthusiastically welcomed Arghun's request for an alliance and his proposal to hand over a liberated Jerusalem to the Latins,[191] other matters occupied his attention as he sought to construct a French national state that would incorporate Gascony in the south-west and Flanders in the north; in addition, he was in dispute with the Pope over the drain of ecclesiastical revenues to Rome. Like Philip of France, King Edward of England declared himself ready for a coordinated offensive in Palestine when Rabban Bar Sauma met him in Bordeaux, yet he too had more pressing domestic political preoccupations.[192] Unaware of any of these constraints, Rabban Bar Sauma gained the impression that both these powerful Latin rulers were willing to provide military support for Abaqa's plan, a belief reflected in Arghun's letter to the two kings in 1289. But his audience with the newly elected Pope Nicholas IV (in office 1288–92) must have been a bitter disappointment. Although the pope let the Mongol vicar-general celebrate a Holy Week mass according to the dyophysite Nestorian rite while he was present, his letter to Arghun proved most unhelpful. He avoided giving explicit support to any crusade, even though such a call would have put the Latin rulers under pressure. Instead, he advised the Il-Khan to have himself baptised, to escape 'the gates of Hell', and in a second letter, to the Catholicos, reiterated the Roman church's claim to primacy.[193] Rabban Sauma died in Baghdad in 1294, and it is an irony of history that the only concrete result of his journey to Western Europe was to endanger his own church in China: after he had told the pope of the many Christians to be found in China and among the Mongols, in 1291 the pontiff sent the missionary bishop Giovanni da Montecorvino to Khanbaliq, where his chief ambition would be to 'convert' the Nestorians to Catholicism.[194]

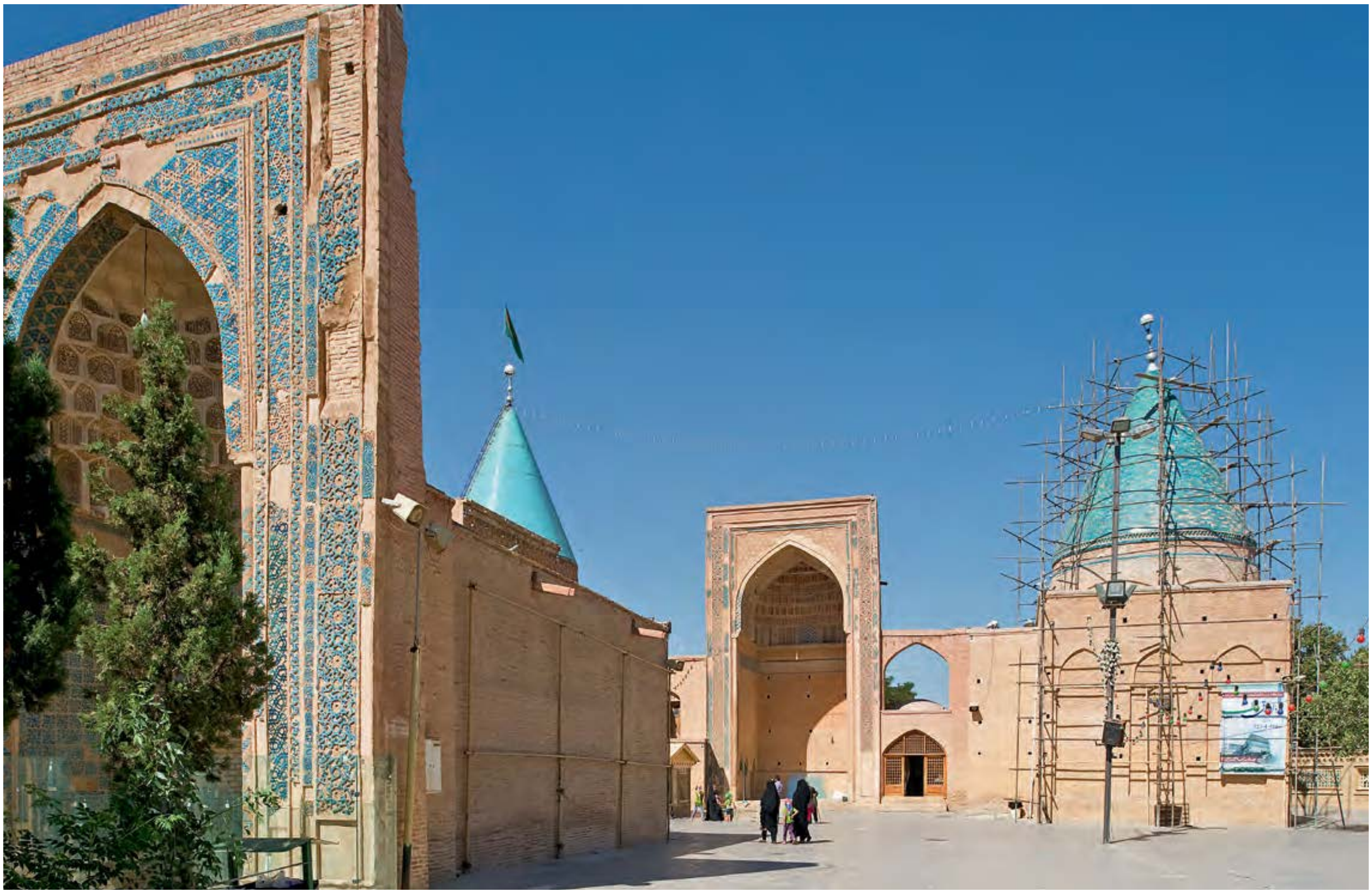
181. The Citadel of Arbil, Kurdistan, Iraq. The Mongols failed to take the citadel in 1235 but succeeded in 1258 after a six-month siege. Between 1306 and 1310 it was the seat of the Patriarch of the Church of the East, Mar Yahballah III, and from 1296 until 1310 a refuge for Christians in the Muslim city. In 1310 the patriarch was forced to leave his residence and flee to Maragheh, while the Christians of Arbil were slaughtered. During the author's visit in 2009, there was an air of religious tolerance in Arbil. This was clear to see from the wall hangings and prints showing the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ and Mickey Mouse, as well as Kurdish politicians, Islamic mullahs and the Ka'aba in Mecca. Photo: 2009.

4.2 The Muslim Il-Khans

Arghun's son **Ghazan** (r. 1295–1304), viceroy of Khorasan since 1284, did not recognise Baydu's seizure of power. Ghazan had been brought up as a Buddhist, but under pressure from his powerful military commander Nauruz, a fanatical Muslim, he converted to Islam in June 1295 and rallied the many Muslim commanders and officers behind him. He captured and executed Baydu.[195] Then, under pressure from the kingmaker Nauruz, Ghazan made Islam the state religion and ordered the destruction of non-Muslim places of worship. Rashid al-Din, later his vizier, records that 'An edict was given that all the bhakshis' [Buddhist] temples and houses of worship, as well as Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, were to be destroyed.'[196] At the same time, all foreign Buddhist monks were expelled[197] and the Il-Khanate's non-Muslim elite was forcibly converted to Islam. Patriarch Yahballaha again found himself in grave danger, as he had been under Sultan Ahmad: he was incarcerated and tortured. His life was saved by the intercession of the Cilician King He'tum II, who was visiting Ghazan in Tabriz.[198] Christians and Jews were compelled to wear distinctive clothing to mark their religion.[199] Although these requirements were relaxed a little following Nauruz's fall in 1297, prompted by the discovery of his secret contacts with the Mamluks, Christians and Jews were still treated as second-class citizens. A few churches and synagogues survived, or were rebuilt, but the Buddhist temples disappeared without trace.[200] Under Ghazan's successor Oljeitu, too, the Nestorian patriarch found himself cruelly persecuted: in 1310, Mongolian troops compelled him to abandon his refuge in the citadel of Arbil, and the Christians left behind were massacred or sold into slavery.[201]

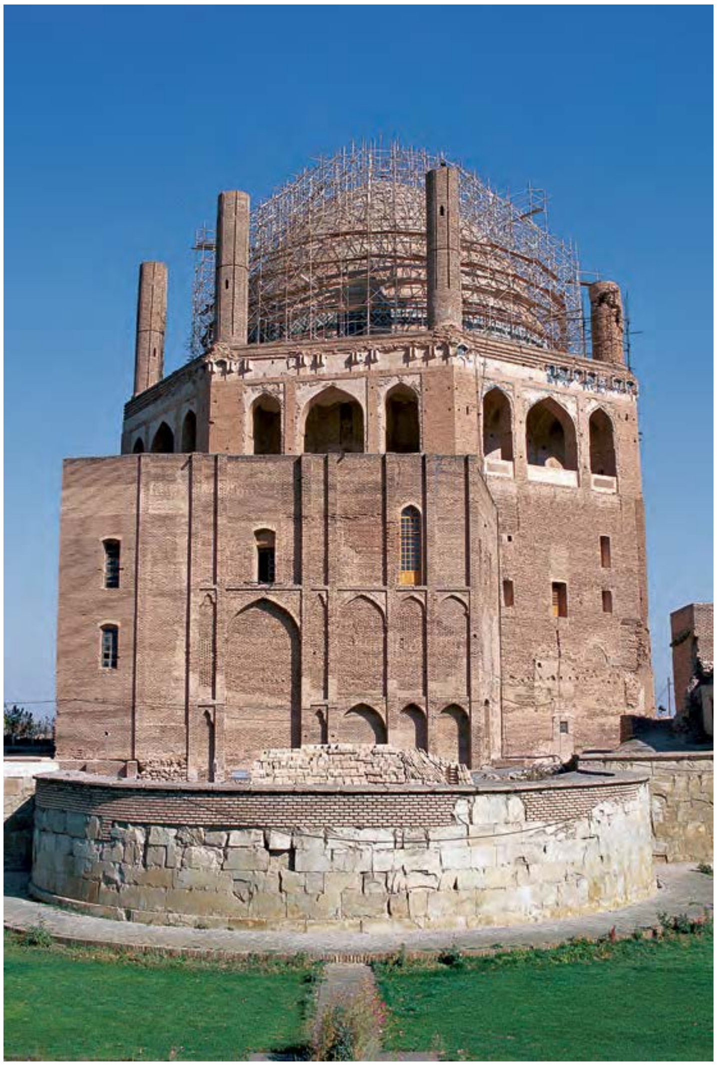
Ghazan's most important domestic measure was the appointment of Rashid al-Din as joint vizier in 1298, when the economy was on the brink of collapse because of mismanagement by Gaykhatu and Baydu. Rashid dealt with corruption in financial administration, reduced and simplified taxes, promoted the resettlement of depopulated agricultural districts, overhauled the irrigation system and protected farmers from the nomads – all of which helped to revive the economy.[202] Ghazan also commissioned Rashid to compose the great chronicle *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, which under Oljeitu grew into a world history from a Mongol perspective. In the struggle against the Mamluks, Ghazan, like his predecessors, got nowhere. Having succeeded in winning a glorious victory at the third Battle of Homs in December 1299, he failed to pursue the fleeing Mamluks. After occupying Damascus for a short while, he then returned home, squandering his victory and allowing the Mamluks to regain control of the whole of Syria in May 1300.[203] Ghazan's second Syrian campaign in January 1301 was ended by torrential rains,[204] and the third campaign saw the Il-Khanid army under its commander Qutlugh Shah suffer a heavy defeat at Damascus on 20 April 1303.[205] As Ghazan prepared for another campaign in the autumn of 1303 he fell seriously ill, and he died in May 1304.

Ghazan was succeeded by his brother **Oljeitu** (r. 1304–16), who completed the construction of the new capital Soltaniyeh that had been begun by Arghun and had an impressive mausoleum built for himself there (fig. 183).[206] In religious terms, Oljeitu seemed fond of variety: he was baptised a Christian by Mar Yahballaha, under the name of Nicholas, then converted to Buddhism, before becoming a Sunni of Hanafi and later Shafi'i obedience. The never-ending verbal disputes at court between Hanafis and Shafi'is earned the disdain of Oljeitu and some of his emirs. One of these was Qutlugh Shah, who asked: 'Why



182. The Bayazid Mausoleum in Bastam, Iran, built in honour of Sheikh Bayazid Bastami, founder of a branch of ecstatic Sufism, who died in *ca.* 848. To the left, on the eastern side of the mausoleum compound, is the entrance portal, built in 1313/14 by Il-Khan Oljeitu (r. 1304–16), adorned with blue and turquoise strapwork panels. Behind it, rising above Bayazid's tomb is a conical, triple-shell dome, tiled in pale blue.[34] To the right is the mausoleum of Imam-Zadeh Mohammad, built in 1300 under Il-Khan Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) to honour the memory of this descendant of the sixth imam Ja'far al-Sadiq. The tiled western *iwan* was also built during Il-Khan Ghazan's reign. Only the minaret, to the south of the main mausoleum but not visible in the photo, is not from the Il-Khanid period, but dates from 1120. Photo: 2014.

have we abandoned the Yasa of Genghis Khan and the religion of our forefathers and accepted this religion of the Arabs, which is divided in so many sects?'[207] Finally, around 1309/10, Oljeitu decided to join the Twelver Shia, giving that branch of Islam a significant boost in Iran[208] (though it would appear that he later returned to the Sunnis[209]). Perhaps Oljeitu hoped to position himself as the political leader of all the Shia, so constituting a counterweight to the Sunni Mamluks. In those days, the Twelver Shi'ites were making headway in the leading Sufi orders, such as the *Kubraviyya* and the *Safaviyya* founded by Sheikh Safi al-Din Ishaq Ardabili (1252–1334). In the mid-fifteenth century, however, the Safaviyya became a military order, later giving birth to the Safavid dynasty (1501–1736) that proclaimed Twelver Shi'ism the state religion of Iran.[210]



183. The three-storey mausoleum of Il-Khan Oljeitu (r. 1304–16) in Soltaniyeh, Iran, is 51 metres high and was built sometime between 1305 and 1314. Its double-shell dome has a span of 25 metres. The eight minarets were originally considerably taller. Photo: 2001.

Oljeitu's foreign policy met with little success. In the north, he failed in his attempt in 1307 to subjugate the small but independent principalities of the Gilan region,[211] and in that same year the Mongol general Bilarghun, who acted like an independent warlord, murdered the young King Leo III (IV) of Cilician Armenia together with his uncle and Regent, the former King He'tum II. In response to this murder, Leo's successor Oshin (r. 1308–20) drove the Mongols out of Cilicia. Oljeitu did not react – it would seem he no longer had the slightest interest in cooperating with the Armenians.[212] The inadequate force that Oljeitu dispatched against the young Osman principality also met with little success and the Syrian campaign of the winter of 1312–13, which he led in person, ended right on the Mamluk border when he failed in his siege of the fortress of Rahba al-Sham on the Euphrates.[213] This was the last Mongol attempt to conquer Syria, and with this ignominious failure, 52 years after the Mongols were defeated at the Battle of Ain Jalut, the long struggle for Syria finally ended with a victory for the Mamluks.

As Oljeitu's successor, his son **Abu Said** (r. 1317–35), was only twelve years old at his father's death, power was held by commander-in-chief Emir Choban (d. 1327) who immediately began to scheme against the vizier Rashid al-Din and had him put to death in 1318. The following year, and again in 1325, Choban had to fight off an invasion by Özbek, khan of the Golden Horde.[214] Understanding the pointlessness of further attacks on Syria, Choban opened negotiations with the Mamluks in 1321. These negotiations ended two years later in a lasting peace with Egypt that confirmed the status quo.[215] Choban was eventually brought down by the mutinous and lawless behaviour of two of his sons and, not least, by his refusal to countenance Abu Said's pursuit of his already married daughter Bagdad Khatun.[216] In 1327, Abu Said won the support of important emirs and had Choban put to death, then compelled Bagdad Khatun to divorce her husband Hasan-i Buzurg (later founder of the Jalayirid dynasty) and married her himself. Eight years later, in November 1335, the last Il-Khan to rule in his own right died without a successor – killed by poison, probably administered by Bagdad Khatun.[217] Between 1335 and 1344 there followed a series of eight puppet Il-Khans, little more than playthings of contending emirs. The Il-Khanate thus fragmented into at least fifteen regional dynasties, of which only one was of Mongol descent – the Jalayirid dynasty (1336–1432), founded by Hasan-i Buzurg (r. 1336–56), who captured Baghdad in 1340.[218]

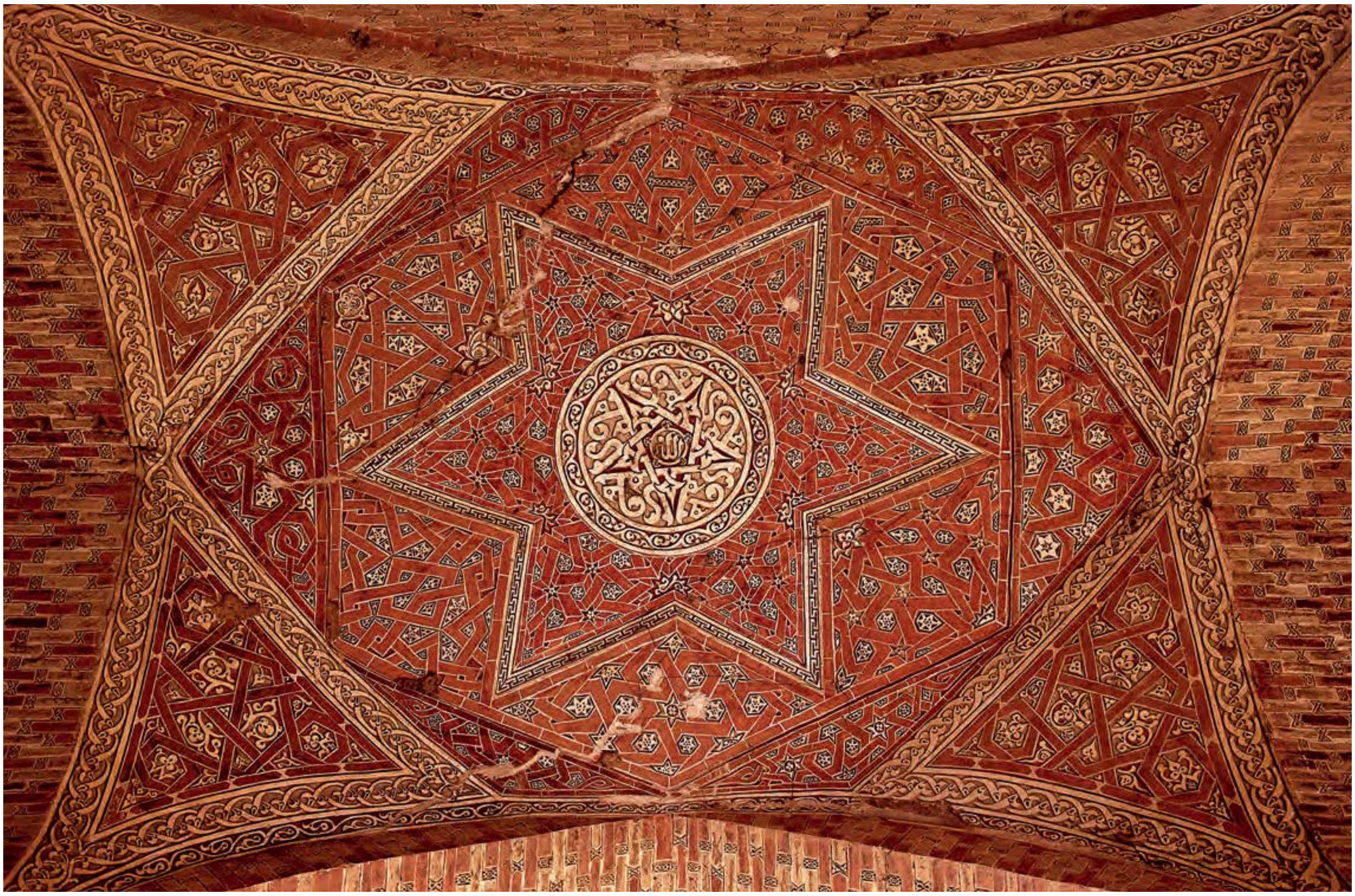
4.3 The Cultural Legacy of the Il-Khanids

The cultural legacy of the Il-Khanids is to be found in language, historiography, illuminated manuscripts, architecture and textiles. Thanks to their unique trade and diplomatic contacts with both China and the Latin West, Chinese cultural influence is to be found in Iranian art and design which in its turn influenced the Latin West, and Italy in particular. Historiography had been developing in China since the second century BCE, thanks to state encouragement for the establishment of thorough and systematic historical records; it was now adopted by the Mongols, in the *Secret History,* and continued by the Il-Khanids. The best-known works are those of Ala al-Din Ata Malik Juvaini and Rashid al-Din. As J. A. Boyle has emphasised, the fact that these chronicles were written in Persian, not Arabic, helped to develop a national sentiment in Iran[219] that was reinforced by the Il-Khanids' turn toward the pre-Islamic, Sassanid legacy. Particularly noteworthy are the two Muslim rulers Ghazan and Oljeitu, who commissioned Rashid's monumental work. In Rashid's scriptorium in Tabriz there then developed a distinctive school of manuscript illumination. The richly illustrated epic scenes in Rashid's *Jamia al-Tawarikh*[220] and the emergence of illustrated editions of the *Shahnameh* – such as the so-called 'Small' *Shahnameh* of 1287–1307, the 'Great Mongol' *Shahnameh* (also known as the Demotte *Shahnameh*) made for the Il-Khan Abu Said, and the editions prepared under successor dynasties like the Jalayirids[221] justify Grabar's observation 'that interest in and development of an epic art illustrating books on the legendary [and historical][222] past of Iran appears to be an Il-Khanid creation'.[223] The new interest in the *Shahnameh*, and the construction of Abaqa's palace at Takht-e Sulayman, were both expressions of a deliberate identification with the grandeur and distinctiveness of Sassanid Iran, and the crucial legacy of the Il-Khanids was indeed the revival of Iran's cultural and political autonomy.

From a religious point of view the conversion of the Il-Khans Ghazan and Oljeitu to Islam was of paramount importance for the self-confidence of the Muslim community. For it suggested that Islam was so powerful and convincing as an ideology that even 'infidel' conquerors who had broken the political pillar of Islam, the Abbasid Caliphate, had to yield to its persuasiveness and embrace it. A few years later khan Özbek (r. 1313–41) of the Golden Horde felt compelled to embrace Islam as well.[224] Even the fierce Mongol conquerors couldn't impede Islam's dominance in the Middle East and Central Asia.

184. The entrance portal to the Friday Mosque in Yazd, Iran. The mosque was built between 1325 and 1334, at the end of the Il-Khanid dynasty, Photo: 2001.

The pictorial language developed in Rashid's scriptorium displays numerous Chinese elements imported into Tabriz along with the silk fabrics, woodblock prints and handscroll paintings on silk or paper that came from China.[225] Among these elements are pen and ink drawings, the monochrome representations of animals, the gnarled trees, the clouds and the typically Chinese-looking rocks and mountains, dragons, phoenixes and lions.[226] Occasional illustrations such as those depicting the birth of the Prophet draw on Christian traditions.[227] As Rashid's magnum opus was intended as a history of the world, the Arabic translation of 1314, in the chapter on the history of India, contains a section on 'The Life and Teaching of the Buddha' with three illustrations, and this despite the fact that Ghazan had banned the Buddhist religion in 1295.[228] Chinese motifs were found not only in Persian illuminated manuscripts and in painted and glazed tiles such as those used in the decoration of Abaqa's palace at Takht-e Sulayman,[229]

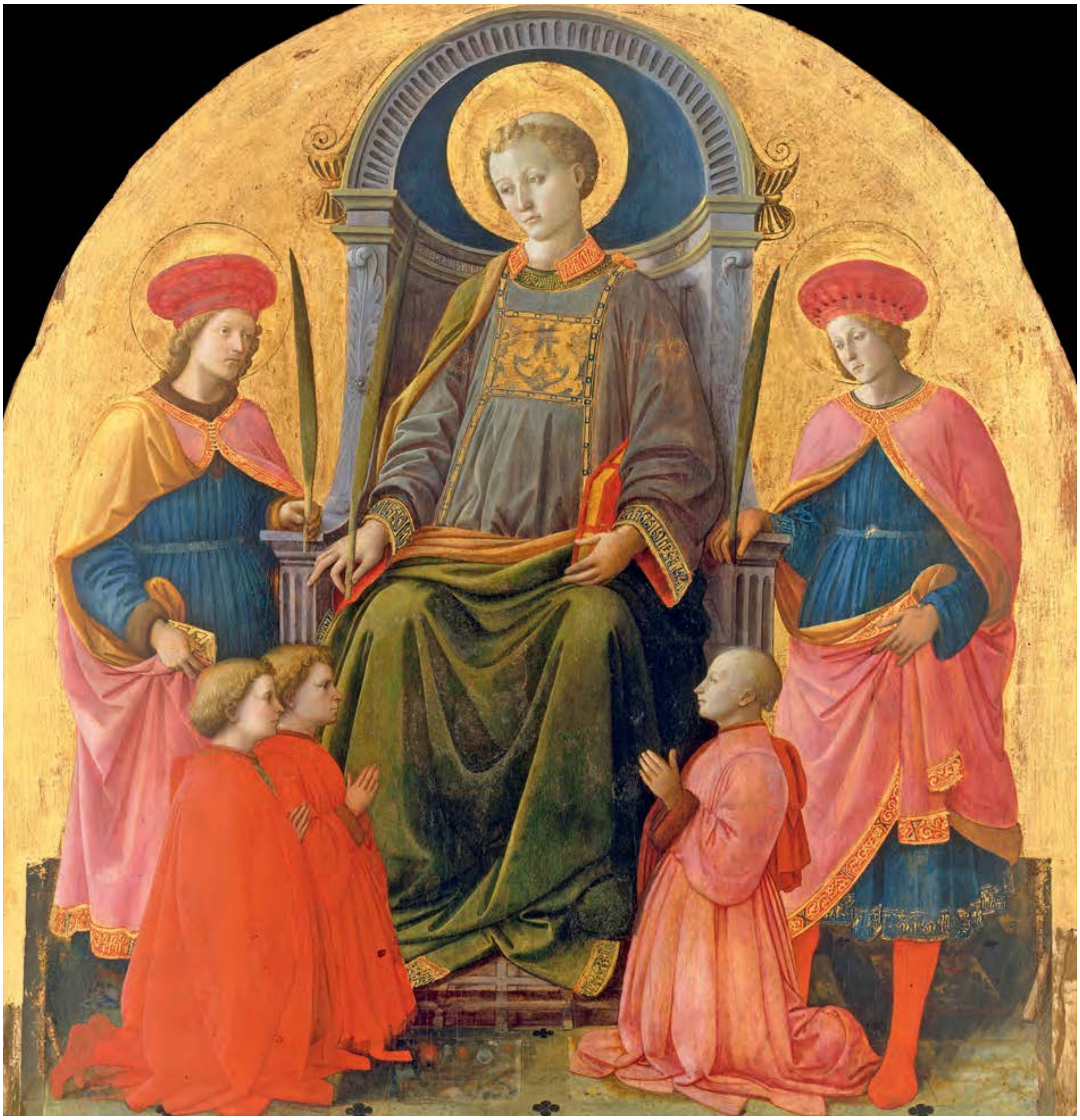


185. Stuccoed ceiling in the arcade of the mausoleum of Il-Khan Oljeitu (r. 1304–16) in Soltaniyeh, Iran. The patterns show a striking resemblance to contemporary book illumination, presumably because the artists working on the stuccoed ceiling used similar pattern books. Photo: 2001.

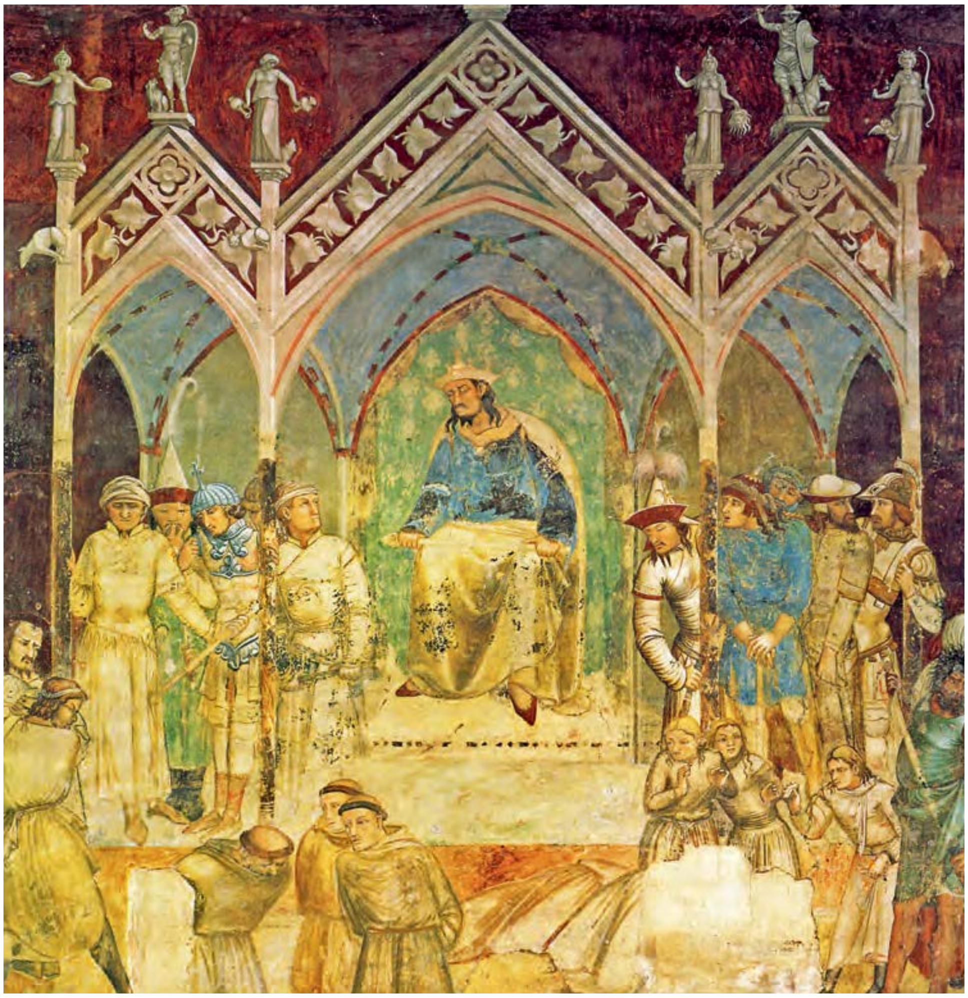
but also in Christian-Armenian books. An outstanding example of this is a richly illuminated lectionary produced in Cilicia in 1286; in one of its miniatures Christ is protected by two Chinese-style prancing lions.[230]

Two characteristic features of Il-Khanid architecture are the penchant for height, exemplified in the monumental portal of the Friday mosque in Yazd, with its two flanking minarets (fig. 184), which dates from the reign of Abu Said, and the exterior decoration of domes with turquoise tiles, as seen in Bayazid's Mausoleum in Bastam (fig. 182).[231] Dating from the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the polychrome faïence mosaic of the Yazd mosque foreshadows the rich decoration of the Timurids.[232] For his own mausoleum in Soltaniyeh (fig. 183), Oljeitu adopted the concept of a monumental mausoleum with a double-shelled dome like that of Sanjar's audience-hall in Merv (fig. 60). As Richard Yeomans has noted, Oljeitu's majestic mausoleum with its octagonal plan and eight minarets equal in height to the summit of the dome anticipates the mausoleums of the Mughals in India.[233] Remarkable, too, is the painted stucco relief decoration of the vaulted ceiling of the outer arcade, which, as Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom point out, shows great similarities with contemporary manuscript illumination. The artists who created it probably used paper templates for guidance (fig. 185).[234]

The Mongols prized their *nasij* silks embroidered with gold and silver thread, called *panni tartarici* in Italy,[235] and these were often used by the Il-Khans as precious gifts for Latin sovereigns, including the pope. A papal inventory of 1295 describes 100 items as *tartarico*, among them many *panni tartarici*; an inventory of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi dated 1338 similarly lists many 'Tatar' items.[236] And it was not only the textiles that caused a sensation, but their bearers too: during the Holy Year of 1300 the Il-Khanid ambassador, the Florentine Guiscardo de Bastari, appeared in Rome with a retinue of a hundred, all in 'Tatar' dress.[237] The encounter with these fabrics and those who brought them led to the appearance of Chinese, Mongol and Persian elements in Italian painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is no accident that one of the first clear examples of Sino-Mongol influence can be seen in the wall paintings of the Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi, executed between 1295 and 1308. For it was Pope Nicholas IV who had received Mongol ambassadors on several occasions, who ordered the restoration and decoration of the basilica (fig. 187).[238] Eastern influence can be seen here, and later elsewhere, in the depiction of biblical figures wearing *nasij* silks with Chinese and Central Asian patterns, and in the representation of Mongol officers and horsemen. Particularly popular were varying types of pseudo-Phagpa and pseudo-Arabic script, used in the borders of garments, haloes and open books (fig. 186). Among the painters who adopted such oriental elements in their works are Giotto di Bendone (1267–1337), together with his workshop and circle, Simone Martini (1283–1344), Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*ca.* 1290–1348), Bernardo Daddi (d. *ca.* 1348), Paolo Veneziano (d. after 1358), Gentile da Fabriano (d. 1427) and Fra Filippo Lippi (*ca.* 1406–69).[239] The luxury textile industry located in Syria and notably in Damascus was destroyed by Timur-e Lang between 1399 and 1402, which helped the Italian industry to become dominant in the Mediterranean region.[240]



186. **St Lawrence enthroned with Saints Cosmas and Damian, and three donors. Tempera on wood with a gold ground by Fra Filippo Lippi (*ca.* 1406–69). It is interesting to note the pseudo-Arabic and pseudo-Phagpa script motifs on the braid edging of the three saints' garments. The rectangular design on Saint Lawrence's robe imitates the similarly positioned motifs which adorned the robes worn by Chinese officials. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inv. no. 35.31.1a–c.**



187. The martyrdom of Franciscan friars in Ceuta, Morocco in 1227, or in Thanah – now Mumbai, India – in 1321. Mural by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*ca.* 1290–1348) in the Basilica of Saint Francis in Siena, Italy, painted *ca.* 1330. The Asian influence can be seen in the Mongol features of the enthroned ruler and of two officers who stand looking on. Their cone-shaped hats adorned with feathers and raised brims and neck guards echo the headgear of a Mongol commander of a *mingan*, a force of 1,000 warriors.[35]

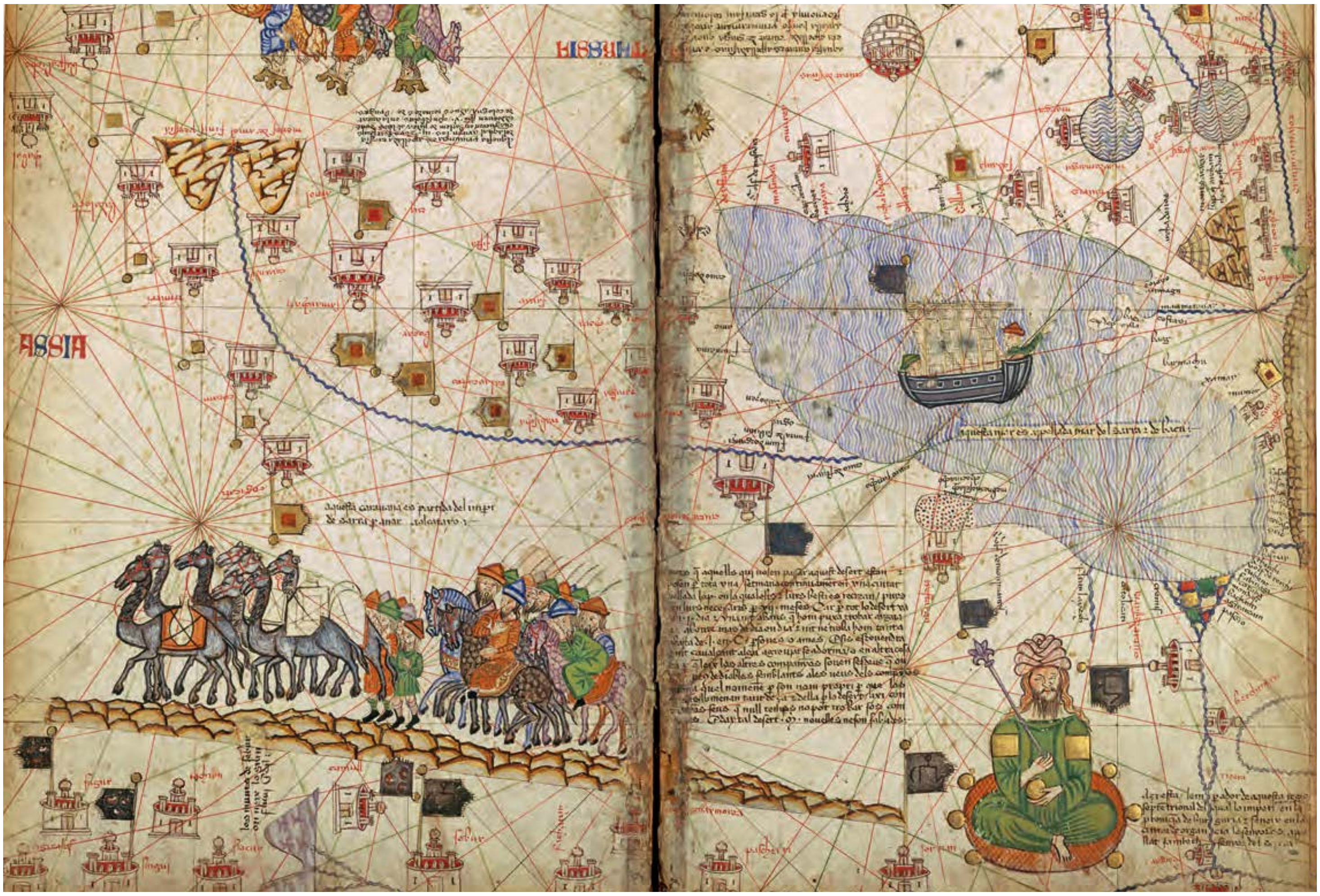
5. The Golden Horde

The khanate of the **Golden Horde** (1207/8–1502) originated in Genghis Khan's gift to his eldest son **Jochi** in 1207/8, when he granted him lordship over the 'forest people' living on the Irtysh, Angara and Ienissei rivers, who he had recently conquered at no great cost.[241] Genghis Khan confirmed Jochi's *ulus* in the winter of 1218/19, granting him in addition the territories that might in future be conquered in the north-west. After the destruction of Gurganj in 1221, Genghis Khan sent Jochi to the north-west to conquer the Kipchak steppe, but Jochi remained passive and died in early 1227, so Genghis appointed Jochi's second-eldest son **Batu** (r. 1227–55) to be ruler of the *ulus*.[242] After the successful campaign in the west in 1236–42, Batu allocated his brothers their own camps: Batu's own camp stood on the Lower Volga, in the region north of Astrakhan, where the city of Sarai Batu ('Old Sarai') would emerge in the early 1250s. Later, either Berke Khan (r. 1257–66) or (more likely) Özbek Khan (r. 1313–41) would found New Sarai east of Volgograd.[243] Batu had direct control over the region west of the Urals; to his younger brother Shaiban he allotted the pastureland east of his own camp, and east of that, in today's Kazakhstan, resided Jochi's eldest son Orda. Timurid and Uzbek sources of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries call the western part of the Golden Horde (this latter being a Russian term from the sixteenth century) the 'Blue Horde', and the eastern part controlled by Orda the 'White Horde'.[244] The Golden Horde, which between 1240 and 1480 ruled much of the Russia of the time, lasted longer than the other Genghisid khanates, for several reasons. The Mongols and Kipchaks lived on the vast grasslands of the Kipchak steppe, never mixed with the conquered Slavic peoples and had nothing to do with their cities – they avoided the Russian forest zone and lived a traditional nomadic life on the steppe, thus providing the khan of the Golden Horde with a standing cavalry that he could send against rebels at will. The khans contented themselves with political control over the Russian towns and the posting of *basqaqi* to collect taxes. However, in providing for their army in part by a system akin to military fiefdoms, whereby nobles and large landowners were exempted from taxes in exchange for supplying soldiers, they laid the foundations for the feudalism and enserfment of the peasantry that later spread from the Principality of Moscow.[245] It was the strict refusal to assimilate with the Russians that guaranteed the Golden Horde its military superiority. The Mongols' and Kipchaks' conversion to Islam further separated the Tatars, as their descendants were known, from the Christian Slavs of Russia. Not only did the Muslim Tatars not try to convert the Russians by force, but they also made an ally of the Orthodox Church, exempting it from taxes and so enabling it to become a large landowner.[246] The only exception to this policy of rigorous non-assimilation was the adoption of Kipchak, the Turkic language spoken on the Lower Volga, as the official language instead of Mongolian in the course of the fourteenth century.[247]

5.1 The Blue Horde of Batu Khan

As Batu's successor, Möngke appointed the dead ruler's son **Sartaq** (r. 1256–57), who may have been a Christian, and to succeed him, when he died soon after returning from Karakorum, Batu's young grandson **Ulaghchi** (r. 1257), who also died only a few months later.[248] It is likely that Batu's brother **Berke** (r. 1257–66) had his two predecessors poisoned. Batu's and Berke's political and economic strategy was aimed at the exploitation of the Russian towns through taxation and control over the northern route from Transoxiana to the Mediterranean, for the *ulus* was dependent on trade, as the Khazar Empire had been earlier.[249] The preferred route to the Mediterranean led from Sarai through the eastern Caucasus to Tabriz in Azerbaijan, and from there to Laiazzo or alternatively Trebizond on the Black Sea. Yet Berke suffered two serious setbacks: first, immediately after Batu's death, Möngke removed General Baiju, the commander of the armies in the Caucasus and the Near East who was close to the Jochids, replacing him with

188. The Church of the Holy Trinity – Zminda Samebaba in Georgian – a place of pilgrimage in Gergeti, Georgia. It was built in the first half of the fourteenth century at the foot of the 5,033-metre-high Mount Kazbek in the Greater Caucasus. The River Terek runs through the valley and, only a few kilometres northwards, flows into the infamous Darial Gorge, over which the Il-Khanids and the Golden Horde fought bitterly in the 1260s. Il-Khan Hülegü succeeded in securing the strategic highly important Darial Pass as his farthest outpost situated north of the main ridge of the Greater Caucasus. Photo: 2013.



189. Detail of Panel V of the Catalan Atlas produced in Mallorca in 1375. Painted on parchment, the atlas contained everything hitherto known about world geography. For information on Central and East Asia, the creators of the atlas also drew on Marco Polo's reports. North is represented at the bottom of the map, while east is shown on the left. The Caspian Sea appears on the right, while at the bottom of the left-hand page a camel caravan makes its way eastwards. The caption states: 'The caravan belongs to the Emperor of Sarra (Sarai, capital of the Golden Horde) and is going to China.' Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, manuscript occidental espagnol 30.

his brother Hülegü, who set himself up as sole ruler of the Middle East, taking Tabriz as his seat of power and expelling the representatives of the Jochids from his domains.[250] So the doors of the Mediterranean remained closed to the Jochids, with the result that Berke entered a military alliance with the Mamluks in order to conquer Azerbaijan and thus secure access to the sea. But Berke's two campaigns against the Il-Khanate in 1262/63 and 1265/66 met with no success. And in the east, too, Berke had to accept loss of territory when the Chagataid Alghu took Chorasmia and Otrar between 1261 and 1265.[251]

Berke and his successors reacted to this failure to obtain access to the Mediterranean through military means and by strongly encouraging internal and transit trade and cooperation with the Italian mercantile republics of Genoa and Venice. They built or expanded towns at nodal points on the trade routes, towns which also served as centres of administration. Archaeological investigations have identified 110 medieval towns on the territories of the Golden Horde (including the Russian towns), and 30 more are known from medieval sources. Although this urban development was centrally planned, the larger towns and cities enjoyed considerable autonomy – as many as 17 of them had the right to strike coins.[252] As the Jochids had no merchant fleet, they established trade relations with Genoa and Venice, playing one against the other with more or less success.[253] For the Italian republics, which had settlement rights and trading posts on the coasts under the control of the Golden Horde – as for example on the south coast of Crimea and at Tana on the Don Delta – trade with the Jochids became considerably more important after the loss of the last Crusader strongholds. When the Il-Khanate descended into chaos following the death of Abu Said, and its trade routes became unsafe, the northern route became even more attractive. 'The Golden

Horde [became then] a bridge connecting Asia and Europe,'[254] the route running from Gurganj or Otrar via Sarai, Tana and Pera (Galata) to Genoa or Venice.[255] Detailed information about the individual routes, the towns, and the goods conveyed is to be found in *La practica della mercatura*, a book written around 1340 by the Florentine merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti. In it Pegolotti advises European merchants to grow their beards, and at Tana, on the Don, to engage a local dragoman, at least two men servants, and preferably a woman as well. As goods, merchants from Italy should take with them the finest stuffs, exchanging these for silver in Gurganj, which would again be exchanged for paper money at the Chinese border.[256]

These trade relations were to the advantage of all parties involved: the Golden Horde, the Mamluks and the Italian republics. The Dominican William Adam noted disapprovingly in about 1317 that 'whatever these two, the Tatar [Golden Horde] and the [Mamluk] sultan, want to send each other, the Genoese transport it in their ships and galleys'.[257] The fact that many towns of the Golden Horde were built at locations important from a trade point of view, but which were unsuited to a self-subsistent, settled life is clear from the consequences of Timur-e Lang's depredations in 1395–96, when he systematically laid waste to the centres of trade. The flow of trade shifted to the south, to Iran, which Timur controlled, and many towns and cities of the Golden Horde vanished without trace.[258]

Berke's successor **Möngke Temür** (r. 1266/67–80) was the first to formally proclaim the independence of the Golden Horde; he marked his accession by striking coins that did not bear the name of the Great Khan.[259] He strengthened the *ulus* with campaigns against Lithuania and the Alans and allowed Genoa to establish a colony at Caffa (Feodosia). In 1285, Emperor Andronicus II granted the Republic of Venice right of passage through the Dardanelles; between 1288 and 1343, Venice regained her old foothold of Soldaia

190. Fourteenth-century tower and Armenian Church of Saint John inside the medieval Genoese fort of Caffa (Feodosia) on the south coast of Crimea. Caffa was the administrative centre and the principal port for Genoese trading activities in the Black Sea. The city fell to the Ottomans in 1475. Photo: 2011.

(Sudak), and in the 1320s opened a trading-post at Tana. Genoa, however, kept the upper hand in the Black Sea until 1475, with maritime hubs at Pera (Galata), Caffa and Trebizond.[260] Möngke Temür was succeeded by his brother **Tudä Möngke** (1280–87), a pious Muslim who proved a weak ruler. The real decisions were taken by Emir Nogai, who, despite never being a khan, would be the most powerful man in the Golden Horde until his death in 1299. In 1287, Nogai (whose name means 'dog' in Mongol, a positive reference to his skill and strength in battle) compelled the khan to abdicate, replacing him with **Töle Bugha** (r. 1287–91). Nogai's domain lay in the western part of the *ulus* and extended from the Don to the Danube. He forced Bulgaria to recognise his overlordship, yet he failed in his attack on Hungary in 1285, suffering two defeats with heavy losses. Two years later he ravaged Poland. When Töle Bugha showed signs of taking government into his own hands, Nogai took him prisoner, handing him over to **Tokhta** (r. 1291–1312), a son of Möngke Temür, who killed him, whereupon Nogai made Tokhta khan. After nipping in the bud the first stirrings towards independence of a number of Russian cities, Tokhta then turned against Nogai. He lost his first battle in 1298 and had to flee; he won the next, in 1299/1300, during which Nogai was killed.[261]

Tokhta's attempt to wrest Azerbaijan from the Il-Khanids was a failure. In 1302 or 1303, after Ghazan refused to hand over the disputed province, Tokhta sent an embassy to the Mamluks, hoping to persuade them to mount a joint attack on the Il-Khanate. Sultan al-Malik al-Nasr Muhammad rejected the idea, so in 1306/07 Tokhta repeated his demand to Oljeitu that Azerbaijan should be ceded to him, but without success. To punish the Mamluks, who were dependent on regular supplies of slaves from the Golden Horde, for their non-cooperation Tokhta, in 1307, ordered the imprisonment of all Genoese merchants and besieged Caffa. In May 1308, after eight months of siege, the Genoese put their city to the torch and got away in their ships. The real loser in all this, though, was the Golden Horde, which had gained taxes and other revenues from the transit trade. Hardly had Tokhta's successor **Özbek**[262] (r. 1313–41) acceded to the throne than he hastened to re-establish cooperation with Genoa, not least in order to revive the alliance

---

191. The citadel of the medieval fortress of Soldaia (Sudak), the trading centre known in the early Middle Ages as Sugdeia.[36] Soldaia's port and fortress on Crimea's southern coast belonged to Genoa between 1261 and 1475, although it was under Venetian control from 1288 until 1343. The Mongols attacked Soldaia in 1223, 1239, 1298, 1322 and 1323. Thereafter it was administered mostly by a governor from the Golden Horde until 1365. Like Caffa, Soldaia fell to the Ottomans in 1475. Photo: 2011.

with Cairo. From now on, Genoa would enjoy extraterritorial rights in Caffa, and the city was excluded from the jurisdiction of the Golden Horde.[263]

Just as Il-Khan Ghazan had earlier come to power with the support of Emir Choban, so Özbek was compelled to give in to the pressure of the powerful emir Qutlugh Temür and convert to Islam before gaining the throne. He then called together more than 100 Tatar princes who, preferring the law of Genghis Khan to the law of Islam, rejected the 'Arab religion', and had them all killed. The forced Islamisation of the Golden Horde's Tatar nobility was completed with the expulsion of all Buddhists.[264] In the 1550s, Ötemish Hajji composed a fanciful narrative account of Özbek's conversion, according to which the arrival of four Muslim 'saints' disturbed a heathen ceremony at the khan's court, whereupon a trial by fire was arranged. Blazing fires were to be lit in two oven pits; in one would go a representative of the 'infidel sorcerers', into the other a representative of the 'saints', and 'Whoever emerges without being burned, his religion will be true.' While the Muslim Baba Tükles went willingly, donning armour over his bare flesh, three of the 'sorcerers' had to take their colleague by force and throw him into the oven, where he died immediately. Baba Tükles in the meantime could be heard praying peacefully, and when the oven was opened 'they saw that the armour was glowing red hot, but by the power of God most high not a hair of the Baba's body was burned'.[265] Ibn Battuta, in any event, testifies to Özbek's insistence on the observance of Islamic law, recording after his visit to Gurganj that 'Any person who absents himself from the communal prayers is beaten by the *qadi* [judge] in front of the people.'[266]

Özbek's protracted efforts to conquer Azerbaijan would all fail. His attack on the Il-Khanate in 1319 was defeated, and offering a Mongol princess in marriage to Sultan al-Malik al-Nasr Muhammad, together with a large dowry, proved ineffectual, as the sultan still categorically refused to take part in a new attack, marriage or no marriage: 'We have made peace with the king Abu Said for the sake of the Muslim faith. [. . .] He is a pillar of Islam. [. . .] As for what the king [Özbek] says about having forbidden merchants to buy slaves, we – praise be to Allah! – have no need of slaves.'[267] This peace with the Il-Khanate was the fruit of the Mamluks' effective diplomacy since Baibar's alliance with Berke in 1262/63. For 50 years Egypt had countered the Il-Khans' pressure and prevented their conquest of Syria. The conclusion of peace in 1323 had also removed the need to purchase costly slaves for the army. After this foreign policy reverse, Özbek devoted more time and energy to domestic affairs, and also intervened in support of Moscow in an intra-Russian conflict. In 1328 he appointed the Muscovite prince Ivan I. Daniilovich (r. 1328–41), called Kalita ('moneybag'), as grand prince of Vladimir, after the two of them had devastated Moscow's rival principality of Tver. At the same time, Özbek took a fateful decision when he abandoned the former policy of divide and rule by making the new grand prince responsible for collecting and passing on tribute and taxes from all the Russian cities. Ivan delivered these exactions punctually, so further strengthening his position of privilege. In this way he laid the foundations for Moscow's future as a regional great power that in the 1380s would challenge the Golden Horde itself.[268]

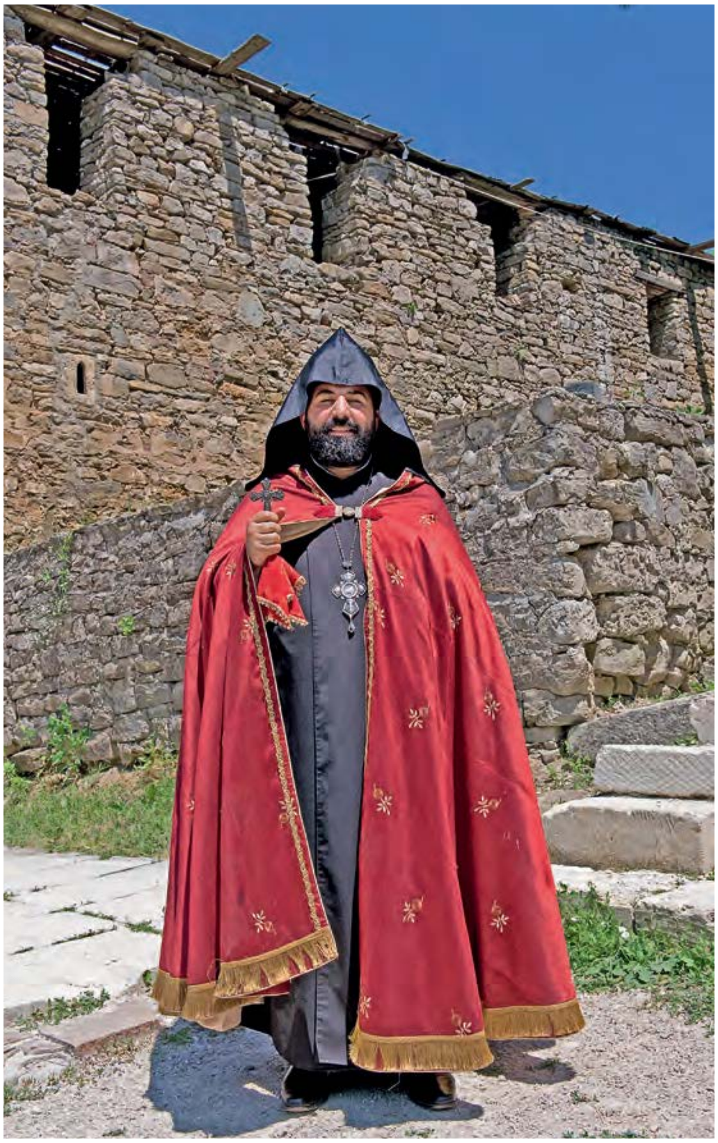
Özbek's successor was **Tini Beg** (r. 1341–42), who was in turn succeeded by his brother **Jani Beg** (r. 1342–57). It was during Tini Beg's reign that the Golden Horde began its rapid decline. In the west, the loss of Volhynia (in the north-west of today's Ukraine) to Lithuania in 1341 was followed in 1345 by a defeat at the hands of the Hungarians,

192. The Ozbek Khan Mosque, built in 1314 in Solkhat – present-day Staryj Krym – is 25 kilometres west of Caffa, Crimea. Photo: 2011.

193. Tower of the medieval Genoese fortress of Cembalo (Balaclava) on the south coast of Crimea. The fortress was a vantage point from which to monitor shipping as it entered the sheltered Cembalo Bay, where the Soviet Union much later maintained a submarine base. Like Caffa and Soldaia, Cembalo fell to the Ottomans in 1475. Photo: 2011.

and then, in 1349, by the loss of Galicia in western Ukraine to Poland.[269] Jani Beg's attempt to take control of the trade in the Black Sea failed miserably as well. The two sieges of Caffa in 1343 and 1345/46 also failed, while at Cembalo (Balaklava) on the south coast of Crimea the Genoese completely destroyed both his new fleet and his shipyards. At the second Siege of Caffa the khan is said to have had the bodies of soldiers that had died of bubonic plague catapulted into the city. The result of this biological warfare was that Genoese ships carried people infected with plague to Egypt and Western Europe, so propagating the epidemic known as the Black Death. The epidemic, which had probably originated in Kyrgyzstan, had reached the Golden Horde along the northern trade route. A joint embargo by both Genoa and Venice forced Jani Beg to conclude a truce in 1347.[270] But in 1356 the khan did succeed in taking Tabriz in Azerbaijan, where all his predecessors since Berke Khan had failed, and installed his son Berdi Beg as governor. He died suddenly in 1357, probably poisoned by that same son. **Berdi Beg** (r. 1357–59) hurried to Sarai, where he declared himself the new khan, but only two years later he was killed in turn by his brother **Qulpa** (r. 1359–60).[271] After Berdi Beg's death the Golden Horde descended into political chaos: between 1359 and the accession of Toqtamish in 1378 there was a series of 19 reigns, at least eight of them puppets of the warlord Mamai (d. 1380/81).

That the Golden Horde did not fall apart completely was only thanks to Mamai, who was not a Genghisid and thus was unable to claim the khanate for himself. His area of control lay in Crimea and on the Don, while Hajji Sarkis controlled the region around Hajji Tarkhan (Astrakhan) and Urus Khan ruled the White Horde further east.[272] Yet even Mamai could not prevent the erosion of the Golden Horde's territories: defeat by Lithuania in 1362 was followed between 1365 and 1370 by the loss of Podolia in western Ukraine and the region of Kiev to the Lithuanians.[273] By this time Lithuania and Moscow had the upper hand. Moscow decided in the early 1370s to cease its payment of tribute, and the Golden Horde was reduced to the status of a second-rank power. Only then did Mamai recognise the danger that Moscow represented, but his campaigns of 1373 and 1378 both failed. Two years later, Mamai raised a strong army, only once again to be crushingly defeated on 8 September 1380, by Dmitri Ivanovich, prince of Moscow and grand prince of Vladimir, at the battle of *Kulikovo pole* ('the Snipe Field'). Dmitri's hard-won victory was the first the Russians had won against a Mongol army in 140 years; it earned him the sobriquet Donskoy ('of the Don'). But the real winner of the battle was Toqtamish, khan of a reinvigorated White Horde. That same year he defeated the much weakened Mamai on the River Khalkha, reuniting Jochi's *ulus*. Mamai fled to the Genoese in Caffa, who soon had him poisoned; in exchange, Toqtamish confirmed the extraterritoriality of the Genoese settlements of Caffa, Soldaia and Cembalo, adding Gothia to their number. Now Genoa controlled every significant port on the south coast of Crimea, from Cherson in the west to Cherco (Kerch) in the East.[274] The victorious Dmitri Donskoy, however, had suffered such losses in his battle against Mamai that he was unable to save Moscow from Toqtamish's attack in 1383; the city was burnt to the ground.[275]



194. The Very Reverend Father Hayrik Hovhannisyan in front of the Armenian Monastery of the Holy Cross or *Surb Khach*, from which the toponym Solkhat, the former name of Staryj Krym, was derived. The monastery in Crimea, built in 1358, was closed down by the Soviet authorities in 1925 and bombed by the German Luftwaffe in 1944. In 2006, His Holiness Karekin II Nersissian, the Supreme Patriarch of All Armenians, travelled from the Armenian Church's administrative headquarters in Etschmiadsin to re-consecrate the monastery. Photo: 2011.

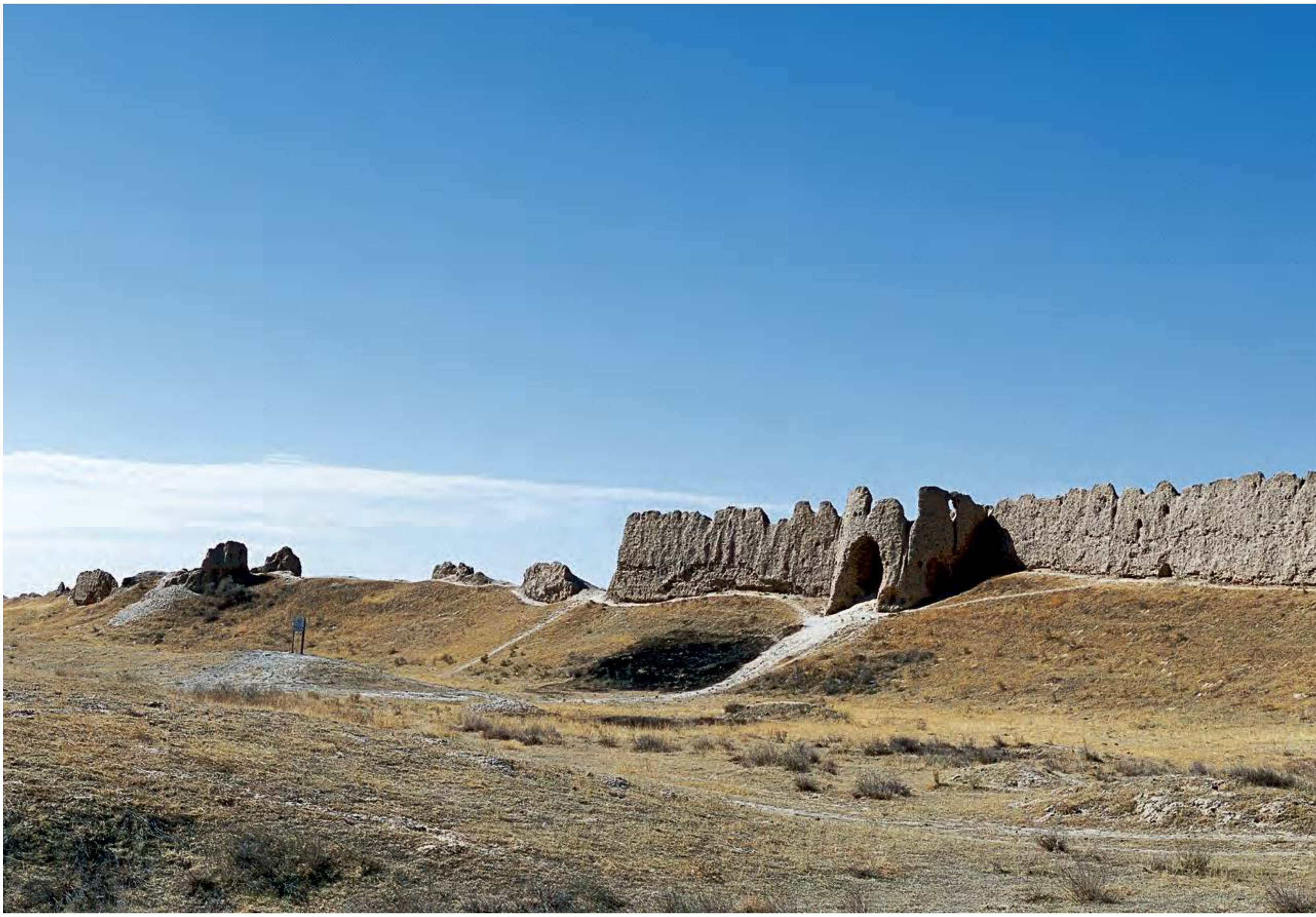
5.2 The White Horde of Orda Khan

With **Toqtamish** (r. 1378–97) and his predecessor and opponent Urus, the house of Orda – of which little is known – replaced the house of Batu at the head of the Golden Horde. **Orda** (r. *ca.* 1227–after 1255) ruled the eastern part of the Golden Horde, which stretched from the Urals to Lake Balkhash; to the south-east, the boundary with Kaidu's territory ran north of Talas and Sairam. Orda took part in the western campaign of 1236–42, supported Möngke's election as great khan, and in around 1255 sent his second son Quli with a *tümen* to assist Hülegü in his Iranian campaign.[276] Orda was succeeded by his fourth son **Qongqiran** (r. after 1255–before 1277), followed by **Qonichi** (r. *ca.* 1277–before 1299), who initially supported Kaidu in his struggle with Kublai Khan before changing sides in the early 1280s. Qonichi was then succeeded by his son **Bayan** (r. before 1299–before 1312), who had to struggle to assert his claim against his cousin Kupalak. Bayan was succeeded by his son **Sasi Buqa** (r. before 1312–1320/21), who would be buried in the city of Sauran (fig. 196) and by his son **Irzan** (or Ilbasan, r. 1320/21–?), who also ruled the cities of Otrar and Jand. This meant that the White Horde had managed to extend its territories to the south at the cost of the Chagatai khanate, and that Sauran may have been its capital. During the same period, however, the Horde lost its autonomy and was compelled to recognise the overlordship of Özbek Khan.[277] Very little is known of the next two khans, **Mubarak Khwaja** (r. ?–1344?) and **Chimtay** (r. 1344?–61). They were followed by **Urus Khan** (r. 1361–74/75 or 77, in Sarai 1374/75 or 1374/5–77). His rule was challenged by **Toqtamish,** said to be his nephew (r. as Khan of the White Horde from 1378, of the Golden Horde 1380–97), who took refuge with the rising Timur-e Lang and asked him for his aid. Timur seized the opportunity to put someone he favoured at the head of the White and perhaps the Golden Horde. In 1377 (or 1375) he defeated Urus Khan, and shortly thereafter defeated the latter's son **Tuqtaqiya** (r. 1377), **Timur Malik** (r. 1377–78) and Hajji Tarkhan as well. Toqtamish now proclaimed himself khan of the *ulus* of Jochi, a claim strengthened by his victory over Mamai in 1380. Two years

195. Golden belt-bowl, 17.8 centimetres in diameter and 12 centimetres high, with two handles in the shape of water dragons, early fourteenth century. Discovered in 1848 in New Sarai, Russia. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Inv. no. SAR-1613.

later he punished a rebellious Moscow and defeated a Lithuanian army at Poltava, thus reimposing the 'Tatar yoke' on the cities of Russia.[278]

It is likely that Toqtamish and Timur-e Lang underestimated each other. Toqtamish looked down on Timur as a non-Genghisid upstart and failed to appreciate his military skills. Timur, on the other hand, seems to have thought that the Genghisid who stood at the head of the last surviving *ulus* of the Mongol Empire should content himself with the role of junior partner. In the short term, Toqtamish sought to gain control over the Middle trade route; in the long term he wanted to bring the fragmented Il-Khanate and the divided Chagatai khanate under his rule. After taking Chorasmia as early as 1379, in the winter of 1385/86 he invaded Azerbaijan, gratuitously laying waste to Tabriz. Timur, however, who saw Iran as falling within his sphere of influence, occupied the city in 1386, wresting it from Jalayirid control. The following year, Timur repulsed another attack by Toqtamish, on Karabakh, then went on to recapture Chorasmia and raze to the ground the city of Gurganj, which had allied itself with Toqtamish. Around the end of 1387, Toqtamish threatened Bokhara, withdrew in the face of Timur's advance, but then briefly occupied Fergana. To break Toqtamish's power, Timur drove his next attack into the heart of the Golden Horde, defeating Toqtamish at Samara on the Middle Volga in the summer of 1391. Toqtamish, however, had not been decisively weakened, and in 1394 he launched his sixth attack on Timur's territories, again invading Azerbaijan. Timur now decided that he must not only defeat Toqtamish militarily but destroy the Golden Horde's economic foundations, since he had no wish to annexe the Golden Horde's territory. In April 1395, Timur defeated Toqtamish on the River Terek, and then systematically razed all the Golden Horde's most important trading cities, though still without capturing the fleeing Toqtamish. In his place he set Urus Khan's grandson **Temür Qutlugh** (r. 1397–99). But the most powerful figure of the Golden Horde was the army commander Emir Edigü (d. 1419), leader of the Turco-Mongol Manghit tribe, from which the Nogai Horde would later emerge.[279] The chief beneficiary of Timur's campaign of devastation, though, was Moscow, since the Golden Horde would never recover from this defeat.



196. The commercial city of Sauran in southern Kazakhstan, destroyed by the Mongols in 1220, was later rebuilt 3 kilometres further to the north-west and is thought to have served as the White Horde capital during the fourteenth century. The city went into decline in the eighteenth century as trade flows changed direction. The picture shows the eastern city wall with the main gate. Photo: 2005.

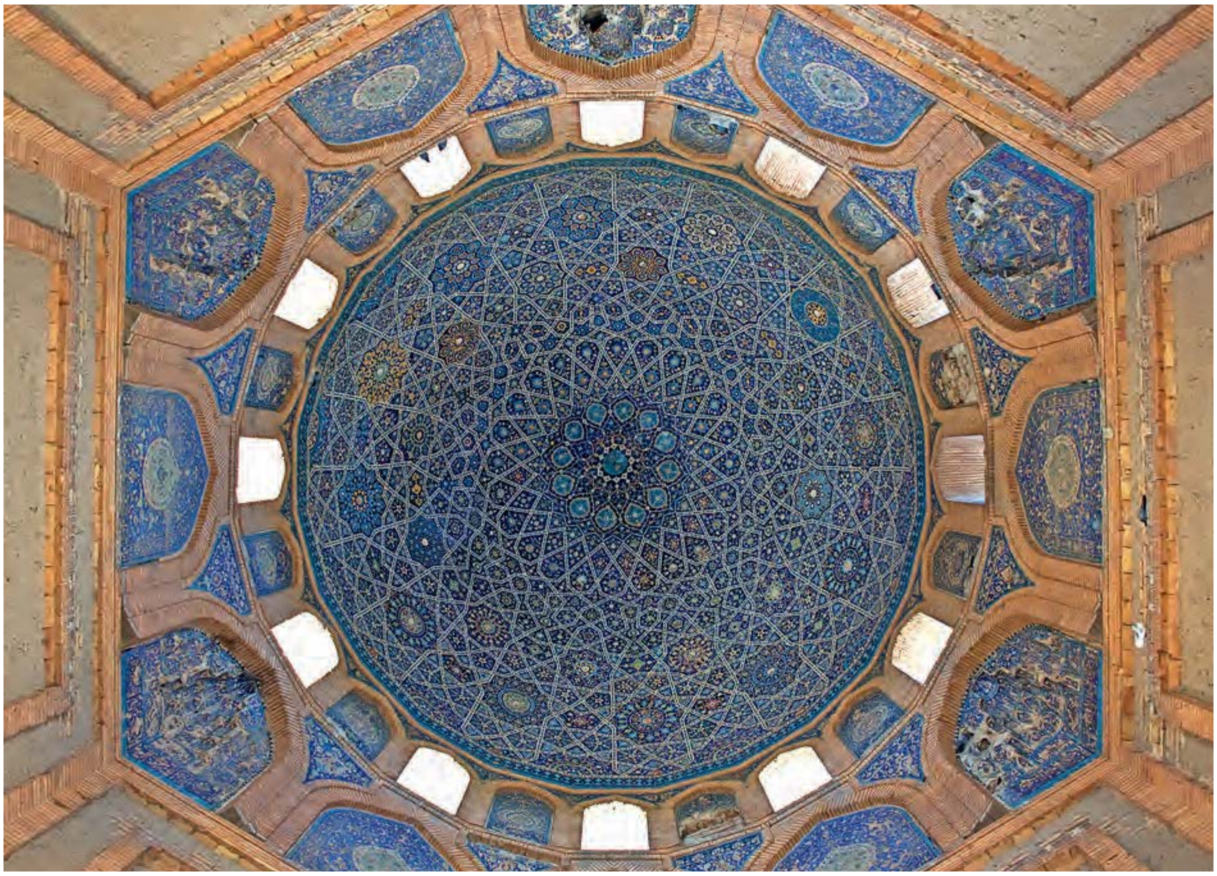
Toqtamish fled to the Lithuanian grand prince Vytautas (1392–1430), who allowed some of his followers to settle in Lithuania and Poland. Vytautas, who had his capital in Kiev, wanted to extend his rule to the south-east, and he therefore agreed with Toqtamish to launch a joint attack on the Golden Horde. In August 1399, however, Edigü and Temür Qutlugh defeated the Lithuanian force on the River Vorskla, a tributary of the Dniepr, not least because Toqtamish abandoned the battle prematurely and fled once again, this time to Western Siberia, where he was killed by Edigü's forces in 1406.[280] As Bertold Spuler observes, from around 1397 onward the Tatars of the Golden Horde were often reduced to 'auxiliaries or mercenaries in foreign service'.[281] Under Edigü's auspices, the steppes of the Golden Horde were ruled by **Shadi Beg** (r. 1399–1407) and **Pulad** (r. 1407–10), until 1410, when one of Edigü's sons forced his father into flight. A confused struggle for the khanate then ensued: after nine khans had succeeded each other in as many years, **Ulugh Mohammad** (r. with interruptions 1419–33) gained the throne, which was also claimed by **Daulat Berdi** (r. as anti-Khan 1419–21) and **Baraq** (r. as anti-Khan 1422–27). **Sayyid Ahmad** I (r. 1433–35) toppled Ulugh Mohammad, who went on to found the khanate of Kazan in 1437 or 1438.[282]

Under the next three khans, **Küchük Mohammad** (r. *ca.* 1435–59), **Mahmud** (1459–65) and **Ahmad** (r. 1465–81) the Golden Horde broke up into eight smaller Tatar khanates: the little principality of Kursk (or Jagoldai, founded 1438), which soon became a Lithuanian vassal,[283] the Khanate of Kazan

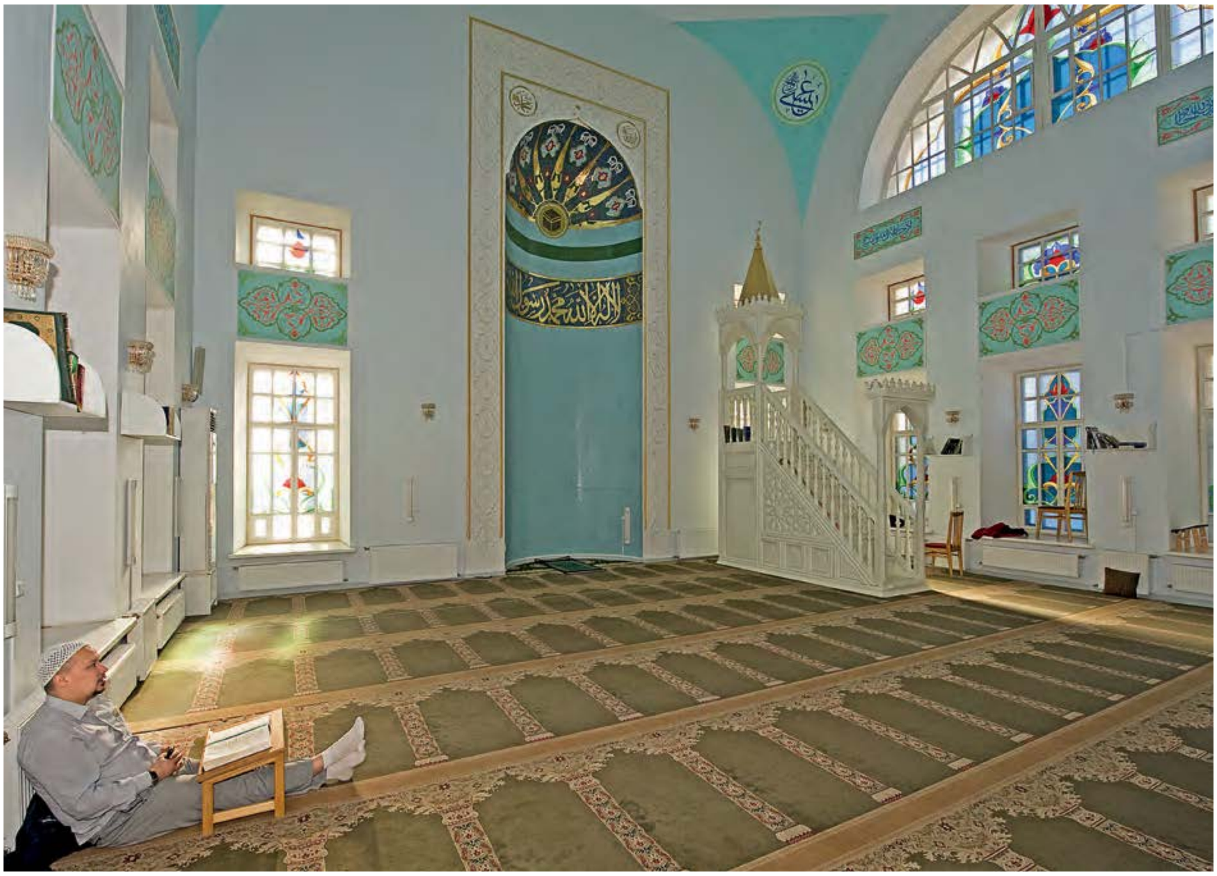
(1437/38–1552), the Khanate of Astrakhan (1466 or 1502–1556),[284] the Khanate of Kasimov (1467–1694), a vassal of Moscow's, the Nogai-Horde (second half of the fifteenth century–*ca*. 1634), the Khanate of Crimea (1437/41–1783); what remained of the Golden Horde between the Dnieper and the Urals became known as the Great Horde (*ca*. 1466–1502), while the Khanate of Sibir (*ca* 1428/29–1598) had emerged even earlier in the Tjumen region on the River Tura.[285] It is striking that the three most powerful of these khanates, those of Crimea, Kazan and Astrakhan, were based not on the steppe but in trading cities. In 1480, Ahmad made a last attempt to force Moscow to pay tribute. Yet at the so-called 'stand on the Ugra' the two sides confronted each other for weeks, each on its side of the River Ugra, before Ahmad withdrew without a fight, so ceding the field to the Muscovite army under Ivan III (r. 1462–1505) – probably because his ally Casimir IV of Lithuania and Poland had left him in the lurch.[286] The event is celebrated in Russian historiography as marking the end of the 'Tatar yoke'. In 1502, the Crimean khan Mengli Giraï defeated the last ruler of the Great Horde, **Sheikh Ahmed** (co-ruler 1481–98, r. 1499–1502), dispersed his people, and brought the story of the Golden Horde to its end.[287]

▶ **197. The citadel of Kazan, Russia, with the frozen River Kama in the foreground. From left to right: the Presidential Palace, the Söyembikä Tower, the cathedral, the Kul Sharif Mosque and the Spasskaya Tower. The Khanate of Kazan (1437/38–1552) was one of the Tatar khanates created during the slow breakup of the Golden Horde. Photo: 2013.**

ЦИРК



198. The inside of the dome of the so-called Turabeg Khanum Mausoleum built in the first half of the fourteenth century in Gurganj, today known as Konye Urgench, Turkmenistan. The cupola is decorated with a mosaic of 365 stars symbolising the days of the year. Beneath them are 24 arches, twelve of which are open, representing the twelve hours of the day. The remaining twelve are blocked in, to represent the twelve hours of the night. The twelve larger arches immediately underneath stand for the months of the year. Photo: 2014.



199. Interior of the White Mosque in Astrakhan, Russia, founded in 1810. The city stands on the site of Hajji Tarkhan, which Timur-e Lang destroyed in 1395. Photo: 2014.

IX

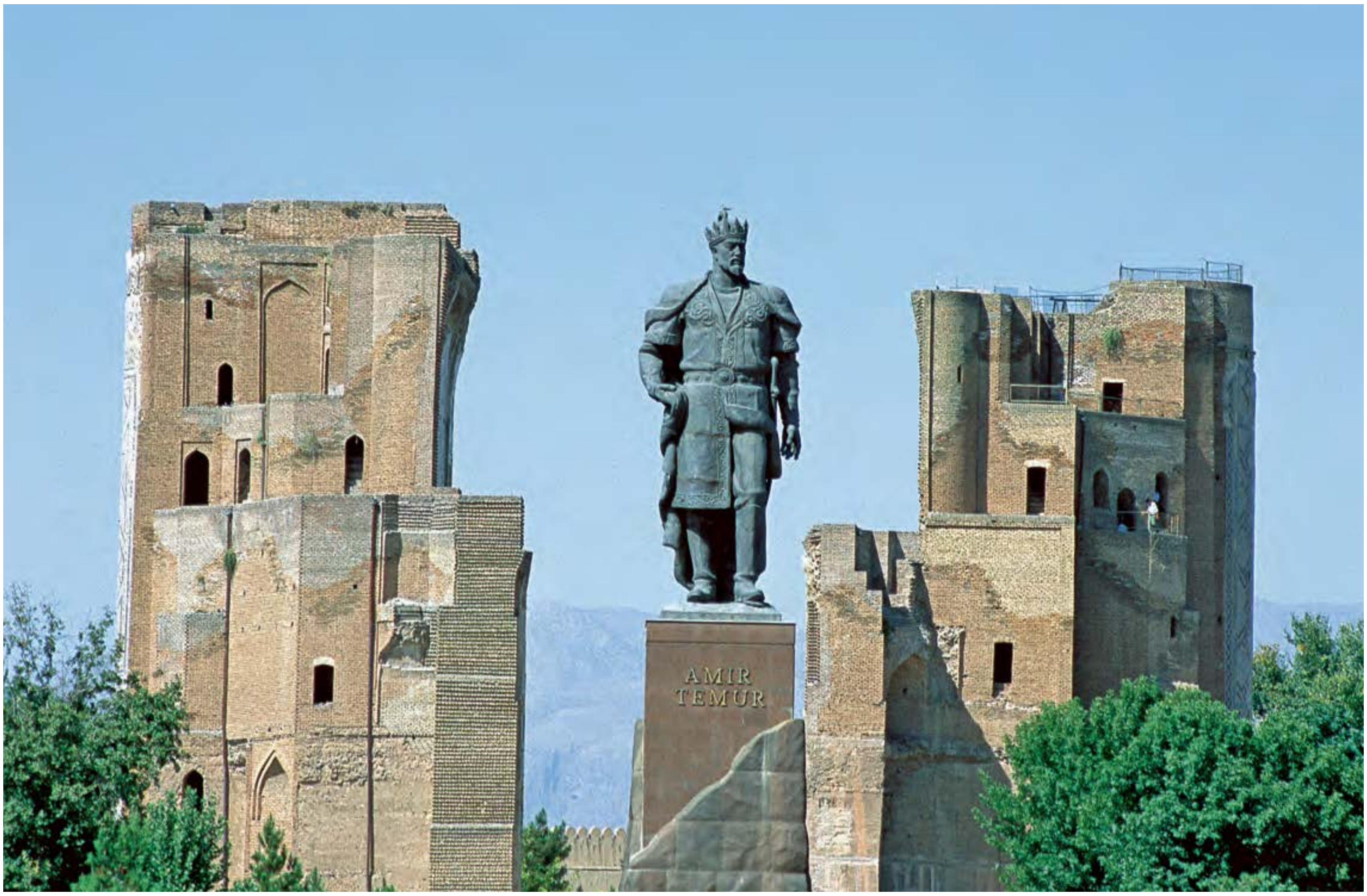
Timur-e Lang and the Timurids

'Outside of the town of Damghan [in Khorasan] there were two towers, so high that a man could scarcely throw a stone on top of them. They were made of mud and the heads of men; and there were two other towers, fallen to the ground. [. . .] They say that sixty thousand of these Tartars were killed [by the lord Timur].'

The Castilian ambassador RUY GONZÁLEZ DE CLAVIJO, recalling his journey to the court of Timur-e Lang in 1404.[1]

1. Timur-e Lang's Military Campaigns

Born sometime between 1328 and 1331,[2] **Timur ibn Taraghai Barlas** (reg. 1370–1405) – known in English as Tamerlane, from Timur-e Lang or 'Timur the Lame' – was a member of the Turco-Mongol Barlas clan based in Mawarannahr.[3] He was no Genghisid, a fact that did not prevent his grandson Ulugh Beg, governor of Samarkand, from having an inscription carved on his tombstone in the Gur Emir in that city (figs. 206–7) that makes him a descendant of both Genghis Khan's mythical ancestor Alan Qoa and Muhammad's son-in-law, the caliph Ali, and so a scion of the greatest families of the Mongols and the Shiites.[4] Timur began his career in turbulent times, as the opportunist leader of a band of personal followers, mercenaries and brigands. Around 1360, Tughluq Temür of Moghulistan invaded Mawarannahr and the leader of the Barlas, Timur's uncle Hajji Beg, took flight; Timur then offered his support to Tughluq, who rewarded him by making him governor of his home-town Kesh in southern Uzbekistan. But when Haji Beg came back, Timur's forces deserted him and returned to Haji, and Timur submitted to his uncle. A year later, Tughluq Temür attacked again, Haji Beg fled once more and was killed on his way to Khorasan, and Timur again switched sides to support the invader in return for Kesh.[5] When Tughluq's son Ilyas Khwaja, the viceroy of Mawarannahr, later prepared to punish Timur for repeated acts of insubordination, the latter took refuge with his brother-in-law Sheikh Husayn, leader of the Qara'una in the region of Balkh and Kunduz. After three years of guerrilla warfare, Timur and Sheikh Husayn defeated the occupying forces of the Moghul Khanate but suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Khan Ilyas Khwaja in 1365. But Ilyas Khwaja failed to break the determined resistance of Samarkand, and hardly had he left Mawarannahr than Timur and Husayn marched on that city and there proclaimed their peaceful intentions. They then seized and killed the leader, who had so capably defended Samarkand, and occupied the city. In 1369, Timur eventually came out on top in



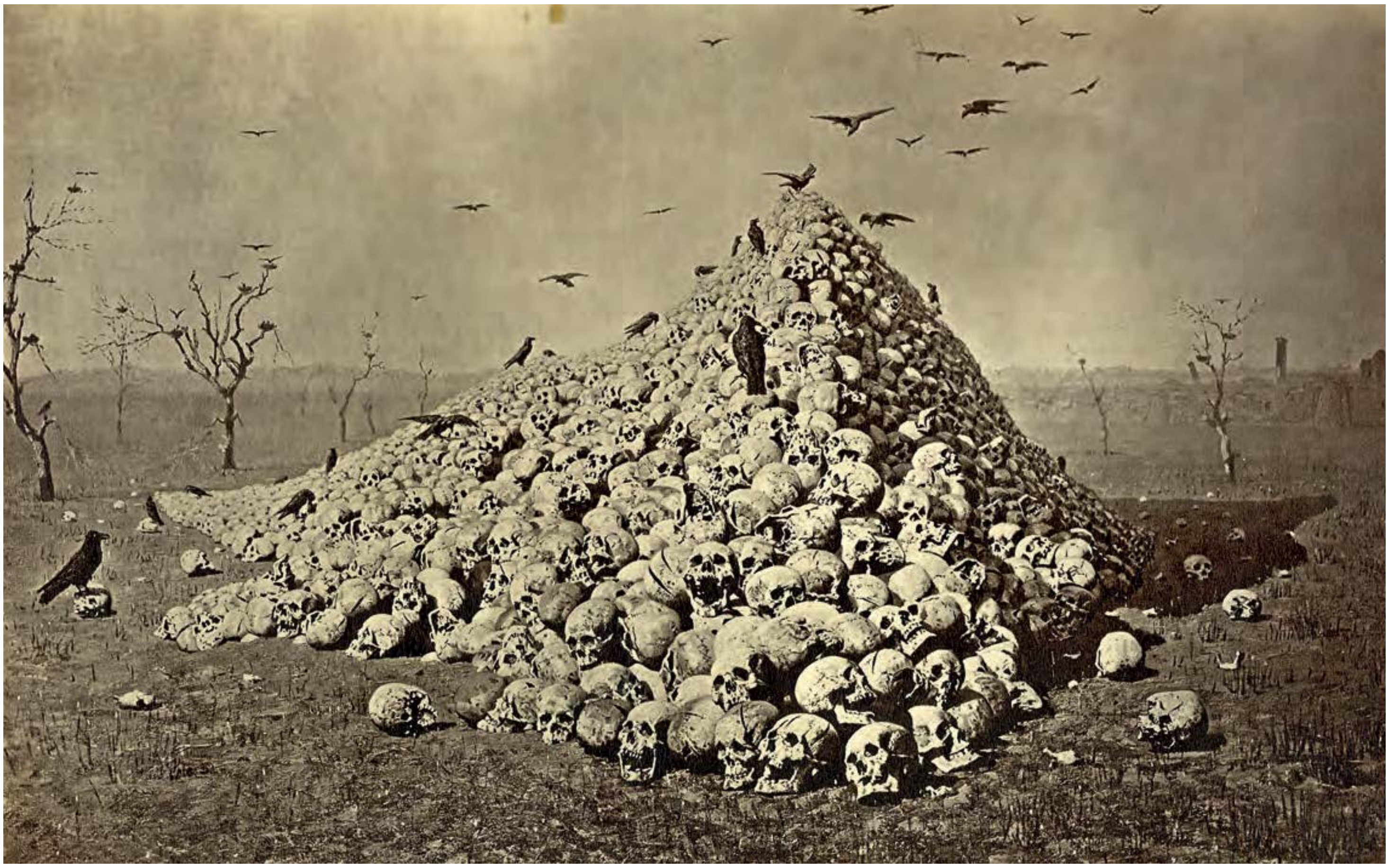
200. Monumental contemporary statue of Amir Timur-e Lang (r. 1370–1405) behind the entrance portal to the Ak Sarai Palace that he built in Kesh (Shahr-e Sabz), Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

the ensuing struggle for power between the two emirs, capturing Balkh and killing Sheikh Husayn. Not much later, on 9 April 1370, he declared himself Emir of the Chagatai *ulus*, installing a puppet khan of the Genghisid line and ruling the territories under his control from Samarkand.[6]

Unlike Genghis Khan, who had aimed to create an empire and had laid the administrative basis for it, or his first three successors, who had endowed it with a sophisticated system of government and had strived to reconstruct and develop the economy, Timur remained an opportunist warlord who pursued little more than fame and booty. Since he had neither a comprehensive strategy for government nor a plan for the development of the economy, his territories resembled not so much an empire as a zone of war and influence. He did not hesitate to attack the same cities and princedoms over and over again, returning for yet more plunder or protection money. In conquered territories, he established no lasting administrative structures but left either local, tribute-paying princes in place or installed members of his own family as governors. Fear of his terrible retribution prevented any stirrings of resistance or rebellion. As governorships were reserved for family members, each supported by experienced military leaders, or for members of the Chagataid nobility, and the most important posts were hereditary, there were no possibilities of advancement for outsiders. In this, too, Timur differed from Genghis Khan, who had recruited his ruling cadre from beyond his own family and clan, on the basis of ability alone. Timur's lack of interest in building an empire can also be seen in his lasting destruction of the ecological bases of conquered territories, as for example in Chorasmia and Sistan,[7] and in his ambitions when he attacked Iran and north India, which amounted to no more than the extraction of booty and the deportation of architects, artisans, artists and slave labourers. Timur's only long-term goal was to make Samarkand, together with Kesh and Bukhara to a lesser extent, into magnificent cities, awe-inspiring in their monumental architecture.[8] From Timur's actual practice one can see that he divided his territories into three categories: first the heartland around the Chagatai *ulus* and Khorasan, secondly regions whose trade and agriculture (such as Iran) or rich pastures (like Azerbaijan) endowed them with an economic potential worthy of long-term exploitation, and thirdly areas that for him represented no more than opportunities to plunder (especially north India and Syria) or to demonstrate his power (the Golden Horde and Anatolia).

Timur strengthened his power base by incorporating troops from outside the Chagatai *ulus* into his army, thus diluting the influence of the Turco-Mongol confederations of Transoxiana. At the same time, he kept them busy for long periods away from home, as for example with the attacks on Moghulistan in 1371/72 and on Chorasmia in 1372–73.[9] Despite this, Timur's position would remain uncertain until 1395. In the east, his borders were threatened by the Moghuls, who still lived as nomadic horse warriors; in response, he led six campaigns against them between 1371/72 and 1390.[10] And on his 2,300-kilometre-long northern border Timur had to fend off repeated attacks from his former protégé Toqtamish and his cavalry, undertaking six campaigns against him between 1385/86 and 1395.[11] At the same time, he waged several other wars to win booty or to punish rebels. In 1381, he compelled the submission of the Kartid dynasty that ruled Herat (1245–1383), and when these rose up two years later, Timur's son Miran Shah (1366–1408)

201. The Seljuk minaret, built in 1100, was all that remained after the city of Khosrowgerd, today's Sabzavar, in eastern Iran was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221 and later by Amir Timur. Now the minaret, 30 metres high, stands in total isolation between two motorways. Photo: 2014.



202. An allegorical representation of one of Timur-e Lang's infamous towers of skulls. Reproduction of a painting by the Russian war artist and travel writer Vasili Vasilyevich Wereshchagin (1842–1904), who lived in Turkestan in 1867–68. Plate *Apotheosis of War* (1871), B. Wereshchagin, B., Turkestan. *Etyudy s natury* (St. Petersburg, 1874).

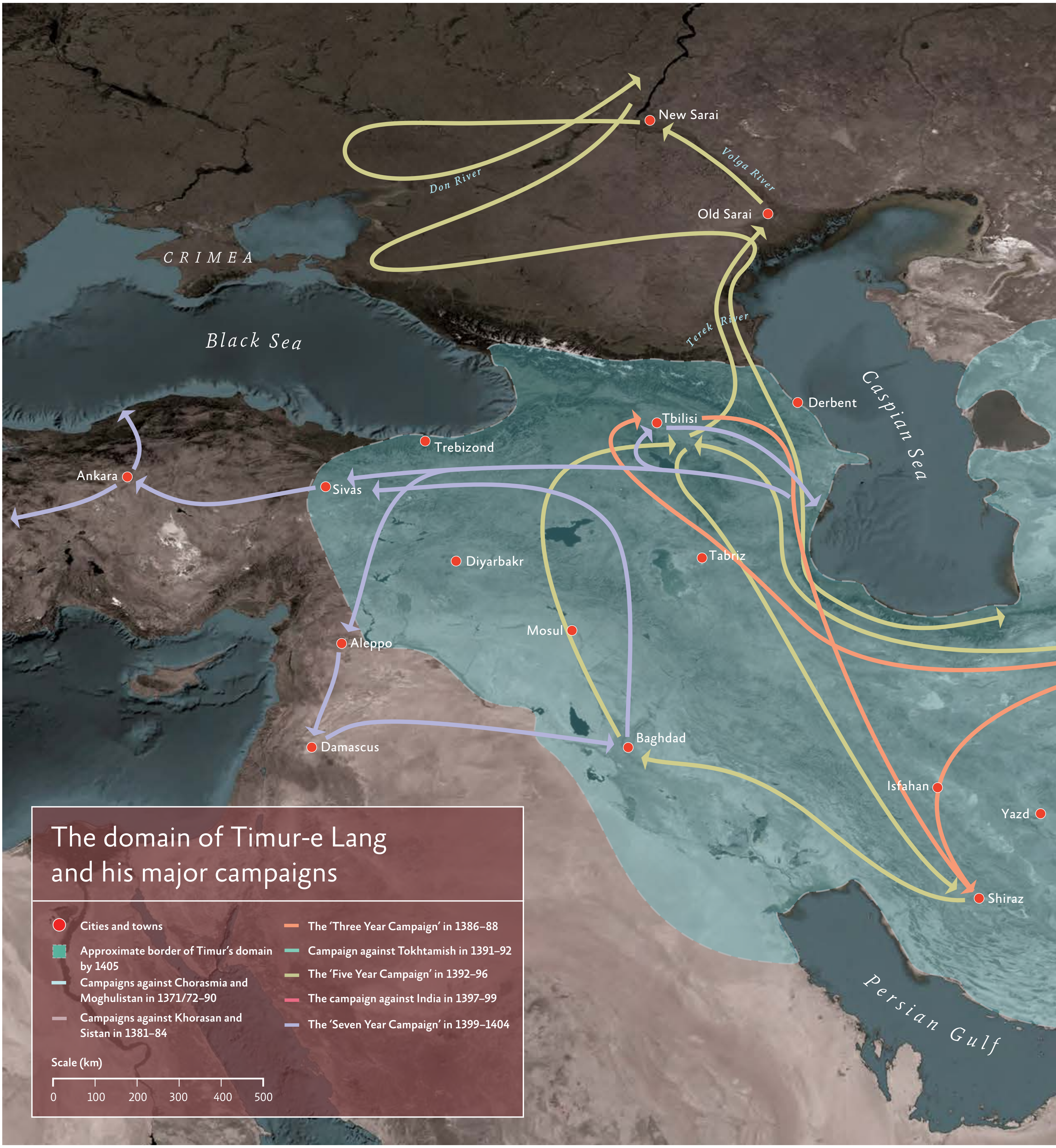
put down the rebellion and had towers built of the decapitated heads of the vanquished.[12] In the following winter of 1383–84, Timur laid waste to Sistan and captured Kandahar in southern Afghanistan; he then advanced on Azerbaijan and subjugated Soltaniyeh. In 1388, he defeated the Sufi dynasty of Chorasmia (*ca*. 1361–88) and destroyed the city of Gurganj for the second time since 1379.[13]

In 1388, Timur wreaked cruel vengeance on Isfahan, whose inhabitants had killed his collectors of tribute. The contemporary writer Ahmad Ibn Arabshah (1392–1450) reports that Timur ordered a general massacre of the population; and that when the frantic inhabitants of the surrounding villages brought him a host of young children in the hope that the sight of them would calm his rage and induce him to end the massacre, 'He made no reply and uttered no speech, but urged his horse into them [. . .] and likewise with him his troops and army [. . .] gave them [the infants] up to the horses' hooves and ground them beneath the horses' feet.'[14] According to Johannes Schiltberger (1380–after 1438) Timur had 7,000 children under seven years of age trampled to death in Isfahan.[15] Another contemporary, named Hafiz-i Abru (d. 1430), a historian in Timur's service, says that along half the length of the city walls of Isfahan he counted 28 towers of skulls consisting of some 1,500 skulls each, and that there were such towers also along the remainder of the wall, confirming the report that 70,000 inhabitants had been massacred in the city. Timur was equally brutal at Khosrowgerd (Sabzavar), killing similar numbers and building towers of their skulls, as well as having 2,000 men buried alive (fig. 201).[16]

In 1397, Timur turned to India, where a power struggle had raged in the sultanate of Delhi since the death of Firuz Shah Tughluq (r. 1351–88). He entrusted his grandson Pir Muhammad ibn Jahangir (*ca*. 1374–1407) with the conquest of Multan in the Punjab, and followed him there the next year; he then advanced on Delhi, killing 100,000 Indian prisoners shortly before his capture of the city, when he unleashed another slaughter and plundered everything of worth. As Khwandamir put it in his somewhat purple prose: 'The Timurids wielded their glistening swords and poured the Indians' blood into goblets like wine.'[17] In the winter of 1399/1400 Timur again attacked in the west, taking the cities of Aleppo, Sivas in central Anatolia (where he had 4,000 Armenian Christians buried alive[18]) and, early in 1401, Damascus. Though Timur granted safe passage to the historian Ibn Khaldun, who found himself in the besieged city, he otherwise lived up to his reputation as crueller than Genghis Khan. Ibn Arabshah and Ibn Khaldun both report that Timur massacred the population and thoroughly looted the city before setting it on fire. The flames did not spare the renowned Omayyad Mosque, dating from the eighth century, whose destruction both writers denounce. Ibn Khaldun wrote that 'This was an absolutely dastardly and abominable deed.'[19] The next victim of Timur's lust for destruction was Baghdad. Even though he had taken it without a struggle in 1393, on 9 July 1401 he razed it to the ground for having dared turn away his collectors of tribute. Ninety thousand men, women and children were massacred, when Timur celebrated the Muslim feast of Eid al-Adha – at which an animal is sacrificed in memory of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his first-born son – 'by slaying Muslims and [thus] performed his sacrifice on them'. Ibn Arabshah further reports that he commanded every one of his soldiers to bring him the decapitated heads of two Baghdadis, and so built 120 towers of skulls.[20]

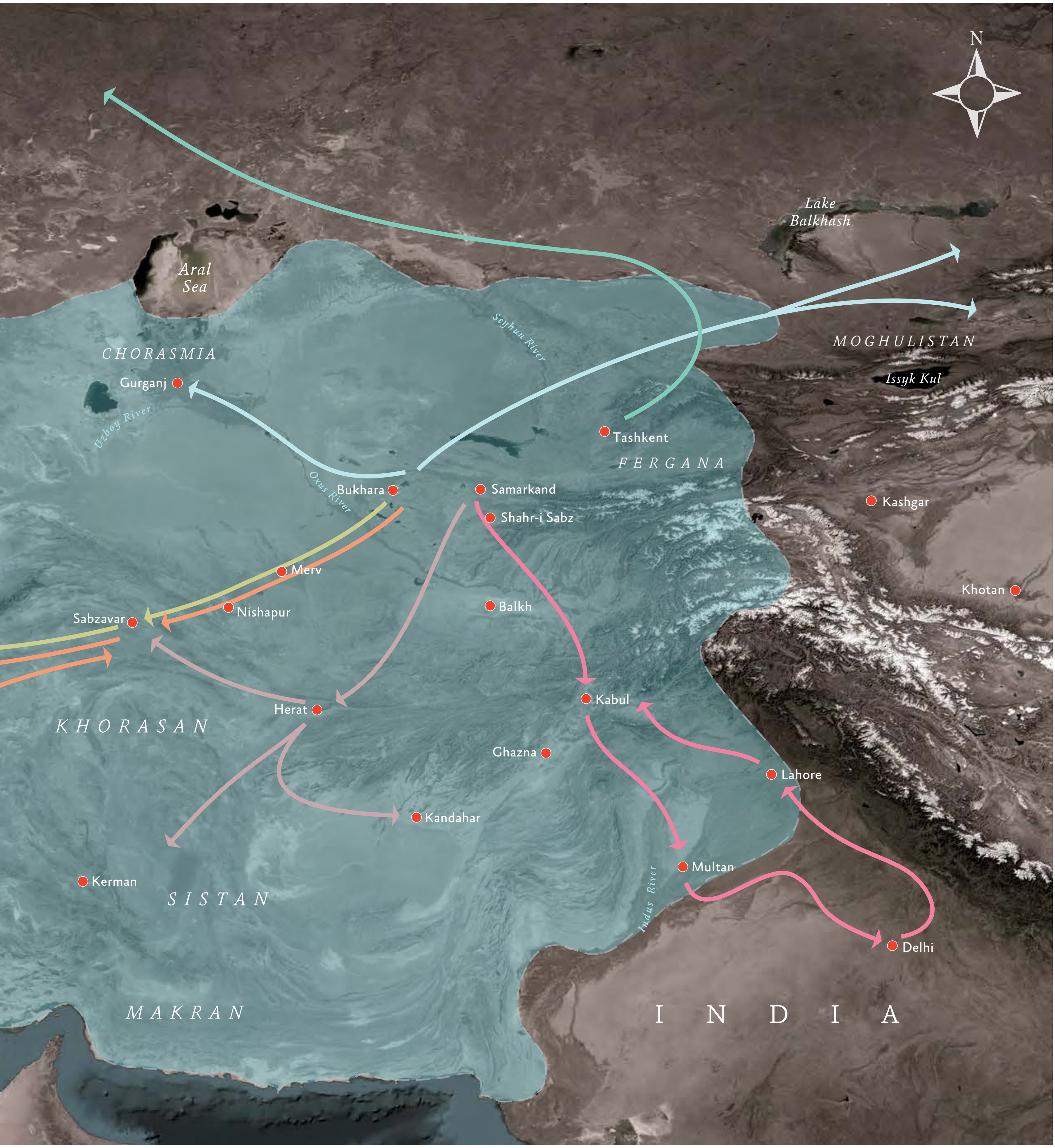
Timur's conquest of Syria and advance upon Sivas put him on a collision course with the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), whom he defeated near Ankara in the summer of 1402, thanks to superior tactics and the treachery of Bayezid's Kipchak soldiers. Surprised witnesses to Timur's victory were the two Castilian envoys Payo de Sotomayor and Hernán Sánchez de Palazuelos.[21] Timur kept the captured sultan in an iron cage, like a bird; he died within months. Timur also used a ruse to capture the commanders of the Kipchaks who had changed sides in the course of the battle, and deported them to the eastern frontier of his territory.[22] The real beneficiary of the defeat of the Muslim Bayezid by

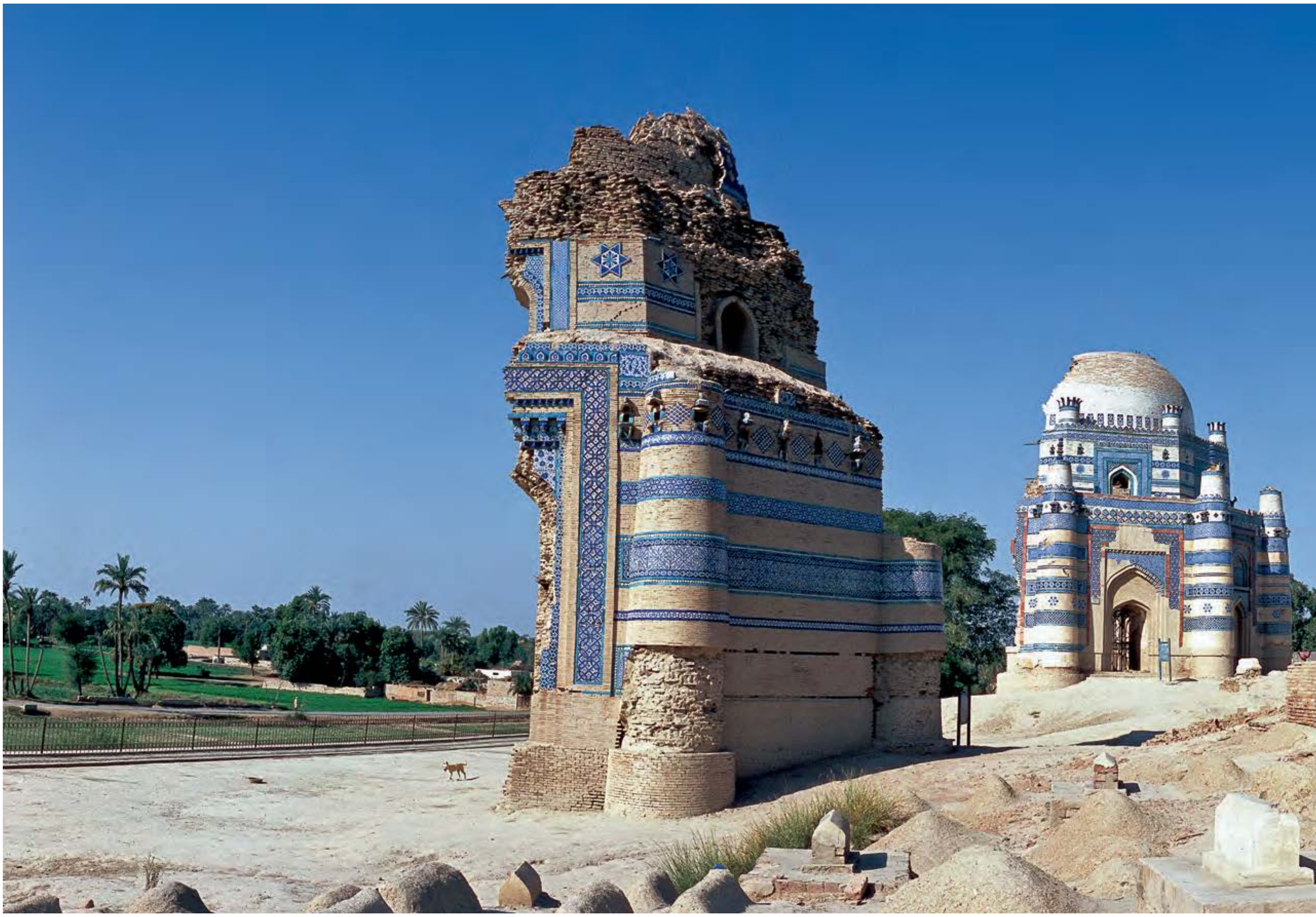
203. The tomb of the Sufi master Rukn-i Alam (1251–1335) in Multan, Pakistan. The mausoleum, 45 metres high and built around 1320 on an octagonal ground plan, was modelled on the mausoleum of Il-Khan Oljeitu in Soltaniyeh, Iran. During their military campaign of 1397/98 Timur-e Lang and Pir Muhammad spared the mausoleum. Photo: 2007.



The domain of Timur-e Lang and his major campaigns

New Sarai
Volga River
Don River
Old Sarai
CRIMEA
Black Sea
Terek River
Caspian Sea
Derbent
Tbilisi
Trebizond
Ankara
Sivas
Diyarbakr
Tabriz
Mosul
Aleppo
Damascus
Baghdad
Isfahan
Yazd
Shiraz
Persian Gulf
● Cities and towns
🟩 Approximate border of Timur's domain by 1405
Campaigns against Chorasmia and Moghulistan in 1371/72–90
Campaigns against Khorasan and Sistan in 1381–84
The 'Three Year Campaign' in 1386–88
Campaign against Tokhtamish in 1391–92
The 'Five Year Campaign' in 1392–96
The campaign against India in 1397–99
The 'Seven Year Campaign' in 1399–1404
Scale (km)
0
100
200
300
400
500


N
Lake Balkhash
Aral Sea
Seyhun River
MOGHULISTAN
CHORASMIA
Gurganj
Issyk Kul
Uzboy River
Tashkent
FERGANA
Oxus River
Bukhara
Samarkand
Kashgar
Shahr-i Sabz
Merv
Khotan
Balkh
Sabzavar
Nishapur
Kabul
Herat
KHORASAN
Ghazna
Lahore
Kandahar
Multan
Indus River
Kerman
SISTAN
Delhi
MAKRAN
INDIA



204. **Rukh-i Alam's mausoleum in Multan was the prototype for the one, seen in the centre of the picture, built by a Khorasani prince in 1493 for Bibi Jawindi in Uch Sharif, Pakistan, some 120 kilometres south of Multan. To the left of Bibi Jawindi's mausoleum is the tomb of Baha Al-Halim, built in 1370, while to the right is that of the architect responsible for Bibi Jawindi's tomb. Heavy flooding of the River Chenab in 1817 swept away the north-eastern halves of all three mausolea. Photo: 2007.**

the Muslim Timur was the Christian Byzantine Empire, which by then consisted only of Constantinople, Thessaloniki and the Peloponnese. Bayezid had been besieging Constantinople since 1394, and in 1396, at Nicopolis, he had inflicted a catastrophic defeat on the Crusader army that had come to its relief, an army which included French forces under Burgundian command and others under King Sigismund of Hungary. Captured in battle and spared the ensuing massacre of prisoners only by his youth, the 16-year-old Bavarian squire Johannes Schiltberger would later report that the pride and indiscipline of the French knights were responsible for the disaster.[23] Bayezid was compelled to break off the siege in 1401, whereupon Constantinople (according to Clavijo's account) made overtures to Timur and pledged itself to use its fleet to prevent Bayezid from moving troops from the Balkans to Anatolia.[24] Following the Battle of Ankara in 1402, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II (r. 1391–1425) confirmed his submission to Timur, who accepted it.[25] In retrospect, it is evident that Timur's victory at Ankara gave Constantinople a 50-year respite.[26]

After his victory over Bayezid, Timur launched his eighth attack on the Christian kingdom of Georgia in 1403. Although he had already ravaged Georgia seven times between 1386 and 1401 – not least because its rulers Bagrat V and Giorgi VII had not prevented Toqtamish from passing through on his way to Azerbaijan – neither he nor his son Miran Shah (who even exceeded his father in sadistic cruelty) had ever managed to completely subjugate the mountainous country.[27] In 1403, then, Timur devastated the capital Tbilisi,

systematically destroyed the churches and monasteries of central Georgia and massacred all civilians who had not managed to escape to the forests and mountains in time. Timur's cruelties in Georgia had a religious aspect that moved historian René Grousset to remark that 'To his ferocity, Tamerlane added a taste for religious murder. He killed from piety. He represents a synthesis, probably unprecedented in history, of Mongol barbarity and Muslim fanaticism.'[28] Yet he failed once again to achieve a decisive victory over Giorgi VII (r. as co-ruler 1369–93, in his own right 1393–1407), who had withdrawn to Imeretia and Abkhazia in western Georgia. He therefore had to accept a compromise: Giorgi recognised Timur as his overlord and paid him tribute, while Timur recognised Georgia as a Christian kingdom, withdrawing to Karabakh, where he spent the winter of 1403–4.[29] On returning to Samarkand that summer after a five-year absence, he convoked a great *kuriltai*, witnessed by the Castilian envoy Clavijo. At the close of the *kuriltai*, Timur announced a four-year campaign against China, probably provoked by the Chinese envoy's insolence in demanding that he pay China the tribute owing since 1396.[30] According to Schiltberger, Timur answered the ambassador that he would bring the tribute to the emperor personally, together with his army.[31] In late autumn 1404, Timur set out for Otrar, where in February 1405 he died, sparing China an invasion.[32]

▶ **205. Chazhashi is one of the four villages forming the community of Ushguli in Upper Svaneti, Georgia. This mountainous landscape was with its defence towers the only enemy Timur-e Lang failed to conquer. Photo: 2013.**

Two European Eyewitnesses: Ruy González de Clavijo and Johannes Schiltberger

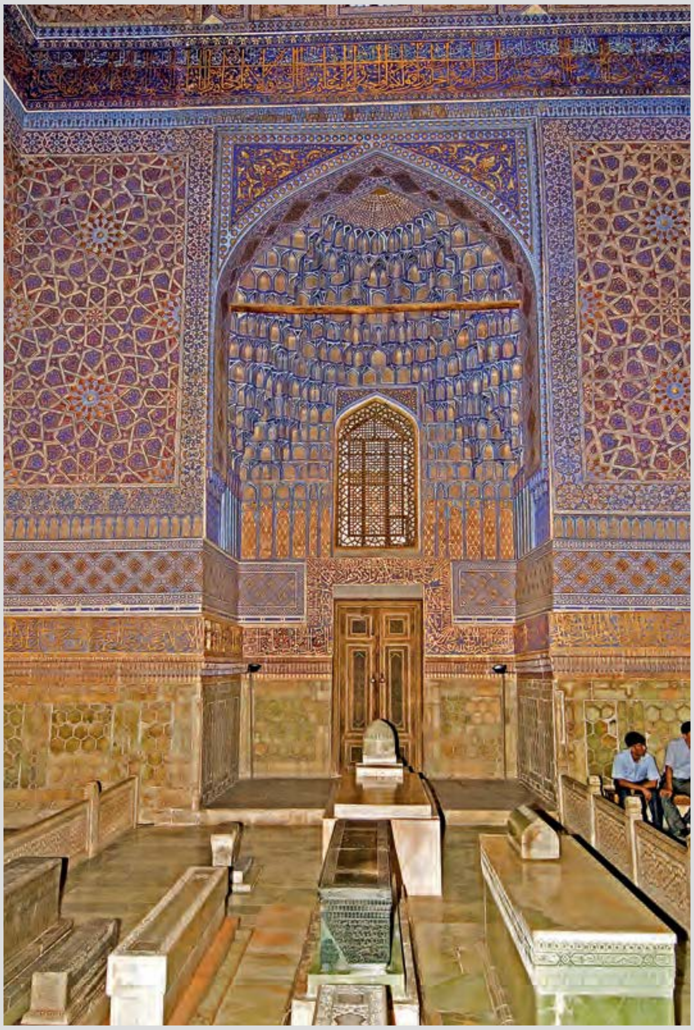
The eyewitness accounts of two Europeans offer unparalleled insight into events in Central Asia in the time of Timur. One is the account of Castilian envoy Ruy González de Clavijo (d. 1412), first published in 1582, the other the short history of Central Asia between 1396 and 1426 written by the Bavarian knight Johannes Schiltberger (1380–after 1438), once an enslaved prisoner of war among the Timurids, which was first published as a printed edition in Augsburg around 1460.

After the Ottoman Bayezid's defeat of the Franco-Hungarian army at Nicopolis, the prospect of the fall of Constantinople kept the Near East very much on the minds of Western rulers, among them King Henry III of Castile and León (r. 1390–1406), who wanted to get a clearer picture of recent events and more information about Bayezid's potential enemy, Timur. So he sent the two knights Payo de Sotomayor and Hernán Sánchez de Palazuelos on an embassy to Timur, who received them courteously in Ankara. After his victory over Sultan Bayezid Timur sent them back accompanied by his own ambassador Mohammad al-Kazi. King Henry's assessment was ambivalent: Timur had certainly inflicted a severe defeat on the Ottomans, who threatened Central Europe, but he seemed to be even more dangerous than Bayezid. It therefore seemed best to cultivate friendly relations with Timur and try to make him an ally. The king charged **Ruy González de Clavijo** with leading another embassy to Timur, which set off in 1403, together with al-Kazi, intending to meet the emir in Karabakh. But as they were sailing from Constantinople to Trebizond their ship ran into a fierce storm and was forced to take shelter in an Ottoman port, where Timur's ambassador only managed to avoid death at the hands of the Turks by dressing as a Christian.[33] The party had to return to Constantinople, and it was not until 20 March 1404 that they set sail again for Trebizond, whose emperor, Manuel III (r. 1390–1417), was paying tribute to both Timur and the Ottomans.[34]As

206. The Gur Emir Mausoleum in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, completed in 1404, was originally commissioned by Timur-e Lang for his grandson Muhammad Sultan. Later, he ordered that he should be buried with his grandson. Photo: 2004.

Timur had in the meantime left Karabakh, Clavijo had to follow him to Samarkand, where he arrived on 31 August. On his way, Clavijo met Timur's son Miran Shah, who had been governor of Azerbaijan between 1396 and 1399 but had been removed by Timur on account of his extreme cruelty and his bloodlust: 'Miran Meeza [Shah] did nothing himself, but he caused the grandest works in the world [in Tabriz and Soltaniyeh] to be destroyed.'[35]

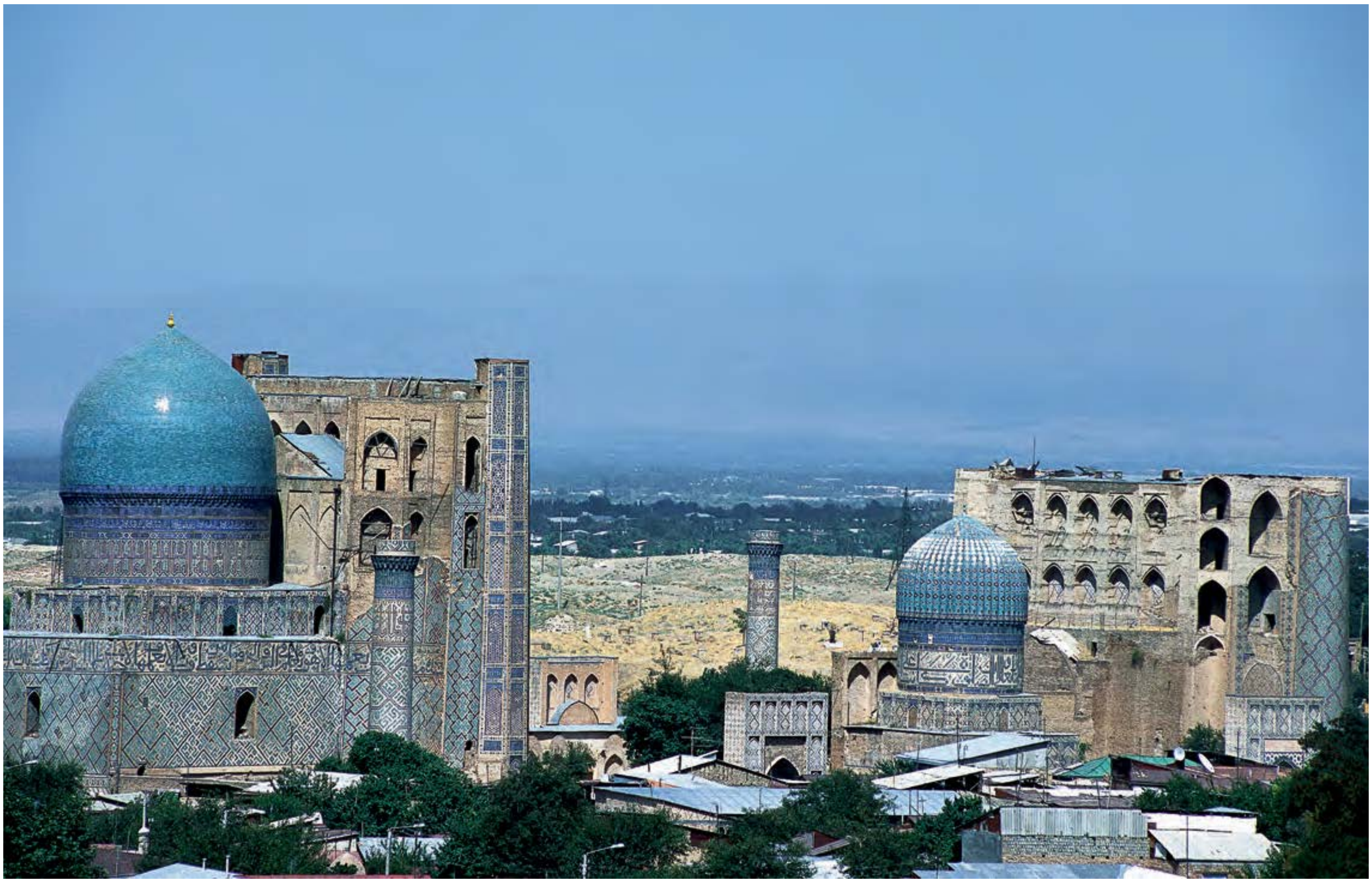
Despite representing a small and faraway land, Clavijo was seated in a higher position than the Chinese envoy at Timur's official reception for ambassadors, testimony to the tensions between the emir and China. At a later banquet, Timur had silver coins showered over the gathered ambassadors, a custom that Ibn Fadlan had already observed among the Oghuz in 922.[36] The feast that followed was accompanied by wine, and all guests were expected to get drunk, even though the private consumption of wine was forbidden in Samarkand. At another feast, to celebrate the marriage of Timur's ten-year-old grandson Ulugh Beg (1394–1449), Timur had several gallows erected and hanged two high officials who had abused their offices for their own ends. Two other officials who asked Timur to show leniency to their convicted colleagues, fining them instead, were promptly hanged as well.[37] Able to move freely in Samarkand, Clavijo noted the frantic building activity going on. To ensure the splendour of his new capital, he wrote, Timur had brought 150,000 artisans and artists by force from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Armenia, Georgia, Turkey and northern India.[38] The construction of monumental buildings was crucial for Timur – they were supposed to reflect his own greatness. An inscription on a wall of the palace of Ak Sarai in his home city of Kesh (figs. 173, 200) makes the point: 'If you have doubts about our grandeur, look at our edifice.'[39] Should a hall or portal not strike him as big enough, he would order it to be torn down and rebuilt, as was the case with his mausoleum in Kesh or the Gur Emir in Samarkand, which Timur had originally intended for his grandson Muhammad Sultan, killed at the Battle of Ankara (figs. 206–7). Clavijo reports: 'When the lord [Timur] arrived, he said the chapel [of the funerary mosque] was too low, so he ordered it to be pulled down, and rebuilt in ten days. They worked day and night, and he himself came twice to the city, to watch the progress.'[40] As Timur was already very old indeed by the standards of the time, building work could never go fast enough.



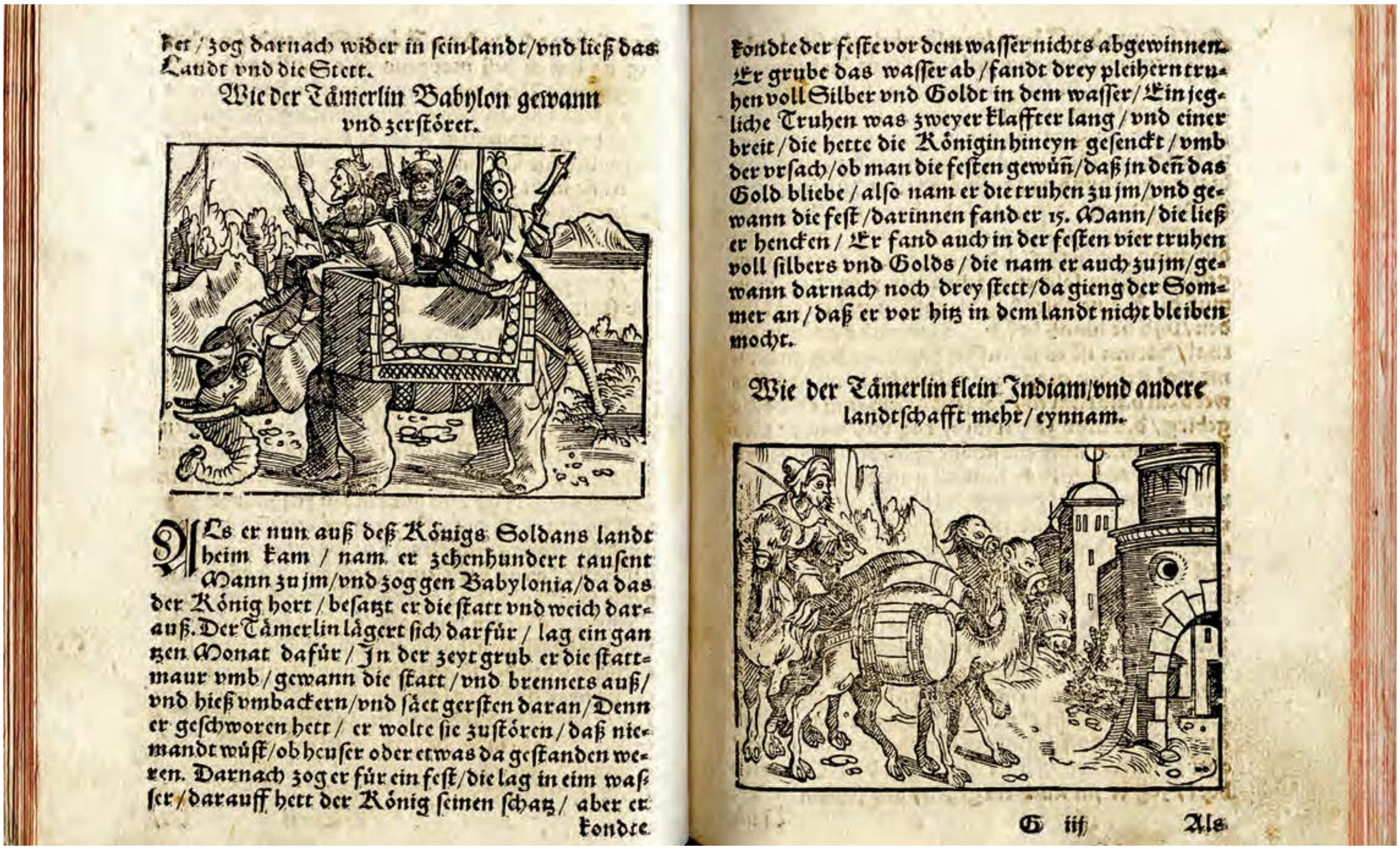
207. A cenotaph of dark green nephrite jade in the Gur Emir Mausoleum in Samarkand, Uzbekistan marks Timur-e Lang's last resting place, although his actual grave is in the crypt beneath. The block of jade was damaged by the Persian warlord Nadir Shah when he tried to steal it in 1740. Lying beside Timur are his grandson Muhammad Sultan, his spiritual teacher Mir Said Baraka, his sons Miran Shah and Shah Rukh, his grandson Ulugh Beg, two of the latter's sons and an unknown cavalry commander. Papier-mâché muqarnas, or honeycomb vaulting, reminiscent of stalactites in limestone caves, decorate the ivan-shaped inner niches. Photo: 2004.

Timur's megalomania also found expression in the Friday mosque of Samarkand, called the Bibi-Khanym Mosque (fig. 208). As Ahmed ibn Arabshah and Khwandamir report, Timur admired the marble mosques of northern India, and in 1399 he commanded the construction of such a mosque in Samarkand: 'The stone-cutters [of Delhi] were assigned to Temür's personal property [. . .] and taken to Samarkand to work on the congregational mosque that would be constructed there.'[41] Yet when Timur returned in the summer of 1404 he was displeased, as Clavijo witnessed: 'The mosque [. . .] seemed to us the noblest of all those we visited in the city of Samarqand, but no sooner had it been completed than he [Timur] began to find fault with its entrance gateway, which he now said was much too low and must forthwith be pulled down. Then the workmen began to dig pits to lay the new foundations, when in order that the piers might be rapidly rebuilt his Highness gave out that he himself would take charge to direct the labour for the one pier of the new gateway. [. . .] Now at this season Timur was already weak in health, he could no longer stand for long on his feet, or mount his horse, having always to be carried in a litter. It was therefore in his litter that every morning he had himself brought to the place, and he would stay there the best part of the day urging on the work. He would arrange for much meat to be cooked and brought, and then he would order them to throw portions of the same down to the workmen in the foundations, as though one should cast bones to dogs in a pit, [. . .] and at times would have coins thrown to the masons when especially they worked to his satisfaction. Thus the building went on day and night until at last a time came when it had perforce to stop [. . .] on account of the winter snows which began now constantly to fall.'[42] (fig. 222) Timur's haste and megalomania had dire consequences, however, for the foreign architects were as unfamiliar with the nature of the ground as they were with the danger of earthquake in Samarkand. The hurried construction led to problems of statics and the 44-metre-high cupola was vulnerable to earthquake and also too heavy for the supporting brick walls, so that it began to fall down after only a few years.[43] Clavijo left Samarkand on 21 November 1404, though the power struggle that broke out among Timur's successors on his death would detain him in Tabriz for six months.[44] Timur's death brought an end to Timurid expansion, rendering Clavijo's mission obsolete.

While Clavijo got to know Timur's realm only during the short time he spent there as an observant ambassador, **Johannes Schiltberger** lived in the Near East and Central Asia for 30 years, as a prisoner of war and slave soldier. Born in Bavaria in 1380, Schiltberger had accompanied the knight Leonhard Reichartinger as his squire when he joined the crusade against the Ottomans. On 25 September 1396, their army suffered a decisive defeat at Nicopolis, after John the Fearless, the leader of the Franco-Burgundian knights, refused to accept the battle plan of supreme commander King Sigismund of Hungary and charged thoughtlessly against the ranks of Ottoman infantry and bowmen. This opened up a gap between his knights and the Hungarian infantry that Bayezid was quick to exploit. Reichartinger was killed and the 16-year-old Schiltberger taken prisoner. His youth saved him from execution with the other 10,000 captured men, and he was assigned to serve one of Bayezid's sons, first as a foot-soldier and then as cavalryman. In 1398 he took part in the capture of the city of Sivas and was then captured by the Timurids at the Battle of Ankara. He would later lay the blame for Bayezid's defeat on the treachery of his Kipchak allies.[45] He now served Timur, and after his death, his son Shah Rukh. The latter then apparently sent troops to Iran – Schiltberger among them – to help his brother Miran Shah and his son Abu Bakr in their struggle with



208. The great Bibi-Khanym Friday Mosque in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, took from 1399 until 1405 to complete. However, earthquakes, technical miscalculations and building work carried out at breakneck speed caused stones to quickly fall from the inside of the dome. Photo: 2004.



ket / zog darnach wider in ſein landt/vnd ließ das Landt vnd die Stett.

Wie der Tåmerlin Babylon gewann vnd zerſtöret.

ALs er nun auß deß Königs Soldans landt heim kam / nam er zehenhundert tauſent Mann zu jm/vnd zog gen Babylonia/da das der König hort / beſatzt er die ſtatt vnd weich darauß. Der Tåmerlin lågert ſich darfür / lag ein gantzen Monat dafür / Jn der zeyt grub er die ſtattmaur vmb/gewann die ſtatt / vnd brennets auß/ vnd hieß vmbackern/vnd ſået gerſten daran/Denn er geſchworen hett / er wolte ſie zuſtören / daß niemandt wüſt/ob heuſer oder etwas da geſtanden weren. Darnach zog er für ein feſt/die lag in eim waſſer/darauff hett der König ſeinen ſchatz/ aber er kondte

kondte der feſte vor dem waſſer nichts abgewinnen. Er grube das waſſer ab/fandt drey pleihern truhen voll Silber vnd Goldt in dem waſſer/Ein jegliche Truhen was zweyer klaffter lang / vnd einer breit/die hette die Königin hineyn geſenckt / vmb der vrſach/ob man die feſten gewün̄/daß jn den̄ das Gold bliebe / alſo nam er die truhen zu jm/vnd gewann die feſt /darinnen fand er 15. Mann/ die ließ er hencken / Er fand auch in der feſten vier truhen voll ſilbers vnd Golds / die nam er auch zu jm/gewann darnach noch drey ſtett/da gieng der Sommer an / daß er vor hitz in dem landt nicht bleiben mocht.

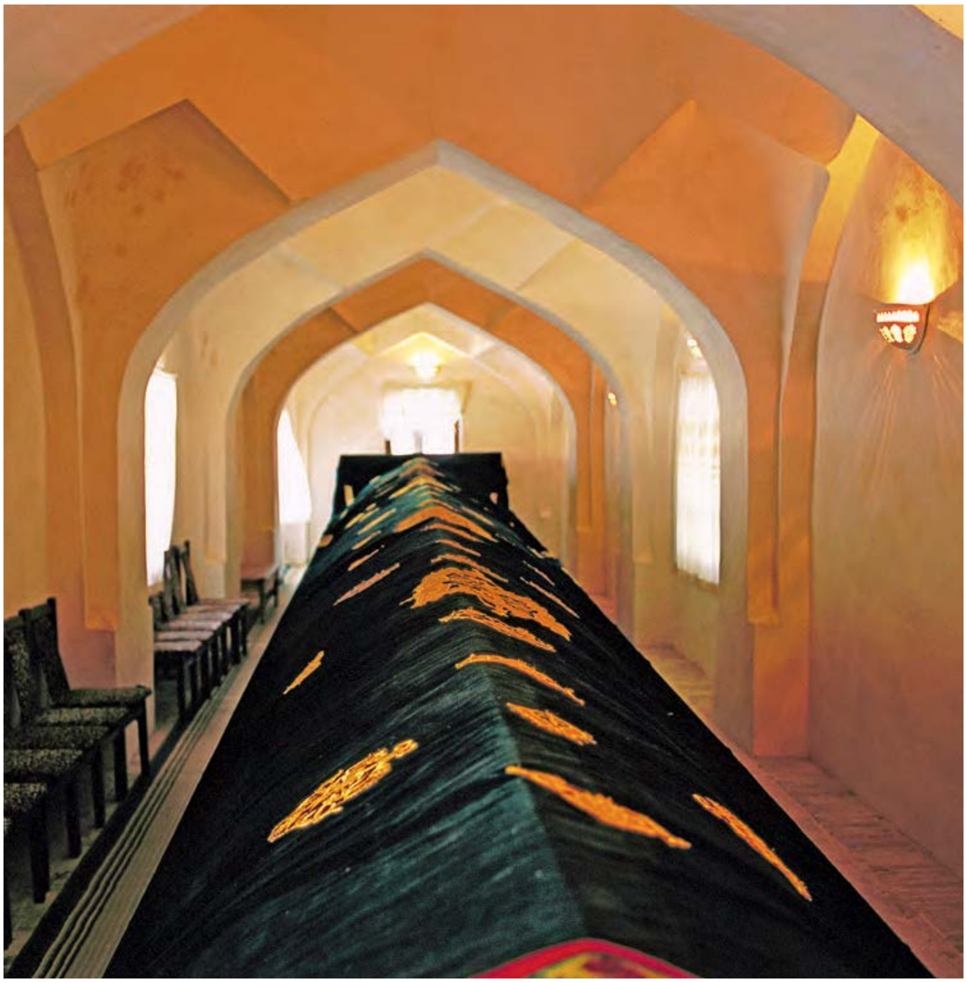
Wie der Tåmerlin klein Jndiam/vnd andere landtſchafft mehr/ eynnam.

G iij Als

209. Two illustrations from Johannes Schiltberger's travel book written some time after 1427. The left-hand page shows Timur-e Lang invading Babylon (Baghdad); on the right, he appears as he is conquering India. Johannes Schiltberger. *Ein wunderbarliche und kurzweilige History,* (Frankfurt am Main, 1554), no page numbers shown.

the Turkmen Qara Yusuf of the Qara Qoyunlu confederation, who had defeated them at Nakhchivan in 1406. In 1408, however, Qara Yusuf defeated the Timurids once again and Miran Shah was taken prisoner and beheaded.[46]

Schiltberger remained in the service of Abu Bakr until 1412 or 1413. Prince Chokra of the Golden Horde lived at Abu Bakr's court at that time, enjoying the support of the warlord Edigü.[47] He took Schiltberger with him when he travelled north to join Edigü in southern Siberia. In his account, Schiltberger tells of the khans – Pulad, Temür, Jalal al-Din, Karim Berdi and Kebek – who rapidly succeeded each other between 1410 and 1414, and describes how Edigü set his new master Chokra (r. 1414–17) on the throne: 'When [in Great Tartary] they choose a king [khan], they take him and seat him on white felt, and raise him in it three times [. . .] and seat him on a throne.'[48] Schiltberger also tells of the sledge dogs used in Siberia in winter, and how a Tatar woman came with 4,000 women to Edigü and Chokra to ask their help in avenging the death of her husband. His killer was made prisoner and brought to her, and she ordered him to kneel, and cut off his head with one blow.[49] According to Schiltberger, Chokra was the last of Edigü's puppet khans, since a certain Machmet (Ulugh Muhammad, r. 1419–21) drove out both of them and succeeded in making himself khan after a few more battles.[50] In the next stage of his odyssey Schiltberger fled with a counsellor of Chokra's named Manchuk to Cherkessia, whose inhabitants were said to sell their own and other people's children into slavery,[51] and later to Mingrelia in western Georgia. In 1426, Schiltberger and four other enslaved Christians were finally able to escape on a Genoan ship that took them to Constantinople. There the widely travelled Schiltberger was received and questioned by the emperor and the patriarch, before putting to sea again and finally returning to his homeland of Bavaria via Wallachia and Poland.



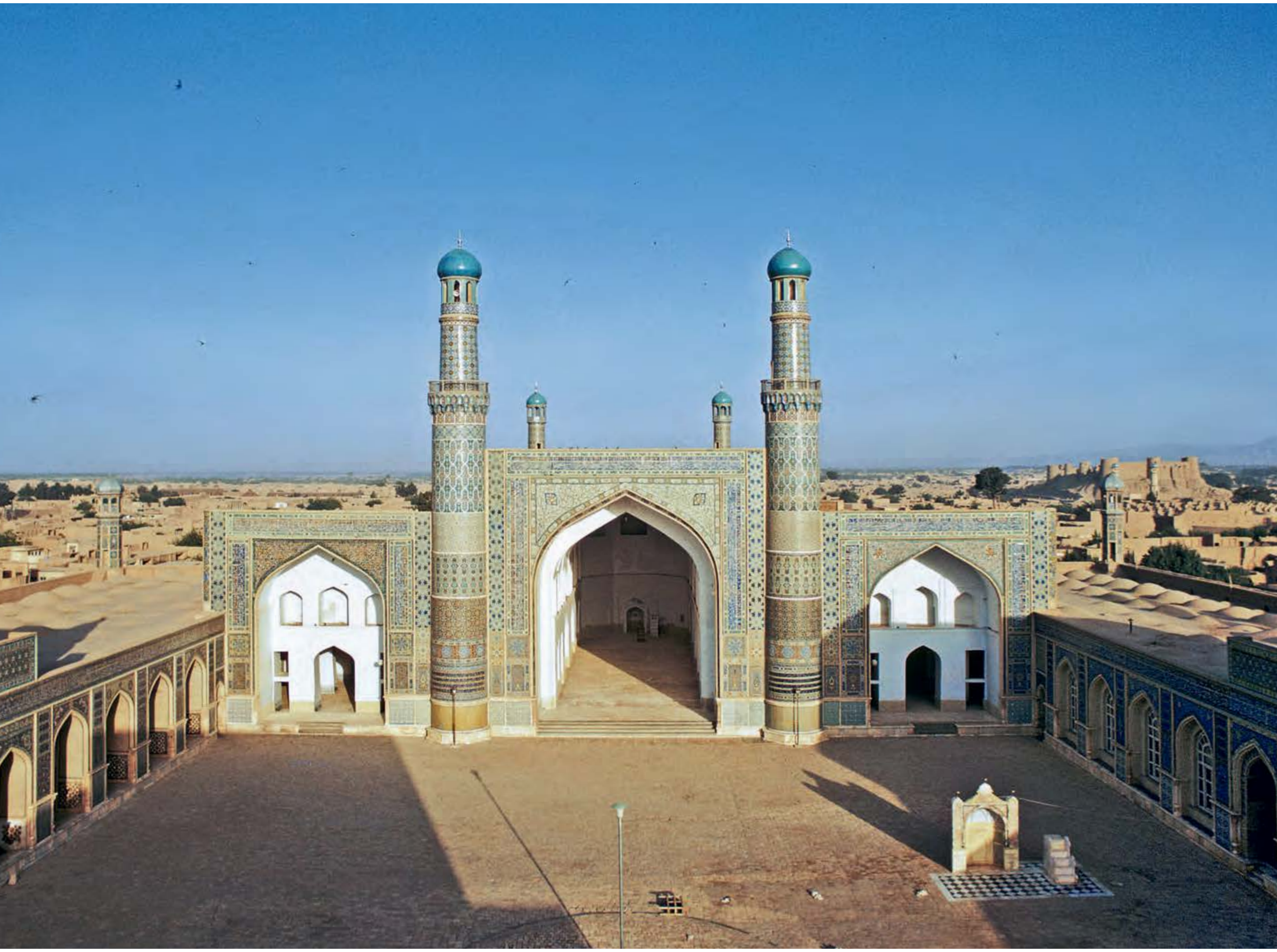
210. The tomb of the Prophet Daniel, known in Islam as Daniyor, was built in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, at the end of the fourteenth century and completely restored in the twentieth. Legend has it that after one of his campaigns in western Asia, Timur-e Lang stole Daniel's mortal remains from his tomb in Susa, in the south-west of Iran, and brought them to Samarkand. The legend goes on to tell how the dead prophet, enraged at his remains being removed, continued to grow for decades to follow, which is why his tomb is now 18 metres long. Photo: 2004.

2. Timur's Successors: the Timurids

After Muhammad Sultan's death, Timur had appointed his grandson **Pir Muhammad ibn Jahangir** (r. in Kandahar 1405–7) to succeed him, passing over his still-living sons Miran Shah and Shah Rukh. But when he died his realm instantly fell apart into four contending regions, all afflicted by their own internal power struggles. Timur's failure to set up durable administrative structures or to forge a consensus regarding the succession among his descendants backfired badly. Only Khorasan, Sistan and Mazandaran remained undisputed, secure in the hands of Shah Rukh, who at first played a waiting game. In Azerbaijan, Miran Shah and his sons Abu Bakr and Omar all tried to carve out territories of their own and fend off the Qara Qoyunlu, while in Fars three sons of Omar Sheykh fought with each other. In Mawarannahr, Timur's grandson Miran Shah's son **Khalil Sultan** (r. in Samarkand 1405–9, d. 1411), the only relative to accompany Timur on the Chinese expedition, had succeeded in winning over the army on his grandfather's death and taking possession of Samarkand.[52] Pir Muhammad, who was governor of Kandahar, failed in his attack on Samarkand in February 1406 and was murdered by his own vizier a year later. In April 1408, Miran Shah and his son Abu Bakr were decisively defeated by Qara Yusuf, and the Timurids were finally driven out of Azerbaijan. The power struggle now came to a head, between Shah Rukh and Khalil Sultan, who had squandered his grandfather's treasury. Thanks to some clever diplomacy, **Shah Rukh Mirza**[53] (viceroy in Khorasan 1405–9, r. 1409–47) was the winner, and on 13 May 1409 he was able to enter Samarkand without a struggle. Although his father Timur had not thought him capable of ruling, it was he who had emerged the victor in the four-year-long battle for supremacy. He appointed his son Mohammad Tariq ibn Shah Rukh, called **Ulugh Beg** (viceroy of Mawarannahr 1409–47, r. 1447–49) to govern Mawarannahr from Samarkand and then returned to Herat as the acknowledged ruler over what remained of the Timurid legacy, making that city the capital of the Timurid Empire.[54]

Shah Rukh bore little resemblance to Timur as a conqueror, but he proved to be a skilful manager of his legacy, and did not hesitate to take the military initiative when necessary. In 1413 he drove out the Jochids from Chorasmia which they had invaded in 1405/6, then consolidated his rule with campaigns against Kerman (1416) and Kabul (1417).[55] Now Shah Rukh could turn his attention to the west, where the ambitious Turkmen dynasty of the Qara Qoyunlu (*ca.* 1380–1468), whose name means 'black sheep' and who now controlled Azerbaijan and Baghdad, represented a growing threat. He therefore undertook three campaigns in Azerbaijan – the first in 1420/21, when he expelled Qara Iskander Qoyunlu (r. with interruptions *ca.* 1420–36, d. 1437) from Azerbaijan and Armenia. As soon as Shah Rukh had returned to Herat, however, Qara Iskander embarked on the reconquest of Azerbaijan, prompting Shah Rukh's second campaign in 1429. Yet Qara Iskander returned to Tabriz two years later, killing the shah's brother, the Timurid governor Abu Said, whereupon Shah Rukh came back again with his army. In a shrewd move, in 1436 he appointed Qara Iskander's brother and rival Jahan Shah (r. 1436–67) as governor of Azerbaijan and ruler of the Qara Qoyunlu, who would remain the shah's vassals until his death.[56] Unlike his father, Shah Rukh maintained good relations with China. An embassy to the Ming emperor Yongle nevertheless almost provoked a serious crisis when the horse Shah Rukh had sent as a gift threw his new master, the emperor. In his rage, Yongle ordered that the seven Timurid envoys be seized and executed, and it was only when two imperial counsellors reminded him of the disagreeable consequences – the killing of envoys was a *casus belli* among the Genghisids and Timurids – that he countermanded his instructions and let the envoys go free.[57] Shah Rukh died at Rayy in March 1447, while on a campaign against his rebellious grandson Sultan Mohammad bin Baysunghur.[58]

211. The Timurid necropolis Shah-i Zinda – the name means 'living Shah' – to the north-east of Samarkand, Uzbekistan. On the site of an older mausoleum, Timur-e Lang commissioned the creation of a necropolis to hold his relatives and high officials. On the right of the picture is the Kasi-sade Rumi mausoleum built in 1435, while on the left are a complex of four mausoleums, with those of Amir-sade and Shadi Mulk Aka in the foreground and the Emir Husain and Shirin Bika Aka mausoleums in the background, Photo: 2004.

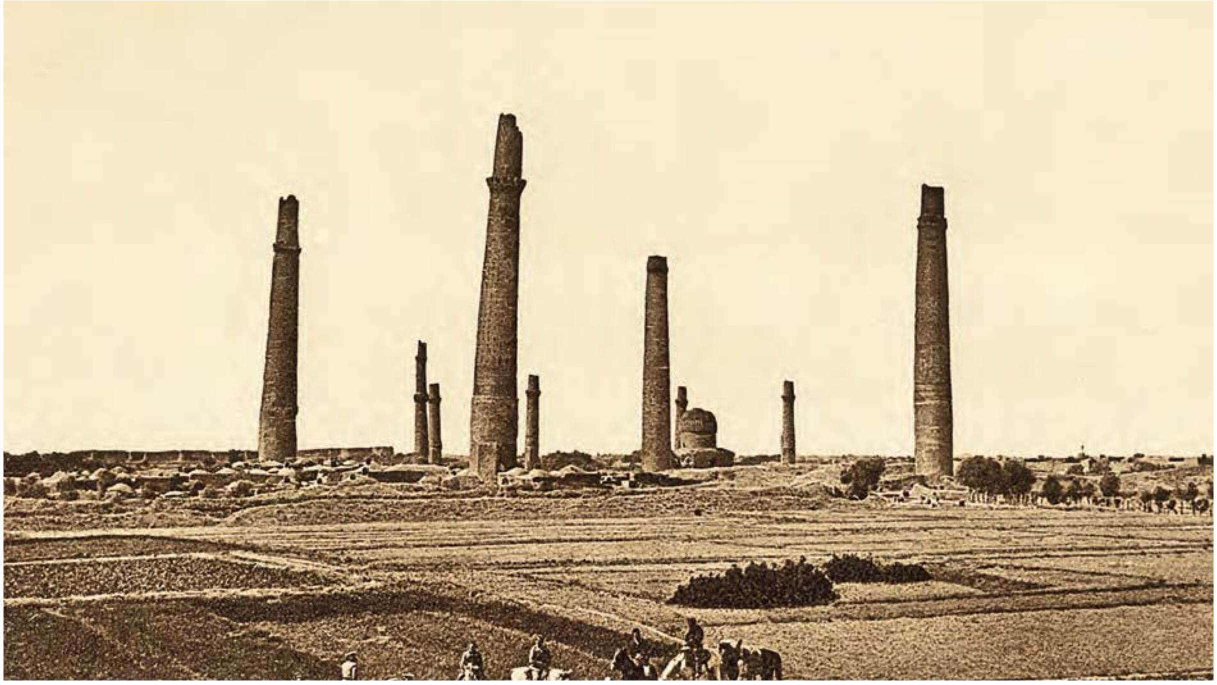


212. Originally built in 1200–01 during the Ghurid era and then destroyed by Timur-e Lang, the Friday Mosque in Herat, Afghanistan was rebuilt by Shah Rukh between 1404 and 1446. Photo: 1970s.

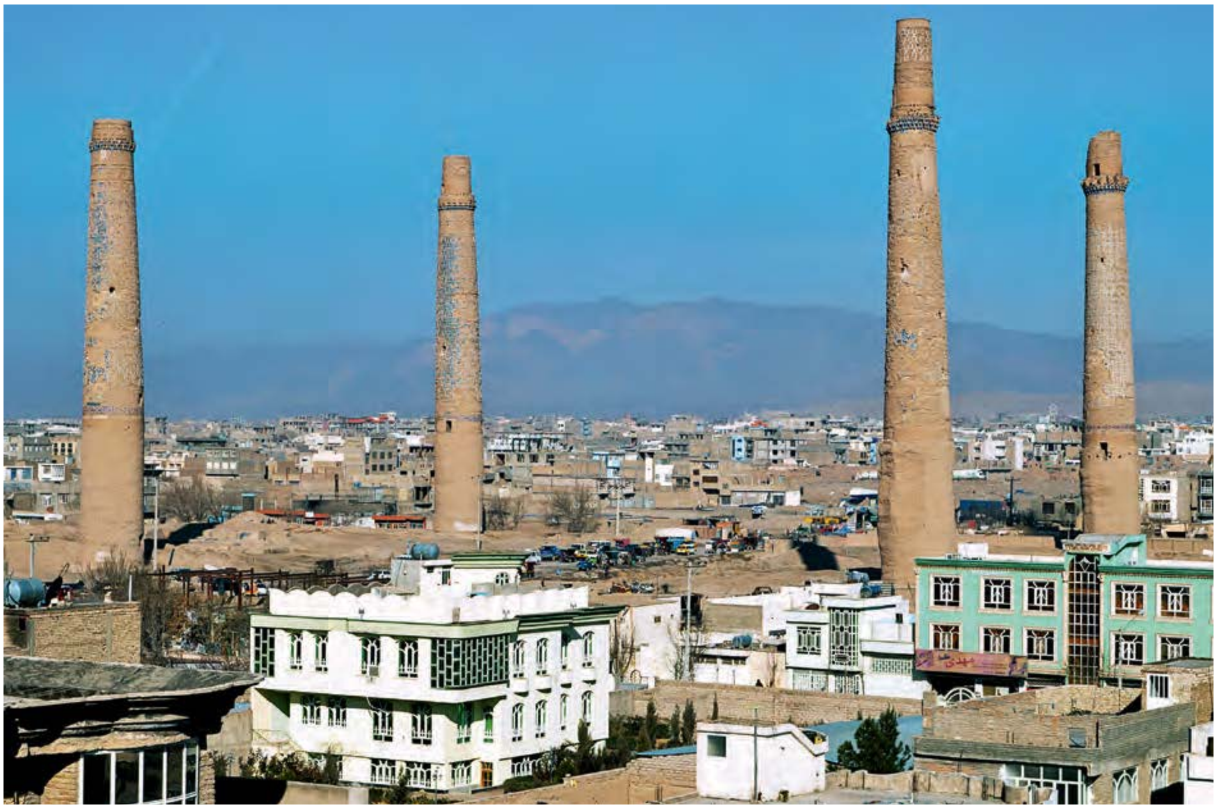
Shah Rukh's son and viceroy Ulugh Beg was a highly gifted mathematician and astronomer, who built a 48-metre-diameter observatory in Samarkand in 1428/29.[59] Before that, in 1417–21, he had a madrasa built on today's Registan Square (fig. 217), where mathematics and astronomy were taught. Khwandamir records: 'In AH 824 [1421] the construction of a sublime madrassa and khanaqah ordered by that peerless prince was completed.'[60] In military matters Ulugh Beg was less gifted, for in 1426, and against the express wishes of his father, he attacked Urus Khan's grandson Baraq at Sighnaq on the lower Syr Darya, only to suffer a crushing defeat the following year.[61] On Shah Rukh's death, just as after Timur's, a power struggle broke out among his descendants that led to both fratricide and patricide. Ulugh Beg (r. 1447–49) considered himself the legitimate heir, but Shah Rukh's widow Gauhar Shad (d. 1457) favoured her grandson Ala al-Daula ibn Baysunghur. Ala al-Daula was a son of Ulugh Beg's brother Baysunghur (1397–1433), who had been a first-class calligrapher and a patron of art and architecture.[62] For now, the other princes bided their time. Gauhar Shad's intrigues came to nothing, however, for in the spring of 1448, Ulugh Beg, who had been able to hold his own in Samarkand, and his ambitious son Abd al-Latif (*ca.* 1420–50) defeated Ala al-Daula at the Battle of Tarnab, near Herat.[63] But then things started to turn against Ulugh Beg, for the Uzbek Abdu'l Khayr took advantage of Ulugh Beg's absence from Samarkand to pillage Transoxiana.[64] As Ulugh Beg hurried back, he was attacked and defeated by Ala al-Daula's half-brother and then suffered badly in another attack, this time by the Uzbeks, while crossing the Oxus.[65] Now, angered by what he saw as his father's lack of regard for him, Ulugh Beg's son **Abd al-Latif** (r. 1449–50) took advantage of his evident military weakness, rose in rebellion and marched on Samarkand, where he defeated his father, and in October 1449 had him murdered, two days after the murder of his brother Abdu'l Aziz. Six months later this murderer of his father and brother was himself killed by discontented military commanders.[66]

Abd al-Latif was succeeded by Shah Rukh's grandson **Abdallah ibn Ibrahim** (r. 1450–51), who in June 1451 was defeated and afterwards killed by **Abu Said** (r. 1451–69, from 1459 also r. in Herat), a

213. Brass celestial globe with silver inlays dating from the Timurid era. An inscription near the south pole states that the placement of the stars was based on calculations made in AH 834 (1430/31 CE). The British Museum, London, no. 1896, 0323.1.



214. Minarets from what was once a huge *musalla* – or prayer hall complex – commissioned by Shah Rukh's wife Gauhar Shad between 1417 and 1438 in Herat, Afghanistan. Only nine minarets remained after Emir Abdur Rahman (r. 1880–1901) and British officers ordered that the prayer hall and the madrasa be demolished to leave the field of fire clear should the Russians target Herat, following their attack on the Panjdeh Oasis on 30 March 1885. As tensions rose fast between Russia and Afghanistan's protector British India, the Russians were expected to strike Herat. In the words of Colonel Thomas H. Holdich, 'we wanted a clear space, smooth and regular, across which not a rabbit might travel without being duly saluted by the garrison.'[37] Photo: 1915–16. Oskar von Niedermayer, *Afghanistan* (Leipzig, 1924), pl. 157.

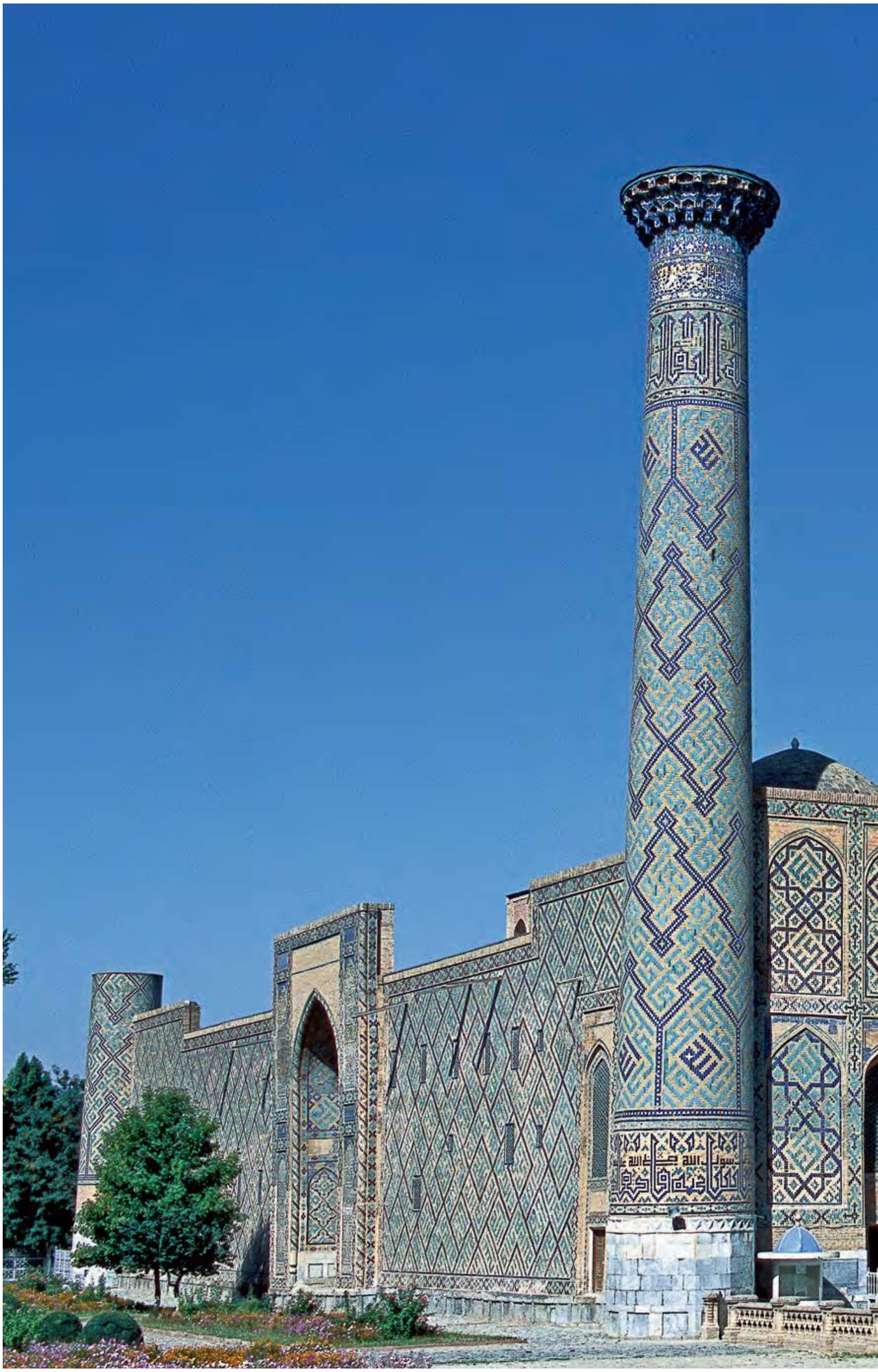


215. Four of the five remaining minarets on the site of the former prayer hall and madrasa. The fifth minaret (not pictured) is in danger of collapse. Photo: 2010/11.

216. The Kök Gumbaz Mosque in Shahr-e Sabz, Uzbekistan, built in 1435–36 when Ulugh Beg ruled Transoxania. Photo: 2004.

grandson of Miran Shah's, who was assisted by the Uzbek forces of Abdu'l Khayr. At the same time, **Abu'l Qasim Babur** (r. in Herat 1449–57) took advantage of the power vacuum in Herat, taking control of Khorasan in 1449; a year later, though, he was attacked and defeated by his brother, Sultan Mohammad bin Baysunghur of Fars, and was compelled to give up certain territories to him. But when Sultan Muhammad returned to the attack in January 1452, it was Babur who emerged victorious; he took his brother prisoner and had him beheaded.[67] Though Babur was then able to subjugate Shiraz, he quickly found himself exposed to the attacks of the Qara Qoyunlu and so returned to Herat. By the autumn of 1452, the Turkmen Qara Qoyunlu had conquered much of Mesopotamia, and Persia except for Abarkuh and Kerman. In 1454, Babur attempted without success to capture Samarkand, after which he made his peace with Abu Said and accepted the Oxus as the border.[68] On Babur's death, he was succeeded by his minor son **Mahmud ibn Babur** (r. 1457), rapidly followed by **Ibrahim ibn Ala al-Daula** (r. 1457–59). But Abu Said soon marched on Herat and had Gauhar Shad put to death. Failing to overcome the resistance of the citadel, Abu Said then withdrew to Balkh. In the summer of 1458 Jahan Shah of the Qara Qoyunlu advanced as far as Herat and forced Ibrahim to flee. But Jahan Shah had to turn back soon because of a revolt by his son Hasan Ali and also because Abu Said was marching on Tabriz. Now Abu Said could finally take Herat.[69] Ibrahim Ala al-Daula tried to recuperate Herat but in March 1459 he lost the Battle of Sarakhs and the victorious Abu Said was able to consolidate his rule, though he found himself obliged to ward off attacks by Uzbeks from the north and Moghuls from the east.

Abu Said had never given up his ambition to reconquer the western half of his great-uncle Shah Rukh's realm, which he had lost to the Qara Qoyunlu, and to reunite it with the key zones of Timur's empire – Mawarannahr, Khorasan and Azerbaijan.

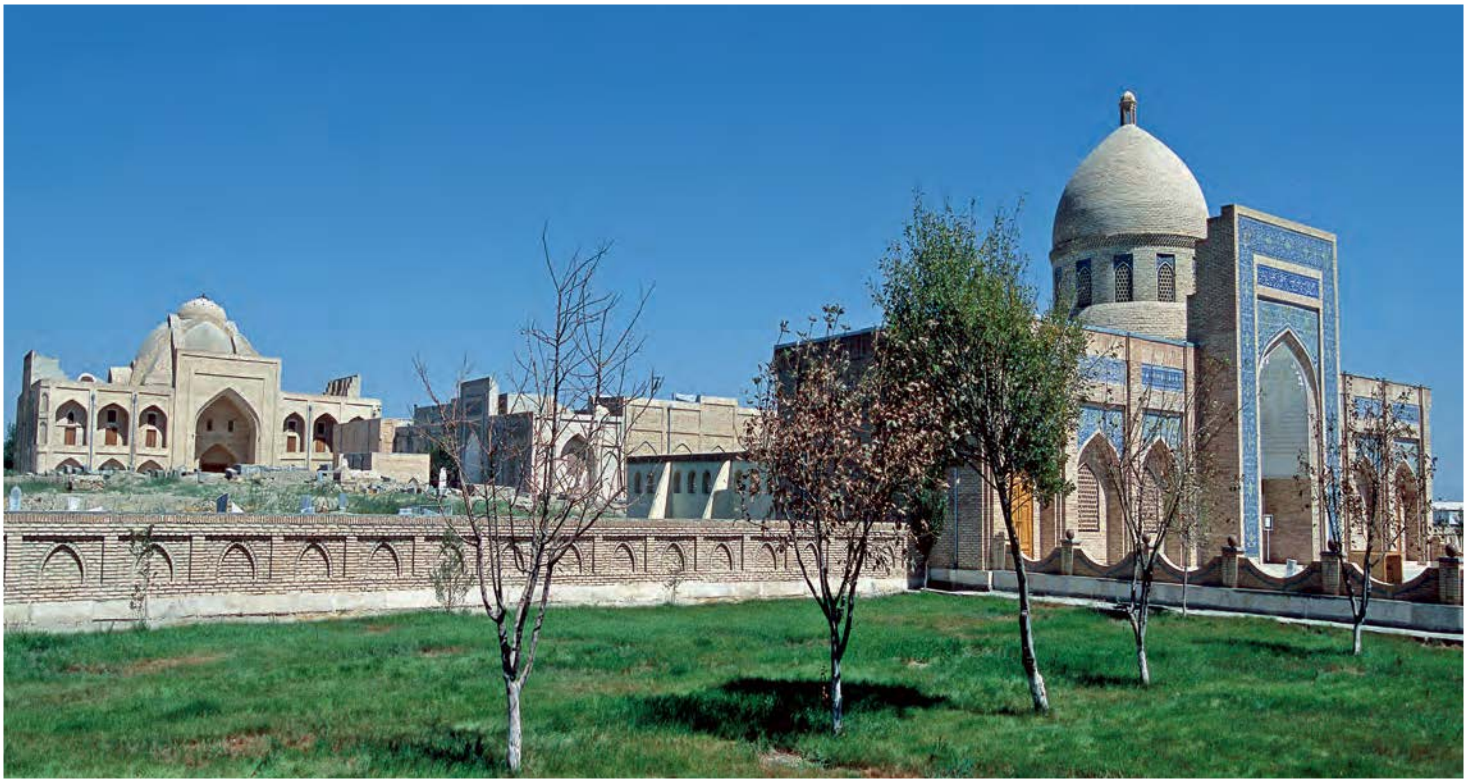


217. The Ulugh Beg madrasa on Registan Square in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, built between 1417 and 1421. Tradition has it that Ulugh Beg himself taught astronomy here. The unusually large madrasa was the prototype of the Shir Dor Mosque, built between 1611 and 1636, which stands opposite. As the historian Khwandamir (1475–1535) reported, the madrasa was used as the headquarters of Zahir al-Din Mohammed Babur (r. in Samarkand 1497, 1500/01, 1511/12), the last Timurid to reside in the city, during the four-month siege in 1501 by the Uzbek leader Muhammad Khan Shaibani. Babur, Khwandamir tells us, 'took up residence in Mirza Ulughbeg's madrasa in the middle of the city in order to be equidistant from all the city gates and towers. [. . .] Babur pitched his tent on the roof of the madrasa, and his retinue chose their quarters in the chambers.'[38] Photo: 2004.

When he learned that Jahan Shah had died in late 1467, fallen in battle against Uzun Hasan, ruler of the rival tribal confederation of the Aq Qoyunlu ('white sheep'), he immediately embarked on an expedition to Azerbaijan. But his departure was hurried and since he neglected to ensure effective lines of supply, his army in Azerbaijan suffered shortages over the winter of 1468/69, leading to many desertions. When Abu Said met the Aq Qoyunlu on 5 February 1469 with only a small number of weakened and demoralised troops he was defeated and captured. Uzun Hasan handed over the prisoner to his Timurid ally Yadgar Muhammad, a grandson of Baysunghur's, who had Abu Said beheaded.[70] This defeat was decisive for the fate of the Timurids, for it would accelerate the political disintegration of their territories. **Sultan Husayn Bayqara** (r. 1469–1506) took power in Herat, while Abu Said's four sons shared Mawarannahr and eastern Afghanistan between them: **Ulugh Beg Kabuli** (r. 1469–1502) ruled in Kabul and Ghazna, **Sultan Mahmud** (r. 1469–94) in Balkh and Chaganiyan, **Umar Shaykh** (r. 1469–94) in Fergana and **Sultan Ahmad** (r. 1469–94) in Samarkand and Bokhara; the last had to share power with Khwaja Ubaydullah Ahrar (1404–90), the head of the Naqshbandi order of Sufis established by Baha al-Din Naqshband (1318–89), who had lived near Bukhara. The head of the order had already gained great influence over Abu Said and used his position to accumulate immense wealth and become the largest landowner in Mawarannahr.[71] This last generation of Timurid rulers contented themselves with securing their relatively small territories, and this political quiescence enabled the rise of the Uzbeks in the north-east and the expansion of the Safavids in the west.[72]

On Sultan Ahmad's death, his brother **Mahmud** (r. 1494–95), who had ruled northern Afghanistan, took power in Samarkand. His own death a short time later left a power vacuum that enabled the Timurid **Zahir al-Din Mohammed Babur** (r. in Fergana 1494–97, in Samarkand 1497, 1500/01, 1511/12), who would later found the Mughal dynasty in northern India, to capture the city. Although he took it three times, he was never able to hold it: in 1497 a rebellion in Fergana forced him to withdraw, and in 1501 and 1512 he was driven out by the Uzbeks, so that the Timurids lost Mawarannahr for good.[73]

218. The façade of the Ulugh Beg madrasa in Bukhara, Uzbekistan, built in 1417/18, features a two-storey arcade. Photo: 2004.

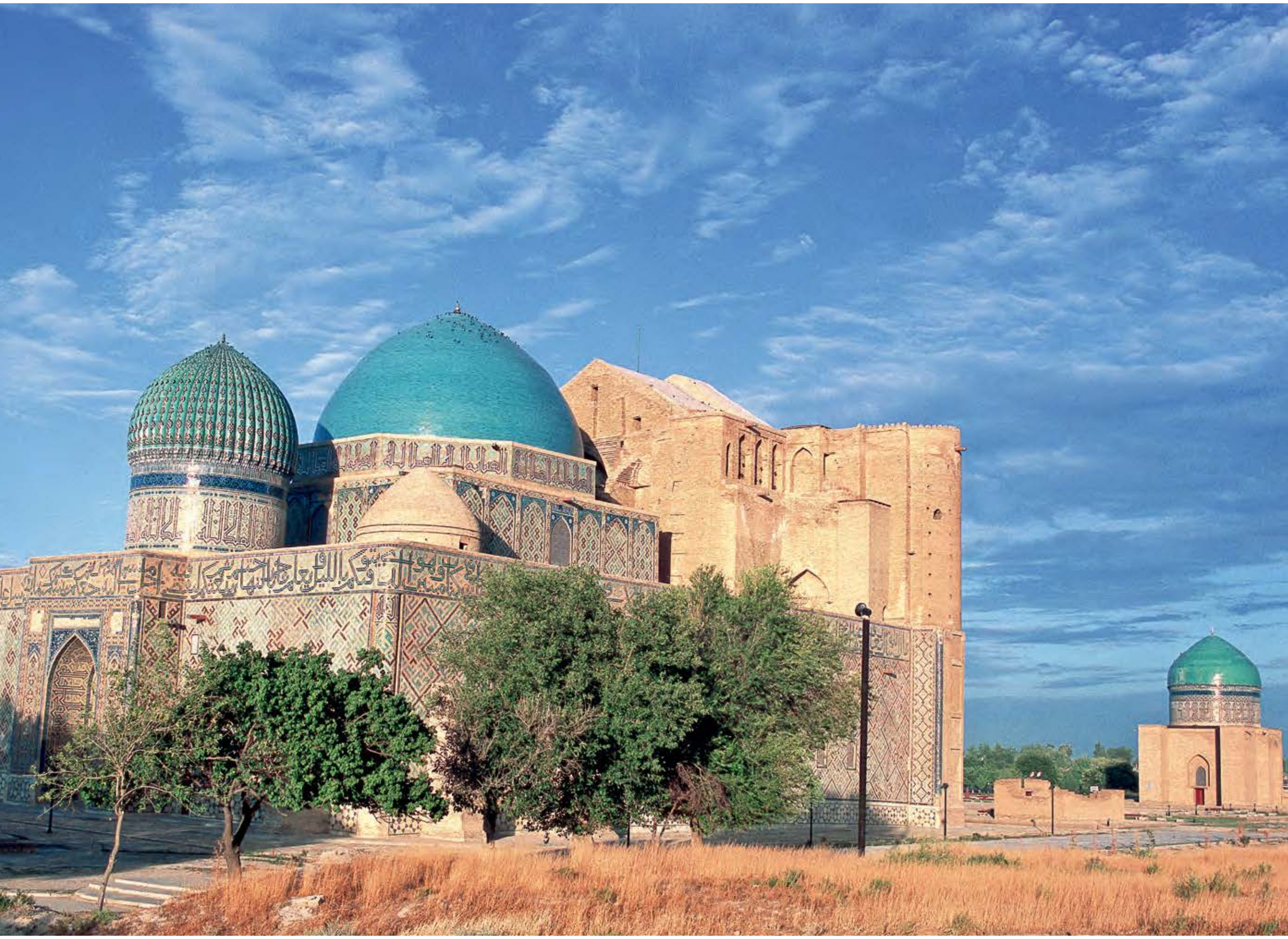


219. The mausoleum of the Sufi master Baha al-Din Naqshband Bukhari (1318–89), founder of the politically influential Naqshbandi Order. Ten kilometres north-east of Bukhara, Uzbekistan, the mausoleum underwent extensive restoration between 1993 and 2004. It is also a popular pilgrimage destination. Photo: 2004.

3. Timurid Art and Architecture

The Timurids encouraged two very different types of art: monumental architecture and finely detailed manuscript illumination and illustration. Both drew on the Turco-Persian culture of Central Asia, which took a somewhat eclectic turn under the Timurids. The many different developments in Turco-Persian architecture and manuscript illumination were the consequence of the strategy adopted by the most important Timurid patrons – Timur, Shah Rukh and Ulugh Beg – of inviting or compelling the best architects, artists and artisans to work in their capitals. In architecture, Timur-e Lang sought to make his own greatness visible to the whole world through the rapid construction of awe-inspiring buildings with massive portals and majestic domes. Samarkand's Friday mosque (fig. 208) succeeds in synthesising two architectural styles, on the one hand taking inspiration from Oljeitu's now vanished Friday mosque in Soltaniyeh,[74] and on the other adopting elements from north Indian mosque architecture. As already described above, Timur admired the mosques of north India and deported stonemasons and other artisans from Delhi to Mawarannahr to work for him.[75] By getting architects from Soltaniyeh, Tabriz, Shiraz and Isfahan to carry out most of their ambitious and prestigious projects, Timur, Shah Rukh and Ulugh Beg brought about an impressive revitalisation of the architecture of the Il-Khanids and Muzaffarids, which in Central Asia was now enriched with Indian elements.[76] Typical features of Timurid architecture are, externally, the extensive decoration of the brick walls with polychrome mosaic-faience tiles, and internally the decoration of the underside of the domes with moulded and gilded papier-mâché as well as the use of stalactite-like *muqarnas* (ornamental vaulting) to complete the niches and the squinches that bridge the angle between the square ground plan and the dome.[77] Timur's monumental palace at Kesh (figs. 173, 200) and his Friday mosque in Samarkand (fig. 208) lie in ruins today, but the Gur Emir with its high double dome (figs. 206-7) and the mausoleum for the Sufi master Ahmed Yasawi (1094–1166) built in Yasi (today's city of Turkestan in Kazakhstan) in 1396–97 by the Shirazi architect Khwaja Hasan (figs. 57, 220) are still in a good state of preservation,[78] as are the little mausoleums of the necropolis of Shah-i Zinda in Samarkand (fig. 211).

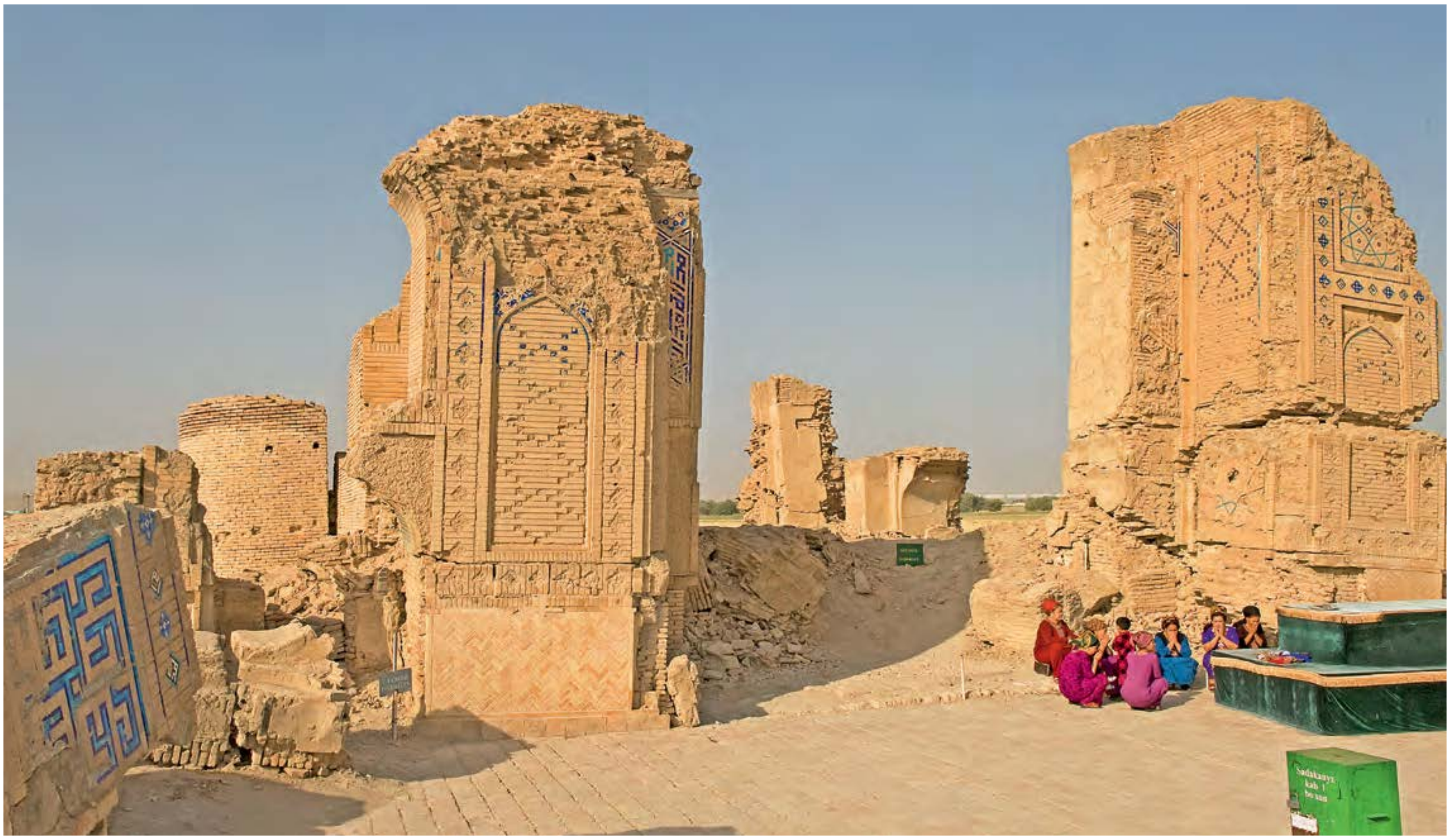
Shah Rukh and his wife Gauhar Shad, who both commissioned mosques and madrasas in Herat and Mashhad, Ulugh Beg in Samarkand and Sultan Husayn Bayqara in Herat all continued Timur's support for monumental architecture, though without the



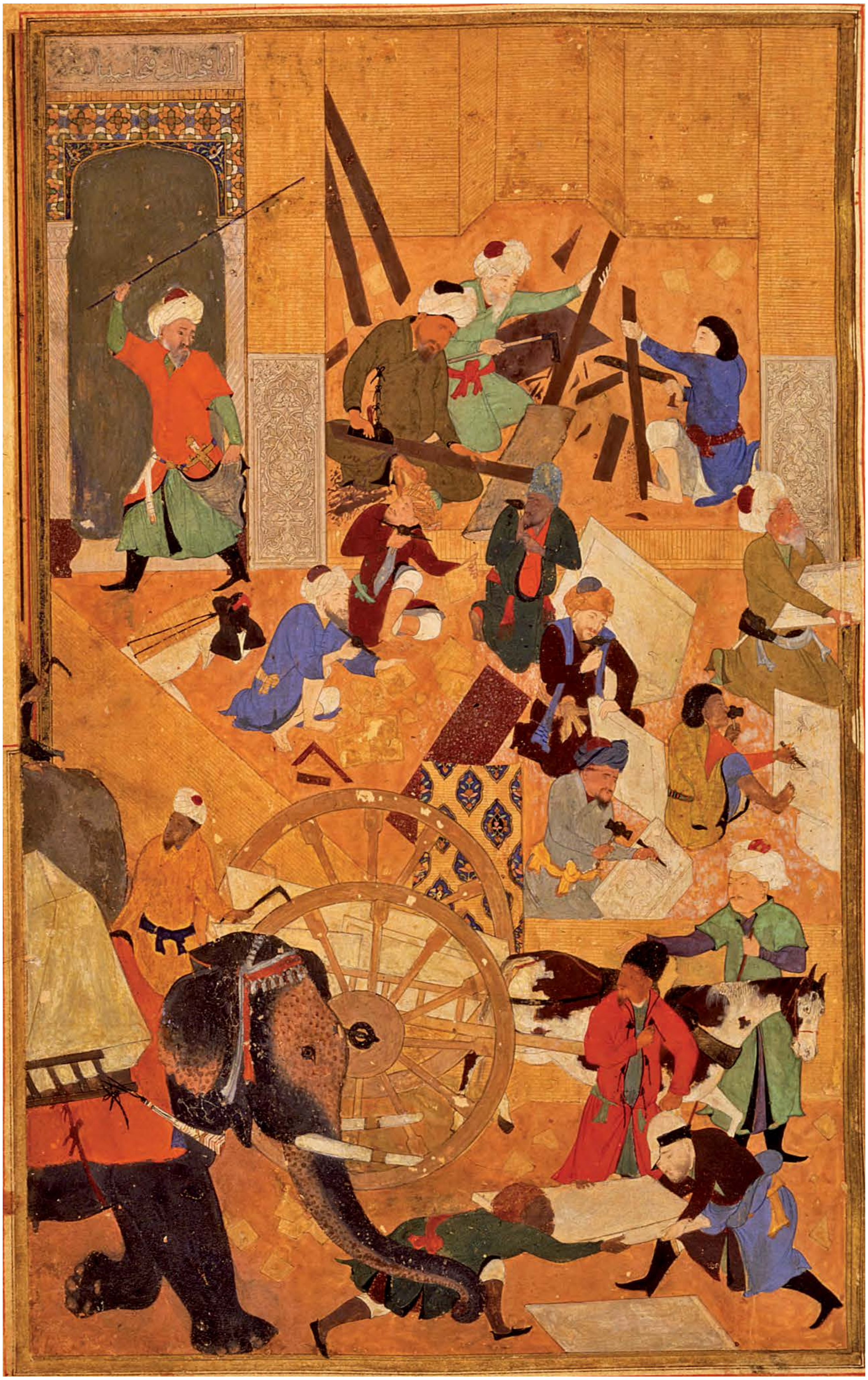
220. The great mausoleum built for Ahmed Yasawi (1094–1166) in Turkestan, Kazakhstan was commissioned by Timur-e Lang. The work was carried out in 1396/97 by the Persian architect Khwaja Hasan, who together with other Persian artists and craftsmen, was abducted and taken to Transoxania by Amir Timur after he captured Shiraz in 1393. Photo: 2005.

latter's megalomania. The most outstanding examples of this second generation of Timurid architecture were Ulugh Beg's madrasas in Samarkand (fig. 217) and Bukhara (fig. 218), the Kök Gumbaz Mosque in Shahr-i Sabz (built 1435–36, fig. 216), the Gauhar Shad Mosque in the Imam Reza complex in Mashhad (built 1416–18, fig. 5), and the madrasa and *musalla* (prayer hall) in Herat (built between 1417 and 1438; figs. 214–15). The three monumental buildings in Mashhad and Herat were the work of architect Qavam al-Din (d. 1438) from Shiraz; unfortunately, the last two were completely destroyed in 1885 after a Russian attack on the oasis of Pandjeh, only 80 kilometres north of Herat, because the British advisors inspecting Herat's defences feared that they might offer cover to the advancing Russians should they lay siege to the city (which they did not).[79] In 1481, Sultan Husayn Bayqara finally had the Blue Mosque of Mazar-e Sharif (fig. 6) rebuilt after its destruction by Genghis Khan; it was first built under the Seljuk Sanjar Shah in 1136. A noteworthy example of Timurid chinoiserie, also to be found in manuscript illumination, could be admired on the mosque at Anau in southern Turkmenistan, built under Abu'l Qasim Babur in 1455–56 (fig. 221): the faience mosaic on the tympanum of the main arch of the portal, which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1948, featured two Chinese-looking black and white dragons on a blue background, their serpentine bodies facing each other.[80]

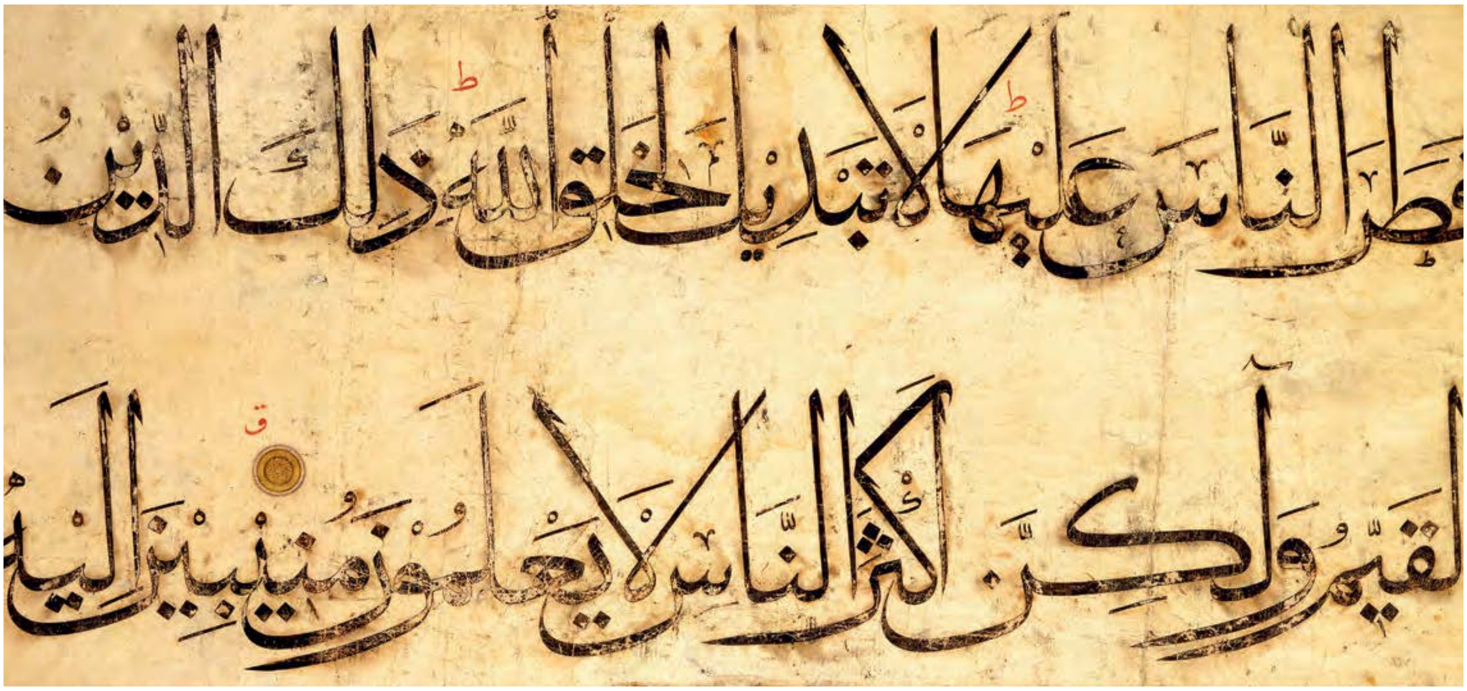
The other art form encouraged by the Timurids was manuscript illumination, which flourished with the schools of Samarkand, Herat and Shiraz (figs. figs. 222–23). Timur-e Lang's successors saw illuminated manuscripts as a way of proclaiming that they were no longer uncultured Turco-Mongol conquerors but sophisticated representatives of Iranian Muslim culture; individual princes like Giyath al-Din Baysunghur were themselves accomplished calligraphers. Themes were dictated by the books to be illustrated, the great epics of the day. The text would generally be rendered in the elegant *nastaliq* script, which developed in Iran in the late fourteenth century and quickly spread to Central Asia. Since the motifs were determined by the text, Timurid miniature painting usually represented standardised scenes and sought artistic accomplishment above all in refinement. Painting had wider scope in its subject matter when it accompanied poetry and in those works not created as illustrations to books, whether as individual paintings or drawings or as part of an album.[81] In these more free-standing



221. The Timurid Abu'l Qasim Babur, who ruled Khorasan from 1449 to 1457, was a grandson of Shah Rukh. The Anau Mosque, which he built in Turkmenistan in 1455–56, was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1948. Photo: 2014.



222. Building the great Friday Mosque of Samarkand in 1399–1405. Illustration from the *Zafar Nameh,* or 'Book of Victory', written for Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. in Herat 1469–1506) around 1480. The work is attributed to the famous painter Kamal al-Din Bihzad (1450–1535). The John Work Garrett Library, The Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA. Folio 359v.

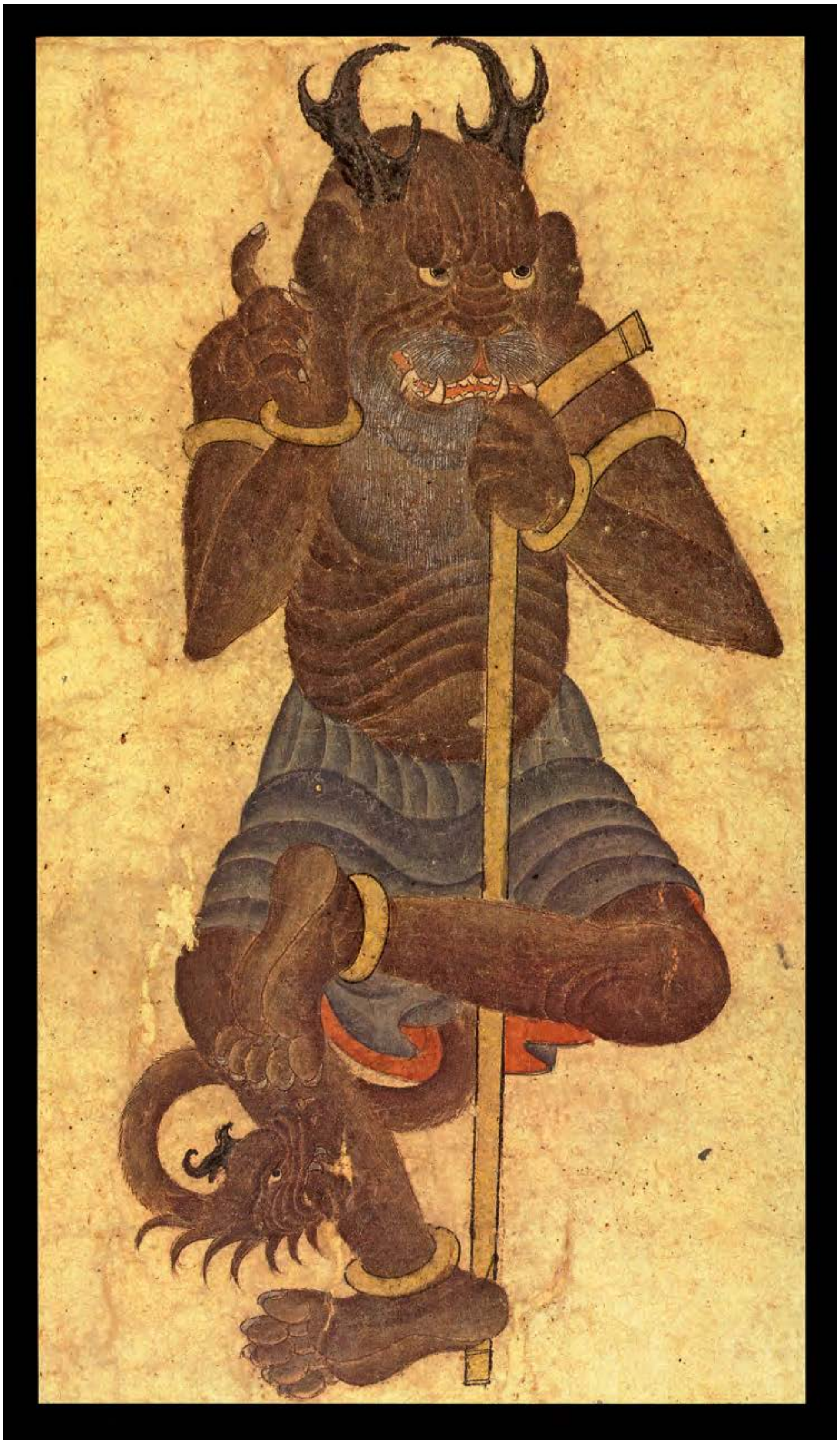


223. Section of a leaf written in Jalil Muhaqqaq, from the largest Qur'an ever produced, published in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, *ca.* 1405. Each paper leaf had seven lines and measured about 222 x 155 centimetres. The David Collection, Copenhagen. Inv. no. 20/1987.

works, which in later Timurid painting increasingly feature scenes of everyday life, we find more use of Chinese elements, greater freedom of line, and an enthusiasm for personal experiment. The introduction of these Chinese elements, such as dragons, phoenixes, *qilin* (mythical creatures), cranes, ducks, stylised clouds and curious rock formations, was encouraged by the more relaxed relationship between Shah Rukh and the Chinese court in the years until around 1425, which found expression in the exchange of commercial and diplomatic missions.[82]

Two particular examples of Chinese influence on miniature painting are the Timurid manuscripts on paper which depict the Prophet Muhammad's night journey and ascent to the heavens. These are the *Miraj Nameh* produced for Shah Rukh in 1436/37, and its copy in the *Nahj al-Faradis* commissioned by Sultan Abu Said in 1465/66. Based on surahs 17:1 and 53:6–18 and some hadiths, the night journey was codified by the Arab historian Ibn Ishaq (d. 768) and the Central Asian scholars al-Bukhari (d. 870) and al-Tabari (d. 923). Each of these Timurid manuscripts contains two illustrations that clearly show the influence of China and Gansu. One is a depiction of an angel of fire and snow, seated cross-legged like a Buddha,[83] the other a 70-headed angel that strongly recalls depictions of the many-headed Bodhisatva Avalokiteshvara (fig. 25).[84] The source of this Buddhist influence was probably Shah Rukh's embassy sent to China's Yongle Emperor between 1419 and 1422: it included not only the Central Asian Bakhshi Malik, principal author of Shah Rukh's *Miraj Nameh,* but also Ghiyath al-Din Naqqash, chronicler of the embassy and court painter to Shah Rukh's son Baysunghur.[85]

Among the most remarkable and powerful Timurid paintings are some 60 works in rather sombre colours by the anonymous artist called Muhammad Siyah Qalam, 'Muhammad of the Black Pen' (fig. 224). Intensely expressive and unrestrained by stylistic conventions, they are painted on coarse, western Chinese paper, and shown without any landscape background. They present a range of fantastical figures – nomads, dervishes, shamans and above all demons – dramatically depicted in face and gesture. The painter, or more probably his workshop, introduced Western European, Persian and Chinese elements into a Central Asian world. Scholars still disagree about the date and place of production of these unique paintings, now in Istanbul's Topkapı Museum. They were probably created either in Tabriz in the time of the Mongol Jalayirid ruler Shaykh Awais (r. 1356–74) or in Herat during the reign of Shah Rukh (r. 1405–47), though other suggestions include Iran in the time of the Turkmen ruler Yaqub Beg Aq Qoyunlu (1478–90), or, less probably, eastern Turkestan in the late fifteenth century.[86] It should also be noted that under the Timurids, just as under the Il-Khanids, distinct schools of painting flourished, enriching Iranian painting with influences from China and Western Europe.



224. A standing demon talking and making a threatening gesture with his right hand. Painting attributed to Muhammad Siyah Qalam; opaque pigment, ink and gold on paper, fourteenth/fifteenth century. Topkapi Sarai Museum, Istanbul, H.2153, fol.48a.

X

Outlook

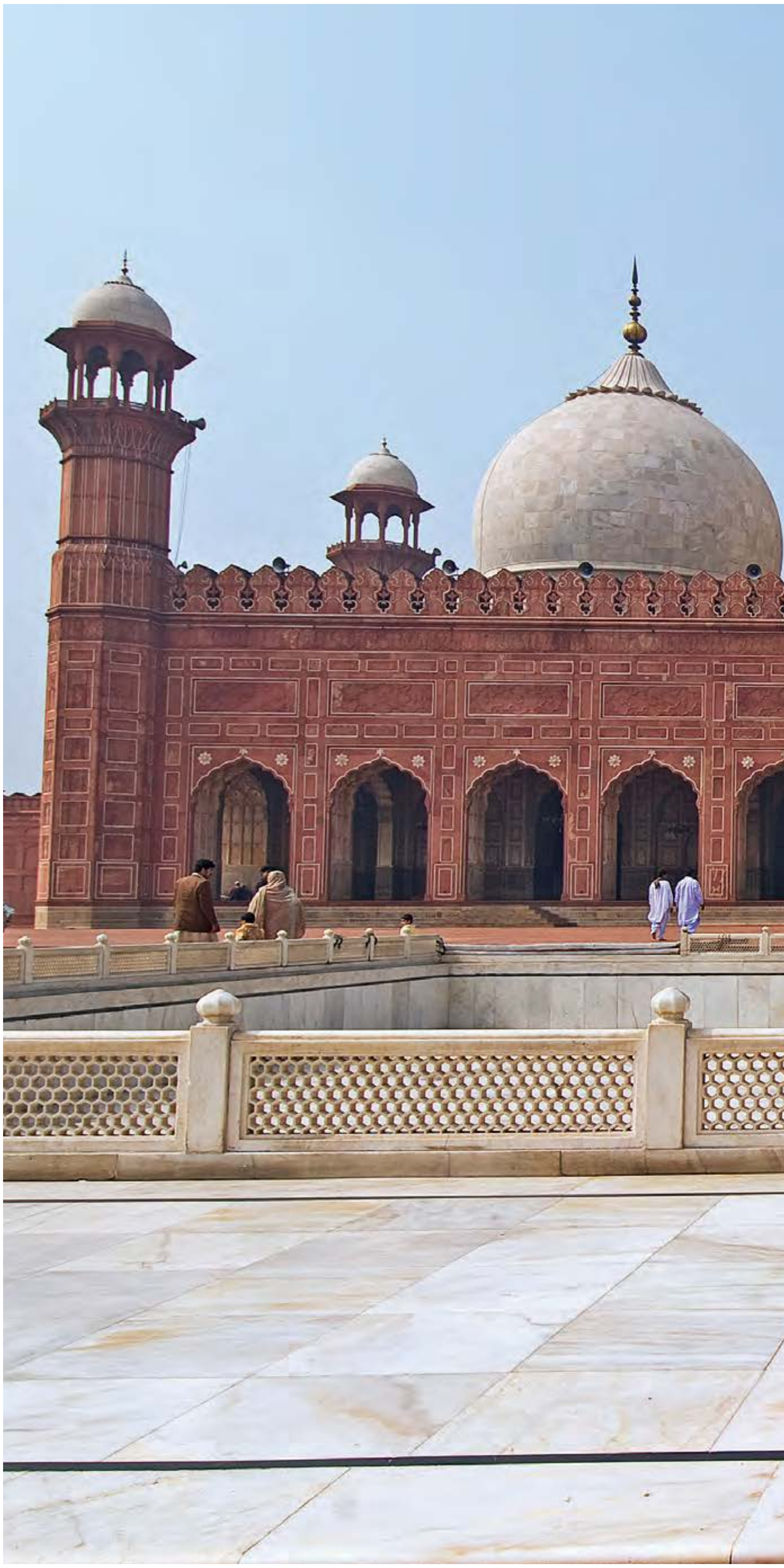
'[General] Skobeleff himself expressed it as follows: "I hold it as a principle that in [Central] Asia the duration of peace is in direct proportion to the slaughter you inflict upon the enemy. [. . .] My system is this: Strike hard, and keep on hitting till resistance is completely over; then at once to form ranks, cease slaughter, and be kind and humane to the prostrate enemy."'

The Russian GENERAL SKOBELEV after the bloody conquest of the Turkmen fortress Geok Tepe in January 1881.[1]

This third volume of *The History of Central Asia* has dealt with two major developments, pulling in opposite directions, which largely determined the shape of Central Asia during the Middle Ages. Thanks to powerful Persian-Muslim influences, towns and cities expanded in the south-west of Central Asia, accompanied by a brilliant effervescence of science, art and architecture. The Turkic horse warriors who began invading at the turn of the millennium soon adapted to this Persian-Muslim culture and further advanced the urbanisation of Mawarannahr, Chorasmia and Khorasan. But from 1219 till about 1250 or 1260, Genghis Khan's Mongols reversed these trends; they epitomised the absolute dominance of steppe warriors over towns, cities and states. They had no qualms about transforming settled agrarian areas into pasturelands, or depopulating certain places so comprehensively and destroying irrigation structure so thoroughly that entire regions turned into deserts. Elsewhere, from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, they rebuilt some of the cities they had destroyed, having realised that they were essential for trade. In Russia, on the other hand, the Mongols laid the foundations for feudalism and serfdom – social forms that had barely existed in the Russian city-states before the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Finally, in China and in Iran the Mongols contributed significantly to the development of unified nation states.

The fourth and final volume of *The History of Central Asia*, with the subtitle *The Age of Decline and Revival*, will explore the history of Central Asia from 1500 to the twenty-first century. The period begins with the successor khanates to the Golden Horde in southern Russia, the Uzbeks and the later Timurids in northern Pakistan and India. But from the late fifteenth century onwards, a series of developments among the Ottomans, Iranian Safavids, in Russia and especially in Western Europe, would profoundly change Central Asia. One of the most decisive was technological – new and improved firearms deprived the steppe warriors armed with bow and arrows of their superiority; moreover, infantry can much better exploit the lethal potential of firearms than cavalry.[2]

Firearms enabled sedentary societies not only to defend themselves effectively against the onslaughts of steppe warriors but also to drive those warriors back into their inhospitable homelands.



225. The Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, Pakistan, completed in 1673/74, can hold 70,000 worshippers. Sitting in front of it is the Sufi Abdul Sater, a member of the Chishti Order. The mosque was commissioned by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), a descendant of the Timurids and of the founder of the Mughal dynasty, Zahir al-Din Mohammed Babur. In 1840 the Sikhs closed the mosque and used it as stables and an ammunition dump. It was not restored and returned to its original use until 1939. Photo: 2007.

Tsarist Russia took the first step, wiping out the khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan, which had emerged from the Golden Horde, and pushing back the khanate of Crimea. In a second step, the Russian state began to take control of access to the precious raw materials in southern Siberia, partly following in the footsteps of merchants and Cossacks. Meanwhile, there was a crucial economic change: international trade between Asian suppliers and Western customers shifted almost entirely either to the sea routes or to a northern route directly linking Qing China with Russia, greatly reducing transit trade via Central Asia and the customs revenues derived from it.

Perhaps even more damaging for Central Asia was the absence of anything resembling a Renaissance or Enlightenment, which might have freed the sciences from the shackles of increasingly restrictive religious conventions, and thus helped societies to become more productive. Without any technical innovations, Central Asian states and societies became increasingly backward compared with the leading European powers. The isolation of the Muslim khanates of Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand impeded technical progress in the south-west of Central Asia, making these khanates highly vulnerable in the face of expansive states with sophisticated weaponry.

By the mid-eighteenth century, China and Russia had begun to infiltrate or annex several areas of Central Asia, thus not only securing resources for themselves but also opening up new markets for their products. The last strong Central Asian semi-nomadic state – the Empire of the Zunghar, a tribal confederation of Western Mongol Oirats – suffered a crushing defeat in 1696 against the Qing dynasty ruling China and by 1758 it was wiped out and the Zunghar people were exterminated by the order of Qing emperor Qianlong. While Chinese expansionism came to a halt in the nineteenth century because of internal political conflicts and increasingly outdated weaponry, the British were rapidly seizing more territories in India. The subjugation of the Sikh Empire and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, along with the Russian conquest of Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand between 1865 and 1875/76, put the two European superpowers on the southern fringe of Central Asia on a collision course. Only politically unstable Afghanistan now separated the two adversaries, who were less interested in territorial expansion than in securing and broadening monopolies of trade and resources, if necessary with military means. This rivalry, known as *The Great Game*, began after the defeat of Napoleon which allowed the two imperial powers, Russia and Great Britain, to focus their energies on foreign policy, and brought the two superpowers more than once to the brink of war. This dangerous contest was mitigated with the Anglo–Russian Convention of 1907 which defined their spheres of influence in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet.

The Chinese Revolution of 1911 and Russia's October Revolution of 1917 gave the Central Asian peoples hope for reform, independence and statehood. But the Soviet Union soon established the old power relations, albeit under a different, that is, socialist banner. It also moved Mongolia out of the Chinese zone of influence by turning the country into a Soviet satellite. And in 1949 China brought the de facto independence of eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) to an end. During World War II, Soviet Central Asia was rapidly industrialised when Stalin moved the production of war materials into the area east of the Urals, out of reach of German bombers. He also deported minorities suspected of collaboration, such as the Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, Chechens, Ingushs, Karelian Finns, Kalmyks and Balkars eastwards, especially to Uzbekistan and also to Kazakhstan.

In 1991, the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had swallowed almost all of Central Asia with the exception of Xinjiang, brought independence for the so-called 'Soviet Socialist Republics', although in three of the five states the First Secretary of the former Communist Party remained president for many years.[3] Whereas Mongolia now rather successfully follows a see-saw policy between China, Russia, Japan and the Western powers, the five former Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan are faced with huge challenges. Natural resources are spread very unevenly, some national borders that go back to Stalin are controversial, and water management leads to considerable tension. What all five states do have in common is enormous social inequality, pronounced authoritarian regimes (with the exception of Kyrgyzstan), the fear of fundamentalist currents of Islam, and a manoeuvring between the superpowers Russia, China and the USA. Kazakhstan in particular, which borders directly on Russia, with its large Russian minority and its rich mineral resources, lives in fear of the neo-imperialism of Russian president Vladimir Putin. In August 2014, Putin called into question the legitimacy of the state of Kazakhstan, stressing that 'Kazakhs never had any statehood' and that their country was 'part of the large Russian world'.[4] For Kazakhstan, Russia's virtually bloodless annexation of Crimea in March 2014 and its subsequent armed infiltration of eastern Ukraine are menacing signs on the wall.

Appendix A: The Most Important Denominations of Islam and Early Muslim Dynasties Outside Central Asia

al-Abbas Uncle of the Prophet		**Prophet Muhammad** (d. 632)	**Abu Talib** Uncle of the Prophet and father of the 4th Caliph, Ali
		THE FOUR RIGHTLY GUIDED CALIPHS	
		Abu Bakr (r. 632–34), Muhammad's father-in-law	
		Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–44), Muhammad's father-in-law	
		Uthman ibn Affan (r. 644–56), Muhammad's son-in-law	
	UMAYYAD DYNASTY, 656–750 **Muawiyya** (r. 656–80), refuses to swear the oath of allegiance to Ali, son-in law of Muhammad	**Ali ibn Abi Talib** (r. 656–61), Muhammad's son-in-law, murdered in 661 by Kharijites	1st Imam: **Ali ibn Abi Talib** (d. 661)
	Yazid I. (r. 680–83), victorious over al-Husain at Kerbala 680		2nd Imam: **al-Hasan ibn Ali**, son of Ali (d. 670)
ABBASID DYNASTY, 749–1258 **Abu'l Abbas al Saffah** (r. 749–54), great-great-grandson of al-Abbas	UMAYYAD EMIRATE OF CÓRDOBA, 756–929 UMAYYAD CALIPHATE OF CÓRDOBA, 929–1031		3rd Imam: **al-Husain ibn Ali**, son of Ali, killed in 680 in the Battle of Kerbala
al-Mansur (r. 754–75)			4th Imam: **Ali ibn al-Husain, Zain al-Abidin** (d. *ca.* 713)
al-Mahdi (r. 775–85)			5th Imam: **Muhammad al-Baqir** (d. *ca.* 733) **Zaid ibn Ali** (d. *ca.* 740)
al-Hadi (r. 785–86)			6th Imam: **Ja'far al-Sadiq** (d. *ca.* 765)
Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809)			7th Imam: **Musa al-Kadhim** (d. 799) 7th Imam: **Ismail ibn Ja'afar** (d. *ca.* 760)
al-Amin (r. 809–13)			
al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33)			8th Imam: **Ali ibn Musa al-Ridha (Reza)**, designated as successor by Caliph al-Ma'mun, poisoned in 818
al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–42)			9th Imam: **Muhammad al-Jawad al-Taqi** (d. 835)
al-Wathiq (r. 842–47)			10th **Imam: Ali al-Naqi al-Hadi** (d. 868)
al-Mutawwakil (r. 847–61)			11th Imam: **al-Hasan al-Askari** (d. 873)
			12th Imam: **Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mahdi** (869–the minor occultation in 874, the major occultation in 941), the 'hidden Imam', who will return
SUNNIS	**SUNNIS**		**SHI'ITES**

	KHARIJITES rebelled in 657 against Caliph Ali, every Muslim can become caliph **IBADITES**
Fiver Shi'ites **ZAIDIS**	
Sixer Shi'ites **JA'FARIS**	
Sevener Shi'ites **ISMAILIS** **FATIMIDS, 909–1171** **NIZARIS (Assassins), 1094–1256/71**	
Twelver Shi'ites **IMAMITES**	
NUSAYRIS (ALAWITES)	
SHI'ITES	**KHARIJITES**

POLITICAL DYNASTIES
RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Appendix B: The Most Important Dynasties of Central Asia from the Ninth to the Early Sixteenth Centuries

The Tahirids, 821–873

Tahir ibn Husain (in office 808–821, r. 821–822)

Talha ibn Tahir (r. 822–828)

Abdallah ibn Tahir (r. 828–844/45)

Tahir ibn Abdallah (r. 845–862)

Muhammad ibn Tahir (r. 862–873, d. *ca*. 890)

Sources: C. E. Bosworth, 'The Tahirids and Saffarids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. IV (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 90–109. Gardizi, Abu Sa'id 'Abd Al-Hayy, T*he Ornament of Histories: A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041*, trans. and ed. C. Edmund Bosworth (London, 2011), pp. 43–46.

The Saffarids, 861–900, locally in Sistan until 1003

Yaqub ibn al-Layth al-Saffar (r. 861–879)

Amr ibn al-Layth al-Saffar (r. 879–900)

Tahir ibn Muhammad ibn Amr (r. in Sistan 901–909)

Layth ibn Ali (r. in Sistan 909–910)

Muhammad ibn Ali (r. in Sistan 910–911)

Al-Mu'addal ibn Ali (r. in Sistan 911)

Amr ibn Yaqub ibn Muhammad ibn Amr (r. in Sistan 912–13)

Samanid occupation 913–22

Abu Ja'afar Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalaf (r. in Sistan 923–963)

Abu Ahmad Khalaf (r. in Sistan 963–1003)

Source: C. E. Bosworth, 'The Tahirids and Saffarids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. IV, pp. 109–35; Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 46–51.

The Samanids, 819/875–999

Nuh ibn Asad (r. in Samarkand 819–841/42)

Yahya ibn Asad (r. in Čač 819–855)

Ahmad ibn Asad (r. initially in Fergana, later also in Samarkand and Čač, 819–864/65)

Ilyas ibn Asad (r. in Herat 819–856)

Ibrahim ibn Ilyas (r. in Herat 856–867)

Yaqub ibn Ahmad (inČač, r. ?)

Nasr ibn Ahmad ibn Asad ibn Saman (Nasr I, r. in Samarkand 864/65–888, as vice-ruler for his brother Ismail 888–892)

Ismail ibn Ahmad ibn Asad ibn Saman (governor of Bukhara 874–888, r. de facto in the united empire 888–892, r. de jure 892–907)

Ahmad ibn Ismail Samani (r. 907–914)

Nasr ibn Ahmad (Nasr II, r. 914–943)

Nuh ibn Nasr (Nuh I, r. 943–954)

Abd al-Malik ibn Nuh I (r. 954–961)

Abu Salih Mansur ibn Nuh I (r. 961–976)

Abu'l Qasim Nuh ibn Mansur (Nuh II, r. 976–997)

Abu'l Harith Mansur ibn Nuh II (r. 997–999)

Abd al-Malik ibn Nuh II (r. 999)

Sources: Richard N. Frye, 'The Samanids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. IV, pp. 136–61. Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 53–79. Minhaj al-Din Abu Umar Uthman al-Juzjani, *Tabakat-I Nasiri* (London, 1881), vol. I, pp. 26–54. Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 99–132.

The Great Seljuks, 1038–1157, in Iran and Iraq until 1194

Seljiuk (r. in Jand *ca*. 985–*ca*. 1007)

Mikhail (d. shortly after 994), **Israïl** (d. 1032), **Musa** (d. after 1057): Seljuk's sons, military leaders

Tughril, Chagri (Mikhail's sons, tribal and military leaders until 1038)

Tughril I (r. 1038–1063)

Alp Arslan (r. 1063–1072)

Malik Shah I (r. 1072–1092)

Mahmud I (r. 1092–1094)

Berkyaruq (r. 1092–1105)

Muhammad I Tapar (r. as counter-sultan 1099–1105, as legitimate ruler 1105–1118)

Malik Shah II (r. 1105)

Sanjar (r. as governor of Khorasan 1097–1118, as sultan 1118–1153, d. 1157)

Mahmud Khan (*ad interim*, *ca*. 1154–1156)

Sources: Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs* (London, 2010), pp. 21–139. C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 115–18. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 318f.

The Karakhanids, 946–1212

Bilge Kül Qadïr Khan (r. *ca*. 840–*ca*. 893) ?*

Bazir Arslan Khan (in Balasaghun, r. *ca*. 893–*ca*. 920) ?*

Oghulchak Khan (in Taraz, from 893 in Kashgar, r. before 893–*ca*. 946) ?*

* Hypothetical rulers of the Early Karakhanids according to Pritsak

Unified Khaganate, 946–1040

Abd al-Karim Satuk Bughra Khan (r. *ca*. 946–955/56)

Musa ibn al-Karim Baytash (r. 955/56–?)

Hasan (Harun) ibn Sulayman (r. ?–992)

Ali ibn Musa (r. 992–998)

Ahmad ibn Ali (r. 998–1015/16 or 998–1017/18)

Mansur ibn Ali (r. *ca*. 1015/16 or 1017/18–1024/25)

Muhammad ibn Hasan (Harun) (r. 1024/25–1025/26)

Yusuf ibn Hasan (Harun) Qadïr Khan (r. *ca*. 1025/26–1031/32)

Sulayman ibn Yusuf (r. 1031/32–1040)

Ali ibn Nasr (r. 1035/36) ?

Western Khaganate, 1040–1212

Ibrahim I ibn Nasr (r. 1040–1068/69)

Shams al-Mulk Nasr ibn Ibrahim (co-regent, 1067/68–1068/69, r. 1068/69–1079/80)

Khidr ibn Ibrahim (r. 1079/80–1086/87)

Ahmad ibn Khidr (r. 1086/87–1089)

Muhammad I ibn Ibrahim (r. 1089–1091)

Yaqub ibn Sulayman of the eastern branch, brother of its ruler Hasan ibn Sulayman (r. *ca*. 1090/91)

Ahmad ibn Khidr (second reign 1092–1095)

Masud I ibn Muhammad (r. 1095–1097) ?

Sulayman ibn Davud (r. 1097)

Mahmud I (r. 1097)

Harun (r. *ca*. 1097–1099)

Jibrail ibn Umar of the eastern khaganate (r. *ca*. 1099–1102)

Muhammad II ibn Sulayman (r. *ca*. 1102–1130)

Ahmad ibn Muhammad (co-regent 1129–1130)

Hasan ibn Ali (r. 1130–*ca*. 1132)

Ibrahim II (r. 1132)

Mahmud II ibn Muhammad (r. 1132/33–1141)

Ibrahim III ibn Muhammad (r. 1141–1156)

Mahmud ibn al-Husayn (r. 1156–1158)

Ali ibn Hasan (r. 1158–1161)

Masud II ibn Hasan (r. 1161–1170/71)

Muhammad III ibn Masud (r. 1170/71–1178/79)

Abd al-Khâliq ibn Husayn (r. 1178/79) ?

Ibrahim IV ibn Husayn (r. 1178/79–1202/3)

Uthman (r. 1202/3–1212)

Eastern Khaganate, 1040–1205

Sulayman ibn Yusuf (r. *ca*. 1040–1056, d. 1057)

Muhammad ibn Yusuf (r. 1056–1057)

Ibrahim ibn Muhammad (r. 1057–1062)

Tughril Yusuf ibn Sulayman (r. *ca*. 1062–*ca*. 1083/85)

(Harun) Hasan ibn Sulayman (r. after 1083/85–before 1098/99)

Jibrail ibn Umar (r. before 1098/99–1102)

Ahmad ibn (Harun) Hasan (r. 1102/3–after 1128)

Ibrahim ibn Ahmad (r. after 1128–1131/34, as Ilek Türkmen until 1157/58)

Muhammad ibn Ibrahim (r. 1157/58–1179/80)

Yusuf ibn Muhammad (r. 1179/80–1205)

Muhammad ibn Yusuf (r. ?, d. 1211/12)

Khaganate of Fergana, 1137–*ca*. 1212

Al-Husayn ibn al-Hasan (r. *ca*. 1137–1156)

Ibrahim ibn al-Husayn (r. *ca*. 1156–1178/79)

Ahmad ibn Ibrahim (r. 1178/79–1210/11)

Mahmud ibn Ahmad (r. 1210/11–1211/12 or 1212/13)

Sources: Boris Kočnev, 'La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique' (9/2001), pp. 52–66. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, pp. 316–18. Concerning the first three hypothetical Karakhanid rulers see Omeljan Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden' (1953), pp. 24f.

The Ghaznavids, 977–1186

Alp Tegin* (r. 962–963)

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim* (r. 963–966)

Bilge Tegin* (r. 966–974/75)

Böri Tegin* (r. 974/75–977)

Sebük Tegin, founder of dynasty (r. 977–997)

Ismail ibn Sebük Tegin (r. 997–998)

Mahmud ibn Sebük Tegin (r. 998–1030)

Muhammad ibn Mahmud (r. 1030)

Mas'ud I ibn Mahmud (r. 1030–1040, d. 1041)

Muhammad ibn Mahmud (second reign 1040–1041)

Maudud ibn Mas'ud I (r. 1041–1048)

Mas'ud II ibn Maudud (r. 1048)

Ali ibn Mas'ud I (r. 1048–1049)

Abd al-Rashid ibn Mahmud (r. 1049–1052)

Tughril (a usurper, r. 1052)

Farrukh-Zad ibn Mas'ud I (r. 1052–1059)

Ibrahim ibn Mas'ud I (r. 1059–1099)

Mas'ud III ibn Ibrahim (r. 1099–1115)

Shirzad ibn Mas'ud III (r. 1115–1116)

Malik Arslan (Arslan Shah) ibn Mas'ud III (r. 1116–1117, d. 1118)

Bahram Shah ibn Mas'ud III (r. 1117–*ca*. 1157)

Khusrau Shah ibn Bahram Shah (r. 1157–1160)

Khusrau Malik ibn Bahram Shah (r. 1160–86, d. 1191)

* Vassal of Samanids

Sources: C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids* (New Delhi, 1992), pp. VIII, 156f. Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, p. 318.

The Ghurids, second half of the ninth century–1215/16

Main line of Ghur/Firuzkuh, second half of the ninth century–1215/16

Suri ibn Muhammad (r. *ca*. second half 9th century) ?

Muhammad ibn Suri (r. ?–1011) ?

Abu Ali ibn Muhammad (r. *ca*. 1011–*ca*. 1035)

Abbas ibn Shith (r. *ca*. 1035–*ca*. 1060)

Muhammad ibn Abbas (r. *ca*. 1060–*ca*. 1080?)

Qutb al-Din Hasan (r. *ca*. 1080–1110)

Izz al-Din Husayn ibn Hasan (r. 1100–1146)

Sayf al-Din Suri (r. 1146–1149)

Baha al-Din Sam I (r. 1149)

Ala al-Din Husayn (r. 1149–1161)

Sayf al-Din Muhammad (r. 1161–1163)

Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad (r. 1163–1202)

Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad (Shihab al-Din, r. 1202–1206)

Ghyath al-Din Mahmud (r. 1206–1212)

Baha al-Din Sam II (r. 1212–1213)

Ala al-Din Atsïz (r. 1213–1214)

Ala al-Din Muhammad ibn Ali (r. 1214–1215/16)

Bamiyan line, 1146–1215

Fakhr al-Din Masud (r. 1146–1163)

Shams al-Din Muhammad (r. 1163–1192)

Baha al-Din Sam (r. 1192–1205/6)

Jalal al-Din Ali (r. 1205/6–1215)

Sources: Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, p. 184. 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1227)', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 157–66. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 300–573.

Dynasties of Chorasmia

The Ma'munids, 992–1017

Abu Ali Ma'mun I ibn Muhammad (r. 992–997)

Abu 'l-Hasan Ali (r. 997–1008/9)

Abu 'l-Abbas Ma'mun II ibn Ma'mun (r. 1009–1017)

Abu 'l-Harith Muhammad (r. 1017)

Altuntashids, 1017–1041

Abu Sa'id Altun Tash (r. 1017–1032)

Harun ibn Altun Tash (r. 1032–1035)

Ismail Khandan (r. 1035–1041)

Shah Malik of Jand (not an Altuntashid, r. 1041–1042/43)

Seljuq governors

Anushteginids, *ca.* 1077–1220/21

Anush Tegin Garchai (r. as governor *ca.* 1077–*ca.* 1097)

Ekinchi ibn Qochqar (not an Anushteginid, r. 1097)

Qutb al-Din Muhammad I ibn Anush Tegin (r. 1097–1127/28)

Atsïz ibn Muhammad (r. 1127/28–1156)

Il-Arslan ibn Atsïz (r. 1156–1172)

Ala al-Din Tekish (r. 1172–1200)

Mahmud Sultan Shah (r. as counter-shah 1172–1193)

Ala al-Din Muhammad II ibn Tekish (r. 1200–1220/21)

Jalal al-Din Manguberdi (r. in western Iran 1224–1231)

Sources: Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha* (Manchester, 1958), vols. I and II. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 107f. 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1227)', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. V, pp. 185–95. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, pp. 303–35.

The Qara Khitai, 1124–1213/18

Yelü Dashi (r. 1124–1143)

Xiao Tabuyan (r. 1143–1150)

Yelü Yilie (r. 1151–1163)

Yelü Pusuwan (r. 1164–1177)

Yelü Zhilugu (r. 1177/78–1211, d. 1213)

Küchlüg, Naiman prince (r. as usurper, 1211–1218)

Sources: Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society. Liao (907–1125)*, (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 597f, 627–55. Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 223.

Qara Khitai of Kerman, 1222/23–1305/6

Baraq Hajib (r. 1222/23–1235)

Muhammad ibn Hamid Pur (r. 1236)

Mubarak ibn Barak (r. 1236–1252)

Muhammad ibn Hamid Pur (second reign 1252–1257)

Qutluq Terken (r. 1257–1282)

Soyurghatmish ibn Muhammad (r. 1282–92, d. 1294)

Padshah Khatun bint Qutlugh Terken (r. 1292–1296)

Muhammad Shah Sultan (r. 1296–1304)

Shah Jahan ibn Soyurghatmish (r. 1304–1305/6)

Sources: Wittfogel and Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society. Liao (907–1125)*, pp. 655–57. Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, p. 227.

Tangut Dynasty of Minyak (Xi Xia), 982–1227

Li Jiquian (r. 982–1004)

Li Denming (r. 1004–1032)

Jingzong (Li Yuanhao, r. 1032–1048) *

Yizong (Weiming Liangzuo, r. 1048–1067)

Huizong (Weiming Bingchang, r. 1067–1086)

Chongzong (Weiming Qianshun, r. 1086–1139)

Renzong (Weiming Renxiao, r. 1139–1193)

Huanzong (Weiming Chunyou, r. 1193–1206)

Xiangzong (Weiming Anquan, r. 1206–1211)

Shenzong (Weiming Zunxu, r. 1211–1223)

Xianzong (Weiming Dewang, r. 1223–1226)

Mozhu (Weiming Xian, r. 1226–1227)

* Li Yuanhao declared himself Emperor Jingzong in 1038 and changed his family name from Li to Weiming.

Sources: Ruth Dunnel, 'The Hsi Hsia', in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (eds), *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VI, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 154–214. *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu, 1996), pp. xvii–xix. Y. I. Kychanov, 'The Tangut His-Hsia Kingdom (982–1227)', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris, 1998), pp. 206–14.

Genghis Khan's Ancestors and the United Mongol Empire (1206–1260)

Qaidu Khan (r. ?–before 1125)

Khabul Khan (r. before 1125–*ca*. 1147)

Hambaghai Khan (r. *ca*. 1147–mid-1150s)

Kutula Khan (r. *ca*. mid-1150s–1160/61)

Yesügei Ba'atur (d. *ca*. 1174/75)

Genghis Khan (r. *ca*. 1184–1187/90, *ca*. 1195–1227)*

Tolui (r. as regent 1227–1229)

Ögödei (r. 1229–1241)

Töregene (r. as regent 1241–1246)

Güyük (r. 1246–1248)

Oghul Qaimish (r. as regent 1248–1251)

Möngke (r. 1251–1259)

War between the brothers Kublai and Arik Böge (1260–1264)

Kublai Khan (r. 1260–1294)

* Genghis Khan proclaimed the foundation of the Mongol nation and state in 1206.

Sources: Rashid ad-Din Fadhlallah Hamdani, 'The Compendium of Chronicles', in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, trans. and ed. Wheeler Thrackston, vol. III (London, 2012), 229–863, pp. 84–297. Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian Rule in North China', in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (eds), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. VI, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, pp. 331–33. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 7–12, 279f.

The Yuan dynasty (1271–1368)

Kublai Khan (r. 1271–1294) *

Temür (r. 1294–1307)

Khaishan (r. 1307–1311)

Ayurbarwada (r. 1311–1320)

Shidebala (r. 1320–1323)

Yesün Temür (r. 1323–1328)

Aragibag (r. 1328)

Tugh Temür (r. 1328–1329)

Khoshila (r. 1329)

Tugh Temür (second reign 1329–1332)

Irinjibal (r. 1332)

Toghon Temür (Shunti, r. 1333–1368)

* Kublai Khan had ruled over northern China as Mongol great khan since 1260.

Sources: Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford, 1992), p. 223. Hsiao, Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yüan politics', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. VI (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 492–586.

For the rulers of the dynasty of the Northern Yuan see vol. IV of the current work.

The united Chagatai khanate (1227–1346/47)

Chagatai (r. 1227–1242)

Kara Hülegü (r. 1242–1246)

Yesü Möngke (r. 1246/47–1252)

Kara Hülegü (second reign 1251)

Orghina Khatun as regent for **Mubarak Shah** (r. 1252–1260)

Alghu (r. 1260–1266)

Mubarak Shah (second reign 1266)

Baraq (r. 1266–1271)

Negübei (r. 1271–1272)

Buqa Temür (r. 1272–1282)

Du'a (r. 1282–1307)

Könchek (r. 1307–1308)

Nalighu (r. 1308–1309)

Kebek (r. 1309–1310)

Esen Buqa (r. 1310–1319/20)

Kebek (second reign r. 1319/20–1326)

Eljigidei (r. 1326–1330)

Du'a Temür (r. 1330–1331)

Tarmashirin (r. 1331–1334)

Buzan (r. 1334-1335?)

Changshi (r. 1335–1337)

Yesün Temür (r. 1337–1339/40)

Ali Sultan (Usurper, r. 1339/40–*ca*. 1341/42)

Muhammad ibn Pulad (r. 1342–1343?)

Qazan ibn Yasaur (r. *ca*. 1343–1346/7)*

For the rulers of Mogulistan see vol. IV.

* Possibly identical with a Khalil Sultan mentioned by Ibn Battuta.

Sources: Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 767–773, trans. pp. 266–68. Michal Biran, 'The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan's Invasion to the Rise of Temür: the Ögödeid and Chaghadaid realms', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds) *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 45–60.

Ulus of Ögödei/Kaidu (1271–1310)

Kaidu (r. 1271–1301)

Chapar (r. 1303–1306/7)

Yanchichar (r. 1307–1310)

Sources: Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond, 1997), pp. 19–54, 76–78. Hsiao, Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yüan politics', in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (eds), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. VI, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, pp. 503f.

Mongol vassal dynasty of the Idiqut of Kocho, Uyghuristan (1209–1318)

Barchuk Ali Tegin (r. before 1209–*ca*. 1239/40)

Kesmes (r. *ca*. 1239/40–early 1240s)

Salindi (r. early 1240s–1251/52)

Ögrünch (r. 1251/52–*ca*. 1257)

Mamula (Mamura, r. *ca*. 1257–1266)

Khochkhar Tegin (r. 1266–before 1283)

Ne'üril Tegin (r. before 1283–1318, in Kocho 1316/17–18)

Temür Bukha (never reigned in Kocho)

Sources: Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century', in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals. The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 246–54, 260.

The Il-Khanate (1259/60–1335)

Hülegü (r. 1259/60–1265)

Abaqa (r. 1265–1282)

Ahmad (r. 1282–1284)

Arghun (r. 1284–1291)

Gaykhatu (r. 1291–1295)

Baydu (r. 1295)

Ghazan (r. 1295–1304)

Oljeitu (r. 1304–1316)

Abu Said (r. 1317–1335)

Sources: Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 962–1326, trans. pp. 334–462. J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*. vol. V, pp. 303–419.

The Golden Horde (1207/8–1502)

Jochi (as vice-ruler 1207/8–1227)

Batu (r. 1227–1255)

Sartaq (r. 1256–1257)

Ulaghchi (r. 1257)

Berke (r. 1257–1266)

Möngke Temür (r. 1266/67–1280)

Tudä Möngke (r. 1280–1287)

Töle Bugha (r. 1287–1291)

Tokhta (r. 1291–1312)

Özbek (r. 1313–1341)

Tini Beg (r. 1341–1342)

Jani Beg (r. 1342–1357)

Berdi Beg (r. 1357–1359)

Qulpa (r. 1359–1360)

Period of political chaos as of 1359 with 14 reigns until the conquest of Sarai by Urus Khan around 1374/75, or 19 reigns until Toqtamish seized power in 1380

Toqtamish (r. 1380–1397)

Temür Qutlugh (r. 1397–1399)

Shadi Beg (r. 1399–1407)

Pulad (r. 1407–1410)

Temür (r. 1410–1412)

Jalal al-Din (r. 1411–1412)

Karim Berdi (r. 1412–1414)

Kebek (r. 1414)

Chokra (r. 1414–1417)

Jabbar Berdi (Yeremferden, r. 1417–1419)

Dervish (r. 1419)

Qadeer Berdi (r. 1419)

Hajji Muhammad (r. 1419)

Ulugh Mohammad (r. 1419–1421)

Daulat Berdi (r. 1419–1421)

Baraq (r. 1422–1427)

Ulugh Muhammad (second reign 1428–1433)

Sayyid Ahmad I (r. 1433–1435)

Küchük Mohammad (r. *ca.* 1435–1459)

Mahmud (r. 1459–1465)

Ahmad (r. 1465–1481)

Sayyid Ahmad II (co-ruler, 1481–?)

Murtada Khan (co-ruler 1481–1498, r. 1499)

Sheikh Ahmed (co-ruler, 1481–1498, r. 1499–1502)

Sources: Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, p. 152. Allen J. Frank 'The Western Steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 237–59. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *La Horde d'Or: Conquête mongole et 'Joug tatar' en Europe 1236–1502* (Arles, 2013), pp. 32–60. Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 10–208, 453f. István Vásáry, 'The Jochid Realm: The Western Steppe and Eastern Europe', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, pp. 67–85. The History Files: Far East Kingdoms, Central Asia, Khans of the White Horde (Golden Horde/Kipchak Khanate) http://www.historyfiles.co.uk/KingListsFarEast/AsiaMongolsWhiteHorde.htm

The White Horde of Orda (*ca.* 1227–1380)

Orda (r. *ca.* 1227–after 1255)

Qongqiran (r. after 1255–before 1277)

Qonichi (r. *ca.* 1277–before 1299)

Bayan (r. before 1299–before 1312)

Sasi Buqa (r. before 1312–1320/21)

Irzan (Ilbasan, r. 1320/21–?)

Mubarak Khwaja (r. ?–1344?)

Chimtay (r. 1344?–1361)

Urus Khan (r. 1361–74/75 or 77)

Tuqtaqiya (r. 1377)

Timur Malik (r. 1377–78)

Toqtamish (r. 1378–80, 1380–97 Khan of the Golden Horde)

From Toqtamish onwards the khans of the White Horde are identical with those of the Golden Horde.

Sources: Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Princes of the Left Hand: An Introduction to the History of the Ulus of Orda in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, vol. V (Wiesbaden, 1985–87), pp. 5–40. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties,* pp. 152f.

Timur-e Lang and the Timurids (1370–1501 in Samarkand, 1507 in Herat)

Timur ibn Taraghai Barlas called **Timur-e Lang** (r. 1370–1405)

Pir Muhammad ibn Jahangir (r. in Kandahar 1405–1407)

Khalil Sultan (r. in Samarkand 1405–1409)

Shah Rukh Mirza (r. since 1405 in Herat, as supreme ruler 1409–1447)

Ulugh Beg (r. since 1409 in Samarkand, as supreme ruler 1447–1449)

Abd al-Latif (r. in Samarkand 1449–1450)

Abdallah ibn Ibrahim (r. in Samarkand 1450–1451)

Abu Said (r. in Samarkand 1451–1459, as supreme ruler 1459–1469)

Sultan Ahmad ibn Abu Said (r. in Samarkand and Bukhara 1469–1494)

Sultan Mahmud ibn Abu Said (r. in Balkh 1469–1494, in Samarkand 1494–1495)

Samarkand contested between **Sultan Ahmad's** sons, the Timurid **Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur** and the Uzbek **Shaibani Khan** who took the city in 1501

In Herat after Ulugh Beg's death

Abu'l Qasim Babur (r. 1449–1457)

Mahmud ibn Babur (r. 1457)

Ibrahim ibn Ala al-Daula (r. 1457–1459)

Abu Said (r. 1459–1469)

Sultan Husayn Bayqara (first reign 1469–1470)

Yadgar Muhammad (r. July–August 1470)

Sultan Husayn Bayqara (second reign 1470–1506)

Badi al-Zaman (r. 1506–1507)

Muzaffar Husayn (as challenger of his brother Badi r. 1507)

Sources: Khwandamir *Habibu al-Siyar* (London, 2012), pp. xxi, 300–544. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, p. 165. Stephen Dale, 'The Later Timurids', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, pp. 177–217. Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry (eds), *Timur and the Princely Vision. Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1989), pp. 70f. H. R. Roemer, 'The Successors of Timur', in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*. vol. VI, pp. 98–145.

Notes

Introduction

1 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255,* trans. Peter Jackson (Indianapolis, 2009), p. 236.

2 The classical Muslim culture of the Abbasid period was not only significantly shaped by the Irano-Central Asian culture of the eighth to eleventh centuries, but was also based on its predecessor, the Muslim culture of the Omayyads, which had been strongly influenced by Byzantine Syria.

3 The denomination of the Assyrian Church of the East as "Nestorian" is actually a misnomer, but we will use it for the sake of convenience. See: Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), pp. 7f.

I. Iranian-Muslim Dynasties in South-West Central Asia

1 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Heritage of Rulership in Early Islamic Iran and the Search for Dynastic Connections with the Past', in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London, 1977), vol. VII, pp. 59f.

2 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, *The Age of the Silk Roads* (London, 2014), pp. 244–54.

3 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 242f, 276–87.

4 On Shi'ite and Kharijite social and religious ideas see in this chapter the excursus *The most important early Islamic denominations.*

5 E. E. Karimov, 'The Advent of Islam: Extent and Impact', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris, 1998), p. 82.

6 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 253f.

7 Thus the definitive version of the Qur'an was published barely 20 years after the death of the founder of the religion. By way of comparison, the first authoritative version of the Bible in the Roman Catholic Church did not appear until 367.

8 Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1993), p. 85.

9 Al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir, *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk, Chronique*, trans. from the Persian version by Abdou-Ali Mohammed Belami by M. Hermann Zotenberg, 4 vols (Paris, 1867–1874), vol. III (Paris, 1871), pp. 646–64.

10 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. III (Paris, 1871), pp. 670–83.

11 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. III, pp. 706–11.

12 On the period of the disintegration of the Muslim community, see: al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. III, pp. 683–711. Hichem Djaït, *La Grande Discorde: Religion et politique dans l'Islam des origines* (Paris, 1989). Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study in the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1997).

13 Five of these collections of *hadiths* were assembled by Central Asian scholars; see below p. 40. The Shi'ites reject many of the *hadiths* handed down by the first three caliphs and have their own lines of transmission and collections.

14 C. E. Bosworth, 'Legal and political sciences in the eastern Iranian world and Central Asia in the pre-Mongol period', in M.S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 134.

15 Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, 1988), pp. 26–38.

16 C. E. Bosworth, 'Legal and political sciences in the eastern Iranian world and Central Asia in the pre-Mongol period' in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 134. Wahhabism, dominant in Saudi Arabia and inimical to Shi'ites, emerged from Hanbalism and radicalised it further. Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92) preached an extreme puritanism, condemned the veneration of saints and their graves as polytheism, and called for a *jihad*, a holy war against the Shi'ites. Non-Saudi Wahhabis are known as Salafists.

17 A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History: A New Interpretation* (London, 2010), p. 116. See also: Wesley Williams, 'Aspects of the creed of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal: A study of anthropomorphism in early Islamic discourse', in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34 (2002), pp. 441–63.

18 The Ash'arites formed a heterogeneous theological school of thought representing the principle of *taqlid*, the acceptance of the interpretations of religious laws by *mujtahids* (competent Islamic scholars).

19 A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History* (London: 2010), p. 103.

20 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 36–46.

21 Katajin Amirpur, *Schia gegen Sunna: Sunna gegen Schia* (Zurich, 2013), p. 20.

22 Katajin Amirpur, *Schia gegen Sunna: Sunna gegen Schia*, p. 35.

23 The prayer leader at ritual prayers is also called an imam.

24 Smaller, more local Shi'ite groupings carried out anti-Abbasid uprisings.

25 C. E. Bosworth, 'Legal and political sciences in the eastern Iranian world and Central Asia in the pre-Mongol period' in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 135.

26 A good overview of the early Zaidis is found in Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, 1965).

27 See below, pp. 94ff.

28 In the Islamic republic of Iran the imam is regarded as the representative of the twelfth, hidden imam.

29 See Henry Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. 1: *Le shi'isme duodécimain* (Paris, 1971). Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, pp. 77–92.

30 See below, pp. 37f.

31 Most of the *ca.* 3.5 million Alawites live in Syria, and the al-Assad family which has ruled there since 1970 is Alawite.

32 On the Kharijites, see Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, pp. 54–76.

33 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 65ff, 76–80, 101f, 111ff, 117–22.

34 Thanks to their strong garrisons, the large cities of Nishapur, Herat and Zaranj were generally able to defy the rebels.

35 See below pp. 23f.

36 See: Anon, *The Tarikh-e Sistan*, trans. and ed. Milton Gold (Rome: 1976), pp. 20, 123–43. See also: B. S. Amoretti, 'Sects and Heresies', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. IV, (Cambridge: 1975), pp. 510f.

37 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 250f, 254.

38 Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 120.

39 Bertold Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 48f. Abu Sa'id 'Abd Al-Hayy Gardizi, *Zayn al-akhbar*, translated into English as *The Ornament of Histories: A History of the*

Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041, trans. and ed. C. Edmund Bosworth (London, 2011), pp. 29–31. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 344–64.

40 The revolt, put down in 749 by Abu Muslim, of Bahafirid bin Mahfurndhin, who claimed to receive God’s secret revelations, was not directed against Islam, but against the Zoroastrian clergy, who were still active. Al-Biruni, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trans. and ed. with notes by Dr C. Edward Sachau (London, 1879; reprint Charleston, 2011), pp. 193f.

41 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 366f.

42 Jean-Marc Deom, ‘Islamization and Early Sufism in Central Asia during the Pre-Mongolian Period (Eighth to Thirteenth Century)’, in Gian Luca Bonora, Niccolo Pianciola and Paolo Sartori (eds) *Kazakhstan: Religions and Society in the History of Central Asia* (Turin, 2009), p. 102. Abd al-Hosayn Zarrīnkūb, ‘Eshaq Tork’, Encyclopedia Iranica. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/eshaq-tork

43 Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 128.

44 B. S. Amoretti, ‘Sects and Heresies’, in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. IV(ed.), by R. N. Frye, p. 497.

45 Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, pp. 129f.

46 The most important sources on Hashim bin Hakim are al-Narshakhi and al-Biruni. Al-Narshakhi, Abu Bakr Mohammad ibn Jafar, *Al-Narshakhi’s The History of Bukhara*, trans. and ed. Richard N. Frye (Princeton, 2007), pp. 85–97. Al-Biruni, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 194.

47 Abu Sa’id ‘Abd al-Hayy Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 32.

48 Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi’s The History of Bukhara*, p. 86. See also: Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 34.

49 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, p. 270. These Turks could also have been Oghuz.

50 Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi’s The History of Bukhara*, p. 88.

51 Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi’s The History of Bukhara*, pp. 45, 144. These long walls are being researched by the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, University of New York, together with the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, Hergiswil, and the Institute of Archaeology in Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Sören Stark, ‘Archaeological investigations around the “Long wall” of Bukhara – News and Resources. Preliminary Results of the Field Season 2013–14, ISAW (New York, 2014), https://isaw.nyu.edu/research/Bukhara-project. See also: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia (Hergiswil, 2014) http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_B.html

52 Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi’s The History of Bukhara*, p. 96.

53 Farhad Daftary, ‘Sectarian and National Movements in Iran, Khurasan and Transoxania During Ummayyad and Early Abbasid Times’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1, pp. 44–46, 50.

54 Bertold Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 62–64. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 525–45.

55 The city of Baghdad, built by Caliph al-Mansur in 762–67, at first designed as a palace and administration complex, lies close to the former Sassanid capital of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

56 Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn Ali al-Mas’udi, *Les prairies d’or*, trans. and ed. C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols. (Paris, 1861–1877), vol. IV, pp. 47–49; vol. V, p. 414. Al-Masudi did not seem to know to whom the temple was dedicated, for he wrote that it was sacred to the moon god (IV, p. 48), above whose portal a saying of the Buddha was affixed (IV, p. 49), and later he describes the temple as a fire temple (V, p. 414). The historian and geographer Ibn al-Faqih (tenth century) correctly refers to the temple as Buddhist. Mostafa Vaziri, *Buddhism in Iran: An Anthropological Approach to Traces and Influences* (New York, 2012), p. 91.

57 Mostafa Vaziri, *Buddhism in Iran*, p. 90.

58 C. E. Bosworth, ‘The Appearance and Establishment of Islam in Afghanistan’, in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l’Asie centrale: Processus locaux d’acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris, 2008), p. 101.

59 Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World,* trans. Samuel Beal (New Delhi, 2004), part I, pp. 44–46.

60 W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), p. 77.

61 *Hudud al-Alam. The Regions of the World. A Persian Geography 372 AH–982 AD*, trans. V. Minorsky (ed.), C. E. Bosworth (Cambridge, 1982), p. 108.

62 Asadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, ‘Buddhism in Islamic Times’, Encyclopaedia Iranica. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/buddhism-ii

63 Al-Masudi, *Les prairies d’or* (Paris, 1861–1877), vol. 5, p. 414.

64 Walter Fuchs, ‘Huei-ch’ao’s Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726’ (Berlin, 1938), p. 449.

65 Roy Mottahedeh, ‘The Abbasid Caliphate in Iran’, in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. IV, p. 69.

66 Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, ‘Irak, Iran und Ägypten (8.–13. Jh.): Die Abbasiden und ihre Nachfolger’ in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne, 2000), pp. 96–99. Jonathan Lyons, *The House of Wisdom: How the Arabs Transformed Western Civilization* (New York, 2009), p. 55. Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, pp. 129f. Richard Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture*), pp. 44–46.

67 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 455ff. See also: Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 37f.

68 Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, p. 134.

69 Joseph von Karabacek, *Das arabische Papier, eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung* (Vienna, 1887), pp. 34f, trans. Don Baker and Suzy Dittmar *Arab Paper* (London, 2001), p. 27. Therese Weber, *The Language of Paper: A History of 2000 Years* (Bangkok, 2007), p. 53.

70 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 461–69.

71 Gardizi, ‘Abd Al-Hayy, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 39.

72 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, p. 289. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 475–78.

73 Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi’s The History of Bukhara*, pp. 99f. Numon N. Negmatov, ‘The Samanid State’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1, p. 78.

74 See below pp. 25ff.

75 Tahir ibn Husain’s father and grandfather were governors of Pushang, west of Herat. C. E. Bosworth, ‘The Tahirids and Saffarids’, in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. IV, p. 93.

76 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 481–97.

77 We use the term ‘of Turkic origin’ to refer to members of the Turkic ethnic or linguistic group, while earlier Arabic-language sources often extended the concept of ‘Turks’ to all inhabitants of the steppes of Central Asia, including for example pastoralists of Fergana or Ustrushana of Iranian origin. Yoshua Frenkel, ‘The Turks of the Eurasian Steppes in Medieval Arabic Writing’, in Reuven Amitai, and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 204f.

78 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 499–520.

79 The sermon called *khutba* at Friday prayers was always given in the name of the caliph and, according to the power structure, of the recognised local ruler. By omitting the caliph’s name from the khutba, Tahir was demonstrating his independence.

80 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 521.

81 See below pp. 188ff. For a recent assessment of the extant ruins of Nishapur see: Rocco Rante and Annabelle Collinet, *Nishapur Revisited: Stratigraphy and Pottery of the Qohandez* (Oxford, 2013).

82 As early as the Umayyad period, units of Turkish military slaves were set up in the west of the empire; the governor of Basra, for example, from 674 commanded a troop of more than 2,000 Turkic archers. Jean-Paul Roux, *Histoire des Turcs: Deux milles ans du Pacifique à la Méditerranée* (Paris, 1984), p. 132.

83 Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 524.

84 See below pp. 87ff.

85 C. E. Bosworth, ‘The Tahirids and Saffarids’, in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. IV, p. 98.

86 Bertold Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 65–67, 201–3.

87 W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 213.

88 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 45.

89 W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 213.

90 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 46.

91 See below p. 24.

92 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 47.

93 Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 191. C. E. Bosworth, ‘The Tahirids and Saffarids’, in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. IV, p. 104.

94 Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 194.

95 C. E. Bosworth, ‘The Heritage of Rulership in early Islamic Iran and the Search for Dynastic

Connections with the Past', in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *A Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, VII, pp. 59f.

96 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 46ff. See also: C. E. Bosworth, 'The Tahirids and Saffarids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. IV, p. 113.

97 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 51. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Tahirids and Saffarids', p. 120. Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 198.

98 The duration of the Samanid dynasty may be dated differently: while the four Samanid brothers Nuh, Ahmad, Yahya and Ilyas ibn Asad were already appointed in 819 as governors of four Central Asian cities and their regions, the Samanid state received caliphal recognition only in 875. The Karakhanids broke up the Samanid dynasty in 999, but a brother of the last Samanid ruler waged war against the new occupants until his death in 1005.

99 The Ghurids were presumably Tajiks, with a mixed Turkic heritage.

100 Saman Khudah is a title, not a proper name; it means 'ruler of Saman'.

101 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, p. 180.

102 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, p. 289. Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 475–78.

103 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 53. Juzjani, Minhaj al-Din Abu Umar Uthman, *Tabakat-i Nasiri: A General History of Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan, from AH 194 [810 AD] to AH 658 [1260 AD] and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*, 2 vols, trans. Major H. G. Raverty, (London, 1881), vol. I, pp. 25ff. Later references to *Juzjani*, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* will be to this edition.

104 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 53. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 28f.

105 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 53f. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 28–32. Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*, pp. 107–11.

106 That slaves or their sons were able to rise to great heights in a political career as early as the ninth century is exemplified by Ahmad ibn Tulun (835–84), the founder of the Egyptian Tulunid dynasty (868–905), for his father Tulun was a Turkic-Oghuz slave who had been given to Caliph al-Ma'mun by the governor of Bukhara. C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (New Delhi, 1992), pp. 208f.

107 Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*, p. 112.

108 Numon N. Negmatov, 'The Samanid State', p. 78.

109 Al-Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*, pp. 119f.

110 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 57–61. Juzjani hints that Nasr was murdered by his own slaves. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 37, n. 3.

111 C. E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld: The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature*, part 1 (Leiden, 1976), pp. 51f. Alfred von Rohr-Sauer, 'Des Abû Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestân, China und Indien', in *Bonner Orientalische Studien*, vol. XXVI (Stuttgart, 1939), particularly pp. 10–14.

112 Richard N. Frye, 'The Samanids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. IV, pp. 141–44. *The Golden Age of Persia*, pp. 201–3.

113 Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 225ff.

114 Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, p. 203.

115 Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: 2001), p. 44f. Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, p. 47.

116 Baber, Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed, Emperor of Hindustan, *Memoirs [Babur-nama],* trans. John Leyden and William Erskine (London, 1826), p. 52.

117 Richard Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture* (Reading, 1999), p. 139.

118 Oleg Grabar, 'The Visual Arts', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. IV (Cambridge, 1975), p. 343.

119 Richard Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture*, p. 139.

120 Dietrich Brandenburg and Kurt Brüsehoff, *Die Seldschuken: Baukunst des Islam in Persien und Turkmenistan* (Graz, 1980), p. 46.

121 The name means *khodja* (teacher, religious instructor) from Mashhad.

122 Unfortunately, in the recent restoration of the madrasa, modern industrial bricks were used instead of traditionally produced ones. Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, p. 204. Sergey Chmelnizkij, Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, 'Architektur der Groß-Seldschuken', in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architektur* (Cologne, 2000), pp. 362f.

123 The language of the Yagnobi, which is closely related to Sogdian, is still spoken today in a remote valley in Tajikistan. Robert Middleton, Huw Thomas, *Tajikistan and the High Pamirs* (Hong Kong, 2008), p. 134. A. Tafazzoli, 'Language Situation and Scripts', in C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov, (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2: *The Achievement* (Paris, 2000), pp. 323f.

124 The New Persian alphabet includes four additional characters which do not occur in the Arabic one.

125 Richard N. Frye, 'The Samanids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. IV, pp. 145f.

126 According to the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* the ethnonym Tajik goes back to the Middle Persian *tāzīk*, the name applied to the Muslim invaders by the Turkic peoples of Central Asia. In the early eleventh century the Karakhanids of Turkic origin called the Persian-speaking Muslims of Central Asia Tajiks. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tajik-i-the-ethnonym-origins-and-application

127 G. Lazard, 'The Rise of the New Persian Language', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. IV, p. 630.

128 C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, p. 201.

129 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 62.

130 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 66f. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 40f.

131 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 67f. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 42f. Narshakhi, *Al-Narshakhi's The History of Bukhara*, pp. 127–30.

132 According to Peter Golden Bughra Khan returned to Balasaghun, according to Pritsak to Kashgar. Peter Golden 'The Karakhanids and early Islam' in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 360. Omeljan Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', *Der Islam*, XXXI, Heft 1, (Berlin, 1953), p. 26.

133 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 70–77. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 44–48.

134 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 82.

135 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 78f. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 48–54. See also: Richard N. Frye, 'The Samanids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. IV, pp. 159f.

136 Ali Tegin's seizure of power is variously dated, by Pritsak to 1014/15 in Bukhara and 1016/17 in Samarkand, but by Davidovich and Bosworth only to 1020/21. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. IV, p. 175. E. A. Davidovich, 'The Karakhanids', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1, p. 125. Omeljan Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', Der Islam, XXXI, no. 1 (Berlin, 1953), p. 34.

II. Central Asian Pioneers of Islamic Philosophy and Sciences

1 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics,* trans. G. M. Wickens (London, 2011), p. 49. http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/Biographies/Al-Tusi_Nasir.html

2 Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1993), p. 150.

3 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, 2006), pp. 156–59.

4 Jonathan Lyons, *The House of Wisdom: How the Arabs Transformed Western Civilization* (New York, 2009), pp. 55–77.

5 Germaine Aujac, 'The Foundations of Theoretical Cartography', in J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 130–47, here p. 134, cited in Jerry Brotton, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps* (London, 2012), p. 62. Johannes Thomann, 'Messen, rechnen, darstellen: Kosmologie in der islamischen Welt', in Jorrit Britschgi (ed.), *Kosmos: Weltentwürfe im Vergleich* (Zurich, 2014), p. 57.

6 Aisha Khan, *Avicenna (Ibn Sina): Muslim Physician and Philosopher of the Eleventh Century* (New York, 2006), p. 26.

7 George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA, 2011), p. 243.

8 Tony Abboud, *Al-Kindi: The Father of Arab Philosophy* (New York, 2006), p. 40.

9 Corona Brezina, *Al-Khwarizmi: The Inventor of Algebra*, pp. 37f. One of the first to postulate a spherical shape of the earth was Pythagoras

(*ca.* 570–after 510 BCE), followed by Plato (*ca.* 429–347 BCE) and Aristotle (384–22 BCE) Sylvia Sumira, *The Art and History of Globes* (London, 2014), p. 13.

10 Literally translated, the title means ‘Book of Tricks’.

11 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices (Kitab al-Hiyal) by the Banu (sons of) Musa bin Shakir,* trans. Donald R. Hill (Dordrecht, 1979).

12 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices*, model 1, pp. 45f.

13 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices*, models 75, 78–83, 85, 87, pp. 192f, 198–209, 212f, 216f, see also pp. 23f.

14 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices*, models 88–94, pp. 220–31.

15 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices*, models 18, 28, pp. 76f, 95. Teun Koetsier, ‘On the prehistory of programmable machines: musical automata, looms, calculators’, in *Mechanism and Machine Theory* 36 (Munich, 2001), p. 590.

16 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices*, model 100, pp. 242f.

17 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices*, models 95–98, pp. 232–39.

18 Banu Musa, *The Book of Ingenious Devices*, model 99, pp. 240f.

19 Peter Adamson, ‘Al-Kindi and the reception of Greek Philosophy’, in Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 32–51.

20 Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2013), p. 180.

21 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abu-zayd-balki

22 Joel Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam: Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani and His Circle* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 1f.

23 Joel Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 235f, see also pp. 137f, 230–43.

24 The word ‘algorithm’ is also derived from al-Khwarizmi’s name. Corona Brezina, *Al-Khwarizmi*, pp. 11, 44f, 57–64. Al-Khwarizmi built on the earlier work of the Indian Brahmagupta in the field of algebra (598–668). Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2013), p. 170.

25 The literal translation of the title is ‘The Book of Addition and Subtraction According to the Hindu Calculation’.

26 Al-Khwarizmi, *Kitab al-Jamia wa-l-Tafriq bi Hisab al-Hind*, cited in Corona Brezina, *Al-Khwarizmi*, p. 67.

27 The first known positional number system was the sexagesimal one used by the Babylonians. E. S. Kennedy, ‘The exact sciences in Timurid Iran’, in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. VI (Cambridge, 1986), p. 569.

28 Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, p. 272.

29 Corona Brezina, *Al-Khwarizmi*, p. 66.

30 From Arabic Muʿtazilah: those who withdraw, or stand apart.

31 Abdurrahman Badawi, *Histoire de la philosophie en Islam* (Paris, 1972), vol. I, pp. 73–75. Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 238, 241f.

32 Abdul-Jabbar Ghassan, *Bukhari* (London, 2007), p. 17.

33 Abdurrahman Badawi, *Histoire de la philosophie en Islam*, vol. I, pp. 18–33. Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 7–43.

34 Corona Brezina, *Al-Khwarizmi*, pp. 21f.

35 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), pp. 151, 158.

36 Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, p. 154.

37 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ebn-ravandi Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, pp. 205f.

38 A. Abdurazakov, ‘Alchemy and Chemistry in Islamic Central Asia’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris, 1998), p. 229. M. Dinorshoev, ‘Philosophy, logic and cosmology’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 166.

39 See p. 8.

40 A. Paket-Chy, ‘The contribution of Eastern Iranian and Central Asian scholars to the compilation of hadiths’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 91.

41 Abdul-Jabbar Ghassan, *Bukhari*, pp. 12, 109.

42 Abdul-Jabbar Ghassan, *Bukhari*, pp. 18f.

43 A. Paket-Chy, ‘The contribution of Eastern Iranian and Central Asian scholars to the compilation of hadiths’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, pp. 92–94. The sixth recognised edition of *hadiths* was produced by Ibn Maja al-Qazwini (d. 887) from northern Iran.

44 *Al-musamma Jami al-bayan fi ta'wil al-Qur'an;* see above p. 29.

45 Al-Tabari, *Chronique* (Paris, 1867–1874).

46 Two later historians updated al-Narshakhi’s work to the year 975. Abu Bakr Mohammad ibn Jafar al-Narshakhi, *The History of Bukhara*, trans. from the Persian abridgement of the Arabic original by Richard N. Frye (Princeton, 2007).

47 *Alberuni’s India, An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about AD 1030*, trans. and ed. Edward C. Sachau (London, 1910).

48 Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Alberuni* (ed.), Dr C. Eduard Sachau (Leipzig, 1878, reprint 2014).*The Chronology of Ancient Nations. An English version of the Arabic text of the Athâr-ul-Bâkiya of Albîrûnî, or ‘Vestiges of the Past’*, trans. and ed. with notes, Dr C. Eduard Sachau (London, 1879; reprint 2011).

49 Abu Sa’id ‘Abd Al-Hayy Gardizi, *The Ornaments of Histories: A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041*, trans. and (ed.), C. Edmund Bosworth (London, 2011).

50 Abu’l Fazl Beyhaqi, *The History of Beyhaqi: The History of Sultan Masud of Ghazna, 1030–1041)*, trans. C. E. Bosworth, revised Mohsen Ashtiany, 3 vols (Boston, 2011).

51 C. E. Bosworth, *The History of the Seljuk Turks: From the Jamia al-Tawarikh. An Ilkhanid adaptation of the Saljuk-Nama of Zahir ad-Din Nishapuri* (London, 2001).

52 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*. See also: C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay. The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040–1186* (New Delhi, 1992), pp. 112f. ‘Tabaqat-e Naseri’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2010.

53 Other scholars believe that al-Farabi originated from Farab, Khorasan. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 53.

54 Abdurrahman Badawi, *Histoire de la philosophie en Islam* (Paris, 1972), vol. II, pp. 532–54. Henry Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris, 1964), pp. 222–33. Peter Reisman, ‘Al-Farabi and the philosophical curriculum’, in Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 52f, 58f.

55 M. Dinorshoev, ‘Philosophy, logic and cosmology’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, pp. 162f.

56 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/al-e-afrig-afrighid-dynasty-the-name-given-by-the-khwarazmian-scholar-abu-rayhan-biruni-to-the-dynasty-of-rulers-in. There is only numismatic evidence for a few of these rulers listed by al-Biruni. As al-Biruni remarks, the deliberate destruction of Chorasmian culture by General Qutayba in 712 also obliterated Chorasmian history. Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II: *The Age of Silk Roads* (London, 2014), pp. 101, 248.

57 Bakran’s map is not preserved, but described in his treatise *Jahan namah* which he wrote after having produced the map. Whether Bakran also drew on al-Biruni’s projection work is unclear. Muhammad ibn Najib Bakran, *Jahan namah (Kniga o mire)* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 10f, 17ff.

58 Translation taken from: Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 113. See also: Muhammad ibn Najib Bakran, *Jahan namah (Kniga o mire)* (Moscow, 1960), p. 17.

59 Bill Scheppler, *Al-Biruni: Master Astronomer and Muslim Scholar of the Eleventh Century* (New York, 2006), pp. 48–63.

60 C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (New Delhi, 1992), pp. 47, 237. Bill Scheppler, *Al-Biruni: Master Astronomer and Muslim Scholar of the Eleventh Century*, pp. 63–67.

61 See also below pp. 48f.

62 Bill Scheppler, *Al-Biruni*, p. 89.

63 The pre-Islamic Arabian calendar was a lunisolar one; the practice of intercalation had been known from the beginning of the fifth century CE. Thus it could be made sure that pilgrimages such as the pre-Islamic one to Mecca always fell into the same season. Muhammad also removed from the calendar the two periods of armistice, during which war and pillaging were banned. He stressed that wars directed against infidels were allowed at any time. E. G. Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and its History* (Oxford, 1998), p. 231f.

64 Al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London, 1879; reprint 2011), p. 36, see also p. 14.

65 The earth is not a perfect sphere, as al-Biruni assumed; it bulges out slightly at the equator. Bill Scheppler, *Al-Biruni* (New York, 2006), p. 89. Al-Biruni, *Alberuni’s India*, vol. I., pp. 196ff,

274ff, vol. II, pp. 57–61. *The Determination of the Coordinates of Positions for the Correction of Distances between Cities: Al-Biruni’s Kitab tahdid nihayat al-amakin litashih masafat al-masakin,* trans. Jamil Ali (Beirut, 1967), pp. 183–89. See also: J. J. O’Connor and E. F. Robertson, *Abu Arrayan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni* (St Andrews, 1999) http://www-groups.dcs.st-and.ac.uk/~history/Biographies/Al-Biruni.html. David Pingree, *Biruni, Abu Rayhan iv. Geography,* http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/biruni-abu-rayhan-iv

66 Heinz Klaus Strick, *Abu Arrayan al-Biruni* (Leverkusen, 2010) http://www.spektrum.de/sixcms/media.php/924/juli_2010-al-biruni.pdf

67 Al-Biruni, *The Determination of the Coordinates of Positions for the Correction of Distances between Cities* (Beirut, 1967), p. 176.

68 Al-Biruni, *Alberuni’s India*, vol. I, p. 198. *The Determination of the Coordinates of Positions for the Correction of Distances between Cities*, pp. 18f.

69 Al-Biruni, *Alberuni’s India*, vol. I, pp. 400f.

70 Aisha Khan, *Avicenna (Ibn Sina)* (New York, 2006), pp. 36f.

71 Aisha Khan, *Avicenna*, pp. 41, 48. Jon McGinnis, *Avicenna* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 17–19.

72 The Qarmatians were a syncretistic group which combined utopian political aims with Ismaili elements and a belief in a messianic Mahdi.

73 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 100.

74 C. E. Bosworth, ‘The Ghaznavids’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1, p. 196. Aisha Khan, *Avicenna*, pp. 84f.

75 Jon McGinnis, *Avicenna* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 30, 107–110.

76 M. Dinorshoev, ‘Philosophy, logic and cosmology’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 168. See also: Abdurrahman Badawi, *Histoire de la philosophie en Islam* (Paris, 1972), vol. II, pp. 631–58. Aisha Khan, *Avicenna*, pp. 54–57. Robert Wisnovsky, ‘Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition’, in Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 105–10, 113f.

77 E. G. Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and its History* (Oxford, 1998), p. 235.

78 Although al-Tusi lived during the Mongol period, he is discussed here because his ideas can be seen as a continuation of al-Biruni’s.

79 Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 378f. See below pp. 96, 217.

80 George Saliba, ‘Tusi, Nasir al-Din ii. As Mathematician and Astronomer’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2009 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tusi-nasir-al-din

81 Johannes Thomann, ‘Messen, rechnen, darstellen: Kosmologie in der islamischen Welt’, p. 57.

82 F. Jamil Ragep, ‘Tusi: Abu Ja’far Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’, Thomas Hockney et al (eds), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (New York, 2007), pp. 1153–55. http://islamsci.mcgill.ca/RASI/BEA/Tusi_BEA.pdf

83 See below p. 295.

84 Ihsan Fazlioğlu, ‘Qushji: Abu al-Qasim Ala al-Din Ali ibn Muhammad Qushci-zade’, in Thomas Hockney et al (eds), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (New York, 2007) http://islamsci.mcgill.ca/RASI/BEA/Qushji_BEA.htm . F. Jamil Ragep, ‘Copernicus and his Islamic Predecessors: Some Historical Remarks’, *Filozofski vestnik*, vol. XXV, no. 2 (2004), pp. 138f. http://filozofskivestnikonline.com/index.php/journal/article/view/65/39

85 F. Jamil Ragep, ‘Copernicus and his Islamic Predecessors’, pp. 129, 131, 134, 139.

86 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*. Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, pp. 458–60.

87 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, pp. 41–43.

88 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 43.

89 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 44.

90 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 44.

91 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, pp. 45f. The translator translates the last word of the sentence as ‘created’, but the original word *maftur* means also ‘inborn’, ‘hereditary’; see p. 265, n. 174.

92 The Persian word *manand* means ‘resembling’, ‘like’. http://dsalsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/search3advanced?dbname=steingass&query=manand&matchtype=exact&display=utf8. It remains debatable if al-Tusi believed that this ‘first degree of Man’ were resembling the black North Africans or if he believed that the black North Africans were a group of this ‘first degree of Man’ and hence not fully human. The present author opts for the first interpretation.

93 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 46.

94 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 46.

95 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 49.

96 Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 47.

97 Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History* (London, 2010), p. 127.

98 On the Seljuks, see below, pp. 80–102.

99 C. E. Bosworth, ‘The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world (AD 1000–1227)’, in J. A. Boyle (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*. vol. V, (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 70–73. Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, pp. 404–7.

100 The Fatimid dynasty (909–1171) adhered to Ismaili Sh’ism and ruled over large parts of North Africa, as of 969 also including Egypt. The Fatimid Caliphs claimed descent from Prophet Muhammad’s daughter Fatima.

101 For example, in 1067 the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan, under pressure from Hanbalites, issued a decree according to which the teaching of the Mu’tazilites represented a delusional faith. A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History*, p. 104.

102 M. Dinorshoev, ‘Philosophy, logic and cosmology’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 171.

103 In Islam at the time, apostasy took place either through a declared rejection of Islam or by a clandestine apostasy combined with the adherence to beliefs or practices considered by the respective authority to be un-Islamic.

104 Al-Ghazali, *al-Iqtisad fi-l tiqad*, 250, quoted in Frank Griffel, ‘Toleration and exclusion: al-Shafi’i and al-Ghazali on the treatment of apostates’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 64, no. 3 (London, 2011), p. 354.

105 Al-Ghazali, *Shifa al-Ghalil,* 222, quoted in Frank Griffel, ‘Toleration and exclusion: al-Shafi’i and al-Ghazali on the treatment of apostates’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 64, no. 3, p. 351.

106 Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d’Aurillac. Le pape de l’an mil* (Paris, 1987), pp. 25f. Some authors believe he also studied in Toledo. See Kay Peter Jankrift, *Europa und der Orient im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2007), p. 88. But it remains unlikely that Gerbert ever travelled south to Toledo or Cordoba.

107 Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d’Aurillac,* pp. 47f.

108 Harriet Pratt Lattin, ‘Lupitus Barchinonensis’, in *Speculum*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1932), p. 62. Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d’Aurillac*, pp. 26, 50, 80.

109 Kay Peter Jankrift, *Europa und der Orient im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2007), pp. 100f.

110 The Mozarabs were Iberian Christians who came under Muslim rule from the early eighth century; they remained Christians but adopted many Muslim customs.

111 Even before Gerard, Robert of Chester had translated al-Khwarizmi’s *Hisab a-jabr w’al muqabala* (known as *‘The Compendious Book on Calculation’*) in 1245. Quite often, the same Arabic text was translated at the same time by two European scholars independently of each other, either from an identical Arabic transmission or from different ones.

112 It seems that both Adelard of Bath and Gerard of Cremona translated Euclid’s *Elements* from the same Arabic primary transmission. Gregg de Young, ‘The Latin Translation of Euclid’s Elements Attributed to Gerard of Cremona in Relation to the Arabic Transmission’ (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 318f. http://www.ub.edu/arab/suhayl/volums/volum4/paper%208.pdf

113 Kay Peter Jankrift, *Europa und der Orient im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2007), pp. 88–92. Jonathan Lyons, *The House of Wisdom*, pp. 154–56. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2006).

III. The Second Turkic Migration to the West

1 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC, 1967), p. 49; see also p. 51.

2 On the Avars, see: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II (London, 2014), pp. 208f.

3 On Greater Bulgaria and the Volga Bulgars see: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 209–13.

4 On the Byzantine–West Turkic alliance and the Khazars see: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 175–81, 213–16.

5 As is clarified below, at the time when *De Administrando* was written, the Pechenegs had already lived in their new lands for *ca.* 55 years.

6 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 167.

7 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 173.

8 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 173.

9 *Orkhon Inscriptions. The Kultegin's Memorial Complex,* Türik Bitig (Language Committee of Ministry of Culture and Information of RK [Republic of Kazakhstan]), http://irq.kaznpu.kz. See also: Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1992), p. 265. Perhaps the Pechenegs' tribal alliance also included Iranian-speaking elements.

10 Yabghu was a title used by Turkic people, which was originally given to the second-highest dignitary after the khagan. Later it was used for the leaders of large, independent confederations. How much authority was exercised by the Oghuz yabghu in the late eighth century is unknown.

11 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 267, 299.

12 Peter B. Golden, 'The Turks: Origins and Expansion', in Peter B. Golden, *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot, 2010), vol. I, p. 21.

13 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 270.

14 John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*, trans. John Wortley (Cambridge, 2010), p. 74. See also: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 215.

15 Peter B. Golden, 'Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity amongst the Pre-Činggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia', in Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 64.

16 The early Rus' were traders and warriors of Scandinavian, Finnish or Slavic origin, who traded along the rivers Volga-Oka and Dnieper, founded fortified settlements and ruled over city states, including Kiev.

17 Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, p. 267.

18 Omeljan Pritsak, 'The Turkic Nomads of Southern Europe', in Ergun Çağatay and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York, 2006), p. 205.

19 The western Kipchaks were called Cumans by Byzantine and Latin sources and Polovtsy by Russian ones.

20 Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, pp. 269f. 'Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity amongst the Pre-Činggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia', in Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe* I, p. 64. 'Aspects of the Nomadic Factor in the Economic Development of Kievan Rus', in Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe*, VII, pp. 92–96. 'The Turkic Nomads of the Pre-Islamic Eurasian Steppes', in Ergun Çağatay and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples*, p. 99. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Nomades* (Paris, 2007), p. 252. Omeljan Pritsak, *The Turkic Nomads of Southern Europe* (Munich/New York, 2006), p. 205. Sergei Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), p. 282.

21 On the Volga Bulgars see: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 210f.

22 Bodo Anke, Laszlo Révész and Tivadar Vida, *Reitervölker im Frühmittelalter: Hunnen – Awaren – Ungarn* (Stuttgart, 2008), pp. 75–108. Csanad Balint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe* (Vienna, 1989), pp. 195f. Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, pp. 258–64. Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe: A Military History of Central Asia 500 BC to 1700 AD* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 85–89.

23 A history of all the Oghuz tribes and their descendents would be beyond the scope of this volume, and so the history of the Rum-Seljuks and the Ottomans will not be recounted here, since they, unlike the Seljuks, rapidly lost contact with Central Asia.

24 *Orkhon Inscriptions. The Tonyukuk's Memorial Complex. The Kultegin's Memorial Complex. The Bilge Khagan's Memorial Complex,* Türik Bitig.

25 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1227)', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods,* vol. 5, (Cambridge, 1968), p. 16. Peter B. Golden, 'The Migration of the Ŏguz', in *Archivum Ottomanicum IV* (The Hague, 1972), pp. 52, 54–57. 'The Qipčac of Medieval Eurasia: An Example of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles, 1991), p. 142.

26 Karl Baipakov and Dmitri Voyakin, 'The Towns of Huwara and Yangikent: The Old and the New Capitals of the Oghuz State', in *Bulletin of IICAS*, vol. 16, 2012 (Samarkand, 2012), p. 26.

27 Sergei Tolstov, 'Gorod Guzov' in *Sovietskaya Etnografiya*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1947), pp. 55–57.

28 *Hudud al-Alam*, § 26a, p. 122. Ibn Hawqal, *La Configuration de la Terre*, trans. and eds. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Paris, 2001), vol. II, pp. 489f. See also: W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), p. 178.

29 Karl Baipakov, *Drevnjaja i Srednevekovaja Urbanizatsija Kasachstana*, vol. I (Almaty, 2012), p. 216. Sergei Tolstov, 'Gorod Guzov', in *Sovietskaya Etnografiya*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1947), pp. 68, 77. Drawing on excavations conducted in 2011, Arzhantseva et al. date the reconstruction and fortification of Yangikent to the ninth century. I. A. Arzhantseva, et al., 'Early Medieval Urbanization and State Formation East of the Aral Sea: Fieldwork and International Workshop 2011 in Kazakhstan', in *The European Archaeologist* (Prague, 2012), issue 37, p. 18.

30 Sergei Tolstov, 'Gorod Guzov', in *Sovietskaya Etnografiya*, vol. 3, pp. 55f.

31 Karl Baipakov and Dmitri Voyakin, 'Kesken-Kuyuk Kala, Kazakhstan: Archaeological Excavation of an Ancient City in a Former Delta of the Syr Darya', (Hergiswil, 2008–14).

32 Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Roman History of Ammianus Marcellinus* (London, 1911), XXIII, VI, 63, p. 341.

33 In Arabic names the term 'ibn', which means son, may change to 'bin' when another name follows.

34 E. Y. Goncharov and Vladimir N. Nastich, 'Moneti syrdarinskich oguzov IX. B', in *Tjurkologitscheskii sobornik* (Moscow, 2013), p. 88.

35 Abu-I Abbas Ahmad ibn-Jabir al-Baladhuri, *Kitâb futûh al-buldân*, vol. II trans. Francis Clark Murgotten (New York, 1924), part XIX, ch. VIII, 431, p. 205f [723f].

36 Karl Baipakov, Dmitri Voyakin, 'Description of Silver Coins Found at Kesken Kala in 2008' (Almaty: 2009). E.Y. Goncharov and Vladimir N. Nastich, 'New Numismatic Artefacts of the IX Century from Eastern Aral Sea Area (A Newly Found Coinage of Syr Darya Oghuz state)' (Kiev, 2013), pp. 132–5, ill., Russian version pp. 26–30, ill. 'Monety syrdar' inskix oguzov IX v.' in Tjurkologičeskiĭ sbornik (Moscow, 2013), pp. 84–90.

37 The archaeologists discovered altars in six rooms. Karl Baipakov and Dmitri Voyakin, 'The Towns of Huwara and Yangikent', p. 40. Karl Baipakov, *Drevnjaja i Srednevekovaja Urbanizatsija Kasachstana*, vol. II, (Almaty, 2013), pp. 158, 163–72.

38 Karl Baipakov and Dmitri Voyakin, 'Kesken-Kuyuk Kala, Kazakhstan: Archaeological Excavation of an Ancient City in a Former Delta of the Syr Darya' (Hergiswil, 2008–14), report of the excavations of 2011.

39 According to Giovanni da Pian del Carpine Yangikent was not destroyed because the city did not offer any resistance to the Mongols. Giovanni Di Plano Carpini, *The Story of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars*, trans. Erik Hildinger (Boston, 1996), p. 67.

40 Karl Baipakov and Dmitri Voyakin, 'Kesken-Kuyuk Kala, Kazakhstan'.

41 Giovanni Di Plano Carpini, *The Story of the Mongols.* p. 67.

42 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 8.

43 Rashid al-Din Fadhlallah Hamdani, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* (Tabriz, 1304–16). 'The Compendium of Chronicles' in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, trans. and ed. Wheeler Thackston, vol. III (London, 2012), 51, trans. p. 21. See also: *Die Geschichte der Oguzen des Rašid ad-Din*, trans. and ed. Karl Jahn (Vienna, 1969), p. 19.

44 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 42, trans. p. 18.

45 Elsewhere Mahmud Kashgari states more precisely that because of certain peculiarities, the two Khalaj tribes which were included among the original 24 Oghuz tribes were no longer considered to be among them. Robert Dankoff, *From Mahmud Kashgari to Evliya Celebi* (Istanbul, 2008), p. 66.

46 On Ibn Fadlan's diplomatic journey see: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 213.

47 On old Turkic funeral rites see: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 183–86.

48 Richard N. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia* (Princeton, 2006), pp. 38f.

49 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 167.

50 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 219f.

51 Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, pp. 269f. 'Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity amongst the Pre-Činggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia' in Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe*, I, pp. 67f. 'Aspects of the Nomadic Factor in the Economic Development of Kievan Rus' in

Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe*, VII, pp. 96f.

52 The connection between the *Chorni Klobuky* in the service of Kiev and today's Karakalpaks in north-western Uzbekistan, whose name also means 'Black Hats', is disputed.

53 Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs: A History* (London, 2010), pp. 78–81.

54 Some authors, such as A. C. S. Peacock, interpret literally the reference in the *Malik-nameh*, a chronicle of the early Seljuks from *ca.* 1060, today preserved only in fragmentary form, according to which Seljuk served the ruler of the Khazars as army commander. Since the Khazar Empire fell between 965 and 969, this seems improbable; in addition, the allegiance of Seljuk to the Oghuz elite of the Qinik is indisputable. A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History: A New Interpretation* (London, 2010), pp. 27–35. See also: Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs*, p. 22.

55 Reuven Amitai, 'Towards a Pre-History of the Islamization of the Turks: A Re-reading of Ibn Fadlan's Rihla', in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris, 2008), pp. 280–82, 290. Jürgen Paul, 'Islamizing Sufis in pre-Mongol Central Asia', in ibid, pp. 297, 307, 309, 314.

56 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, (ed.) and trans. into Latin from the Syriac by J.B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy (Paris and Leuwen, 1872–77), vol. 3, pp. 280ff. *Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar-Hebraei Chronicon Syriacum: E codicibus Bodleianis* (Leipzig, Adamus Fridérus Boeehmius, 1789), p. 219. *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, being the first part of his political history of the world*, 2 vols, trans. from the Syriac by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), vol. I, p. 184. See also: Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, 2006), p. 195. Erica Hunter, 'The Conversion of the Kerait to Christianity in AD 1007', in *Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn*, vol. 22 (eds), W. Heissig and M. Weiers (Wiesbaden, 1991), pp. 142–63. 'Converting the Turkic Tribes', in Craig Benjamin, Samuel Lieu (eds), *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 192f.

57 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 197–209.

58 Arslan is a Turkic name and also a title, meaning 'lion'.

59 Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs*, pp. 23f. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1975), p. 190. *The Ghaznavids. Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (New Delhi, 1992), pp. 219–22. Claude Cahen, 'The Malik-Nama and the History of Seljuqid Origins', in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *The Turks in the Early Islamic World* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 316–24. A. Sevim and C. E. Bosworth, 'The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris, 1998), p. 146. Sergei Tolstov, 'Gorod Guzov', pp. 85f.

60 A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History: A New Interpretation*, p. 49.

61 Izz ad-Din ibn Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks: Selections from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh of Izz ad-Din ibn al-Athir,* trans. and ed. D. S. Richards (London, 2002), pp. 13, 33. Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs*, pp. 24, 57.

62 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, p. 15.

63 A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History*, p. 38.

64 The traditional region of Azerbaijan was at that time significantly larger than the present state of that name, for it also encompassed the north-west of today's Iran.

65 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, pp. 17–23. See also: C. E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian world (AD 1000–1227)', in J. A. Boyle (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1968), p. 32f, 38–43, 196–98.

66 A. C. S. Peacock disputes that this Shah Malik operating in northern Khorasan is identical with the son of Ali Khan of Yangikent of the same name, and believes that the Shah Malik who conquered the Seljuks in 1034 was a mere governor of Khorasan, although al-Athir explicitly identifies the victor of 1034 as 'Shah Malik of Jand'. Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, p. 28. A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History*, p. 25.

67 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, p. 48.

68 Further events in the history of the Oghuz relevant to this work are discussed in the section on the Seljuks.

69 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, p. 56.

70 Serzhan M. Akhinzhanov, 'Kipcaks and Khwarazm', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery (Los Angeles, 1991), p. 127.

71 The claim by al-Marwazi that the Kun were Nestorian Christians is hardly convincing. István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 4, n. 2.

72 S. G. Agadjanov, 'The States of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1, pp. 72f. Peter B. Golden, 'The Qipčac of Medieval Eurasia: An Example of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe*, p. 133. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, pp. 202, 270–77.

73 S. G. Agadjanov, 'The States of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1, p. 73. Peter B. Golden, 'The Qipčac of Medieval Eurasia', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe*, pp. 277f.

74 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. notes, and appendices by Peter Jackson with David Morgan (Indianapolis, 2009), pp. 105, 113, 128, 137.

75 Peter B. Golden, 'The Qipčac of Medieval Eurasia', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe*, p. 143.

76 C. E. Bosworth, *The History of the Seljuk Turks. From the Jamia al-Tawarikh. An Ilkhanid adaptation of the Saljuk-Nama of Zahir ad-Din Nishapuri* (London, 2001), p. 5.

77 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 87f.

78 Thomas T. Allsen, 'Mahmud Yalavač, Mas'ud Beg, Ali Beg, Safaliq, Bujir', in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 125–28. P. D. Buell, 'Činqai', in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan*, p. 101.

79 Peter B. Golden, 'The Codex Cumanicus', in H. B. Paksoy, *Central Asian Monuments* (Istanbul, 1992).

80 Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *La Horde d'Or: Conquête Mongole et 'Joug tatar' en Europe 1236–1502* (Arles, 2013), pp. 66ff.

81 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, p. 157. Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs. A History*, p. 74.

82 See below pp. 135, 184f.

83 James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen. The Mongol invasion of Europe* (Norwalk, 1995), p. 31. Richard A. Gabriel, *Sübotai the Valiant: Genghis Khan's Greatest General* (Westport, 2004), pp. 101f.

84 Rashid ad-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 667, trans. p. 213.

85 Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe*, pp. 134f.

86 It was only the guard of the Great Khan, known as *keshik*, that enjoyed special training.

87 Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe*, pp. 155–58. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley, 2007), pp. 43–45.

88 See below pp. 219f.

89 Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe*, pp. 158–66. Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'A Broken Mirror: The Kipçak World in the Thirteenth Century', in Florin Curta and Roman Kovalev (eds), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston, 2008), pp. 386–406.

90 Sergei Tolstov, 'Gorod Guzov', in *Sovietskaya Etnografiya*, vol. 3, p. 85.

91 Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, p. 280.

92 Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Nomades*, pp. 258, 264f.

93 It is unclear whether King David married Äträk's daughter Gurandukht before or after the immigration of the Kipchaks, divorcing his queen Rusudan to do so; in any case, this marriage was connected with King David's efforts to form an alliance with the Kipchaks. Peter B. Golden, 'Nomads in the Sedentary World: The Case of Pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia', in Peter B. Golden, *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot, 2010), V, p. 46. Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London, 2012), p. 91.

94 See also below pp. 145f.

95 The most important source for this excursus is: Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, pp. 85–95.

96 Peter B. Golden, 'Nomads in the Sedentary World', p. 51.

97 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 212.

98 The direct male line of the Asenids died out in 1257.

99 István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 15, 19, 22, 41, 56.

100 István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 50.

101 István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 66.

102 Thomas T. Allsen, 'Mongols and North Caucasia', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, vol. VII, (Wiesbaden: 1992), pp. 11–17. Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow, 2005), p. 49. Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires* (London, 2012), pp. 119f. Richard A. Gabriel, *Sübotai the Valiant* (Westport, 2004), pp. 89–94.

103 Giovanni Di Plano Carpini, *The History of the Mongols,* p. 51.

104 Richard A. Gabriel, *Sübotai the Valiant*, pp. 94–97.

105 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 535, p. 185. Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2012), p. 142. Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 12, 392.

106 Richard A. Gabriel, *Sübotai the Valiant*, pp. 98–101.

107 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 669, p. 232.

108 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, pp. 175–79.

109 Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora. Matthew Paris's English History. From the Year 1235 to 1273*, trans. from the Latin by J. A. Giles (London, 1852–54), vol. I, p. 342. Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London, 1971), pp. 72–74. Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Berkeley, 2002), pp. 5f. William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 26.

110 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow, 2005), p. 60.

111 Heinrich Dörrie, 'Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen' (Göttingen, 1956), p. 178. Hansgerd Göckenjan and James R. Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm: Berichte und Augenzeugen von Zeitgenossen 1235–1250* (Graz, 1985), p. 107.

112 Central Asian equestrian warriors traditionally owned many horses and went to war with three to five horses.

113 Hansgerd Göckenjan and James R. Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, pp. 157f.

114 As the thirteenth-century writer Roger of Torre Maggiore reported, the leading Hungarian nobles fought only reluctantly, and even hoped that their king would be defeated. Hansgerd Göckenjan and James R. Sweeney, *Der Mongolensturm*, pp. 161f. See also: James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (Norwalk, 1995), pp. 91–95. Richard A. Gabriel, *Sübotai the Valiant*, pp. 121–25. David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA, 2007), pp. 122f. István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 65.

115 Even before Matthew, the Georgian commander Ivané (in 1223) and Quilichinus of Spoleto (in 1236) used the name 'Tartars' for the Mongols. Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 59, 76f n. 16.

116 Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, vol. I, p. 312.

117 Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, vol. I, pp. 341f.

118 Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, vol. I, pp. 341f.

IV. Turco-Muslim Dynasties in Southern Central Asia

1 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks,* trans. D. S. Richards (London, 2002), p. 254.

2 See p. 63.

3 Robert Dankoff, *From Mahmud Kashgari to Evliya Celebi* (Istanbul, 2008), p. 65.

4 Kim Hodong, 'The early History of the Moghul Nomads: the Legacy of the Chagatai Khanate', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 302f.

5 Claude Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh et l'histoire des origines seljukides', in *ORIENS. Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research* (Leiden, 1949), vol. II, p. 42. 'The Malik-Nama and the History of Seljuqid Origins' in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *The Turks in the Early Islamic World* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 315. Al-Athir mentions three sons by name, but implies that there were others. Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks,* pp. 31f. Başan mentions as the fourth son Yusuf or Yunus (Jonas). Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs* (London, 2010), pp. 52f.

6 It seems rather far-fetched to derive from the Old Testament names an indirect proof of the hypothesis that Seljuk and Dukak were in the service of the Jewish Khazar rulers.

7 Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh', pp. 43–45. 'The Malik-Nama', pp. 318f.

8 Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh', p. 44. 'The Malik-Nama', p. 318. See also: Başan, *The Great Seljuqs*, pp. 23, 54. A. Sevim and C. E. Bosworth, 'The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris, 1998), p. 146.

9 Most historians give the year 1020/21 for Ali Tegin's seizure of power. Pritsak gives 1014/15 for the accession to power in Bukhara, soon after which Ali Tegin is said to have spent *ca.* five years in prison. Omeljan Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', *Der Islam*, XXXI, vol. I (Berlin, 1953), p. 34.

10 Like Arslan, Bughra is both a Turkic name and a title; it means 'male camel'.

11 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 32. See also: Sevim and Bosworth, 'The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs', pp. 146f.

12 Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh', pp. 50f. 'The Malik-Nama', p. 324.

13 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 13, 32f. Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh', p. 52. 'The Malik-Nama', p. 325.

14 In general, Muslim Oghuz were referred to as Turkmen. To differentiate the Oghuz followers of the Seljuk lines of Tughril and Chagri bin Mikhail from the other Muslim Oghuz, in this chapter the term 'Seljuks' is used for soldiers and officials loyal to the Seljuk rulers, and the term 'Turkmen' is used for Muslim Oghuz, who recognised the supremacy of the Seljuk rulers only conditionally or not at all, and partly formed the so-called Iraqiyya.

15 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories* (London, 2011), p. 96. See also Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks(*ed.), C. E. Bosworth, trans. Kenneth Allin Luther (London, 2001), p. 33.

16 A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History* (London, 2010), pp. 69, 139, 156.

17 Al-Athir's tomb in Mosul was desecrated and destroyed in June 2014 by militias of the so called Islamic State ISIS which is inspired by extremist Wahhabism, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 July 2014, p. 55.

18 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 15. For the Turkmen devastations in Azerbaijan and eastern Anatolia, see above pp. 65, 73.

19 Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh', p. 56. 'The Malik-Nama', p. 329.

20 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 28, 34f. Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh', pp. 55, 57. 'The Malik-Nama', pp. 328, 332. Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 106.

21 C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (New Delhi, 1992), p. 259.

22 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks* (London, 2002), p. 26.

23 Peacock, *Early Seljüq History*, pp. 73, 97, 166.

24 Al-Beyhaqi, Abu al-Fazl Muhammad ibn Hussayn, *The History of Beyhaqi (The History of Sultan Masud of Ghazna, 1030–1041)*, trans. C. E. Bosworth (Boston, 2011), vol. II, pp. 304–20. Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 110f.

25 Al-Beyhaqi, *The History of Beyhaqi*, vol. II, p. 323.

26 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 48. Omeljan Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', *Der Islam*, XXXI, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1953), p. 46.

27 C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay: The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040–1186* (New Delhi, 1992), p. 25.

28 Percy M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* (London, 1902), p. 56.

29 S. G. Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien im 11.–12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1994), p. 94. Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuqk Turks* (London, 2001), p. 40. Peacock, *Early Seljüq History*, p. 66.

30 Peacock, *Early Seljüq History*, p. 64.

31 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 67.

32 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 55.

33 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 77.

34 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II (London, 2014), p. 261.

35 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 100f.

36 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 102. Since such military lease agreements initially covered only the tax revenue from a piece of land, but excluded the property, they are hardly comparable with the fiefdoms of medieval Europe.

37 Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks*, p. 60.

38 Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien*, pp. 111, 154–58, 192, 199f.

39 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 115. Sevim and Bosworth, 'The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs', p. 155.

40 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 118–27. Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks*, pp. 42f.

41 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1227)', p. 128. K. S. Lambton, 'The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods,* vol. V (Cambridge, 1968), p. 212.

42 Lambton, 'The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire', p. 211.

43 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 130f, 145.

44 See above p. 51.

45 E.E. Karimov, 'The Advent of Islam: Extent and Impact', in M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris, 2000), p. 84.

46 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 254. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1227)', p. 68.

47 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 253. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World', p. 102.

48 Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World', pp. 101, 201. Lambton, 'The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire', p. 213.

49 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 255.

50 The Seljuk expeditions of conquest to the west and south-west of their realm are mentioned only briefly, as they took place outside Central Asia.

51 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 93, 114.

52 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 152–57.

53 Peacock, *Early Seljüq History*, p. 149. The Arabic word *naffatun* is derived from *naft*, which means oil. Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires* (London, 2012), p. 83.

54 See below p. 149.

55 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 157.

56 Aziz Başan, *The Great Seljuqs* (London, 2010), p. 31.

57 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 170–72. On the inadequacy of the defence of the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire, see: Peacock, *Early Seljüq History*, pp. 129–39.

58 In 1083 the defeated Georgian king Giorgi II (r. 1072–89) had to travel to Isfahan and swear fealty to Malik Shah. Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 83.

59 See above p. 73f.

60 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 172–226. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World', p. 98.

61 Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 99–101.

62 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 176f, 184. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', p. 46.

63 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 239f. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', p. 47.

64 Başan, *The Great Seljuqs*, p. 70.

65 These more or less autonomous inner Seljuk state formations included the sultanate of the Rum-Seljuks, which itself consisted of small princedoms, the Syrian Seljukids, the Seljuks of Kerman, the early dynasty of the Anushteginids in Chorasmia and some rulers of the Karakhanids; added to these were Turkmen groups in Azerbaijan and in north-east Anatolia, various nomadic Oghuz tribes in the east and the hostile Ismaili mountain state of Alamut with its territorial offshoots.

66 See p.51.

67 See above p. 30 and: Mirbabaev, A. K., 'The Development of Education: Maktab, Madrasa, Science and Pedagogy, part One: The Islamic Lands and their Culture', in Bosworth and Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris, 2000), p. 37.

68 Dietrich Brandenburg and Kurt Brüsehoff, *Die Seljuken* (Graz, 1980), p. 13.

69 For a brief overview of the Seljuk caravanserais see: Brandenburg and Brüsehoff, *Die Seljuken*, pp. 68f.

70 Brandenburg and Brüsehoff, *Die Seljuken*, pp. 23, 28–31. Sergey Chmelnizki, Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 'Architektur der Gross-Seljuken', in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam. Kunst und Architektur* (Cologne, 2000), p. 368. David Stronach and Ali Moussavi (eds), *Irans Erbe in Flugbildern von Georg Gerster* (Mainz, 2009), pp. 125–27. Richard Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture* (Reading, 1999), pp. 141–44.

71 Brandenburg and Brüsehoff, *Die Seljuken*, pp. 55f, 61f. Robert Hillenbrand, 'The Seljuk Monuments of Turkmenistan', in Christian Lange and Songül Mecit (eds), *The Seljuks: Politics, Society and Culture* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 298–303. S. Frederick Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 425f, 454f. Donald N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khanid Period* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 139–41. Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture*, pp. 181f.

72 See above p. 29.

73 Brandenburg and Brüsehoff, *Die Seljuken*, pp. 69–72.

74 The most important sources for this excursus are: Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis. Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990) and Juvaini, Ala ud-Din Ata Malik, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha. The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. John Andrew Boyle, vol. II, pp. 596–725.

75 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 666, 719.

76 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 720.

77 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 669–75. See also: M. G. S. Hodgson, 'The Isma'ili State', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods,* vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 422–32. Peter Willey, *The Castles of the Assassins* (London, 1963), pp. 18–23, 214, 223, 297f. See also Freya Stark's travelogue: Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins and other Persian Travels* (London, 1934).

78 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 982, 1098, trans. pp. 342, 380. See also: J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. V (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 342, 345, 360.

79 Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 241–43, 324–26. Hodgson, 'The Isma'ili State', pp. 437f.

80 In Syria the Nizaris were called *hashashiyyn*, hashish eaters, a term from which the Crusaders derived the word 'assassins', referring to the Nizaris' use of assassination as a tactic.

81 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 676f, 685f. Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins* (London, 1967), pp. 109, 112, 117. See also: Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 370–72, 389.

82 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 682.

83 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 695f.

84 Daftary, *The Ismailis*, p. 390.

85 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 699–703.

86 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 808, trans., p. 279.

87 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 258. See also: Daftary, *The Ismailis*, p. 380.

88 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. and ed. Peter Jackson with David Morgan (Indianapolis, 2009), p. 222. See also: Juzjani, *Tabakat-iI Nasiri*, p. vol. II, pp. 1182–87.

89 Juzjani mentions 70 Nizari fortresses in Khorasan and 35 in Rudbar. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, p. vol. II, pp. 1205f. Presumably a number of fortresses in Khorasan were destroyed only after the capitulation of Rukh al-Din.

90 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 981–83, trans. p. 342.

91 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 608, 630f. See also: Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 278–80. John Masson Jr. Smith, 'High living and heartbreak on the road to Bagdad', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 125–27.

92 Lammassar resisted for a whole year until the garrison was decimated by a cholera epidemic. Rashid Eldin, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, trans. and ed. Étienne Quatremère (Paris, 1836, reprint 1968), p. 213.

93 The massacre was also an act of revenge for the murder of a Mongol officer. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 718, 723f. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 989, trans. p. 344. However, the Mongols later rebuilt Alamut and Lammasar for their own use. Daftary, *The Ismailis*, p. 411.

94 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 637. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 992, trans. p. 345.

95 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 991, trans. p. 345.

96 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 724. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 991, trans. p. 345.

97 The Syrian Nizarites were subdued by the Mamluk sultan Baibars I by 1273. Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 397–402.

98 See below pp.21f.

99 Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 442–55.

100 *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnama)*, trans. W. M. Thrackston (New York, 1986).

101 Willem Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (Oxford, 2007), p. 32.

102 Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 410–504. Lewis, *The Assassins*, pp. 15–17, 95.

103 For an overview of the various Ismaili lines of succession see: Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 506–13.

104 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 262–75, 278–81, 290f. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1227)', p. 137.

105 S. G. Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien im 11.-12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 166–69. Başan, *The Great Seljuqs*, pp. 34–38, 97, 97–109. Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks*, pp. 61–72.

106 Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 336f.

107 Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien im 11.-12. Jahrhundert*, p. 178. Başan, *The Great Seljuqs*, p. 41.

108 Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1227)', p. 140. Sevim and Bosworth, 'The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs', p. 198.

109 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* vol. I, pp. 149f, 357–62.

See also Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks*, pp. 87f.

110 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* vol. I, pp. 108–10. See also: Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1227)', pp. 157–59, 161. *The Later Ghaznavids*, pp. 94–101. *The History of the Seljuk Turks*, p. 81.

111 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Seljuk Turks*, pp. 292f.

112 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 280–84, and: Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien*, pp. 258f. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World', pp. 142–45, 150.

113 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 310–14.

114 Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 639. See also: Emil Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources. Fragments towards the Knowledge of the Geography and History of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th century* (London, 1888), vol. I, pp. 232f. Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks*, pp. 83–85. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* vol. I, pp. 154f.

115 See below p. 145.

116 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), pp. 209, 211.

117 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 285. See also: Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien*, pp. 293–97. Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History. Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 51. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1227)', pp. 152–57.

118 Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks*, pp. 92f.

119 Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien*, p. 308.

120 Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seljukiden und Mittelasien*, p. 313.

121 Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *The History of the Seljuq Turks*, pp. 153, 163.

122 Michal Biran, 'Ilak-Khanids, Kara Khanids' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2001. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', *Der Islam*, pp. 21–23. Since the Yabghu of the Karluks called Bilge Kül Qadïr Khan took the title of a khagan in 840, Pritsak and some authors following him date the beginning of the Karakhanid alliance to 840. However, the history of this alleged early Karakhanid dynasty remains unknown. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', pp. 22f.

123 Peter B. Golden, 'The Karakhanids and Early Islam' in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 355.

124 Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', p. 20.

125 Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1992), p. 215. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', pp. 23.

126 The traditional ruling lines, first of the united and (from *ca.* 1040) of the divided empire, do not always agree with the numismatic and other recent reconstructions. For a good reconstruction of the Karakhanid successions on a numismatic basis see: Boris Kočnev, 'La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique', *Études karakhanides* (Cahiers d'Asie centrale, 9/2001), pp. 49–75.

127 According to Pritsak's reconstruction, Satuk was a nephew of Oghulchak Khan (r. 893–*ca.* 946) and a grandson of Bilge Kül Qadïr Khan (r. 840–93), which would mean very long reigns. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', pp. 24f.

128 Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela (eds), *Islamic Central Asia. An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington, 2010), pp. 74–76.

129 Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', p. 25.

130 Michal Biran, 'Ilak-Khanids, Kara Khanids'. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, p. 215.

131 Valentina Gorâčeva, *Srednevekovie gorodskie zentry i architekturnie ansambli Kirgizii* (Frunze, 1983), pp. 31–34, 44f, 54–59. See also: 'À propos de deux capitales du Khaganat karakhanide', *Études karakhanides* (Cahiers d'Asie centrale, 9/2001), pp. 92, 98, 100.

132 For Bosworth, this Hasan Bughra Khan was a subordinate khan because he bore the title Bughra, but for Kočnev he was the supreme khagan, since he ruled both Taraz and Kashgar. C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 111. Kočnev, 'La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique', p. 52.

133 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 82. See also above pp. 110f.

134 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 85.

135 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 93f.

136 Kočnev, 'La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique', p. 53.

137 On the question of exactly when the Seljuks Tughril and Chagri were driven out of Bukhara, the sources give contradictory information. See: Cahen, 'Le Malik-nâmeh', p. 53. 'The Malik-Nama', p. 326.

138 E. A. Davidovich, 'The Karakhanids', in Asimov and Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1, pp. 127f.

139 In the literature, Nasr bin Ibrahim is often known under his *laqab* Shams al-Mulk. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', p. 46.

140 Davidovich, 'The Karakhanids', p. 131.

141 W. Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), p. 318.

142 On the question of whether Mahmud Khan or an Ali bin Hasan was ruler at that time, see: Kočnev, 'La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique', pp. 56f.

143 See above pp. 145f.

144 Davidovich, 'The Karakhanids', p. 132.

145 Davidovich, 'The Karakhanids', pp. 134f.

146 Biran dates the Mongol attack on Küchlüg to 1216 and his death to 1218. Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, p. 83.

147 Boris Kočnev, 'Les frontières du royaume des Karakhanides', *Études karakhanides* (Cahiers d'Asie centrale, 9/2001), p. 42. 'La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique' (9/2001), pp. 58–61. Pritsak, 'Die Karakhaniden', pp. 39–42.

148 Jean-Paul Roux, *L'Asie Centrale: Histoire et civilisations* (Paris, 1997), p. 271. Denis Sinor, 'Old Turkic and Middle Turkic languages', in Asimov and Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2, p. 334.

149 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 355.

150 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 355.

151 Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, pp. 37–39.

152 Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, p. 34.

153 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 356.

154 Davidovich, 'The Karakhanids', p. 141.

155 Pozzi, Silvia, *Vardanzeh (Wardana), Uzbekistan. Archaeological Excavation of an Ancient City in the Oasis of Bukhara (Annual field reports 2012–14)* (Hergiswil, 2013–15).

156 Rott, Philipp and Kolchenko, Valery, Novopokrovka II, Kyrgyzstan. Archaeological excavation of a presumed Buddhist site and of a Sogdian and Karakhanid citadel (Annual field reports 2004–15) (Hergiswil, 2005–16).

157 See above p. 32.

158 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Ghaznavids', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris, 1998), p. 96.

159 C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (New Delhi, 1992), p. 37.

160 C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 37–41. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* vol. I, p. 74.

161 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories* (London, 2011), pp. 74–77. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 44–48.

162 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs,* vol. IV (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 166f.

163 C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, p. 98.

164 See p. 87.

165 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', p. 171.

166 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 85.

167 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 88f.

168 A. C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljuq History* (London, 2010), pp. 69, 139, 156.

169 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 100. See also above p. 47.

170 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', p. 172.

171 The name Kafiristan is of Arabic origin and means 'land of the unbelievers'.

172 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 91.

173 For a detailed description of Kafiristan before its forced Islamisation see: Sir George Scott Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London, 1896).

174 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 92.

175 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 84, 86.

176 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 84.

177 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 85f.

178 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 86–90, 96–98. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* vol. I, pp. 82–84.

179 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 102–10. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 92–95. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. IV (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 188–96; *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 230–52.

180 Al-Beyhaqi, *The History of Beyhaqi* (Boston, 2011), vol. 2, pp. 364f.

181 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, p. 111. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay. The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040–1186* (New Delhi, 1992), pp. 17f.

182 Georg Renner and Christa Selič, *Abseits der großen Minarette* (Leipzig, 1982), p. 285.

183 Saka was the Persian name for Scythians.

184 C. E. Bosworth, 'Barbarian Incursions: The Coming of the Turks into the Islamic world', in D. S. Richards (ed.), *Islamic civilisation, 950–1150* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 1f.

185 Daniel Schlumberger, Janine Sourdel-Thomine, Jean-Claude Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar: une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride* (Paris, 1978), 1B *Le décor nonfiguratif et les inscriptions,* pp. 48–52; 1C, Planches 1A/B, pl. 13.

186 Warwick Ball, *The Monuments of Afghanistan: History, Archaeology and Architecture* (London, 2008), pp. 240f. Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 'Die frühen Reiche des Ostens (9.–12. Jh.): Ghaznaviden und Ghuriden', in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam. Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: 2000), pp. 333–36. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', pp. 184f. Jean-Claude Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar. Une residence royale Ghaznévide. II. Les trouvailles. Céramique et monnaies de Lashkari Bazar et de Bust* (Paris, 1963), pp. 134, 139, 143f. Schlumberger, Sourdel-Thomine, Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar; 1, A L'architecture, 1,B Le décor non figurative et les inscriptions; 1,C Planches 1A/1B*. (Paris: 1978).

187 Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 346, 587, n. 64.

188 Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 'Die frühen Reiche des Ostens (9.–12. Jh.): Ghaznaviden und Ghuriden', p. 336.

189 C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, pp. 116–18, 124f.

190 Gardizi, *The Ornament of Histories*, pp. 112f.

191 Further Ghaznavid activity in northern India is not described here since the Ghaznavids did not leave many traces in this region, unlike the Kushan a millennium earlier, who had also come from Afghanistan.

192 C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, pp. 25–51.

193 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 102–6.

194 See above p. 100f.

195 C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p. 93.

196 See above p. 101.

197 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 338–40.

198 Juzjani, *Tabakat-iI Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 352.

199 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II (London, 2014), p. 24, fig. 16.

200 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 353f.

201 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 356. For this Ghaznavid-Ghurid conflict see: Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 340–55. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, pp. 111–18.

202 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 111, 114f, 367f, 376f, 453–57. S. G. Agadjanov, *Der Staat der Seldschukiden und Mittelasien im 11.–12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: 1994), p. 314. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, pp. 123–31.

203 C. E. Bosworth, 'Ghurids', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2001.

204 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 316–19.

205 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 320–34. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p. 68. K. A. Nizami, 'The Ghurids', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris, 1998), pp. 179f.

206 See above p. 100f.

207 See p. 118.

208 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 335–57.

209 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 358–60.

210 André Maricq and Gaston Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam: La découverte de la capitale des sultans Ghorides (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1959), pp. 16–18, 55–64. David C. Thomas, 'Firuzkuh: The Summer Capital of the Ghurids', in A. K. Bennison and A. L. Gascoigne (eds), *Cities in the Pre-modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (London, 2007), p. 119.

211 For the identification of Firuzkuh with Jam and of Zamin-i Dewar with Shahr-i Kuhna see: David C. Thomas, 'Firuzkuh' (London, 2007), pp. 118–20.

212 David C. Thomas, 'Firuzkuh', pp. 121, 135, 139 n. 5.

213 David C. Thomas, 'Firuzkuh', pp. 125–30.

214 André Maricq and Gaston Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam* (Paris, 1959), p. 27.

215 Kufic script is one of the oldest Arabic calligraphic scripts, and it was much used on coins and monuments. Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 320f.

216 David C. Thomas, 'Firuzkuh', pp. 130, 142, n. 76.

217 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 404.

218 David C. Thomas, 'Firuzkuh', pp. 131f.

219 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, pp. 1051–79.

220 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 365–68.

221 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 245–49, 378f.

222 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 248f, 376–82. Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 65–67.

223 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 328. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 114f, 456–71, 512–60.

224 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 552.

225 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 560–73.

226 The last sultan of the fifth sultanate of Delhi was Ibraham Lodi (r. 1517–26). He was beaten in 1526 in the first battle of Panipat by the Timurid prince Babur, who then founded the Mughal dynasty (1526–1858).

227 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 413f.

228 André Maricq and Gaston Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam*, pp. 19, 65–67.

229 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 318–27, 357. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 473–92.

230 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 327–32. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 494–507.

231 See above p. 42.

232 *Hudud al-Alam*, § 26.25, p. 122.

233 W. Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), pp. 147, 275–79. C. E. Bosworth, 'Al-e Ma'mun', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1984. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian world (AD 1000–1227)' (Cambridge, 1968), p. 8. Bertold Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: 1952), pp. 108, 115.

234 Al-Beyhaqi, *The History of Beyhaqi*, vol. 1, pp. 441, 447–53.

235 Al-Beyhaqi, *The History of Beyhaqi*, vol. 1, pp. 469f.

236 Al-Beyhaqi, *The History of Beyhaqi*, vol. 2, pp. 75f, 92–95, 127–29, 387f, 390–94. C. E. Bosworth, 'Altuntaš: Turkish Slave Commander of the Ghaznavid Sultan and Governor of Kwarazm (408–23/1017–32)', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica.*

237 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks* (London, 2002), p. 48.

238 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 233.

239 Al-Athir, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks*, pp. 292f. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 277f.

240 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 237.

241 See above p. 101. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 280–84.

242 Izz ad-Din ibn al Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh, part 1* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 363.

243 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 356.

244 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gush*, vol. I, p. 284. For Atsïz's rule see also: W. Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion*, pp. 323–31.

245 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 288f.

246 Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia, 1949) p. 644. W. Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion*, pp. 336f.

247 Terken Khatun was a title for the main wife of a ruler used among Turkic people and in Sogdiana.

248 The Chinese word *fuma* means 'imperial son-in-law'; Empress Yelü Pusuwan was the daughter of the founder of the dynasty, Yelü Dashi.

249 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 289–92.

250 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 292–94. Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)*, p. 647.

251 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 465. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 240f.

252 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 304f.

253 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 245–49, 378f.

254 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 299–304, 307–12.

255 See above p. 123. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 248f, 376–82. Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, pp. 65–67.

256 C. E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian world (AD 1000–1227)', p. 170.

257 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 317. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 252f. Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 403–406, 438-30, trans. pp. 128–40, 146f.

258 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 324.

259 See above p. 127.

260 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol, pp. 341f, 351f. Juvaini dates this battle too late, to 1210 or later, whereas in fact it took place in 1207 or 1208. W. Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion*, pp. 354–60. Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, pp. 72f.

261 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II (London, 2014), p. 314. Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, pp. 74f. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy* (Malden, 1991), pp. 102f.

262 Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 462f, trans. pp. 162f. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 62f, 351.

263 Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 461, trans. p. 162. The translation says 'looms', which must be a mistake. See also: Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 347, 357. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 244.

264 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 345, 360. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 260–64. Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 464, trans. p. 163.

265 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 345, 360. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 63f, 361.

266 See above p. 106 and: Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 347f.

267 Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, p. 82. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World', p. 194.

268 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 353, vol. II, p. 390.

269 Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti, prince du Kharezm* (Paris, 1895, reprint 2014), pp. 35f. Later references given as Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti*, refer to this edition.

270 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 364–67, 474–76. Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 470f, trans. p. 165. W. Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion*, pp. 373–75.

271 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 965.

272 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 966.

273 Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, p. 116.

274 Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* p. 57. Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington, 2010), pp. 125f.

275 Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* pp. 58f. Thomas T. Allsen, 'Mahmud Yalavač, Mas'ud Beg, Ali Beg, Safaliq, Bujir', in Igor de Rachewiltz, et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 122–24. J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. V (Cambridge, 1968), p. 304. Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia*, pp. 125f.

276 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 77f, vol. II, p. 368.

277 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 78f.

278 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 79f, vol. II, p. 367. Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 473–74, trans. pp. 165f.

279 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 1041. Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* pp. 59–61. Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia*, p. 127. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, p. 123.

280 P. D. Buell, 'Sübötei Ba'atur', in Igor de Rachewiltz, et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan* (Wiesbaden, 1993), p. 16.

281 Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley, 2007), p. 15.

282 Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, p. 83.

283 Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant: Genghis Khan's Greatest General* (Westport, 2004), pp. 70f.

284 Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, p. 120.

285 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 268–72.

286 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 69, vol. II, pp. 370–74.

287 Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 475–76, trans. pp. 166f.

288 J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans' (Cambridge, 1968), p. 305.

289 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 980.

290 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 69, vol. II, pp. 370f.

291 Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 477, trans. p. 167. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 373f. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 269f. Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant*, pp. 70–72.

292 Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* pp. 64–67. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War* (Yardley, 2007), pp. 117–19.

293 The Mongol western campaign from 1219 to 1223 is described on pp. 182–90.

294 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 396.

295 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 397, 376. Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 479, trans. pp. 167f.

296 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 377–86. Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia*, p. 128. Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 504–10, trans. pp. 176–78.

297 Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia*, p. 128.

298 Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* pp. 93f.

299 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 401f. J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and political history of the Il-Khans', pp. 317f.

300 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 132–35, vol. II, pp. 405–14. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 287–93. Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* pp. 135–44. In the second Battle of Parwan, Nasawi confuses the Mongol commander Shigi Khuthuku with Genghis Khan's son Tului.

301 See above p. 74.

302 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 426–42. Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* pp. 202–4, 207–10, 292–96, 302f. J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', pp. 327–33. Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires. A History of Georgia*, pp. 122–24.

303 Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti,* pp. 223–32.

304 Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti*, pp. 342–46.

305 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 449–59. Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti*, pp. 405–11. Rashid al-Din Jamia al-Tawarikh, 656, trans. p. 228. J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', pp. 333–36.

306 Rashid al-Din *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 933, 994, trans. pp. 324, 346.

307 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 74f. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*. Matthew Paris's English History. From the Year 1235 to 1273. Translated from the Latin by J. A. Giles (London, 1852–54), vol. I, p. 491.

V. Buddhist States of the Liao, Qara Khitai and Tanguts

1 P. K. Kozlov, *Mongolija i Amdo i mertvij gorod Xara-Xoto* (Moscow, 1923), p. 1.

2 The exception was Khan Berke (r. 1257–66), one of Genghis Khan's grandsons, who converted to Islam in the 1250s.

3 See p. 66f above.

4 In Turkic this name means 'black Kithai/Khitan'; in Chinese sources they are called *Xi Liao*, 'western Liao'. Why Muslim sources added the epithet *Kara*, 'black', remains unclear; it was probably an honorary title.

5 Since the empire of the Liao was situated outside Central Asia, its history is only outlined briefly here.

6 Herbert Franke, 'The Forest Peoples of Manchuria: Kitans and Jurchens', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 402f. Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, 'The Liao', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VI, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 44–52.

7 Ta La, 'Die archäologische Untersuchung der Liao-zeitlichen Stadt Shangjing', in Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Schätze der Liao: China's vergessene Nomadendynastie (907–1125)* (Zurich, 2007), pp. 54–59.

8 Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, 'The Liao', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. VI, pp. 52f, 56–64. Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 573–76. Later mentions of the *Liao Shi* refer to the authors' translation in this edition, 'Wittfogel and Feng' to their own writing.

9 Nicola Di Cosmo, 'Geschichte und Gesellschaftsstruktur der Liao-Dynastie', in Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Schätze der Liao*, p. 16. *Liao Shi*, p. 576, for illustrations see pp. 241–52.

10 G. Kara, 'Pre-Mongol and Mongol Writing Systems', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris, 1998), p. 335.

11 *Liao Shi*, p. 576.

12 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II (London, 2014), p. 312.

13 Nicolai N. Kradin et al., 'Emgentiin Kherem, a Fortress Settlement of the Khitans in Mongolia', *The Silk Road* 12 (2014), pp. 89, 96.

14 Chinese emperors had not only a family name, but also a reign name, a temple name and a posthumous name. Many earlier emperors (before the Ming and Qing dynasties) changed their reign names on the occasion of a new era within their own reign. The temple name was given after an emperor's death and consisted of two characters. Posthumous names could be much longer.

15 *Liao Shi,* p. 577; Twitchett and Tietze, 'The Liao', pp. 68f.

16 Di Cosmo, 'Geschichte und Gesellschaftsstruktur der Liao-Dynastie', pp. 199–202.

17 *Liao Shi,* map facing p. 752; Twitchett and Tietze, 'The Liao', pp. 70f.

18 *Liao Shi*, pp. 586, 589; Twitchett and Tietze, 'The Liao', pp. 109f, 122.

19 Eric Trombert, 'The Demise of Silk on the Silk Road: Textiles as Money at Dunhuang from the Late Eighth Century to the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23:2 (April 2013), p. 347.

20 *Liao Shi*, pp. 586–88; Twitchett and Tietze, 'The Liao', pp. 100–104, 111f.

21 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. II, p. 312f.

22 *Liao Shi*, p. 589–91.

23 *Liao Shi*, p. 554.

24 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* pp. 291, 298.

25 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* p. 292.

26 Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Schätze der Liao*, pp. 233–35. Some 10,000 inscribed stone tablets were reburied at a solemn ceremony in 1999. The monastery also has a collection of 77,000 double-sided wood printing blocks.

27 Twitchett and Tietze, 'The Liao', pp. 127–38; Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* pp. 591–94.

28 *Liao Shi*, pp. 595–98, 627–31; Twitchett and Tietze, 'The Liao', pp. 140–51.

29 Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 179.

30 The garrison town of Khedun has been identified as today's Chin Tolgoy Balgas in Bulgan province, in northern Mongolia: Ayudai Ochir and Lkhagvasüren Erdenebold, 'About the Uighur City of Khedun, Mongolia', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn, 2009), pp. 437–43.

31 *Liao Shi*, pp. 633f; Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 27–37. Biran puts the departure from Khedun in March 1130; the reconstruction of Yelü Dashi's progress from Khedun to Balasaghun remains disputed.

32 See p. 107 above and Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 355f; *Liao Shi*, pp. 635–37; Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai*, pp. 37–39.

33 *Liao Shi*, p. 638. As Yelü Dashi did not take personal command of this expedition, it is possible that he may have used it as a way of ridding himself of homesick Khitan.

34 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* p. 674.

35 *Liao Shi*, p. 639. See also Emil Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources,* vol. I (London, 1888), pp. 232f., and Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 154f.

36 See pp. 101f.

37 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), p. 211; Jean Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie: L'Orient latin et la découverte de l'Asie intérieure* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 21f. From a European perspective at that time the only religions that existed were the three Semitic religions and pagans, so it was assumed that the victorious non-Muslim was a Christian.

38 Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie*, pp. 30, 41–56. Some 30 years later, Simon de Saint-Quentin wrote that Genghis Khan had killed King David with 'God's permission' because of his sins: ibid., p. 101.

39 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 44, n. 4.

40 This Alp Tegin is of course a different person from the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, also called Alp Tegin (r. 962–63).

41 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* p. 642.

42 Even the Gür-Khan and his court did not reside in the city of Balasaghun but in an extensive encampment nearby.

43 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* p. 666.

44 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* pp. 661f, 670. The Qara Khitai's Muslim vassals still continued to strike their traditional coins. See also Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai*, p. 127.

45 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* p. 668.

46 Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 209f; Wassilios Klein, *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jh.* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 48, 205, 288.

47 Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai*, p. 49.

48 Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* p. 643.

49 W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), pp. 336f.

50 Among the Turkic peoples, Sultan was not only a title but also a personal name.

51 See p. 130 and Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 289f.

52 *Liao Shi*, p. 646.

53 Rashid ad-Din Fadhlallah Hamdani, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* (Tabriz, 1304–1316). *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, published by Étienne Quatremère (Paris, 1836; reprint, Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1968), 423f, trans. p. 145.

54 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 358.

55 See pp. 130f.

56 Toghril had become blood brother with Genghis Khan's father Yesügei: Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 362f, trans. p. 125; Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan* (Malden, NJ, 1991), p. 51; Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* p. 649.

57 See pp. 126, 132.

58 See p. 149.

59 *Liao Shi*, p. 653.

60 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri,* vol. I, pp. 262f.

61 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri,* vol. I, pp. 273f.

62 Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian Rule in North China', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VI, pp. 375f; Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, p. 204; Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2012), p. 28; Igor de Rachewiltz, 'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Yeh-lü Chu, Yeh-lü His-liang', in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 149f.

63 Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War* (Yardley, 2007), p. 67.

64 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 30; Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 671, trans. p. 233; Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* pp. 655–57.

65 Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, trans. and ed. with notes by Col. Sir Henry Yule, 3rd ed. revised by Henri Cordier (London, 1903), vol. I, pp. 433–37.

66 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 598.

67 Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, p. 138.

68 On the Karakhitai of Kirman see Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 417f, 469–73, 476–82.

69 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 477; Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* pp. 655–57.

70 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 90.

71 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 84–86, 293f.

72 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 290f.

73 Ruth Dunnel, 'The Hsi Hsia', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VI, pp. 154–86; Y. I. Kychanov, 'The Tangut His-Hsia Kingdom (982–1227)' in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. IV, *The Age of Achievement: AD 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century,* Part 1, *The Historical, Social and Economic Setting* (ed.), M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris, 1998), pp. 206–8.

74 Y. I. Kychanov, 'The Tangut Hsi-Hsia Kingdom', p. 213.

75 Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism* (London, 2011), pp. 109–25; Arnoud Bijl and Birgit Boelens (eds), *Expedition Silk Road: Journey to the West: Treasures from the Hermitage* (Amsterdam, 2014), pp. 104f.

76 Lei Runze, 'The Structural Character and Tradition of Ningxia's Tangut Stupas', *Orientations* 27:4 (April 1996), pp. 55–62; Marylin M. Rhie, 'Sculpture of Xixia', *Orientations* 27:4 (April 1996), pp. 49f.

77 In 1038 too, Emperor Yuanhao changed the family name Li, bestowed on the clan by the Tang, to Weiming: Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, 'The Tangut Royal Tombs near Yinchuan', *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), p. 369.

78 The catty is a traditional Chinese unit of weight, mainly used for weighing food. In the Song dynasty 1 catty corresponded to 600–15 g.

79 Minyak hardly presented a danger to Genghis Khan, since for a long time its foreign policy had been purely defensive.

80 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 135, 420, trans. pp. 51, 144.

81 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 16–18.

82 Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant* (Westport, 2004), p. 53.

83 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 135, trans. p. 51.

84 *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century,* 2 vols, translated with a Historical and Philological Commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden, 2006), § 256, p. 189 (orthography adapted).

85 Igor de Rachewiltz, 'Military Leaders: Muqali, Böl, Tas, An-t'ung', in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan* (Wiesbaden, 1993), p. 7.

86 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 529, trans. p. 184.

87 *The Secret History*, § 265, p. 196f.

88 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 540f, trans. p. 187.

89 As Rashid reports, Ananda took as his model the Mongol Il-Khan Ghazan (r. 1295–1304), who commanded the destruction of the Buddhist temples in Iran: Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 949–53, trans. pp. 329f. Ananda failed in his attempt in 1307 to seize power in the Yuan Empire.

90 As Bergman and Sommarström showed, the city was linked by a canal to the nearby Etzin Gol (Ejin River or Ruo Shui): Bo Sommarström, Archaeological Researches in the Edsen-Gol Region, Inner Mongolia, together with the catalogue prepared by Folke Bergman, 2 vols (Stockholm, 1956, 1958), vol. I, p. 5, n. 12, p. 21, vol. II, p. 196.

91 Mikhail P. Piotrovsky (ed.), *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth century)* (Milan, 1993), pp. 234f; K. F. Samosyuk, 'Historical Subjects in the Paintings from Khara Khoto: Facts and Hypotheses', in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura, 2002), pp. 244f; Grigory Semenov and Jin Yasheng (eds), *Khara-Khoto Art Relics Collected in the State Hermitage Museum of Russia* (Shanghai, 2008), vol. I, p. 87, pl. 7.

92 For illustrations see Semenov and Jin (eds), *Khara-Khoto Art Relics*, vol. I, pl. 1–4, 11–20.

93 Bijl and Boelens (eds), *Expedition Silk Road*, p. 104.

94 Semenov and Jin (eds), *Khara-Khoto Art Relics*, vol. I, pl. 82, parts 1, 2, 5.

95 Luciano Petech, 'Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols', in Morris Rossabi, *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 183.

96 Pyotr K. Kozlov, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto, mit einem Geleitwort von Dr Sven Hedin* (Berlin, 1925), p. 43; Kira F. Samosyuk, 'The Discovery of Kara Khoto', in Piotrovsky (ed.), *Lost Empire of the Silk Road* (Milano, 1993), pp. 31f.

97 Herbert Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen: Die Reisen des Zentralasienforschers Pjotr Koslow* (Leipzig, 1971), pp. 9–23.

98 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, p. 117.

99 Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen*, pp. 107–6.

100 Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen*, pp. 213f, 223, 242.

101 Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen*, p. 224. Hedin had been asked the same question in the Pamirs in 1893: Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, p. 117.

102 Kozlov, *Mongolei* (1925), pp. 34, 43–48.

103 Kozlov, *Mongolei* (1925), pp. 46f.

104 Kozlov, *Mongolei* (1925), p. 175.

105 Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran* (Oxford, 1928), vol. I, pp. 446–48.

106 Kozlov, *Mongolei* (1925), p. 240.

107 Herbert Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen,* pp. 321f, cited in English translation in Stein, *Innermost Asia,* vol. I, p. 447, n. 3. See also: Pyotr K. Kozlov, *Mongolija i Amdo i mertvij gorod Xara-Xoto* (Moscow, 1923), pp. 546–67 and *Die Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto* (Leipzig, 1955), p. 383.

108 As Aurel Stein regretfully observed, Kozlov's 'rough methods of excavation' had led to avoidable damage and decay: Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia* (Oxford, 1928), vol. I, pp. 445, 447.

109 Kozlov, *Mongolei* (1925), pp. 240f.

110 For a photograph see Piotrovsky (ed.), *Lost Empire of the Silk Road,* pl. 60.

111 Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen,* p. 323.

112 *Tsa tsas* are Buddhist votive tablets made of sun-dried clay.

113 Bijl and Boelens (eds), *Expedition Silk Road*, pp. 85, 96; Kozlov, *Mongolei,* pp. 240–44; *Die Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto* (Leipzig, 1955), pp. 381–84; Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen*, pp. 321f, 325–27.

114 Wotte, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen,* p. 356.

115 Rob Linroth, 'New Delhi and New England: Old Collections of Tangut Art', *Orientations* 27:4 (April 1996), pp. 38–40.

116 Langdon Warner, *The Long Old Road in China* (London, 1927), p. 149f. Warner then travelled to the Buddhist shrine of the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang, where he removed 26 wall paintings and a terracotta statue of a bodhisattva from cave 328 and took them back to Harvard.

117 Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, pp. 440, 444.

118 Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. I, p. 444.

119 Since Bergman died young, the results of his work were published by Sommarström: Bo Sommarström, *Archaeological Researches in the Edsen-Gol Region*.

120 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 29–31.

VI. The Rise of the Mongols

1 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, in the Russian translation *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. I (Leningrad, 1952), part 1, p. 116. The sentence is missing in Thackston's translation: 'The Compendium of Chronicles', in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, vol. III (London, 2012), 457, trans. p. 160.

2 Christine Lee, 'Who Were the Mongols (1100–1400 CE)? An Examination of Their Population History', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn, 2009), p. 579.

3 Kirakos Gandzakets'i, *History of the Armenians*, trans. Robert Bedrosian (New York, 1986).

4 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 142, 150. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 105. Surprisingly, neither Christians nor Muslims interpreted their defeats as signs of weakness on the part of their God, or as an indication of his non-existence.

5 John Dardess, 'Shun-ti and the End of Yüan rule in China', in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (eds), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. VI: *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 570.

6 J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 190.

7 For an overview of the sources and a brief anthology, see: Morris Rossabi, *The Mongols and Global History* (New York, 2011).

8 The ethnonym 'Mongols' can have three meanings: in a restricted sense, members of the medium-sized tribe of the Mongols, to which Genghis Khan belonged; the unified nation of the Mongols, which included all the tribes subjected by Genghis Khan; and the inhabitants of today's Mongolia.

9 David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA, 2007), p. 11. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy* (Oxford, 1991), pp. XIII, XV.

10 *The Secret History of the Mongols*: *A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden, 2006), vol. I, pp. XXXIII, XXXIX. Further references given as *The Secret History* refer to this edition. Paul Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi Qutuqu', in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds) *In the Service of the Khan* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 89–93.

11 Shams al-Din Juvaini was executed in 1284, together with his sons, as a result of a defamation. George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (Abingdon, 2003), pp. 206ff.

12 The Juvaini brothers were members of a distinguished family of politicians from Khorasan. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 1049, trans. p. 364. George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran*, pp.177–212.

13 Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Leiden, 2011), p. 166. Dorothea Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans and their Vizier Rashid al-Din* (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), pp. 43f.

14 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. XV–XXIX, 54.

15 Dorothea Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans and their Vizier Rashid al-Din*, pp. 112f, see also pp. 92, 98.

16 Mostafa Vaziri, *Buddhism in Iran: An Anthropological Approach to Traces and Influences* (New York, 2012), pp. 111, 114, 117–20.

17 Thomas T. Allsen, 'Bolad Ch'eng-Hsiang in China and Iran', in Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 7–22. Sheila R. Canby, 'Depictions of Buddha Shakyamuni in the Jamia al-Tawarikh and the Majma'a al-Tavarikh', *Muqarnas vol. X: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 299f. Basil Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript* (London, 1978), pp. 13–38. Dorothea Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans and their Vizier Rashid al-Din*, pp. 9, 33, 36, 40, 77–80, 127. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* (Tabriz, 1304–1316). *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Étienne Quatremère, trans. and ed. (Paris, 1836, reprint Amsterdam, 1968), pp. I–CX. David Talbot Rice, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashid al-Din* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 1f.

18 See above p. 118.

19 *Histoire secrète des Mongols: Chronique mongole du XIIIe siècle*, trans. Marie-Dominique Even and Rodica Pop (Paris, 1994), pp. 17f.

20 Li Chih-Ch'ang, *Hsi Yu Chi, The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-Ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan,* trans. Arthur Waley (London, 1931).

21 Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *History of the Armenians* (New York, 1986).

22 Het'um the Armenian, *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient* (Klagenfurt: 2006). *The Flower of Histories of the East,* trans. Robert Bedrosian (Long Branch, NJ, 2004). Online version http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1240-1320,_Het%27um_The_Armenian,_History_Of_The_Tartars_%5BThe_Armenia_History%5D,_EN.pdf

23 Hethum von Korykos, *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient* (Klagenfurt, 2006), pp. 47–96; in trans. Robert Bedrosian, pp. 13–30.

24 E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan* (London, 1928).

25 See excursus pp. 255f.

26 Not listed here are those European missionaries who left no accounts, but only letters. For an overview of European reports see: C. Raymond Beazley, *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis, as Printed for the First Time by Hakluyt in 1598, Together with some Shorter Pieces* (London, 1903). Christopher Dawson (ed.), *The Mongol Mission. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia*

and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (London, 1955). Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*. Leonardo Olschki, *Marco Polo's Precursors* (Baltimore, 1943) and Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London, 1971).

27 See excursus pp. 207–11.

28 Giovanni di Plano Carpini, *The History of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars,* trans. Erik Hildinger (Boston, 1996).

29 William of Rubruck, 'Le voyage de Guillaume de Rubruquis, en diverses parties de l'Orient & principalement en Tartarie et à la Chine', in Pierre Bergeron, *Voyages fait principalement en Asie dans les XII, XIII, XIV, et XV siècles* (La Haye: 1735), pp. 1–149. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255,* trans. Peter Jackson with David Morgan (Indianapolis, 2009). Further references given as *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* refer to this edition.

30 Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares* (ed.), Jean Richard (Paris, 1965). Simon's account is preserved, in fragmentary form, only in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Maius* of *ca.* 1260.

31 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora: Matthew Paris's English History. From the Year 1235 to 1273*, trans. J. A. Giles, 3 vols (London, 1852–54).

32 Marco Polo, *Il Milione*,trans. and ed. Sir Henry Yule as *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols (London, 1903).

33 Odoricus de Pordenone, *Itinerarium Fratris Odorici del Foro Julii, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarium.* German translation, *Die Reise des seligen Odorich von Pordenone nach Indien und China (1314/18–1330),* trans. and ed. Folker Reichert (Heidelberg, 1987).

34 Pegolotti was a merchant, but never travelled in Asia; he gathered his information from other merchants and agents. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura*(ed.), Allan Evans (Cambridge, MA, 1936).

35 Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, AD 1403–06* (London, 1859).

36 See excursus p. 288–91. Hans Schiltberger, *Ein wunderbarliche und kurzweilige History, wie Schildtberger, einer aus der Statt München in Beyern, von den Türkcken gefangen, in die Heydenschaffft geführet, und wider heimkomen ist, sehr lüstig zu lesen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1554). *Schiltbergers Reisebuch. Kriegsgefangen in Vorderasien von 1394–1425* (Leipzig, 1917). *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger,* trans. J. Buchan Telfer (London, 1879).

37 David Morgan, *The Mongols*, p. 34.

38 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck,* pp. 95f.

39 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 124–30, 365–67, 415–18, trans. pp. 47–49, 126f, 142f.

40 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 422, 475, trans. pp. 144f, 166. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 102, 117f.

41 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 99f, pp. 39f.

42 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 93–97, 364, 375–81, 418f, 422f, 456f, trans. pp. 37f, 125, 129f, 143ff, 160. *The Secret History,* § 54–56, 98–102, 109f, trans. pp. 11f, 31f, 40.

43 Bar Hebraeus, *Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar-Hebraei Chronicon Syriacum. E codicibus Bodleianis* (Leipzig, 1789). *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, being the first part of his political history of the world*, trans. from the Syriac Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), vol. I, p. 184. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), pp. 195–98.

44 The Jin, who had become estranged from the Tatars, in gratitude gave Toghril the royal title of Wang. Marco Polo called him Ong Khan.

45 Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, vol. I, p. 239. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, p. 68f.

46 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 111–25, 359–98, trans. pp. 44–47, 124–37. *The Secret History,* § 150–52, 165, 184–88, trans. pp. 73f, 84, 105–10. Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 198f.

47 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 791–95, trans. pp. 274f.

48 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 119, trans. p. 45. Under the levirate system, brothers or sons of a man who died would marry his widow, except for their biological mother.

49 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 262, trans. p. 93.

50 *The Secret History,* § 58, trans. p. 13. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 11f.

51 This means that all males taller than the *ca.* 110 centimetre-high linchpin would be killed. *The Secret History,* § 154, trans. p. 77.

52 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 83–85, trans. pp. 33f.

53 Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York, 2004), p. 456.

54 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 377f, 386f, 393, trans. pp. 129f, 132f, 135.

55 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II (London, 2014), p. 310. Tjalling Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia* (Leiden, 2008), p. 35.

56 Previously they were called White Tatars.

57 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 131–34, 301, trans. pp. 49f, 105. Tjalling Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia*, p. 36.

58 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 954–57, trans. pp. 331f.

59 Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, vol. I, p. 285.

60 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 202–4, 229–32.

61 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 203f.

62 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 218–29, trans. pp. 81–84. *The Secret History,* § 1–46, trans. pp. 1–9. On Genghis Khan's family tree see: Dambyn Bazargur and Dambyn Enkhbayar, *Chinggis Khaan. Historic-Geographic Atlas* (Ulaan Baatar, 1997), p. 7.

63 *The Secret History,* § 52, trans. p. 10. See also: Louis Hambis, 'L'Histoire des Mongols avant Gengis-Khan d'après les sources chinoises et mongoles, et la documentation conservée par Rašidu-d-Din', *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. XIV (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 125–133.

64 Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, p. 10.

65 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 249, 262, trans. pp. 89, 93. *The Secret History,* § 52f, trans. pp. 10f.

66 Kiyad and Tayichiud were sub-clans of the Borjigin.

67 *The Secret History,* § 58, trans. p. 13.

68 Temujin's year of birth is given variously as 1155, 1162 and 1167; 1155 is very unlikely. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 17–19.

69 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*, 285, 310, trans. pp. 100, 109. *The Secret History,* § 59, trans. p. 13.

70 On the biography of Genghis Khan see, apart from the original sources: Hans Leicht (ed.), *Dschinghis Khan: Eroberer, Stammesfürst, Vordenker* (Düsseldorf, 2002). Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*. Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of Modern World* (New York, 2012).

71 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 326f, pp. 113f. *The Secret History,* § 70–73, trans. pp. 17f.

72 *The Secret History,* § 76f, trans. p. 20f.

73 *The Secret History,* § 79–89, trans. pp. 22–26.

74 *The Secret History,* § 96, trans. p. 30.

75 *The Secret History,* § 103, trans. p. 33.

76 *The Secret History,* § 104–19, trans. pp. 34–46.

77 On the dating of this event, see *The Secret History,* vol. I, commentary pp. 453–62.

78 *The Secret History,* § 129, trans. p. 54.

79 Paul Ratchnevsky, 'Die Rechtsverhältnisse bei den Mongols im 12.–13. Jahrhundert', *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 31, no. 1–2 (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 82.

80 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 328, p. 114.

81 Noriyuki Shiraishi, Batmunkh Tsogtbaatar, 'A Preliminary Report on the Japanese-Mongolian Joint Archaeological Excavation at Avraga Site: The Great Ordu of Chinggis Khan', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn, 2009), pp. 549–62.

82 *The Secret History,* § 141, trans. p. 63.

83 *The Secret History,* § 141–47, 209, trans. pp. 62–69, 142.

84 *The Secret History,* § 153, trans. p. 76.

85 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 395–97, trans. pp. 135f. *The Secret History,* § 185, trans. pp. 106.

86 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 416–18, trans. p. 143. *The Secret History,* § 189–96, 200f, trans. pp. 110–23, 128–33. In the *Secret History* Jamuka is portrayed as a continual schemer who was intent on sowing discord between Toghril and Temujin.

87 See above p. 152.

88 Chinese sources give 70 years as the upper limit. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley, 2007), p. 30.

89 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 571, trans. p. 197. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 89f.

90 François Pétis de La Croix, *Histoire du grand Genghizcan, premier empereur des anciens Mogols et Tartares* (Paris, 1710, reprint 2013), p. 78.

91 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II (London, 2014), p. 8.

92 Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War*, p. 31. See also: Carpini, *The History of the Mongols,* p. 65.

93 James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen* (Norwalk, 1995), p. 55.

94 Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War*, p. 89.

95 A few *noyans* commanded more than one *mingan*; for example, the five *mingans* of the Onguts were subject to a single Ongut prince.

96 Genghis Khan was inconsistent in that he assigned individual *tümen* with their *noyan* to close family members, which led to conflicts. *The Secret History,* § 242, trans. p. 166f.

97 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 592, trans. 207.

98 *The Secret History,* § 202–29, trans. p. 133–58. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War*, pp. 29–38, 86–90.

99 Genghis Khan probably militarised Mongol society to this extreme degree in preparation for conquests already planned.

100 *The Secret History,* § 203, trans. p. 136.

101 Paul Ratchnevsky, 'Die Yasa (Jasak) Čhinggis-khans und ihre Problematik', in Georg Hazai and Peter Zieme (eds), *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Altaischen Völker* (Berlin, 1974), 471–87; 'Die Rechtsverhältnisse bei den Mongols im 12.–13. Jahrhundert', *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 31, no. 1–2 (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 64–111.

102 *The Secret History,* § 244–46, trans. pp. 168–72, commentary vol. II, pp. 878–86.

103 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 954.

104 The ancient Chinese emperors and Turks already knew the concept of a heavenly mandate, but it was not universal, and confined to their own peoples.

105 Letter from Great Khan Güyük to Pope Innocent IV of 1246. Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London, 1971), p. 213.

106 Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 21.

107 See above pp. 132, 152ff.

108 Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant* (Westport, 2004), p. 22.

109 Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 111f.

110 Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant*, pp. 28f, 42. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War*, pp. 3, 78. Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of Modern World* (New York, 2012), p. 94. Later the Mongols took over the heavy counterweight trebuchet from Muslim ballisticians.

111 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 441–56, trans. pp. 151–60. *The Secret History,* § 247–53, trans. pp. 175–81. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 112–16.

112 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 459, trans. p. 161.

113 P. D. Buell, 'Činqai', in Igor de Rachewiltz, et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol–Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden, 1993), p. 100. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War*, p. 64.

114 Li Chih-Ch'ang, *Hsi Yu Chi. The Travels of an Alchemist* (London, 1931), p. 121.

115 As de Rachewiltz assumed, the regulation of the succession of 1219 as recounted in the *Secret History* is probably a later interpolation of the events of 1227 to 1229, when Ögödei and Tolui divided the power between them. Rashid's account is in this respect biased in favour of Tolui's line. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 785, trans. p. 272.

116 Genghis Khan also had about six daughters, not all by Börte. Jack Weatherford, *The Secret History of the Mongol Queens: How the Daughters of Genghis Khan Rescued his Empire* (New York, 2010), pp. XIIIf, 2.

117 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 619, trans. p. 215. Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, p. 128.

118 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 784, trans. p. 272.

119 *The Secret History,* § 254, trans. p. 183. Jochi's biological father was most probably the Merkit Chilger; see above, pp. 170f.

120 *The Secret History,* § 254f, trans. pp. 182–87.

121 Genghis Khan had granted the people and region of the Upper Ienissei to Jochi as his personal *ulus* after his successful campaign against the People of the Forest, among others the Kyrgyz, in 1207. *The Secret History,* § 239, trans. pp. 163–65, commentary p. 857.

122 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 787f, trans. p. 273. See also: Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 40.

123 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 592–614, trans. pp. 207–13. See also Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York, 1971), pp. 17f. The core Mongol troops were supplemented by about 200,000 non-Mongol auxiliary troops.

124 *The Secret History,* § 272, trans. pp. 203–5. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 643f, 789–93, trans. pp. 224, 274.

125 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 612, trans. p. 213.

126 The commander of Khujand, Timur Malik, had an epic escape, sailing down the Syr Darya with a flotilla and fleeing into the Kyzyl Kum Desert. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 92–95.

127 Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant*, pp. 42f, 79–82.

128 See above p. 136.

129 The Maginot Line, built in the 1930s, was a chain of bunkers along the north-eastern French border. In the early summer of 1940 the *Wehrmacht* bypassed it in the north-west and broke through it at the centre, in Sedan, so that the mobile German tank units were able to advance rapidly at the rear of the now useless Maginot Line, and force France to capitulate after only six weeks.

130 B. H. Liddell Hart, *Great Captains Unveiled* (Boston, 1996), p. 33.

131 The maximum range with sufficient impact was about 300 metres.

132 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, p. 72. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, p. 313.

133 The Mongols preferred geldings and milk-producing mares, in contrast to the western knights who used stallions, as strong as possible. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War*, p. 54.

134 Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant*, pp. 28, 43–46. Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War*, pp. 64–77.

135 James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen*, p. 60.

136 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 145.

137 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 131.

138 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 105–7. See also: Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 499f, trans. p. 174.

139 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 81–177. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, pp. 966–1100.

140 See above p. 135. James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen*, pp. 16f, 30f. Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant*, pp. 83–86, 89–103. Franklin Mackenzie, *Genghis Khan* (Essen/Berlin, 1992), pp. 226–36, 259–62, 278–98.

141 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 663–66, trans. p. 230f.

142 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 514–16, trans. p. 179.

143 According to Juvaini, Tolui had the site where Nishapur had once stood ploughed by oxen, and Merv was destroyed as many as seven times within a single year. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 150–78. See also: Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, pp. 1028–38.

144 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 1038.

145 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 519, trans. p. 180.

146 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 150–57. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 519f, 752, trans. pp. 180f, 260.

147 See above p. 136.

148 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 137f. Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 1038, 1046, 1081–84. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 528, trans. p. 183.

149 This paragraph 263 seems somewhat anachronistic and could have the purpose of attributing the administrative reform introduced by Ögödei in 1229 to Genghis Khan. *The Secret History,* § 263, trans. p. 194, commentary vol. II, pp. 961–64.

150 Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, p. 1001. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 530, 732f, trans. p. 184, 254. Paul Ratchnevsky gives both 1225 and 1226 as the year of Jochi's death: Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 137, 280, 283.

151 Li Chih-Ch'ang, *Hsi Yu Chi*, p. 118.

152 See above p. 155.

153 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols,* p. 79.

154 See above pp. 155f.

155 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 541, trans. p. 187.

156 Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, vol. I, pp. 247.

157 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 541–42, 634, 636, 853, 939, trans. p. 187f, 221f, 295, 326.

158 Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia* (London, 2008), pp. 57.

159 The mountain officially recognised today as Burkhan Khaldun is 2,452 metres above sea level and lies in the eastern part of the Khentii mountain range.

160 The author, who was present at the excavations of 2002, dates the stone wall to the Khitan period; the few opened graves brought to light finds from both the Xiongnu period and the Middle Ages. Hypothetically, the necropolises could have been used over many centuries and surrounded with a wall by the Khitan. Dambyn Bazargur and Dambyn Enkhbayar, *Chinggis Khan's Birth-Place & Burial Site* (Ulaan Baatar, 2006), pp. 4–8, 23, 28–36. See also: Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert*, pp. 58f. *The Secret History,* commentary vol. II, pp. 979–82.

161 Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses,* trans. from the Mongolian and ed. by Issac Jacob Schmidt (St Petersburg, 1829), pp. 107, 390.

162 Johann Elverskog, 'The Legend of Muna Mountain', in *Inner Asia*, vol. 8 (Leiden, 2006), pp. 99, 109–14. Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), pp. 340–49.

VII. The United Mongol Empire

1 David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA, 2007), p. 74.

2 See above p. 182.

3 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 788, trans. p. 273.

4 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 792, trans. p. 274.

5 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 236.

6 Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Yüan dynasty and the Uyghurs of Turfan in the 13th Century', in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 250.

7 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 660–62, 679f, 705, trans. pp. 229f, 236, 245.

8 Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan* (Oxford, 1991), p. 259, n. 177.

9 The terms 'Ögödeid', 'Jochid' or 'Toluid' denominate a descendant of the respective princes Ögödei, Jochi or Tolui.

10 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1066–69, trans. p. 370f. Thomas T. Allsen, 'Mahmud Yalavač, Mas'ud Beg, Ali Beg, Safaliq, Bujir', in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 100–106, 123–29.

11 Herbert Franke, 'The Chin Dynasty', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VI (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 263f. Stephen G. Haw, 'The Mongol Empire – the First "Gunpowder Empire"?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, July 2013), pp. 441–49, 453, 463.

12 Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian Rule in North China', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. VI, pp. 375–83. 'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Yeh-lü Chu, Yeh-lü His-liang', in Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 149–62. Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History* (Oxford, 2010), p. 118.

13 The Turkic name Karakorum means 'black boulder'.

14 Eva Becker, *Die altmongolische Hauptstadt Karakorum: Forschungsgeschichte nach historischen Aussagen und archäologischen Quellen* (Rahden, 2007), p. 80. It is conceivable that the foundation of a permanent capital city in the 1230s was controversial among Mongol traditionalists and that it was therefore ascribed to Genghis Khan.

15 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 262, 299. The region around Karakorum had already served as an encampment for the Keraite Toghril Khan.

16 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 54, 236. For a photo see: Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, fig. 190.

17 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 671, trans. p. 233.

18 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 877f, trans. p. 303.

19 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 670, trans. p. 233.

20 Becker, *Die altmongolische Hauptstadt Karakorum*, pp. 81f.

21 Claudius Müller and Jacob Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (Munich, 2005), pp. 145, 342.

22 Great Khan Ögödei usually resided in one of his four yurt palaces outside Karakorum. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 671f, trans. p. 233.

23 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255,* trans. Peter Jackson with David Morgan (Indianapolis, 2009) p. 211.

24 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 671, trans. p. 233.

25 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck,* p. 209f.

26 The attempts at a cover-up by the Soviet archaeologist Sergey Kiselev, who carried out excavations in Karakorum in 1948/49, are very disconcerting. Since he was determined to discover Ögödei's palace, he concealed or destroyed more than 12,000 (!) archaeological finds during the partial excavation of the Buddhist temple. Equally extraordinary is the fact that still in 2005 it was not allowed to photograph or describe the 40 or so mural fragments from Karakorum preserved in the Hermitage in St Petersburg. Becker, *Die altmongolische Hauptstadt Karakorum*, pp. 3f, 124, 132f, 138, 150, 155f, 160, 239.

27 Becker, *Die altmongolische Hauptstadt Karakorum*, pp. 83, 96, 162. Hans-Georg Hüttel, 'Das Projekt "Karakorum-Palast"', *Mongolische Notizen* (Bonn, 2005), pp. 10–12. 'Royal Palace or Buddhist Temple? On the Search for the Karakorum Palace', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn, 2009), pp. 542, 545. 'Karakorum (Mongolei)', *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Jahresbericht 2009*, AA 2010/1 Supplement (Berlin/Munich, 2010), pp. 346–50. Hans-Georg Hüttel and Ulambayar Erdenebat, *Karabalgasun und Karakorum: Zwei spätnomadische Stadtsiedlungen im Orchon-Tal* (Ulaan Baatar, 2009), pp. 11–14. Müller and Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, pp. 143–46, 160f, 165.

28 Hüttel and Erdenebat, *Karabalgasun und Karakorum: Zwei spätnomadische Stadtsiedlungen im Orchon-Tal*, p. 31, pl. 30f.

29 Müller and Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, pp. 137, 175.

30 Becker, *Die altmongolische Hauptstadt Karakorum*, p. 35.

31 On early paper money in China, see: Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Geld aus China* (Milan, 2003), pp. 63, 67. Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, 'Paper and printing', in Joseph Needham (ed.), *Science and Civilisation in China,* vol. V, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part I (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 96–99. Therese Weber, *The Language of Paper: A History of 2000 Years* (Bangkok, 2007), pp. 143f.

32 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck,* p. 203.

33 Henry Yule, ed. and trans., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China* (New York, 1967), vol. III, pp. 154f. See also: Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, pp. 424f. Marie-Hélène Tesnière (trans.) et al., *Marco Polo. Das Buch der Wunder.* From 'Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde', Ms. Fr. 2810, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Munich, 1999), p. 104.

34 Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan, his Life and Times* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 122f. Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Geld aus China* (Milan, 2003), p. 67.

35 Hsiao, Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yüan Politics', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VI, pp. 500f.

36 Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia. Sinkiang and the Inner Asia Frontiers of China and Russia* (Boston, 1950), p. 186, see also p. 183.

37 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 177f, 190f, 223–26, 301.

38 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 665f, trans. p. 230. Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant* (Westport, 2004), pp. 102f.

39 See above pp. 75–77.

40 James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen* (Norwalk, 1995), pp. 70–76. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant*, pp. 107–9. Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart, 2004), 98f.

41 See above p. 77.

42 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck,* p. 259.

43 Thomas T. Allsen, 'Mongols and North Caucasia', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, vol. VII (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 17–27, 33–36. Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London, 1971), pp. 187–96. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck,* p. 65.

44 The statements in *The Secret History* and the *Yüan Shi* are inconsistent about exactly when the two princes left for Karakorum and whether Güyük returned to the western army. *The Secret History,* § 275, trans. pp. 206–9, commentary vol. II, pp. 1011–14. Hodong Kim, 'A Reappraisal of Güyüg Khan' in Reuven Amitai & Michal Biran, *Mongols, Turks and Others* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 315–17. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, commentary pp. 17, 145 n. 2.

45 See above p. 71.

46 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 22–24, 96.

47 Even after the devastation of Poland and Hungary, in 1245 Pope Innocent IV preferred to depose Emperor Frederick II, who had liberated Jerusalem in 1228/29 practically without a battle, rather than building up a unified Christian front.

48 Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen*, pp. 96–99. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant*, pp. 110–15. Gabriel confuses Baidar with Büri. Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, pp. 100f.

49 Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant,* pp. 121–25.

50 Kenneth Chase, *Firearms. A Global History to 1700* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 58. However, it is clear that true firearms, in the form of cannons, came into use in Western Europe only later, in 1326 and 1331. Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden, 2002), p. 275.

51 The Mongols usually held two *kuriltai*: in the first, the leading decision makers chose the new Great Khan, and in the other he was confirmed in his title by a larger group of participants and enthroned. Kim, 'The Early History of the Moghul Nomads', p. 320, n. 49.

52 Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 24.

53 The English longbow did not appear until the fourteenth century, and the use of crossbow units was rare; because of its limited range, the crossbow had to be used in the shelter of a palisade or a wall of shields.

54 See pp. 71f, 219f.

55 Ögödei died of alcoholism. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 673f, trans. p. 234.

56 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 239–44, vol. II, pp. 503–5. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 793, 799–801, 806, trans. p. 275–78. P. D. Buell, 'Činqai' (Wiesbaden, 1993), p. 106. Allsen, 'Mahmud Yalavač, Mas'ud Beg, Ali Beg, Safaliq, Bujir', pp. 125, 128.

57 Alexander Nevsky halted the eastward advance of the Teutonic Order in 1242 at the Battle on the Ice at Lake Peipus.

58 See below p. 207. Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, pp. 106–11. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 239, Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of Modern World* (New York, 2012), pp. 162f.

59 Fatima's execution was a savage one: 'Her bodily orifices were sewn closed, she was wrapped in felt and thrown into the river.' Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 803, 808 trans. pp. 277, 279. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 244–46.

60 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 273f. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 767, 806f, trans. pp. 266, 279.

61 Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York, 1971), p. 188.

62 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, p. 113. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 259.

63 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 613, 793, trans. pp. 213, 274.

64 Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares* (Paris, 1965), pp. 78–80, Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War* (Yardley, 2007), p. 21. Rashid's dating of the battle to 1257 is much too late. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 994, trans. p. 346.

65 Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, pp. 73f.

66 He'tum of Korykos, *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient* (Klagenfurt, 2006), p. 58; introduction pp. 5f, 16, Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 66, 79–86. Jean Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie. L'Orient latin et la découverte de l'Asie intérieure. Quelques textes inégalement connus aux origines de l'alliance entre Francs et Mongols (1145–1262)* (Turnhout, 2005), p. 170.

67 The Mongols demanded of new vassals that the ruler should visit the Great Khan in person in Karakorum to testify to his submission. He had to supply hostages and troops, pay tribute and taxes, and submit a register of all households for the purpose of raising taxes and forced recruitment.

68 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. II, p. 165. Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie*, pp. 63f, 170f.

69 Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires* (London, 2012), pp. 126, 128.

70 It seems likely that at the time of the departure of his two ambassadors from Tabriz, Eljigidei had not yet heard of Güyük's death in the spring of 1248. It is also conceivable that Eljigidei warned King Louis of a campaign within the Mongol sphere of influence. Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, p. 98, n. 1. See also: Peter Jackson, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, commentary, pp. 33–35.

71 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, p. 132.

72 For the wording of the letter from Oghul Qaimish, see: Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie*, p. 163.

73 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 99, 181,*The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, commentary, pp. 33–38, Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, pp. 120–24, Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie*, p. 162.

74 For the wording of Godan's letter, see: Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New York, 1984), pp. 61f.

75 Phagpa was only Kublai Khan's second choice, for in 1255 he first sought to work with Karma Pakshi (1203/6–83), the second Karmapa or head of the Karma Kagyü school, who was famous for his miraculous deeds. But Karma Pakshi preferred to leave Kublai again soon and in 1256 offer his services to Great Khan Möngke. His rebuff to Kublai smoothed Phagpa's way to power. Luciano Petech, 'Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols', in Rossabi, *China among Equals*, pp. 173f.

76 Phagpa's script was also suitable for transcriptions from Chinese, Tibetan, Uyghur and Sanskrit. Müller and Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, p. 29.

77 Stephen G. Haw, 'The Mongol Conquest of Tibet', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, January 2014), pp. 37–49. Luciano Petech, 'Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols', in Rossabi, *China among Equals,* pp. 173–203. *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan – Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History* (Rome, 1990). Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, pp. 61–82. Turrell W. Wylie, 'The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), 37:1, pp. 103–33.

78 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, p. 112. It is possible that after having Batu killed, Güyük might have marched further west with his army, towards Europe. But Güyük knew Eastern Europe and was aware of the meagre possibilities of booty, so a plan to subjugate all the Jochids is more plausible.

79 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 793, trans. pp. 275, 280.

80 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 167f, n. 3–4. See also: Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 261, 267. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 767, 809, trans. p. 280. Rashid's claim that Güyük died with his army in Samarkand is unlikely, since the city is at least ten days' march from Besh Baliq. See also: Kim, 'The Early History of the Moghul Nomads', pp. 331f.

81 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 810, trans. p. 280.

82 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 19f. Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, pp. 22–26.

83 Pope Alexander III (in office 1159–81) actually sent his personal physician Philip to the priest-king Johannes in Asia in 1177. Philip arrived in Palestine and is presumed to have died in the Syrian desert. Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, pp. 19f, 36.

84 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, commentary, p. 28.

85 John and Lawrence replaced two English Franciscans who were first chosen by the Pope.

86 Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, pp. 84–88. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, commentary, p. 28.

87 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. II, p. 280. Jean Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie*, pp. 139–58. Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, pp. 94–117. Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, pp. 112–19. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, commentary, pp. 30–32.

88 His original companion, Stephen of Bohemia, was in poor health and was left behind in Breslau. In 1254 Benedict was given permission by Möngke to stay in Karakorum. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 48.

89 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, pp. 45, 47.

90 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, p. 45.

91 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, pp. 42f.

92 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, pp. 103ff.

93 Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, pp. 213f. On Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's journey see: ibid, pp. 89–111. Carpini, *The History of the Mongols*, pp. 94–120.

94 Carpini, *The History of the Mongols* pp. 85–93.

95 Jean Richard, 'À propos de la mission de Baudouin de Hainaut', in *Journal des savants*, 1992, no. 1, pp. 115–21. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 175, 227.

96 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 238, see also: p. 180.

97 See above p. 205.

98 Bar Hebraeus described Sartaq as a Nestorian deacon. Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, being the first part of his political history of the world*, trans. from the Syriac by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), vol. I, p. 398. See also: *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, commentary, pp. 40–44.

99 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 100, 73.

100 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 119f, 126, 171.

101 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 122, 129, 161, 201.

102 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 147.

103 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 165.

104 The crucifix would have violated the Mongol taboo on the depiction of blood and death.

105 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 209–13, 221.

106 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 222f.

107 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 248f.

108 See below pp. 254ff.

109 These Germans belonged to Prince Büri, who in 1240 had severely offended Batu. In the course of Möngke's political purge of 1251/52, Batu had Büri executed and the German slave workers were handed over to Möngke, who put them to work in the mining settlement at Bolad, Dzungaria. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 144–46.

110 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 187.

111 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 231–35.

112 Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, p. 137.

113 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 236f.

114 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 193.

115 Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures. The Franciscan Mission to China and its Influence on the Art of the West, 1250–1350* (San Francisco, 1999), p. 20. See also: *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 237, n. 2.

116 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 271–76.

117 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 90.

118 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 194, 196.

119 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 822, trans. p. 284. See also: Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, vol. I, p. 399. Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 552.

120 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 794, 824–26, trans. pp. 275, 284f.

121 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 828, trans. p. 286.

122 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 566–92. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 829–39, trans. pp. 286–90.

123 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 180.

124 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, pp. 174–81.

125 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 842–44, trans. p. 291.

126 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, p. 596. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 848, 869–72, 976, trans. pp. 292f, 300f, 340.

127 Allsen, ‘The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian rule in North China’, p. 408.

128 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 977, trans. pp. 340f.

129 The date of the order for the building of Zhongdu is also given as 1266. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan, His Life and Times*, pp. 24–31, 131. Allsen, ‘The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian rule in northern China’, p. 405–8.

130 Li Chih-Ch’ang, *Hsi Yu Chi: The Travels of an Alchemist* (London, 1931), pp. 10, 17, 27, 30–34. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan, his Life and Times*, pp. 37–43, 204.

131 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 850–53, 871, trans. pp. 294f, 301. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan, His Life and Times*, pp. 43–46.

132 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 976f, trans. pp. 340f.

133 See above pp. 95f.

134 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, p. 132.

135 On Hülegü’s destruction of the Ismailis see above p. 96.

136 May, *The Mongol Art of War*, p. 27. Hülegü’s army took neither family members nor large herds of sheep or goats with it, only horses. John Masson Smith Jr., ‘Hülegü Moves West: High Living and Heartbreak on the Road to Baghdad’, in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden, 2013), p. 131.

137 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 608f. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 975, 978, trans. pp. 340f.

138 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp.612–15. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 978f, trans. p. 341.

139 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. II, pp. 617–40, 712–24. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 987–92, trans. pp. 343–45.

140 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 997–1018, trans. pp. 347–354.

141 He’tum of Korykos, *La Flor des Estoires d’Orient*, p. 64.

142 A cousin of Caliph al-Mustasim was able to flee to Egypt, where Sultan Baibars installed him as puppet caliph to legitimise his own authority.

143 Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, p. 137. Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 129.

144 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1024–27, trans. pp. 356f. J. A. Boyle, ‘Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans’ (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 349–51. Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, p. 137–42.

145 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1030, trans p. 358.

146 See Hülegü’s letter to King Louis IX of 10 April 1262: Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l’Arménie*, p. 181.

147 He’tum of Korykos, *La Flor des Estoires d’Orient*, p. 67.

148 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 997-1028-31, trans. pp. 358f. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 117f.

149 See above p. 71. Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, p. 147.

150 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1034, trans. p. 359.

151 Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 21.

152 Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 397–402.

153 Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, pp. 181–84, 203.

154 Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, p. 145. Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, p. 152.

155 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 123.

156 See below p. 222.

157 Orda was an elder brother of Batu and subordinate to him. On the terms ‘Blue Horde’ and ‘White Horde’ see: István Vásáry, ‘The Jochid Realm: the Western Steppe and Eastern Europe’, in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 81, n. 46.

158 See below p. 243.

VIII. The Independent Mongol Khanates

1 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 1090, trans. p. 378.

2 Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 53–57.

3 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 768ff, 877–91, trans. pp. 266, 303–8; Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, pp. 59–62.

4 While the Il-Khanid khans laid great emphasis on their recognition by Kublai Khan and his successors, they were de facto independent.

5 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 880, trans. p. 304. Kublai Khan was nominally the fifth Great Khan and founder of the Yuan dynasty.

6 On Kaidu see pp. 240–43.

7 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 917f, trans. p. 318; Thomas T. Allsen, ‘The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire’, in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 270ff.

8 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, pp. 86–90.

9 John D. Langlois (ed.), *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton, 1981), p. 15, n. 34.

10 Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, trans. and ed. with notes by Col. Sir Henry Yule, 3rd ed. revised by Henri Cordier, vol. II, (London, 1903), p. 177. In 1309 or 1311, an imperial edict turned these seven monasteries over to Buddhist use. In China there are some 60 steles that stood before Nestorian monasteries, inscribed with a statement of exemption from taxation and an injunction to pray for the emperor. See Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), pp. 173, 219f; Li Tang, *East Syriac Christianity in Mongol-Yuan China* (Wiesbaden, 2011), pp. 135–38; A. C. Moule, *Christians in China Before the Year 1500* (New York, 1930; repr. 1977), pp. 139, 145–54; Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China,* vol. I: *635–1800* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 44ff, 67, 109–11.

11 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. I, pp. 197, 256–60.

12 Converted to Christianity in the tenth century, these Alans had been Melkites before becoming Catholics under Montecorvino’s influence: Vladimir Kouznetsov and Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Alains* (Paris, 2005), pp. 206f, 223.

13 Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and its Influence on the Art of the West, 1250–1350* (San Francisco, 1999), p. 104.

14 Arnold, *Princely Gifts,* pp. 46ff, 50.

15 Lauren Arnold, ‘The Heavenly Horse is Come from West of the West: Two Paintings Illuminating the Role of Latin Christians at the Mongol Court’, *Orientations* (Hong Kong) 45:7 (October 2014), p. 63.

16 Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts,* p. 103.

17 Alvise Zorzi, *Marco Polo: Eine Biographie* (Düsseldorf, 1984), pp. 12–14.

18 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 13.

19 The imperial favour shown to the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was also a response to their useful skills.

20 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 1–17, introduction pp. 13–17; Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 79, 94, 100 n. 173, 150f; Stephen G. Haw, *Marco Polo’s China: A Venetian in the Realm of Khubilai Khan* (London, 2006), pp. 47–49; Leonardo Olschki, *Marco Polo’s Precursors* (Baltimore, 1943), pp. 54, 72–93.

21 Edward’s venture formed part of the Seventh Crusade, which saw the death of King Louis IX of France in 1270; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow, 2005), p. 167.

22 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, pp. 18–23; Zorzi, *Marco Polo*, pp. 98ff.

23 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 46.

24 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 108.

25 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 171.

26 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, (London, 2014), pp. 193f.

27 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 197.

28 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 204.

29 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 267.

30 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, pp. 299ff.

31 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, p. 299.

32 The missions entrusted to Marco were probably relatively unimportant, as he is not mentioned in the Yuan Shi. The ‘Po-lo’ mentioned there is not any Venetian Polo but Bolad, Kublai’s envoy to the Il-Khanids: Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 60.

33 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. II, pp. 98–111; Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan,* pp. 214f, 218f.

34 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. II, pp. 253–60; Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan,* pp. 102f, 206–12.

35 Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond, 1997), pp. 43–45; Luciano Petech, ‘Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols’, in Morris Rossabi, *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbours, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 189.

36 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, pp. 222–24.

37 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, p. 344.

38 The contention of some historians, Frances Wood among them, that Marco Polo never visited China but relied entirely on secondary sources, is untenable. It is ridiculous, for example, to draw attention to his silence about the Great Wall of China, since it did not even exist as such in his time but was constructed in stone only under the Ming emperors, after the earlier earthen walls had fallen into ruin in the early thirteenth

century. Frances Wood, *Did Marco Polo go to China?* (London, 1998). On this see Haw, *Marco Polo's China*, pp. 52–67, and Igor de Rachewiltz, 'Marco Polo went to China', *Zentralasiatische Studien* 27 (1997), pp. 34–92.

39 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 418.

40 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 423–26, 433–37.

41 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 66.

42 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 45, 54.

43 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 442.

44 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, 13, vol. I, p. 285. On *nasij* see p. 233. Sindachu is probably Xunmalin in Hebei province.

45 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 212ff.

46 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 235ff.

47 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 174; this was in fact a restoration and extension, see p. 232 and note 61.

48 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 249ff.

49 Xinru Liu and Lynda Norene Shaffer, *Connections Across Eurasia*: *Transportation, Communication, and Cultural Exchange on the Silk Roads* (Boston, 2007), p. 214.

50 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 30. More than 100 Europeans in total reached China in the time of the Yuan dynasty: Arnold, *Princely Gifts*, p. 72.

51 Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 219–23.

52 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 31–36.

53 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, Introduction, pp. 45–104; Haw, *Marco Polo's China*, pp. 40–46, 176–78; Zorzi, *Marco Polo*, pp. 341–51.

54 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, p. 73.

55 Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 220; Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, p. 74.

56 Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yuan politics', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VI, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*(ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 500ff.

57 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier,* p. 221; Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 203, 206.

58 Peter Jackson, 'The Mongol Age in Eastern Inner Asia', in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia,* vol. II, Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds),*The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 42.

59 Kublai's 'Central Capital' Zhongdu was located very close to the former Zhongdu of the Jin which had been destroyed in 1215 by Genghis Khan's general Mukali. Zhongdu was also known under its other Chinese name Dadu, which meant 'Great Capital' (its Mongolian transliteration was Daidu) and under its Mongolian name Khan Baliq which meant 'City of the Khan'.

60 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan,* pp. 132, 188ff.

61 Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 174f. The canal was reconstructed and extended during Marco Polo's stay in China. That he was the first to report of the construction is indirect proof that he really did stay in China. Stephen G. Haw, *Marco Polo's China* (London, 2006), pp. 73f.

62 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier,* p. 224; Haw, *Marco Polo's China*, pp. 79, 81.

63 See above p. 199.

64 Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of Modern World* (New York, 2012), pp. 228ff.

65 In 1275, when Kaidu threatened the city, the silk weavers of Besh Baliq were transferred to Khanbaliq: James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York, 1997), pp. 14ff, 131.

66 Arnold, *Princely Gifts*, p. 18; James C. Y. Watt, *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven, 2010), pp. 6–8, 247ff; Watt and Wardell, *When Silk was Gold,* pp. 127, 131, 196.

67 Arnold, *Princely Gifts,* p. 18, see also pp. 36, 58; Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, 2002), pp. 31, 35, 48.

68 Arnold, *Princely Gifts*, pp. 119–33, and see pp. 260ff.

69 Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 65ff, 97, 169.

70 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh*,1024, trans. p. 356.

71 A second, enlarged edition of the compendium followed in 1303: Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, pp. 107–9; Hyunhee Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia.* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 99–103.

72 The grids on older maps of China or the Mediterranean do not represent fixed systems of coordinates but simply a means of assessing approximate distances between locations: Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, p. 110.

73 Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds*, pp. 88, 141ff.

74 Muhammad ibn Najib Bakran, *Jahan namah (Kniga o mire)*(ed.), Iu. E. Borshchevskii (Moscow, 1960), pp. 16–19. See also here p. 43.

75 Emil Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London, 1888), vol. II, pp. 2, 18–136; Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds*, pp. 100–102.

76 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, p. 170. There are also a few blue and white porcelaine predecessors from the Song dynasty (960–1279).

77 Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 110, 126.

78 John Carswell, 'Kharakhoto and Recent Research in Inner Mongolia', *Oriental Art* 45:41 (Winter 1999–2000), pp. 21ff.

79 See the curious addition in Ramusio's edition of 1553: Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 348.

80 Petech, 'Tibetan Relations', p. 187.

81 Herbert Franke, 'Tibetans in Yuan China', in Langlois, *China Under Mongol Rule*, pp. 306–9; Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, pp. 144ff.

82 Christoph Baumer and Therese Weber, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok, 2005), p. 53ff.

83 See above p. 206.

84 See above, p. 206.

85 Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism* (London, 2011), pp. 83, 298; Michael Henss, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet: The Central Regions* (Munich, 2014), vol. I, p. 71, vol. II, pp. 597–616, 744; Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan,* p. 170.

86 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, pp. 213–20.

87 Bruce W. Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians* (Ithaca, NY, 2007), pp. 34–46.

88 As the history of the Yuan after Kublai Khan was for the most part played out within China, it will be only briefly evoked here.

89 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 773, 958, trans. pp. 268, 332.

90 Michal Biran, 'The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan's Invasion to the Rise of Temür: the Ögödeid and Chaghadaid Realms', in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, vol. VI, p. 54.

91 Mongols and Se Mu were set easier exam questions than were the Chinese: Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yuan politics', pp. 516ff.

92 It was made illegal, for example, for Chinese and Koreans to possess weapons or to learn Mongolian or any other foreign language; their horses and iron implements were confiscated: Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yuan Politics', pp. 568–71.

93 Edward L. Dreyer, 'Military origins of Ming China', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VII, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 59–63.

94 Frederick W. Mote, 'The Rise of the Ming Dynasty, 1330–1367', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VII, pp. 44–57.

95 Franke, 'Tibetans in Yuan China', p. 579.

96 Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London, 1971), p. 175.

97 Franke, 'Tibetans in Yuan China', p 321; Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yuan politics', pp. 479ff.

98 Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses* (St Petersburg, 1829), p. 139.

99 In south-west China, individual Mongol princes held out even after the flight of Toghon Temür, e.g. Basalawarmi, viceroy of Yunnan until 1381; others survived in north-west China until around 1380: Kim Hodong, 'The Early History of the Moghul Nomads: The Legacy of the Chagatai Khanate', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan, *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden, 1999), p. 310.

100 Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses* (St Petersburg, 1829), p. 139.

101 Edward L. Dreyer, 'Military Origins of Ming China', in *The Cambridge History of China,* vol. VII, pp. 102ff.

102 Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York, 2004), p. 407; Hodong, 'The Early History of the Moghul Nomads', p. 293.

103 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia,* pp. 138ff, 407ff.

104 Thomas T. Allsen, 'The Yuan dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century', in Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals*, p. 252.

105 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, pp. 273ff; Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 767, 806ff, trans. pp. 266, 279.

106 J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 158, 245 n. 6.

107 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 768ff, 806ff, trans. pp. 266ff.

108 See above pp. 194f. Rashid al-Din, *Jamia*

al-Tawarikh, 1066–69, trans. pp. 369–71; Michal Biran, 'The Battle of Herat (1270): A Case of Inner-Mongol Warfare', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 182–85.

109 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 770–72, 1070–1096, trans. pp. 267ff, 371–80; Biran, 'The Battle of Herat (1270)', pp. 180–200.

110 James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (Norwalk, 1995), p. 159.

111 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 773, trans. p. 268; Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State*, p. 33.

112 It was these events that compelled the three Polos to avoid Transoxiana on their journey to China.

113 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1099ff, trans. p. 381; Biran, 'The Battle of Herat (1270)' p. 201, n. 138.

114 Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State*, p. 109.

115 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia,* pp. 85ff, 447; Biran, 'The Mongols in Central Asia', pp. 52ff.

116 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia*, p. 215; Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War against the Taliban* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), p. 100.

117 E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan* (London, 1928), p. 139; Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* vol. I, pp. 180–82.

118 Among the rebels was Kublai's nephew Togh Temür, two sons of Arik Böges and Möngke's son Shiregi: Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, p. 108.

119 Nomuqan would be released in 1283/84, when the Golden Horde began to distance itself from Kaidu: Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia,* p. 445.

120 Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State*, p. 40. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, p. 114.

121 Allsen, 'The Yuan dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan', p. 254ff, Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State*, pp. 37–47.

122 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 954–57, trans. pp. 331ff.

123 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 958, trans. p. 332; Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State*, pp. 49–54.

124 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh,* 629–31, trans. pp. 219ff.

125 Biran, 'The Mongols in Central Asia', pp. 54–56; Liu Yingsheng, 'War and Peace Between the Yuan dynasty and the Chaghadaid Khanate (1312–1323)', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran, *Mongol, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden, 2005), p. 340.

126 Allsen, 'The Yuan dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan', p. 260; Liu Yingsheng, 'War and Peace', pp. 348ff.

127 Allsen, 'The Yuan dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan', p. 260. Kocho was later incorporated into Moghulistan.

128 J. A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods,* vol. 5(ed.), J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), p. 410.

129 Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354* (London, 1929, repr. 1983), pp. 171–75.

130 Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 210ff.

131 Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 210ff; Wolfgang Wassilios Klein, *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14.Jh.* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 48, 205, 288.

132 Klein, *Das nestorianische Christentum*, pp. 288ff.

133 In 1362 a further Catholic bishop was murdered in the Chagatai khanate, namely James of Florence and his two Franciscan companions: Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China,* vol. 1, pp. 75ff.

134 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia*, pp. 448, 540; H.R. Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. VI, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*(ed.), Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 43–45.

135 The khanate of Moghulistan in East Turkestan (starting 1346/47, split from 1462 till 1680) is not to be confused with the Mughal dynasty of India (1526–1857), founded by the Timurid Babur Padishah.

136 Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 1546, trans. D. Ross(ed.), N. Elias (London, 1895; repr. New Delhi, 1998), vol. I, p. 14.

137 Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* vol. I, pp. 15–22; Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 45–48.

138 Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, vol. I, pp. 25–29, 37. See also pp. 278.

139 Khizr Khwaja survived in the mountains south of Kashgar: Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* vol. I, pp. 39, 51.

140 Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, vol. I, pp. 51–57, Introduction p. 101; Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1992), p. 314; Hodong, 'The Early History of the Moghul Nomads', pp. 303–13. For the post-Timurid history of Moghulistan see vol. IV of the present work.

141 See pp. 136, 188f, 204.

142 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1049, trans. p. 364; George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran* (Abingdon, 2003), pp. 177–212.

143 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, p. 21; the date of 1264 proposed by Krawulsky for Kublai's act of recognition is too late: Dorothea Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans and their Vizier Rashid al-Din* (Frankfurt, 2011), pp. 10, 36.

144 John Masson Smith Jr., 'High Living and Heartbreak on the Road to Baghdad', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden, 2013), p. 129.

145 Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha*, vol. I, p. 42.

146 Wassaf al-Hadrat, *Tajziyat al-amsar wa taziyat al-a'sar (Geschichte Wassafs)* (ed.), and trans. into German by Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (Vienna, 1856), p. 93.

147 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 738, 1034, trans. pp. 256, 360.

148 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1047, trans. p. 364; Wassaf al-Hadrat, *Tajziyat al-amsar,* p. 94; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, p. 67; Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 310.

149 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 738f, 1034, trans. pp. 256, 360.

150 Wassaf al-Hadrat, *Tajziyat al-amsar* p. 94; English translation in Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 310.

151 Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Leiden, 2011), p. 152 n. 54; Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 126; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *La Horde d'Or: Conquête mongole et 'Joug tatar' en Europe 1236–1502* (Arles, 2013), pp. 37f; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 40.

152 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, p. 94; Arsenio P. Martinez, 'Institutional Development, Revenues and Trade', in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia,* vol. II, pp. 102f.

153 Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Berkeley, 2002), p. 89.

154 Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, 2002), p. 16.

155 Hülegü's letter to Louis IX of 10 April 1262 presents a peculiar mixture of standard Mongolian arrogance, demanding that King Louis obey God's appointed world rulers, the Mongols, and rueful acknowledgement of having lost Syria and Palestine to those 'dogs of rats' the Mamluks, together with a request to Louis to blockade Egypt with his fleet. Later Il-Khanid letters address the Latin rulers as equals: Jean Richard (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie: L'Orient latin et la découverte de l'Asie intérieure. Quelques textes inégalement connus aux origines de l'alliance entre Francs et Mongols (1145–1262)* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 175–82. For a collection of papal correspondence with Muslim and Mongol rulers up to 1291, see Karl-Ernst Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jh. anhand ihres Briefwechsels* (Vatican City, 1981).

156 Such missions took place in 1262, 1263/4, 1266/67, 1268, 1270, 1271, 1274, 1276–77, 1280/1, 1285, 1287, 1289–90, 1290–91, 1299, 1300, 1302, 1305, 1307 and 1313: Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 166–72.

157 Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War* (Yardley, PA, 2007), p. 81.

158 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade,* pp. 68–76. Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Leiden, 2011), p. 203.

159 Hethum von Korykos, *Geschichte der Mongolen* [He'tum of Korykos, *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient*], trans. R. Senoner(ed.), W. Baum (Klagenfurt, 2006), pp. 69f, Introduction, pp. 7f.

160 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 171, 185.

161 Reuven Amitai, 'The Resolution of the Mongol-Mamluk War', in Amitai and Biran, *Mongol, Turks and Others*, p. 371; Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 172.

162 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde,* pp. 43f.

163 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1045–47, trans. pp. 363f.

164 Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', p. 356.

165 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1105–8, trans. pp. 382f; Biran, 'The Battle of Herat (1270)', pp. 190, 201.

166 Dietrich Huff, 'The Ilkhanid Palace at Takht-I Sulayman: Excavation Results', in Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 96–101; Komaroff and Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 43, 54, 102.

167 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1101–3, trans. pp. 381f; Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', p. 361.

168 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1116–18, trans. pp. 386f; Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', pp. 363f; Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, pp. 173–75.

169 Hethum von Korykos, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, p. 73.

170 Hethum von Korykos, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, pp. 74f; Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 225; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, p. 75; Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, p. 79.

171 Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians,* pp. 181, 184; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 75ff.

172 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1144, trans. p. 395.

173 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1156–69, trans. pp. 399–401.

174 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, being the first part of his political history of the world* (London, 1932), trans. Ernest A. Wallis-Budge, vol. I, p. 473.

175 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 87, 95, 114f.

176 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, pp. 149f.

177 Moule, *Christians in China*, pp. 105–7.

178 See below p. 255.

179 Baumer, *The Church of the East,* pp. 227, 232; Moule, *Christians in China*, pp. 116f.

180 Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 227f; Moule, *Christians in China*, pp. 117f. See also Erich Haenisch, 'Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-Khane Argun und Öljeitü an den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305)', *Oriens* 2 (1949), pp. 220–29. Buscarello undertook further such missions in 1302/3 and 1305.

181 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1179, trans. p. 407; Boyle, 'Dynastic and political history of the Il-Khans', pp. 371f.

182 Hethum von Korykos, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, p. 77.

183 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1198, trans. p. 413f. Bar Hebraeus gives an identical description of events: Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj,* vol. I, pf. 496f. See too Allsen, *Culture and Conquest,* pp. 177f.

184 Ai Buqa was the father of King Körgüz: Tjalling Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia* (Leiden, 2008), p. 37.

185 Bar Rabban Sawma, *The Monks of Kûblai Khân, Emperor of China or The history of the life and travels of Rabban Sawma, envoy and plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khâns to the kings of Europe, and Markôs who as Mar Yahbhallaha III became patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia.* (London, 1928), trans. Ernest A. Wallis-Budge pp. 135–39; Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 180–82; Baumer, *The Church of the East,* p. 230; Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, pp. 24–55.

186 Bar Rabban Sawma, *The Monks of Kûblai Khân*, pp. 144f; Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, p. 43.

187 Bar Rabban Sawma, *The Monks of Kûblai Khân*, pp. 146–61.

188 Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, pp. 107f.

189 The *filioque* is a Latin addition to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed that declares the Holy Ghost to proceed not only from the Father but from the Father and from the Son.

190 Bar Rabban Sawma, *The Monks of Kûblai Khân*, pp. 173–77.

191 Bar Rabban Sawma, *The Monks of Kûblai Khân*, p. 183.

192 Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, pp. 142–53.

193 Moule, *Christians in China*, pp. 112–15; Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, pp. 164–68.

194 Baumer, *The Church of the East*, pp. 204f. Other 'conversions' would follow, as Montecorvino bought children at the slave market and christened them: Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures*, p. 180; Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London, 1971), p. 169.

195 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1244–59, trans. pp. 433–39.

196 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1259, trans. p. 439. See too Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj,* vol. I, pp. 506–8. This text on Ghazan's persecution of the Christians was composed by Bar Hebraeus's successor.

197 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1356, trans. p. 471.

198 Hethum von Korykos, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, Introduction, pp. 9f; René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, 1970), p. 379.

199 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj,* vol. I, p. 507; Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350* (Berlin, 1955), p. 220.

200 Karl Jahn, 'Kamalashri – Rashid Al-Din's 'Life and Teaching of Buddha': A Source for the Buddhism of the Mongol Period', *Central Asiatic Journal* 2:2, pp. 81–88, esp. pp. 83, 127.

201 Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 232; Moule, *Christians in China,* p. 125.

202 Rashid ascribed his reforms to Ghazan: Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1400–1540, trans. pp. 485–533; Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 92f, 314–22.

203 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1290–95, trans. pp. 449–52. Whether Ghazan withdrew, as has been suggested, because he found the weather too hot or because of a Chagataid attack in the east remains undecided. In any event, he failed to exploit this rare victory against the Mamluks. See too Reuven Amitai, 'Whither the Ilkhanid Army? Ghazan's First Campaign into Syria (1299–1300)', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 221–260.

204 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1297f, trans. pp. 438f.

205 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 1290–95, trans. p. 458.

206 Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* [Beloved of Careers], in *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties,* trans. and ed. Wheeler Thackston, vol. II, (London, 2012), 191, trans. p. 107.

207 A. Bausani, 'Religion under the Mongols', in Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. V, p. 544.

208 Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 190, 243f.

209 Richard Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture* (Reading, 1999), p. 181.

210 Bausani, 'Religion under the Mongols', pp. 544–49; Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture*, p. 190.

211 Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 108, 165.

212 Oljeitu later had Bilarghun put to death. Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians,* pp. 205–9; Hethum von Korykos, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, Introduction, pp. 10f.

213 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (London, 2012), 194f, trans. 109; Reuven Amitai, 'The Resolution of the Mongol-Mamluk War' (Leiden, 2005), p. 361; Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 113.

214 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 205, trans. 114; Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', p. 408.

215 Amitai, 'The Resolution of the Mongol-Mamluk War', pp. 366–71.

216 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 209–13, trans. pp. 116–19.

217 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 219, trans. p. 122; Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 127; Charles Melville, 'Wolf or Shepherd? Amir Chupan's Attitude to Government', in Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 79–87.

218 H. R. Roemer, 'The Jalayirids, Muzzaffarids and Sarbadars', in Jackson and Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. VI, pp. 3–6.

219 Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans', p. 417.

220 For the illustrations to Rashid's *Jamia al-Tawarikh* see Basil Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Di: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript* (London, 1978); David Talbot Rice, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashid al-Din*(ed.), Basil Gray (Edinburgh, 1976). On the so-called Diez albums see Claudius Müller and Jacob Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (Munich, 2005), pp. 254–79. For Il-Khanid illustrations from several sources, Komaroff and Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan.*

221 Barbara Brend, 'The Tradition of Illustration', in Barbara Brend and Charles Melville (eds), *Epic of the Persian Kings: The Art of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh* (London, 2010), pp. 32–34; Basil Gray, 'History of Miniature Painting: the Fourteenth Century', in Basil Gray, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia 14th–16th Centuries* (Paris and London, 1979), pp. 93–120.

222 Interpolation in square brackets by the present author.

223 Oleg Grabar, 'The Visual Aarts', in Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. V, p. 651.

224 In the earlier Chagatai Khanate the dominance of Islam in the southern part of their realm was hardly challenged by the non-Muslim Chagataiid princes since they lived in the sparsely populated steppes.

225 Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din*, pp. 23, 26; Linda Komaroff, 'The Transmission and Dissemination of a New Visual Language', in Komaroff and Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan,* pp. 169–73, 183–87.

226 Grabar, 'The Visual Arts', p. 655; Dickran Kouymijan, 'Chinese Motifs in Thirteenth-Century Armenian Art: The Mongol Connection', in Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 303, 313–15.

227 Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven, 1995), p. 28, fig. 29.

228 Rashid’s informant was the Buddhist monk Kamalashri from Kashmir. Sheila R. Canby, ‘Depictions of Buddha Shakyamuni in the *Jamia al-Tavarikh* and the *Majma’a al-Tavarikh*’, *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), pp. 300–5; Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din,* pp. 33–35, pl. 25–27; Karl Jahn, ‘Kamalashri – Rashid Al-Din’s ‘“Life and Teaching of Buddha”,’ pp. 82–85; Mostafa Vaziri, *Buddhism in Iran: An Anthropological Approach to Traces and Influences* (New York, 2012), pp. 114–20.

229 Jonathan Bloom, ‘Paper: the Transformative Medium in Ilkhanid Aart’, in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 294f; Müller and Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, p. 283, fig. 318.

230 Dickran Kouymijan, ‘Chinese Motifs in Thirteenth-Century Armenian Art’, pp. 311–14, pl. 23, see also pl. 24.

231 Donald N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il-Khanid Period* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 33, 40, 64f.

232 Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, p. 16.

233 Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic Architecture*, p. 182.

234 ‘Sheila Blair, ‘The Religious Art of the Ilkhanids’, in Komaroff and Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, p. 125; Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, pp. 21, 23, 25; Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, ‘Islamische Mongolen (13.–14. Jh.): Vom Mongolensturm zu den Il-Khanen’, in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam. Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne, 2000), p. 396–98; Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 191–93, figs. 77f.

235 See above p. 233.

236 Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures*, pp. 36, 58.

237 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, p. 18; Luciano Petech, ‘Les marchands italiens dans l’Empire Mongol’, *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962), pp. 566, 573, n. 70.

238 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, pp. 31, 51; Hidemichi Tanaka, ‘Giotto and the Influences of the Mongols and the Chinese on his Art: A New Analysis of the Legend of St Francis and the Fresco Paintings of the Scrovegni Chapel’, in *Art History* Nr. 6, (Sendai, 1984), p. 187.

239 On Italian paintings with Asiatic elements see Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures*; Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*; Mark A. Norell, Denise Patry Leidy, Laura Ross et al., *Sulla Via della Seta: Antichi sentieri tra Oriente e Occidente,* exh. cat. (Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 2012); Hidemichi Tanaka, ‘Giotto and the Influences of the Mongols’, pp. 188–151; and Hidemichi Tanaka ‘Oriental Scripts in the Paintings of Giotto’s period’, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 113 (Paris, Jan.–June 1989), pp. 216–226.

240 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, p. 45.

241 *The Secret History,* 239, trans. pp. 164f.

242 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 732–34, trans. p. 254.

243 G-A. Fedorow-Dawydow, *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorgänger* (Leipzig, 1968), p. 140; the same author’s *The Silk Road and the Cities of the Golden Horde* (Berkeley, 2001), pp. 35f, 60f, 71–76; Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, pp. 131–34; Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, pp. 155, 244f, n. 1; István Vásáry, ‘The Jochid Realm: the Western Steppe and Eastern Europe’, in Di Cosmo, Frank and Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia,* vol. II, p. 74. David Morgan believes the two cities to be the same: David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA, 2007), p. 125.

244 Other, Russian authors use the term ‘White Horde’ for Batu’s western part and ‘Blue Horde’ for Orda’s eastern. These colour terms were not used by the Mongols themselves: Thomas T. Allsen, ‘The Princes of the Left Hand: an Introduction to the History of the *ulus* of Orda in the Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries’, in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 5 (1985 [1987]), pp. 5f, 12f; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 25f; Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, pp. 12f; Vásáry, ‘The Jochid Realm’, p. 81 n. 46.

245 Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, p. 74; Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, pp. 161, 169.

246 Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Russian History* (London, 1985), pp. 113, 129; Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, pp. 93, 128.

247 Mark G. Kramarowsky and Michail Piotrowsky, *Die Schätze der Goldenen Horde aus der Eremitage in St. Petersburg*, exh. cat. (Kunsthalle Leoben, 2002), pp. 16, 18, 138.

248 Rashid al-Din, *Jamia al-Tawarikh* 737, trans. p. 255.

249 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Silk Roads*, pp. 213–19.

250 Güyük had in fact already limited Batu’s influence in the Middle East when he replaced Baiju with Eljigidei in 1246/47. It was Möngke’s accession to power that saw Baiju returned to supreme command in the Transcaucasus and Iran in 1251/52.

251 Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, pp. 158, 245 n. 6.

252 Mark G. Kramarowsky, ‘Die Goldene Horde: ‘Antwort aus der Zukunft’. Morgenland und Abendland im 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert’, in Kramarowsky and Piotrowsky, *Die Schätze der Goldenen Horde*, p. 16.

253 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 95, 97, 132, 138, 175–81; Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, p. 138.

254 Fedorow-Dawydow, *The Silk Road and the Cities of the Golden Horde*, p. 52.

255 Nicola Di Cosmo, ‘Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts’, in Amitai and Biran (eds), *Mongol, Turks and Others*, p. 403.

256 Sir Henry Yule, trans. and ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China,* (London, 1913–16; repr. New York, 1967), vol. III, pp. 154f.

257 Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1994), p. 141.

258 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 120, 240; Fedorow-Dawydow, *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorgänger*, pp. 183f; Kramarowsky, ‘Die Goldene Horde’, p. 36.

259 Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, p. 32.

260 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 79, 194, 181, 184; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp 54–62; Vásáry, ‘The Jochid Realm’, p. 77.

261 Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, pp. 161–64; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 63–76.

262 A descendant of Batu’s brother Shaiban traced his house to Özbek Khan and it was the Özbek Khan Muhammad Shaibani who conquered Transoxiana in the early sixteenth century. His Mongol and Kipchak followers mixed with the local Turkic and Iranian-descended populations to give rise to the Uzbek people. See Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart, 2004), p. 121.

263 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 103f, 163–84; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 84. Genoa lost Caffa to the Ottomans in 1475.

264 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 173, 175; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 86, 216.

265 Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde*, pp. 144, 155–58.

266 Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa,* p. 168.

267 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, p. 190; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 93f.

268 Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, pp. 90–93; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 88–91, 322, 325.

269 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 213; Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, p. 90.

270 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 31f, 201–12; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp.102f.

271 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 218f, n. 295; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp.102, 108–10.

272 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 120.

273 Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*, p. 52; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp 116–19; Vásáry, ‘The Jochid realm’, p. 80.

274 For the history of the Genoese in Crimea, see Nicola Franco Balloni and Nelia Kukovalska, *The Genoese in Crimea: A Historical Guide* (Kiev, 2009).

275 Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, pp. 221–32; Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*, p. 56; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp.126–28.

276 Allsen, ‘The Princes of the Left Hand’, pp. 11–18.

277 Allsen, ‘The Princes of the Left Hand’, p. 26; Karl Baipakov and E.A. Smagulov, Ортағасырлық Сауран шаһары = Средневековый город Сауран =*The Medieval Town Sauran* (Almaty, 2005), p. 115.

278 Justin Marozzi, *Tamerlane, Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (London, 2004), pp. 76f, 158; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp 120–28; Vásáry, ‘The Jochid Realm’, p. 82.

279 Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad Khwandamir: *Habibu al-Siyar’*, pp. 438–43, 446–52, 463–66, trans. pp. 243–45, 247–50, 255f; Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, pp. 51–54; H.R. Roemer, ‘Timur in Iran’, in Jackson and Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. VI, pp. 72f; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 129–34; Vásáry, ‘The Jochid Realm’, pp. 83f.

280 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 136–40.

281 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 143.

282 Yuri Bregel, ‘Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens’, in Di Cosmo, Frank and Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, vol. II, p. 222; Allen J. Frank, ‘The Western Steppe: Volga-Ural Region, Siberia and the Crimea’, in Cosmo, Frank and Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia,* vol. II, pp. 238–40, 245f; Lebedynsky, *La Horde d’Or*, p. 55; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 144–64.

283 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 160.

284 It is debatable when the Khanate of Astrakhan became really independent, in 1466 or only in 1502 as successor to the Great Horde.

285 These dates are drawn from: Frank 'The Western Steppe', pp. 242–58, 305f, and Lebedynsky, *La Horde d'Or*, pp. 55–59, 80. For these successor khanates see vol. IV of the present work: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia: The Age of Decline and Revival* (forthcoming, London, 2018).

286 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 181–84.

287 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 204.

IX. Timur-e Lang and the Timurids

1 Ruy González de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy González de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, AD 1403–06,* trans. and ed. Clements R. Markham (London, 1859), pp. 102f.

2 The commonly attributed birth date of 8 April 1336 is an invention of astrologers: Markus Hattstein, 'Geschichte Timurs und seiner Nachfolger', in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius(eds), *Islam. Kunst und Architektur* (Cologne, 2000), p. 408.

3 As Clavijo had already noted in 1404, the name Timur-e Lang was intended as an insult. Arrow wounds and subsequent adhesions had left Timur paralysed in the right leg and shoulder: Clavijo, *Narrative,* pp. 77, 127; Ahmed Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir* [1936] (London, 2007), pp. 2, 6; Markus Hattstein, 'Geschichte Timurs', p. 408.

4 Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1989), pp. 27f, 97.

5 Khwandamir, 'Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad, *Habibu al-Siyar* [Beloved of Careers]' in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, trans. and ed. Wheeler Thrackston, vol. II (London, 2012), 398f, trans. 225. In the following quotes given as Khwandamir *Habibu al-Siyar* (London, 2012).

6 For detail see pp. 248f. Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II, 402–20, trans. pp. 227–34; Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 45–58.

7 Warwick Ball, *The Monuments of Afghanistan* (London, 2008), p. 8.

8 Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, pp. 13, 90, 107, 112f, 151f; Justin Marozzi, *Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (London, 2004), pp. 80, 132f; H. R. Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. VI (ed.), Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 53, 70, 9f, 96, 98.

9 Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, p. 69.

10 Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, vol. I (New Delhi, 1998), pp. 51–57, also the Introduction p. 101.

11 Khwandamir *Habibu al-Siyar*, 438–43, 446–52, 463–66, trans. pp. 243–45, 247–50, 255f; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *La Horde d'Or* (Arles, 2013), pp. 51–54; Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', pp. 72f; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 129–34; István Vásáry, 'The Jochid Realm' (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 83f.

12 Miran Shah killed the last Kartids at a banquet in 1396: Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', p. 48. Marozzi gives as date 1389: Marozzi, *Tamerlane*, p. 117.

13 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II, 443, trans. p. 245; Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', p. 61.

14 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, pp. 45f.

15 Johannes Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1396–1427*, trans. from the Heidelberg MS ed. in 1859 by K. F. Neumann; J. B. Telfer (London, 1879), p. 22.

16 Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', pp. 55f.

17 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II, 478, trans. p. 262; Marozzi, *Tamerlane*, pp. 236–74; H. R. Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', p. 70.

18 Khwandamir emphasises that in Sivas only Christians were buried alive: Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II, 491, trans. pp. 268. Schiltberger speaks of 5,000 prisoners buried alive: Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels,* p. 20.

19 Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 AD (803 AH)* (Berkeley, 1952), p. 39. See also Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, pp. 158f; Ibn Khaldûn, *Le Voyage d'Occident et d'Orient* (Paris, 1980), p. 236; Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, p. 39; Scott Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington, 2010), pp. 171–75. According to Khwandamir, who was very well-disposed to Timur, the burning down of Damascus was an accident: Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II, 498, trans. p. 271.

20 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, pp. 167f. In Khwandamir, Timur is said to have demanded 'only' one decapitated head of each soldier: Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 500, trans. p. 273. Despite all these massacres, Timur-e Lang is a national hero in today's Uzbekistan, as is Genghis Khan in Mongolia.

21 Clavijo, *Narrative,* Introduction, pp. iif, 4f; Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 508f, trans. pp. 276f.

22 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, pp. 176–212.

23 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels,* pp. 2–3.

24 Clavijo, *Narrative*, p. 76.

25 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, pp. 176f, 185f; Marozzi, *Tamerlane*, pp. 328–33; H. R. Roemer, 'Timur in Iran', p. 79.

26 In 1453, Bayezid's great-grandson Mehmed II captured Constantinople, today's Istanbul.

27 Timur's campaign of extermination against the Alans in 1396 forced them to take refuge in the mountains of Ossetia: Vladimir Kouznetsov and Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Alains* (Paris, 2005), pp. 237f.

28 René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, 1970), p. 434.

29 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane,* pp. 202–10; Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London, 2012), pp. 147–52.

30 Clavijo, *Narrative*, pp. 134, 172–74.

31 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, pp. 28. Ralph Kauz, 'Trade and Commerce on the Silk Road after the End of Mongol Rule in China, Seen from Chinese Texts', *The Silk Road Journal* 4:2 (2006–7), p. 56.

32 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, pp. 225–33.

33 Clavijo, *Narrative*, pp. 52–54.

34 Clavijo, *Narrative*, p. 61.

35 Clavijo, *Narrative*, p. 96.

36 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. II, *The Age of the Silk Roads* (London, 2014), p. 213.

37 Clavijo, *Narrative*, pp. 134–50.

38 Clavijo, *Narrative*, pp. 120, 171.

39 Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2013), p. 484.

40 Clavijo, *Narrative*, pp. 123, 164. See also Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane,* pp. 194, 244.

41 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane,* p. 222; Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 478, trans. pp. 262.

42 Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange (New York, 1928), pp. 280f. This episode is slightly abbreviated in the edition of Markham otherwise used.

43 Sergey Chmelnizkij, 'Architektur', in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius(eds), *Islam. Kunst und Architektur* (Cologne, 2000), pp. 418f.

44 Clavijo, *Narrative*, pp. 184–94.

45 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, pp. 4–21.

46 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, pp. 31–32; H. R. Roemer, 'The Successors of Timur', in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. VI, p. 102.

47 See above pp. 272, 320.

48 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, pp. 36–37, 48.

49 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, pp. 37–38.

50 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, pp. 37, 99; four other Khans ruled between Chokra and Ulugh Beg, sometimes concurrently.

51 Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, p. 50.

52 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 537, trans. p. 290.

53 Many Timurids added the title 'Mirza' to their names –a contraction of '*amir zadah*', meaning 'son of a commander' and hence 'descendant of Timur': R. D. McChesney, 'The Chinggisid Restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785', in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia,* vol. II, *The Chinggisid Age*(ed.), Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge, 2009) p. 279.

54 Ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, pp. 238–93; Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, 553–84, trans. pp. 300–17; Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, pp. 131–35, 142f; H. R. Roemer, 'The Successors of Timur', pp. 98–101.

55 Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. xiv, 28.

56 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II, 607–12, 617–21, 625–27, trans. pp. 329f, 333f, 336f; Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, pp. 34f, 42, 45f; H. R. Roemer, 'The Successors of Timur', pp. 102f.

57 Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles (author, translator and publisher), *Histoire générale des voyages ou nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre,* vol. VII, translated from the English: John Green, *A new general collection of voyages and travels,* London 1745–47, (Paris, 1749), pp. 388f.

58 Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, pp. 48, 245, 252–57.

59 Ulugh Beg's observatory was destroyed immediately after his death by order of the mullahs and Islamic scholars.

60 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 20f, trans. p. 354.

61 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II, 614f, trans. pp. 331f.

62 H. R. Roemer, 'Bāysonḡor Ḡīāt-al-Dīn', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* vol. 3 (London, 1989).

63 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 26–28, trans. p. 357; Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, pp. 257–61.

64 Yuri Bregel, ‘Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens’, in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia,* vol. 2, p. 223.

65 Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 203f; H. R. Roemer, ‘The Successors of Timur’, pp. 107f.

66 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 32–34, 42f, trans. pp. 358–60, 365.

67 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 44f, p. 367.

68 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 46f, 51–54, pp. 368, 370–72.

69 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 65–75, pp. 379–82.

70 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 76–93, pp. 383–94; H. R. Roemer, ‘The Successors of Timur’, pp. 114–17.

71 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. IV, 93–101, pp. 394–98; Stephen Dale, ‘The Later Timurids’, in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia,* vol. 2, pp. 202f.

72 See volume IV of the present work: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. IV, *The Age of Decline and Revival* (London, forthcoming).

73 On Babur’s conquest of Kabul and Northern India, see volume IV of the present work: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. IV, *The Age of Decline and Revival* (London, forthcoming). Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan,* trans. J. Leyden and W. Erskine (London, 1826), pp. 1, 48, 56–60, 88, 92–98, 241–45; Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* [1546], trans. D. Ross(ed.), N. Elias (London, 1895; repr. New Delhi, 1998), vol. I, p. 132, vol. II, pp. 174f, 243–62; H. R. Roemer, ‘The Successors of Timur’, pp. 125–27.

74 Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven, 1995), p. 40.

75 See p. 289.

76 R. Pinder-Wilson, ‘Timurid Architecture’, in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. VI, pp. 730, 734, 739.

77 Chmelnizkij, ‘Architektur’, p. 417; Pinder-Wilson, ‘Timurid Architecture’, pp. 730, 733.

78 Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, p. 37; Pinder-Wilson, ‘Timurid architecture’, pp. 738f.

79 Thomas Hungerford Holdich, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (1891; Cambridge, 2012), pp. 137–43. See also: Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, pp. 41, 44–46; Edgar Knobloch, *The Archaeology & Architecture of Afghanistan* (Charleston, 2002), p. 134; Richard Yeomans, *The Story of Islamic architecture* (Reading, 1999), pp. 187f.

80 The remaining fragments of the dragon mosaic are displayed at the Museum of Modern Art in Ashghabat, Turkmenistan. A painting of 1902, before the earthquake, shows the mosaic intact, and a photograph of 1924–25 can be seen in Ernst Cohn-Wiener, *Turan. Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien* (Berlin, 1930), pl. LXXIV.

81 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 166, 177, 180.

82 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 106–8, 187, 232.

83 For images see Eleanor Sims, ‘The *Nahj al-Faradis* of Sultan Abu Sa’id ibn Sultan Muhammad ibn Miranshah: An Illustrated Timurid Ascension Text of the “Interim” Period’, *Journal of the David Collection* 4 (Copenhagen, v2014), pp. 120f.

84 Sims, ‘The *Nahj al-Faradis* of Sultan Abu Sa’id’, pp. 124f.

85 Sims, ‘The *Nahj al-Faradis* of Sultan Abu Sa’id’, p. 101.

86 Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, p. 62; Çağman Filiz, ‘Muhammad of the Black Pen and His Paintings’, in David J. Roxburgh(ed.), *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* , exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2005, pp. 146–89, 405; Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford, 2011), p. 98; Ernst J. Grube et al.(eds), *Islamic Art I: An Annual Dedicated to the Art and Culture of the Muslim World* (New York, 1981), pp. 62–65, 90–100; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 231–33.

X. Outlook

1 George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London, 1889), pp. 85f.

2 The semi-nomadic Zunghars tried in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to adapt to modern warfare by using camel-based artillery: they loaded light field cannons between the humps of camels and fired them while the animal was crouching.

3 In Kazakhstan, former First Secretary of the CP Nursultan Nazarbayev has served as president since 24 April 1990 and in Uzbekistan, former First Secretary of the CP Islom Karimov has been president since 29 December 1991. In Turkmenistan, former First Secretary of the CP Saparmurat Niyazov became president on 27 October 1991 and one year later declared himself *Türkmenbashi*, ‘Leader of all Turkmen’. He died in office on 21 December 2006 or a few days earlier. In Tajikistan, the former First Secretary of the CP Qahhor Mahkamov was President only from 30 November 1990 to 31 August 1991 and in Kyrgyzstan, the First Secretary of the CP Absamat Masaliyev lost the presidential elections on 25 October 1990 to Askar Akayev, who was elected two days later.

4 *Zürcher Tages-Anzeiger*, 2 September 2014 http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/ausland/europa/Kasachstan-ist-Teil-der-grossen-russischen-Welt/story/15176937

Captions

1 Marie-Rose Séguy (ed.), *Muhammeds wunderbare Reise durch Himmel und Hölle* (Munich, 1977), pp. 9–17, 47. See also in the present work p. 39, fig. 25.

2 Mehrdad Hejazi and Fatemeh M. Saradj, *Persian Architectural Heritage: Structure* (Southampton, 2014), p. 167.

3 Brian Glyn Williams, *The Last Warlord: The Life and Legend of Dostum, the Afghan Warrior Who Led US Special Forces to Topple the Taliban Regime* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 148f.

4 Sergey Chmelnizkij, ‘Architektur’ [der Timuriden] in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architektur* (Cologne, 2000), p. 362. Mansura Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (Delhi, 2002), p. 339.

5 S. Frederick Starr, *Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia’s Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 236, 239.

6 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), p. 73.

7 For a 2004 photo prior to the stabilisation work see Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 73.

8 Baber, Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed, Emperor of Hindustan, Memoirs [Babur-nama] (London, 1826), p. 52.

9 See in the present work fig. 1. Christiane J. Gruber, The Timurid ‘Book of Ascension’ (Mi’rajnama) (Valencia, 2008), p. 317. Séguy (ed.), Muhammeds wunderbare Reise durch Himmel und Hölle, p. 67. Eleanor Sims, ‘The Nadj al-Faradis of Sultan Abu Sa’id ibn Sultan Muhammad ibn Miranshah: An Illustrated Timurid Ascension Text of the “Interim” Period’, *Journal of the David Collection*, vol. IV (Copenhagen, 2014), pp. 89, 101–3.

10 Omeljan Pritsak, ‘The Turkic Nomads of Southern Europe’, in Ergun Çağatay and Dogan Kuban (eds), The Turkic Speaking Peoples (Munich/New York, 2006), p. 205.

11 Personal communication from Dr D. Voyakin, Almaty, chief archaeologist of the excavation at Kesken Kuyuk Kala, to the author dated 11 December 2014.

12 Strabo, *Geographica* (Wiesbaden, 2007), XI, ii, 19, p. 722.

13 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar,* William of Rubruck (Indianapolis, 2009), p. 65.

14 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar,* William of Rubruck, p. 95.

15 Dietrich Brandenburg and Kurt Brüsehoff, *Die Seldschuken: Baukunst des Islam in Persien und Turkmenistan* (Graz, 1980), p. 29. David Stronach and Ali Moussavi (eds), *Irans Erbe* in Flugbildern von Georg Gerster (Mainz, 2009), p. 127.

16 Valentina Gorâčeva, *Srednevekovie gorodskie zentry i architekturnie ansambli Kirgizii* (Frunze, 1983),pp. 31f.

17 Chmelnizkij, ‘Architektur’ [der Timuriden] in Hattstein and Delius, (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architektur*, p. 360. Valentina Gorâčeva, ‘À propos de deux capitales du kaghanat karakhanide’ (Cahiers d’Asie centrale, 9/2001), pp. 108f.

18 Sheila Blair and Jonathan M Bloom, ‘Die frühen Reiche des Ostens (9.–12. Jh.): Ghaznaviden und Ghuriden’, in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne, 2000), p. 336.

19 Daniel Schlumberger, Janine Sourdel-Thomine et al., *Lashkari Bazar: une residence royale ghaznévide; 1,B Le décor non-figuratif et les inscriptions* (Paris, 1978), pp.9f.
20 Hudud al-Alam. *The Regions of the World* (Cambridge, 1982), § 24, 22a, 9, p. 110.
21 Sergej Chmelnizkij, Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 'Architektur der Groß-Seldschuken', (Cologne, 2000), p. 366.
22 Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism* (London, 2011), p. 167. Marilyn Leidig Gridley, *Chinese Buddhist Sculpture under the Liao* (New Delhi, 1993), pp. 63–65. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, 'The Tangut Royal Tombs near Yinchuan' (1993), p. 378.
23 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), p. 210.
24 Xuanzang, Si-yu-ki, trans. Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (New Delhi, 2004), vol. I, p. 102.
25 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia, vol. II: The Age of the Silk Roads* (London, 2014), pp. 195f.
26 Mansura Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (Delhi, 2002), p. 337.
27 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East*, p. 229.
28 Translations of the Mongol text of this and similar paizas in English and German works are often wrong since they interpret the Mongolian monqa qa'an as 'Möngke Khan'. But since the 'square' Mongol script was not introduced until 1269, when Möngke Khan had already been dead for ten years, this interpretation is clearly wrong. That one of his successors would have issued an official document in the name of a deceased predecessor can be excluded. As Dr. Banzarov pointed out already in 1955, monqa does not refer to the name of the khan here, who died in 1259, but means 'eternal'. Piotrovsky Mikhail (ed.), Sokrovishza Zolotoï Ordy, *The Treasures of the Golden Horde* (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 209f.
29 Michael Henss, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet: The Central Regions* (Munich, 2014), vol. II, pp. 598, 602.
30 Virupaksha at the Yuntai gate was identified by Dr Marc Winter, Zurich.
31 Cetin Dzumagulov, 'Die syrisch-türkischen (nestorianischen) Denkmäler in Kirgisien' in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, vol. XIV (Berlin, 1968), pp. 477–80. Wassilios Klein, *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jh.* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 258–60.
32 De Clavijo described the portal as the palace entrance in 1404; Timur's distant descendant Zahir al-Din Mohammed Babur, on the other hand, identified it as the entrance to the audience hall. R. Pinder-Wilson, 'Timurid architecture', in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. VI (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 739f.
33 Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–06* (London, 1859), p. 124.
34 Mehrdad Hejazi and Fatemeh M. Saradj, *Persian Architectural Heritage Structure* (Southampton, 2014), p. 166.
35 Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza* (Berkeley, 2002), p. 151.
36 Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia, vol. II: The Age of the Silk Roads*, pp. 178f.
37 Thomas Hungerford Holdich, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 143.
38 'Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (London, 2012), IV, 290 [p. 485].

Bibliography

Abazov, Rafis, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (New York: Palgrave, 2008).

Abboud, Tony, *Al-Kindi: The Father of Arab Philosophy* (New York: Rosen Publishing, 2006).

Abdurazakov, A., 'Alchemy and chemistry in Islamic Central Asia', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 227–42.

Abliyazov, Kamil Alimovich, *Istoricheskaiya sutba tatar* (Saratov: Nauchnaiya kniga, 2012).

Abuseitova, Meruert, 'The spread of Islam in Kazakhstan from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century', in Gian Luca Bonore, Niccolo Pianciola and Paolo Sartori (eds), *Kazakhstan: Religions and Society in the History of Central Asia* (Turin: U. Allemandi, 2009), pp. 125–36.

Adamson, Peter, 'Al-Kindi and the reception of Greek philosophy', in Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 32–51.

Adamson, Peter and Taylor, Richard C. (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Adylov, S. T. and Mirzaachmedov, Džamal K., 'On the history of the ancient town of Vardana and the Obavija Feud', in *Ērān ud Anērān* (Webfestschrift Marshak, 2003). http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

Agadjanov, S. G., *Der Staat der Seldschukiden und Mittelasien im 11.–12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Reinhold Schletzer, 1994).

—'The states of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 61–75.

Ahmad, S. Maqbul, 'Geodesy, geology and mineralogy: geography and cartography', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 205–21.

Akasoy, Anna, Burnett, Charles and Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit (eds), *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

Akhinzhanov, Serzhan M., 'Kipcaks and Khwarazm', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991), pp. 126–31.

Akhmedov, A., 'Astronomy, astrology, observatories and calendars', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 195–204.

Akhmedov, B., revised by D. Sinor, 'Central Asia under the rule of Chinggis Khan's successors', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 261–68.

Alakbarli, Farid, 'A 13th century Darwin? Tusi's views on evolution', *Azerbaijan International* 9/2 (2001), pp. 48–9. http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/92_folder/92_articles/92_tusi.html

Albaum, L. I., 'Xristianskij xram v starom Termeze', in *Iz istorii drevnix kultovsrednej Azii. Xristianstvo* (Tashkent: Glavnaja Redakciha Enciklopedii, 1994), pp. 34–41.

Allsen, Thomas T., 'The Yüan dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th century', in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 243–80.

—'The Princes of the Left Hand: an introduction to the history of the Ulus of Orda in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, vol. 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985–1987), pp. 5–40.

—'Changing forms of legitimation in Mongol Iran', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991), pp. 223–41.

—'Mongols and North Caucasia', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, vol. 7 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 5–40.

—'Mahmud Yalavač, Mas'ud Beg, Ali Beg, Safaliq, Bujir', in Igor de Rachewiltz, Hok-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing and Peter W. Geier (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 112–35.

—'The rise of the Mongolian empire and Mongolian rule in north China', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 321–413.

—'Bolad Ch'eng-Hsiang in China and Iran', in Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 7–22.

—*Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

—'The circulation of military technology in the Mongolian Empire', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 265–93.

—'Mongols as vectors of cultural transmission', in Nicola Di Cosma, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 135–54.

Altan Tobči, trans. and (ed.), Charles Bawden (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1955).

Amirpur, Katajun, *Schia gegen Sunna. Sunna gegen Schia* (Zurich: Vontobel-Stiftung, 2013).

Amitai, Reuven, 'Biography of Rashid al-Din', in Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 23–38.

—'Mongol imperial ideology and the Ilkhanid War against the Mamluks', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and

David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 57–72.

—'Whither the Ilkhanid army? Ghazan's first campaign into Syria (1299–1300)', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 221–60.

—'The resolution of Mongol-Mamluk war', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran, *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 359–90.

—'Towards a pre-history of the Islamization of the Turks: a re-reading of Ibn Fadlan's Rihla', in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 277–96.

Amitai, Reuven and Biran, Michal (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

Amitai-Preiss, Reuven and Morgan, David O. (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

Amoretti, B. S., 'Sects and heresies', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 481–519.

André, Paul (ed.), *The Art of Central Asia* (Bournemouth: Parkstone Press, 1996).

Anke, Bodo, Révész, Laszlo and Vida, Tivadar, *Reitervölker im Frühmittelalter: Hunnen – Awaren – Ungarn* (Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag, 2008).

Antonini, Chiara Silvi and Mirzaachmedov, Džamal K. (eds), *Gli scavi di Uch Kulakh (Oasi di Bukhara): Rapporto preliminare, 1997–2007*, Rivisita degli Studo Orientali, new series, vol. LXXX (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009).

Arabshah, ibn Ahmad, *Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir*, trans. from the Arabic by J. H. Sanders (1936; reprint, London: Martino Publishing, 2007).

Arnold, Lauren, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and Its Influence on the Art of the West, 1250–1350* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999).

—'The Heavenly Horse is come from West of the West: two paintings illuminating the role of Latin Christians at the Mongol court', *Orientations* (Hong Kong) 45/7 (2014), pp. 63–71.

Arzhantseva, I. A., Karamanova, M. S., Härke, H., Ruzanova, S. A., Tazhekeev, A. A. and Modin, I. N., 'Early medieval urbanization and state formation east of the Aral Sea: fieldwork and international workshop 2011 in Kazakhstan', *European Archaeologist* (newsletter of European Association of Archaeologists members for EAA members) 37 (2012), pp. 14–20.

Ashrafyan, K. Z., 'Central Asia under Timur from 1370 to the early fifteenth century', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 319–45.

Athir, Izz ad-Din ibn al, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks: Selections from al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh of Izz ad-Din ibn al-Athir*, trans. and annotated by D. S. Richards (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002).

—*The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period* from *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh*, part 1, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Atwood, Christopher, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004).

Babaev, A. D., *Kreposti drevnego Vakhana* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1973).

Baber, Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed, *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber,* trans. the late John Leyden and William Erskine (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1826).

Badawi, Abdurrahman, *Histoire de la philosophie en Islam*, 2 vols (Paris: J. Vrin, 1972).

Bader, A., Gaibov, V. and Koshelenko, G., 'Materials for an archaeological map of the Merv Oasis: the Durnali Region', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8 (1994), pp. 117–28.

Baimatowa, Nasiba S., *5000 Jahre Architektur in Mittelasien: Lehmziegelgewölbe vom 4./3. Jt. v. Chr. bis zum Ende des 8. Jhs. n. Chr.* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008).

Baipakov, Karl, 'La culture urbaine du Kazakhstan du sud et du Semirechie à l'époque des Karakhanides', *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 9 (2001), pp. 141–75. http://asiecentrale.revues.org/626

—*The Site Kuirytobe – Town Keder* (Almaty: Baur Publishing House, 2005).

—*Drevnjaja i Srednevekovaja Urbanizatsija Kasachstana*, 3 vols (Almaty: Institut arkheologii MON RK; Kazakhstanskoe arkheologicheskoe obshchestvo, 2012, 2013, 2014).

Baipalov, Karl and Aldabergenov, Nurtaza O., *Otrar Oasis* (Almaty: Baur Publishing House, 2005).

Baipakov, Karl and Nasyrov, Rakip, *Along the Great Silk Road* (Almaty: KRAMDC Publishers, 1991).

—*Religions and Cults of Medieval Kazakhstan (by the Materials of the Kuiryktobe Site)* (Almaty: Baur Publishing House, 2005).

Baipakov, Karl and Smagulov, E. A., *The Medieval Town Sauran* (Almaty: Credo, 2005).

Baipakov, Karl, Smagulov, E. A. and Aklhatov, G. A., *The Medieval Jaiyk Site* (Almaty: Credo, 2005).

Baipakov, Karl and Ternovaya, G. A., *Carved Clay of Jetysu* (Almaty: Credo, 2004).

—*Religii i Kulty srednebekovobo Kazaxctana* (Almaty: Institut arxeologii A.M. Margulana, 2005).

Baipakov, Karl and Voyakin, Dmitri, *Medieval Town Kayalyk* (Almaty: Institut arxeologii A.M. Margulana, 2006).

—*Kesken-Kuyuk Kala, Kazakhstan: Archaeological Excavation of an Ancient City in a Former Delta of the Syr Darya* (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2008–2016). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/eurasia/inhalt/frameset_projekt_5a.htm

—'Description of silver coins found at Kesken Kala in 2008' (Almaty: unpublished, 2009).

—'The towns of Huwara and Yangikent, the old and the new capitals of the Oghuz State', *Bulletin of IICAS* 16 (2012), pp. 22–44.

Bakran, Muhammad ibn Najib, *Jahan namah (Kniga o mire)*, (ed.), Iu. E. Borshchevskii (Moscow: Akademya Nauk SSSR, 1960).

Baladhuri, Abu-I Abbas Ahmad ibn-Jabir al-, *Kitab futuh al-Buldan*, trans. from the Arabic accompanied with annotations, geographic and historic notes by Philip Khuri Hitti for vol. I, and by Francis Clark Murgotten for vol. II (New York: Columbia University, 1916, 1924).

Balint, Csanad, *Die Archäologie der Steppe* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989).

Ball, Warwick, 'The archaeology of Afghanistan: a reassessment and stock-taking', in Juliette van Krieken-Pieters (ed.), *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan: Its Fall and Survival* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 39–48.

—*The Monuments of Afghanistan: History, Archaeology and Architecture* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008).

Bar Hebraeus, *Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar-Hebraei Chronicon Syriacum. E codicibus Bodleianis* (Leipzig: Adamus Friderus Boeehmius, 1789).

—*Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, original before 1286, 3 vols, edited and translated into Latin from the Syriac by J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy (Paris and Leuwen: Maisonneuve, 1872–1877).

—*The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, 2 vols, translated from the Syriac by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

Bar Rabban Sauma, *The Monks of Kûblai Khân, Emperor of China, or The History of the Life and Travels of Rabban Sawma, Envoy and Plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khâns to the Kings of Europe, and Markôs Who as Mar Yahbhallaha III Became Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia*, translated from the Syriac by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1928).

Baratin, Charlotte, 'Les villes du sud-ouest de l'Afghanistan: le long de l'itinéraire d'Herat à Kandahar', in Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 173–86.

Barfield, Thomas J., *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

Barkmann, Udo B., 'Some comments on the consequences of the decline of the Mongol Empire on the social development of the Mongols', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 273–81.

—'Qara Qorum (Karakorum) – Fragmente zur Geschichte einer vergessenen Reichshauptstadt', in Helmut R. Roth and Ulaambajar Erdenebat (eds), *Qara Qorum-City (Mongolia) I. Preliminary Report of Excavations 2000–2001*, Bonn Contribution to Asia Archaeology (Bonn: Institute of Pre- and Early Historical Archaeology, Bonn University, 2002), pp. 7–31.

Barthold, V. V., *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung* (Tübingen: Verlag J.C.B. Mohr, 1901).

—*Die geographische und historische Erforschung des Orients mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der russischen Arbeiten* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1913).

—*Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: Luzac, 1928).

—*12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, 1935).

—*Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1945).

Bartlett W.B., *The Mongols: From Genghis Khan to Tamerlane* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009).

Başan, Aziz, *The Great Seljuqs: A History* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Baskhanov, Mikhail et al., *Arts from the Land of Timur: An Exhibition from a Scottish Private Collection* (Paisley: Sogdiana Books, 2012).

Baud, Aymon, Forêt, Philippe and Gorshenina, Svetlana, *La Haute-Asie telle qu'ils l'ont vue: Explorateurs et scientifiques de 1820 à 1940* (Geneva: Olizane, 2003).

Baumer, Christoph, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006).

—*Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008).

—*China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

—*The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, vol. 1 of 4 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

—*The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Silk Roads*, vol. 2 of 4 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014).

Baumer, Christoph and Weber, Therese, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2005).

Bausani, A., 'Religion in the Saljuq Period', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 283–302.

—'Religion under the Mongols', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 538–49.

Bazargur, Dambyn and Enkhbayar, Dambyn, *Chinggis Khaan: Historic-Geographic Atlas* (Ulaan Baatar: author's publication, 1997).

—*Chinggis Khan's Birth-Place & Burial Site* (Ulaan Baatar: Admon, 2006).

Beazley C. Raymond, *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis, as Printed for the First Time by Hakluyt in 1598, Together with Some Shorter Pieces* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1903).

Becker, Eva, *Die altmongolische Hauptstadt Karakorum. Forschungsgeschichte nach historischen Aussagen und archäologischen Quellen* (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2007).

Beckwith, Christopher, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

—*Empires of the Silk Road. A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Presen*t (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Belenizki, A. M., *Zentralasien* (Geneva: Nagel, 1968).

Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew (ed.), *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe: Sedentary Civilization vs. 'Barbarian' and Nomad* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

Bemmann, Jan (ed.), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia: Papers from the First International Conference on 'Archaeological Research in Mongolia', Held in Ulaanbaatar* (Bonn: R. F. W.-Universität, 2009).

—*Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2012).

Bemmann, Jan, et al (eds), 'Geoarchaeology in the steppe: first results of the multidisciplinary Mongolian-German project in the Orkhon Valley, Central Mongolia', *Studia Archaeologica Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Mongolicae* (Ulaan Baatar) 30 (2011), fasc. 5, pp. 69–97.

Bemmann, Jan and Nomguunsüren, Gonshigsüren, 'Bestattungen in Felsspalten und Hohlräumen mongolischer Hochgebirge', in Jan Bemmann, *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2012), pp. 198–217.

Benjamin, Craig and Lieu, Samuel (eds), *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

Bennison, A. K. and Gascoigne, A. L. (eds), *Cities in the Pre-modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (London: SOAS/Routledge, 2007).

Bergeron, Pierre, *Voyages fait principalement en Asie dans les XII, XIII, XIV, et XV siècles. Accompagnés de l'Histoire des Sarasins et des Tartares*, 2 vols (La Haye: Jean Neaulme, 1735).

Berggren, J. L., 'The mathematical sciences', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 182–93.

Bergman, Folke, *Travels and Archaeological Field-Work in Mongolia and Singkiang: A Diary of the Years 1927–1934*, in *History of the Expedition in Asia 1927–1935*, part IV (Stockholm: Elander, 1945), pp. 1–192.

Beyhaqi, Abu al-Fazl Muhammad ibn Hussayn al, *The History of Beyhaqi (The History of Sultan Masud of Ghazna, 1030–1041)*, trans. C. E. Bosworth, revised by Mohsen Ashtiany, 3 vols (Boston: Ilex Foundation, 2011).

Bianchini, Marie-Claude (ed.), *Afghanistan: une histoire millénaire* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002).

Bijl, Arnoud and Boelens, Birgit (eds), *Expedition Silk Road: Journeys to the West – Treasures from the Hermitage*, exhib. cat. (Amsterdam: Hermitage Amsterdam, 2014).

Bira, Sh., 'The Mongols and their state in the twelfth to the fourteenth century', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 243–59.

—'Qubilai Qa'an and 'Phags-pa Bla-ma', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 240–49.

Biran, Michal, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997).

—'Ilak-Khanids, Kara Khanids', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2001. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ilak-khanids

—'The Battle of Herat (1270): a case of Inner-Mongol warfare', in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 175–219.

—*The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

—‘True to their ways: why the Qara Khitai did not convert to Islam’, in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran, *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 175–99.

—‘The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan’s invasion to the rise of Temür: the Ögödeid and Chaghadaid realms’, in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 46–66.

Biruni, Abu Rayhan Muhammad al-, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Alberuni*, (ed.), Dr C. E. Sachau (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1878; reprint, Whitefish: Kessinger Legacy Reprints, 2014).

—*The Chronology of Ancient Nations: An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athâr-ul-Bâkiya of Albîrûnî, or ‘Vestiges of the Past’*, trans. and (ed.), with notes Dr C. E. Sachau (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1879; reprint, Charleston: Nabu Press, 2011).

—*Albiruni’s India: An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030*, English edition with notes and indices by Dr E. C. Sachau, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910).

—*The Determination of the Coordinates of Positions for the Correction of Distances between Cities: Al-Biruni’s Kitab tahdid nihayat al-amakin litashih masafat al-masakin*, translated from the Arabic by Jamil Ali (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967).

Bladel, Kevin van, ‘The Bactrian background of the Barmakids’, in Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (eds), *Islam and Tibet Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 43–88.

Blair, Sheila, ‘Pattern of patronage and production in Ilkhanid Iran: the case of Rashid al-Din’, in Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 39–62.

—‘The religious art of the Ilkhanids’, in Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 104–22.

—‘Calligraphers, illuminators and painters in the Ilkhanid scriptorium’, in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 167–82.

Blair, Sheila and Bloom, Jonathan M., *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

—‘Die frühen Reiche des Ostens (9.–12. Jh.): Ghaznaviden und Ghuriden’, in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 328–45.

—‘Irak, Iran und Ägypten (8–13. Jh.): Die Abbasiden und ihre Nachfolger’, in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 268–97.

—‘Islamische Mongolen (13.–14. Jh.): Vom Mongolensturm zu den Il-Khanen’, in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 386–405.

Bloom, Jonathan, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

—‘Paper: the transformative medium in Ilkhanid art’, in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 289–302.

Bloom, Jonathan and Blair, Sheila (eds), *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Bogomolov, G., ‘La transformation des rites funéraires dans l’oasis de Tachkent VIII*ème*-XI*ème* siècles’, in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l’Asie centrale. Processus locaux d’acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 177–97.

Bonora, Gian Luca, Pianciola, Niccolo and Sartori, Paolo (eds), *Kazakhstan: Religions and Society in the History of Central Eurasia* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2009).

Bonvalot, Gabriel, *Du Caucase aux Indes à travers le Pamir* (Paris: Plon, 1889).

Bopearachchi, Osmund and Boussac, Marie-Françoise (eds), *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l’est et l’ouest* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Bosworth, C. E., *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967).

—‘The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world (A.D. 1000–1227)’, in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 1–202.

—‘Barbarian incursions: the coming of the Turks into the Islamic world’, in D. S. Richards (ed.), *Islamic Civilisation, 950–1150* (Oxford: Cassirer, 1973), pp. 1–16.

—‘The early Ghaznavids’, in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 162–97.

—‘The Tahirids and Saffarids’, in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 90–135.

—*The Medieval Islamic Underworld: The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature, Part 1* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

—‘The heritage of rulership in early Islamic Iran and the search for dynastic connections with the past’, in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *A Medieval History in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), pp. 51–62.

—‘Al-e Ma’mun’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1984. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/l-e-mamun-a-short-lived-dynasty-of-iranian-rulers-in-karazm-385-408-995-1017

—‘Altuntaš: Turkish slave commander of the Ghaznavid sultan and governor of Kwarazm (408–23/1017–32)’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1989. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/altuntas

—*The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (New Delhi: Manoharlal, 1992).

—*The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay – The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040–1186* (New Delhi: Manoharlal, 1992).

—‘The Ghaznavids’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 95–117.

—‘Legal and political sciences in the eastern Iranian world and Central Asia in the pre-Mongol period’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 133–42.

—‘Ghurids’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2001. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghurids

—‘The coming of the Turks into the Islamic World’, in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *The Turks in the Early Islamic World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. xiii–liii.

—‘The Appearance and Establishment of Islam in Afghanistan’, in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l’Asie centrale. Processus locaux d’acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 97–114.

—‘Tabaqat-e Naseri’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2010. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tabaqat-naseri

Bosworth, C. E. (ed.), *A Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977).

—*The History of the Seljuk Turks: From the Jamia al-Tawarikh – An Ilkhanid Adaptation of the Saljuk-Nama of Zahir ad-Din Nishapuri* (London: Routledge, 2001).

—*The Turks in the Early Islamic World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Bosworth, C. E. and Bolshakov, O. G., 'Central Asia under the Umayyads and the early Abbasids', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 23–40.

Bouillane, Henry de Bouillane de Lacoste, *Autour de l'Afghanistan (Aux frontiers interdites)* (Paris: Hachette, 1908).

Boyle, J. A., 'Dynastic and political history of the Il-Khans', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 303–421.

—'Rashid al-Din and the Franks', *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), pp. 62–67.

Brandenburg, Dietrich and Brüsehoff, Kurt, *Die Seldschuken. Baukunst des Islam in Persien und Turkmenistan* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1980).

Bregel, Yuri, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003).

—'Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 221–36.

Brend, Barbara, 'The tradition of illustration', in Barbara Brend and Charles Melville (eds), *Epic of the Persian Kings: The Art of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*, exhib. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010) pp. 31–53.

Brend, Barbara and Melville, Charles (eds), *Epic of the Persian Kings: The Art of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*, exhib. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010).

Brent, Peter, *Das Weltreich der Mongolen. Dschingis Khans Triumph und Vermächtnis* (Bergisch Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe, 1988).

Brentjes, Burchard, *Mittelasien. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Völker zwischen Kaspischem Meer und Tien-Schan* (Vienna: Tusch, 1977).

—*Die Ahnen Dschingis-Chans. Eurasien und das Werden Europas* (Vienna: Tusch, 1988).

Bretschneider, Emil, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources: Fragments towards the Knowledge of the Geography and History of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th Century*, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1888).

Brezina, Corona, *Al-Khwarizmi: The Inventor of Algebra* (New York: Rosen Publishing, 2006).

Brotton, Jerry, *A History of the World in Twelve* Maps (London: Penguin, 2012).

Bubnova, M.A., *Arxeologitcheskya karta Tadjikistana. Gorno-Badaxshanckaya Avtonomnaya Oblast. Zapadnyi Pamir* (Dushanbe: UCA, 2007).

Buell, P. D., 'Činqai' in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 95–111.

—'Sübötei Ba'atur', in Igor de Rachewiltz, et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 13–26.

Bulletin of the Asia Institute (Bloomfield Hills) 4 (1990)–22 (2008).

Burnett, Charles, 'Humanism and Orientalism in the translation from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages', in Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), pp. 22–31.

Buryakov, Y. F. et al., *The Cities and Routes of the Great Silk Road* (Tashkent: SHARG, 1999).

Çağatay, Ergun and Kuban, Dogan (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006).

Çağman, Filiz, 'Muhammad of the black pen and his paintings', in David J. Roxburgh (ed.), *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, exhib. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005).

Cahen, Claude, 'Le Malik-nâmeh et l'histoire des origine seljukides', *ORIENS: Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research* 2 (1949), pp. 31–65.

—'The Malik-nama and the history of Seljuqid origins', in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *The Turks in the Early Islamic World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 305–38.

Cai, Meibiao, 'Khitan tribal organization and the birth of the Khitan state', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 255–313.

Cambon, Pierre et al., *L'Asie des steppes, d'Alexandre le Grand à Gengis Khan* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2000).

The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I, (ed.), Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs, vol. 4, (ed.), R. N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, vol. 5, (ed.), J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods, vol. 6, (ed.), Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Canby, Sheila R., 'Depictions of Buddha Shakyamuni in the Jamia al-Tawarikh and the Majma'a al-Tavarikh', in Margaret B. Sevchenko (ed.), *Muqarnas, Vol. X: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 299–310.

Carey, Brian Todd, *Warfare in the Ancient World* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 1988).

Carpini, Giovanni Di Plano, 'Relation du voyage de Jean du Plan Carpin en Tartarie', in Pierre Bergeron, *Voyages fait principalement en Asie dans les XII, XIII, XIV, et XV siècles. Accompagnés de l'Histoire des Sarasins et des Tartares*, 2 vols (La Haye: Jean Neaulme, 1735), pp. 1–82.

—*Ystoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus* [*The History of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars*], translated with an introduction by Erik Hildinger (Boston: Branden, 1996). [*Kunde von den Mongolen*, trans. Felicitas Schmieder (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997).]

Carswell, John, 'Kharakhoto and recent research in Inner Mongolia', *Oriental Art* 45/4 (1999–2000), pp. 19–32.

Cerasuolo, Orlando, 'Indagine topographica nel territorio di Varakhsha', in Chiara Silvi Antonini and Džamal K. Mirzaachmedov (eds), *Gli scavi di Uch Kulakh (Oasi di Bukhara). Rapporto preliminare, 1997–2007*, Rivisita degli Studo Orientali, new series, vol. LXXX (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009), pp. 189–210.

—'Il rilievo del sito di Vardanzeh', in Chiara Silvi Antonini and Džamal K. Mirzaachmedov (eds), *Gli scavi di Uch Kulakh (Oasi di Bukhara). Rapporto preliminare, 1997–2007*, Rivisita degli Studo Orientali, new series, vol. LXXX (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009), pp. 211–16.

Chaliand, Gérard, *Nomadic Empires: From Mongolia to the Danube* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004).

Chambers, James, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (Norwalk: Easton Press, 1995).

Chase, Kenneth, *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Chen, Dezhi, 'The Kerait kingdom up to the thirteenth century', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 411–61.

Chmelnizkij, Sergey, 'Architektur', in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 416–25.

Chmelnizkij, Sergey, Blair, Sheila and Bloom, Jonathan M., ‘Architektur der Gross-Seldschuken’, in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 354–69.

Christian, David, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia, Vol. I: Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

—‘State formation in the Inner Eurasian steppes’, in David Christian and Craig Benjamin (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies II (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 51–76.

Christian, David and Benjamin, Craig (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies II (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

—*Realms of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies IV (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

—*Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

Chuvin, Pierre (ed.), *Les arts de l’Asie Centrale* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 1999).

Ciocîltan, Virgil, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties, 3 vols, translated and annotated by Wheeler Thrackston (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Clavijo, Ruy Gonzalez de, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–06,* trans. and (ed.), Clements R. Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1859).

—*Clavijo: Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*, translated from the Spanish by Guy Le Strange (New York/London: Routledge, 1928).

Cleary, Michelle Negus, ‘Walls in the desert: the phenomenon of Central Asian urbanism in ancient Chorasmia’, in Ken Parry (ed.), *Art, Architecture and Religion along the Silk Roads*, Silk Road Studies XII (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 51–78.

Clot, André, *Harun al-Rashid. Kalif von Bagdad* (München: Artemis, 1988).

Cohn-Wiener, Ernst, *Turan. Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1930).

Compareti, Matteo, Raffetta, Paola and Scarcia, Gianroberto (eds), *Ērān ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Il’iĒMaršak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, 2003. http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

Constantine, Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967).

Corbin, Henry, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).

—*En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, 4 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1971–1972).

Cribb, Joe and Herrmann, Georgina (eds), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (London: The British Academy, 2007).

Curta, Florin and Kovalev, Roman (eds), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008).

Curzon, George N., *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889).

Daftary, Farhad, *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

—‘Sectarian and national movements in Iran, Khurasan and Transoxania during Ummayyad and early Abbasid times’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 41–59.

Dale, Stephen, ‘The later Timurids’, in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 199–217.

Dankoff, Robert, *From Mahmud Kashgari to Evliya Celebi* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008).

Dardess, John, ‘Shun-ti and the end of Yüan rule in China’, in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 561–86.

Dashdondog, Bayarsaikhan, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Davidovich, E.A., ‘The Karakhanids’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 119–43.

Dawlatchodja, Dowudi and Kurbanov, Sharof, *Klad niskoprobnich dirchemov Tchaganiana 434, 435 gg.h/1042-44 gg na gorodistsche Kutlug-Tepa Pendjikentskovo rayona* [Discovery of some coins from Chaganiyan 434, 435 AH/1042–44 AD from the ancient town Kutlug Tepe in the district of Penjikent] (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2012, unpublished).

—*Monetnie nachodki na gorodistsche Sanjar Shah b 2003 i 2010 gg* [Discovered coins at the ancient town Sanjar Shah in 2003 and 2010] (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2012, unpublished).

—*Monetnie nachodki na gorodistsche Sanjar Shah i Muborakshah* [The finds of coins at the sites of Sanjarshah and Mubarakshah] (Dushanbe: Shahpar, 2012).

Dawson, Christopher (ed.), *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955).

Dawson, John (ed.), *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vol. II, edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot (1867; reprint, Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, no date given).

Dekker, Elly and Krogt, Peter van der, *Globes from the Western World* (London: Zwemmer, 1993).

Deom, Jean-Marc, ‘Islamization and early Sufism in Central Asia during the pre-Mongolian period (eighth to thirteenth century)’, in Gian Luca Bonora, Niccolo Pianciola and Paolo Sartori (eds), *Kazakhstan: Religions and Society in the History of Central Asia* (Turin: U. Allemandi, 2009), pp. 99–113.

Deweese, Devin, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1994).

—‘Islamization in the Mongol Empire’, in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 120–34.

Di Cosmo, Nicola (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

—‘Mongols and merchants on the Black Sea frontier in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: convergences and conflicts’, in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 391–424.

—‘Geschichte und Gesellschaftsstruktur der Liao-Dynastie’, in Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Schätze der Liao. China’s vergessene Nomadendynastie (907–1125)*, exhib. cat. (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 2007), pp. 15–23.

—(ed.), *Military Culture in Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

Di Cosmo, Nicola, Frank, Allen J. and Golden, Peter B. (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Dinorshoev, M., ‘Philosophy, logic and cosmology’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 161–75.

Djaït, Hichem, *La Grande Discorde. Religion et politique dans l’Islam der origines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989).

Docimbaeva, Aiman, *Zapadnyi Tyorkckij Kaganat*, Institut arxeologii (Almaty: A.M. Margulana, 2006).

Dörrie, Heinrich, 'Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julianus O.P. ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. philologisch-historische Klasse* 6 (1956), pp. 125–202.

Dreyer, Edward L., 'Military origins of Ming China', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I*, (ed.), Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 58–106.

Drikung, Kyabgon Chetsang, *A History of the Tibetan Empire: Drawn from the Dunhuang Manuscripts* (Dehra Dun: Songtsen Library, 2011).

Dumas, Dominique, 'Die "Feuergottheiten" der Mongolen', in Walther Heissig und Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (eds), *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 108–17.

Dunnel, Ruth, 'The fall of the Xia Empire: Sino-steppe relations in the late 12th–early 13th centuries', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991), pp. 158–87.

—'The Hsi Hsia', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 154–214.

—*The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

—'The Recovery of Tangut History', *Orientations* (Hong Kong) April (1996), pp. 28–31.

Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond, et al (eds), *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road* (Berlin: Reimer, 2004).

Dzumagulov, Cetin, 'Die syrisch-türkischen (nestorianischen) Denkmäler in Kirgisien', in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, vol. XIV (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968), pp. 470–80.

Eichner, Heidrun, Perkams, Matthias and Schäfer, Christian (eds), *Islamische Philosophie im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013).

Elverskog, Johan, 'The legend of Muna Mountain', *Inner Asia* 8 (2006), pp. 99–122.

Endicott-West, Elizabeth, 'Aspects of Khitan Liao and Mongolian Yüan imperial rule: a comparative perspective', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991), pp. 199–222.

Erdedeni-tobči: See Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi.

Euw, Anton von and Voiret, Jean-Pierre, *Marco Polo* (Zurich: SKA, 1995).

Fazlioďu, Ihsan, 'Qushji: Abu al-Qasim Ala al-Din Ali ibn Muhammad Qushci-zade', in Thomas Hockney et al. (eds), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (New York: Springer, 2007). http://islamsci.mcgill.ca/RASI/BEA/Qushji_BEA.htm

Fedorow-Dawydow, G. A., *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorgänger* (Leipzig: Köhler & Amelang, 1968).

—*The Silk Road and the Cities of the Golden Horde* (Berkeley: Zinat Press, 2001).

Fijalkowski, Adam, 'The Arabic authors in the works of Vincent of Beauvais', in Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), pp. 483–95.

Filigenzi, Anna and Giunta, Roberta (eds), *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007: Fifty Years of Research in the Heart of Eurasia* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2009).

Fircks, Juliane von, 'Panni tartarici: splendid cloths from the Mongol Empire in European contexts', *Orientations* (Hong Kong) October (2014), pp. 72–81.

Fischel, Walter J., *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.) – A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun's 'Autobiography', with a Translation into English and a Commentary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).

Fitzherbert, Teresa, 'Portrait of a lost leader: Jalal al-Din Kharazmshah and Juvaini', in Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 63–78.

Forbes Manz, Beatrice, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

—'Nomad and settled in the Timurid military', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 425–57.

—*Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

—'Temür and the early Timurids to *c.* 1450', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 192–98.

Fragner, Bert G., 'Ilkhanid rule and its contributions to Iranian political culture', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 68–80.

Frank, Allen J., 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 237–60.

Franke, Herbert, 'Ahmed. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Chinas unter Qubilai', *ORIENS: Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research* 1 (1948), pp. 222–36.

—'Tibetans in Yüan China', in John D. Langlois, *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 296–328.

—'The forest peoples of Manchuria: Kitans and Jurchens', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 400–23.

—'The Chin dynasty', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 215–320.

—*China under Mongol Rule* (Aldershot: Variorum, Ashgate, 1994).

—'The exploration of the Yellow River sources under emperor Qubilai in 1281', in Herbert Franke, *China under Mongol Rule* (Aldershot: Variorum, Ashgate, 1994), pp. 401–16.

—'Sino-Western contacts under the Mongol Empire', in Herbert Franke, *China under Mongol Rule* (Aldershot: Variorum, Ashgate, 1994), pp. 49–72.

Franke, Otto, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idikutshahri bei Turfan (Turkistan)* (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Kommission bei Georg Reimer, 1907).

Freely, John, *Aladdin's Lamp* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009).

Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P., *The Muslim and Christian Calendars* (London: Rex Collings, 1977).

Frenkel, Yoshua, 'The Turks of the Eurasian steppes in Medieval, Arabic writing', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 201–41.

Frye, Richard N., 'The Samanids', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 136–61.

—*The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1983).

—*The Golden Age of Persia* (London: Orion, 1993).

—*The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1996).

—*Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2006).

Fuchs, Walter, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726*, proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938).

Gabriel, Richard A., *Subotai the Valiant: Genghis Khan's Greatest General* (Westport: Praeger, 2004).

Gandzakets'i, Kirakos, *History of the Armenians*, translated from classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian (New York: 1986). http://rbedrosian.com/kg8.htm#20

Gao Yanqing (ed.), *Neimenggu Zhenbao: Treasures of Inner Mongolia*, 6 vols (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2007).

Gardin, Jean-Claude, *Lashkari Bazar. Une residence royale Ghaznévide. II. Les trouvailles. Céramique et monnaies de Lashkari Bazar et de Bust* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963).

Gardizi, Abu Sa'id 'Abd Al-Hayy, *Zayn al-akhbar*, published as *The Ornaments of Histories: A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041 – The Persian Texts of Abu Sa'id 'Abd Al-Hayy Gardizi*, trans. and (ed.), C. Edmund Bosworth (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

Gardner, Iain, Lieu, Samuel and Parry, Ken, *From Palmyra to Zayton: Epigraphy and Iconography*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, trans. Erich Haenisch (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1948).

Ghassan, Abdul-Jabbar, *Bukhari* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007).

Gibb, H. A. R., *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (New York: AMS Press, 1970).

Gilliot, C., 'Qur'anic exegesis', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 97–131.

Gillman, Ian and Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim, *Christians in Asia before 1500* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

Göckenjan, Hansgerd and Sweeney, James R., translation and annotation, *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte und Augenzeugen von Zeitgenossen 1235–1250* (Graz: Styria, 1985).

Goichon, A.M., *La philosophie d'Avicenne et son influence en Europe Médiévale* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1979).

Golden, Peter B., 'The migration of the Oǧuz', in *Archivum Ottomanicum IV* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), pp. 45–84.

—'The Qipčaqs in Georgia', in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), pp. 45–87.

—'The Karakhanids and early Islam', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 343–70.

—'The Qipčac of Medieval Eurasia: an example of stateless adaptation in the steppes', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991), pp. 132–57.

—'The Codex Cumanicus', in H. B. Paksoy (ed.), *Central Asian Monuments* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1992). http://eurasia-research.com/erc/002cam.htm

—*An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992).

—'Nomads of the western Eurasian steppes: Oghurs, Onoghurs and Khazars', in Hans Robert Roemer (ed.), *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 282–302.

—'Nomads in the sedentary world: the case of the pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia', in A. M. Khazanov and A. Wink (eds), *Nomads in the Sedentary World* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), pp. 24–75.

—'War and warfare in the pre-Činggisid western steppes', in Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 105–72.

—'Aspects of the nomadic factor in the economic development of Kievan Rus', in Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*, vol. VII (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003), pp. 58–101.

—'Imperial ideology and the sources of political unity amongst the pre-Činggisid nomads of western Eurasia', in Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*, vol. I (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003), pp. 1–76.

—*Nomads and Sedentary Societies in Medieval Eurasia* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 2003).

—*Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003).

—'The Turkic nomads of the pre-Islamic Eurasian steppes', in Ergun Çağatay, and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006), pp. 83–103.

—'Inner Asia *c.* 1200', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 9–25.

—'Migrations, Ethnogenesis', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 109–19.

—'Nomads in the sedentary world: the case of pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia', in Peter B. Golden, *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia*, vol. V (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2010), pp. 24–75.

—*Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2010).

—'The Turks: origins and expansion', in Peter B. Golden, *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia*, vol. I (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2010), pp. 1–33.

—*Central Asia in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

—'Zentralasien im 6.–11. Jh', in Jan Bemmann (ed.), *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2012), pp. 27–52.

Goncharov, E. Y. and Nastich, Vladimir N., 'Moneti syrdarinskich oguzov IX. B', in *Tjurkologitscheskii sobornik* (Moskwa: Vostok Literatura, 2013), pp. 80–91.

—'New numismatic artefacts of the IX century from the Eastern Greater Aral Sea (A newly found coinage of Syr Darya Oghuz state)', in Meždunarodnaja naučnaja konferencija 'RASMIR: Vostočnaja Numismatika – 2011', Sbornik naučnyx trudov / 1st International Scientific Conference 'RASMIR: Oriental Numismatics', conference proceedings, 29–31 July 2011, Odessa, Ukraine (Kiev: 2013), pp. 132–35, Russian version pp. 26–30.

Gorâčeva, Valentina, *Srednevekovie gorodskie zentry i architekturnie ansambli Kirgizii* (Frunze: Ilim, 1983).

—'À propos de deux capitales du kaghanat karakhanide', *Études karakhanides* (Cahiers d'Asie centrale) 9 (2001), pp. 91–114. http://asiecentrale.revues.org/617

Grabar, Oleg, 'The visual arts', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 626–58.

—'The visual arts', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 329–63.

Gray, Basil, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript* (London: Faber & Faber, 1978).

—*The Arts of the Book in Central Asia 14th–16th Centuries* (Paris: Unesco and London: Serindia, 1979).

—'History of miniature painting: the fourteenth century', in Basil Gray, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia 14th–16th Centuries* (Paris: Unesco and London: Serindia, 1979), pp. 93–120.

—'The pictorial arts in the Timurid period', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 843–76.

Gridley, Marilyn Leidig, *Chinese Buddhist Sculpture under the Liao* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and A. Prakashan, 1993).

Griffel, Frank, 'Toleration and exclusion: al-Shafi'i and al-Ghazali on the treatment of apostates', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64/3 (2011), pp. 339–54.

Grousset, René, *L'empire des steppes: Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan* (Paris: Payot, 1939). *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1970).

—*Le Conquérant du Monde (Vie de Gengis-khan)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1944).

Grube, Ernst J., Sims, E. and Carswell, J. (eds), *Islamic Art I: An Annual Dedicated to the Art and Culture of the Muslim World* (New York: The Islamic Art Foundation, 1981).

Gruber, Christiane J., *The Timurid 'Book of Ascension' (Mi'rajnama): A Study of Text and Image in a Pan-Asian Context* (Valencia: Ediciones Patrimonio, 2008).

Gutas, Dmitri, 'What was there in Arabic for the Latins to receive? Remarks on the Modalities of the twelfth-century translation movement in Spain', in Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), pp. 3–21.

Haarmann, Harald, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1998).

Haenisch, Erich, 'Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-Khane Argun und Öljeitü an den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305)', *ORIENS: Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research* 2 (1949), pp. 216–35.

Haidar, Mansura, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (Delhi: Manohar, 2002).

Halbertsma, Tjalling, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

Halperin, Charles J., *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Russian History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1985).

Hambis, Louis, 'L'Histoire des Mongols avant Gengis-Khan d'après les sources chinoises et mongoles, et la documentation conservée par Rašidu-d-'Din', *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), pp. 125–33.

Hamilton, James Russell, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955).

—'Le Royaume Ouïgour de Kan-tcheou', in Hans Robert Roemer, *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 213–18.

Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kipchak, das ist: Der Mongolen in Russland* (Pesth: C. A. Hartleben's Verlag, 1840).

Han, Rulin, 'The Kirghiz and neighboring tribes in the Yuan Dynasty', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 353–410.

Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 1: 635–1800, (ed.), Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

Hart, B. H. Liddell, *Great Captains Unveiled* (1927; reprint Boston: Da Capo Press, 1996).

Hattstein, Markus, 'Geschichte Timurs und seiner Nachfolger', in Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 408–15.

Hattstein, Markus and Delius, Peter (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architektur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000).

Haw, Stephen G., *Marco Polo's China: A Venetian in the Realm of Khubilai Khan* (London: Routledge, 2006).

—'The Mongol Empire: the first "gunpowder empire"?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* July (2013), pp. 441–69.

—'The Mongol conquest of Tibet', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* January (2014), pp. 37–49.

Heidemann, Stefan, 'Das Geld der Mongolen', *Antike Welt* 5 (2005), pp. 77–84.

Heissig, Walther, *Die Mongolen. Ein Volk sucht seine Geschichte* (Bindlach: Gondrom, 1989).

—*Religions of Mongolia* (London: Kegan Paul, 2000).

Hejazi, Mehrdad and Saradj, Fatemeh M., *Persian Architectural Heritage: Architecture* (Southampton: Architecture WIT Press, 2014).

—*Persian Architectural Heritage: Structure* (Southampton: Architecture WIT Press, 2014).

Henss, Michael, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet: The Central Regions*, 2 vols (Munich: Prestel, 2014).

Herrmann, Georgina, *Monuments of Merv* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1999).

Hethum von Korykos, *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient. Geschichte der Mongolen*, trans. Raimund Senoner, published by Wilhelm Baum (Klagenfurt: Kitab, 2006).

Hildinger, Erik, *Warriors of the Steppe: A Military History of Central Asia 500 B.C. to 1700 A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001).

Hill, Donald R., *The Book of Ingenious Devices (Kitab al-Hiyal) by the Banu (Sons of) Musa bin Shakir* (Dordrecht: Reidel Publishing, 1979).

—'Physics and mechanics, civil and hydraulic engineering, industrial processes and manufacturing, and craft activities', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 249–74.

Hillenbrand, Robert, 'The Seljuk monuments of Turkmenistan', in Christian Lange and Songül Mecit (eds), *The Seljuks: Politics, Society and Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 277–308.

Histoire secrete des Mongols. Chronique mongole du XIIIe siècle, translated from the Mongolian, presented and annotated by Marie-Dominique Even and Rodica Pop (Paris: Gallimard, 1994).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. III – The Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750, (ed.), Boris Litvinsky et al. (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1996).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. IV – The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century – Part One: The Historical, Social and Economic Setting, (ed.), M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. IV – The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century – Part Two: The Achievements, (ed.), C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2000).

Hoang, Michael, *Dschingis Khan* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1991).

Hodgson, M. G. S., 'The Isma'ili state', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 422–82.

Holdich, Thomas Hungerford, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (1891; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Horlemann, Bianca, 'The relations of the eleventh-century Tsong kha tribal confederation to its neighbour states on the Silk Road', in Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (eds), *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet* (Boston/Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 79–103.

Howard, Angela Falco, Li Song, Wu Hung and Yang Hong, *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Hsiao, Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Mid-Yüan politics', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 490–560.

Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Schätze der Liao. China's vergessene Nomadendynastie (907–1125)*, exhib. cat. (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 2007).

Hua, Tao, 'The Muslim Qarakhanids and their invented ethnic identity', in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 339–50.

Hudud al-Alam: The Regions of the World – A Persian Geography 372 A.H.–982 A.D., translated and explained by V. Minorsky, (ed.), C. E. Bosworth (Cambridge: reprint by Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Huff, Dietrich, 'The Ilkhanid palace at Takht-i Sulayman: excavation results', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 94–110.

Hunsberger, Alice C., *Nasir Khusraw: The Ruby of Badakhshan* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2003).

Hunter, Erica, 'The conversion of the Kerait to Christianity in AD 1007', in *Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn*, vol. 22, (ed.), W. Heissig and M. Weiers (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), pp. 142–63.

—'Converting the Turkic tribes', in Craig Benjamin and Samuel Lieu (eds), *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

Hunter, Erica (ed.), *The Christian Heritage of Iraq* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009).

Hüttel, Hans-Georg, 'Das Projekt "Karakorum-Palast"', in *Mongolische Notizen* (Bonn: Deutsch-Mongolische Gesellschaft, 2005).

—'Royal palace or Buddhist temple? On search for the Karakorum palace', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R. F. W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 535–48.

—'Karakorum (Mongolei)', in *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Jahresbericht 2009*, AA 2010/1 supplement (Berlin: DAI, Munich: Hirmer, 2010), pp. 346–50.

Hüttel, Hans-Georg and Erdenebat, Ulambayar, *Karabalgasun und Karakorum. Zwei spätnomadische Stadtsiedlungen im Orchon-Tal* (Ulaan Baatar: Admon, 2009).

Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1929; reprint 1983).

Ibn Hawqal, *La Configuration de la Terre (Kitab surat al-ard)*, introduction and trans. J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet, 2 vols (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2001).

Ibn Khaldûn, *Le Voyage d'Occident et d'Orient*, translated from the Arabic and presented by Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris: Sindbad, 1980).

Ilyasov, Jangar Ya., 'Exotic images: on a new group of glazed pottery of the 10th and 11th century', *Journal of the David Collection* 4 (2014), pp. 50–97.

Islam, Riazul and Bosworth, C.E., 'The Delhi Sultanate', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 269–91.

Jackson, Peter, 'From *Ulus* to Khanate: the making of the Mongol states, c. 1220–c. 1290', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 12–38.

—'The Mongols and the faith of the conquered', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 245–90.

—*The Mongols and the West* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005).

—'The Mongol age in eastern Inner Asia', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 26–45.

Jahn, Karl, 'Kamalashri: Rashid Al-Din's "Life and Teaching of Buddha" – a source for the Buddhism of the Mongol period', *Central Asiatic Journal* 2/2 (1956), pp. 81–128.

—'Some ideas of Rashid al-Din on Chinese culture', *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), pp. 134–47.

Jankrift, Kay Peter, *Europa und der Orient im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007).

Johannsen, Ulla, 'Zur Geschichte des Schamanismus', in Walther Heissig und Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (eds), *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 8–22.

Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology, (ed.), Lilla Russell-Smith and Judith Lerner, vols 1–5 (2006–10).

Juliano, Annette, *Teng-Hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1980).

Juvaini, Ala ud-Din Ata Malik, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha: The History of the World-Conqueror*, 2 vols, trans. John Andrew Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).

Juzjani, Minhaj ad-Din Abu Umar Uthman, *Tabakat-i Nasiri: A General History of Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Including Hindustan, from A.H. 194 [810 A.D.] to A.H. 658 [1260 A.D.] and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam,* 2 vols, trans. Major H.G. Raverty (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1881).

Kamoliddin, Shamsiddin, *The Samanids: The First Islamic Local Dynasty of Central Asia* (Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert, 2011).

Kaplonski, Christopher, 'The Mongolian impact in Eurasia: a reassessment', in Andrew Bell-Fialkoff (ed.), *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe: Sedentary Civilization vs. 'Barbarian' and Nomad* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 251–74.

Kaplony, Andreas, 'The conversion of the Turks of Central Asia to Islam as seen by Arabic and Persian geography: a comparative perspective', in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 319–38.

Kara, G., 'Pre-Mongol and Mongol writing systems', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 335–37.

Karabacek, Joseph, *Das arabische Papier, eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung* (Vienna: Verlag der kaiserl Königl Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1887). [*Arab Paper*, trans. Don Baker and Suzy Dittmar (London: Archetype Publications, 2001)].

Karimov, E. E., 'The advent of Islam: extent and impact', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 81–85.

Kauz, Ralph, 'Trade and Commerce on the Silk Road after the End of the Mongol Rule in China, Seen from Chinese Texts', *The Silk Road Journal* 4/2 (2006/7), pp. 54–59.

Kennedy, E. S., 'The exact sciences in Timurid Iran', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 568–80.

Kessler, Adam T., *Empires beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan*, exhib. cat. (Los Angeles: Natural History Museum of Los Angeles, 1993).

Khan, Aisha, *Avicenna (Ibn Sina): Muslim Physician and Philosopher of the Eleventh Century* (New York: Rosen Publishing, 2006).

Khurelsukh, Susorbaramyn, *Khadny orshuulgyn sudalgaany zarim asuudal* (Ulaan Baatar: Memi San, 2012).

Khwandamir, 'Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad, *Habibu al-Siyar* [Beloved of Careers]', in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, translated and annotated by Wheeler Thrackston, vol. II (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Kim, Hodong, 'The early history of the Moghul nomads: the legacy of the Chagatai Khanate', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 290–318.

—'A reappraisal of Güyüg Khan', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 309–38.

Klein, Wassilios, *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14.Jh.*, Silk Road Studies III (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

—*Abu Reyhan Biruni und die Religionen. Eine interkulturelle Perspektive* (Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 2005).

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah E., *The Kingdom of Bamiyan: Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindu Kush* (Naples/Rome: Istituto Universitario Orientale e Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989).

Kljaštornyj, Sergej, 'Les Samanides et les Karakhanides: une étape initiale de la géopolitique impériale', *Études karakhanides* (Cahiers d'Asie central) 9 (2001), pp. 35–40. http://asiecentrale.revues.org/615

Kljaštornyj, S. G. and Sultanov, T. I., *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens. Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin: Schletzer, 2006).

Knobloch, Edgar, *Monuments of Central Asia: A Guide to the Archaeology, Art and Architecture of Turkestan* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2001).

—*The Archaeology & Architecture of Afghanistan* (Charleston: Tempus, 2002).

Kočnev, Boris, 'La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique', *Études karakhanides* (Cahiers d'Asie centrale) 9 (2001), pp. 49–75. http://asiecentrale.revues.org/618

—'Les frontières du royaume des Karakhanides', *Études karakhanides* (Cahiers d'Asie centrale) 9 (2001), pp. 41–48. http://asiecentrale.revues.org/617

Koetsier, Teun, 'On the prehistory of programmable machines: musical automata, looms, calculators', *Mechanism and Machine Theory* 36 (2001), pp. 589–603.

Kollmar-Paulenz, Karenina, '"Durch die Kraft des ewigen blauen Himmels": Zur Konstruktion religiöser Identität bei den Mongolen (13.–frühes 17. Jahrhundert)', *Asiatische Studien* (Bern) 56/4 (2002), pp. 857–77.

Kolmaš, Josef, *Tibet and Imperial China: A Survey of Sino-Tibetan Relations up to the End of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1967).

Komaroff, Linda, 'The transmission and dissemination of a new visual language', in Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 168–95.

—(ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Komaroff, Linda and Carboni, Stefano (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

Kommission für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen, 'Ausgrabungen und Forschungen': 'Karabalgassun (Mongolei)', in *Jahresbericht 2010, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, AA 2011/1 (Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2012), pp. 321–23.

Korobeinikov, Dimitri, 'A broken mirror: the Kipçak world in the thirteenth century', in Florin Curta and Roman Kovalev (eds), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 379–412.

Kouymijan, Dickran, 'Chinese motifs in thirteenth-century Armenian art: the Mongol connection', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 303–24.

Kouznetsov, Vladimir and Lebedynsky, Iaroslav, *Les Alains* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2005).

Kozlov, Pyotr K., *Mongolija i Amdo i mertvij gorod Xara-Xoto* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo, 1923).

—*Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto. Mit einem Geleitwort von Dr. Sven Hedin* (Berlin: Neufeld & Henius, 1925).

—*Die Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1955).

Kradin, Nicolai N. and Iliev, Alexandr L., 'The downfall of the Bohai state and the ethnic structure of the Kitan city of Chintolgoi Balgas, Mongolia', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R. F. W.-Universität, 2009).

Kradin, Nicolai N. et al, 'Emgentiin Kherem, a fortress settlement of the Khitans in Mongolia', *The Silk Road Journal* 12 (2014), pp. 89–97.

Kraemer, Joel, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam: Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani and His Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

Kramarowsky, Mark G., 'The culture of the Golden Horde and the problem of the "Mongol legacy"', in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991), pp. 255–73.

—'Die Goldene Horde: "Antwort aus der Zukunft". Morgenland und Abendland im 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert', in Mark G. Kramarowsky and Michail Piotrowsky, *Die Schätze der Goldenen Horde*, exhib. cat. (St. Petersburg: State Hermitage and Leoben: Kunsthalle, 2002), pp. 10–44.

—'Jochid luxury metalworks: issues of genesis and development', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 43–50.

Kramarowsky, Mark G. and Piotrowsky, Michail, *Die Schätze der Goldenen Horde*, exhib. cat. (St. Petersburg: State Hermitage and Leoben: Kunsthalle, 2002).

Krawulsky, Dorothea, *The Mongol Ilkhans and Their Vizier Rashid al-Din* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011).

Krieken-Pieters, Juliette van (ed.), *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan: Its Fall and Survival* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006).

The Kultegin's Memorial Complex, text in ancient Turkic and English, Türik Bitig, Language Committee of Ministry of Cultures and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=15&lang=e

Kwanten, Luc and Hesse, Susan, *Tangut (Hsi-Hsia) Studies: A Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1980).

Kychanov, Y.I., 'The Tangut Hsi-Hsia kingdom (982–1227)', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 206–14.

La Vaissière, Étienne de (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2008).

La Vaissière, Étienne de and Naymark, Aleksander, 'Villes et palais du Zerafchan face à la conquête arabe', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 341 (2010), pp. 58–61.

Lambton, K. S., 'The internal structure of the Saljuq Empire', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 202–84.

Lane, George, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (Abingdon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

—*Genghis Khan and Mongol Rule* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004).

—(ed.), *Steppe Empires and Silk Roads: Historical Sources on the World of Genghis Khan* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 2011).

Lange, Christian and Mecit, Songül (eds), *The Seljuks: Politics, Society and Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

Langlois, John D. (ed.), *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

—'The Hung-wu reign, 1368–1398', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I*, (ed.), Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 107–81.

Larsson, Gunilla, 'Early contacts between Scandinavia and the Orient', *The Silk Road Journal* 10 (2012), pp. 122–42.

Lattimore, Owen, *Pivot of Asia. Sinkiang and the Inner Asia Frontiers of China and Russia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950).

Lazard, G., 'The rise of the new Persian language', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 595–632.

Lebedynsky, Iaroslav, *Les Nomades* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2007).

—*De l'Épée Scythe au Sabre Mongol* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2008).

—*La Horde d'Or. Conquête mongole et 'Joug tatar' en Europe 1236–1502* (Arles: Éditions Errance, 2013).

Lee, Christine, 'Who were the Mongols (1100–1400 CE)? An examination of their population history', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R. F. W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 579–92.

Lei, Runze, 'The structural character and tradition of Ningxia's Tangut Stupas', *Orientations* (Hong Kong) April (1996), pp. 55–62.

Lei, Runze, Yu, Cunhai and He, Jiying, *Xixia fo ta* [*Buddhist Pagodas of Western Xia*] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1995).

Leicht, Hans (ed.), *Dschinghis Khan. Eroberer, Stammesfürst, Vordenker* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2002).

Lentz, Thomas W. and Lowry, Glenn D., *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, exhib. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1989).

Leriche, Pierre and Pidaev, Chakirjan, *Termez sur Oxus. Cité-capitale d'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2008).

Leskovar, Jutta and Zingerle, Maria-Christina (eds), *Goldener Horizont. 4000 Jahre Nomaden der Ukraine* (Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2010).

Levi, Scott C. and Sela, Ron, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

Lévy, André, *Les pèlerins bouddhistes de la Chine aux Indes* (Paris: Lattès, 1995).

Lewis, Bernard, *The Assassins* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967).

Li Chih-Ch'ang, *Hsi Yu Chi: The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-Ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan*, translated with an introduction by Arthur Walley (London: Routledge, 1931).

Li Tang, *East Syriac Christianity in Mongol-Yuan China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011).

Lieu, Samuel et al. (eds), *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Quanzhou (Zayton)*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

Lincoln, Bruce W., *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Linroth, Rob, 'New Delhi and New England: old collections of Tangut art', *Orientations* (Hong Kong) April (1996), pp. 32–41.

Little, Donald P., 'Diplomatic missions and gifts exchanged by Mamluks and Ilkhans', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 30–42.

Litvinsky, Boris, Jalilov, A. H. and Kolesnikov, A. I., 'The Arab conquest', in Boris Litvinsky (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1996), pp. 449–72.

Liu, Xinru, *The Silk Road in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Liu, Xinru and Shaffer, Lynda Norene, *Connections across Eurasia: Transportation, Communication, and Cultural Exchange on the Silk Roads* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2007).

Liu, Yingsheng, 'War and peace between the Yuan dynasty and the Chaghadaid Khanate (1312–1323)', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 339–58.

—'A study of Küshän Tarim in the Yuan dynasty', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 463–85.

Luo, Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012).

Lupprian, Karl-Ernst, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jh. anhand ihres Briefwechsels* (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981).

Lyons, Jonathan, *The House of Wisdom: How the Arabs Transformed Western Civilization* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009).

Mack, Rosamond E., *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Mackenzie, Franklin, *Dschingis Khan. Der Fürst, der aus der Wüste kam, das grösste Reich der Welt gründete und zum Schrecken des Abendlandes wurde* (Essen/Berlin: Khan Magnus, 1992).

Madelung, Wilferd, *Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965).

—'The minor dynasties of northern Iran', in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 198–249.

—*Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988).

—*The Succession to Muhammad: A Study in the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Malek, Roman and Hofrichter, Peter (eds), *Jingjao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2002).

Marcellinus, Ammianus, *The Roman History of Ammianus Marcellinus*, trans. C. D. Yonge (London: G. Bell, 1911). http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28587/28587-h/28587-h.htm

Maricq, André and Wiet, Gaston, *Le minaret de Djam. La découverte de la capitale des sultans Ghorides (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1959).

Marmura, Michael E., 'Al-Ghazali', in Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 137–54.

Marozzi, Justin, *Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (London: HarperCollins, 2004).

Martinez, Arsenio P., 'Institutional development, revenues and trade', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 89–108.

Masson, M. E. (ed.), *Trudy Juzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komplexnoi Ekspedizii. Materialy po Arkheologii Merva* (Ashgabat: Akademiya Nauk Turmeniskoi, 1974).

Masson Smith Jr., John, 'Mongol nomadism and Middle Eastern geography', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 39–56.

Masudi, Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn Ali al, *Les prairies d'Or* [*The Meadows of Gold and Mines of*

Gems], text and translation by C. Barbier de Meynard and illustrated from drawings, 9 vols (Paris: Société Asiatique, 1861–77).

Masuya, Tomoko, ‘Ilkhanid courtly life’, in Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 74–103.

May, Timothy, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley: Westhome, 2007).

McChesney, R. D., ‘The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785’, in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 277–302.

McGinnis, Jon, *Avicenna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Meller, Susan, *Silk and Cotton: Textiles from the Central Asia That Was* (New York: Abrams, 2013).

Melville, Charles, ‘Wolf or shepherd? Amir Chupan’s attitude to government’, in Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 79–93.

Menocal, Maria Rosa, ‘The Castillian context of the Arabic translation movement: imagining the Toledo of the translators’, in Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), pp. 119–25.

Meserve, R., ‘Religions in the Central Asian environment’, in C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2000), pp. 65–68.

Middleton, Robert and Thomas, Huw, *Tajikistan and the High Pamirs* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2008).

Mirbabaev, A. K., ‘The development of education: maktab, madrasa, science and pedagogy – part one: the Islamic lands and their culture’, in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. IV: The Age of Achievement – A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, part 2: *The Achievements*, (ed.), C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2000), pp. 31–43.

Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, trans. D. Ross, (ed.), N. Elias (London: Sampson Low Marston and Co., 1895). Reprint in 2 vols (New Delhi, 1998).

—‘Tarikh-i-Rashidi: a history of the Khans of Mogulistan’, in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, translated and annotated by Wheeler Thrackston, vol. I (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Moffet, Samuel Hugh, *A History of Christianity in Asia, Vol. 1: Beginnings to 1500* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992).

Mokrynin, V. P. and Ploskikh, V. M., *Arkheologiya i istoriya Kyrgystana* (Bishkek: ILIM, 2010).

Moor, Antoine de, Verhecken-Lammens, Chris and Verhecken, André, *3500 Years of Textile Art* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2008).

Moqaddisi, Muhammed ibn Ahmed al, *Kitab ahsan at-taqasim fi ma’arifat al aqalim*, (ed.), M. J. De Goeje, Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, vol. 3: Descriptio imperii moslemici (Leiden: Brill, 1906).

—*The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions*, trans. Basil Collins (Reading: Garnet, 2001).

Morgan, David, ‘The “Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan” revisited’, in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 291–308.

—*The Mongols* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007).

—‘The Mongol Empire in world history’, in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 425–38.

Mostaert, Antoine, ‘Trois documents mongols des Archives Secrètes Vaticanes’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15 (1952), pp. 419–515.

Mote, Frederick W., ‘The rise of the Ming dynasty, 1330–1367’, in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I*, (ed.), Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 11–57.

Mottahedeh, Roy, ‘The Abbasid caliphate in Iran’, in R. N. Frye (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 90–135.

Moule, A. C., *Christians in China before the Year 1500* (London: SPCK, 1930; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1977).

Mukminova, R. G., ‘The Timurid states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 347–63.

Müller, Claudius and Wenzel, Jacob (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, exhib. cat., Kunst und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik, Bonn (Munich: Hirmer, 2005).

Mushtaq, Q, ‘Introduction: the mathematicians and their heritage’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 177–81.

Nagel, Eva, ‘A secretary’s seal of the ministery of revenue issued in April 1372’, in Helmut R. Roth and Ulaambajar Erdenebat (eds), *Qara Qorum-City (Mongolia) I. Preliminary Report of Excavations 2000–2001*, Bonn Contribution to Asia Archaeology, vol. 1 (Bonn: Institute of Pre- and Early Historical Archaeology, Bonn University, 2002), pp. 53–80.

Narshakhi, Abu Bakr Mohammad ibn Jafar al, *Al-Narshakhi’s The History of Bukhara*, translated from the Persian abridgement of the Arabic original by Richard N. Frye (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2007).

Nasawi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, *Histoire du sultan Djelâl ed-Dîn Mankobirti, prince du Kharezm*, translated from the Arabic by O. Houdas (Paris: E. Leroux, 1895; reprint, 2014).

Naser-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels (Safarnama), translated from the Persian with an introduction and annotation by W. M. Thrackston (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1986).

Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *Akhlaq-I Nasiri: The Nasirean Ethics* (Lahore: Lahore Punjab University, 1952).

—*Akhlaq-I Nasiri: The Nasirean Ethics*, translated from the Persian by G. M. Wickens (first translated 1964; London: Routledge, 2011).

Naymark, Aleksandr, ‘Returning to Varakhsha’, *The Silk Road Journal* 1 (2003), pp. 9–22.

—‘Isma’il Samani and the people of Varakhsha; or why the Bukhar Khuda Palace did not become a mosque’, in E. V. Antonova and T. K. Mkryčev (eds), *Central’naja Azija. Istočniki, istorija, kul’tura*, Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk (Institut Vostokovedenija), Gosudarstvennyj Muzej Vostoka (Moscow: ‘Vostočnaja literatura’ RAN, 2005), pp. 524–42.

Negmatov, N. N., ‘The Samanid state’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 77–94.

Neimann-Hoditz, Reinhold, *Dschingis Khan* (Reinbeck, Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1985).

Niedermayer, Oskar von, *Afghanistan* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1924).

Nizami, K. A., ‘The Ghurids’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 177–90.

Norell, Mark A., Leidy, Denise Patry et al., *Sulla Via della Seta: Antichi sentieri tra Oriente e Occidente*, exhib. cat. (Rome: Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 2012).

Novgorodova, E., ‘Turkic and Mongol art’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 449–55.

Ochir, Ayudai and Erdenebold, Lkhagvasüren, ‘About the Uighur city of Khedun, Mongolia’, in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia: Papers from the First International*

Conference on 'Archaeological Research in Mongolia', Held in Ulaanbaatar (Bonn: R. F. W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 437–43.

O'Connor, J. J. and Robertson E. F., 'Abu Arrayan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni' (St Andrews: University of St Andrews, 1999). http://www-groups.dcs.st-and.ac.uk/~history/Biographies/Al-Biruni.html

—'Nasir al-Din al-Tusi' (St Andrews: University of St Andrews, 1999). http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/Biographies/Al-Tusi_Nasir.html

Okada, Hidehiro, 'Some comments on the consequences of the decline of the Mongol Empire on the social development of the Mongols', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 273–81.

O'Kane, Bernard, 'Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connections', *Oriental Art* (Singapore) 49/2 (2003), pp. 2–18.

Olbricht, Peter, 'Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Gründung von Si-Hia', *Central Asiatic Journal* 2/2 (1956), pp. 142–54.

Olschki, Leonardo, *Marco Polo's Precursors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943).

—*Marco Polo's Asia: An introduction to His 'Description of the world' Called 'il milione'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

Orkhon Inscriptions: The Bilge Khagan's Memorial Complex, text in ancient Turkic and English, Türik Bitig, Language Committee of Ministry of Cultures and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=16&lang=e

Otavský, Karel (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstrasse. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1998).

—'Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe', in Karel Otavský (ed.), *Entlang der Seidenstrasse. Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1998), pp. 119–214.

—'Frühmittelalterliche Stoffe zwischen Persien und China', in Karel Otavský and Anne E. Wardell (eds), *Mittelalterliche Textilien II. Zwischen Europa und China* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2011), pp. 13–78.

Otavský, Karel and Wardell, Anne E. (eds), *Mittelalterliche Textilien II. Zwischen Europa und China* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2011).

Otgony, Purev and Gurbadaryn, Purvee, *Mongolian Shamanism*, 2 vols (Ulaan Baatar: Munkin, 2012).

Paket-Chy, A., 'The contribution of eastern Iranian and Central Asian scholars to the compilation of hadiths', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 91–97.

Pal, Pratapaditya, 'Evidence of Jainism in Afghanistan and Kashmir in ancient times', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* (Bloomfield Hills) 21 (2007), pp. 25–34.

Pan, Jixing, 'The birthplace of printing: Korea or China?', in *Ziran hexue shi yanjiu* (Beijing) 16/1 (1997), pp. 50–68. Abstract and review in *China Archaeology and Art Digest* (Hong Kong) 2 (1997), pp. 72f.

Paris, Matthew, *Chronica Majora: Matthew Paris's English History – From the Year 1235 to 1273*, translated from the Latin by J. A. Giles, 3 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852–1854).

Park, Hyunhee, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Paskaleva, Elena, 'The Bibi Khanum Mosque in Samarqand: its Mongol and Timurid architecture', *The Silk Road Journal* 10 (2012), pp. 81–98.

Patel, Alka, 'Architectural cultures and empire: the Ghurids in northern India (*ca.* 1192–1210)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21 (2007), pp. 35–60.

Paul, Jürgen, 'Islamizing Sufis in pre-Mongol Central Asia', in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au Xième siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 297–317.

—*Zentralasien*, Neue Fischer Weltgeschichte Band 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2012).

Peacock, A. C. S., *Early Seljüq History: A New Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Pegolotti, Francesco Balducci, *La practica della mercatura*, (ed.), Allan Evans (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936).

Pelliot, Paul, 'Les Mongols et la Papauté, documents nouveaux', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 3/23 (1922/23), pp. 3–30; 4/24 (1924), pp. 225–335; 8/28 (1931), pp. 3–84.

—*Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1950).

—*Notes on Marco Polo*, 3 vols (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1959, 1963, 1973).

—*Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1973).

Petech, Luciano, 'Les marchands italiens dans l'Empire Mongol', *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962), pp. 549–74.

—'Tibetan relations with Sung China and with the Mongols', in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 173–203.

—*Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan–Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History* (Rome: Instituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1990).

Pétis de La Croix, François, *Histoire du grand Genghizcan, premier empereur des anciens Mogols et Tartares* (Paris: 1710; reprint, Moscow: Pubmix, 2013).

Petrosyan, Yuri A. (ed.), *Pages of Perfection: Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg*, exhib. cat. (Lugano: ARCH Foundation Electa, 1995).

Pfeiffer, Judith, 'Reflections on a "double rapprochement": conversion to Islam among the Mongol elite during the early Ilkhanate', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 369–89.

Phillips, E. D., *The Mongols* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969).

Piatigorsky, Jacques and Sapir, Jacques, *L'Empire khazar, VIIe–XIe siècle* (Paris: Autrement, 2005).

Pim, Joam Evans, Yatsenko, Sergey A. and Perrin, Oliver T. (eds), *Traditional Marking Systems: A Preliminary Survey* (London/Dover: Dunkling, 2010).

Pinder-Wilson, R., 'Timurid architecture', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 728–58.

—'Ghaznavid and Ghurid minarets', *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* (London) 39 (2001), pp. 155–86.

Pingree, David, 'Biruni, Abu Rayhan iv. Geography', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/biruni-abu-rayhan-iv

Pinks, Elisabeth, *Die Uighuren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit (960–1028)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968).

Piotrovsky, Mikhail (ed.), *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth Century)*, exhib. cat., Thyssen-Boremisza Foundation, Lugano (Milan: Electa, 1993).

—*Sokrovishza Zolotoï Ordy: The Treasures of the Golden Horde* (St. Petersburg: Slaviya, 2000).

Pirovano, Carlo (ed.), *Marco Polo. Venezia e l'Oriente* (Milan: Electa, 1981).

Pohl, Ernst, 'Interpretation without excavation: topographic mapping of the territory of the first Mongolian capital Karakorum', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R. F. W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 505–33.

Polo, Marco, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, trans. and ed., with notes by Col. Sir Henry Yule, 3rd ed., revised by Henri Cordier (London: J. Murray, 1903).

Pordenone, Odoricus de, *Itinerarium Fratris Odorici del Foro Julii, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarium. Die Reise des seligen Odorich von Pordenone nach Indien und China (1314/18–1330)*, translated and annotated by Folker Reichert (Heidelberg: Manutius, 1987).

Pozzi, Silvia, *Vardanzeh (Wardana), Uzbekistan: Archaeological Excavation of an Ancient City in the Oasis of Bukhara*, annual field reports 2012–2015 (Hergiswil: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2013–2016). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_0.html

Pratt Lattin, Harriet, 'Lupitus Barchinonensis', *Speculum* (Cambridge, MA) 7/1 (1932), pp. 58–64.

Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine-François (author, translator and publisher), *Histoire générale des voyages ou nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre*, vol. 7 of 25, translated from the English: John Green, *A new general collection of voyages and travels* published in London 1745–47 (Paris: Didot, 1749).

Pritsak, Omeljan, 'Die Karakhaniden', *Der Islam* (Berlin), 31/1 (1953), pp. 17–71.

—'The Turkic nomads of Southern Europe', in Ergun Çağatay, and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006).

Pugachenkova, G. A., 'Puti razvitiya architektury juznogo Turkmenistana pory rabovladeniya i feodalisma', in *Trudy juzhno-Turkmenistanckoj archeologischeckoj komplksnoj ekspedizii*, vol. VI (Moscow: Akademia nauk turkmenskoj CCP, 1958).

Pugachenkova, G. A. and Khakimov, A., *The Art of Central Asia* (Leningrad: Aurora, 1988).

The Quran, Arabic-German edition, translated by Hazrat Mirz Nasir Ahmad (Rabwah: Oriental & Religious Publishing Corp. Ltd., 1954).

The Quran, translated into French by D. Masson, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1967).

The Quran, Arabic-English edition, translated by A. Yusuf Ali (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1975).

Raby, Julian and Fitzherbert, Teresa (eds), *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Rachewiltz, Igor de, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971).

—'Turks in China under the Mongols: a preliminary investigation of Turco-Mongol relations in the 13th and 14th centuries', in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 281–310.

—'Military leaders: Muqali, Böl, Tas, An-t'ung', in Igor de Rachewiltz, Hok-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing and Peter W. Geier (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 3–12.

—'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Yeh-lü Chu, Yeh-lü His-liang', in Igor de Rachewiltz, Hok-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing and Peter W. Geier (eds), *In the Service of the Khan. Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 136–75.

—'Marco Polo went to China', in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, (ed.), Walther Heissig, Gregor Verhufen and Michael Weiers, vol. 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), pp. 34–92.

Rachewiltz, Igor de, et al (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993).

Ragep, F. Jamil, 'Copernicus and his Islamic predecessors: some historical remarks', *Filozofski vestnik* (Slovenia) 25/2 (2004), pp. 125–42. http://filozofskivestnikonline.com/index.php/journal/article/view/65/39

—'Tusi: Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Nasir al-Din al-Tusi', in Thomas Hockney et al. (eds), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (New York: Springer, 2007), pp. 1153–55. http://islamsci.mcgill.ca/RASI/BEA/Tusi_BEA.pdf

Rante, Rocco and Collinet, Annabelle, *Nishapur Revisited: Stratigraphy and Pottery of the Qohandez* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013).

Rashid ad-Din Fadhlallah Hamdani, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, published by Étienne Quatremère (Paris: 1836; reprint, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968).

—*Sbornik letopisei*, vol. I translated by L. A. Khetagurov, vol. II by O. I. Smirnova, vol. III by A. K. Arends (Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademia Nauk SSSR, 1952, 1960, 1946).

—*Geschichte der Ilhane Abaga bis Gaihatu (1265–1295)*, Arabic-German edition, translated and annotated by Karl Jahn ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1957).

—*Die Geschichte der Oguzen des Rašid ad.Din*, translated and annotated by Karl Jahn (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969).

—*Die Chinageschichte des Rašid ad-Din*, translated and annoted by Karl Jahn and Herbert Franke (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1971).

—*The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated from the Persian by John Andrew Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

— Jami' u't-Tawarikh: 'The compendium of chronicles', in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, translated and annotated by Wheeler Thrackston, vol. III (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Ratchnevsky, Paul, 'Die Yasa (Jasak) Čhinggis-khans und ihre Problematik', in Georg Hazai and Peter Zieme (eds), *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Altaischen Völker* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974), pp. 471–87.

— Jami' u't-Tawarikh: 'Die Rechtsverhältnisse bei den Mongolen im 12.–13. Jahrhundert', *Central Asiatic Journal* 31/1–2 (1987), pp. 64–111.

—*Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy* (Malden: Blackwell, 1991).

—'Šigi Qutuqu', in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 75–94.

Rayfield, Donald, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

Rehman, Abdur, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Shahis: Analysis of their History, Archaeology, Coinage and Palaeography* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1988).

Reisman, Peter, 'Al-Farabi and the philosophical curriculum', in Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 52–71.

Renner, Georg and Seliç̌ Christa, *Abseits der grossen Minarette* (Leipzig: VEB F. A. Brockhaus, 1982).

Rhie, Marylin M., 'Sculpture of Xixia', *Orientations* (Hong Kong) April (1996), pp. 48–54.

Rice, David Talbot, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashid al-Din*, (ed.), Basil Gray (Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press, 1976).

Richard, Jean, 'À propos de la mission de Baudouin de Hainaut: l'empire latin de Constantinople et les mongols', *Journal des savants* 1 (1992), pp. 115–21. http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/jds_0021-8103_1992_num_1_1_1554

Richard, Jean (ed.), *Au-delà de la Perse et de l'Arménie. L'Orient latin et la découverte de l'Asie intérieure. Quelques textes inégalement connus aux origines de l'alliance entre Francs et Mongols (1145–1262)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Richards, E. G., *Mapping Time: The Calendar and Its History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Riché, Pierre, *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris: Fayard, 1987).

Robertson, Sir George Scott, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1896).

Robinson, B. W., 'Rothschild and Binney collections: Persian and Mughal arts of the book', in *Persian and Mughal Art*, exhib. cat. (London: P&D Colnaghi, 1976).

Roemer, H. R., 'The Jalayirids, Muzzaffarids and Sarbadars', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 1–39.

—'The Successors of Timur', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 98–146.

—'Timur in Iran', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 42–97.

—'The Türkmen dynasties', in Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 147–88.

—'Baysonghor Ghiat-al-Din', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1989. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/baysongor-gia-al-din-b

Roemer, H. R. and Scharlipp, Wolfgang-Ekkehard (eds), *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000).

Rogers, Daniel J., Ulambayar, Erdenebat and Gallon, Matthew, 'Urban centres and the emergence of empires in Eastern Inner Asia', *Antiquity* 79 (2005), pp. 801–18.

Rohr-Sauer, Alfred von, 'Des Abû Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestân, China und Indien', *Bonner Orientalische Studien* (Stuttgart) 26 (1939).

Rossabi, Morris, 'The Muslims in the early Yüan dynasty', in John D. Langlois, *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 257–95.

—*Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

—'The reign of Khubilai khan', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 414–89.

—*Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

—*The Mongols and Global History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011).

Rossabi, Morris (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

Roth, Helmut R. and Erdenebat, Ulaambajar (eds), *Qara Qorum-City (Mongolia) I. Preliminary Report of Excavations 2000–2001*, Bonn Contribution to Asia Archaeology, vol. 1 (Bonn: Institute of Pre- and Early Historical Archaeology, Bonn University, 2002).

Rott, Philipp and Kolchenko, Valery, *Novopokrovka II, Kyrgyzstan: Archaeological Excavation of a Presumed Buddhist Site and of a Sogdian and Karakhanid Citadel*, annual field reports 2004–15 (Hergiswil: The Society for the Exploration of EurAsia, 2005–16). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_1.html

Roux, Jean-Paul, *Histoire des Turcs. Deux milles ans du Pacifique à la Méditerranée* (Paris: Fayard, 1984).

—*La Religion des Turcs et des Mongols* (Paris: Payot, 1984).

—*L'Asie Centrale: Histoire et civilisations* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

Rowland, Benjamin, *Art in Afghanistan: Objects from the Kabul Museum* (London: Allen Lane, 1971).

Roxburgh, David J. (ed.), *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, exhib. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005).

Rubruck, William of, 'Le voyage de Guillaume de Rubruquis, en diverses parties de l'Orient & principalement en Tartarie et à la Chine', in Pierre Bergeron, *Voyages fait principalement en Asie dans les XII, XIII, XIV, et XV siècles. Accompagnés de l'Histoire des Sarasins et des Tartares*, 2 vols (La Haye: Jean Neaulme, 1735), pp. 1–149.

—*Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratia 1253 ad partes Orientales. Voyage das l'Empire Mongol, 1253–1255*, translated and annotated by Claude-Claire and René Kappler (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1993).

—*The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson, introduction, notes and appendices by Peter Jackson with David Morgen (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009).

Saguchi, Tôru, 'The Uyghurs and other non-Muslim Turks under Mongol dominion, circa 1200–1350', in H. R. Roemer and Wolfgang-Ekkehard Scharlipp (eds), *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 219–34.

Saliba, George, 'Tusi, Nasir al-Din ii. As mathematician and astronomer', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2009. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tusi-nasir-al-din

—*Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

—'Horoscopes and planetary theory: Ilkhanid patronage of astronomers', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 356–68.

Samosyuk, Kira F., 'The discovery of Khara Khoto', in Piotrovsky Mikhail (ed.), *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth Century)*, exhib. cat., Thyssen-Boremisza Foundation, Lugano (Milano: Electa, 1993), pp. 31–47.

—'The planet cult in the Tangut state of Xi Xia: the Khara Khoto collection, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5 (1997/98), pp. 353–76.

—'Historical subjects in the paintings from Khara Khoto: facts and hypotheses', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8 (2002), pp. 239–54.

—*Buddiiskaiya zhivopis iz Khara-Khoto XII–XIV vekov: mezhdu Kitaem i Tibetom. Kolletsiya P.K. Koslova* [*Buddhist Painting from Khara-Khoto, XII–XIVth Centuries: Between China and Tibet – P.K. Kozlov's Collection*] (St. Petersburg: State Hermitage, 2006).

Sanders, Alan K., *Historical Dictionary of Mongolia* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2003).

Saruulbuyan, J., Eregzen, G. and Bayarsaikhan, J. (eds), *National Museum of Mongolia* (Ulaan Baatar: The National Museum of Mongolia, 2009).

Saunders, J. J., *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

Scheppler, Bill, *Al-Biruni: Master Astronomer and Muslim Scholar of the Eleventh Century* (New York: Rosen Group, 2006).

Schiltberger, Hans, *Schildtberger. Ein wunderbarliche und kurzweilige History, wie Schildtberger, einer aus der Statt München in Beyern, von den Türckcen gefangen, in die Heydenschaffft geführet, und wider heimkomen ist, sehr lüstig zu lesen* (Frankfurt am Main: Weyandt Hanen Erben, 1554). English edition: *Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1396–1427*, trans. from the Heidelberg MS (ed.), in 1859 by K. F. Neumann; J. B. Telfer (London, 1879).

Schlumberger, Daniel, Sourdel-Thomine, Janine et al., *Lashkari Bazar: une residence royale ghaznévide; 1,A L'architecture, 1,B Le décor non figurative et les inscriptions; 1,C Planches 1A/1B* (Paris: Boccard, 1978).

Schorta, Regula (ed.), *Central Asian Textiles and Their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006).

Schöttler, Pitty, *Die Rumsldschuken. Gründer der Türkei. Geschichte und Kultur* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Schillinger, 1995).

Seaman, Gary (ed.), *Foundations of Empire: Archaeology and Art of the Eurasian Steppes* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1992).

Seaman, Gary and Marks, Daniel (eds), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991).

The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century, translated with a historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

The Secret History of the Mongols: A Saga of Epic Battles, Betrayal, Love, Tyrants and Prisoners in Ancient China, trans. Arthur Waley (1963; reprint, Thirsk: House of Stratus, 2002).

Séguy, Marie-Rose (ed.), *Muhammeds wunderbare Reise durch Himmel und Hölle* (Munich: Prestel, 1977).

Seipel, Wilfried (ed.), *Geld aus China*, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Milan: Skira, 2003).

Semenov, Grigory and Jin Yasheng (eds), *Khara-Khoto Art Relics Collected in the State Hermitage Museum of Russia*, 2 vols (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2008).

Sevim, A. and Bosworth, C. E., 'The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 145–75.

Shagalov, V. D. and Kusnetsov, A. V., *Catalogue of Coins of Chah III.–VIII. A.D.* (Tashkent: FAN Academy of Science of Uzbekistan, 2006).

Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D., *Tibet: A Political History* (New York: Potala Publications, 1984).

Shenkar, Michael, 'Aniconism in the religious art of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 22 (2008), pp. 239–56.

Shiraishi, Noriyuki, 'Seasonal migrations of the Mongol emperors and the peri-urban Area of Kharakhorum', *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1/1 (2004), pp. 105–19. http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=192533

—'Avraga site: the "Great Ordu" of Genghis Khan', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 83–93.

Shiraishi, Noriyuki and Tsogtbaatar, Batmunkh, 'A preliminary report on the Japanese-Mongolian joint archaeological excavation at Avraga site: the Great Ordu of Chinggis Khan', in Jan Bemmann et al. (eds), *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia* (Bonn: R. F. W.-Universität, 2009), pp. 549–62.

Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, published by Jean Richard (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1965).

Sims, Eleanor, 'Thoughts on a *Shahnama* legacy of the fourteenth century: four Inju manuscripts and the great Mongol *Shahnama*', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 268–86.

—'The *Nadj al-Faradis* of Sultan Abu Sa'id ibn Sultan Muhammad ibn Miranshah: an illustrated Timurid ascension text of the "interim" period', *Journal of the David Collection* 4 (2014), pp. 88–147.

Sinor, Denis (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

—'The Kitan and the Kara Khitay', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998) pp. 227–42.

—'Old Turkic and Middle Turkic languages', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 331–4.

Sinor, Denis, Geng Shimin and Kychanov, Y. I., 'The Uighurs, the Kyrgyz and the Tangut (eighth to thirteenth century)', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 191–214.

Skylitzes, John, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*, trans. John Wortley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Smagulov, E. A., *Drevnii Sauran* (Almaty: ABDI, 2005).

Smith, John Masson Jr., 'High living and heartbreak on the road to Bagdad', in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 111–34.

Sneath, David, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society and Misrepresentation of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Sommarström, Bo, *Archaeological Researches in the Edsen-Gol Region, Inner Mongolia* (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, parts I and 2, 1956 and 1958).

Sondag, Gérard, 'La réception de la "Métaphysique" d'Avicenne par Duns Scot', in Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), pp. 591–611.

Soucek, P., 'The development of calligraphy', in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 485–505.

Soucek, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Speer, Andreas and Wegener, Lydia (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006).

Spinei, Victor, 'The Cuman bishopric: genesis and evolution', in Florin Curta and Roman Kovalev (eds), *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 413–56.

Spuler, Bertold, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943).

—*Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952).

—*Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955).

Ssetsen, Chungtaidschi Ssanang, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses,* trans. from the Mongolian and (ed.), by Issac Jacob Schmidt (St Petersburg, 1829).

Standaert, Nicolas (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity of China, Volume One: 635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

Stark, Freya, *The Valleys of the Assassins and Other Persian Travels* (London: John Murray, 1934).

—*The Minaret of Djam: An Excursion in Afghanistan* (London: John Murray, 1970).

Stark, Sören, 'Approaching the periphery: highland Ustrushana in the pre-Mongol period', in Étienne de La Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIème au XIème siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2008), pp. 215–37.

—'Archaeological investigations around the "long wall" of Bukhara: news and resources – preliminary results of the field season 2013', ISAW (New York: University of New York, 2014). https://isaw.nyu.edu/research/bukhara-project. See also: Society for the Exploration of EurAsia (Hergiswil: 2014–15). http://www.exploration-eurasia.com/EurAsia/inhalt_english/frameset_projekt_B.html

Starr, S. Frederick, *Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia's Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Stein, Sir Aurel, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928).

Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman, 'The Tangut royal tombs near Yinchuan', *Muqarnas* (1993). http://archnet.org/system/publications/contents/3175/original/DPC0610.pdf?1384773695

Stewart, Stanley, *In the Empire of Genghis Khan* (London: HarperCollins, 2000).

Stöllner, Thomas und Samašhev, Zajnolla (eds), *Unbekanntes Kasachstan. Archäologie im Herzen Asiens*, exhib. cat., 2 vols (Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, 2013).

Strabo, *Geographica*, trans. and (ed.), Horace Leonard Jones and John Robert Sitlington Sterrett, *The Geography of Strabo*, 8 vols (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press and William Heinemann, 1917–1932), trans. and notes Dr A. Forbiger (Wiesbaden: Marix Verlag, 2007).

Strahlenberg, Philip Johann von, *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der großen Tartarey in sich begreiffet* (Stockholm: published by author, 1730).

Strick, Heinz Klaus, *Abu Arrayan al-Biruni* (Leverkusen: 2010). http://www.spektrum.de/sixcms/media.php/924/juli_2010-al-biruni.pdf

Strindberg, August, 'Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg och hans karta öfver Asien', *Geografiska Sektionens Tidskrift* (Stockholm) 1/6 (1979).

Stronach, David and Moussavi, Ali (eds), *Irans Erbe in Flugbildern von Georg Gerster* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2009).

Sumira, Sylvia, *The Art and History of Globes* (London: The British Library, 2014).

Sykes, Percy, *Thousand Miles in Persia* (London: John Murray, 1902).

—*A History of Afghanistan*, 2 vols (1940; reprint, New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2002).

Ta La, 'Die archäologische Untersuchung der Liao-zeitlichen Stadt Shangjing', in Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Schätze der Liao. China's vergessene Nomadendynastie (907–1125)*, exhib. cat. (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 2007), pp. 54–59.

Tabari, Abu Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn Jarir al, *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk*, as *Chronique*, translated from the Persian version by Abdou-Ali Mohammed Belami by M. Hermann Zotenberg, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1867–74).

Tadgell, Christopher, *Islam: From Medina to the Maghreb and from the Indies to Istanbul – Architecture in Context III* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Tafazzoli, A., 'Language situation and scripts, part 1: Iranian languages', in C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 2 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2000), pp. 323–31.

Tanaka, Hidemichi, 'Giotto and the influences of the Mongols and the Chinese on his art: a new analysis of the Legend of St. Francis and the fresco paintings of the Scrovegni Chapel', *Art History* (Sendai: Tohoku University) 6 (1984), pp. 188–51.

—'Oriental scripts in the paintings of Giotto's period', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 113 (Paris: 1989), pp. 216–26.

Tanner, Stephen, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War against the Taliban* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002).

Tarikh-e Sistan (anonymous author), translated and annotated by Milton Gold (Rome: Instituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1976).

Tesnière, Marie-Hélène (translator), Avril, François and Gousset, Marie-Thétrèse (essay and comments), *Marco Polo. Das Buch der Wunder*, from 'Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde', Ms. Fr. 2810, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Munich: Hirmer, 1999).

Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes: Anni Mundi 6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813)*, trans. and (ed.), Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

Thomann, Johannes, 'Messen, rechnen, darstellen: Kosmologie in der islamischen Welt', in Jorrit Britschgi, (ed.), *Kosmos. Weltentwürfe im Vergleich*, exhib. cat. (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, Scheidegger & Spiess, 2014).

Thomas, David C., 'Firuzkuh: the summer capital of the Ghurids', in A. K. Bennison and A. L. Gascoigne (eds), *Cities in the Pre-modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (London: SOAS/Routledge, 2007), pp. 115–44.

Tolstov, Sergei, 'Gorod Guzov', *Sovietskaya Etnografiya* (Moscow) 3 (1947).

—*Drevniy Choresm* (Moscow: Isdanjje MGU, 1948).

—*Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin: Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt, 1953).

The Tonyukuk's Memorial Complex, text in ancient Turkic and English, Türik Bitig, Language Committee of Ministry of Cultures and Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?mod=1&tid=1&oid=17&lang=e

Tredinnick, Jeremy, Baumer, Christoph and Bonavia, Judy, *Xinjiang: China's Central Asia* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2012).

Trombert, Eric, 'The demise of silk on the Silk Road: textiles as money at Dunhuang from the late eighth century to the thirteenth century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* April (2013), pp. 327–47.

Tsien, Tsuen-Hsuin, 'Paper and printing', in Joseph Needham (ed.), *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 2001).

Tucker, Jonathan, *The Silk Road: Art and History* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003).

Twitchett, Denis and Tietze, Klaus-Peter, 'The Liao', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, (ed.), Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 43–153.

Ulambayar, Erdenebat, *Altmongolisches Grabbrauchtum. Archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen zu den mongolischen Grabfunden des 11. bis 17. Jahrhunderts in der Mongolei*, inaugural dissertation (Bonn: R. F. W., 2009).

Umari, Shihab al-Din Abu al-Abbčs Ahmad b. Fadl Allah, *Das mongolische Weltreich. Al-Umari's Darstellung des mongolischen Reichs in seinem Werk Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*, (ed.), Klaus Lech (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968).

Uzelac, Aleksandar, 'Baldwin of Hainaut and "the nomadic diplomacy" of the Latin Empire', *Historical Review* (Belgrad) 61 (2012), pp. 45–65.

Vásáry, István, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

—'The Jochid realm: the western steppe and Eastern Europe', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 67–85.

Vaziri, Mostafa, *Buddhism in Iran: An Anthropological Approach to Traces and Influences* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Veit, Veronika, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan (1368–1636)', in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 157–81.

Vogelsang, Willem, *The Afghans* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007).

Wang, Xiaofu, 'The establishment of the Khitan state and Uyghur culture', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 139–81.

Warner, Langdon, *The Long Old Road in China* (London: Arrowsmith, 1927).

Wassaf al-Hadrat (Shihab al-Din Abd'Allah ibn Fadl-Allah Shirazi), *Tajziyat al-amsar wa taziyat al-a'sar (Geschichte Wassafs)*, edited in Persian and translated by Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (Vienna: K.-K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856).

Watt, James C. Y., 'A note on artistic exchanges in the Mongol Empire', in Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (eds), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 62–73.

Watt, James C. Y. (ed.), *The world of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

Watt, James C. Y. and Wardell, Anne E., *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997).

Waugh, Daniel C., 'Nomads and settlement: new perspectives in the archaeology of Mongolia', *The Silk Road* 8 (2010), pp. 97–124.

Weatherford, Jack, *The Secret History of the Mongol Queens: How the Daughters of Genghis Khan Rescued His Empire* (New York: Broadway Paperbacks, 2010).

—*Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2012).

Weber, Therese, *The Language of Paper: A History of 2000 Years* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2007).

Weiers, Michael, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004).

—'Sprache und Schrift der Mongolen', in Claudius Müller and Jacob Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), pp. 106–7.

—*Zweitausend Jahre Krieg und Drangsal und Tschinggis Khans Vermächtnis* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).

Wereshchagin, B., *Turkestan. Etyudy s natury. Études d'après nature. Studien nach der Natur. Herausgegeben im Auftrag des General-Gouverneurs von Turkestan* (St Petersburg: Hofkunstbuchhandlung A. Beggrow, 1874).

Wesley, Williams, 'Aspects of the creed of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal: a study of anthropomorphism in early Islamic discourse', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (2002), pp. 441–63. http://drwesleywilliams.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/IJMESNewSingle4124646_OCR.8184727.pdf

Whitcomb, Donald, 'An urban structure for the early Islamic city: an archaeological hypothesis', in A. K. Bennison and A. L. Gascoigne (eds), *Cities in the Pre-modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (London: SOAS/Routledge, 2007).

Wilber, Donald N., *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khanid Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955).

Willey, Peter, *The Castles of the Assassins* (London: George G. Harrap, 1963).

Williams, Brian Glyn, *The Last Warlord: The Life and Legend of Dostum, the Afghan Warrior Who Led US Special Forces to Topple the Taliban Regime* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2013).

Williams, Tim, 'The city of Sultan Kala, Merv, Turkmenistan: communities, neighbourhoods and urban planning from the eighth to the thirteenth century', in A. K. Bennison and A. L. Gascoigne (eds), *Cities in the Pre-modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (London: SOAS/Routledge, 2007).

Wisnovsky, Robert, 'Avicenna and the Avicennian tradition', in Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 92–136.

Wittfogel, Karl A. and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1949).

Wood, Frances, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1998).

Wotte, Herbert, *Unter Reitern und Ruinen. Die Reisen des Zentralasienforschers Pjotr Koslow* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1971).

Wu, Fengyun, 'The cache of Buddhist gilt bronzes found in Yinchuan: the question of date', *Orientations* (Hong Kong) April (1996), pp. 42–47.

Wylie, Turrell W., 'The first Mongol conquest of Tibet reinterpreted', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37/1 (1977), pp. 103–33.

Xuanzang, *Si-yu-ki*, trans. Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, 1906; reprint, New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2004).

Yeomans, Richard, *The Story of Islamic Architecture* (Reading: Garnet, 1999).

Young, Gregg de, 'The Latin translation of Euclid's Elements attributed to Gerard of Cremona in relation to the Arabic transmission', *Suhayl: Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation* (Barcelona) 4 (2004), pp. 311–84. http://www.ub.edu/arab/suhayl/volums/volum4/paper%208.pdf

Yule, Sir Henry, trans and ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, 4 vols (1913–16; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1967).

Zelinskij, A. N., 'Drevnie kreposti na Pamire', *Strany i narody Vostoka* 3 (1964), pp. 120–41.

Zhang-Goldberg, Diane, 'Singularités archtecturales du Cimetière impérial des Xixia: le monument funéraire', *Arts Asiatiques* 67 (2012), pp. 47–62.

Zhao, Feng, *Treasures in Silk* (Hong Kong: ISAT/Costume Squad, 1999).

Zhou, Qinshu, 'A critical examination of the year of birth of Chinggis Khan', in Luo Xin (ed.), *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2012), pp. 331–51.

Ziegler, Gudrun and Hogh, Alexander (eds), *Die Mongolen. Ins Reich des Dschinggis Khan* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2005).

Zorzi, Alvise, *Marco Polo. Eine Biographie* (Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1984).

Zukova, L. I. (ed.), *Iz istorii drevnix kultovsrednej Azii. Xristianstvo* (Tashkent: Glavnaja Redakciha Enciklopedii, 1994).

List of Maps

1. **The main historical sites of Central Asia in the Age of Islam and the Mongols and the most important trade routes** (inner front paper). Adapted from Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia, Vol. II. The Age of the Silk Roads* (London, 2014), inner front endpaper.
2. **South Central Asia in the 9th and 10th centuries** (p. 21). Adapted from: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4. *From the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 93 and, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods,* Vol. 5. (Cambridge, 1968), p. 2.
3. **The second Turkic migrations to the West, late 8th to early 12th centuries** (pp. 54–55). Adapted from: Bodo Anke, Laszlo Révész and Tivadar Vida, *Reitervölker im Frühmittelalter: Hunnen – Awaren – Ungarn* (Stuttgart, 2008), p. 75.
4. **The Seljuk Empire *ca.* 1095 before the First Crusade** (p. 86). Adapted from: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5. *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 104.
5. **The Ghaznavid Empire and the Karakhanid Khaganate *ca.* 1030** (pp. 112–13). Adapted from: *Yuri Bregel, An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston, 2003), p. 27. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4. *From the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 167.
6. **The Ghurid and Chorasmian Empires and the Qara Khitai Khanate in the early 13th century** (pp. 124–25). Adapted from: *Yuri Bregel, An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston, 2003), p. 35. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4. *From the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 167. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*. Part One: *The Historical, Social and Economic Setting* (Paris, 1998), pp. 432f.
7. **The Liao and Xi Xia Empires and the Qara Khitai Khanate in the first half of the 12th century** (pp. 140–41). Adapted from: Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Schätze der Liao. China's vergessene Nomadendynastie (907–1125)* (Zurich, 2007), p. 372f. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 118f, 184f.
8. **The Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan and the major international campaigns until 1260** (pp. 180–81). Adapted from: Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, 2006), back endpaper. Ergun Çağatay and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples* (Munich/New York, 2006), p. 111. Richard A. Gabriel, *Subotai the Valiant. Genghis Khan's Greatest General* (Westport, 2004), p. 81. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 253, 260, 262, 355, 369.
9. **The Mongol Khanates and the Yuan dynasty, *ca.* 1275/76** (pp. 224–25). Adapted from: James C. Y. Watt (ed.), *The world of Khubilai Khan. Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New Haven, 2010), pp. XIV. Alvise Zorzi, *Marco Polo* (Düsseldorf, 1984), pp. 160, 232, 312.
10. **The domain of Timur-e Lang and his major campaigns** (pp. 282–83). Adapted from: Justin Marozzi, *Tamerlane. Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (London, 2004), pp. XIVf., David J. Roxburgh (ed.), *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London, 2005), p. 29.
11. **The main historical sites of Central Asia in the Age of Islam and the Mongols and present state boundaries** (inner back endpaper). Adapted from: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia, Vol. II. The Age of the Silk Roads* (London, 2014), inner back endpaper.

Satellite imagery © NASA. http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/

Photo Credits

All photos are by the author with the exception of the following:

Abbasi-Museum, Tehran, Iran: figs. 162, 176.

Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg, Switzerland, (photo: Christoph von Viràg): fig. 92.

Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Canada: fig. 31.

Archaeological Expertise LLC/Voyakin Dmitri, Almaty, Kazakhstan: figs. 33, 34, 35, 36.

Archives Nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France. Cliché Atelier photographique des Archives nationales: fig. 179.

Ball Warwick, Galashiels, United Kingdom: fig. 80 b.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France: figs. 1, 133, 146, 150, 151, 153, 189.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom: fig. 38.

British Library, London, United Kingdom/Bridgeman Images, Berlin, Germany: fig. 120.

British Museum, London, United Kingdom: figs: 159, 213.

Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA: fig. 158.

David Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark (photo Pernille Klemp): figs. 13, 14, 25, 223.

Detroit Institute of Arts, USA/Bridgeman Images, Berlin, Germany: fig. 76.

Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia, Italy. Photo Archive: fig. 140.

Gerster Georg, Zumikon, Switzerland: figs. 3, 56, 61.

Granger Historical Picture Archive, NYC, USA: fig. 21.

Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, USA: fig. 127.

Henss Michael, Zurich, Switzerland: fig. 136.

Historical Museum of Tashkent, Uzbekistan: fig. 97.

Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, China: figs. 90, 152, 160.

The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA: fig. 222.

Karakorum Museum, Kharkhorin, Mongolia: figs. 129, 131, 132.

May Timothy, Dahlonega, USA: fig. 117.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA/ bpk Bildagentur, Berlin, Germany: figs. 62, 72, 109, 157, 186.

Michaud R. & S./akg-images, United Kingdom: figs. 78, 81.

Municipal Museum of Tongliao, Inner Mongolia, China. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Cultural Relics Bureau of the People's Republic of China: fig. 93.

Museum of Beilingmiao, Inner Mongolia, China: fig. 114.

Museum of Fine Arts, Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia: fig. 115.

National Museum of Mongolia, Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia: fig. 135.

National Palace Museum, Beijing, China: fig. 149.

Nelson Jimmy, Amsterdam, Netherlands: fig. 110.

Poncar Jaroslav, Cologne, Germany: figs. 6, 75, 122, 123, 144, 169, 215.

Research Institute for Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, China: fig. 91.

Rubin Museum of Art, New York, USA: fig. 137.

Schulze Helmut R., Heidelberg, Germany: fig. 74.

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orientabteilung – Preußischer Kulturbesitz/bpk Bildagentur, Berlin, Germany: figs. 26, 143, 145.

Stark Sören, New York, USA: fig. 9.

State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia: figs. 100, 104, 106, 108, 155, 195.

Stuhrmann Jochen, Hamburg, Germany: figs. 29, 79, 161.

The Illustrated London News, London, United Kingdom: fig. 77.

Topkapi Sarai Museum, Istanbul, Turkey: fig. 224.

Toktogul Satulganov Museum, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: fig. 170.

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom/Bridgeman Images, Berlin, Germany: figs. 8, 16, 20, 28, 30, 71, 73, 175.

Weber Therese, Arlesheim, Switzerland: fig. 94.

Acknowledgements

This book is based on dozens of expeditions and journeys undertaken in the last three decades. My research was successful only thanks to hundreds of kind people in China, Georgia, India, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Pakistan, Russia, Syria, Tajikistan, Tibet, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan; to all of them I remain grateful. The book itself was produced with the help of several people. Most preferred to remain anonymous; others are briefly acknowledged here, in alphabetical order:

Dr Dmitri Voyakin, Almaty, Kazakhstan, who made available literature about Oghuz coins that would otherwise have been inaccessible for me.

Prof. Dr Jack Weatherford, Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia, for indicating sources on Khan Ögödei's palaces around Karakorum and on inscriptions in square Phagpa script in fourteenth-century Italian paintings.

Prof. Therese Weber, Arlesheim, Switzerland, who accompanied me on numerous expeditions and travels and participated in the field research.

Dr Marc Winter, Zurich, Switzerland, who translated the Chinese inscription on the south-west interior side of the Yuntai Gate at the Juyong Guan Pass, China.

Index: Concepts

References to images are in *italics*.

A

Abbasids 1, 5, 9, 11, 12–15
Abu Muslimiyya 12–13
administration:
  and Barmakids 17
  and Ghaznavids 110
  and Il-Khanids 257
  and Karakhanids 102
  and Liao dynasty 139
  and Mongols 69, 149–50, 176, 194, 213
  and Qara Khitai 146–7
  and Samanids 27
  and Seljuks 88, 93
  and Tanguts 152
  and Yuan dynasty 223, 226, 231, 237–8
Afrighids 42, 127–8
Aga Khan 96
agriculture 22, 32, 60, 89, 232; *see also* farmers
Ain Jalut, Battle of 71, 211, 219–20, 258
Aklaq-e Nasiri (*The Nairean Ethics*) (Al-Tusi) 48, *49*, 50
Aksobhya *235*
Alans 76, 201
Alan guard in Yuan dynasty 201, 226, 340n.12
Alawites 10, 322n.31
algebra 1, 36–7, 325n.24
Altan Debter ('Golden Book') 164, 168
Altuntashids 127–8
Amitabha 152, *153*, 156–7, *235*
Amoghasiddhi *199*, *235*
An Lushan rebellion 5, 138, 139
anda, blood brotherhood 169
Andkhud, Battle of 126, 132, 149
angels *38*
Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 310
animals 50, 102
Ankara, Battle of 281, 284, 288, 290
Antipodes 207
Anushteginids 129–36
apostasy 51, 326n.103
Aq Qoyunlu 59, 300
Arabic language 30, 34
Arabs 1, 5, 164
arban 177
archaeology 61, 123, 191–2
archers 83, 90, 111, 114, *171*
architecture 29–30, 35
  and Ghaznavids 117
  and Ghurids 123, 126
  and Il-Khanids 260
  and Karakorum 197
  and Seljuks 93
  and Timurids 301, 303
  and Yuan dynasty 235
armies:
  and Barmakids 17
  and decimal system 177, 208
  and Europe 202–3
  and Ghaznavids 110–11, 114
  and Ghurids 118–19
  and Kublai Khan 223, 231
  and Mongols 71, 164, 176, 177, 182, 184, 185–7, 194, 202–3, 231, 337n.123
  and Qara Khitai 146–7
  and Seljuks 83, 87
  and slaves 20, 29
  and Timur-e Lang 279
armillary 234
art 2, 15, 235
  and Buddhism 151, *153*, 155, 156–7
  and Timurids 301, 303, 305
  see also illuminated manuscripts
artisans 239
asbestos *229*, 230
Asen dynasty 75
Ash'arites 322n.18
al-Assad family 322n.31
Assassins *see* Nizaris
Assyrian Church *see* Nestorian Christianity
astronomy 1, 16, 34–5, 52, 234
  and Al-Biruni 44, *45*
  and Al-Tusi 48, 50
  see also observatories
Astrakhan Khanate 273, 310, 345n.284
Asuds, *see* Alan guard
atonement 9, 178
Avalokiteshvara *153*, 157, *162,* 305
Avars 56, 77

B

Barlas clan 247, 278
Barmakids 1, 15–17
basqaq 146, 150, 194, 263
Bedouins 1, 31
Bhagavad Gita 44
Bhaisajyaguru 157
Bible, the 207, 322n.7
bilig, Mongol decree 177
Black Death 246, 269
Blemnnyae 207
Blue Horde 262, 263–5, 267–70
boats 114
bodhisattvas 157
Bön *206*
Book of Curiosities, The *64*
booty 82, 87, 104, 109, 110
  and Mongols 176
  and Timur-e Lang 279
Borjigin clan 173
bronze *97*
Buddha, two-headed figure *159–60*
Buddhism 15, 16, 80, 126, 138
  and art 305
  and Daoists 214–15
  and Il-Khanids 256
  and Karakorum 197–8, *199*
  and Liao dynasty 143
  and Qara Khitai 147
  and Tanguts 151, 152, 156–7
  and Yuan dynasty 235
Bulgars 58, 62, 71, 77, 188, 201
Buyids 1, 20, 27, 87

C

caesaropapism 235
calendars 35, *43*, 44, 47, 325n.63
caliphs 1, 5, 6, 9, 39
  and Barmakids 17
  and Seljuks 87
  and Tahirids 17, 20
calligraphy 303
Camel, Battle of 6
camels 346n.2
canals 22
caravanserais 29, 82, *170*
  Ribat-e Sharif *91*, 93
cartography 35, 37, 43, 234
Catalan Atlas *264*
cathedrals: Bagrati (Kutaisi) *75*
catty 334n.78
cave temples *145*, 151
cemeteries 61
censuses 213
ceramics 61, *62*, *144*; *see also* porcelain
Chagatai Khanate 220, 222, 239–49
  and division 247–9
chemistry 35
Chigil 102
Chinese imperial names 333n.14
Chorasm-shahs 106, 111
Chorni Klobuky 63, 328n.52
Christianity 39, 59, 170, 218–19, 256; *see also* Nestorian Christianity
civic science 42
class system 223
climate 222–3
coal 230
Codex Cumanicus 69
coinage 14, 20, *60*, 61, 110, 245–6
Confucianism 143, 152, 237, 238
Confucian state examinations 237
cotton 232
Council of Lyon 207
cowrie shells 230
Crimean Khanate 273, 310
craftsmen 182
Crusaders 74, 90, 219, 220
Crusades 73–4, 75, 91, 204, 205
Cumans 58, 327n.19, *see also* Kipchaks
Curzola, Sea Battle of 230
cyclical history 15
Cynocephali 207

D

Dabusiya, Battle of 128
Dalan Balzhut, Battle of 175
Damascus, Battle of 257
Dandankan, Battle of 65, 83, 88, 111, 115, 129
Daoism 143, 214–15
Darugha, darughachi 146, 150, 194, 226, 231
decimal system 36–7, 176, 208, 325n.27
diplomats 207–11
disease 223
djizya (tax) 5
dragons *143*
Dughlats 248–9

E

eagle hunters *166–7*
East Syriac Gospel *35*
education 22, 232; *see also* madrasas
Eid al-Adha 281
Elements of Geometry (Euclid) *46*
elephants 83, 110–11
engineering 35–6
Enlightenment, the 34
epistemology 37
evolution 48, 50, 326n.92

F

farmers 182, 196–7, 213, 239
Farsi 30, 31, 324n.124
Fatimids 9, 87, 90, 94, 326n.100
fatwas (legal pronouncements) 103
fei qian 199
fiddles *174*
Finno-Ugric languages 58
firearms 195, 196, 308, 338n.50, 346n.X.2

fire cult 61
fired bricks 29–30
fishing 60
Flor des Estoires d'Orient, La (*The Flower of Histories of the East*) 168
fortified cities 87, 136, 140, 154
fortresses:
  Arbil *256*
  Arven Tokhoi Durbeljin *154*
  Ganj Tepe *16*
  Krak des Chevaliers *219*
  Narikala *133, 134*
  Qala-i Bust *122*
  Shahr-e Zohak (Bamiyan Valley) *188*
  Soldaia (Sudak) *266–7*
  Taralingin Durbejin *240*
free will 37, 39, 50
fritware *236*
funeral rites 62, 75, 191

G

gem intaglio *61*
genocide 188
geography 1, 2, 35, 207
  and China 222–3
  and Mongols 188–9
  and Samanids 27, 29
  and Yuan dynasty 234
geology 44
geometry 1, 35, *46*
Ghaznavids 1, 29, 32, 41, 65, 108–11, 114–19
Ghinghintalas *229*
ghulam *29*, 323n.82, *see also* slave trade
Ghurids 41, 119–21, 123, 126–7, 324n.98
glass 29
globes *234, 295*
gold 29, 110, 142
Golden Horde 202, 220, 251, 262–73, 337n.121; *see also* Blue Horde; White Horde
  and alliance with Mamluks 251–2, 264, 267–8
gravestones *173, 243*
Great Bulgars 56
Great Game, The 310
Great Horde 273
Guangmu *238*
guerrilla warfare 9
gunpowder 196, 201
Gür-Khan 101, 107, 144

H

hadiths 6, 8, 9, 40, 322n.13
Han Chinese 139
Han Ren (northern Chinese) 223, 226
Hanafi 8
Hanbali 8–9
Harbiyya, 15
Harbiyya, Battle of 136
Hashimiyya 15
Hazaras 243
healthcare 232
Heavenly mandate 178, 337n.104
heliocentrism 44, 48
Herat, Battle of 221, 241, 252
Hinduism 44
history 40–1, 259
History of the Armenians 168
Homs, first Battle of 220,
  second Battle of 253
  third Battle of 257
horse warriors 56, 59, 63, 73–4, 87, 185–7
horses 1, 144, 329n.112, 337n.133
Hospitallers *219*
Hudud al-Alam 15, 27, 60
humanities 1, 17
Huns 58
hydraulics 35
Hyperboreans 207

I

ice houses *83*
Il-Khanids, Il-Khanate 2, 168, 220, 222, 249–61
  and meaning of title 249
  and embassies to Western Europe 251, 342, n.156
Il Milione (Marco Polo) 230
illuminated manuscripts *38*, 259–60, 301, 303, 305; *see also Miraj Nameh* and *Nahj al-Faradis*
Imamites 9–10
imams 9, 10, 94
Imperial Canal 230, 232, 341n.61
incense burners *62, 97*
intelligence services 16, 185, 207
iqta (land grants) 87, 93, 110, 147, 329n.36
iraqiyyah-Turkmen 65, 81, 87
iron ore 121
irrigation 22, 32, 82, 87
Islam 1, 5, 6, 80–1, 138, 164
  and Chagataids 246, 248
  and conversion 64, 111, 155–6
  and Golden Horde 268
  and Il-Khanids 253, 256–8, 259
  and intolerance 9
  and Karakhanids 103
  and Samanids 26
  and Seljuks 63
  see also Kharijites; Shi'ites; Sufism; Sunnis
Ismailis 9, 88, 89, 94–6
  and Mongols 215, 217

J

Jabuyah coins 60–1
jabr (predetermination) 39
Jadarans 175
Ja'faris 9
Jalayirids 258, 271
Jalil Muhaqqaq script *305*
Jamia al-Tawarikh 164, 168, 257, 259
Jats 111, 114
jewellery *61*
jihad 1, 15, 29, 80, 168
Jin dynasty 144, 152, 172, 178–9, 182
Jochid Khanate, 220, 222; *see also* Golden Horde
Judaism 39, 81, 123, 256
Jurchens 67, 107, 144, 145
jurisprudence 42

K

Kagyü Dringunpa, Kagyü 205, 230
kalam (Islamic theology) 42
Kangars 57
Karakhanids 1, 32, 64–5, 102, 331n.126
  and Eastern Khaganate 106–8
  and Ghaznavids 111
  and Seljuks 91
  and Unified Khaganate 103–5
  and Western Khaganate 105–6
Karluks 14, 17, 26, 57, 58, 101, 102, 130, 132, 145, 148
Karmapa-Kagyüpa, a Buddhist sect 152, 157
Karmapa, a Buddhist title 157
Kartid dynasty 279
karwah 118
Kasimov Khanate 273
Kaysaniyya 15
Kazan Khanate 272–3, *274–5*, 310
Keraites 63–4, 171
Kernek, Battle of 71
keshik (guard force) 177, 328n.86
Khalkha, Battle of in 1223 77, 186, 201
Khalkha, Battle of in 1380 170
Kharijites 5, 6, 10–11, 15, 24
Khazars 56, 57, 62
Khitans *see* Liao dynasty
khutba (public sermon) 87, 91, 93, 101, 323n.79
Kievan Rus' 57–8, 62, 63
Kimek 57, 58, 66, 67
Kipchaks 57, 58, 62, 66–7, 69, 71–2, 75–8, 327n.19
  and Anushteginids 131
  and Mongols 201, 250, 262–3
Kitab al-Hiyal (*Book of Ingenious Devices*) 35–6
Kitab al-Jabr wa-l-Muqabala (*Compendious Book on Calculation by Completion and Balancing*) 36–7
Kitab tarikh al-Hind 44
Kiyad clan 174
knights 90, 202–3
Koryo dynasty 142
Köse Dağ, Battle of 204
Köyitan, Battle of 175
Kufic script 332n.215
Kurds 65
kuriltai (political council) 164, 176, 177, 338n.51
Kursk Khanate 272
Kyrgyz 57, 170

L

land rights 87
language 30–1, 42, 58
  and Kipchaks 69
  and Mongols 164
  and Tanguts *151*, 152
  and Uyghurs 107
Lantsa script *237*
lapis lazuli 29
Laqab (honorific names) 102
Last Judgement 95
Later Han 173
Later Jin dynasty 141, 173
Later Tang dynasty 141, 173
Latins 2, 52, 251–2
laws 178
lead 29
Lechfeld, Battle of 58
Legnica (Liegnitz), Battle of 186, 201
levirate marriage 174, 336n.48
Levounion, Battle of 58
Liao dynasty 66, 67, 69, 101, 138–44
Liao script 139
libraries 1, 34
literature 20
livestock farming 60
logic 42
looting 59, 65, 71, 82–3, 109, 176

M

madhabs 8
madrasas 30, 93, 295
  Ulugh Beg *298–9, 300*, 303
Maginot Line 337n.129
Magyars 57, 58
Mahasthamprapta *153*, 157
Malik-nameh 328n.54
Malikis 9
Mamluks 2, 71, 126
  and Crusades 204–5
  and Il-Khanids 251, 252, 253–8
  and Mongols 219–20
Ma'munids 127–8
Manghits 271
mangonel 96
Manzikert, Battle of 58, 63
maps:
  Catalan Atlas *264*
  East Asia *209*
  Ghazanvids and Karakhanids *112–13*
  Ghurids and Chorasmians *124–5*
  Liao, Xi Xia and Qara Khitai *140–1*
  Mongol Empire *180–1*
  Mongol Khanates and Yuan dynasty *224–5*
  Seljuk Empire *86*
  Southeast Central Asia (9–10th centuries) *21*
  Timur-e Lang campaigns *282–3*
  Transoxania *64*
  Turkic migrations, 8th–12th centuries *54–5*
martyrdom 9
masks *199*
massacres 187, 189, 202, 280, 281, 285
mathematics 1, 16, 35, 36–7, 42, 52, 325n.27
mausolea:
  of Ahmed Yasawi *89*, 301, *302*
  of Aisha Bibi *107*
  of Bab Aristan *80*
  of Babazda Khatun *107*
  of Baha al-Din Naqshband Bukhari *301*
  of Bayazid Bastami *257*, 260
  Chehel Dokhtaran *82*
  Gunbad-i Qabus *28*, 29–30
  Gur Emir *288, 289*, 301
  of Il-Khan Oljeitu 257, *258*, 260, *281*,
  of Imam Reza (al-Ridha) *10*
  of Karakhanid rulers *108*
  Maene Baba *65*
  of Rukn-i Alam *281*
  of Samanid Nasr ibn Ahmad *25*
  of Satuk Bughra Khan *103*
  Shah-i Zinda *292*, 301
  alleged of Sultan Sanjar *92*, 93
  alleged of Turabeg Khanum *276*
  at Uch Sharif 284–5
  see also tombs
mawali 5, 8, 11
Mazdakites 14
mechanics 35
medicine 1, 16, 34, 35, 47
Mengwu 173
mercenaries 63
merchants 2, 150, 232, 239, 265
Merkits 132, 135, 170–1, 174–5
metaphysics 42
migration 56–8, 138
mihna (inquisition) 39
militias 24
minarets 123, *279, 296*
Ming dynasty 156, 234–5, 238–9

mingan 177
mints 16, 60
Miraj Nameh 38, 305, x
Mirza 345n.53
missionaries 63, 64, 207–11
Moghuls 248–9
Mohi, Battle of 77, 201, 329n.114
monasteries 226
  Drigung Thil *207*
  Gelati *73, 74*
  Jiekundo Dondrubling *206*
  Monastery of the Holy Cross *270*
  Saint Thaddeus *254*
  Shalu (Tibet) *235*
Mönke Tengri 178; *see also* Tengri
Mongols 1–2, 5, 132, 251–2, 335n.8
  and Caucasus 75–7
  and demands on new vassals 339n.67
  and history 41, 164, 168–9, 173–8
  and international campaigns 178–9, *180–1*, 182–92
  and Ismailis 96
  and Kipchaks 58, 71
  and massacres 187–9, 337n.143
  and Minyak 152, 154–5
  and script 177; *see also* Phagpa script
Monks of Kublai Khan, The 169
Monopodi 207
monsters 207
mosques 65
  Anau *303*
  Badshahi *308–9*
  Blue Mosque (Mazar-e-Sharif) *12–13*, 303
  Damghan *4*
  Friday Mosque (Herat) *294*
  Friday Mosque (Samarkand) 289, *290,* 301
  Friday Mosque (Yazd) *259*, 260
  Id Khah (Kashgar) *244*
  Kök Gumbaz *297*, 303
  Magok-i Attari (Bukhara) *23*
  Masjid-e Jami'e (Great Mosque, Isfahan) 93
  Özbek Khan *268*
  Qazvin *100*
  Quwwat-ul-Islam ('Might of Islam') 126
  Shakpak Ata *70*
  White Mosque (Astrakhan) *276*
mountain fortresses 95, 96
Mozarabs 326n.110
al-mubayyidin (white-clothed) 14
Mughals 29, 164, 260, 300
mujtahid (scholars) 10
murals *74*
Murjites 5
musalla (Herat) *296*, 303
Mu'tazilites 37, 39
Muzzafarids 301

N

Naadam Festival *171*
Nahj al-Faradis *39*, 305
Naimans 106, 132, 169–70
Nan Ren (southern Chinese) 223, 226
Naqshbandi, Sufi order 299, *300*
nasij silk 230, 232–4, 260, 261
Neoplatonism 42, 47, 51
nerge, battue 184
Nestorian Christianity 2, 35, 81
  and conversion 63–4
  and gravestone 147, *148, 243,* 246
  and Karakorum 198–9
  and Keraites 171
  and Onguts 173
  and Mongol princesses 171
  and Qara Khitai 147–8
  and Samanids *30*, 31
  and Yuan dynasty 223, 226, 230, 340n.10
New Persian *see* Farsi
Newar-Yuan style 235
Nicopolis, Battle of 284, 28, 2908
Nizamiyyas (colleges) 51, 93
Nizaris (Assassins) 9, 95–6, 99, 211, 214, 220, 330n.80, 97; *see also* Ismailis
Nogai Horde 271, 273
nöker 169, 177
nomadic tribes 59, 67, 169–71, 239
Northern Han dynasty 142
Northern Yuan dynasty 156, 238–9
noyan 177
Nusayris 10
Nymphaeum, Treaty of 250

O

obo, a cairn *202*
observatories 34, 48, 218, 295
Oghuz 17, 22, 57, 58, 59–66, 101, 117, 119, 123, 128, 129
Ögödeid Khanate 220, 222, 240–5
oil lamps *34*
Oirats 170, 310
Ölberli 67, 201
Omayyads 322n.2
On Oq 57
Onguts *138*, 168, *172*, 173, 255
opthamology 47
orlüg 177
Orthodox Church 91, 173, 263
Otrar, massacre of 134–5, 182
Ottoman Empire 59
Ovis ammon poli 228

P

pagodas *155*
  Bei Ta (White Pagoda) *138*
  Tianning Si (Temple of Heavenly Tranquility) *139*
  Yin Shan Ta Lin forest *146*
paiza 150, 213, *226, 231*
palaces 16, 117
  Ak Saray *246, 278,* 289, 301
  Takht-e Sulayman 252, 259–60
panno tartarico 233, 260; *see also* nasij
Panotii 207
paper 16–17, 29, *37*
paper money 159, 161, 199, *228*, 230, 231, 232, 254
paper funeral offerings 228
Parwan, Battle of 136
pastoralism 67, 89, 144
Pax Mongolica 220, 250
pearls *143*
Pechenegs 56–8, 63
Persian language 30–1, 259
Peshitta *35*
Phagpa script 206, *231*, *238*, 261, 339n.76
philosophy 1, 16, 20, 34, 36, 42
  and Avicenna 47
  and Samanids 25, 31
  and Seljuks 51
physics 42
pilgrimage *8*, 255
plague 246, 269
poetry 30, 116–17
Polovtsy 67, 72
porcelain 230, 234–5, *236,* 341n.76
postal services 16, 149–50, 213, 230
primogeniture 140
prisoners of war 182, 202, 232–4
private property 14

Q

Qamugh Mongghol Ulus 174, 177
Qara Khitai 67, 69, 80, 138–9, 333n.4
  and Anushteginids 129–31, 132
  and empire 144–51
  and Ghurids 126
  and Karakhanids 106, 107
  and Seljuks 101
Qara Qoyunlu 59, 293, 297
Qara'unas 242–3, 247
Qarmathians 111, 326n.72
Qatwan, Battle of 101, 129, 138, 145
Qiang 151
Qing dynasty 310
Qinik 63
Qonggirat 172–3
Qun 66–7
Qur'an, the 6, 8, 9, 10, 39, *41*, *305,* 322n.7
  and Samanids 31
  see also hadiths
Quraysh tribe 6

R

raids 1, 59, 82
ram cult 61
Ramadan 82–3
ransoms 109, 111
Ratnasambhava *235*
reason 39, 50
rebirth 12
Red Turban Army 238
reincarnation 12, 15
religion 36, 40, 138
  and Genghis Khan 175, 178
  and Mongols 164, 211
  and nomadic tribes 169–70
  and Qara Khitai 147
  and the universe 47, 51
  see also Buddhism; Islam; Christianity; Roman Catholicism; theology
Renaissance 34, 52, 310
rice 232
Roman Catholicism 2, 52, 91, 173
rubies 29
Rum-Seljuks 59, 90, 204–5, 209
Rus' 327n.16

S

Safavid dynasty 258
Safaviyya 258
Saffarids 11, 23–5
Sajó river, Battle of *see* Mohi, Battle of
Sakya 205–6
salt 230
Samanids 1, 17, 25–7, 29–32, 64–5, 110, 324n.98
Sanskrit 44
Sarakhs, Battle of 297
Sassanids 56
sayyids (descendants of Prophet Muhammad) 32
science 1, 17, 34, 42–3
  and Europe 52
  and Samanids 25, 31
  and Spain 51–2
script 30–1, 139
  and Mongols 177, 206
  and Tanguts *151*, 152
scroll paintings 156–7, 158–9, 161, 259
Se Mu (Central and Western Asians in Yuan China) 223, 226
Secret History of the Mongols, The 164, 168
sedentary states 59, 63, 67
Selenga Stone 66
Seljuks 1, 20, 50–1, 59, 330n.65
  and Empire 80–4, 87–91, 93, 98–102
  and history 41
  and Oghuz 65–6
  and Pechenegs 58
  and Turkmen 329n.14
serfdom 308
Seven liberal arts, 227–8
Sevener Shi'ites 9; *see also* Ismailis
sewer systems 108
Shafi'is 8
Shahnameh (Ferdowsi) 116–17, 259
Shakyamuni Buddha *158, 239*
shamanism 169, 178, 239
Shansabani 120
sharia law 8, 95, 246
Shi'ites 5, 6, *8*, 9–10, 15, 326n.100
  and Fatimids 87, 88
  and Samanids 27
shihna 150
ships 230, 235
Shiwei 173
shrines:
  Imam Reza (Ridha) *10–11*
Sibir Khanate 273
Sicilian Vespers 255
Siffin, Battle of 6, 11
Sikh Empire 310
silk 142, 230, 232–4, 259, 260–1
Silk Road 29, 151, 152
silver 29, 87, 110, 142, *143*, 231
Silver Tree 198
Sixer Shi'ites 9
skull pyramids 189, 280
Slave Dynasty 126
slave trade 20, 26, 29, 324n.106
  and Genoese 290, 291
  and Ghaznavids 109
  and Golden Horde 250, 267
  and Kipchaks 71
  and military 29, 31–2, 71, 323n.82, 324n.106
  and Mongols 187
  and women 65
Slavs 262, 263
Sogdian language 30, 324n.123
Song dynasty 142, 144, 152
Southern Song dynasty 213–5, 222–3, 235
spices *115*, 251
spies 185, 207–11
standing demons *306*
stone figures *67, 77, 110, 203*
stucco figures *110*
Sudur 105, 106
Sufism 51, 63, 88
Sui dynasty 138
Sukhavati *153,* 157
Suldus clan 247
Sunnis 5, 6, 8–9, 15, 138
  and Ghurids 123
  and Samanids 27
  and Seljuks 50–1, 88
Svans 76, 201
swordsmiths 121

T

Tabakat-i Nasiri 41, 168
Tahir Uqlidus 46
Tahirids 15, 17, 20, 22–3, 61
Tajik language and ethnonym 30, 324n.126
Talas, Battle of 5, 12
Tang dynasty 4–5, 138–9
Tangut dynasty 142, 151–2, 154–7
Tangut script *151,* 152
Tantrism 238
tapestry *233*
Tara'in, Battles of 123
Tarikh-e Jahan-gusha ('The History of the World-Conqueror') 168
Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk 40
Tarnab, Battle of 295
Tatars , Mongol people 77, 78
  and history 171, 172, 174, 175–6
Tatar, Muslim descendants of Kipchak and Mongols in Russia 263
Tartars 2, 78, 329n.115
tax 5, 16, 17
  and China 149, 196–7
  and Ghaznavids 110
  and Mongols 69, 213
  and Oghuz 63
  and Qara Khitai 146
  and Samanids 32
  and Yuan dynasty 232
  see also iqta
tax farming 196–7
Tayichiud clan 174
tea 142, 232
technology 232, 310
temples 111, 126
  Baiyun Guan *190*
  and Karakorum 197–8
  Lhakhang Chenmo ('Great Temple') *204*, 205–6
  Miaoying (Beijing) *232*
  'Naubahar' 15
  Yunjusi 143
  see also pagodas
Tengri 164, 175, 178, 211
textiles 2, 232–4, 260–1
theme (military province) 75
theology 31, 37, 39
Timurids 293–305
Timurid chinoiserie 303, 305
Toluids, Toluid Khanate 212, 220, 222, 250; *see also* Yuan dynasty
tombs 29–30
  Prophet Daniel (Daniyor) *293*
  Tughril I *66*
trade 23–4, 310
  and Black Sea 76, 250–1
  and Ghurids 123
  and Golden Horde 264–5, 267
  and Liao dynasty 142
  and maritime 235
  and Oghuz 60, 61
  and tribute 200
trade routes 20, 29, 56, 69, 71, 90
transport 232
Treaty of Nymphaeum 250–1
Treaty of Shanyuan 142
trebuchet 96, 123, 223, 337n.110
tribute 59, 65, 101, 142, 179
Tripitaka 143
tsa-tsas (clay offerings) 198, 335n.112
tümen 177
tuq, Mongol banner *177*
Turanians 117
Türgesh 57
Turkmen 64, 73, 81–2, 87, 89, 90, 323n.77, 329n.14; *see also* Oghuz
turquoise 29
Twelver Shi'ites 9, 13, 94, 258

U

Ugra, military stand on 273
Umayyads 5, 6, 11
Uyghurs 57, 58, 107, 139
Uzbeks 344n.262
Uzes 57

V

Vairocana *138*, 198, *235*
Vaishravana 157
vegetative world 48, 50
victory towers 103–4, *105*, *106*, *116*, 117, 118, *119*
  and Delhi 126
Vlachs 75

W

Wahhabism 322n.16
wall paintings 15, 235
waqf (landholdings) 32
weaponry 96, 142
  and Europe 202
  and firearms 164, 196, 201, 223, 308, 310
  and Mongols 185–6, 223
White Horde 262, 270–3
windows 108
women 65, 133, 178
woodblock printing 259

X

Xi Xia dynasty *150*
Xianbei
Xiongnu 62, 87
Xiyuji (*The Travels of an Alchemist*) 168

Y

yabghu 57, 80, 81, 327n.10
Yagma 102
Yagnobi 324n.123
Yaishan, Sea battle of 223
Yam messenger system 149–50
Yuan dynasty 2, 156, 222–39
Yüan Shi 168
yurts *210*, *241*

Z

zagun *176*, 177
Zaidis 9, 26
Zoroastrians 12, 13
Zubus 144
Zunghars 310, 346n.2

Index: People

References to images are in *italics*.

A

Abaoji (Ambagyan) 139–40, 143
Abaqa, Il-Khan 223, 228, 241, 242, 250, 252–3
al-Abbas, Muhammad’s uncle 5
Abbas ibn Shith 120
Abbasa 17
Abd al-Karim Satuk Bughra Khan *103*
Abd al-Latif 295
Abd al-Malik ibn Nuh 31–2
Abd al-Rahman 196, 203
Abdallah ibn Ibrahim 295
Abdallah ibn Tahir 20, 22, 61
Abdu’l Aziz 295
Abdul Mumin *186*
Abdu’l Khayr 295, 297
Abdullah, Emir of southern Chagatai Khanate 247, 248
Abdullah al-Ma’mun 17
Abdullah ibn Mubarak 40
Abdur Rahman 296
Abishga 240
Abu Abdallah Muhammad 43
Abu Ahmad Khalaf 25
Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn Musa 84
Abu Ali ibn Muhammad 120
Abu Ali Ma’mun I ibn Muhammad 127–8
Abu Bakr, Caliph 6, 9,
Abu Bakr, Timurid prince 290–1, 292
Abu Hanifa 8
Abu Ishaq Ibrahim 109
Abu Ja’afar Ahmad ibn Muhammad bin Khalaf 25
Abu ‘l-Abbas Ma’mun II ibn Ma’mun 43, 111, 128
Abu’l-Fadl 41, 83, 84, 115
Abu ‘l-Harith Muhammad 128
Abu ‘l-Hasan Ali 128
Abu Mansur Daqiqi 116
Abu Muslim 5, 12–13
Abu Said, Abu Kheyr *65*
Abu Said, Timurid governor 295
Abu Said, Timurid ruler 295, 297, 300
Abu Said, Il-Khan 252, 258, 268
Abu’l Qasim Mahmud *31*
Adam, William 265
Adelard of Bath 52
Aguda 144
Ahmad, Il-Khan 253
Ahmad, Khan of Great Horde 272, 273
Ahmad ibn Arabshah 280–1
Ahmad ibn Ali Arslan Khan 104
Ahmad ibn Asad 25
Ahmad ibn Fadlan 62
Ahmad ibn Hasan 107, 144
Ahmad ibn Ismail Samani 26–7
Ahmad ibn Khidr 105
Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Shabir 34–5
Ahmad Inal Tegin 115
Ahmad Sayyid 272
Ahmad, Timurid Sultan 300
Ahmed, Sheikh 273
Ahmed Yasawi 80, 88, *89, 302*
Ai Buqa 255
Aisha Bibi *107*
Aisha bint Abu Bakr 6
Akayev, Askar 346n.3
Akbar 93
Ala al-Daula ibn Baysunghur 295
Ala al-Din Atsïz 127
Ala al-Din Husayn 121, 123
Ala al-Din Muhammad ibn Ali 127
Ala’ al-Din Tekish 123, *127,* 130–1, 148
Alakush Teginkuri 173
Alan Qoa 173, 278
Alaqai Beki 173
Alexander III, Pope 339n.83
Alexander IV, Pope 218
Alexander the Great 164, 191, *195*, 207
Alexios I Komnenos, Emperor 58, 72, 91
Alfonzo VI of Castile, King 52
Alghu 194, 222, 240, 264
Ali, Abu’l Hasan 43
Ali ibn Abi Talib 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 273
Ali ibn Isa ibn Mahan 17
Ali ibn Musa 104
Ali ibn Musa al-Ridha *7*, 9, 20
Ali Khan 63
Ali Sultan *243*, 246
Ali Tegin 32, 81, 104–5, 111, 128, 324n.136, 329n.9
Alp Arslan 51, 71, 81, 87, 88, 89–90, 91
Alp Tegin, Qara Khitai governor 146
Alp Tegin, Samanid commander 32, 108, 109
Altun Tash 32, 111, 114, 128
al-Amin 17
Amirak Bal’ami 31, 32
Ammar bin Yaser 11
Ammianus Marcellinus 61
Amr ibn al-Layth al-Saffar 24, 25, 26
An Lushan 139
Ananda, Prince 156, 334n.89
Andalò da Savignone 226
André de Longjumeau 169, 205, 207–8
Andronicus II, Emperor 255, 265
Aniko *232*, 235
Anush Tegin Garchai 101, 129
Aragibag 237
Aram Shah 126
Ardashir *117*
Archimedes 35, 52
Arghun, Il-Khan 230, *250*, *252*, 253–4
Arghun Aqa 168, 213, 217
Arik Böge 197, 220, 222, 240
Aristotle 42, 47, 48, 52
Abu’l Hasan Nasr ibn Ali, Ilek 32, 104, *108*, 110
Arslan al-Jadhib 81, 111
Arslan Kara Khagan Sulayman ibn Yusuf 105
Arslan, Karkuk leader 132, 178
Arslan Khan Mansur 81
Arslan Shah 101
Arslan Yabghu of Juvara 61
Asad ibn Saman 25
Ascelin of Cremona 207–8
Asha Gambu 154
Ashoka, Emperor 235
Ashraf Qalawun, Sultan 220
al-Askari, al-Hasan 9
al-Athir, ibn 65, 66, 81, 329.n17
Äträk (Otrok) 72, 73–4
Atsïz, Ala al-Din 101, 127
Atsïz ibn Muhammad 129, 130
Aurangzeb 308
Avicenna 34, 42, 43, 44, 47, 52
Ayurbarwada 237
Ayushiridara 238
Ayyub, Malik al-Salih 136

B

Bab Aristan *80*
Baba Tükles 268
Babak al-Khurrami 15
Babazda Khatun *107*
Babur, Abu’l Qasim 297, *303*
Babur, Zahir al-Din Mohammed *298*, 300, *308*, 332n.247
Babur, Sultan 29, 37 *see also* Zahir al-Din Mohammed Babur
Bachman Khan 77, 201
Bacon, Roger 201
Bagdad Khatun 258
Bagrat III *74*, 75
Bagrat V 284
Baha al-Din Naqshband 300, *301*
Baha al-Din Sam 118, 121, 149
Baha al-Din Sam II 123, 126, 127
Bahman *117*
Bahram Shah, Ghaznavid ruler 101, *116*, 117, 118, 121
Bahram Shah, Ghaznavid prince 119
Baibars al-Bunduqdari 71–2, 219–20, 251, 253
Baidar 200, 201
Baiju 136, 204, 208, 249, 263, 344n.250
Baipakov, Karl 61
Bakr ibn Malik 32
Bakran, Muhammad ibn Najib 43, 234, 325n.57
al-Baladhuri 61
Balagai 250
al-Bal’ami, Abu’l Fadhl 29
Baldwin I of Flanders and Hainaut, Latin emperor 75
Baldwin of Hainaut, Latin knight 209
Baldwin II, Latin emperor 209
al-Balkhi, Abu Ma’shar 36
al-Balkhi, Abu Zaid 36
Banu Musa brothers 35–6
al-Baqir, Muhammad 9
al-Baqir, Zaid 9
Bar Hebraeus 63, 171, 253
Baraq, Chagataiid khan 194, 221, 240–1, 242, 243, 252
Baraq, anti-Khan of Golden Horde 272, 295
Baraq Hajib 150–1
Barchuk 178
Barmak 15
Basasiri 87, 88, 94
Batachikhan 173
Batu Khan 77, 194, 203, 206, 208, 210, 250
  and Blue Horde 262, 263–5, 267–70
  and campaigns 200–1, 202
Bayan noyan 214
Bayan, Yuan minister 237
Bayan, ruler of White Horde 270
Bayan Quli 247
Baydu, Il-Khan 254
Bayezid I, Sultan 281, 284
Bazan 246
Bazargur, Dambyn 191–2
Bei, Prince 140, 141, 143
Bekhter 168, 174
Bektumish Beki 171
Béla IV, King of Hungary 77, 201, 202
Belgutai 177–8, 230
Benedict XII, Pope 201, 226
Benedict of Poland 208
Berdi Beg 269
Bergman Folke 161
Berke Khan 77, 212, 219, 250, 252, 263–4
Berkyaruq 98–9, 101, 129
al-Beyhaqi, Abu’l Fadhl 41, 82, 84, 115
Bihzad, Kamal al-Din 304
Bilarghun 258, 343n.212
Bilge Khagan 59

Bilge Tegin 109
Bin Yaser, Ammar 11
al-Biruni, Abu Rayhan Muhammad 34, 40, 42–3, 44, *45*, 64, 111, 116
Böchök (Budjek) 71, 77, 200
Bohemund V of Antioch 204
Bohemund VI of Antioch 218, 251
Bolad 168, 254
Bolaji, Emir 248
Böri Tegin 109
Börte 171, 172, 174–5
Bouchier, Guillaume 198
Brunelleschi, Filippo 93
Bughra Khan Hasan (Harun), ruler of unified Karakhanid 32, 81, 104
Bughra Khan Hasan ibn Sulayman, ruler of Eastern Karakhanid 107
Bughra Khan Muhammad ibn Yusuf 106
Buiruk Khan 170, 175, 176
Bukhari, Baha al-Din Naqshband *301*
al-Bukhari, Muhammad ibn Ismail 40
Bumin 67
Buqa Temür 242
Büri 200, 201, 213, 339n.109
Buscarello de Ghizolfi *252,* 254, 343n.180
Buyan 247, 248
Buzan 246

C

Chagatai 182, 184, 189, 194, 239
Chaghri Beg ibn Mikhail 64, 66, 81, 82, 83, 87, 115
Chakna *204*, 205
Changchub Gyaltsen 206
Changchun 190, *191*
Changshi *243*, 246
Chapar 243
Chengtian 130
Chiledu 170
Chilger 171
Chimtay 270
Chin Temür 194
Chinkai 69, 182, 194, 203, 208, 213
Choban, Emir 252, 258
Chögyel Phagpa *204*, *205*–6, 235, 339n.75
Chokra 291
Chongzong, Emperor 152
Chormaghun 136, 249
Chübai 242
Clavijo, Ruy Gonzáles de 169, *246*, 277, 288–90
Clement V, Pope 168
Conrad of Monferrat 95
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Emperor 53, 56–7, 62
Copernicus, Nicolaus 48
Cosmas, St *261*

D

Daddi, Bernardo 261
Dagchen Sherab Gyaltsen *206*
Dalai Lama, 13th 158
Damian, St *261*
Daniilovich, Ivan (Kalita) 268
Danishmendji 247
Daozong, Emperor 143
Dassel, Rainhald von 146
Daulat Berdi 272
David IV, King of Georgia 72, 73, 74, 90, 328n.93
David VII, King of Georgia 218
Dayan Khan 239
Deguang, Emperor 140, 141–2
Demetrius II of Georgia 253
Dewashtich of Panjikant 4
Dmitri Ivanovich Donskoy 270
Dobun Mergen 173
Dokuz Khatun 171, 217, *248*
Dorda Darkhan 205
Du'a 173, 230, 242, 243, 245
Du'a Temür 246
Dukak 80

E

Ebuskun 203
Edigü 271–2, 291
Edward I, King of England 228, 251, 254
Ekinchi ibn Qochqar 101, 129
Eljigidei, general 204–5, 208, 213 , 249, 339n.70
Eljigidei, Chagataiid ruler 246
Eltut 72
Engke Tura 249
Erbüz 129
Esen Buqa 245
Esen Temür 230
Etmish Bilge Khagan 66
Euclid *46*, 52

F

Fadhl ibn Yahya 16, 17
Fa'iq 32
al-Farabi, Abu Nasr Muhammad 42, 47, 52
Fatima, Prophet Muhammad's daughter 6, 10
Fatima, adviser of Töregene 203, 338n.59
Feng Sheng 156
Ferdowsi, Hakim Abu'l-Qasim 116–17
Fibonacci, Leonardo 52
Frederick I, Emperor (Barbarossa) 145
Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor 78, 201, 207, 338n.47
Freising, Otto von 145

G

Gandzakets'i, Kirakos 168
Gao Xianzhi 5
Gardizi, Abu Said Abd al-Hayy 40–1
Gauhar Shad 295, *296*, 297, 301
Gaykhatu, Il-Khan 230, 254
Genghis Khan 1–2, 48, 63, 67, 78, 145, 163, 164, *175, 179*
  and administration 69, 131
  and Chorasmia 132, 133–4, 135, 136, 184–6, 189
  and death and burial 155, 191–2
  and Golden Horde 262
  and history 164, *165*, 171–8
  and international campaigns 178–9, *180–1*, 182–91
  and Jin dynasty 175, 178–9
  and meaning of title 175–6
  and Minyak 152, 154–5
  and Qara Khitai 148–9
  and succession 182, 184, 194, 337n.115
  and tribes 170–1, 172–3
Gentile da Fabriano 261
George IV, King of Georgia 75–6
Gerard of Cremona 52
Gerbert of Aurillac 51–2
al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad 47, 51
Ghazan, Il-Khan 168, 230, 256, 257
Giyath al-Din Baysunghur 295, 303
Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud 126–7
Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad 123
Ghurak 4
Giorgi II of Georgia 330n.58
Giorgi VIII of Georgia 284, 285
Giotto di Bendone 261
Giovanni da Montecorvino 173, 226, 255, 343n.194
Giovanni de Marignolli 201, 226
Godan (Köden) 203, 205
Gregory IX, Pope 201
Gregory X, Pope 228
Guderian, Heinz 185
Guiscardo de Bastari 260
Gunashiri 249
Güyük 96, 169, 194, 201, 203–6, 208
  and campaigns 200, 201

H

al-Hadi, Caliph 16
Hafiz-i Abru 280
Hafsa bint Umar 6
al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf 6
Hajji Beg Barlas 247, 248, 278
Hajji Tarkhan 270
al-Hamawi, Yaqut 93
Hambaghai 172, 174, 178
al-Harashi, Said 14
Harith ibn Surayj 5
Hart, Liddell 185
Harun al-Rashid, Caliph 16, 17, 34, 95
Harun ibn Altun Tash 114, 128
al-Hasan 9, 10
Hasan-i Buzurg 258
Hasan-e Sabah 95
Hasan ibn Zayd 22–3
Hasan II 95
Hasan III 95
Hasan Khwaja 301, *302*
Hashim ibn Hakim (al-Muqanna) 13–14, *15*
Haydar ibn Kavus Afshin 15, 22
Hedin, Sven 158
Henry II, Duke of Silesia 201
Henry II, King of Cyprus 251
Henry III, King of Castile and León 288
Henry III, King of England 201
Hermannus Alemannus 52
He'tum I 168, 204, 218
He'tum II 168, 256, 258
Hethum of Corycus 168, 217, 253
Hindu Khan ibn Malik Shah 131–2
Hoelun 170, 174, 178
Hongwu, Emperor 238
Honorius III, Pope 76
Honorius IV, Pope 254
Hsiao P'u-ku-chih 148
Hsiao To-lu-pu [Duolubu] *see* Xiao Duolubu
Hsiao Wo-li-la 148
Huanzong, Emperor 152
Huichao 15
Huizong, Emperor 152
Hülegü, Il-Khan 35, 48, 95, 96, 171, 213, *217*, 222, *248,* 249–52 , 264
  and wars 249–50, 252
  and western Asia 213, 215–19
Humayun 93
Hunayn ibn Ishaq 35
al-Husain 9, 10
Husain bin Waqid 40
Husayn, Sheikh 247–9, 278–9
Husayn Bayqara, Sultan 300, 303, *304*
al-Husayn ibn al-Hasan 107

I

Ibaka Beki 171
Ibn Arabshah, Ahmad 280, 281
Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad 8
Ibn Hawqal 60
Ibn Ishaq 305
Ibn Khaldun 34, 145, 281
Ibn Muawiyya, Abdallah 15
Ibn Rushd 52
Ibn Sina *see* Avicenna
Ibrahim I ibn Nasr Tamghach Bughra Khagan 105, 106
Ibrahim ibn Ahmad 107, 144
Ibrahim ibn Ala al-Daula 297
Ibrahim ibn Mas'ud 117–18
Ibrahim ibn Muhammad 106
Ibrahim III ibn Muhammad Khan 106
Ibrahim Lodi 332n.226
Ibrahim Yinal 82, 84, 87, 88
al-Idrisi 60
Igor Sviatoslavich, Prince 72
Ikhtiyar al-Din Khilji 123, 126
Il-Arslan ibn Atsïz *127*, 130, 148
Iltutmish, Sultan 126, 136
Ilyas ibn Asad 25
Ilyas Khwaja 249, 278
Inalchuq 135, 136
Inanch Bilge Bögü 170
Innocent IV, Pope 207, 208, 211, 338n.47
Irinjibal 237
Irzan 270
Isa Kelemechi 254
Ishaq bin Rahuya 40
Ishaq ibn-Hunayn 35
Ishaq al-Turk 12–13
Ismail ibn Sebük Tegin 110
Ismail ibn Ahmad ibn Asad ibn Saman 25–6
Ismail ibn Ja'afar, Imam 94
Ismail Khandan 114, 128, 129
Israïl ibn Seljuk 64, 65, 81, 104, 105, 111
Ivan Asen 75
Ivan I Daniilovich Kalita 268
Ivan III of Muscovy 273
Izz al-Din Husayn ibn Hasan 120–1

J

Ja'afar al-Sadiq 94
al-Jadhib, Arslan 81
al-Ja'far, Abd 13
Ja'far ibn Yahya 16, 17
Jacques de Vitry 146
Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu 297, 300
al-Jaihani, Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ahmad 27, 29
Jalal al-Din Manguberdi 74, 126, 127, 131, *133*, *134*, 136, 185, 189, 190
Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Tahir 234
Jamuka 170, 175, 176
Jani Beg 268, 269
Jebe 71, 75, 77, 131, 135, 136, 149, 175
  and international campaigns 185, 188–9
Jelme 175

Jingzong *see* Li Yuanhao
Jochi 171, 182, 184, 220, 262
  and international campaigns 185, 189, 190
John Tzimiskes, Emperor 58
John III Doukas Vatatzes 209
Jonah, Prince 75
Juvaini, Ata-Malik 95, 107, 134–5, 168, 197, 252, 259, 335n.12
Juvaini, Shams al-Din 168, 249, 252
al-Juzjani, Abu Ubayid 47
Juzjani, Minhaj al Din Abu Umar 41, 100–1, 118, 120, 168

K

Kadan 200, 201, 202, 222
Kai-Khosrow II, Sultan 204
Kaidu 206, *207*, 220, 222, 230, 236, 240–3
Kaishan 236, 243
Kaloyan, Tsar 75
Kara Hülegü 203, 239, 240
Kara Khan 62
Kara Tegin Isfijabi 108
Karimov, Islom 346n.3
Karma Pakshi 339n.75
Kasar 172, 174, 178
al-Kashgari, Mahmud 62, 80, *81*
Kavurd 87
Kebek 245–6
Ked Buqa 96, 213, 215, 219–20, 220
Khabul Khan 172, 173–4
Khaishan 236–7
Khalid ibn Barmak 15–16
Khalil, Sultan 220, 293
Khan Bachman 71, 201
al-Khariji, Hamza bin Adharak 11, 17, 20
Khidr ibn Ibrahim 105
Khizr Khwaja 249
Khodja Mashhad *27*
Khochkhar Tegin 243
Khon 205
Khoshila 237, 246
Khosrau II 56
Khudaidad Dughlat 249
Khunuk Vardan Khudah 4
Khusrau Malik 119, 123
Khusrau Shah 119
Khur-Shah Rukh al-Din 96, 217, 237
Khutulun 245
al-Khwarizmi, Abu Ja'far Mohammad ibn Musa *36–7*, 52
al-Kindi, Abu Yaqub ibn Ishaq 36
Kiselev, Sergey 338n.26
Köden *see* Godan
Kököchin 230
Kököchu Teb Tengri 176, 178
Kököchin 230
Kölgän 200
Könchek 72, 245
Körgüz, King 173, 194, 243
Körgüz, governor of Iran 194, 203
Kotyan (Köten) 75, 76, 77, 201
Koza 72
Kozlov, Pyotr 137, 156, 158–9, 161
Kublai Khan 156, 168, 173, 197
  and administration 223, 226, 231
  and Arik Böge 220, 222
  and Buddhism 214–15
  and foreign policy 236
  and Kaidu 240, 241, 243
  and leadership 222–3, 226, 231–3, 235–6
  and paper money 199, *200*
  and the Polos 227–30
  and Southern Song 213–15
  and Tibet 205–6
Küchlüg, Prince 106, 132–3, 135, 146, 149
Küchük Mohammad 272
Kül Tegin 59
Kun Buqa 255
al-Kunduri 88
Kutula Khan 172, 174

L

Laozi 214–15
Lawrence, St *261*
Lawrence of Portugal 207
Leo III of Armenia 253, 258
Li Denming 151
Li Jiquian 151
Li Yuanhao 151–2
Li Zhichang 168
Lippi, Fra Filippo 261
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio 261, *262*
Louis IX, King of France 78, 201, 204–5, 210, 211

M

al-Mahdi, Muhammad ibn Hasan 9–10, 14, 16
Mahkamov, Qahhor 346n.3
Mahmud I, Sultan 98,
Mahmud ibn Babur 297
Mahmud II, Seljuk ruler 74, 100, 102
Mahmud II Khan ibn Muhammad, Seljuk vasall in Samarkand 100, 101, 102, 105, 107, 145
Mahmud, Khan of Golden Horde 272
Mahmud of Ghazna, Sultan *31*, 32, 43–4, 47, 81, 104, 110–11, *114*, 116, 117, *118*, 120, 128
Mahmud, Timurid Sultan of Balkh 300
Mahmud Yalavach 134, 194, 203, 213, 239
Majd al-Daula 111
Makika II, Patriarch 217
Malik Arslan 118
al-Malik, Hisham ibn Abd 15
Malik ibn Anas ibn Malik 9
al-Malik ibn Nuh II, Abd 32
Malik al-Nasr Muhammad 268
Malik al-Salih Ayyub 136
Malik Shah I 47, 51, 73, 88–9, 90, 91, 106, 107
Malik Shah II 99
Mamai 269–70
al-Ma'mun, Caliph 9, 17, 20, 25, 34, 39
al-Mansur, Caliph 12, 13, 16, 34
Mansur ibn Ali 104
Mansur ibn Nuh, Abu Salih 32
Mansur ibn Nuh II, Abu'l Harith 32
Manuel I Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium 146
Manuel II, Emperor of Byzantium 284
Manuel III, Emperor of Trebizond 288
Mar Dinkha I 255
Mar Sargis 226
Mar Yahballahah III, Patriarch 173, 253, 254, 256; *see also* Rabban Markos
Marghuz 171
Maricq, André 123, 126
Martini, Simone 261
Marwan II 5
al-Marwazi, Sharaf al-Zaman 66
Masaliyev, Absamt 346n.3
Masud Beg 194, 196, 203, 213
  and Kaidu 240, 241, 242
Mas'ud I of Ghazna, Sultan 81–4, 114–16, 117, *118,* 120, 128
Mas'ud III ibn Ibrahim *117*, 118
Maudud ibn Masud 84, 117
Mazyar 22
Mengli Giraï 273
Michael VII Doukas, Emperor 90
Michael VIII Palaeologus, Emperor 227, 250–1
Michael of Chernigov 208
Mikhail ibn Seljuk 81
Miran Shah 279–80, 284, 292, 293
Modu 62, 67
Mohammad bin Baysunghur 293, 297
Mohammad ibn Ismail 94
Mohammad ibn Hilal *234*
Mohammad al-Kazi 288
Mohammad ibn Khalid 16, 17
Mohammad ibn Mahmud 117
Mohammad Reza, Shah 9
Mohammad Yalavach xx, 134
Mokhtarov, Zarif *37*
Möngke 71, 77, 96, 200, 201, 209, 210–11
  and Great Khan 150, 212–15, 217–20
Möngke Temür 253, 265, 267
Mönglik 178
Monolun 173
monqa qa'an 347n.28
Mozhu, Emperor 155
Muawiyya 6, 9, 11
Mubarak Khwaja 270
Mubarak Shah 240, 241, 242
Muhammad of Ghazna 114, 116, 117
Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, Mirza 248
Muhammad Khan Shaibani *298,* 344n.261
Muhammad I Tapar, Sultan 73, 98–100
Muhammad ibn Abbas 120
Muhammad ibn Ali, Ala al-Din 127
Muhammad ibn Pulad 247
Muhammad ibn Tahir 22, 23
Muhammad ibn Wasim al-Thaqafi 111
Muhammad II ibn Sulayman 105
Muhammad II ibn Tekish Ala al-Din, Shah of Chorasmia 74, 106, 126, 131–3, 134, 135–6, 145, 149, 150, 184–5, 188, 234
Muhammad III 96
Muhammad, Prophet 5, 6, 9, *43*, 44, *X*
Muhammad Shah 149, 184–5
Muhammad Siyah Qalam 305, *306*
Muhammad Sultan 288, 289
Muhammed II Arslan Khan 100
Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad 119, 123, 126, 132
Mukali 131, 134, 154, 179
al-Mukhtar 15
al-Muntasir *31*
al-Muqaddasi 64
al-Muqanna 13–14, *15*
Musa, Imam 94
Musa ibn al-Karim Baytash 103
Musa ibn Seljuk 81, 82
Musa ibn Yahya 16
al-Mustansir, Caliph 95
al-Mustarshid, Caliph 95
al-Mustasim Billah, Caliph 96, *217*–18
al-Mu'tamid, Caliph 24–5
al-Mutamin, Caliph 17
al-Mu'tasim, Caliph 20, 39
al-Mustasim Billah *217*
al-Mutawakkil, Caliph 9, 20, 39
Mutugen 189–90, 239
al-Muwaffaq 25
Muzaffar Abu Salih Mansur ibn Nuh 31

N

Nakhu 212–13
Nalighu 245
Napoleon 310
al-Narshakhi, Abu Bakr 14, 40
al-Nasa'i, Abu Abd al-Rahman 40
al-Nasir, Caliph 131, 133
Nasir Khusraw 96
Nasr I (Nasr ibn Ahmad ibn Asad ibn Saman) 25–6
Nasr I ibn Ibrahim, Shams al-Mulk 91
Nasr ibn Sayyar 5, 17
Nasr II (Nasr ibn Ahmad) 27, 29, 30
Nauruz 256
Nayan, Prince *227*, 230, 243
Nazarbayev, Nursultan 346n.3
Negübei 241–2
Ne'üril Tegin 243, 245
Nevsky, Alexander 203
Nicholas IV, Pope 254, 261
Niedermayar, Oskar von *122*
Nilka-Senggum 171
al-Nishapuri, Abu'l-Husain Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj 40
Nishapuri, Zahir al-Din 41
Niyazov, Sapamurat 346n.3
Nizam al-Mulk 9, 51, 73, 79, 84, 87, 88–9, 93, 95
Nizar 95
Nogai 252, 267, 271, 273
Nomuqan 243, 342n.119
Nuh I (Nuh ibn Nasr) 31
Nuh ibn Asad 25
Nuh II (Abu'l Qasim Nuh ibn Mansur) 32, 47, 81

O

Odorico da Pordenone 169
Oghul Qaimish 205, 206, 210, 213
Oghuz Khan 62, *63*
Ögödei 69, 136, 149, 182, 184
  and Great Khan 194–8, 200–2
  and Imperial administration 194, 239
  and international campaigns 189
Ogulchak Khan 103
Ökin Barqaq 174, 178
Oljeitu, Il-Khan 93, 151, 257–8
Omar Khayyam 47
Omar ibn Miran Shah 292
Orda 194, 200, 220, 262, 270, 340n.157
Orghina Khatun 213, 240
Orus 243, 245
Otto I, King 58
Özbek, Khan 259, 267–8

P

Paris, Matthew 78, 185–6
Paulo Veneziano 261
Payo de Sotomayor 281, 288
Pegolotti, Francesco Balducci 169, 199, 265, 336n.34
Pétis de la Croix, François 177
Philip IV, King of France *252*, 254
Pian del Carpine, Giovanni da 62, 76, 169, 203, 207, 208–9
Pir Muhammad ibn Jahangir 280, 293

Plato 42
Polo, Maffeo 169, 226, 227, 228, 230
Polo, Marco 150, 169, 173, 191, *200*, 228, 230, 340n.32, 38
Polo, Niccolò 169, 226, 227, 228, 230
Potanin, G.N. 158
Prester John 74, 102, 145–6, 207, 210
Prithviraj, King 123
Przhevalsky, Nikolai 158
Ptolemy 34, 35, 48, 52
Pulad 272
Putin, Vladimir 310

Q

Qaban 242
Qabus ibn Wushmagir, Prince Shams al-Ma’ali 28, 43
Qadaq 203
Qadïr Arslan Khagan 104
Qadïr Buqu Khan 131
Qadïr Khan Jibrail 100
Qadïr Khan Jibrail ibn Umar 105
Qadïr Khan Yusuf 81
Qahtaba ibn Shabib Ta’i 5
Qaidu Khan 173
al-Qa’im, Caliph 87
Qalawun, Sultan 253
Qamar al-Din Dughlat 249
Qara Iskander Qoyunlu 292
Qara Yusuf Qoyunlu 291, 292
Qavam al-Din 303
Qazaghan, Emir 247
Qazan ibn Yasaur 247
Qianlong 310
Qongqiran 270
Qonichi 270
Quli 250
Qulpa 269
Qurjakuz 171
al-Qushi, Ali 48
Qut Tegin 32
Qutaiba ibn Muslim 4
Qutb al-Din Aybak 123, 126
Qutb al-Din Hasan 120
Qutb al-Din Muhammad, Ghurid prince 118
Qutb al-Din Muhammad I ibn Anush Tegin 101, 129
Qutlugh Khwaja 242
Qutlugh Shah 257–8
Qutlugh Temür 268
Qutlumush 84
Qutui Khatun 253, 255
Qutuz, Sultan 71–2, 219–20

R

Rabban Ata 207
Rabban Bar Sauma 168–9, 173, 254, 255
Rabban Markos 255; *see also* Mar Yahballahah
Rafi bin Layth 17, 25
Rashid al-Din Hamdani 62, 168, 175, 257, 258, 259
  and scriptorium 259
Rashid al-Din Sinan 95
al-Rawandi, Abu’l-Hasan Ahmad ibn 39
Raymond II, Count of Tripoli 95
al-Razi, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya 39–40, 52
Renzong, Emperor 152
Reza Shah Pahlavi 96
Richthofen, Ferdinand von 158
Robert of Chester 326n.111
Romanos IV, Emperor 58, 90
Rubruck, William of 169, 170, 197–8, 207, 209–11
Rudaki, Abu Abdallah Ja’far ibn Muhammad 30
Rukhn al-Din, Kartid ruler of Herat 252
Rukhn al-Din Ghur Sanj, Chorasmian prince 133
Rukn-i Alam *281*, *284–5*
Rurik Rostislavich, Prince 72

S

Saddam Hussein 9
al-Saffah, Abu‘l-Abbas 5, 12, 16
Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen Pal Zangpo *205*
Saladin 95
Samaghar 228, 241, 251
Saman Khudah 17, 25
Sampad 204
Sanches, Hernán de Palazuelos 281, 288
Sanjar, Sultan Ahmad 93, 95, 98, 99, 100–2, 118, 145, 148
  and Anushteginids 129
  and Ghurids 121
Sanjar, rebell in Samarkand 132
al-Sarakhsi, Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib 36
Sartaq Khan 210, 250, 263, 339n.98
Sasi Buqa 270
Satuk Bughra Khan 63–4, 103
Sayf al-Din Muhammad 118, 123
Sayf al-Din Suri 121
Sayyid Ahmad I 272
Schiltberger, Johannes 169, 280, 284–5, 288, 290–1
Scotus, Michael 52
Sebük Tegin 32, 109–10, *114*
Seljuk 63–4, 80, 81, 328n.54, 329n.6
Sergius, St 63
Shadi Beg 272
al-Shafi’i, Abd al-Malik ibn Yusuf al-Juwayni 51
al-Shafi’i, Muhammad ibn Idris 8
Shah Ala al-Din Tekish 71
Shah Malik ibn Ali of Yangikent 64, 65, 66, 82, 114, 128–9, 328n.66
Shah Rukh Mirza, 290, 292–3, *294*, 295, 301
Shaiban 200, 206, 220, 262, 344n.262
Shams al-Din I Kart 252
Shams al-Din Ma’ali Qabus *28*, 43
Shams al-Mulk Nasr ibn Ibrahim 105
Shari bin Shaykh 12
Shengzong, Emperor of Liao 143
Shenzong, Emperor of Minyak 154
Shi Jingtang 141
Shidebala 237, 245
Shigi Khuthuku 136, 164, 172, 178, 190
al-Shirazi, Muayyad fi’l-Din 50–1
Shiremün 203, 212–13
Shirgir, Anush Tegin 99–100
Shirzad 118
Shulü Ping 140–1
Sigismund, King of Hungary 284
al-Sijistani, Abu Dawud 40
al-Sijistani, Abu Sulayman 36
Simeon I 57
Simeon Rabban Ata 207
Simon de Saint-Quentin 169, 204
Skobelev 307
Sorkaktani Beki 171, 184, 194, 204, 206, 212
Stalin, Joseph 310
Stein, Sir Aurel 159, 161
Stephen I, King 58
Strabo *76*
Sübotai 71, 75, 76, 77, 131, 135, 136, 149
  and international campaigns 178, 179, 182, 185, 188–9, 201–2
Sulayman ibn Yusuf 106
Suleiman Shah 101
Sultan Shah of Chorasmia 130, 131, 149
Suluk 4
Sunpad (Sinbad) 12
Suri ibn Muhammad 120
Suzong, Emperor 5
Sviatoslav I 57–8
Sylvester II, Pope 51–2

T

al-Tabari, Abu Ja’far Muhammad ibn Jarir 31, 40, *41*
Tahir ibn Abdallah 22
Tahir ibn Husain 17, 20
Taizong, Emperor 142
Taj al-Mulk *84*, 85
Talha 20
Tamerlane *see* Timur-e Lang
Tangqut 200
Tarmashirin 246
Tash Farrah 114
Tata Tunga 177
Tayang Khan 170, 173, 176
Tayangu 126, 132, 149
Tekish, Ala al-Din 130–1, 148, 149
Temujin *see* Genghis Khan
Temuge Otchigin 178
Temür Khan 199, 236–7, 243
Temür Qutlugh 271–2
Terken Khatun, wife of Malik Shah I 89, 98
Terken Khatun, wife of Il-Arslan ibn Atsïz 130
Terken Khatun, wife of Ala al-Din Tekish 71, 131, 135, 139, 332n.247
Theodore Peter 75
Theophilos, Emperor 57
Tianzuo, Emperor 144
Timur-e Lang (Timur ibn Taraghai Barlas, Tamerlane) 1, 2, 88, 247, 248–9, 270–1, *278,* 345n.2–3
  and administration 279
  and eyewitnesses 288–91
  and military campaigns 278–85
  and successors 293, 295
  and towers of skulls 280, 345n.20
Timur Malik 270
Tini Beg 268–9
al-Tirmidhi, Abu Isa Muhammad 40
al-Tirmidhi, Jahm ibn Safwan 39
Toghon Temür, Emperor 201, *223*, 226, 237, 238
Toghril of Keraites 149, 171, 174, 175, 176
Toghto’a, Mongol chancellor 232, 237–8
Toghto’a Beki 170–1
Tögüs Temür 156, 239
Tokhta 267
Töle Bugha 267
Tolstov, Sergei 60
Tolui 171, 182, 184, 189, 194
Tonyukuk 59, 67
Toqtamish 269, 270–2, 279, 284
Toqto’a 132
Töregene 202, 203
Touman 62
Tudä Möngke 267
Tugh Temür 237
Tughlugh Temür 80, 248
Tughril I, Sultan 51, 64, *66*, 81, 82–4, 87–8, 115
Tughril III 102, 131
Tughril, Ghaznavid usurper 117
Tughril Kara Khagan Yusuf ibn Sulayman 106–7
Tulun, Ahmad ibn 324n.106
Tumanba Khan *165*
Tuqtaqiya 270
Turabeg Khanum *127*
al-Tusi, Abdul Abbas al-Fadl ibn Sulayman 14
al-Tusi, Nasir al-Din 35, *46,* 48, 50, 218
Tutar 250

U

Ubaydullah Ahrar Khwaja 300
Ulaghchi 250, 263
Ulugh Beg 48, 289, 292, 293, 295, *297, 298*
Ulugh Beg Kabuli 300
Ulugh Mohammad 272
Umar ibn al-Khattab 6, 9
Umar Shaykh 300
Urban II, Pope 73, 91
Uriyangkhadai 213–14
Urus Khan 270
Ustadh Sis 13
Uthman ibn Affan 6
Uthman, Sultan of Samarkand 106, 132, 148
Uzlaq Shah 136
Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu 300

V

Vahram-i Varjavand 13
Vladimir II Monomakh, Prince 72, 73
Vytautas 272

W

al-Wafa Buzjani, Abu 37
Warner, Langdon *159*, 161
al-Wathiq 39
Wenceslas I, King of Bohemia 201

X

Xiangzong, Emperor 152, 154–5
Xiao Duolubu 130, 131, 148
Xiao Tabuyan 148
Xuanzang 15, 126

Y

Yabghu Arslan 61
Yadgar Muhammad 300
Yahya bin Khalid 16, 17
Yahya ibn Asad 25
Yanchichar 243, 245
Yang Lian Zhen Jia 238
Yaqub ibn Ahmad 25
Yaqub ibn al-Layth al-Saffar 11, 23–5, 120
Yaroslav II, Grand Prince 203

Yasawi, Ahmad 88
Yazid I 9
Yelü Chucai 149, 193, 194, 196
Yelü Dashi 101, 107, 144, 145
Yelü Pusuwan 130, 148
Yelü Yilie 148
Yelü Zhilugu see Zhilugu
Yesü Möngke 203, 240
Yesüder 239
Yesügei 170, 171, 172, 174, 175
Yesün Temür 237, 246
Yixin, Yelü 143–4
Yizong, Emperor 152
Yongle, Emperor 293, 305
Yuri 76
Yusuf bin Ibrahim 13
Yusuf ibn Ali 105
Yusuf Qadïr Khan 81, 111

Z

Zayd ibn Thabit 6
Zhilugu 126, 131, 132–3, 148–9
Zhu Yuanzhang (emperor Hongwu) 238
Ziyad bin Salih 5
Zoroaster 13

Index: Places

References to images are in *italics*.

A

Afghanistan 4, *12–13*, 20, 116, 310
  and Chagataiids 242
  and Ghurids 119
  and Mongols 41, 189–90
Ain Jalut 71, 219–20; *see also* in concept index
Alamut 48, 89, 94–5, 99–100, 121, 129, 217
Aleppo 90, 205, *218*, 281
Almalik 243, 246
Altai Mountains 57
Anatolia 58, 59, 81, 89, 90, 91
Anau *303*
Ani 74, 89
Annam 214, 236
Antioch 90, 91, 220
Aral Sea 69
Arbil *256*
Armenia 65, 84,
Armenia, Cilician 168, 204, 220, 251, 253
Artush *103*
Arwad 251
Arven Tokhoi Durbeljin *154*
Ashgabat, *63, 90*
Assisi 261
Astrakhan 273, *276*
Atelkuzu (Etelköz) 57, 58, 62
Atil 62, 101
Avignon 226
Avraga 175
Azerbaijan 15, 59, 65, 81, 328n.64
  and Il-Khanid-Jochid conflict 250, 252, 263–4, 267–9, 271
  and Mongols 220
  and Özbek 267, 268
  and Seljuks 84, 89
  and Timur-e Lang 280
  and Timurids 300

B

Badagan 61
Badakhshan 96, 228
Badghis 11, 24
Baghdad 9, 16, 29, 323n.55
  Bayt al-Hikma (House of Wisdom) 34–5
  and Mongols *216*, 217–18
  and Seljuks 83, 87, 88, 94
  and Tahirids 17, 20, 23
  and Timur-e Lang 281
Bagrati Cathedral *75*
Baiyun Guan, Beijing *190, 191*
Balasaghun 32, 102, 103–4, *104*, 106, 144
Balkans, the 75
Balkh 15, 24, 26, 29, *186*, 246, 278, 279, 297, 300
  and Ghurids 123
  and Mongols *186*, 187
  and Seljuks 84
Baluchistan 20, 66, 116
Bam *18–19, 22*
Bamiyan 24, 109, 110, 119, 123, 126, 149, 188–9, 190
Band-e Amir Lakes *242*
Bastam *257*
Bei Ta (White Pagoda) *138*
Beijing *139, 190*; *see also* Zhongdu
Beket Ata 70
Besh Baliq 206, 222, 230, 232, 241, 243
Binder 191, *192*
Black Sea 29, 71, 74, 75, 76, 201, 227, 250–1, 267, 269
Bolghar 62, 63
Bozzhira *68–9*
Bukhara 14, *16*, *23*, *182–3*, 227, 246, 252, *300*, 302, 310
  and Chagatai 239, 240, 241, 242
  and Karakhanids 104, *105*, 106
  and Kalyan minaret and mosque *105, 182–3*
  and Mongols 184–5, 188, 194
  and mosques *23, 25*
  and Samanids 25, 26, 27, 29, 32
  and Seljuks 81, 91, 101
  and Ulugh Beg madrasa *300*
Bulgaria 57, 75, 77
Burkhan Khaldun, Mountain 173, 175, 191, 337n.159
Burma 228, 230, 236
Bust 108–9, *118*, 119, *122*, 123
Byzantium 29, 56, 57, 58, 59, 89–90

C

Čač 25, 104; *see also* Tashkent
Caffa 265, 267, 269, 270
Caucasus 56, 75–6
Cembalo (Balaklava) 269, 270
Ceuta *262*
Champa 236
Chazhashi *76, 286–7*
Chengdu 215
Chernigov 76, 201
China 2, 4–5, 16, 29, 310
  and art 303, 305
  and Genghis Khan 133–4
  and Islam 187
  and Kublai Khan 222–3, 226, 231–2
  and Liao dynasty 138–9, 141
  and Marco Polo 230, 340n.38
  and Mongols 194
  and Qara Khitai 149
  and Southern Song 213–15, 222–3
  and taxation 196–7
  and trade 69
Chinkai Balghasun 182, 234
Chorasmia 25, 41, 43
  and Altuntashids 128–9
  and civil war 130, 135–6
  and Ghazanvids 111, 114–15
  and Ghurids 123
  and Kipchaks 71
  and Ma'munids 127–8
  and Mongols 184–5, 189
  and Oghuz 65
  and Qara Khitai 148
  and Seljuks 82, 84, 101
  and Timur-e Lang 271, 280
Constantinople 57, 58, 63, 67
  and Crusades 75
  and the Polos 227
  and Timur-e Lang 284
Crimea 56, 227, 273
Cyprus 204, 251

D

Dadu 214; *see also* Zhongdu
Dahlan 60
Dailam 22
Dali 214
Damascus 73, 90, 218, 219, 220, 251, 257, 261, 281
Damghan *4*, *14*, *82,* 277
Dandankan 88, 111, 115, 117, 129
Darial Gorge 252
Datong 141
Delhi 41, 110, 125, 126, 280
  and Qutb Minar *126*
Deluun Boldog 191
Derbent 74, 188, 201
Diyarbakr 65
Dolon Nor 178
Drigung Thil 206, *207*

E

East Asia *209*
Eastern Europe 2, 200, 201
Edessa 90, 91, 145
Egypt 2, 5, 71–2, 94–5, 250
  and Islam 220
  and Mongols 204–5, 215
England 254
Erdene Zuu *196*
Etzin Gol Valley 152, *155, 156, 240*

F

Fang Shan *230,* 255
Fars 15, 24, 99
Fergana 25, 26, 145
  and Karakhanids 102, 106, 107
Firuzkuh 118, *119*, *120*, 121, 123
France 201, 254

G

Ganj Tepe *16*
Gansu 142, 151, 152, 157, 203, 222, 243, 245, 303
Garbian 60
Gardez 24, 109
Gelati Monastery *73, 74*
Genoa 227, 250–1
  and Golden Horde 264–5, 267–8, 269, 270
Georgia 59, 72, 73–4, *75*, *76*, 136
  and Mongols 204
  and Seljuks 89, 90
  and Timur-e Lang 284–5
Gergeti *263*
Germany 186
Ghazna 24, 26, 32, 109, 116, 118
  and architecture 117
  and Ghurids 119, 121, 123
  and Mongols 187
Ghur 84, 100–1, 111, 118–23, 126–7, 133
  and Ghurids 119–20, 121
Gilan 22
Girdkuh *94*, 95, 96, *214–15*
Gobi Desert *170*, 171
Gonbad-e Jabaliyeh *84*
Gorgan 15, 24, 84
Gorguz 60
Gothia 270
Great Britain 310
Great Turkestan 194, 196
Great Wall of China 173, 178
Gunbad-i Qabus *28*
Gurganj (Konye Urgench) *42*, 43, 61, 101, *127, 128*
  and Ma'munids 127, 128
  and Mongols 189
  and Qara Khitai 148
  and Timur-e Lang 271, 280
Gwalior 111, 123

H

Hajji Tarkan *276*
Hamadan 65
Hami 243
Hari-Rud River 119, *120*, 121, 123, 127
Helmand 84
Hansi 115
Heishui Cheng *see* Khara Khoto
Herat 11, 20, 23, 24
  and Ghurids 119, 123, 127
  and Mongols 189
  and Samanids 25
  and Seljuks 83, 84
  and Timur-e Lang 279
  and Timurids 293, *294*, 295, *296*, 297, 300, 301, 302, 303 305
Hohhot *138*
Hormuz 228, 230
Hungary 77, 201–2

I

India 16, 29, 36–7, 44
  and architecture 301
  and Britain 310
  and Chagataiids 242, 246, 247
  and Ghaznavids 109–10, 111, 114, 115–16
  and Ghurids 123
  and Ismailis 96
  and Timur-e Lang 280–1
Inner Mongolia 220
Iran 1, 2, 9, 11, 223
  and Il-Khanids 249–61
  and Ismailis 96
  and Mongols 136, 194, 215, 217
  and Oghuz 59
  and Qara Khitai 150–1
  and Saffarids 23, 24
  and Seljuks 87
Iraq 9, 11
Irtysh River 66
Isfahan 29, 47, *85*, 87, 93, 95, 280
Isfijab 32, 69
Italy 2, 201, 261
Izmukshir *129*

J

Jadjan 60
Jam 104, 118, *119*, *121*, 123, 126
Jand 60, 63, 64, 69
  and Anushteginids 129, 130, 131
  and Seljuks 80, 81
Japan 230, 236, 310
Java 236
Jaxartes River see Seyhun River
al-Jazira (Upper Mesopotamia) 17, 20
Jerusalem 73, 90, 91, 93, 136, 219, 251, 254, 255
Jiekundo Dondrubling *206*
Jorjan *28*
Juvara (Kesken Kuyuk Kala) *59*, *64,* 60, 61–2, 69

K

Kabul 24, 109, *115*, 293, 300
Kabulistan 26
Kafiristan 111, 331n.171
Kaifeng 179
Kaiping *see* Shangdu
Kandahar 26, 280
Karabakh 271, 285, 288, 289
Karachuk 60
Karakorum 67, *196–9*, 197–9, *209*, 222, 338n.13–15
Karluk region 14
Karnak 60
Kashgar 26, 32, 93, 102, 103, 106, 107, 147, 228, 243, *244*, *245*, *246*, 248, 255
Kasimov 273
Kath 42, 43, 127
Kayalik 210, 212
Kazakhstan 20, *80*, 310, 346n.3
Kazan 272, *274–5*
Kepter Khana *185*
Kerbala 9
Kerch 76
Kerman 23, *84*, 87, 114, 123, 150–1
Kesh 14, *246*, 248, *278*, 279, 289; *see also* Shahr-e Sabz
  and Ak Sarai Palace *246*, *278*, 289, 301, 347n.32
  and Kök Gumbaz *216*
Khanbaliq 214; *see also* Zhongdu
Khar Bukhyn Balgas *147*
Khara-Khoto *155–7*, *158–9*, *161*
Khedun 144, 334n.30
Kherlen River 173, 175, 191, 197
Khiva *36*, 310
Khodja Mashhad complex (Tajikistan) *27*, 30
Khongoryn Els sand dunes *170*
Khorasan 4, 5, 11, 12
  and Barmakids 17
  and Ghazanvids 110
  and Ghurids 126
  and Mongols 189
  and Oghuz 65
  and Saffarids 24, 25
  and Samanids 26, 32
  and Seljuks 81, 82, 84, 88, 100, 102
  and Tahirids 20, 22, 23
Khoruba Koshuk *30*
Khosrowgerd *279; see also* Sabzavar
Khotan 103
Khujand 101, 107, 184, 241
Kiev 29, *56*, 57, 58, 62, 201, 269, 272
  and defence 63
  and Kipchaks 72
Kocho 101, 107, 142, 144, 197, 222, 230, 243, 245
Kohistan 84, 95
Kokand 310
Kongur Shan *241*
Koni Ghil *37*
Korea 142, 200, 213
Krak des Chevaliers *219*
Kufa (Iraq) 9, 15
Kuhistan 95, 96
Kunduz 242, 278
Kutaisi (Georgia) *73*, *74*, *75*
Kyrgyzstan 246, 310, 346n.3

L

Laghman 109
Lahore 116, 123, *308–9*
Laiazzo 233, 251, 253, 263
Lammasar 95–6, 330n.92
Lashkari Bazar 117, *118*, 119
Levédia 57, 58
Lechfeld 58
Liaoyang 141
Lithuania 202, 268, 269, 272
Liupan Mountains 155
Loharkot 111
Lop Nor desert 158
Luristan 95

M

Magok-i Attari *23*
Maimundiz 95, 96, 217
Makran 66
Malay Peninsula 29
Mangyshlak Peninsula *68–9*, *70*, 129
Mansurkuh *212*
Maragheh 35, 48, 65, 218, *234, 256*
Mashhad (Iran) *7*, 9, *10–11*, 301, 302
Masjid-e Jami’e *85*
Mathura 111
Mawarannahr (Transoxania) 4, 5, 12, *64*
  and Karakhanids 102, 105
  and Oghuz 59
  and Qara Khitai 145, 146, 148
  and Samanids 25, 26
  and Seljuks 81, 84
  and Tahirids 20, 22
  and Timurids 300
Mazar-e-Sharif *12–13*, 301, 303
Mecca 5, 6
Medina 9
Merke 26
Merv 9, 20, 83, *92*, 93, *185*
  and Ghurids 123
  and Mongols 189
  and Seljuks 83, 84, 99, 102
Mesopotamia 1, 11, 87
Minyak 142, 151–2, 154–7
Miaoying Temple *232*
Moscow 269–70
Moghulistan 248, 249, 279, 342n.135
Mongolia 57, 136, *147*, 220, 222, 231, 310
  and Liao dynasty 139–40
  and Qara Khitai 148–50
  and tribes 169–74
Mosul 65, 89
Multan 111, 114, 123, 190, 280, *281*, *284*
Murk’meli *76*

N

Nalanda 126
Nandana Fort 44, *45*
Narikala *133*, *134*
Naubahar 15, 16, 323n.56
Nicaea 75, 90
Nishapur 20, 23, 24, 25
  and Ghurids 123
  and Mongols 189
  and Samanids 27
  and Seljuks 82–3, 87, 102
North Africa 9
Novgorod Veliky 201
Nudjan 61
Nur Valley 64, 81

O

Olon Süme-in Tor *172*, 173
Oman 87
Ordos Loop 151
Ordu Baliq (Karabalgasun) 139
Otrar 60, 69, *72*, 108, 109, 133, 134–5, 136, 182, 184–5, 188, 240, 264, 265, 270, 285
Oxus River 32, 110, *130*

P

Palestine 71, 91, 219
Panjdeh 296
Pannonia 56, 58
Persia 220, 310
Peshawar 123
Pingcheng 141
Poland 201, 202
Pontic steppe 56, 57, 58, 62, 72
Preslav 58
Punjab 116, 119, 310
Pushang 23

Q

Qala-i Bust *118, 122; see also* Bust
Qarshi 245
Qazvin *100*
Qinghai Province 151

R

Radkan *251*
Ramla 90
al-Raqqah 16
Rayy 20, 24, 65, 293
  and Ghaznavids 111, 115
  and Samanids 27, 29
  and Seljuks 87, 100
Resafa 15
Riazan 201
Ribat-e Sharif *91*, 93
Rudbar 95, 96, 100
Russia 29, 186, 200, 201, 310
  and Golden Horde 262–3

S

Sabzavar *279*, 280
St Sophia Cathedral (Kiev) *56*
Sakya *204*, 205
Samara 271
Samarkand 5, 14
  and Bibi-Khanym Friday mosque 289, *290,* 301, *304*
  and Gur Emir *288, 289*
  and Karakhanids 105, 106
  and Mongols 188, 217
  and Registan Square 295, *298–9*
  and Samanids 25, 26, 29
  and Seljuks 81, 91, 100
  and Shah-i Zinda 293, 301
  and Timur-e Lang 278–9, 285, 289
  and Timurids 279, 289–90, *291*, 292, 295, 297, *298–9*, 300, 301–2
Saqsin 76
Sarai, New 262
Sarai, Old 202, 208, 262
Sarakhs 83, 123
Sarkel 57, 62
Sauran 60, 270, *272–3*
Sea of Azov 29, 76
Semirechie 57, 101, 102, 147–8
Seyhun River 50, 57, 58, 60, 61, 66, 67, 80; *see also* Syr Darya
Shah-i Zinda, *293,* 301
Shahr-e Belqis *98–9*
Shahr-e Sabz *246*, 248, *278*, *297*
Shahr-e Zohak *188*
Shahriyar Ark *185*
Shakpak Ata Mosque *70*
Shalu *235*

Shangdu (Xanadu) 214, 227, 228
Shangjing 139, 141
Shanxi 178
Shazhou (Dunhuang) 142
Shiraz 20
Siberia 57, 66
Sibir 273
Signak 60, 69
Silesia 201
Silver Mountain Pagoda Forest *146*
Sistan 11, 20, 22, *109*
  and Saffarids 24, 25
  and Samanids 26
  and Seljuks 84
  and Timur-e Lang 280
Sivas 281
Sixteen Provinces 141–2, 144
Sogdiana 4–5
Soldaia (Sudak) 76, 188, 210, 227, 233, *266–7*, 270
Solkhat *268*, *270*
Soltaniyeh *84*, 93, 257, *258*, *260*
Somnath 111, 114
Soviet Union 310
Spain 51–2
Syr Darya 14, 69; *see also* Seyhun
Syria 2, 9
  and Mamluks 253–4, 258
  and Mongols 218, 220
  and Seljuks 89, 90
  and Tahirids 20
  and Timur-e Lang 281
Syrian Desert 34

T

Tabaristan 15, 22–3, 24, 26, 27
Tabriz 65, 89, 168, 219, 233, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 259, 263–4, 271, 290, 293, 297, 305
Taiyuan 141, 142
Tajikistan *27*, 310, 346n.3
Takht-e Sulayman *247*, 252, 259
Taralingin Durbejin *240*
Taraz 26, 102, 103
Tashkent 20, 22, 310; *see also* Čač
Tbilisi 73, 74, *133*, *134*, 136, 188, 284
Tejen Valley *65*
Terek River 76, 252, 271
Termez 14, 91, 100, 184, 188
Thanah *262*
Thanesar 111
Tibet 5, 17, 126, 158, 310
  and Buddhism 157, 235
  and Mongols 205–6
Tokharistan 26
Toledo 51, 52
Transoxiana *see* Mawarannahr
Tripoli 67, 91, 220
Turkestan 69, *89*, 131, 134, 194, 213, 218, 220, 239, *302*, 310
Turkmenistan 4, 59, 310, 346n.3

U

Uch Sharif 41, 123 *284–5*
Uglugchyn Kherem 191, *192*, 337n.160
Ukraine 269
Ulaan Baatar *179*
Upper Svaneti *76*
Urals 29, 69
Urmia 65
Ushguli *76*, *285–7*
Ustrushana 26
Ustyurt Plateau *68*
Uyghuristan 194, 239, 243, 245
Uzbekistan 4, 310, 346n.3
Uzgend 32, 91, *108*

V

Vabkent 104, *106*, 147
Venice 76, 227, 264–5, 267
Volohai 152, 154

W

Wakhan 228
Western Europe 2, 51–2
Wiener Neustadt 202

X

Xanadu *see* Shangdu
Xi Xia *150*, 178
Xijing 178–9
Xinjiang 310

Y

Yangikent (Jankent) 60–1, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 327n.39
Yazd *259*
Yellow River 158, 232
Yin Shan Ta Lin *146*
Yinchuan *150*
Yunjusi 143, *145*, 334n.26
Yuntai *237–8*
Yuyong Pass *237–8*

Z

Zabulistan 24, 109
Zarang *109*
Zaytun (Quanzhou) 230
Zhenjiang 226
Zhongdu (Beijing) 133–4, 179, 214, 231–2, 232, 341n.59
Zhongjing 141–2

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME FOUR

THE HISTORY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

The Age of Decline and Revival

CHRISTOPH BAUMER

I.B.TAURIS
LONDON · NEW YORK

Published in 2018 by
I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd
London • New York
www.ibtauris.com

Copyright © 2018 Christoph Baumer

Translated by Christopher W. Reid, Academic Translation and Proofreading, Hamburg, Germany.
Photographs © Christoph Baumer 2018
The right of Christoph Baumer to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted by the author in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book, or any part thereof, may not be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

References to websites were correct at the time of writing.

ISBN: 978-1-7883-1351-3 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)
HB: 978-1-7883-1049-9
ePDF: 978-1-8386-0868-2 (*The History of Central Asia*, 4-volume set)

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library
A full CIP record is available from the Library of Congress

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: available

Designed by Christopher Bromley
Project managed by Carolann Young, ITS

Image editing and processing by Sturm AG, 4132 Muttenz, Switzerland

Contents

Introduction 1

I. Descendants of the Genghis Khanids 3

1. The Uzbek Khanate 5
    1.1 The Dynasty of the Abu'l-Khayrids 5
    1.2 The Dynasty of the Togha-Timurids (Astarkhanids) 19
2. The Khanate of Chorasmia under the Arabshahids and Russia's First Advance 23
3. The Khanate of Moghulistan and the Naqshbandi Khwajas 25
4. The Descendants of the Golden Horde 29
    4.1 The Khanate of Kazan and the Small Khanates of Kursk and Kasimov 29
    4.2 The Great Horde, the Astrakhan Khanate, the Nogai Horde and the Khanate of Sibir 36
    4.3 The Khanate of the Crimean Tatars 41

II. The Descendants of the Timurids: the Dynasty of the Mughal in India and Afghanistan 45

1. The Build-up of the Empire: from Babur to Akbar 47
2. Stagnation and Decline: from Jahangir to Bahadur Shah II 52

III. A Reorganisation of Geography: North Central Asia Becomes a Periphery 61

1. The Legacy of the Yuan: the Western Mongolian Oirats and the Genghis Khanid Eastern Mongols 63
2. Altan Khan and the Revival of Buddhism: an Alliance between Mongol Rulers and Tibetan-Buddhist Hierarchs 70
3. Russia Advances to the East 76
    Excursus: *The Treaty of Nerchinsk: the Jesuits Jean-François Gerbillon and Thomas Pereira as Intermediaries between China and Russia* 81

4. The Dzungars: The Last Powerful Steppe Empire of Central Asia 83
5. The Kazakh Hordes 91
6. Migration and Exodus of the Kalmyks 96

IV. Afghanistan until 1837 and the Khanates of Central Asia until the Russian Conquest 101
1. The Emergence of Afghanistan as a Tribal Alliance 102
2. The Khanate of Chorasmia under the Qungrat and the Prelude to the Anglo-Russian Rivalry 111
3. The Emirate of Bukhara and the Manghit Dynasty 115
4. The Khanate of Kokand and the Dynasty of the Ming 119

V. The 'Great Game': Central Asia as a Pivot of Russian and British Expansion Policy 123
1. The Setting of the 'Great Game' from Constantinople to Kabul 125
2. A Two-pronged Russian Attack on Afghanistan and the Siege of Herat 126
3. Dost Muhammad and the First Anglo-Afghan War: British Victory Transformed into Defeat 131
4. The March to the Oxus: the Russian Conquest of the Uzbek Khanates 138
5. Yaqub Beg's Emirate of Turkestan in Xinjiang 144
6. Sher Ali and the Second Anglo-Afghan War 148
7. Abdur Rahman, the Crisis of Panjdeh and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1895 154
8. Kashgaria, Tibet, the Russo-Japanese War and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 166

VI. The Drive for Sovereignty – Central Asia between the World Wars 173
1. Bukhara's and Khiva's Short-lived Independence 174
  Excursus: *British Troops in East Persia, the Caucasus and Transcaspia and a German Expedition to Afghanistan – a Revival of the Great Game* 180
2. Soviet Centralism in Central Asia 188
3. Afghanistan's Sovereignty, 1919–78 193
4. Mongolia as a Pawn of Major Regional Powers 201
5. Xinjiang's Autonomy and the Era of Warlords, 1912–44 207

VII. A Multilateral Great Game in Afghanistan, 1978–92 213
1. External Actors and Divergent Objectives 214
2. Afghanistan's Communist Regime 217
3. The Guerrilla War of the Islamic Mujahideen 219
4. Afghanistan Loses the Peace: the So-called Afghan Civil War, 1989–92 224

VIII. Afghanistan Forces the Three Major Powers to Engage in a Joint Struggle against Islamic Extremism 229
1. The Power Struggle of the Mujahideen, 1992–96 230
2. The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan 235
3. The US in Afghanistan and the Fall of the Taliban 237
4. The Presidencies of Hamid Karzai and Ashraf Ghani 241
5. An Initial Assessment 247

IX. The New Independence of Central Asian States 251
1. Non-independent Republics and Regions of the Russian Federation 252
2. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region 254
3. Independent Mongolia 258
4. The Central Asian Republics 261
  4.1 Central Asia within the Russia-China-US Triangle 261
  4.2 Kazakhstan 267
  4.3 Kyrgyzstan 270
  4.4 Uzbekistan 276
  4.5 Tajikistan 281
  4.6 Turkmenistan 289

X. Outlook 293

Appendix
The Most Important Dynasties of Central Asia from the Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Century 301

Notes 311

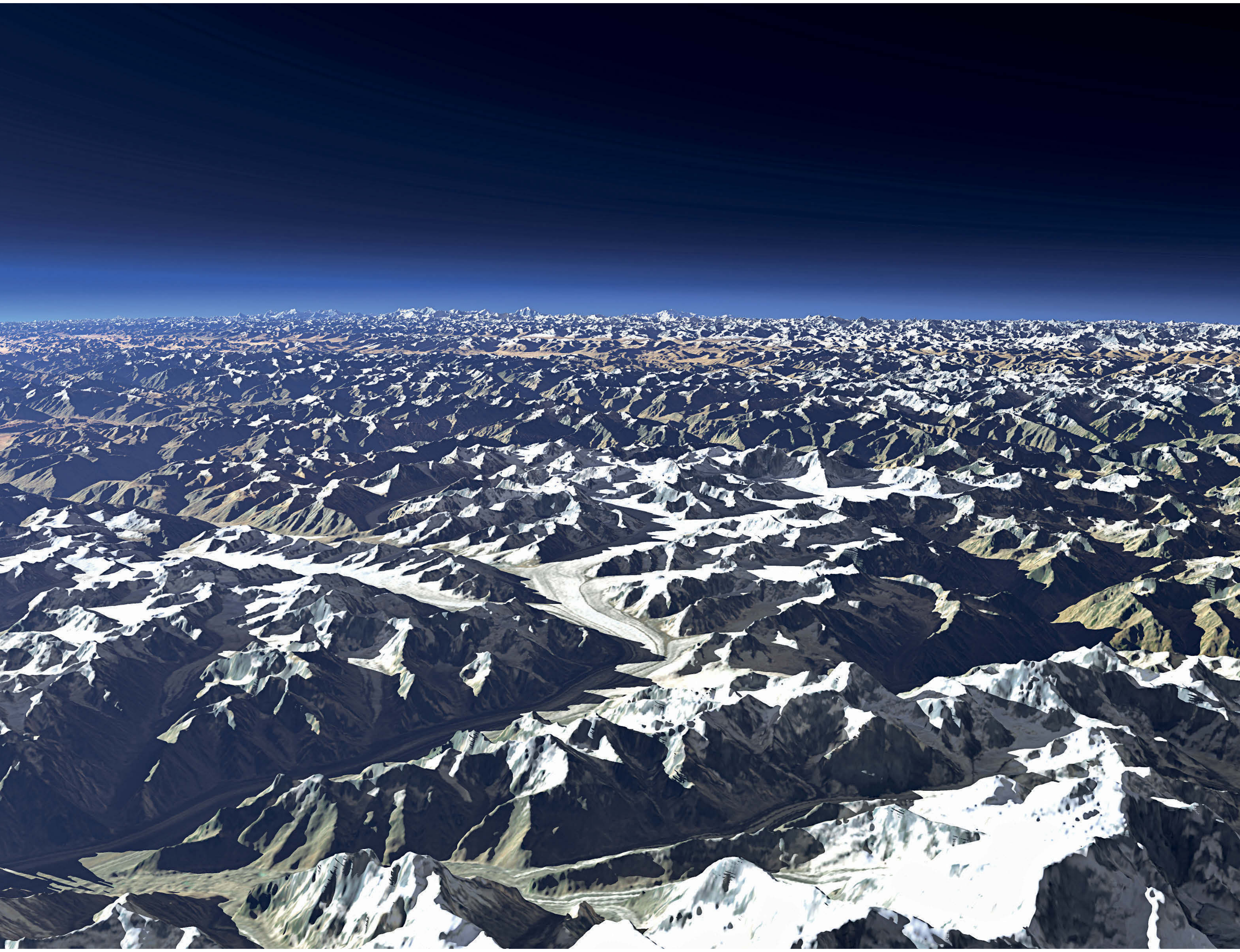
Bibliography 335

List of Maps 353

Photo Credits 354

Acknowledgements 355

Index
Concepts 357
People 363
Places 368



1. Aerial view of the 77-km-long Fedchenko Glacier, extending in a north–south direction in the Pamir Mountains, Tajikistan. It is named after the Russian researcher Alexei Fedchenko (1844–73). The Pamir Mountains were the scene of intense Anglo-Russian rivalry in the 1880s and 1890s.

Introduction

'It must never be forgotten that geography, despite popular views to the contrary, is not something fixed and unalterable, but, like history, is something which is essentially dynamic.'

CLIFFORD KINVIG in his review of Halford Mackinder's *The Scope and Methods of Geography and the Geographical Pivot of History*[1].

The history of Central Asia from the sixteenth to twenty-first century bears out Kinvig's underlying critique of Halford Mackinder, who posited that mastery of Eurasia's heartland, i.e. the control of Central Asia, was the key to world domination. Certainly, in view of the development of new weapons systems and means of transport, the advent of modern logistics, and the different interests of the neighbouring major powers, a static understanding of geography proved increasingly less useful to understanding Central Asia. Instead, a dynamic interpretation needed to take precedence. In terms of longitude and latitude, Central Asia, of course, remained the heartland of Eurasia. But as far as its political, economic and cultural importance is concerned, in the course of the fifteenth century the region lost the political centrality it had acquired from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Beginning in the sixteenth century, it found itself more and more on the periphery of world political and economic events. It was not until the British-Russian conflicts of interest in the nineteenth century that Central Asia became the focus once again of the Eurasian continent. The region then 'disappeared' behind the Iron Curtain in 1920 and degenerated into a kind of 'backyard' of the Soviet Union. Only in the last quarter of the twentieth century did the dynamism of Central Asia's geography gain momentum again. First, the world's two superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union, clashed via their surrogates on the southern edge of Central Asia, the Hindu Kush. And when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, also as a consequence of the failed war in Afghanistan (1979–89), the Central Asian states and Mongolia won back their sovereignty. In particular, the resource-rich countries Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan managed, at least to some degree, to regain control of their own history. But their room to manoeuvre continued to be constrained by the interests of the regional superpowers Russia and China as well as the logistical challenges that are still posed today by their landlocked geography.

As explained in the third volume of the present study, the Mongols overran large parts of the Eurasian realm with their tenacious horsemen at the beginning of the thirteenth century. They created their own empire that extended almost from the Yellow Sea to the Mediterranean and on to Moscow. The instruments of their former world domination included a bow-equipped and extremely mobile cavalry, an unprecedented degree of military planning and organisation, and innovative leadership. Two of the most significant limitations were climatic and geographic in nature: their sphere of influence stopped where their horses could no longer graze and where a humid climate made their glued reflex bows inoperable. At the turn from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, firearms began to challenge the previous superiority of the bow riders. The maritime trade between Europe and India also gradually replaced the traditional trade routes through Central Asia, depriving the local states of a substantial source of revenue. These factors, and the rapidly growing headstart of Europe in the field of the exact sciences and technologies, caused Central Asia to fall behind. This was exacerbated by the simultaneous emergence of two powerful, expanding nation-states along the borders of Central Asia: Russia under the Romanov dynasty and China under the Qing. Increasingly, they restricted the room of Central Asia's rulers to manoeuvre. Emblematic of the power-political decline of the proud descendants of Genghis Khan is China's destruction of the Dzungar nomadic empire in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The rivalry between the major maritime power Britain and the terrestrial superpower Russia that emerged after the Napoleonic Wars was played out – whether through direct warfare or skirmishes or proxy wars – in an area that extended from Constantinople in the west to the Amur River in the east. Russia's strategic goal was the acquisition of a warm-water port and the conquest of Constantinople; for Britain, it was to defend India and maintain its maritime supremacy. Immediately after the Crimean War (1853–56), Russia began to advance into Central Asia and, until 1873, to subdue the still independent Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva. As a consequence, the Russian Empire appeared to be a direct threat to British India. Although Central Asia was not a strategic priority for either Britain or Russia, the region was of great concern to the major powers for half a century, until the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907. It was almost paradoxical: in political and economic terms, the impoverished Central Asian region had long been a peripheral concern of the major European powers and yet, from a military standpoint, it was crucial for London and St Petersburg. The Anglo-Russian rivalry was put to an end due to the maritime superiority of Britain and Japan, who had been allies since 1902. At the time, Russia had yet to exploit the strength of a transcontinental railway.

After the fall of the tsarist regime in 1917 and the outbreak of the Russian Civil War, the Emirate of Bukhara and several provisional governments tried to regain their independence. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks re-conquered the breakaway regions of Central Asia as successors of the tsars. Apart from the brief interlude at the end of World War I, the period from 1865/73 to 1991 was a political nadir for Central Asia. For the Mongols, the low point had already begun in 1691. After all, there was no longer a single true sovereign state but only nominal republics without authority. Central Asia stood under Moscow's control from 1920/21 and, in the course of the 1920s and 1930s, was brought into line culturally with the *homo sovieticus*. Afghanistan, which had enjoyed sovereignty again since 1919, also seemed to fall victim to the Soviet empire with the communist coup in 1978. It appeared as though the Kremlin would soon realise the old dream of the tsars of securing a warm-water port on one of the world's oceans. Yet exactly the opposite happened: at the southern corner of Central Asia, a bloody guerrilla war flared up between the Soviet Union and its Afghan client government, on the one hand, and a heterogeneous grouping of Afghan, Pakistani and Arab mujahideen, on the other. The latter were coordinated by Pakistani intelligence and armed and funded by the US and Saudi Arabia. The Soviet Union lost the nine-year-long war and even broke apart itself two years later. From its ruins emerged, *inter alia*, the states of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Mongolia. Finally, there were sovereign states once again in Central Asia.

The nascent states succeeded in escaping from their previous peripheral regional status thanks to their coveted raw materials such as natural gas, oil, uranium, copper, gold and silver. The landlocked geography, coupled with a traffic and transport network aligned towards Moscow, forced the new republics to sell their raw materials on Moscow's terms. As a southern neighbour to Central Asia, Iran offered itself as an alternative to the Russian pipeline and rail network. However, the American blockade against Iran initially prevented such a solution. This logistical 'Gordian knot' was first severed by Turkmenistan with the construction of a small natural gas pipeline and a railway line to Iran; it was then followed by Kazakhstan with its oil and gas pipelines to China.

Despite this breakthrough, the Central Asian states today are at a major disadvantage compared to producers of raw materials that have access to the oceans. It remains to be seen if they can maintain their independence or whether, as raw material suppliers to China, they will become more and more economically dependent on their main customer and, by extension, its surrogates. How a resurgent Islam will evolve is equally uncertain. Its further development as a private concern or as the only political alternative to the authoritarian regimes will depend on both the region's economic progress and the domestic political climate. In any event, the Muslim countries of Central Asia do not belong to Putin's 'arc of instability'.[2]

I

Descendants of the Genghis Khanids

'The king of Boghar [Abdullah Khan of Bukhara] hath no great power or riches. (...) There is a yeerely great resort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile [travel] in great Caravans from the Countries thereabout adioyning, as India, Persia, Balke, Russia...and in times past from Cathay,...but these Marchants are so beggarly and poor, and bring so little quantitie of wares..., that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.'

ANTHONY JENKINSON agent of the English *Muscovy Company* and envoy of Tsar Ivan IV, winter 1558–59.[1]

In the period from about 1470 to 1560, the groundwork was laid throughout Eurasia for important developments that would influence the region's history well into the twentieth century. In Western Europe, expansive nation-states emerged however that were shaken by violent religious conflicts. In East Asia, apart from the earlier emperors of the Qing Dynasty, Kangxi and Qianlong, China was in the thrall of a Confucian-based hubris and, accordingly, isolated itself. South-west of Central Asia, two new major regional powers arose: the Persian Safavids and the Ottoman Turks. While the boundaries between Persia and the neighbouring Central Asian states remained disputed until the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire increasingly attracted the attention of the leading maritime power, Great Britain, and the largest empire by surface area, Russia, because of its strategically important geographical location. In the nineteenth century, this had a direct impact on Central Asia. It was the Portuguese navigators who strategically bypassed the empires of the Ottomans, Persians, and Central Asia during the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, clearing the way for European colonies with the establishment of port bases. In 1498, Vasco da Gama landed at the southern Indian port city of Calicut and, in 1515, Afonso de Albuquerque annexed the Persian Hormuz Island, which not only controlled access to the Persian Gulf, but was also a gateway to Central Asia. The growing superiority of European military technology in the form of muskets and especially cannons, along with the latter's industrial production, gave the colonial powers superior strength. At the same time, the Central Asian mounted armies lost their previous advantages over infantry divisions. Gradually, the Central Asian states lost their initiative and the ability to control their own history. It was not until the collapse of the Soviet Union that the new states of Central Asia regained their political independence.

The seizure of power in Iran by Ismail (r. 1501–24), the sheikh of the Shiite Order of Safaviyya, turned out to be probably the most momentous event of the period around 1500. In 1501, he founded the Persian dynasty of the Safavids (1501–1736), established an Iranian national state for the first time since the Sassanids (224–651), and elevated the Islamic faith of Twelver-Shia to the state religion. With the enforcement of Twelver-Shia within his realm, Ismail gave his newly formed kingdom of Iran and his dynasty of the Safavids an unmistakable national-religious identity. It contrasted sharply with that of his fiercest opponents, the Sunni Ottomans in the west and the Uzbeks in the east. Shah Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) completed the enforcement of Twelver-Shia in Iran and stressed the demarcation from the hated Sunni. Their ancestors had allegedly ignored the legitimate claim to power of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and usurped the leadership in the Islamic world.[2] The forced divide between Shiites and Sunnis after 1501 not only influenced relations between southern Central Asia and Iran for centuries, but it also rearranged the geography of the Islamic world, especially the Middle East. The opposition between Twelver and Sunna continues to shape politics in this region in the twenty-first century, as many of the local conflicts run along these confessional boundaries between Sunna and Shia.

In the fifteenth century, the once-mighty Golden Horde dissolved under the rule of the descendants of Jochi, the eldest son of Genghis Khan, into regional khanates. In the sixteenth century, they found themselves increasingly pressured by Moscow's princes. First, some Genghis Khanids managed to achieve a remarkable restoration, expelling the Timurids, the descendants of Timur-e Lang, from Mawarannahr, i.e. Transoxania. Because of the influx of mounted warriors with Turkish Kipchak roots from the Uzbek confederation, Timurid Transoxania became the country of Uzbekistan. The Uzbek steppe horsemen also brought their traditional power structures of land distribution in appanages and a gathering of leading nobleman and military leaders, the so-called *kuriltai*. Each leading male member of the ruling clan had a right to a share of the dominated territory. The *kuriltai* ruled over the territorial division in appanages and confirmed the succession of a khan. The last Timurid to govern in Transoxania, Babur, fled south and established the Mughal Empire (1526–1858) in the Indian subcontinent.[3]

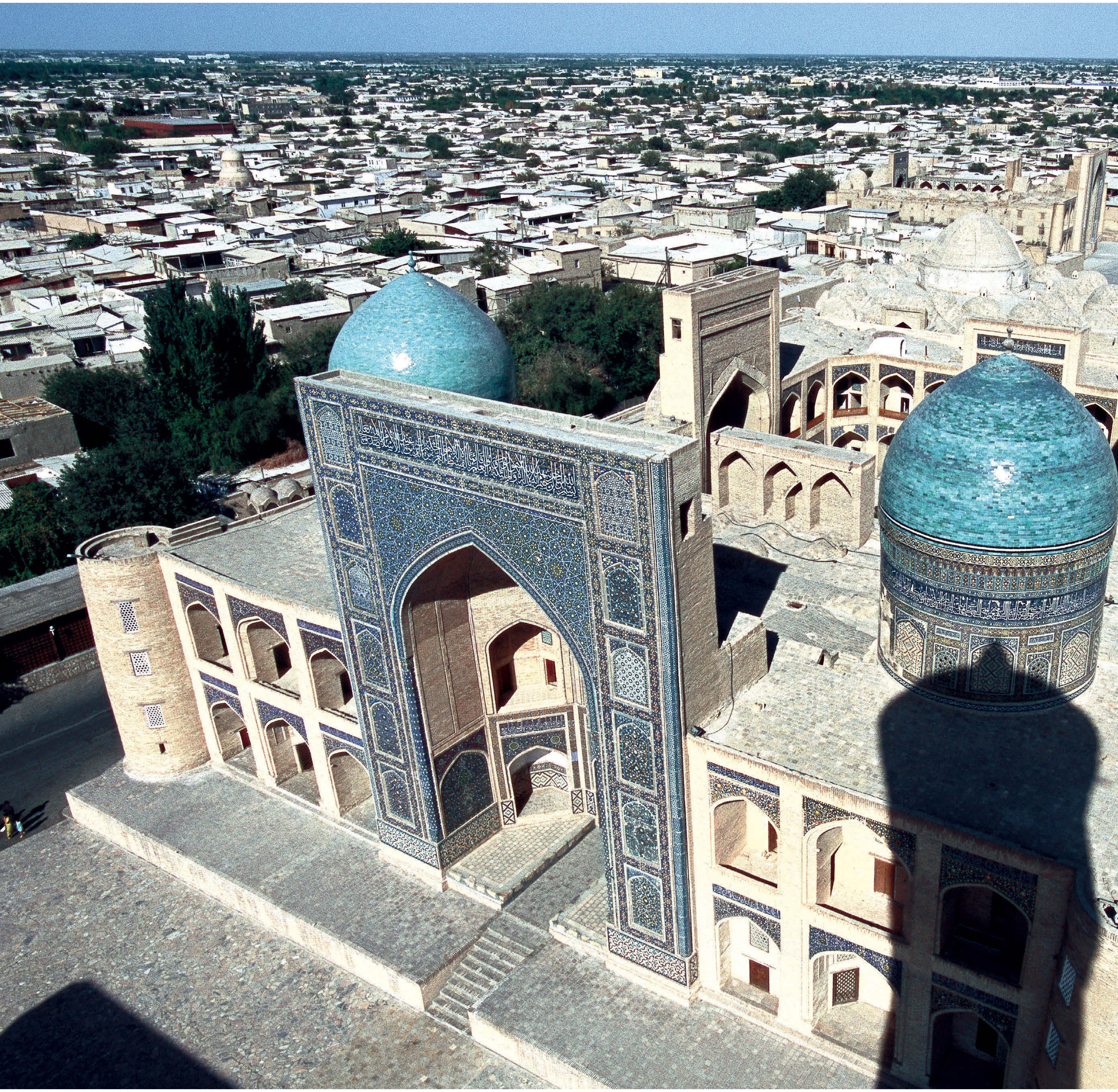
1. The Uzbek Khanate

1.1 The Dynasty of the Abu'l-Khayrids

In the literature, members of the Uzbek dynasty of the Abu'l-Khayrids are also imprecisely referred to as 'Shaybanids'. This is due to the fact that Shayban, the fifth son of Jochi, was not only the precursor of the Transoxian Abu'l-Khayrids (1500–98), but also of another dynasty, namely the Arabshahids, who ruled in Chorasmia from 1511 to 1804, and also of the Shaybanid Kuchum of Sibir (r. 1563–82, d. 1598). In the sixth generation of Shayban's heirs, the following bifurcation occurred: Arabshah bin Fulad founded the line of the Arabshahids, and Ibrahim Oghlan bin Fulad of the Abu'l-Khayrids, named after his grandson Abu'l Khayr.[4] In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the two lines of descent vied for supremacy over the steppe dwellers of the Dasht-i Kipchak steppes between the Central Asian Yaik (Ural) and Sary Su rivers, who referred to themselves as 'Uzbeks'. At the time, it was customary for tribes of the steppe to take the name of a famous leader, in this case Özbek Khan (r. 1313–41), who had once and for all Islamised the Golden Horde.[5] The designation 'Uzbeks' was initially political, not ethnic, in nature.

After the two rivals Jumaduq and Barak Oghlan were killed in action around 1428 fighting for the title of Uzbek Khan, the barely

2. The Abdullah Khan Mosque built by the Uzbek Abu'l-Khayrid ruler Abdullah Khan II (r. 1583–98) in Bukhara, Uzbekistan, in 1590. Photo: 2004.



3. The Mir-i Arab Madrasah in Bukhara, which was completed in 1535/36 and stands opposite the Kalyan Mosque. Image taken from the Kalyan minaret, 2004.

17-year-old **Abu'l Khayr Khan** (r. 1429–68/69) was elected as the new khan over the Ulus-e Uzbek by a *kuriltai* in the Siberian city of Chimgi-Tura (today's Tyumen). Following numerous campaigns, the young khan succeeded in bringing most of the *ulus* (dominions) of Shayban under his rule. In the years 1431 and 1435/36, he marched south and plundered Chorasmia, which belonged to the realm of the Timurid Shah Rukh. In 1446, the Uzbek khan penetrated the lower reaches of the Syr Darya River (Iaxartes River) to the south-east, where he conquered major trading centres and made Sighnaq his winter capital. At the same time, the focus of his steppe empire shifted to the south. When Ulugh Beg (r. 1447–49) fought near Herat for the legacy of his deceased father Shah Rukh, Abu'l Khayr took advantage of the absence of the Timurid army to attack the area around Samarkand and to raid Transoxania. In 1451, the Uzbek again had an opportunity to invade Transoxania and even to conquer the wealthy region when the Timurid Abu Said (r. 1451–69) asked him for help against his rival Abdallah ibn Ibrahim (r. 1450–51). Abu'l Khayr and Abu Said defeated Abdallah near Samarkand, but the Timurid duped the Uzbek by quickly occupying the heavily fortified city and closing its gates before him. As compensation, Abu Said presented Abu'l Khayr with precious gifts and a daughter of Ulugh Beg. Abu'l Khayr then withdrew.[6]

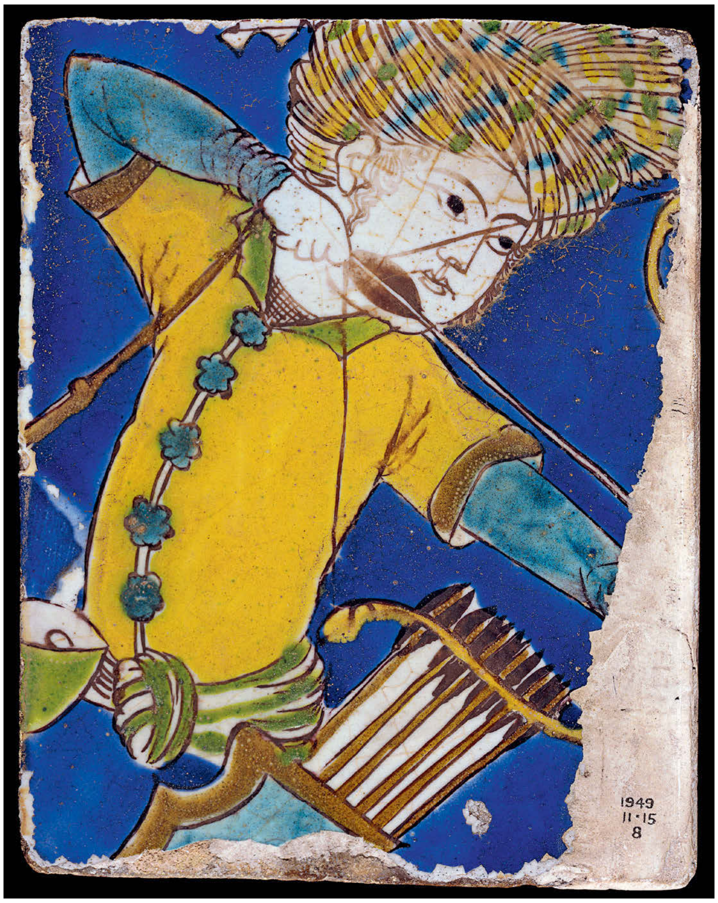
Around 1457, Abu'l Khayr suffered a first serious setback when Uz Temür Tayishi,[7] ruler of the Western Mongolian Kalmyks (Oirat), dealt him a devastating defeat south of Sighnaq. As a result of this reversal, the allied Manghits switched sides and henceforth supported his opponents, the Arabshahids. Soon after, from 1458 to 1461, Abu'l Khayr suffered a third, even more severe blow, when a part of his *ulus* seceded and adopted a hostile posture. The two leaders Giray and Jani Beg, whose lineage went back to Togha Timur, the thirteenth son of Jochi, took advantage of the khan's weakness and relocated with their followers south-eastward to the region located between Chuy Valley and Lake Balkhash, i.e. Moghulistan's western territory. These renegade Uzbeks called themselves Uzbek-Kazakhs, whereby the ethnonym *kazakh* basically means 'vagabond' or 'freebooter'.[8] As the near-contemporary leader and historian Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat (1499 or 1500–1551) stated: 'Since they [Giray Khan and Jani Beg] had first of all separated from the mass of their people, and for some time had been in an indigent and wandering state, they got the name of Kazak, which has clung to them.'[9] Abu'l Khayr died around 1468. His son and successor **Shaikh Haydar** (r. *ca.* 1469–?) failed to assert himself and, after 1469, fell in the fight against the Togha-Timurids Ibaq and Ahmad Khan of the Great Horde. The Uzbek *ulus* subsequently disintegrated into warring parties.[10]

Abu'l Khayr's grandson **Muhammad Shahi Beg**, called Shah Bakht, the future **Shaybani Khan** (b. 1451, r. 1500–10), tried in vain for about 20 years to revive his grandfather's realm. With his followers, he was only able to occupy a smaller area along the northern shore of central Syr Darya because the Uzbek-Kazakhs ruled over the central and eastern part of the Dasht-i Kipchak steppe. This pressure by Uzbek-Kazakhs coerced him to test his luck in an attack on Samarkand, where a power vacuum had prevailed since the death of the Timurid Mahmud (r. 1494–95).[11] In conquering Samarkand and Bukhara in 1500, Shaybani Khan allowed the empire of the Abu'l-Khayrids to resurrect itself in Transoxania. Although in the winter of 1500/01 he lost Samarkand for several months to the Timurid Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, he nevertheless reclaimed the city soon afterwards. Surrendering in rapid succession to Shaybani Khan were Fergana and Tashkent (1502), Kunduz, Gurganj (today's Konye-Urgench) and Khiva (1504–05), Balkh (1506), Herat and Kandahar (1507). The fall of Herat and Kandahar compelled Babur to retreat to Kabul, which he had conquered in 1504. Difficulties in the hinterland of Kandahar, however, forced Shaybani Khan to refrain from undertaking a further advance to Kabul.[12] Shortly afterwards, Shaybani Khan invaded Khorasan and, in 1508, captured the cities of Mashhad (where he destroyed the Shiite sanctuary around the grave of Imam Reza), Nishapur, and Sabzavar and Bastam.[13] The destruction of the major Shiite pilgrimage site in Mashhad stoked the animosity of Shah Ismail I, the founder of the Shiite Safavid dynasty, toward the Sunni Uzbeks. As Mirza Haidar Dughlat reports, in the same year Shaybani Khan had his former patron Mahmud Khan of Moghulistan (r. 1487–1508) and his five sons murdered, when Mahmud Khan asked him for his support.[14] As a result of all of these conquests, it appeared as though Shaybani Khan would be able to restore the Timurid Empire.

Although Khorasan soon went to Persia and the Khanate of Moghulistan dwindled away, Shaybani Khan not only laid the foundation for the formation of a national state of Uzbeks, corresponding more or less to today's Uzbekistan, but deepened the turkification of Transoxania that had begun with the Old Turks, the Oghuz, the Seljuks and the Karakhanids. Today's Uzbek language is a Turkic language and belongs to the group of south-eastern Turkic languages, which also includes the related Uyghur language. The Uzbek language originated from the Kipchak-Uzbek dialect and the Chagatai language, which was prevalent in the Chagatai Khanate and in the Timurid Empire. Shaybani Khan also set up a different kind of administration in his newly conquered empire. He tried to combine elements of traditional ruling mechanisms with those of a theocratic approach and contemporary urban management. This soon proved impractical, however. From the steppe tradition, he adopted the principle of dividing land into hereditary appanages and the aforementioned *kuriltai*. In this meeting of the royal princes, the khan was little more than a *primus inter pares*. Shaybani Khan thus chose Samarkand as his capital, but handed over major cities and the surrounding regions, such as Bukhara, Tashkent, Turkistan and Andijan as hereditary appanages to his next of kin or to deserving military leaders. This territorial structure fragmented the Uzbek state from the beginning and sowed the seeds for the internal feuds that took root in 1512 after Shaybani Khan's death.[15] Simultaneously, the khan tried to follow the example of Shah Ismail I by establishing a theocracy. He appointed himself at its head as the '*imam al-zaman wa khalif al-rahman'*, i.e. the 'Imam of the Age and Caliph of the Merciful', i.e. God.[16] Finally, Shaybani Khan strove to repair the neglected irrigation canals and to recover abandoned agricultural land, as well as to institute monetary reform that would curb the galloping inflation which had been triggered by the last wars.[17]

The triumphant military advance of Shaybani Khan was abruptly halted by the Kazakhs and Shah Ismail. Since the Kazakhs had taken advantage of Shaybani's absence from Transoxania to plunder the regions around Samarkand and Bukhara in 1508, the khan conducted a campaign against the Kazakhs in the beginning of 1509. After an initial Uzbek success, the Uzbek main army was caught off-guard towards the end of 1509 (or very early 1510) by the future ruler Qasim Khan and retreated with heavy losses. This caused Shaybani Khan to order the campaign to be abandoned, whereupon part of his army dissolved in Samarkand.[18] The khan spent the winter of 1509/10 in Herat, where another campaign, this time against the Hazaras in central Afghanistan, also ended unsuccessfully. Mirza Haidar reported: 'As it was winter, and the two armies in succession had fared thus badly [against the Kazakhs and the Hazaras], he gave his soldiers a general leave of absence to return . . .home. [. . .] At this juncture, news came that Shah Ismail was advancing on Khorasan.'[19] Shaybani's demobilisation of his army had proved disastrous.

Coinciding with Shaybani Khan's conquests, Ismail bin Haydar al-Safavi (r. 1501–24) – the sheikh of the militarily organised Shiite Sufi order *Safaviyya* – founded the Shiite dynasty of the Safavids (1501–1736). He did this after conquering the northern Iranian city of Tabriz of the Turkmen Aq Qoyunlu. The Safaviyya were descended from Sufi Sheikh Shafi al-Din Ishaq (1252–1334) from Ardabil. It is uncertain when the originally Sunni religious order accepted the teachings of the Twelver-Shia, which it adopted along with popular religious elements such as the belief in miracles and the veneration of saints. Sheikh Khwaja Ali (d. 1439) may have been the first Shiite order leader. In any event, Ismail's grandfather Sheikh Junaid (d. 1460) and father Sheikh Haydar (d. 1488) tried to assert themselves militarily and to exploit the Shia faith as a means of extending their power. Both fell in combat, however. It was Sheikh Haydar who founded the Qizilbash ('red heads'), an elite Shiite troop of Turkmen origin named after the red turbans they wore. Within a decade, Ismail used his Qizilbash to bring to heel all of Iran and the current areas of Azerbaijan up to Derbent in present-day Russian Dagestan, parts of Mesopotamia, and eastern Anatolia.[20] As simultaneous leader of Safaviyya and ruler over Iran and Mesopotamia, Ismail singlehandedly tried to merge religious and political power in a theocratic form of government. He inflated the position of Muhammad's son-in-law Ali by calling him 'a manifestation of God'. He designated himself a descendant of Ali and Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, and representatives of the Twelve Imams.[21] As a kind of divine Imam-king, he enjoyed the reputation of being invincible.



4. ***Cuerda seca*** **tile made of stone paste, showing the figure of an archer. Safavid dynasty, early seventeenth century. British Museum, London, Object no: 1878.1230.732.a.**

In 1510, Ismail attacked Khorasan because Shaybani Khan's successful campaigns of 1507/08 against Herat, Nishapur, Sabzevar and Bastam endangered his eastern flank. Moreover, the desecration of the mausoleum of Imam Reza in Mashhad and Shaybani's appointment as caliph were two provocations that he could not possibly ignore. Ismail's attack caught Shaybani Khan, who had demobilised his army, completely by surprise. Shaybani Khan marched with a small army to Merv, where he defeated the Shiite vanguard. Instead of staying put in the mighty fortress of Merv to await further reinforcements, he fell into a trap set by Ismail, who made a feigned retreat. He followed the supposedly disorderly retreating Persians, until he ran into Shah Ismail's army lying in wait. Thanks to its superior firepower and greater numbers, Ismail's Qizilbash annihilated the Uzbek army in early December 1510. Shaybani Khan fell in battle. The Uzbeks fled and Shah Ismail occupied Merv, where he committed a massacre against the Uzbeks. As the contemporary historian Mir Ghyas ad-Din Muhammad Husayni, called Khwandamir (*ca.* 1475–1535), reported: 'The heads of the slain [of Merv] were piled into towers.'[22] The Shah also subsequently occupied Herat.

After Shaybani Khan's death in the Battle of Merv, a *kuriltai* chose **Söyünch (Suyunjuq) Muhammed Khoja** (r. 1511–12), the second oldest sultan (prince) of the dynasty as Khan *ad interim*, since the oldest Abu'l-Khayrid, sultan **Köchkünji Muhammed**, was leading a campaign against Qasim Khan's Kazakhs. Two other candidates for the khan's title, Shaybani's son Muhammed Timur Sultan (d. 1514) and Shaybani's nephew Ubayd Allah assumed commander responsibilities.[23] But when the Timurid Babur heard of the defeat and death of Shaybani Khan at the end of 1510, he immediately commenced the reconquest of his heritage and formed a coalition directed against the Uzbeks. He sent envoys to the Moghul prince Muhammed Mirza of Andijan. After a first victory, he told Shah Ismail he would convert to Twelver-Shia and enforce it in his future empire, if the Shah would provide him with troops. The contemporary historian Khwandamir recorded Babur's proposal as follows: 'If you send one of your great Amirs with a detachment of warriors to me, it is hoped that soon the rest of the kingdom of Transoxania will be taken, the Khutba and coinage will be in your royal name, and an end will be put to the Uzbek sultans.'[24] In the meantime, Ismail Shah marched from Herat to Balkh. Given Ismail's military superiority, the Uzbek commanders Timur Sultan and Ubayd Allah concluded a peace agreement with the Shah, without waiting for Khan Söyünch's consent. They ceded Balkh to Ismail and accepted the Oxus (Amu Darya) as a border with Iran. As a consequence, they relinquished all of Khorasan. Shah Ismail returned to Iran, but left troops to Babur as his future vassal.[25]

5. Courtyard of the Kalyan Mosque in Bukhara, Uzbekistan, completed in 1514. A mulberry tree stands in the middle of the courtyard. Photo: 2004.

Thanks to these reinforcements, Babur conquered Bukhara and occupied Samarkand, which did not show any resistance. He declared himself Ismail's vassal and propagated the Twelver-Shia: 'The khutba was read and coinage was issued with the names of the Twelve Imams and the shah's name and title.'[26] Further beneficiaries of the Uzbek defeat were the two sultans Ibars and Balbars from the line of Arabshahids. They conquered Chorasmia.

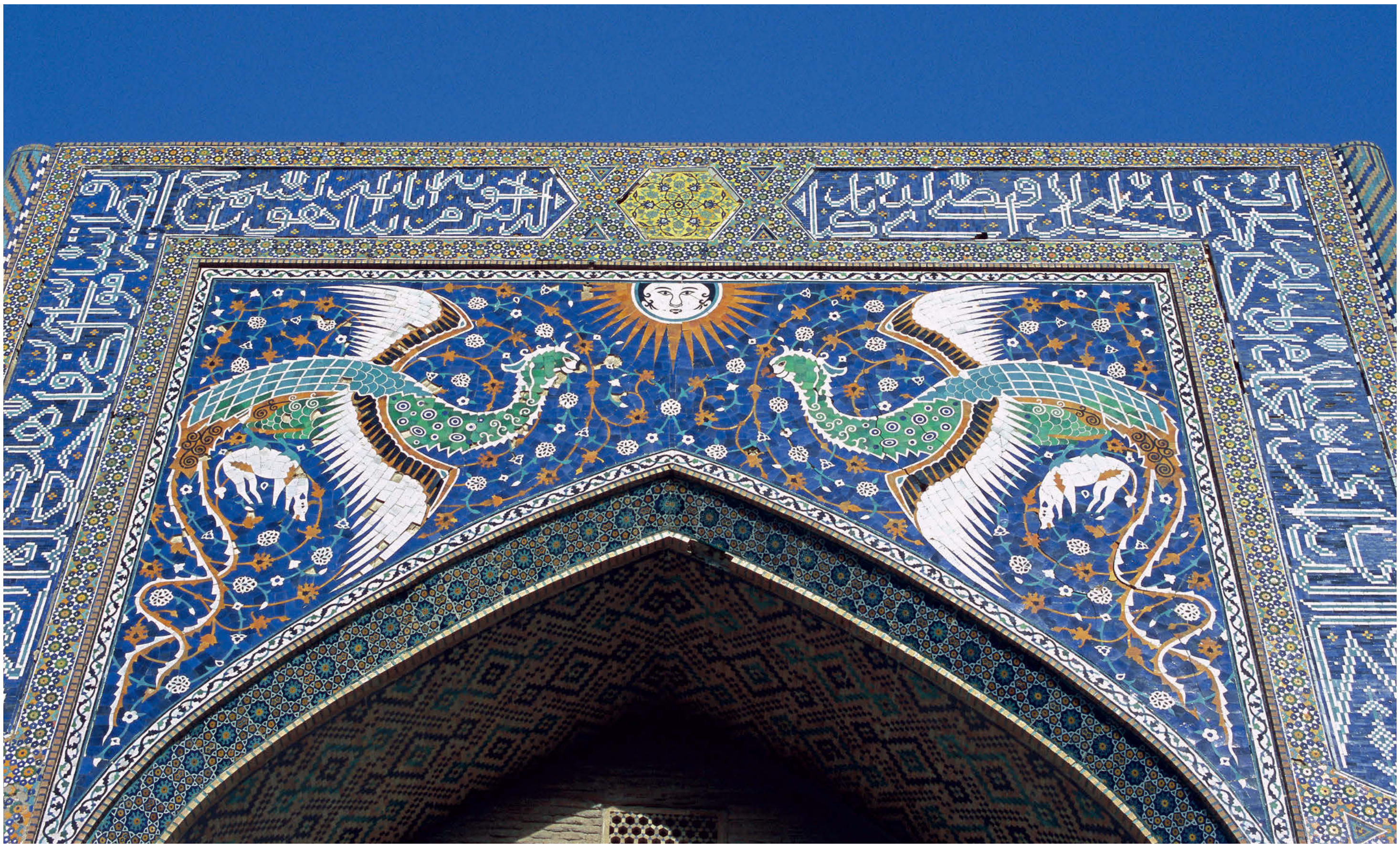
The fact that Babur promoted the Twelver-Shia alienated him from the people of Samarkand and Bukhara, who were beginning to prefer the rule of the Uzbeks over that of Babur. The Uzbeks took advantage of this change of mood to counter-attack, and in spring 1512 Ubayd Allah defeated Babur at Kul-i Malik near Bukhara. Babur consequently had to leave Samarkand for the third time in May, withdrawing to Hissar, 30 km west of the present-day capital of Tajikistan, Dushanbe.[27] In the autumn of 1512, a powerful Persian army advanced under General Yar Ahmad Khuzani, called Najm-i Thani, to Transoxania. There, in the city of Qarshi south-east of Samarkand, he carried out a bloodbath, despite

Babur's pleas for mercy. The situation for Babur was now hopeless. Najm's massacres in Qarshi and his avowal to completely destroy Samarkand after its conquest alienated the local population from Babur even further. Babur must also have feared being relegated to a mere tool of the Persians or simply cast away. Babur therefore took a wait-and-see approach in the Battle of Ghijduvan north-east of Bukhara on 12 November 1512. Ubayd Allah, however, destroyed the Persian army and beheaded the captured Najm.[28] Babur had to flee, first to Hissar, then to Kunduz, and subsequently returned to Kabul. However, he did not abandon hope of retaking Transoxania or Khorasan until 1514. Then, as the historian and vizier Abu'l Fazl ibn Mubarak (1551–1602) observed in ornate prose: 'He was led by divine inspiration to turn his mind to the conquest of Hindustan.'[29]

As for Shah Ismail, things took a turn for the worse after the defeat of Ghijduvan. In March 1514, the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20), a staunch Sunni, suggested to Ubayd Allah that they encircle and simultaneously attack the despised Shiites. Ubayd Allah welcomed the Ottoman initiative, but assessed his position in Transoxania as being too uncertain to attack. Despite this rejection, Selim attacked Persia and on 23 August 1514 decimated Shah Ismail's army near Chaldiran in north-eastern Anatolia. This outcome was due not least to his modern artillery and a strong infantry division with matchlock rifles, along with tactical mistakes by Ismail, who had now lost the aura of divine invincibility.[30] Ismail's defeat simultaneously averted the threat of another Safavid invasion in the khanate of the Uzbeks.

In 1512, a *kuriltai* appointed Uzbek prince **Köchkünji Muhammed ibn Abu'l Khayr Khan,** also called **Kuchum Khan** (r. 1512–*ca*. 1530), as the supreme khan of the Uzbek Empire and apportioned the four main regions to representatives of the four major lineages of Abu'l-Khayrids: Ubayd Allah received Bukhara; Samarkand went to Köchkünji and Muhammed Timur, who died in 1514; Janibeg received Miyankal, the valley of Zeravshan west of Samarkand, and after its conquest in 1526, the city of Balkh; finally, Söyünch eventually received Tashkent. Given this division of the empire's territory, the authority of the supreme khan was merely nominal. There was also no fixed capital. The 'capital' was identical to the seat of the supreme khan or the supreme commander.[31] Between 1510 and 1539, Ubayd Allah was the supreme commander and the most powerful man of the Uzbek Khanate. He succeeded in convincing the other sultans to adopt a common foreign policy. In this role, Ubayd Allah undertook five campaigns in Khorasan

6. The Kukeldash Madrasah in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, built in the 1570s, was one of the few historic buildings to survive the devastating earthquake of 1966. Photo: 2004.



7. Upper part of the pishtak (monumental portal) of the Divan Begi Madrasah in Bukhara, Uzbekistan, built around 1620–22. The restored entrance is adorned with a sun with a human face and two fantastical birds in flight. The latter represent phoenixes or the mythical Persian bird Simurgh, holding a boar in its claws. Photo: 2004.

between 1524 and 1538. Aside from the conquest of Balkh in 1526, they resulted in no lasting successes – probably due to lack of efficient artillery. The only decisive battle took place in 1528 near Jam, where Ubayd Allah was defeated by Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76).[32] The efforts of the two Sunni opponents of the Shiite Safavids – the Ottomans and Uzbeks – to coordinate their attacks also failed. Throughout the sixteenth century, the border was established between the Sunni khanate of the Uzbeks and Shiite Iran roughly along the middle reaches of the Oxus. The river therefore not only became a national and cultural border, but also a denominational border between Sunna and Shia.[33] This fundamental religious, linguistic and cultural boundary later shifted nearly 400 km to the south, since the Turkmen who had immigrated from the north had never been conquered by Persia and remained Sunnis.

Köchkünji Khan, who died *ca.* 1530, was succeeded by his eldest son **Abu Said Khan** (r. 1530–33), who was followed by the veteran commander **Ubayd Allah Khan** (r. 1533–39). Under his successors **Abdullah Sultan I** (r. 1539–40), **Abd al-Latif** (r. 1540–52), **Nawruz Ahmad**, called **Buraq Khan** (r. 1552–56), and **Pir Muhammad** (r. 1556–61), the khanate crumbled into five warring principalities.[34] As a consequence, the irrigation systems wasted away, agricultural land dwindled, and interregional trade atrophied. The English diplomat Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1611) – who was also an agent of the English Muscovy Company established in 1555 – travelled to the khanate in this chaotic, civil-war-like period. He was commissioned to conclude an Anglo-Russian trade agreement with Tsar Ivan IV and to explore a trade route from Moscow to Central Asia and China. Like the Portuguese, who had circumnavigated the major Islamic powers of the Ottomans and Safavids via the Cape of Good Hope, English merchants wanted to discover a maritime north-east passage to China which would follow the as-yet undiscovered north coast of Russia. Since in those days the Spanish and Portuguese fleets dominated the southern sea route around the Cape of Good Hope and in the Indian Ocean, the English traders needed to find an alternative route. In 1553 the Company of Merchant Adventurers to New Lands, founded in 1551 and from which would emerge four years later the Muscovy Company, dispatched two captains with three ships. Captain Willoughby and two ships were

8. Covered bazaar with central dome in Bukhara. Photo: 2004.

lost at sea in the northern circumnavigation of Norway and Sweden, but Captain Chancellor was able to penetrate into the White Sea and to land near the modern port of Arkhangelsk. He then met Tsar Ivan in Moscow, who promised him that English merchants could trade freely in Russia.[35] It is likely that Tsar Ivan was himself keen to open a trade route from Russia to China.

Unlike his predecessors Jenkinson didn't search for a sea route far north but for a land route. He left Moscow in the spring of 1558 and travelled on the Volga via Kazan to Astrakhan, and then crossed the Caspian Sea and landed at the Mangyshlak Peninsula. He struggled to cross the peninsula, which was inhabited by steppe horsemen of the Nogai Horde and infiltrated by bandits. He reached Bukhara on 23 December.[36] In his travelogue, he not only commented on the bad drinking water, which caused tapeworms, but also on the weakness of the ruler (presumably the later Abdullah Khan II) and his limited revenues. Jenkinson also noticed that although the Bukharians spoke Persian, they still conducted brutal wars against the Persians because of their Shiite confession and cursed them as 'infidels'.[37] As mentioned above, Jenkinson was disappointed by Bukhara's trading opportunities. In addition, having to barter as a result of a monetary crisis only made doing business more difficult. Finally, it was already obvious by the mid-sixteenth century that sea trade had seriously hurt traditional trade on land via camel caravan. As a consequence, the revenues of the affected countries declined: 'But gold, silver, precious stones and spices they [the Indians] bring none. I enquired and perceived that all such trade passeth to the Ocean Sea, and the veins where all such things are gotten are in the subjection of the Portingals [Portuguese].'[38] The armed conflicts between the Uzbek rulers and their inability to safeguard trade caravans against raids from nomadic tribesmen did further irreparable damage to interregional trade. Jenkinson witnessed how the newly discovered sea routes began to isolate Central Asia geopolitically. By ship it was possible to transport much larger loads than by caravan, and the sea route was not subject to the same countless tolls and high tariffs as the transit trade over land. Still a trading hub among the Mongols and Timurids, Central Asia gradually degenerated to a hinterland of the transcontinental trade. The decline of traditional transit trade also led to the isolation of Transoxania from the intellectual and technological developments of Europe. Over time, the region lost its technological link-up and closed itself off from threatening strangers by means of religious ideas such as the superiority of Islam.

Central Asia's slow decline accelerated in the eighteenth century, when one of its major inexhaustible resources, the horse, became less important among neighbouring sedentary empires as a result of the growing domination of firearms. Jenkinson left Bukhara on 8 March 1559 (18 March per Gregorian calendar) and, as the wars between Kazakhs and Tashkent as well as between the Western Mongols and Moghulistan (Kashgaria) made an onward journey to China impossible, he returned to Moscow.[39] Jenkinson was lucky, for ten days later the Sultan of Samarkand attacked Bukhara and seized the city.[40]

Abdullah Khan II (r. 1583–98) prevailed as the winner in the first twelve-year period of the 30-year civil war. The de facto ruler of Bukhara since 1557, he was strong enough in the winter of 1560/61 to depose his unpopular uncle Pir Muhammad and enthrone his pious father **Iskandar Khan** as the nominal supreme khan (r. 1561–83). However, the internal Uzbek clashes continued unabated, as the sultans of Tashkent and Samarkand refused to recognise Abdullah's supremacy. Only after 20 years of further wars did Abdullah Khan manage to again unite the appanages in 1582: Qarshi and Hissar in 1574; Samarkand in 1578; Khujand and Andijan in 1579; and Tashkent and Turkistan in 1582. The empire of Shaybani Khan was thus nearly restored.[41] Abdullah was appointed the new khan after the death of his father, Iskandar Khan. He affirmed Bukhara as the capital of a reunified khanate.

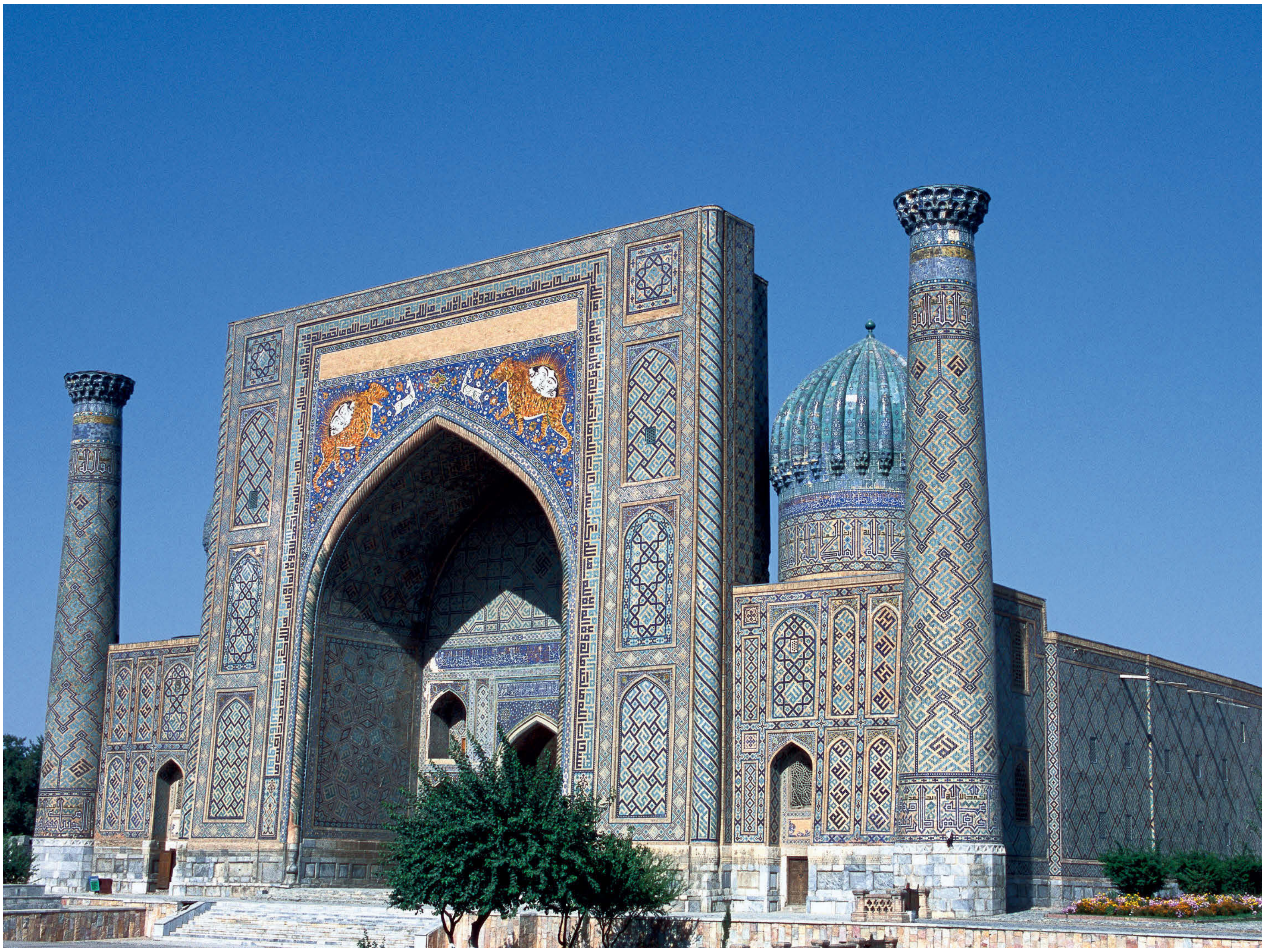
Domestically, Abdullah undertook measures to boost the ailing economy. He carried out a currency reform, had irrigation canals repaired, and built madrasahs, caravanserais and covered marketplaces in Bukhara. He also revived international trade, with the Indian subcontinent as well as with Russia, which had access to the Caspian Sea via Astrakhan. In foreign policy, Abdullah took advantage of the Safavids' temporary weakness in order to expand. He occupied Balkh in 1573 and Badakhshan in 1584, and conquered Herat in 1589 after a nine-month siege during which he perpetrated a massacre against the local garrison and population. He subsequently dispatched his hot-headed and infamously cruel son Abd al-Mumin to Mashhad. There, Abd al-Mumin seized and thoroughly plundered the city in 1589, including the library of the Imam Reza mausoleum. He also did not hesitate to desecrate the grave of the late Shah Tahmasp I.[42] Before the campaign, Abdullah ordered a leading jurist to give him a *ferman*. According to this binding decree, Khorasan, the land of the infidel Shiite, belonged to Dar al-harb, the 'House of War'. Conducting war against the

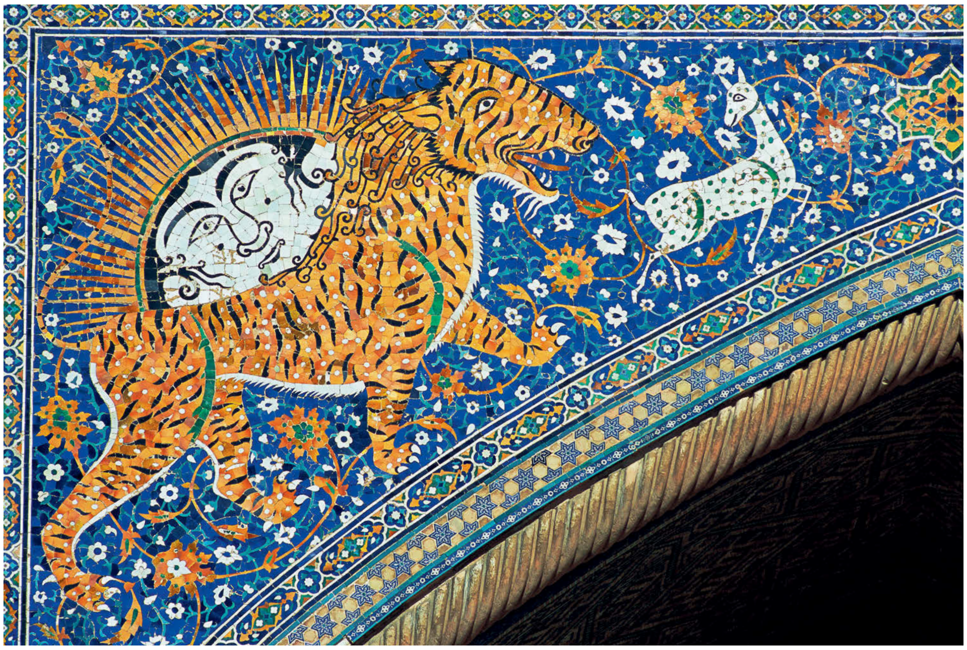
9. The Chor-Bakr complex west of Bukhara, Uzbekistan, built in 1560–63 and extensively restored from 1999 to 2001, consists of a mosque, a madrasah, and a khanaqah, a hostel for pilgrims and Sufis. Photo: 2004.

infidels was accordingly meritorious for Sunnis.[43] In 1593, Abdullah annexed Chorasmia and put down a revolt there in 1595/96. He had sent an army to Moghulistan in 1594/95, which penetrated into Kashgar and Yarkand. However, it achieved no lasting gains. After the conquest of Chorasmia in 1593, Abdullah commissioned three of his nephews with the conquest of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan. But the Mirzas of Kandahar employed a ruse, claiming that their city was under the protection of Akbar, the emperor of Mughal India (r. 1556–1605), who had annexed Kabul in 1585. Since Abdullah feared an alliance between Akbar and Shah Abbas I of Persia (r. 1588–1629) directed against him, he abandoned Kandahar, which was considered a gateway to India, and proposed to Akbar that the Hindu Kush be established as the boundary between their empires. After Akbar had occupied Kandahar in 1595, he consented to making the Hindu Kush the border.[44] In a letter to Abdullah Khan dated 15 June 1596, he wrote: 'What you have written with a pen perfumed with brotherhood on the subject of our mutually exerting ourselves to strengthen the foundations of Peace, and to purify the fountains of concord, and of making this Hindu Koh the boundary between us, has most fully commended itself to us.'[45]

Abdullah's final years were overshadowed by the conflict with his ambitious son Abd al-Mumin, who openly rebelled in 1597 and was preparing for war against his father. The Kazakh Tevekkel (Tauekel) Khan (r. 1582–98) recognised the opportunity to intervene and marched into the khanate with an army that had Russian firearms.[46] He conquered Tashkent and destroyed an Uzbek army in 1598 that obstructed his path. Abdullah then placed himself at the head of the remaining troops, but soon fell seriously ill and died. As Abu'l Fazl surmised, the khan was probably poisoned.[47] Soon thereafter, **Abd al-Mumin** (r. 1598) hurried from Balkh to Bukhara, had himself appointed as the new khan, and forced Tevekkel to retreat. He then launched a brutal purge of his uncles and cousins and liquidated several of his father's military leaders, all of whom he saw as possible rivals. During the subsequent war against the invading Safavid Abbas I, several Uzbek commanders murdered their khan in the summer of 1598. Since Abd-al Mumin had murdered the entire elite of the Abu'l-Khayrids, the dynasty collapsed and Shah Abbas reconquered Khorasan.

10. Registan Square in Samarkand, Uzbekistan. On the left, the Ulugh Beg Madrasah built from 1417–21; in the centre, the Tilla Kari Madrasah built from 1646–60; and on the right, the Shir Dor Madrasah built from about 1616–36. The latter two were built by the governor of Samarkand, Yalangtush Bagadur (d. 1665/66). Photo: 2008.





11a. The Shir Dor Madrasah, 'the one with the tiger', in Registan Square, Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

11b. Each of the two tympana of the Shir Dor Madrasah shows a tiger chasing a fallow deer; behind each tiger's back is a radiant sun with a human face. As reported by the Castilian envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, who visited Timur-e Lang in Samarkand in 1404, the motif was already familiar at that time. When visiting Timur's palace in Kesh (present-day Shahr-i Sabz), he observed that 'on the top of this [second] doorway there was the figure of a lion and a sun, which are the arms of the lord of Samarcand'.[1] Photo: 2004.

1.2 The Dynasty of the Togha-Timurids (Astarkhanids)

The dynasty of the Togha-Timurids, which followed that of the Abu'l-Khayrids, traced its descent back to the thirteenth son of Jochi, Togha Timur. This new dynasty was also called the Astarkhanids or Janids, after the name of its first ruling khan in Samarkand **Jani Muhammad** (r. 1599–1603), whose son Din Muhammad fell in the defence of Herat against Shah Abbas I in 1598. As with the previous dynasty, Jani Khan divided up the now smaller khanate among his nearest male relatives in appanages, which led to the partitioning of the khanate a few years later. When Jani's son and successor **Baqi Muhammad** (r. 1603–5) died, his oldest brother **Wali Muhammad** (r. 1605–11) claimed the title of khan and entrusted Samarkand and Balkh, respectively, to his nephews Imam Quli and Nazr Muhammad. But the two brothers revolted against their uncle Wali and divided the khanate between themselves: **Imam Quli Khan** (r. 1612–41/42) ruled in Samarkand and Bukhara, while the younger **Nazr Muhammad** (r. in Balkh 1612–41/42, 1645–51; as the supreme Khan 1641/42–45) ruled independently in Balkh.[48] For most of the seventeenth century, the Uzbek Khanate existed as the double khanate of Samarkand/ Bukhara and Balkh. The two brothers cultivated a relatively peaceful relationship, which brought the double khanate three decades of prosperity.

During the reign of Imam Quli there were contacts between Russia and the khanates of Bukhara and Chorasmia. In 1620, the Bukharian envoy Adam Biy arrived in Moscow and informed Tsar Mikhail Romanov (r. 1613–45) that two opponents of Russia, the Crimean Tatars and the Nogai, had sold a large number of Russian prisoners to Bukhara. He further indicated that Imam Quli would be willing to negotiate their release with an envoy of the tsar. The tsar dispatched Ivan Danilovich Khokhlov, who arrived in Samarkand and Bukhara in the summer of 1621, after he had been attacked in Khiva by Turkmen gangs and suffered ill-treatment. After difficult negotiations, Khokhlov returned with only 31 prisoners, whose freedom was purchased. Imam Quli had quickly realised that Russian prisoners and slaves constituted excellent leverage for extorting ransom from Russia. This business model – whereby Bukhara and Khiva bought Russians who had been kidnapped by the Nogai, Turkmens and Kazakhs in order to resell them to private individuals or to extort ransom from Russia – remained in place until the conquest of the khanate in the mid-nineteenth century. Chorasmian prince Awgan Mirza (d. 1648), who had accompanied Khokhlov to Moscow in 1622, was responsible for setting a second precedent. He offered to become the Tsar's vassal, with the understanding that the latter would intervene militarily on his behalf in Khiva.[49] It was the first time that a Central Asian prince had personally asked the tsar to intercede against the rulers of his homeland.

Due to blindness, Imam Quli abdicated in favour of his brother Nazr in 1641 or 1642. Nazr immediately instituted land reform, which aimed to put the large estates of the amirs and khojas (an honorific title for pious Muslims) under government control and to compensate the dispossessed through annual monetary gifts. The amirs and khojas, threatened with expropriation, resisted, however. Led by the powerful military commander and governor of Samarkand, Yalangtush Bagadur (d. 1665/66), who built the magnificent madrasahs Shir Dor and Tilla Kari at Samarkand's Registan Square (figs. 10–12), Nazr's eldest son **Abd al-Aziz** (r. 1645–81) forced his father to step down. Nazr returned to Balkh and abdicated in 1651. Henceforth, Abd-al-Aziz ruled in Bukhara and his brother **Subhan Quli** in Balkh (r. in Balkh 1651–81; as the supreme khan 1681–1702). The two brothers were fairly hostile towards each other. The khanate was consequently divided into two parts from 1651 to 1681, so that Yalangtush Bagadur governed in Samarkand from about 1641 to 1665/66 de facto independently. When Abd al-Aziz surrendered his throne to Subhan Quli in 1681, the khanate was again nominally united.[50]

The instability of the khanate that had been caused by the internal tensions of 1641–45 prompted neighbours to the west and south to attack. The Chorasmian Khans Abu'l Ghazi (r. 1643–63) and Anusha Muhammad (r. 1663–85) initiated four campaigns against Bukhara, and Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58), the Mughal Emperor, instructed his two sons Murad Baksh and Aurangzeb in 1646/47 to capture Balkh. Although the brothers commanded a strong army with superior firepower, they were helpless against the guerrilla resistance of the Uzbeks and Afghans and therefore retreated. This was not the last time that a strong invader in Afghanistan was forced to surrender to enemy guerrillas.[51] On the death of Subhan Quli there was a re-partitioning of the khanate, for his son **Ubayd Allah Khan II** ruled in Bukhara (r. 1702–11) and a grandson of Subhan Quli, **Muhammad Khan Muqim**, ruled in Balkh (r. 1702–07).[52] Ubayd Allah, however, failed in his attempts to curb the growing autonomy of the tribes by way of reform and was murdered in 1711. Under his successor **Abu'l Fayz Khan** (r. 1711–47), the khanate disintegrated completely into several chiefdoms: amirs of the Ming tribe reigned from 1709 or 1710 in Fergana and laid the foundation for the Khanate of Kokand. Further amirs of the Ming ruled in Urgut south of Samarkand and in Balkh and Maimana. The Keneges dominated in Shahr-i Sabz; the Yuz in Ura

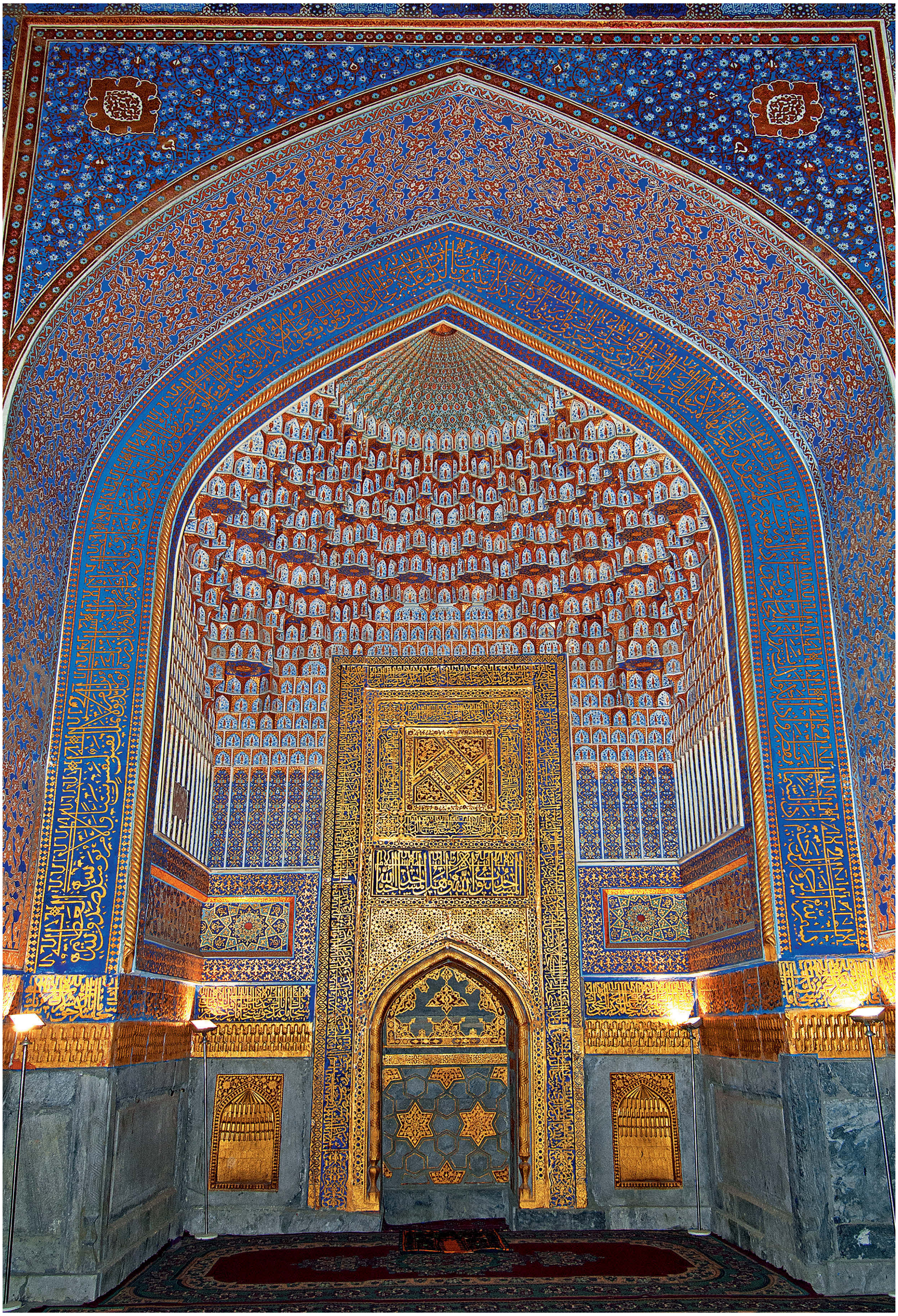
Tube and Hissar; the Qataghan in Kunduz; and in Bukhara the strongman from 1714 was Muhammad Hakim Bey, leader of the Manghit and 'ataliq' (chief adviser of the khan).[53]

From the 1720s, the political and economic crisis in Transoxania worsened. In the north, the Kazakhs came under military pressure from the expanding Western Mongolian Dzungars under Tsewang Rabtan, beginning in 1698. They suffered heavy defeats in 1709–11, 1718, and especially 1723–25. The Kazakhs were expelled from the basin of the Syr Darya River. They escaped to the south, where they devastated Mawarannahr and repeatedly besieged Bukhara, plundered villages, and inflicted serious damage on the agricultural infrastructure.[54] As Tsar Peter's envoy Florio Beneveni reported: 'Samarkand, the former capital of the celebrated Timur, is a large city, but now stands empty and ruined.' He further noted that only two quarters were inhabited in Bukhara.[55] The once flourishing region of Mawarannahr was in danger of suffering the same fate as the Chu Valley in today's Kyrgyzstan and regressing from a wealthy combined urban/agricultural economy to a poor grassland economy. Paradoxically, Transoxania was saved from precisely this fate by the two victories of its Kazakh enemy over the Dzungars around 1726 and 1730. The Kazakhs returned to their homeland, where, in the western half of their domain, they partly stood under Russian protection.[56]

In 1737, the Uzbek Khanate again became the focus of the resurgent Persians under Nader Shah Afshar (r. as regent from 1732; as shah 1736–47). Nader Shah belonged to the Turkmen tribe of the Afshars of Khorasan and, towards the end of 1736, after expelling the Afghan dynasty of the Persian Ghilzai Hotaki (1722–29) ruling in Isfahan,[57] he commenced a military campaign against Afghanistan, Punjab and the Mughal Empire. While Nader Shah besieged Kandahar for fourteen months in 1737/38 and pillaged Delhi in early 1739, his eldest son, Reza Quli, conquered Balkh, Kunduz and Badakhshan. Without the permission of his father he then crossed the Oxus and besieged the Uzbek Abu'l Fayz Khan in Qarshi. Nader Shah, however, feared that the Uzbeks might close ranks against Reza Quli, whom he began to distrust, and ordered his withdrawal.[58] In 1740, Nader Shah himself attacked the khanate, which offered no resistance. Abu'l Fayz Khan, Ataliq Muhammad Hakim Bey and his son Muhammad Rahim surrendered, avoiding the siege and occupation of Bukhara. Bukhara was forced to cede the territories to the south of the Oxus and Nader Shah confirmed Muhammad Hakim as ruler of Bukhara. Soon after Nader Shah defeated the ruler of Chorasmia, Ilbars Khan II, and had him executed.[59]

Nader's campaign from 1740 made the two khanates vassals of Persia. After Nader's retreat, Muhammad Hakim Bey (d. 1743) declared himself *amir-i kabir*, 'Great Amir'. His son and successor Muhammad Rahim (r. 1743–58) assumed this title and appointed himself khan in 1756, thereby founding the dynasty of Manghit Bukhara (1756–1920). In doing so, he broke with the five centuries of unwritten law in Central Asia, according to which only a Genghis Khanid, a descendant of Genghis Khan's paternal lineage, had the right to be the legitimate ruler and khan of a sovereign people. Muhammad Rahim had Abu'l Fayz executed in 1747, then his son **Abd al-Mumin** (r. 1747–48) a year later and **Ubayd Allah III** (r. 1748–56) in 1756.[60] After Muhammad Rahim's death in 1758, riots broke out. His uncle Danial Bey assumed power as 'ataliq' and placed **Abu'l Ghazi** (r. 1758–85) on the throne as a puppet khan. Danial Bey's son and successor Shah Murad took over as amir in 1785 .[61]

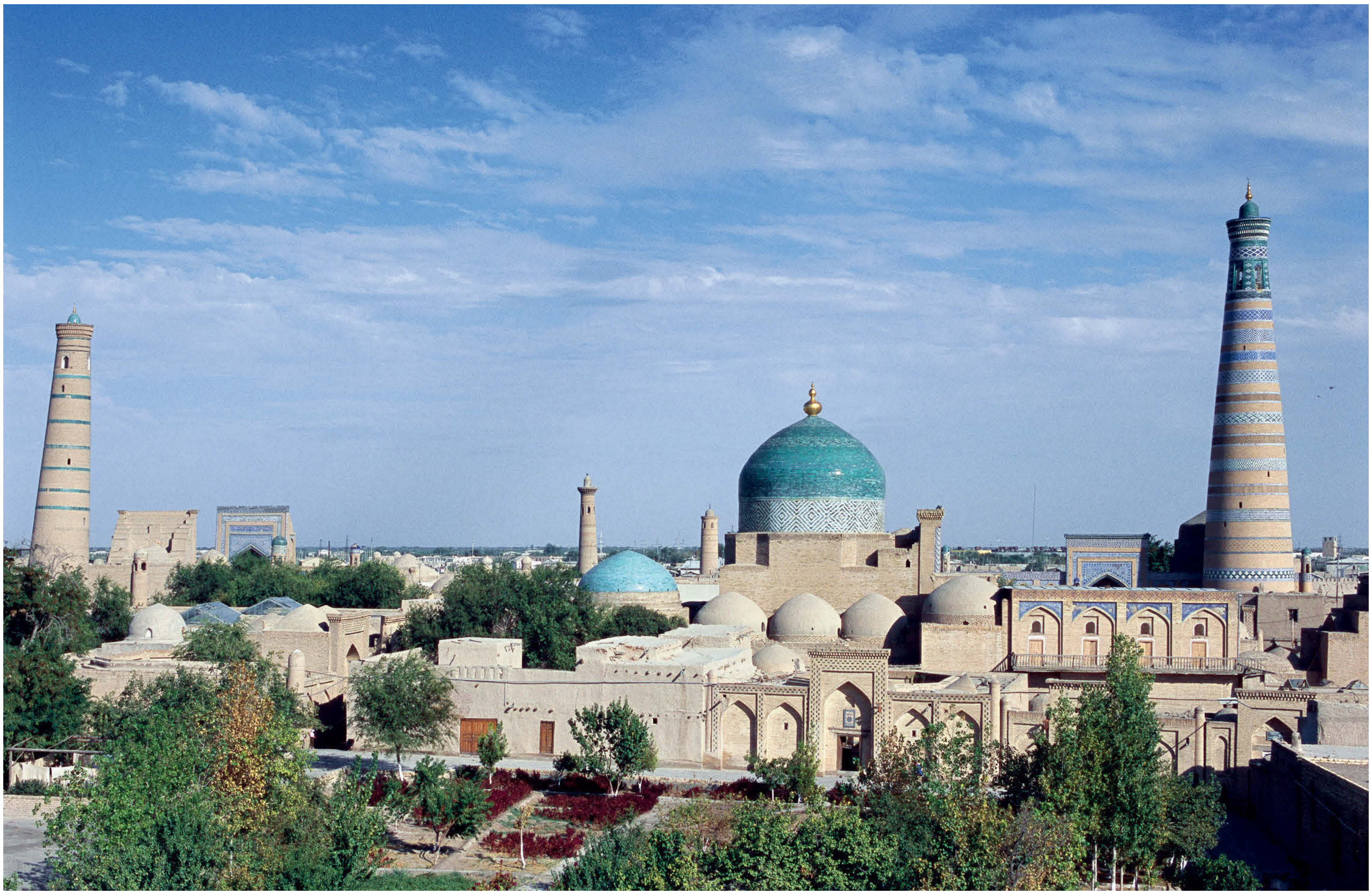
Although the Abu'l-Khayrids expelled the Timurids from Central Asia, in terms of the architecture of public buildings such as mosques and madrasahs, they were oriented towards the concepts of their Timurid predecessors. They thus erected magnificent monumental buildings with huge domes. To the extent that funds were available, the Togha-Timurids followed suit. However, the rulers of both dynasties decided against establishing their own magnificent standalone mausoleums, presumably because they sympathised with the orthodox Sunni aversion to excessive veneration of the dead. The mausoleums of the Sufi masters represent an exception. Both in Bukhara and Samarkand the rulers had their own splendid buildings constructed on the sites of former showpiece structures, which were either dilapidated or which they had torn down for this purpose. In Bukhara, the Friday Mosque, which had been started earlier by the Timurids, was completed in 1514 with the preserved Kalyan minaret from 1127 (fig. 5). Opposite the mosque, the Mir-i Arab Madrasah was finished in 1535/36 (fig. 3). To the east of the covered and domed bazaars built from 1562 to 1587 (fig. 8) is the Qul Baba Kukeldash Madrasah from 1568/69. To the south of this is the *Lab-i Hauz* complex, whose name means 'edge of the basin' and which was funded in the early 1620s by Imam Quli's vizier Nader Divan Begi. West of the basin is the Nader Divan Begi Khanaqah, a refuge for pilgrims and sufis which is combined with a mosque, and east of the water reservoir is the Divan Begi Madrasah (fig. 7). The latter was designed by the vizier as a caravanserai, but the khan allegedly converted it arbitrarily into a madrasah. In the area of Bukhara, two complexes were built around the tombs of Sufi masters. As with the Kukeldash Madrasah, the pilgrimage site Chor Bakr[62] (fig. 9) west of the city went back to Abdullah Khan II. He had had a mosque, a madrasah and a khanaqah built between 1560 and 1563. The complex, which served as a family tomb for Juybari sheikhs of the Naqshbandi Sufi



12. The prayer niche, called mihrab, indicating the direction of prayer to Mecca in the Friday Mosque of the Tilla Kari Madrasah, Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2008.

Order, was heavily restored from 1999 to 2001. A similar complex was built from 1544 to 1720 north-east of Bukhara around the mausoleum of Baha al-Din Naqshband Bukhari (1318–89), the founder of the Naqshbandi Order.[63] The pilgrimage site was further expanded in 1870 and 1993.[64]

In Samarkand, the Registan public square, whose Persian name means 'sandy place', stood out as the most magnificent medieval square in Central Asia (fig. 10). It was with good reason that the future viceroy of India, George Nathaniel Curzon, wrote in 1888: 'I have hazarded the statement that the Registan of Samarkand was originally, and is still even in ruin, the noblest public square in the world. I know nothing in the East approaching it in massive simplicity and grandeur; and nothing in Europe, save perhaps on a humbler scale – the Piazza di San Marco at Venice – which can even aspire to enter in competition . . . [There is] no open space in any Western city that is commanded on three of its four sides by Gothic cathedrals of the finest order.'[65] While the Ulugh Beg Madrasah soars upward in the west, the Khanaqah of Ulugh Beg opposite it was replaced by the Shir Dor Madrasah built around 1618 to 1636. Its name essentially means 'The one with the tiger'. In the tympanum of the entrance portal two Aral tigers chase after a female deer. Behind the doe's back shines a sun with a human face (figs. 11a–11b). In the north, finally, Yalangtush Bagadur had the 'gold-adorned' Tilla Kari Madrasah built between 1646 and 1660. The interior of the mosque incorporated into the madrasah is in fact mostly decorated with golden paint.[66] Although the three madrasahs were built in different eras, the Registan has an impressive and harmonious unity.



13. In the old town of Khiva: On the left, the 43-m-high minaret of the Friday Mosque; in the centre, the mausoleum of the furrier, wrestler and poet Pahlavan Mahmud (1247–1325). The current buildings were erected by Muhammad Rahim Khan I (r. 1806–25) and Khan Isfandiyar (r. 1910–18). On the right is the 57-m-high minaret of the Islam Khodja Madrasah, built in 1910. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Islam Khodja was a grand vizier, who pushed through a number of social reforms, including opening public secular schools, health clinics and a hospital. This aroused the anger of some mullahs and bazaar merchants, who had him assassinated in 1913; Khan Isfandiyar (r. 1910–18), who knew of the conspiracy, did not intervene. Photo: 2004.

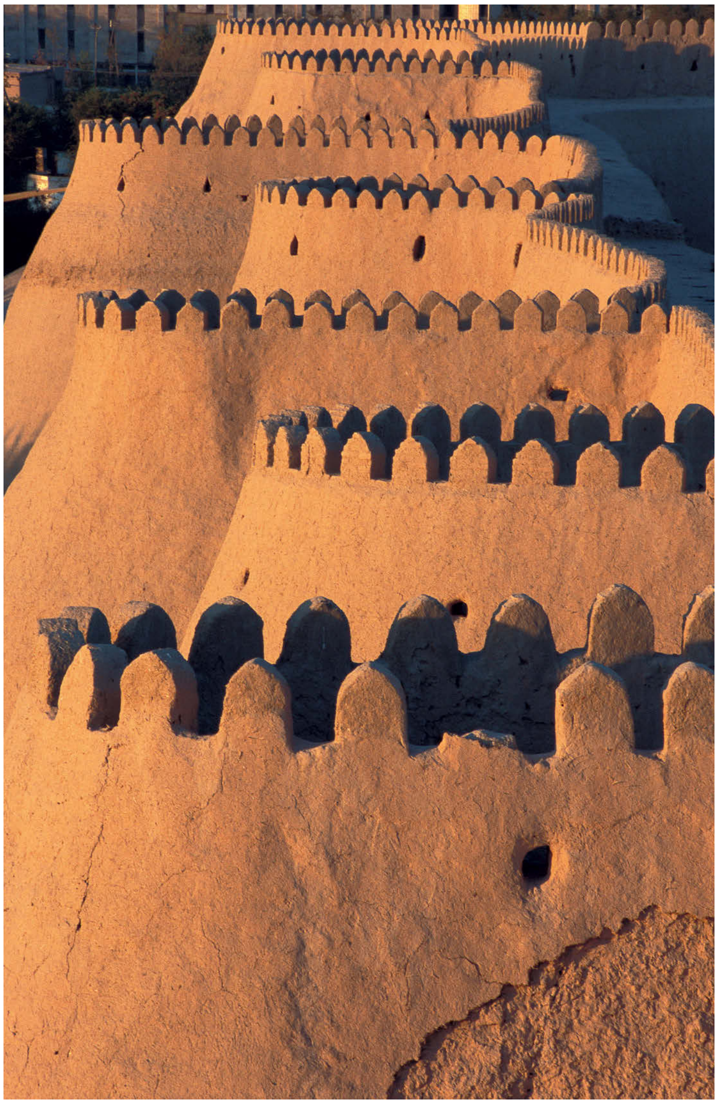
2. The Khanate of Chorasmia under the Arabshahids and Russia's First Advance

Although Abu'l-Khayrid Shaybani Khan had conquered Chorasmia in 1505, after his death in 1510 and a brief occupation by the Safavids, **Ilbars Khan I** (r. 1511–25) seized power and founded the dynasty of the Arabshahids (1511–1804), also called 'Yadigarids'. Their lineage likewise dated back to Jochi. After Ilbars' death, he was succeeded by his brother **Sultan Hajji** (r. 1525–?). Vezir, east of Sarygamysh Lake, initially served as the capital, and then Urgench (Gurganj) became the capital from about 1518. As Jenkinson observed in 1558, the drying up of the Daryaliq River, a major tributary of the south-western arm of the Oxus and a feeder of the Uzboy, threatened the very existence of Urgench.[67] As **Abu'l Ghazi Khan I** (r. 1643–63), who also acted as a historian, reported, the Uzboy began to dry up in 1575 and the area around Urgench gradually turned into a desert.[68] For this reason, **Arab Muhammad Khan** (r. 1602–23) moved the capital to Khiva, which is 50 km south-west of the current course of the Oxus.[69] The small khanate was even more exposed to pressures from rapacious and conquest-hungry neighbours than the Uzbek Khanate – specifically from the Kazakhs, the semi-nomadic, quarrelling Turkoman tribes, the Uzbek Transoxanians, the Safavids, and sometimes Russian Cossacks. The Uzbeks thus occupied Chorasmia in 1538, but were defeated a year later by Din Muhammad Sultan at the Battle of Hazarasp and driven back. Later, in 1593, the Uzbek Abdullah Khan II overran Chorasmia, which was only liberated by **Hajji Muhammad Khan I** (r. 1558–1602) after Abdullah's death in 1598.[70]

On the death of Arab Muhammad Khan a fratricidal war broke out, in which **Isfandiyar Khan** (r. 1623–43) prevailed against his brother Ilbars. Another brother of Isfandiyar, **Abu'l Ghazi Khan I,** then seized power himself (r. 1643–63). Abu'l Ghazi carried out destructive raids into the Uzbek Khanate. His son and successor **Anusha Muhammad Khan** (r. 1663–85) continued this policy and even briefly occupied Bukhara and Samarkand. After a new but unsuccessful and costly campaign against Bukhara in 1684, Anusha was deposed and blinded by his amirs. This was followed by a 30-year period of instability with eleven or thirteen khans, each of whom reigned only briefly and who were enthroned and deposed by the tribal chiefs. The last ruling Arabshahid was **Shir Ghazi Khan** (r. 1714 or 15–28), for he was usually succeeded by Kazakh Jochids who were mostly simply nominal khans.[71]

Shir Ghazi Khan was confronted by a Russian advance in 1717. In Chorasmia, as in Siberia, the Cossacks had already made inroads a century earlier. In 1603 Nechai Starenskoi, the ataman (leader) of the Yaik Cossacks, invaded the khanate after a forced ride on horseback and looted Gurganj, before Arab Muhammad Khan then surrounded and massacred the invaders.[72] Although Starenskoi's foray was motivated by the prospect of plunder, he fitted into the strategic concept of the Russian tsars. Indeed, following up on Jenkinson's report on the abandonment of direct trade links between China and Transoxania, Tsar Ivan's successor Boris Godunov (r. 1585–98 as regent, 1598–1605 as tsar) decided that Russia had to establish a land route to China itself. Therefore, he refused to allow British trade expeditions through Russia and entrusted this task, *inter alia*, to the Cossacks.[73] In the years 1605 and 1606, they set off from the city of Tomsk, founded in 1604, to discover a route to China in the grass steppes of Central Asia.[74] Until the nineteenth century, Russia's primary interest in its advance to Central and East Asia lay in its resources and direct trade routes to China and India – not in either religious proselytising, like the Spanish and Portuguese, or territorial gains. The latter aspect only became relevant from the 1820s onward in the context of the geopolitical confrontation between the leading maritime power, Britain, and the largest land power, Russia.

The strategic objectives of Tsar Peter I (r. 1682–1725) were the modernisation and reorientation of Russia to the West, and secure access to the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, which were controlled by Sweden and the Ottomans respectively. As a result of the ensuing Great Northern War (1700–21) and the war against the Ottomans, Tsar Peter not only needed new iron deposits for Russia's armouries, but also massive revenue, which he sought to generate in Siberia and Central Asia through the development of new resources like gold and iron, and direct trade contacts with India and China. From 1699, he commissioned Nikita Demidov to prospect new mines beyond the Urals. In 1715, he sent Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Buchholz with a small army from Tobolsk southward, through the territory of the powerful Dzungars (Oirat), to search for purported gold mines near Yarkand. Buchholz did not reach Yarkand, but was halted by the Dzungars in the Baraba steppe between the Ob and Irtysh rivers and forced to retreat. He subsequently established the city of Omsk in 1716. At the time, the Swedish officer J.G. Renat experienced a peculiar fate: captured by the victorious Russians in the Battle of Poltava in 1709 and sent to Siberia, he participated in Buchholz's expedition, only to then fall into the hands of the Dzungars in 1716. He was held captive until 1733. While among the Dzungars, he set up an artillery regiment, and taught them



14. The western city walls of Khiva, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

how to cast cannons, print books and draw maps. On his return, he brought with him a detailed map of Central Asia.[75]

Also in 1715, Tsar Peter heard that the Oxus had once flowed via the Uzboy into the Caspian Sea and that the Uzbeks had diverted the river into the Aral Sea by means of a dam. The tsar undertook the bold plan to feed the water back into the dried-up bed of the Uzboy, which would open up a water route across the Volga from Moscow to Astrakhan and then across the Caspian Sea to Khiva and onward to Balkh. This would result in a combined water and land route to the Indian Mughals. He sent Prince Alexander Bekovich-Cherkassky to Khiva with 4,000 men. His task was to first convince the khan of Khiva and then the khan of Bukhara to become Russian vassals; to explore the reaches of the Uzboy; and to send a trade caravan to India. After a gruelling march of 1,500 km in 65 days, the Russians arrived at the oasis of Khiva in the summer of 1717. Khan Shir Ghazi, however, had been forewarned about the Russian advance by the khan of the Kalmyks, Ayuka (r. 1669–1724), a supposed ally of Russia. He then lured Prince Bekovich into a trap. After a three-day battle in which Khiva cavalry suffered heavy losses, the khan made an appeal for peace and invited the prince to come into the city with a limited number of troops. Under the pretext that the soldiers could not be quartered in a single location, he asked Bekovich to divide up his protection force into smaller groups. Despite the vehement protest of his deputy Major Frankenberg, Bekovich agreed to the shrewd khan's request. No sooner had the Russians been divided into five small divisions than Bekovich was captured and the isolated soldiers were massacred.[76] Tsar Peter, however, was still preoccupied with the Great Northern War and decided to forgo a retaliation campaign. Russia concluded from the setback that without control of the vast Kazakh steppes, advances into the Central Asian khanates were pointless. To this end, the Cossacks and regular vanguard began to build a series of fortifications on the southern border – the so-called 'lines' that gradually shifted southward until they collided with the northern boundary of the khanate of Kokand.[77] Nevertheless, the next Russian campaign against Khiva under General Perovsky in 1839–40 failed miserably due to poor planning.[78]

Unlike in Bukhara, Shir Razi's successor **Ilbars Khan II** (r. 1728–40) made a desperate stand in two battles against Nader Shah, who afterwards had him beheaded. After Nader Shah's assassination in 1747, infighting erupted between the long-established urban and Turkic-speaking Sarts and the Kazakh, Karakalpak and Turkmen tribes, which allowed the khanate to sink into chaos. This feud reached its peak in the conquest and looting of Khiva by the Turkmen tribe of Yomut in 1770. In the same year, the *inaq* (chief minister) Muhammad Amin from the Qungrat clan (r. 1770–90) drove out the Yomut and established himself as the de facto ruler behind a puppet khan. Avaz Inaq (1790–1804) also maintained a puppet Genghis Khanid, but his son and successor **Iltüzer** (r. 1804–6) abolished this custom. He elevated himself to khan and in doing so officially founded the Qungrat dynasty (1804–1920).[79]

3. The Khanate of Moghulistan and the Naqshbandi Khwajas

Moghulistan's history is as complex as its geography. While the steppes in the relatively humid north-west between Tashkent and the Dzungarian basin favour semi-nomadic horse breeding, an extremely arid climate prevails to the south of the Tian Shan mountain range. Deserts predominate here, yet the fertile but small oases of Turfan and the Tarim Basin enable urban-commercial and agrarian economies. A similar geographic–economic and social fault line had already divided the khanate of Chagatai into the pastoral region in the north-east and the urban–agrarian Transoxania in the south-west around 1347.[80] Without a strong standing army, it was difficult to govern the freedom-loving tribes of the steppe horsemen and the urban centres. In the case of Moghulistan, there was the added difficulty that the oasis towns – Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, Kucha and Turfan – in today's southern Xinjiang, then called *Altishahr* ('Six Cities') or *Yetishahr* ('Seven Cities')[81] could not support standing armies. Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1499 or 1500–51) concluded from personal experience in his *Tarikh-i Rashidi* that: 'In Kashgar [one of the city-oases of Altishahr] it is impossible to support an army upon the produce of the country; . . .with regard to productiveness and its capacity to support an army, it cannot be compared to those steppes.'[82] This limitation tied to Xinjiang's geography, and the resulting tendency toward political fragmentation, shaped the history of the region until its integration into the People's Republic of China in the autumn of 1949 and the construction of efficient motorways.

Moghulistan, not to be confused with the empire of Mughal in the Indian subcontinent, arose as a result of the partitioning of the Khanate of Chagatai in 1347, when the traditionally Mongolian-dominated steppe broke away from the Turkic-dominated cities.[83] At the time, Amir Bolaji, the leader of the Mongol tribe of Dughlat, installed as khan **Tughlugh Temür** (r. 1347–63), who instituted a radical Islamisation of the elite for political reasons. Like previous rulers of heterogeneous tribal societies, Tughlugh Temür recognised Islam's integrating force, rooted in the idea of a homogeneous religious community or *umma*. He also saw its value as an ideology of military expansion under the aegis of *jihad* (holy struggle).[84] When Tughlugh Temür's son and successor **Ilyas Khwaja** (r. 1363–65) failed in the siege of Samarkand, the younger brother of Amir Bolaji, named **Qamar al-Din Dughlat** (r. 1365–*ca.* 1390), seized power in Moghulistan and usurped the title of khan. This, in turn, provided Timur-e Lang (r. 1370–1405) with a pretext to wage six military campaigns against him. After Qamar's escape into the Altai Mountains, Amir Khudaidad Dughlat placed **Khizr Khwaja** (Khoja, r. *ca.* 1383/90–99), Tughlugh Temür's son, on the throne. Khizr Khwaja extended his domain to the east and conquered the oases of Turfan and Qarashahr. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Moghulistan stretched from Tashkent in the west to Turfan in the east, and from Lake Balkhash in the north to Khotan in the south. However, the realm remained plagued by power struggles and rapidly changing political alliances. After the reign of **Sham-i Jahan** (r. 1399–1408), his brother **Muhammad Khan** (r. 1408–16) forcibly pushed through Islamisation, including among the non-noble population. As Mirza Haidar reported: 'During his [Muhammad's] blessed reign most of the tribes of the Moghuls became Musulmans. [. . .] If. . .a Moghul didn't wear a turban [*dastar*], a horseshoe nail was driven into his head.'[85] The succeeding rulers **Uways Khan** (r. 1418–21, 1425–28) and **Esen Buqa** (r. 1428–62) were often involved in struggles with the Western Mongolian Oirats in the north and the Timurids in the west.[86]

The splintering of Moghulistan occurred for the first time under **Yunus Khan** (r. 1462–87), when **Mirza Abu Bakr Dughlat** (r. in Yarkand *ca.* 1481–1516) declared his independence in the Tarim Basin in Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. After losing Kashgar to Said Khan in 1514, he fled from his capital Yarkand two years later.[87] While Yunus Khan conquered Tashkent in the early 1480s, his son **Ahmad Alaq Khan** (r. 1487–1503 in Turfan) rebelled against him shortly before his death. In 1502, he rushed to help his brother **Mahmud Khan** (r. in Tashkent 1487–1508), who was ruling in western Moghulistan, in the fight against the Uzbek Shaybani Khan. The brothers were defeated, and Tashkent fell to the Uzbeks. At the same time, a massive migration of Kyrgyz began into the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan, which caused the Moghul to gradually lose control of it. Later, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the Kyrgyz on the Yenisei River were pushed into Dzungaria by Russian immigrants.[88]

Ahmad's son and successor **Mansur Khan** (r. 1508–43 in Turfan) established himself in the east and was nominally khan of all Moghulistan from 1508 to 1514, until his brother **Said Khan** (r. 1514–33 in western Moghulistan) conquered western Moghulistan from Abu Bakr Dughlat. Instead of fighting each other, the two brothers Mansur and Said concluded a treaty so that peace would prevail within Moghulistan.[89] In the east, towards the end of his reign, Mansur Khan wrested the Hami oasis away from the Chinese Ming dynasty, which **Shah Khan** (r. 1543–1560 in Turfan) then incorporated. In the west, Said Khan and his military leader Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat looked to the south: a raid of Badakhshan in 1529, deemed a 'holy war', was followed in

1532 by looting expeditions to Ladakh and Kashmir. The khan died from a high-altitude oedema during a failed attack on central Tibet in 1533. **Abdu'l Rashid** (r. 1533–60 in Yarkand) decimated the Dughlats, and Mirza Haidar fled to Emperor Humayum in Lahore.[90] Abdu'l Rashid's sons **Abd al-Karim Khan** (1560–91) and **Muhammad Sultan** (1591–1609) managed to politically unite Moghulistan again, if only nominally.[91]

During the reign of Muhammad Sultan, a rare visitor arrived in Moghulistan. The Portuguese Jesuit Bento de Goes (1562–1607) was sent to Beijing by his superiors in Goa via a land route to investigate whether Marco Polo's 'Cathay' was really identical to China, where the Jesuit Matteo Ricci had been residing in Beijing since 1601. De Goes travelled from Agra via Lahore, Kabul and the Pamir Mountains, reaching Yarkand in November 1603, where he had to wait for a whole year before continuing his journey. He witnessed how Muhammad Sultan sold to the highest bidding trader the right to organise a trade caravan to Beijing. He also saw how the buyer, who was appointed an envoy, in turn sold the right to participate in his caravan to a further 72 dealers. In Chinese jargon, these trade caravans were called 'tribute bringers', but they were actually highly profitable for the respective foreign rulers and their merchants. The traders presented as a 'gift' to the emperor quality jade, diamonds or horses, while he gave them goods and gold, which greatly exceeded the value of the gifts. Ricci also saw through this stratagem: 'Every five years seventy-two persons in the quality of ambassadors shall bring tribute to the king [the Chinese emperor]. . . .All this is an immense burden on the treasury, but the Chinese, who are well aware of the fraud, want by such devices to flatter their sovereign and make him believe that the whole world pays tribute to China, while it is the Chinese themselves who pay tribute to those countries.'[92] This policy of self-deception was used not only to flatter the emperor, but primarily in order to buy peace from restless neighbours – a policy that China had utilised since the conflict with the Xiongnu in the second to first century BCE.[93] At the end of 1604, De Goes set out from Yarkand to Aksu and then travelled from there, via Turfan and Hami, to Suzhou (today's Jiuquan), which he reached in late 1605. In the meantime, he had recognised that Cathay must be identical with China. The caravan was held up in Suzhou, however, and De Goes died in March 1607. It is likely he was poisoned by his travelling companions, to whom he had loaned money.[94]

During the transition from the sixteenth to seventeenth century, influential leaders of the Naqshbandi Sufi Order, who had participated in the Islamisation of Moghulistan, increasingly gained clout and power and, with few exceptions, supplanted the khans. Between Muhammad Sultan, who died in 1609, and the death of the last Chagataiids in 1694, several khans ruled in Yarkand and Turfan for only short periods. The power of the Naqshbandi leaders, called khojas (*khwajas*), traced back to Ahmad Kasani (1461–1542), called *Makhdum-i Azam*, 'supreme master', who settled in Altishahr at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Two of his sons later gave rise to two rival factions. His fourth son, Ishaq Wali (d. 1599), instructed Muhammad Sultan and supported him in the seizure of power. He founded the Order of Ishaqiyya, also called Qarataghliq ('residents of the Black Mountains'), which was based in the capital Yarkand. Some time later, Khoja Muhammad Yusuf (d. 1653), the fourth son of Makhdum-i Azam's eldest son Ishan-i Kalan, began preaching with great success in Moghulistan. A supporter of Ishaqiyya poisoned him out of envy, whereupon his son Hidayetullah (d. 1694), called Khoja Afaq, 'master of horizons' established the rival Afaqiyya order, also called Aqtaghliq ('residents of the White Mountains'), which was based in Kashgar.[95]

The political situation in Moghulistan became even more complex during the reign of **Abdullah Khan** (r. *ca.* 1636–67), as the pressure from Sengge Khong Tayishi (r. 1653–71), ruler of the Buddhist Dzungars, increased considerably. A war conducted between Abdullah and Sengge ended in a standoff and a truce, and so Sengge incited Abdullah's son Yolbars to rebel against his father and the leaders of the Ishaqiyya who supported him. In 1667, **Yolbars Khan** (r. 1667–70) occupied the capital Yarkand with the aid of Khoja Afaq from the Afaqiyya and forced his father Abdullah to flee into the empire of the Mughal. Khoja Afaq of the 'White Mountains' immediately purged the religious and secular centres of power of representatives from the 'Black Mountains'. Threatened by another attack from Sengge, Yolbars was forced to bow down to him. In 1670, Yolbars Khan was murdered, and the Afaqiyya designated Yolbars' son **Abdu'l Latif II** (r. 1670) as his successor. After a few months, however, he was assassinated by the Qarataghliq, who elevated **Ismail Khan** to the throne (r. 1670–78). Ismail and leaders of the Ishaqiyya now persecuted the representatives of Afaqiyya. Khoja Afaq thus fled to Kashmir and from there to Lhasa, Tibet.[96]

Khoja Afaq met with the Fifth Dalai Lama (r. 1642–82), the leader of the ruling Buddhist Gelugpa monastic order, in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama owed his reign to Gushri Khan, the leader of the Western Mongolian Khoshut, one of the four major subgroups of Oirats. Both orders, the Islamic Naqshbandiyya of Turkestan and the Buddhist Gelugpas, aimed at theocratic forms of government and were thus quite similar in their objectives. This resemblance probably explains why the Fifth Dalai Lama called on the new

15. The Id Khah Friday Mosque in Kashgar, Xinjiang, China, founded in 1442, at the end of the prayer service. Photo: 2009.

ruler of the Dzungars, Sengge's brother and successor Galdan (r. 1671–97), to intervene militarily. Galdan seized the opportunity to extend his power to the south and to allow his domain to border on that of the Fifth Dalai Lama, who was well disposed towards him. He sent an army in 1678 that captured Ismail Khan, installed Khoja Afaq as tributary vassal of the Dzungars, and appointed the Chagataiid **Abdu'l Rashid II** (r. 1679–82) as a puppet khan.[97] With the conquest of Turkestan, Galdan not only controlled the gold and jade deposits around Yarkand, but also China's foreign trade with Central Asia and India. The concept of indirect governance, which Russia would also employ vis-à-vis the Emirate of Bukhara as of 1868, was very beneficial for the Buddhist Dzungars. They received income and resources, without having to bear the cost and responsibility for ruling the heterodox Muslims of Altishahr. Finally, the common border with Tibet opened up the possibility of attacking arch-rival China by way of Tibet.

A power struggle between Abdu'l Rashid's successor **Muhammad Amin Khan** (r. *ca.* 1682–*ca.* 94), a younger brother of Ismail Khan, and Khoja Afaq (d. 1694) led to the overthrow of the latter. Muhammad Amin Khan then tried – with active diplomacy and envoys to China, Bukhara and India – to free himself from the Dzungars' stranglehold. He even undertook a campaign against the Dzungars, capturing 30,000 of them. But in 1694 he was killed by supporters of Afaqiyya and replaced by **Khoja Yahya** (r. *ca.* 1694–95), a son of Khoja Afaq. A short time later, after Khoja Afaq's death, his widow **Jallad Khanum** (r. 1695), the 'Butcher

16. The Kul-Sharif Mosque, completed in 2005, inside the Kazan Kremlin in Tatarstan, Russia. Photo: 2013.

Queen', launched a reign of terror which even claimed the life of her son Khoja Yahya.[98] Even after her assassination, the fighting continued undiminished between Ishaqiyya, Afaqiyya, Chagataiids and invading Kyrgyz. Only Galdan's successor Tsewang Rabtan (r. 1697–1727) was able to restore political order through his intercession in 1713. Several years later, Tsewang Rabtan installed representatives of Ishaqiyya again in Altishahr as tributary vassals. The last two khojas of Kashgar, Burhan al-Din and Jahan of the Afaqiyya, were defeated by Emperor Qianlong and killed while taking flight in Badakhshan in 1759.[99] Other descendants of the khojas fled to Kokand, from where they made several attacks on Kashgaria in the nineteenth century.[100] The likely last descendants of the Chagataiids were able to survive in the semi-autonomous khanate of Kumul (Ch. Hamì) in the east of Xinjiang. The khanate lasted from 1697 to 1930, seven centuries after the death of its progenitor Genghis Khan.[101] The Hami Khanate originated as a Chinese vassal state, after the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1661–1722) had wrested it from the Dzungars in 1696.[102]

4. The Descendants of the Golden Horde

Between 1240 and 1550, the area between the Volga and Ural rivers belonged politically, ethnically and linguistically to Central Asia or at least to its north-western sphere of influence. Ultimately, the rulers of the Golden Horde who, at its peak, dominated the region from the lower Danube to the middle reaches of the Ob were Mongols and Kipchaks. But the Golden Horde had already begun to dwindle on its western border in the first half of the fourteenth century under pressure from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and from Hungary. Internal power struggles and the outbreak of the 'black death' weakened the horde further. After the campaigns of Timur-e Lang in the 1390s, when he deliberately destroyed the commercial cities and transport hubs of the horde, its demise accelerated, giving way to a process of fragmentation.[103] Parallel to this decline, the Grand Duchies of Lithuania and Moscow became stronger. Yet while the Lithuanian-Polish Kingdom had to deal with the neighbouring rivals Moscow, Crimea and several German military orders, Moscow turned to the south-east – to the Volga and the Caspian Sea, and, to the east, to Siberia. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the political border between Europe and Central Asia had already moved from the Volga to the Urals. In this time of upheaval, the Tatar khanates of Kazan, Kursk, Crimea, Astrakhan, Kasimov, Sibir, the Nogai Horde and the Great Horde emerged.[104]

4.1 The Khanate of Kazan and the Small Khanates of Kursk and Kasimov

When the Jochid **Khan Ulugh Mohammad** of the Golden Horde (r. 1419–21, 1428–33, in Kazan in 1437/38–45) was expelled from Sarai for the second time in 1433, he first fled to Crimea. He then conquered the city of Kazan in the winter of 1437/38 and founded the khanate of the same name[105] (figs. 16, 20). The conquest was successful despite the military resistance of the Moscow Grand Duke Vasily II, who wanted to prevent him from taking over this strategically important trading city. In the same year, 1438, the small Tatar **Khanate of Kursk**, also called Jagoldai, similarly emerged south-west of Moscow. It soon subordinated itself to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was conquered by Moscow in 1508.[106] Kazan replaced Bolghar, which lay 90 km further south on the Volga. Both cities controlled trade on the Volga, which connected Moscow with the Caspian Sea via the Moskva and Oka rivers. Bolghar's decline had already begun in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the city was further depopulated after the Russian invasion of 1432. Numismatic finds dating from 1408 show that Kazan overtook Bolghar as the new commercial and administrative centre no later than the beginning of the fifteenth century. At that time, the city was called New Bolghar.[107] The khanate of Kazan bordered on Moscow to the west; on Sibir to the east; on the Nogai Horde and its Bashkir vassals to the south-east; on the Golden Horde, and from about 1466 the Great Horde, to the south-west; and, finally, to the south, on the steppe between Astrakhan and Don, an area of dispute for the Nogai and Crimean Tatars. The Muslim khanate was ruled by a khan from the house of Genghis Khan, but his power had been severely limited by the Tatar nobility.[108] Unlike the Golden Horde, the khanate was not a steppe empire, but it had an urban-mercantile capital and its population included farmers and woodland hunters. Kazan's culture was also a hybrid, because the steppe culture of the Golden Horde in the khanate had been enriched with Volga Bulgarian[109] elements. In ethnic terms, the rather small khanate was likewise varied, consisting of urban Turkic-speaking Kazan Tatars and, in the countryside, of Turkic-speaking Chuvash, Finno-Ugric-speaking Mordvins and Cheremis, and of Udmurts (Votyaks), whose Udmurt language belongs to the Permian group of the Finno-Ugric language family.[110]

Kazan's central location caused the khanate, from the sixteenth century, to be drawn into the clash between two emerging powers – Moscow and the Tatar khanate of Crimea, an Ottoman protectorate since 1478. As a consequence, Kazan experienced a turbulent history. In the 114-year history of the khanate, there were fourteen different khans and 21 periods of rule, as some khans intermittently ruled two or even three times. Towards the end of the khanate, pro-Muscovite rulers often took turns with anti-Muscovite khans who belonged to the Crimean Tatar Giray dynasty. For Moscow, which had no ice-free access to the sea and thus was excluded from the evolving world trade, the Volga was of paramount importance as a waterway. The successful liberation of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (from 1547 the Russian Tsarist Empire) from its unfavourable landlocked geographical position began with the sovereignty it gradually acquired over the Volga and hence access to the Caspian Sea. By moving the border south, Moscow also gained strategic depth.

Ulugh Khan Mohammad initiated the first conflict with Moscow. His goal was to compel the Grand Duchy, which had stopped regularly paying tributes to the Golden Horde in the early 1370s, to submit again to Tatar rule.[111] In 1439, he occupied the commercial city of Nizhny Novgorod, located at the confluence of the Volga and the Oka. Then, five years later, along with his son and successor **Mahmud bin Ulugh Mohammad** (r. 1445–66), he again attacked the Grand Duchy in a battle near Suzdal and took Grand Duke Vasily II (r. 1425–62) prisoner. Instead of continuing on to Moscow, Ulugh Mohammad released Vasily after the payment of a high ransom. Vasily, on the other hand, was forced in 1452 to surrender the city of Meshchersky Gorodets as a Tatar khanate to Ulugh Mohammad's son **Kasim bin Ulugh Mohammad** of Kasimov (r. 1452–69). As the city lay to the south-east of Moscow along the middle reaches of the Oka River, it was strategically important for Moscow. The Grand Duchy of Moscow, however, was able to downgrade the **Khanate of Meshchersky Gorodets** or **Kasimov** to its own vassal and to promote agreeable khans who could be appointed to other khanates under Genghis Khanid rule.[112] In Kasimov (which is called 'Kirman' in Muslim sources) in 1512, a new Tatar dynasty from Astrakhan superseded that of the Great Horde, which was destroyed in 1502.[113]

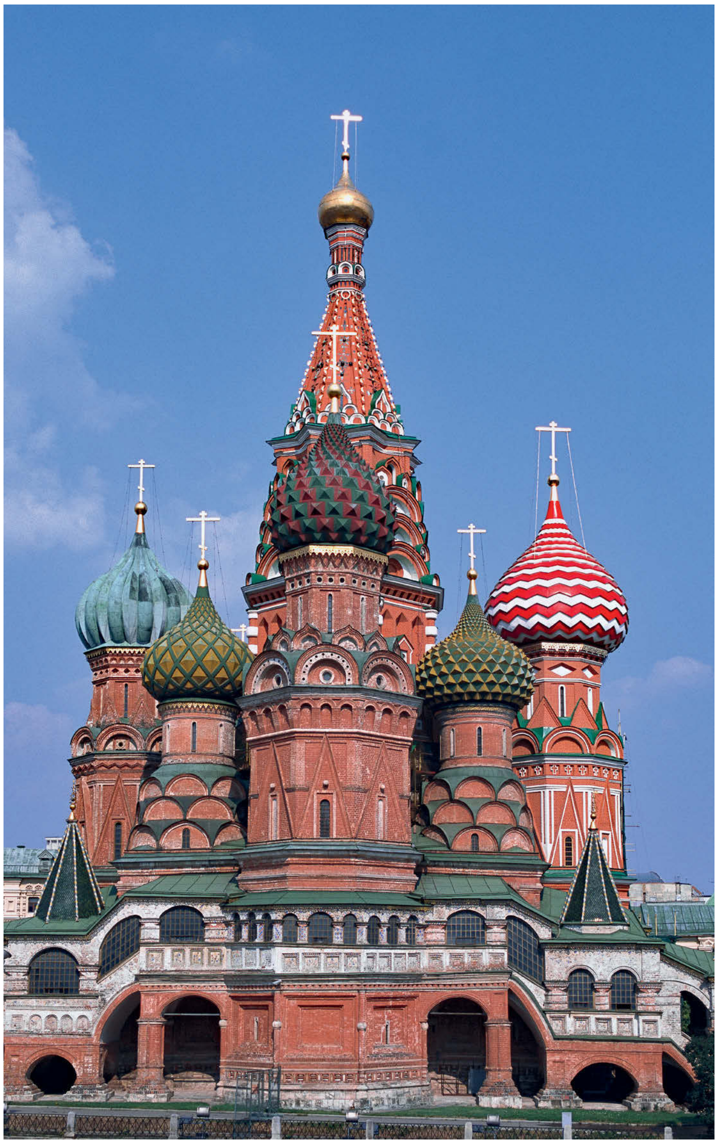
In 1467, Grand Duke Ivan III (r. 1462–1505) seized the initiative when he supported the claim of his vassal Kasim to the throne of Kazan and marched against Khan **Ibrahim bin Mahmud** (r. 1467–79). After two unsuccessful Muscovite campaigns, Kazan had to capitulate in the autumn of 1469. But Ibrahim was able to hold on to power, and the tiny khanate of Meshchersky was renamed the **Khanate of Kasimov**. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Ivan III gained the Crimean Tatar Khanate as a tactical ally, as both pursued the same objective in the short term, albeit with different long-term goals. Ivan III wanted to finally be free from the sovereignty of the Great Horde and, in the medium term, to expand Moscow's sphere of influence to the west and south. The Crimean Tatar Mengli Giray perceived the alliance of Poland-Lithuania with Khan Ahmad of the Great Horde as an acute threat, which in turn drove him into the arms of Moscow. Over the long term, however, Mengli Giray (r. 1468–69, 1471–74, 1475, 1478–1514) not only strove for independence from the Great Horde, but also claimed nothing less than its heritage.[114] The alliance from around 1470 to 1509, though, enabled Moscow to finally shake off the Tatar yoke at the so-called 'Great Stand on the Ugra River' in 1480.[115]

17. The small town of Sviyazhsk west of Kazan. Tsar Ivan IV had in 1551 a prefabricated fortress rebuilt here which served as a base for the conquest of Kazan in 1552. In 1955, Sviyazhsk was turned into an island as a result of the downstream Kuibyshev reservoir; a road connects Sviyazhsk to the riverbank. Tatarstan, Russia. Photo: 2013.

18. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Monastery on the island of Sviyazhsk, Tatarstan, Russia. On the left is the St Nicholas Church, founded in 1555/56; on the right, the Dormition Cathedral, founded in 1560, which contains the murals from the founding period. Photo: 2013.

Grand Duke Ivan now had sufficient room to manoeuvre and to establish a protectorate over Kazan. Major rivals in Kazan included **Ali bin Ibrahim** (r. 1479–84, 1485–87), who enjoyed the support of the Nogai Horde, and **Muhammad Amin bin Ibrahim** (r. 1484–85, 1487–95, 1502–18), the client of Moscow. In 1487, Ivan's army sailed on the Volga to Kazan and occupied the city on 9 June. Ali was brought as a prisoner to Moscow and Muhammad Amin was installed on the throne as Ivan's vassal. In 1495, the native of Sibir **Mamuq Khan** (r. 1495–96) attacked Muhammad Amin with support from the Nogai. He was ousted a year later, however, by the pro-Russian faction. Ivan now put Muhammad Amin's brother **Abd al-Latif** (1496–1502) on the throne. On his death, Muhammad Amin assumed his third period of rule. Although Muhammad Amin rebelled in 1505 and won a spectacular victory in June 1506 against the Russian troops outside of Kazan, he preferred to make peace again and to subordinate himself to Ivan's successor, Vasily III (1505–33). Vasily enthroned the designated heir of the Kasimov dynasty, **Shah Ali bin Allah Yar** (r. 1518–21, 1546, 1551–52), after Muhammad's death in 1518.[116]

Meanwhile, there was a change of alliances in the power struggle over north-eastern Europe: Moscow's dominion in Kazan and success against Poland-Lithuania made Mengli Giray fearful that the Grand Duchy could next target the Pontic steppe and reach the Black Sea. And when Vasily III wrested control of the city of Smolensk from Poland-Lithuania in 1514, King Sigismund I joined forces with Khan Mehmed Giray I (r. 1514–23), Mengli Giray's son and successor, in an anti-Moscow alliance.[117] The battle for Kazan now intensified, and, after staging his own revolt of the nobility, Mehmed Giray I placed his brother **Sahib Khan Giray** (r. 1521–24) on the throne of Kazan in 1521. The two Giray brothers coordinated an attack with two armies against the Grand Duchy of Moscow, in which they took tens of thousands of people into slavery. Besides this, Vasily had to recognise the dynastic union of Kazan and the Crimean Tatar Khanate created by the Tatar Giray dynasty. Mehmed Giray's efforts to revive the Great Horde under his leadership foundered two years later, however, when he was defeated and killed by the Nogai during an attack on Astrakhan. Several years earlier, in 1509, Mehmed Giray's father Mengli had already failed woefully outside of Astrakhan.[118]



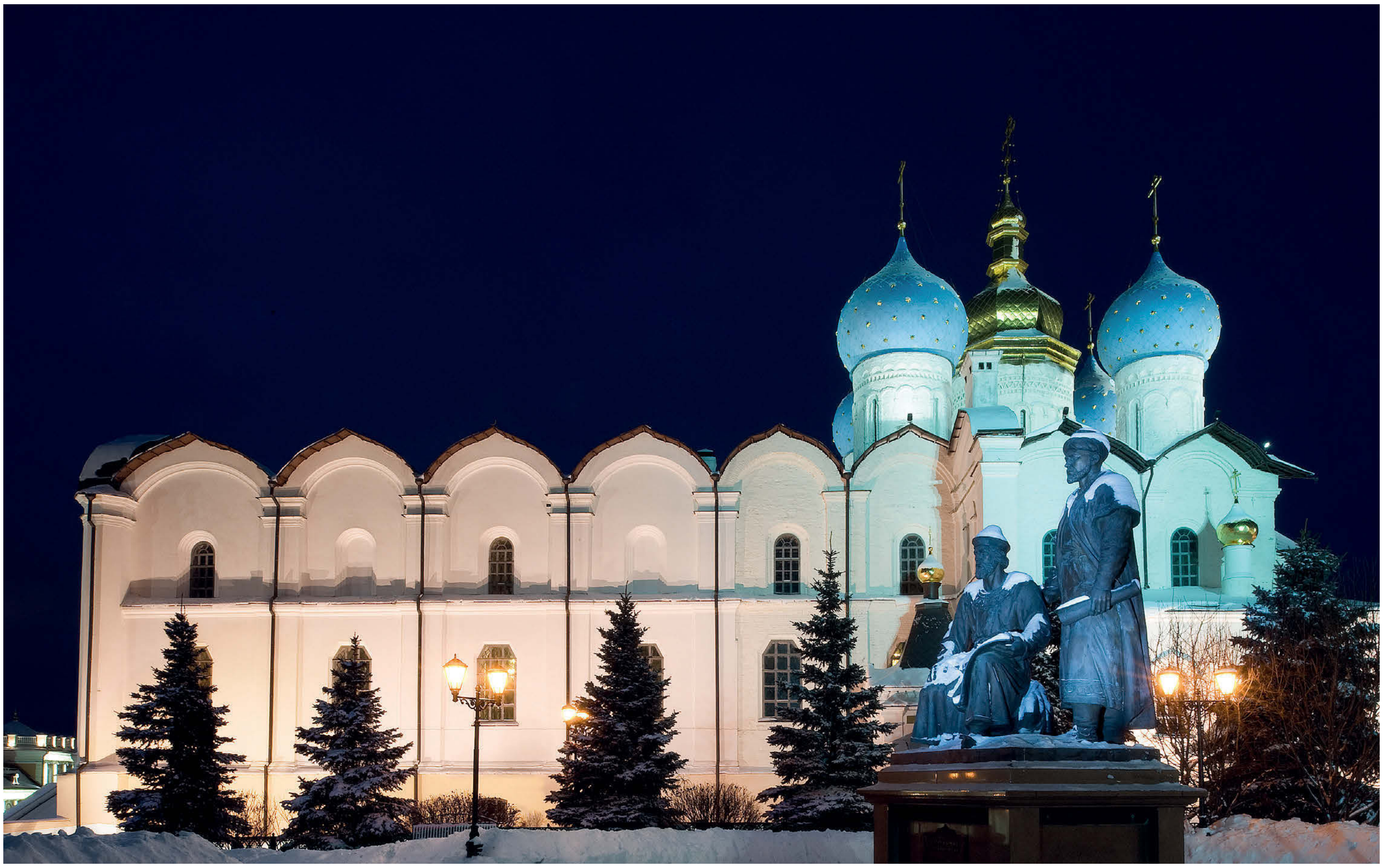
19. St Basil's Cathedral in Moscow, Russia, built by Ivan IV from 1555 to 1561 to commemorate the conquest of Kazan. The leading architect Postnik Yakovlev was also instrumental in the construction of the Annunciation Cathedral of Kazan (fig. 20) and the two main churches of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Monastery of Sviyazhsk (fig. 18). Photo: 2002.

When Sahib Giray abdicated in Kazan in 1524, he was succeeded by his nephew **Safa Giray Khan**. He ruled three times (r. 1524–32, 1535–46, 1546–49) and pursued a policy that was hostile to Moscow. In the interim, after staying in Istanbul for several years, Sahib Giray established himself as the khan of the Crimean Tatars (r. 1532–51) and brought Astrakhan under his rule in 1533.[119] Although Vasily III succeeded in putting the khan of Kasimov **Jan Ali bin Allah Yar** on the throne (r. in Kasimov 1519–32, in Kazan 1532–35) in 1532, the pro-Crimean fraction of the Kazan nobility killed him three years later. He was followed again by **Safa Giray** (second reign 1535–46). The Crimean Tatar Sahib Giray then prepared a new major attack on Moscow to bring the Grand Duchy under Tatar control once again. He advanced in 1541 – at a time when leading boyars were fighting over the regency for the ten-year-old Grand Duke Ivan, the future Tsar Ivan IV. Thanks to the support of **Shah Ali** of Kasimov (r. 1516–18, 1535–46, 1546–51, 1552–67), the attack could be averted. This renewed push to Moscow left a lasting impression on the young Ivan. He understood that Moscow's security was at risk as long as it could not bring Kazan and Astrakhan under its control. The pro-Muscovite party in Kazan made **Shah Ali** its leader. The party staged a revolt in 1546, but it failed after just one month and Safa Giray ascended the throne for the third time. He held on to it until his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his underage son **Ötemish Giray** (r. 1549–51), whose mother Söyembikä exercised the regency in his stead. **Shah Ali**'s third accession (r. 1551–52) also failed to bring about a permanent solution for Moscow, as he had been forced into exile in February 1552 and replaced by a prince from Astrakhan named **Yadgar Muhammad** (r. 1552).

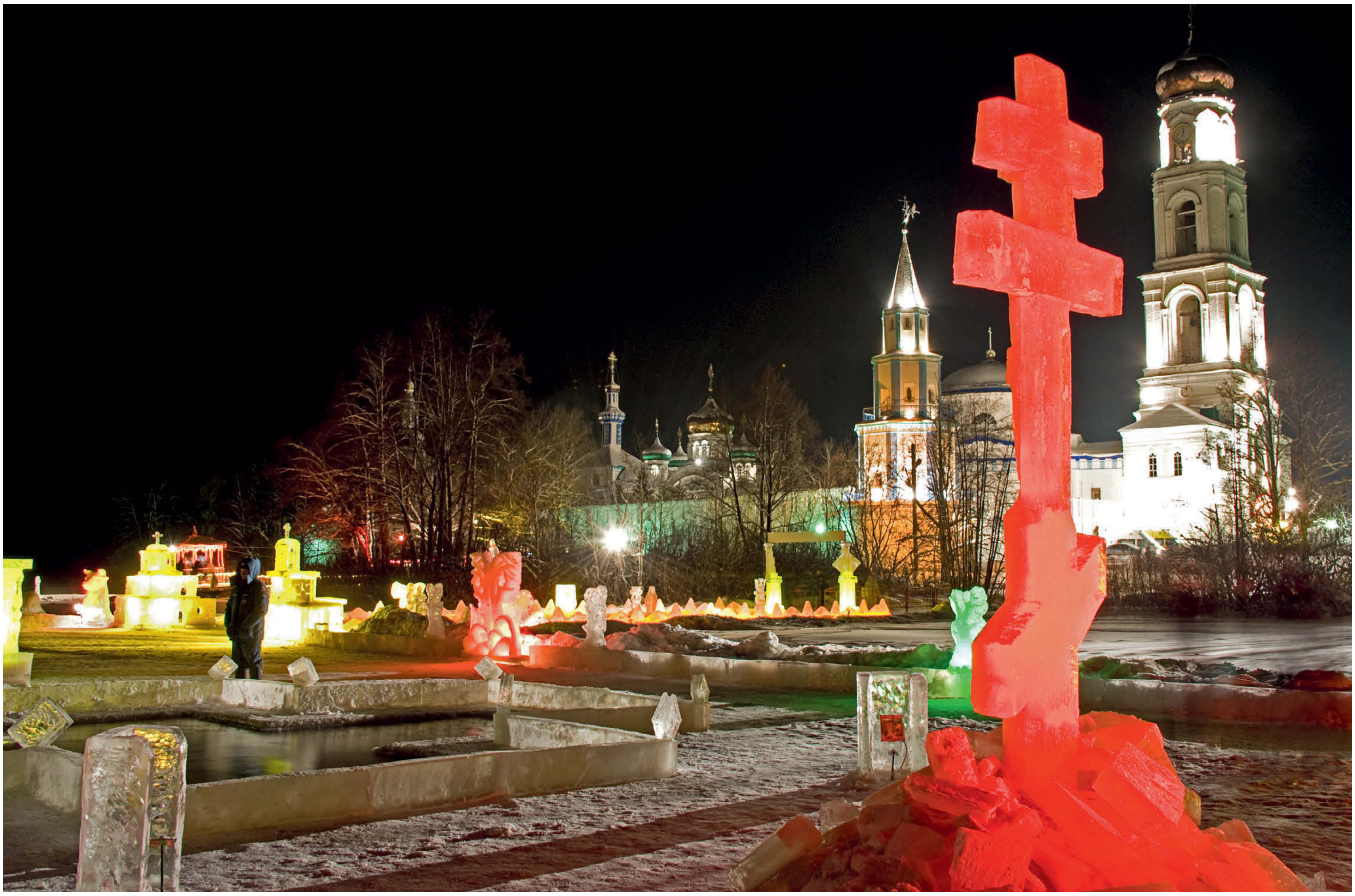
Soon after his ascent to the throne, Tsar Ivan IV (r. as Grand Duke of Moscow 1533 to 1547, as Tsar of Russia 1547–84) decided to finally eliminate the danger posed by Kazan. After two unsuccessful demonstrations of military power in the years 1547–48 and 1549–50, Ivan renewed the alliances with the tribal leaders of the Nogai and had the basic structure of a strong wooden fortress built to the north of Moscow in the city of Uglich on the Upper Volga. In 1551, Ivan shipped the premanufactured fortress along the Volga River to the south, where it was rebuilt on the hill of the Sviyazhsk Peninsula, at the confluence of the Volga and Sviyaga. Pieced together within four weeks, the fortress stood deep inside Kazan territory and was only 30 km from the capital city (fig. 17). The following year, it served as a base of operations for the attack on Kazan. On 2 October 1552 the Russian army conquered Kazan.[120] To commemorate this landmark achievement, Tsar Ivan built St Basil's Cathedral in Moscow (fig. 19).

Tsar Ivan seized the opportunity to advance further to the Caspian Sea and forged an alliance with the steppe warriors of the Nogai Horde. The Nogai wanted to get rid of the Khanate of Astrakhan, which repeatesdly allied itself with their Crimean Tatar rivals. In 1554, Ivan's troops occupied the khanate, which lay approximately 1,500 km south of Kazan. The tsar encountered no resistance and appointed Dervish Ali (r. 1554–56) as a puppet ruler. But when Dervish Khan allied himself in 1556 with the Crimean Khanate against Moscow, Ivan's Cossacks and Streltsy[121] conquered the then capital Hajji Tarkan, which they burned down, and annexed the khanate to the Russian Empire. Now the 3,530-km-long course of the Volga – from its source to its estuary in the Caspian Sea – was in Russian hands. Tsar Ivan thus pushed open the gateway to Central Asia and gained direct trade opportunities with Persia and the Uzbek khanates. Moreover, with the possession of Astrakhan, Moscow could block, or at least severely limit, the caravan routes of the Crimea through the southern steppe of Kipchak to Central Asia. In any case, this partial victory in the fight for the heritage of the former Golden Horde elevated Ivan's prestige and substantiated his further territorial claims. While Lithuanian and Muscovite rulers managed in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century to free themselves from the sovereignty of the Golden Horde and the subsequent Great Horde and to slowly expand their territory, Tsar Ivan IV set about making preparations for the conquest of Genghis Khanid successor states. He could boast of having reversed power imbalances from east to west that had existed since the thirteenth century and of having subjugated, or at least put on the defensive, the former Central Asian rulers. This megatrend relating to Europe's dominant position compared with Central Asia, and even Asia in general, was not challenged until the twentieth century – first by the Russian defeat by Japan in 1904–05, then by the seizure of power by the Communist Party in China in 1949 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

To protect the newly acquired territory and the tribes of the Bashkirs, who joined Russia more or less voluntarily, from the raids of the rebellious Nogai and Crimean Tatars, in 1574 Ivan had the Ufa fortress built 450 km east of Kazan. Additional fortresses were then built along the Volga: Samara in 1586, Tsaritsyn (Stalingrad, Volgograd) in 1589, and Saratov around 1590. These fortresses not only safeguarded navigation on the Volga, but also formed a fortress line, which prevented the steppe horsemen of the Nogai from crossing the river. However, for the Crimean Tatars who claimed they were descendants of the Great Horde, the fall of Kazan and Astrakhan was unacceptable – not least because Russia could hinder Crimea's trade contacts with Central Asia from Astrakhan. In addition, the Ottomans were concerned that the city could serve as a springboard for a Russian military operation in the north-eastern



20. The Annunciation Cathedral in the Kazan Kremlin in Tatarstan, Russia. In the first phase from 1555–62, the two architects Postnik Yakovlev and Ivan Shiryay built the cathedral (seen on the right) in the rather simple Pskov style with five crossed domes and three apses. In the eighteenth century, the helmet-shaped domes were replaced by onion domes. Photo: 2014.



21. Orthodox crucifixes carved from ice at the Raifa monastery, constructed for the Epiphany on the adjacent lake. Cross-shaped holes are cut out of the ice and believers jump into the icy water three times as a symbolic imitation of Christ's baptism. The Raifa Monastery, located to the north-west of Kazan, dates back to the hermit Philaret of Moscow, who first built a wooden chapel here in 1613. The Bolsheviks closed the famous pilgrimage site in 1918 and the buildings were misappropriated as a penal camp from 1933 to 1954. The complex was returned to the Church in 1991. Photo: 2014.

Caucasus. Although an Ottoman attack on Astrakhan failed in 1569, Tsar Ivan allowed the Russian fortress, which he had built in 1567 along the Terek River, to be razed in 1571/72. Furthermore, in the years 1555, 1562, 1564, 1565, 1571, 1572 and 1592, Moscow continued to be exposed to Crimean Tatar attacks. In 1571 and 1592, the Moscow suburbs were set in flames.[122] In spite of all military efforts Russia was forced to pay tribute to the Crimean Tatar till 1700.[123]

As for the political integration of Kazan, Tsar Ivan was initially influenced by the Orthodox clergy and the crusade mentality. He agreed to an aggressive conversion policy of Tatar Muslims and rural followers of nature religions. Mosques were destroyed and Orthodox churches were built in their place. People were also forcibly baptised, and those who refused were drowned. But in 1555, Ivan underwent a radical change. He decreed that priests and monasteries were not allowed to baptise newly won subjects. Instead, the conversions were to take place as a result of exemplary behaviour and charity. Ivan's pragmatic integration policy shielded the Muslims along the Volga against aggressive proselytising efforts until the 1680s. At the same time, Moscow guaranteed the non-Russian upper classes of the khanate that they could continue to own their possessions and integrated Muslim-Tatar nobles as equal members of a landowning military aristocracy in the Russian nobility. To boost trade with Central Asia again, Moscow granted Tatar traders within the Russian Empire numerous privileges, allowing the Muslim Tatars from Kazan to soon build an extensive trading network. Finally, Russian landowners were prohibited from downgrading non-Russian Muslims to serfs.[124] Tsar Ivan's policy towards non-Russian ethnic groups and religions differed

▶ **22.** The procession from Raifa Monastery to the frozen lake during the Epiphany celebration on 6 January as per the Orthodox calendar and 19 January of the Gregorian calendar. Photo: 2014.

fundamentally from the one that Catholic Spain and Portugal pursued in their overseas colonies. Ivan was hardly driven by missionary zeal; he was instead interested in Russia's security and the additional commercial benefits that the conquered territories brought to his landlocked empire. Spain and Portugal, on the other hand, were guided by the principles of the Catholic Church and its Inquisition and tried to convert the people in their remote colonies – by force if necessary. This even affected non-Catholic Christians such as the Nestorian St Thomas Christians of South India.[125] In the Russian land power, there were also significantly fewer socio-politically relevant differences between Russians and non-Russian Muslims than in the case of the maritime powers of Western Europe and their distant colonies. This disparity was not only a function of different geography, but also of a pragmatic view of the world, which was not guided by religious proselytising ideas and strove instead for a supra-ethnic and supra-religious empire. The integration policy towards non-Russian communities introduced by Ivan IV remained, with some qualifications, groundbreaking for the Russian conquests in Central Asia in the nineteenth century.

Kazan's special status ended with Tsar Peter the Great (r. nominally 1682–89, in real terms 1689–1725), who made the city into a shipbuilding centre for the Caspian fleet because of its neighbouring large forests. At the same time, he pursued the goal of rebuilding Russia into a centrally managed, uniform and absolutist state along Western European lines. The coordination of all subjects included the forced conversion of all non-Christians to Russian Orthodoxy. In 1713, Tsar Peter ordered Kazan's Muslim landowners to be baptised. Noncompliance carried with it the threat of the expropriation of all lands which were inhabited by Christian peasants. A year later, he rescinded the privileges of the non-Russian peasants (i.e. Tatar, Chuvash, Mordovian, Cheremis and Udmurt) and incorporated them into the class of state peasants bound to community and land. This included having to pay significantly higher taxes and to do compulsory labour. In the 1740s, the oppression continued to increase, and Tsarina Elisabeth (r. 1741–62) issued an order in 1742 to demolish all mosques built after 1552. By 1744, 418 of the 536 mosques of the former khanate had been destroyed. For the rural population, strong financial pressure and the unequal treatment of Christians and non-Christians in matters of taxes and conscription were accompanying measures. This repressive religious policy did not achieve its aims, however, as the conversion of traditional shamanists remained superficial, and the Muslim institutions were forced into the anti-Russian underground. Even worse, the crackdowns drove the non-Russian and non-Orthodox minorities on the Volga into the arms of the Don Cossack rebel Yemelyan Pugachov (*ca.* 1742–75), who rallied to his side the dissatisfied peasants, serfs, Tatars, Bashkirs[126] and members of other minority groups.

The assassination of Tsar Peter III (r. 1762) was the starting point of the rebellion that rapidly grew into a large-scale peasant war from 1773 to early 1775. On 17 July 1762, he was killed by Grigory Orlov, the lover of his power-hungry wife Catherine, née Sophie von Anhalt-Zerbst. Along with the assassination, there was a coup. Shortly before this, Tsar Peter III had announced significant reforms, including the abolition of serfdom, and Catherine was wary of implementing them. Yemelyan Pugachov posed as Tsar Peter III, having escaped being killed himself, and quickly won a large following. He founded a rival government in the Urals. His troops captured Samara in 1773, and in the attack on Kazan in July 1774 the city went up in flames. But the Kremlin remained in the hands of pro-government troops. Pugachov fought an undecided battle near Kazan in the same month against the regular army and then suffered two defeats, after which he fled to the south on the Volga River. After a heavy defeat at Tsaritsyn, his closest collaborators handed him over to the tsarist authorities. He was then executed in Moscow on 21 January 1775. But soon after coming to power, Tsarina Catherine (r. 1762–96) overturned several discriminatory commands and, in 1775, after suppressing the Pugachov Rebellion, she permitted the reconstruction of the city of Kazan with its mosques. In 1784, finally, Catherine prohibited the Orthodox proselytising of Muslims. Four years later, she recognised the Tatar Muslims as a community with equal rights by establishing the 'Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly' administrative office, headed by a mufti.[127]

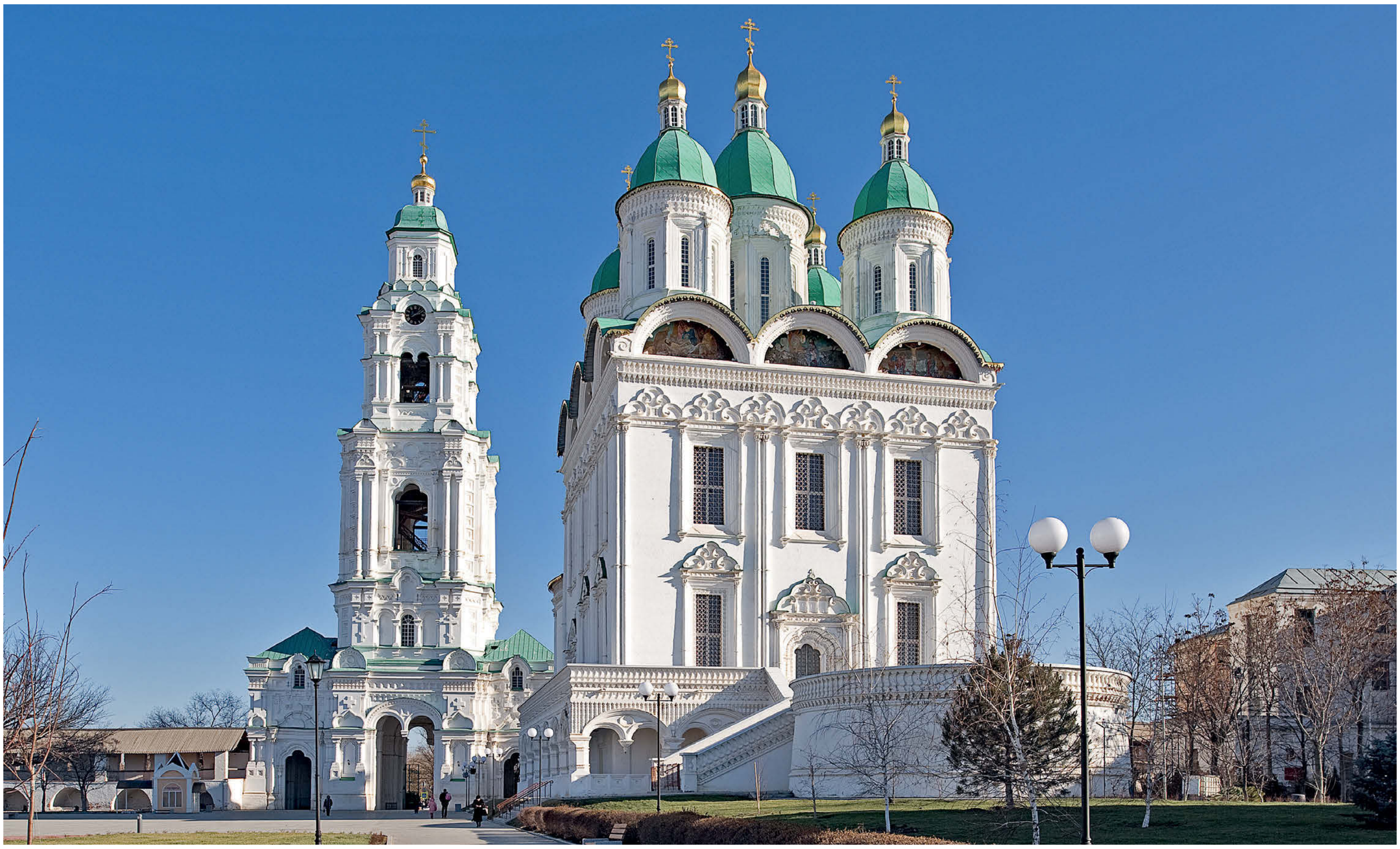
4.2 The Great Horde, the Astrakhan Khanate, the Nogai Horde and the Khanate of Sibir

The histories of the Great Horde, the small Khanate of Astrakhan and the Nogai are closely interwoven. Above all, they are linked together in the person of Amir Edigü, the forefather of all three political entities. In the first two decades of the fifteenth century, the non-Genghis-Khanid commander **Edigü** (d. 1419) from the Mongolian Manghit tribe controlled the southern areas of the Golden Horde by means of puppet khans. They included the cities of Sarai, Astrakhan and Derbent in the eastern Caucasus. After his death, eight khans followed in rapid succession in nine periods of rule, until the Jochid **Küchük Mohammad** (r. *ca.* 1435–59), who had ruled in Astrakhan since 1433, seized power.[128] But Küchük and his sons and successors **Mahmud** (r. 1459–65) and **Ahmad** (r. 1465–81)

23. The Astrakhan Kremlin built by Ivan IV from 1582–89. On the left, the Assumption Cathedral with the free-standing bell tower; to the right of centre, the Trinity Cathedral. Photo: 2014.

could neither prevent nor undo the defection of Kazan and Crimea. As a result, the remaining remnant of the khanate was no longer 'Golden', but rather referred to as the **'Great Horde'** (*ca*. 1466–1502). At that time, Astrakhan probably still belonged to their sphere of influence, which is why the beginning of the khanate of the same name is estimated to be in 1502, not 1466.[129] Ahmad Khan, together with the Siberian Shaybanid Ibak Khan, in or shortly after 1469, killed the Uzbek Khan Shaikh Haydar (r. *ca*. 1469–?).[130] Ahmad then made another attempt to force Moscow to recognise his sovereignty. But at the 'Great Stand on the Ugra River' in 1480, he did not risk attacking the Muscovites without his Polish-Lithuanian ally Casimir IV, who had left him in the lurch. He subsequently retreated. A year later, he was killed in action against the Nogai and Ibak Khan, a grandson of Hajji Muhammad Khan, the founder of the Khanate of Sibir.[131] By that time the Great Horde was severely threatened since it was menaced in the north-west by Moscow, in the south-west by the Crimea and in the east by the Nogai. Succeeding Ahmad were **Murtada Khan** (co-ruler 1481–98, r. 1499) and **Sheikh Ahmed** (co-ruler 1481–98, r. 1499–1502).

After a deterioration of relations between the Great Horde and Poland-Lithuania, which led to the armed conflict of 1487 and the defeat of the Horde,[132] Sheikh Ahmed renewed the alliance with Alexander Jagiellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania and future King of Poland, in 1501. But when in the winter of 1501/02 Ahmed immediately attacked Moscow, which was allied with the Crimean Tatars, his Lithuanian ally let him down once again, and he was forced to withdraw in a weakened state. The Crimean Tatar khan Mengli Giray seized the opportunity to deliver a fatal blow to the



24. The bell tower and Assumption Cathedral in the Astrakhan Kremlin, Russia. The cathedral, founded in 1602, assumed its present form a century later, 1698–1710. The bell tower is located on unstable ground, as branches of the Volga flowed passed the east and south sides of the Kremlin until the end of the seventeenth century. The first tower was replaced by a second in 1809–13; this then had to give way to a third tower, the current one, in 1908–12, which is also tilted slightly. Photo: 2014.

Great Horde. He defeated Sheikh Ahmed and destroyed his capital city New Sarai in June 1502. The Great Horde ceased to exist and the small **Khanate of Astrakhan** (1502–54/6) formed as a successor state.[133] For Moscow, the situation had relaxed only temporarily. Now Mengli Giray, who saw himself as the heir of the Great Horde, demanded that Vasily III pay tribute. It was thus of the utmost importance to Moscow that Astrakhan could hold its ground thanks to the help of the Nogai Horde. The first two khans – **Abd al-Karim Khan bin Mahmud Khan** (r. 1502–14), who had probably played a pivotal role since the early 1490s in Astrakhan, and his brother **Jani Beg Khan bin Mahmud Khan** (r. 1514–21) – enjoyed the support of Yaghmurchi, the Nogai prince. Thanks to the military support of the Nogai, Crimean Tatar attacks on ancient Astrakhan (Hajji Tarkhan) in the years 1509 and 1523 both failed. It was not until 1533 that the khan of Crimea, Sahib Giray, managed to force Astrakhan into the Crimean Tatar sphere of influence. It appears that Jani Beg was succeeded by his son Husayn and later only briefly and nominally ruling khans, who were alternately dependent on the goodwill of the Nogai or Crimean Tatars.[134] Nearly 250 years after the visit of the German botanist Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin in Astrakhan in the years 1770 and 1772–73, his resigned statement remains relevant: ‘He who wants to get involved with historical uncertainties can nowhere better indulge in his conjectures than in the old and middle history of Astrachan.’[135] As discussed above, Astrakhan was annexed by Russia between 1554 and 1556.

After the conquest of the city of Hajji Tarkhan, Tsar Ivan’s voivode (military commander) Ivan S. Cheremisinov had a wooden Kremlin constructed 12 km downriver on a long island in the Volga in 1558. As a result, the fortress blocked upstream access to the Volga. After the wooden fortress successfully withstood a joint Crimean Tatar and Ottoman attack in 1569, it was decided in 1582 to build a fortress of stone and brick (fig. 23). Although the wooden fortifications had the advantage that their walls did not collapse over a large area in the face of cannon fire, they were less robust and, especially, highly inflammable. The construction of the stone and brick wall with its seven towers was completed in 1589.[136] The building materials were taken from the ruins of the former Tatar city of New Sarai. Over time, the city spread to the west of the

Kremlin. It was also surrounded by a white brick wall, now missing. The threat posed to the Ottoman Empire by the Russian conquest of Astrakhan and Tsar Ivan's newly built fortress along the Terek River prompted Sultan Selim II in 1569 to send out an army under Kasim Pasha to capture Astrakhan. He also commissioned the pasha to set about building a canal between the Don and Volga in order to create a waterway from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea.[137] But Kasim Pasha's attack by sea and land failed, not least because the Crimean Tatar Khan Devlet Giray (1551–77), a vassal of Istanbul, sabotaged the campaign. With his troops, he suddenly abandoned the Ottoman army near the Volga. As Gmelin reported, the majority of the Ottoman army was killed.[138] A century before Gmelin's visit, Astrakhan succumbed to the vortex of the Cossack and peasant uprising from 1667–71 led by Stepan (Stenka) Razin, who seized the cities of Samara and Astrakhan and, as a consequence, controlled the lower Volga.[139] Later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the city suffered an economic downturn, which was halted again thanks to oil prospecting at the beginning of the 1870s in Baku, Azerbaijan. In the Second World War, German units advanced to about 100 km west of Astrakhan, and the city was bombed several times in late summer of 1942. The Soviet victory in the winter of 1942–43 at Stalingrad (today Volgograd), lying just under 400 km to the north, eliminated the German threat.

The term '**Nogai Horde**' referred to the mighty Amir Nogai (d. 1299), whose name in Mongolian means 'dog' – considered a distinction because of the animal's fighting power.[140] In fact, the horde went back to the non-Genghis Khanid **Amir Edigü** (d. 1419) of the Mongolian Manghit tribe.[141] At the time, the pastures of the Nogai extended between the Ural (Yaik) and Emba rivers in the west of present-day Kazakhstan. Although Edigü had a strong following, the Nogai did not form an independent horde either in his own lifetime or in that of his sons **Mansur bin Edigü** (r. ?) and **Nur al-Din bin Edigü** (*ca.* 1426–*ca.* 1440). It was not until the second half of the fifteenth century that the Nogai Horde emerged under its leader **Musa bin Waqqas** as an independent political entity. At this time, the pastures of the Nogai stretched from the Irtysh in the east across the area north of the Aral Sea to the Middle Volga in the north-west and the Caspian Sea in the south-west. The urban centre of the Nogai was Saraichik ('little Sarai') on the lower reaches of the Ural River, about 50 km north of the current western Kazakh city of Atyrau. The loosely structured tribal confederation was a considerable force thanks to its rich grass pastures, which provided it with a large reservoir of horses. Until the 1630s, it was Russia's most important supplier of mounts. In numerous conflicts between Moscow, the Great Horde, the Khanate of Kazan, the Khanate of Astrakhan and the Crimean Tatars, the sides they took were decisive. After a setback in 1519 when the Kazakh Khan Qasim bin Jani Beg penetrated deep inside the territory of the Nogai (and even occupied Saraichik from 1519 to 1521), three descendants of Musa bin Waqqas led the horde to renewed prominence. It extended its reach all the way to the Bashkirs, who lived east of the Volga.[142]

Around the mid-sixteenth century, the Nogai under the leadership of **Yusuf Bey bin Musa** (r. *ca.* 1536–*ca.* 1555) were no longer able to withstand the pressure from the two emerging regional great powers, Russia and the Ottoman Empire (the Crimean Tatars had been the latter's vassals since 1478). Firstly, the horde weakened itself from within in an internal power struggle, which **Ismail Bey bin Musa** (r. *ca.* 1554–63) won. But partisans of the defeated Khan Yusuf and the Nogai living in the lower reaches of the Volga who rejected the supremacy of Russia migrated south-west to the steppes of Azov and into the Kuban region. There, they soon formed the backbone of the Crimean Tatar army and were called the 'Lesser Nogai Horde'. The Nogai who remained in the area around Saraichik formed the Greater Nogai Horde. Two other lesser hordes were the Jemboyluq Horde (also called Altiuli), who nomadised along the Emba River and the Bujaq Horde on the lower Don.[143] While Ismail's son **Din Achmad** (r. 1563–78) managed to preserve the unity of the Greater Horde, it subsequently collapsed following raids by the Cossacks, who plundered Saraichik in 1581, and by the immigrant Kalmyks (bands of Oirats). From the late 1570s, Nogai of the Greater Horde began to cross the Don and penetrate into the steppes of the Crimea, where they encountered resistance from the Lesser Horde. Especially after the death of **Ishterek Bey ibn Din Achmad** (d. 1618), the pressure from the Kalmyks intensified. After reaching the Emba River in 1608 and the Urals five years later, they advanced to Astrakhan in 1633, where they defeated the Nogai and the Russian governor. The Kalmyks continued their raids in the delta of the Volga in 1634–35. The Nogai then left the Volga region due to the lack of Russian support and sought protection near the Ottoman fortress of Azov. Around 1637, they crossed the Don and invaded the Crimea, where they were welcomed by the Crimean Tatar princes as much-needed reinforcement to their private armies.[144]

When the Golden Horde started to dissolve at the beginning of the fifteenth century, three new tribal groups gradually emerged in its north-eastern region. The Nogai settled between the Volga and the Ural rivers and the Uzbeks settled in the steppe east of the Urals. And to the north of the latter, the forest regions of Western Siberia (1000 km north-east of Kazan) was under the control of a tribe that described itself as the 'Taybugids'. The Taybugids spoke a Turkic language and derived their descent from the semi-mythical leader Taybuga.

The power centre of the resulting **Khanate of Sibir** was located on the Tura River and called Chimgi-Tura. In close proximity, the Cossacks founded the city of Tyumen in 1586. **Hajji Muhammad Khan** (d. 1428 or 1429) probably established the capital around 1427. He was then killed in a battle along the Tobol River in 1428/29 by the Shaybanid **Abu'l Khayr Khan** (r. 1429–68/69). Upon the death of Abu'l Khayr, **Ibak Khan** (r. *ca.* 1468/69–*ca.* 1494) seized power in 1468 with support from the Nogai. Ibak and the Nogai appear to have remained allies, for together they defeated Ahmad, the khan of the Great Horde, in 1481. In the last decade of the fifteenth century, the Taybugid **Mamuq (Mamat, Muhammad) Khan** (r. *ca.* 1494–95, 1496–?), who was also briefly khan of Kazan, managed to kill Ibak Khan and seize power for himself. Mamuq moved the capital to Sibir, which lay at the confluence of the Irtysh and Tobol rivers, near the present city of Tobolsk.[145]

Around the mid-sixteenth century, the Taybugid **Yagidar Bey** (r. ?–1563), who probably governed Sibir jointly with **Bey Bulad**, was exposed to two different threats: in the west, Tsar Ivan had conquered Kazan, and in the south the Shaybanid Küchüm Khan enjoyed the support of the Nogai and perhaps also of the Kazakhs. Yagidar opted for the far-flung tsar and in 1555 or 1556 sent a legation to Moscow, who offered to Tsar Ivan Sibir's subordination and to pay tribute in return for military protection against Küchüm. Ivan responded enthusiastically, though he was particularly eager to use West Siberian resources like salt, metals and furs. But when **Küchüm Khan** (r. 1563–82, as a guerrilla leader 1582–98) attacked Yagidar, Ivan, who was busy with the consolidation of his power in Kazan and Astrakhan, deserted him and Küchüm conquered the Khanate of Sibir in 1563. Impressed by the Russian advance, Küchüm first offered the tsar his obedience and paid tribute to Moscow. After the major attack of the Crimean Tatars on Moscow in 1571, however, Russia's vulnerability was obvious. Küchüm, for whom the encroachments of Russian hunters and settlers in areas east of the Urals was a constant irritation, subsequently ceased paying tributes in 1572 and insisted on his independence. Although Tsar Ivan was consumed with the Livonian War of 1558–83, in which Russia fought against Poland-Lithuania, Denmark and Sweden for supremacy in the Baltic Sea, Küchüm's disloyalty could not be tolerated for economic reasons. In addition, Küchüm started to attack and burn down the Russian settlements in the area around Perm, which amounted to a declaration of war on the trading empire of the Stroganov family.

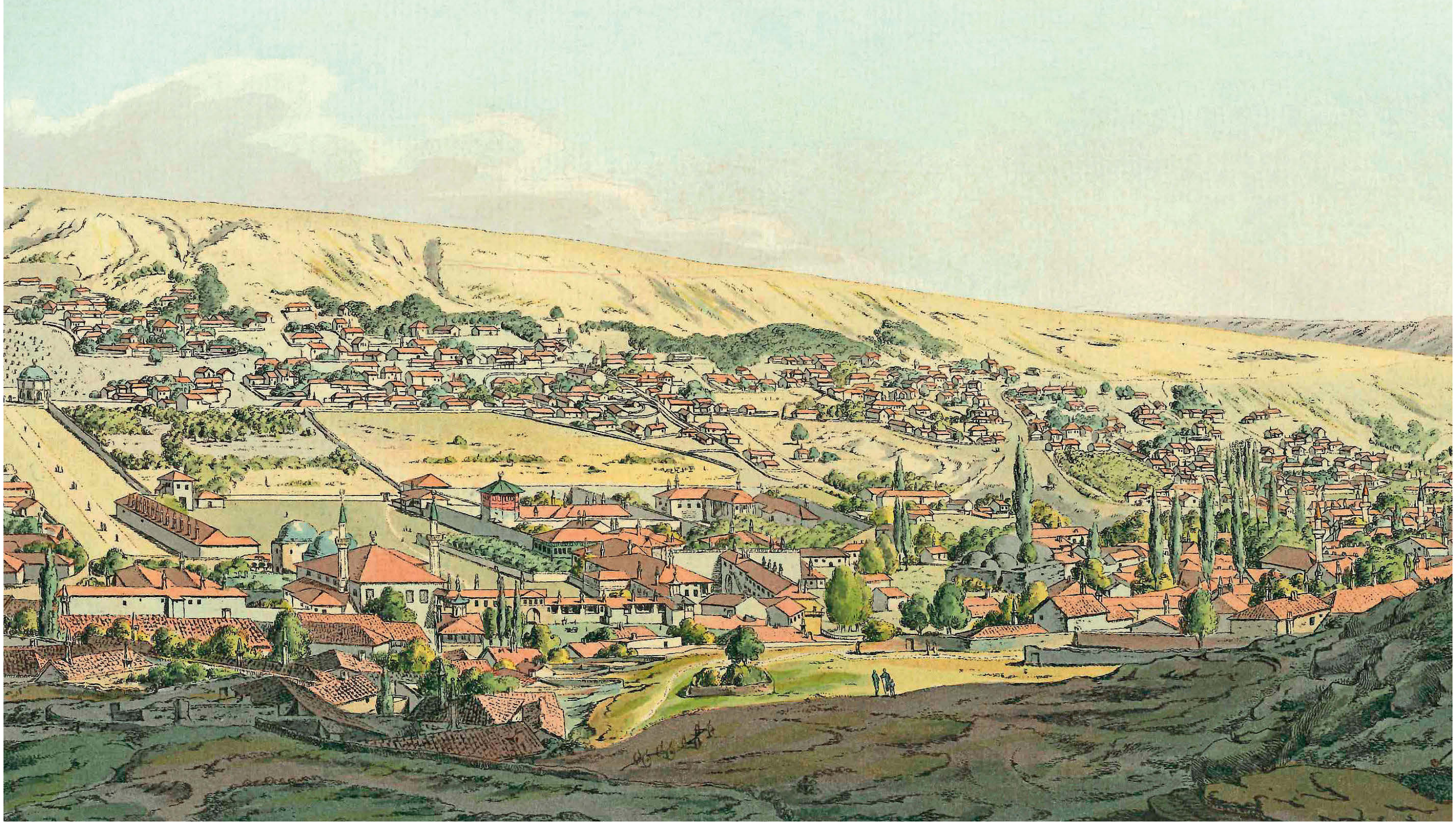
The wealth of the Stroganov family of entrepreneurs was based on the extraction of salt (at the time food could only be preserved by salting), trade in valuable animal skins such as sable and ermine, and the mining of iron ore and gold. Tsar Ivan had transferred the exploitation of resources in the region of Perm – between the Volga and Ural, along the banks of the River Kama – to Grigory Stroganov in 1558. Since the Kama flows south of Kazan into the Volga, goods could easily be shipped to Moscow. Ivan delegated the task to the Stroganovs to tap into, 'pacify', and develop resource-rich areas east of Kazan. He gave them a 20-year tax exemption and the right to raise their own taxes among the locals, to build fortresses and fortified settlements there, as well as to maintain a private Cossack army equipped with firearms. In a second step, Russian officials and soldiers arrived in 1585 to incorporate the exploited areas into Russia, where they were managed by voivodes. Russian trading companies, hunters, adventurers and Cossacks were the tip of the spear for Russia's conquests in Asia.

The business and conquest model set up by Tsar Ivan and the Stroganovs anticipated that of the British East India Company, founded in 1707, by more than a century. When the Stroganovs struck rich deposits of silver and iron ore east of the Urals, Ivan also granted them (around 1568) a huge area comprising half of the Khanate of Sibir. Conflict with Küchüm was therefore inevitable. Küchüm swiftly intensified his attacks on the advancing Russian settlers in 1573 and also killed Ivan's envoys. In response, the tsar allowed the Stroganovs to attack the khanate with their private army of Cossacks led by Yermak Timofeyevich (d. 1585). Although the tsar backed down at the end of the 1570s and ordered the Stroganovs to retreat back behind the Urals, Grigory's sons Nikita and Maxim ignored the command.[146] Yermak's small force numbered only 550 Cossacks and 300 mercenaries, but thanks to the superior firepower of their muskets, he defeated Küchüm in 1582/83 and conquered Sibir. Although Küchüm succeeded in luring Yermak into a trap in the summer of 1585, causing him to drown in the Irtysh River, he was nevertheless unable to recapture the khanate. As the Livonian War was now over, the tsar sent reinforcements and incorporated the khanate into the Russian Empire. Küchüm, however, conducted an unsuccessful guerrilla war in the West Siberian forests until 1598. After another defeat, he fled to the Nogai, who killed him out of fear of possible Russian reprisal. The regent appointed by Ivan, Boris Godunov, consolidated the newly acquired Asian areas by building fortified settlements: Ufa (1574) and Tyumen (1586) were followed by Tobolsk in 1587 and Tomsk in 1604.[147] Only 57 years after Yermak had conquered Sibir, the Cossack captain Ivan Moskvitin reached the Sea of Okhotsk, a marginal sea of the Pacific Ocean, in 1639. The port of Okhotsk was built there in 1647.[148]

4.3 The Khanate of the Crimean Tatars

Of the successor states of the Golden Horde, the Khanate of the Crimean Tatars (1441–1783) endured by far the longest, not least because it had been an Ottoman protectorate since 1478 and had close economic ties with the Ottoman Empire.[149] All 49 khans who split among them 71 periods of rule belonged to the family of Giray and descended from the Togha-Timurid Tash Temür, who had his name minted on coins in the Crimea around 1395.[150] In the traditionally organised khanate, the power of the Giray khans rested on the four major tribes of Shirin, Barïn, Arghïn, and Kipchak, with the Manghit joining later. It was the first khan Hajji Giray who had invited these powerful clans of the Golden Horde to the Crimea to spread his power base. Following the death of a khan, the leaders of these clans chose his successor, although not in a vertical line, e.g. from father to son, as with the Ottomans. It was instead done horizontally, with the eldest male descendant claiming the title of khan.[151] These four, later five, clans possessed the most fertile pastures and lands in Crimea – except for the south coast, which a governor administered as an Ottoman wilayah (province) – as hereditary possessions and they maintained their own private armies. This strong position of the tribes forced the khan to align his foreign policy with their interests, which mainly consisted in looting and kidnapping.

Hajji Giray (r. *ca.* 1441–*ca.* 1466), a descendant of Tash Temür, was elected the first khan of Crimea in 1441 or 1443 by the tribal leaders and immediately had his name minted on coins.[152] He secured his position against the Golden Horde by entering into an alliance with Casimir IV of Poland-Lithuania. Together, the allies thwarted the attacking Golden Horde in 1452. The next year, the political geography around the Black Sea changed fundamentally when the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) conquered Constantinople on 29 May 1453. The Byzantine Empire was thus wiped off the map permanently. Sultan Mehmed continued his conquests not only to the west – in the Balkans, Wallachia, and against Venice – but also to the north against Trebizond, which he captured in 1461, and against the Genoese outposts in the Crimea. Mehmed wanted to make sure that the Genoese, who had allied themselves with Poland, did not extend their sovereignty over the entire Crimea. He also wanted to bring the lucrative trade across the Black Sea under his control. Even though a first joint attack by Hajji Giray and Mehmed II over land and sea in 1454 on Caffa (present-day Feodosia) failed, the city



25. The capital of the Crimean khans, Bakhchisarai, in the south-west of Crimea, Russia. Subsequently coloured copper engraving. Peter Simon Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1793–1794* (Leipzig: G. Martini, 1799–1801), vol. III, fig. I/2.

26. The palace of the Crimean khans, probably built after 1533, in Bakhchisarai, Crimea, Russia. Photo: 2011.

nonetheless had to pay tributes to the Sultan from then on.[153] In return, the Genoese of Caffa induced some clans to depose Hajji Giray in favour of his son **Haydar Khan** (r. 1456). Hajji Giray, however, very soon took back power. Upon the death of Hajji Giray around 1466, a twelve-year power struggle broke out between his eldest son **Nur Devlet** (r. 1466–68, 1469–71, 1474/75, 1476–78) and his sixth son **Mengli Giray I** (r. 1468/69, 1471–74, 1475, 1478–1514). It was only finally settled when the Ottoman military intervened on behalf of Mengli Giray. Three years earlier, the Ottomans had used a powerful fleet to transform the Black Sea into an Ottoman lake. In 1475, they first conquered the Genoese outposts on the southern coast of Crimea like Caffa, Soldaia (Sudak) and Cembalo (Balaclava), and then subjugated the Principality of Theodoro, also known as Gothia, and seized its port Kalamita (today's Inkerman). The Ottomans made the newly conquered territories into an independent wilayah of Kefe. It was administered by a governor appointed in Istanbul and not subordinated to the khan in any way. The wilayah also included Kerch in the east of the Crimea and the fortress of Azov, built in 1471 (near the ancient city of Tanaïs) in the delta of the Don.[154] Between 1699 and 1706, the Ottomans secured the strategically important Kerch Strait by building the Yeni-Kale fortress.[155]

In the late autumn of 1477, the leading clans of the Crimea appealed to Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II to dethrone Nur Devlet, who ruled since 1476 as a puppet khan of the Great Horde, and to install Mengli Giray I again. The sultan dispatched his fleet, which put Mengli Giray in place as an Ottoman vassal in early 1478. The khan was obliged 'to be the enemy of the enemy and the friend of the friend [of the sultan], to contribute troops when the sultan called for them, and pay tribute gifts'.[156] The khan thus had to align his foreign policy with that of the Ottomans. Otherwise, he retained his sovereignty and was allowed to mint his own coins and levy tributes from Moscow, Poland-Lithuania and the Nogai. He also received extensive subsidies from Istanbul. From this point forward, three axes determined the fate of the Crimea: the khan, the leaders of the powerful tribes, and the Sublime Porte. Also, the economic potential of the khan and his khanate were limited because the south coast and the lucrative trade were under Ottoman control and the clans held many of the fertile pastures and farmlands. The Crimean economy depended on the tributes from Poland-Lithuania and Moscow (the latter were only rescinded under Tsar Peter with the Treaty of Constantinople in 1700), the Ottoman subsidies, and especially the kidnapping and sale of Christian slaves from the Danubian principalities, Poland-Lithuania, Russia and the north-western Caucasus. The khan and tribal leaders undertook annual military campaigns for the purpose of kidnapping. Of the abductees, those of higher social standing were released in exchange for high ransoms, which was a heavy burden on the state coffers of Moscow and Poland. The rest were sold on the Ottoman slave markets, which slowed down Muscovy's population growth.[157] The economic model of the Crimea was distinctly predatory in nature. When Poland and Russia became stronger towards the end of the seventeenth century and ceased paying tribute, the khanate lost its main source of income. This heralded its decline.[158] From the perspective of Istanbul, the Crimea served as a buffer state against the north and as a profitable supplier of slaves. From the Russian point of view, the Crimea constituted a check on further economic growth. Its strong cavalry not only extorted tributes and ransom payments, but they also blocked the economic use of the lower reaches of the Don River, as well as the immigration into today's Eastern Ukraine and the development of its fertile soil. As historian Alan W. Fisher recognised, Russian agriculture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remained limited to climatically unfavourable northerly zones that required labour-intensive cultivation. This, in turn, necessitated serf labour. This development meant that impoverished peasants and serfs tended to flee to Siberia, either as settlers or hunters.[159]

After Mengli Giray's death, he was succeeded by his son **Mehmed Giray I** (r. 1514–23), who lost his life in the failed attack on Astrakhan, **Ghazi Giray** (r. 1523–24) and **Saadet Giray** (r. 1524–32). The Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520–66) decided to designate the next khan himself, going over the heads of the tribal leaders. He appointed as new khan **Sahib Giray** (r. 1532–51), the former Khan of Kazan. In response, the tribes named **Islam Giray** (r. 1532–34) as an alternative khan; however Sahib Giray defeated him two years later.[160] Sahib Giray's attack on Moscow in 1541 had convinced the young Tsar Ivan IV to dissolve the Khanate of Kazan, which was often governed by the Crimean Tatars. As for the Palace of Bakhchisarai in south-west Crimea (fig. 26), although an inscription on the 'golden gate' indicates 1503 as the founding year, it is suspected that it was Sahib Giray who moved the capital here from Solkhat and had a palace built, after 1533.[161] The next ruler **Devlet Giray** (r. 1551–77) was the last khan to enjoy a relatively high degree of independence from the Sublime Porte. He thus undermined the Ottoman campaign of 1569 to capture Astrakhan, preferring instead to attack Moscow in 1571 and 1572 and reap a rich 'harvest' of slaves.

Under the khans **Mehmed Giray II** (r. 1577–84) and **Islam Giray II** (1584–88), an era of greater dependence on the Ottoman Sultan began. There was a realignment in foreign policy. These khans and their successor **Ghazi Giray II** (1588–96, 1596–1608) and the four-time sovereign **Selim Giray I** (r. 1671–78, 1684–91, 1692–99 and 1702–4) pursued fewer military expeditions to the north. On the other hand, there was an increase in the number of campaigns to the south in the Caucasus and Iran and to the south-west in the

27. The south-eastern gate of the Ottoman fortress, Yeni-Kale, which was built with the help of French engineers from 1699 to 1706. Since the waterway in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, i.e. the Kerch Strait, was very close to the western shoreline during this time, the Turkish artillery was able to control the strait until 1771. Photo: 2011.

Lower Danube territories and, on Ottoman orders, against Anatolia's Jelali rebels. By the same token, the khans' loss of authority caused the tribal leaders to undertake unauthorised incursions into today's Ukraine and against southern Russia, where they clashed with semi-autonomous groups of Cossacks. The period of relative prosperity under Ottoman sovereignty ended with the Ottoman defeat in the Great Turkish War of 1683–99 against a Habsburg-led coalition also involving Poland and Russia. The Ottomans were not only forced in the Peace of Karlowitz from 1699 to cede large territories to Habsburg and Venice, but in the Treaty of Constantinople from 1700 they also had to recognise the loss of the fortress of Azov which Tsar Peter had captured in 1696.[162] After Prince Vasily Golitsyn's two failed campaigns against the Crimea in 1687 and 1689 – in which he was defeated in each case by the Crimean Tatar cavalry personally led by Selim Giray – the Russian conquest of Azov represented a geopolitical turning point.[163] Russia now had a naval base on the Azov Sea and could attack the khanate on its north-eastern coast. However, the Ottomans were able to maintain the Yeni-Kale fortress until 1771 and – in tandem with fleet support – to prevent Russian warships from passing the Kerch Strait and entering the Black Sea.

In the eighteenth century, no less than 20 different khans in 31 periods of rule split up the remaining 83 years of Crimean Tatar independence. They were repeatedly enthroned and dethroned by the Ottoman Sultan. In the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the Crimea was fortunate in that Tsar Peter was preoccupied in the west with the Second Northern War (1700–21) and that after his death in 1725 civil unrest broke out in Russia. But after Tsarina Anna (r. 1730–40) had stabilised her rule thanks to the support of the boyars, she approved the plan of the German-born Count Burkhard Christoph von Münnich to eliminate Crimea's status as an independent state. Beginning in 1736, his troops broke through the Tatar defence at the Isthmus of Perekop and set the capital Bakhchisarai on fire. The greatly weakened khanate was rescued by supply difficulties on the part of the Russians and the outbreak of an epidemic in the Russian army, which then had to retreat. Khans **Mengli Giray II** (r. 1724–30, 1737–40) and **Selamet Giray II** (r. 1740–43) – who succeeded the deposed Khan **Kaplan Giray I** (r. 1730–36) and Khan **Fatih Giray II** (r. 1736–37) – realised that Crimea had to orient itself economically and politically towards Russia in view of the Ottomans' chronic weakness. Tsarina Elizabeth (r. 1741–62) recognised the enormous strategic benefit to Russia if it possessed a warm-water port: a protectorate in the Crimea would open up access for Russia to the Mediterranean. She thus opened a consulate in Bakhchisarai, from where the Russian consul could monitor and direct the Crimean policy.[164]

At the beginning of 1765, Khan **Selim Giray III** (r. 1765–67, 1770–71, 1778) dared to close the Russian consulate. The Russian-Turkish War (1768–74) broke out soon thereafter, and the Ottoman fleet was destroyed in the Battle of Çeşme in 1770. This Ottoman defeat was devastating for Crimea, because the Yedisan-Nogai, who lived on the Black Sea coast between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers and were nominal subjects of Crimea, placed themselves under the protection of Russia. Russia now controlled southern Ukraine and severed the land connecting the Ottoman Empire and Crimea. The Crimea's only connection to the Sublime Porte was by sea, but the Ottomans no longer had a significant fleet.[165] This political and geographical isolation of Crimea offered Tsarina Catherine II (r. 1762–93) the opportunity to occupy the Crimea from 1771 to 1783 by means of four campaigns and to annex it in April 1783. The last khan **Sahin Giray** (r. intermittently 1777–83) was executed in 1787 as a potential troublemaker while in Ottoman exile.[166]

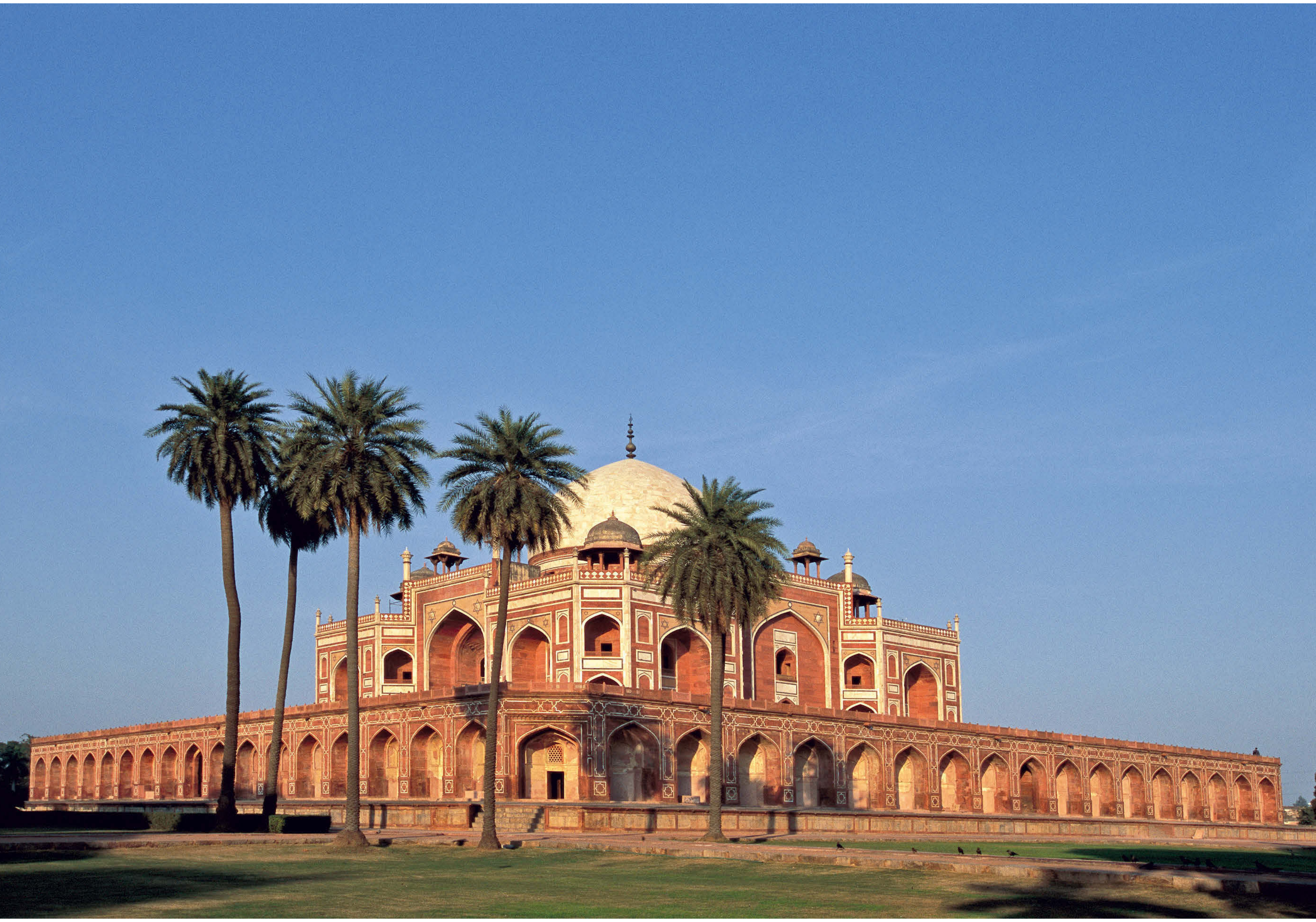
The Russian incorporation of the last successor state of the Golden Horde and the southern Ukraine was more than the conclusion of a 400-year effort on the part of Moscow, as a descendant of orthodox Kiev, to acquire the former territories of Kievan Rus and to gain a warm-water port. It also served as a base for the imperial vision of a conquest of Constantinople and unimpeded access to the Mediterranean via the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Russia began to set its sights on this new geopolitical goal in the late eighteenth century with the strategy of advancing into the southern Caucasus and, at the same time, of neutralising Persia. This geostrategic goal, whose realisation the British opposed with increasing determination, guided the policy of the Russian Empire until its demise in 1917. The clashes between the world's largest land power, Russia, and the world's mightiest naval power, Britain – subsumed under the name 'the Great Game' – had a critical impact on the history of Central Asia.[167]

II

The Descendants of the Timurids: the Dynasty of the Mughal in India and Afghanistan

‘Therefore I thought good at present to advertise Your Highness [Mughal Emperor Jahangir] that if it shall please you to have a care of your subjects and their goods, that you would bee pleased to send to the Kinges Majestie of England to entreate of peace, before hee send his armadas and men of warre to be revenged of the wronges that to His Majestie and his subjects hath been offred within your dominions unjusttlie.’

A threatening letter from sea captain **SIR HENRY MIDDLETON** (d. 1613) to Emperor Jahangir dated 18 May 1612, requesting his recognition of the East India Company’s rights to establish a commercial branch at the harbour of Surat.[1]



28. The mausoleum in Delhi, India, completed in 1571 for the second emperor of the Mughal Humayum (r. 1530–40, 1555–56). Constructed without minarets, the mausoleum stands in the middle of the Chahar Bagh garden, which is divided by four water channels. The architects Mirak Sayyid Gyath-al-Din and his son Sayyid Muhammad, who originated from Herat, combined Central Asian-Timurid and Persian architectural elements, establishing the basic forms of the grand architectural style of the Mughal.[2] Photo: 2005.

1. The Build-up of the Empire: from Babur to Akbar

Just as the Crimean Tatar dynasty of the Giray lasted for centuries due to the extraordinary prestige of their progenitor Genghis Khan outside of Central Asia, the dynasty of the Mughal also survived for several hundred years. The dynasty founder **Zahir al-Din Muhammad** (r. as Mughal 1526–30), called **Babur** ('tiger'), descended from Genghis Khan on his mother's side and from Timur-e Lang on his father's side.[2] Like his cousin Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Babur was not only a military leader, but also a historian. He wrote a detailed autobiography, *Bāburnāma*, in the Turkic language Chagatai.[3] Babur, who was born in 1483 in Andijan, Fergana, led an erratic existence on both sides of the Hindu Kush: he was both refugee and conqueror and sparked a cultural transfer from Central Asia to India. The refined Babur was completely rooted in the Perso-Timurid culture, its architecture and literature, and also brought it with him to India. The contact and exchange with Central Asia persisted for as long as his descendants were able to hold on to the cities in southern Afghanistan like Kabul and Kandahar, which were influenced by the Timurid culture.

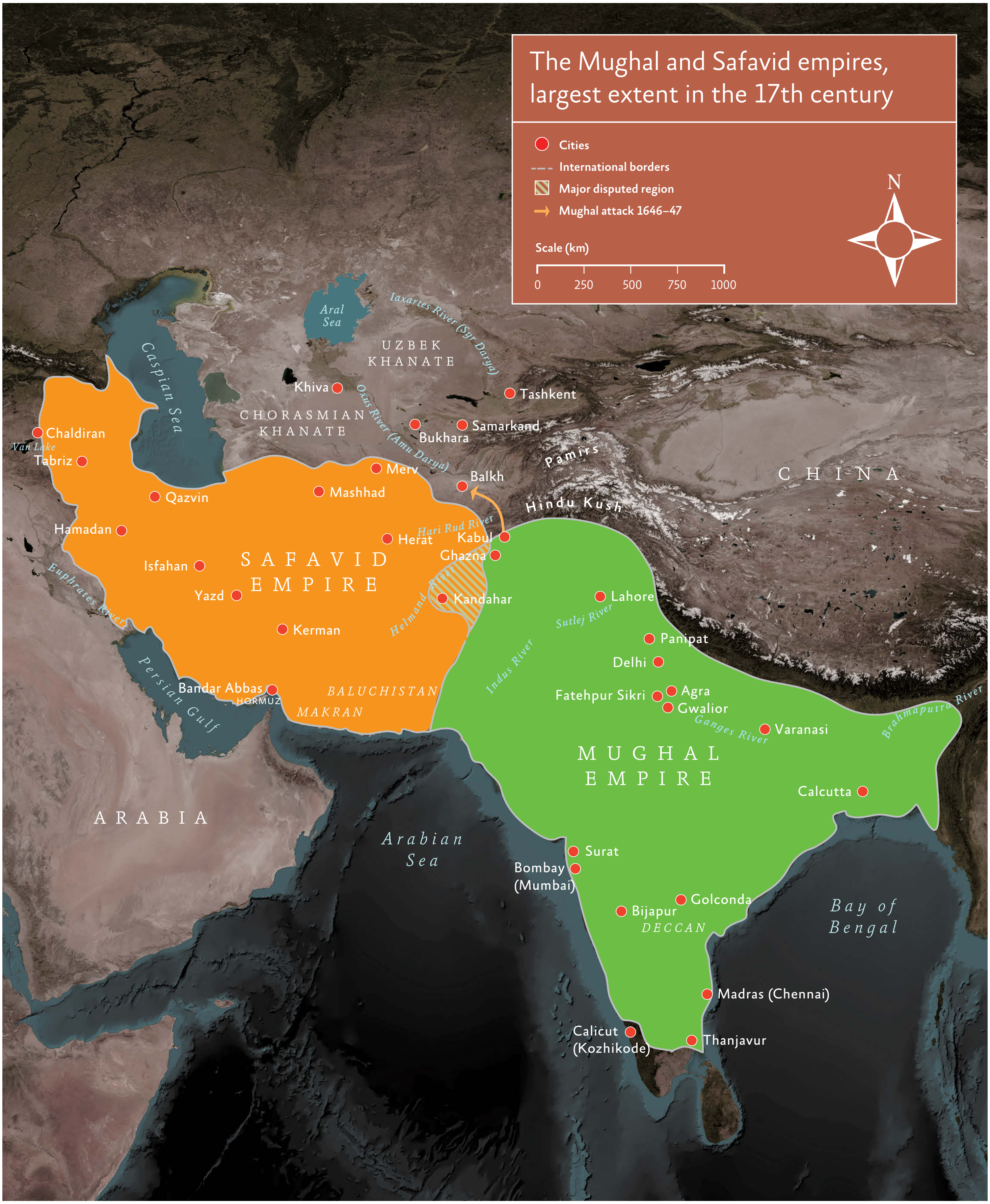
Babur was the great-great-grandson of the Timurid dynasty founder, Timur-e Lang (r. 1370–1405), and his last descendant in Samarkand (r. 1497, 1500/01, 1511/12). Babur conquered and lost Samarkand three times: first in 1497, when a revolt broke out in his power base Andijan, to where he was forced to return; then, in 1501, to the Uzbek Shaybani Khan; and, finally in 1512, when he succumbed to the Uzbek military leader Ubayd Allah in the battle at Kul-i-Malik near Bukhara. He stayed for two years north of the Hindu Kush and bided his time, before returning to Kabul in 1514.[4] Babur had already conquered the cities of Kabul and Ghazni in 1504, which he developed into his new, second power base.[5] As Babur had determined, four passes led from Kabul to the plains of India. In January 1505, he undertook a first looting expedition to Peshawar and from there to Multan.[6] Then, Babur entered into an alliance with the Timurid Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1469–1506), the ruler of Herat, to organise a united defence against their common enemy Shaybani Khan. But Babur's initiative showed no results because Husayn Bayqara died shortly afterwards. This led to the mutual paralysis of the joint government of his two warring sons, Badi al-Zaman Mirza and Mirza Muzaffar Hussain. In this context, the contemporary historian Khwandamir cited the proverb that 'two swords cannot fit into one scabbard'.[7] Balkh fell when the brothers, fearing a third brother residing in Mashhad, refused to rush to the city's aid after it was besieged by Shaybani Khan. Babur realised that the threatened city of Herat was also lost. He returned to Kabul, prompting Shaybani Khan to capture Herat and Mashhad in 1507 and 1508, respectively.[8] Babur was now the last ruling Timurid.

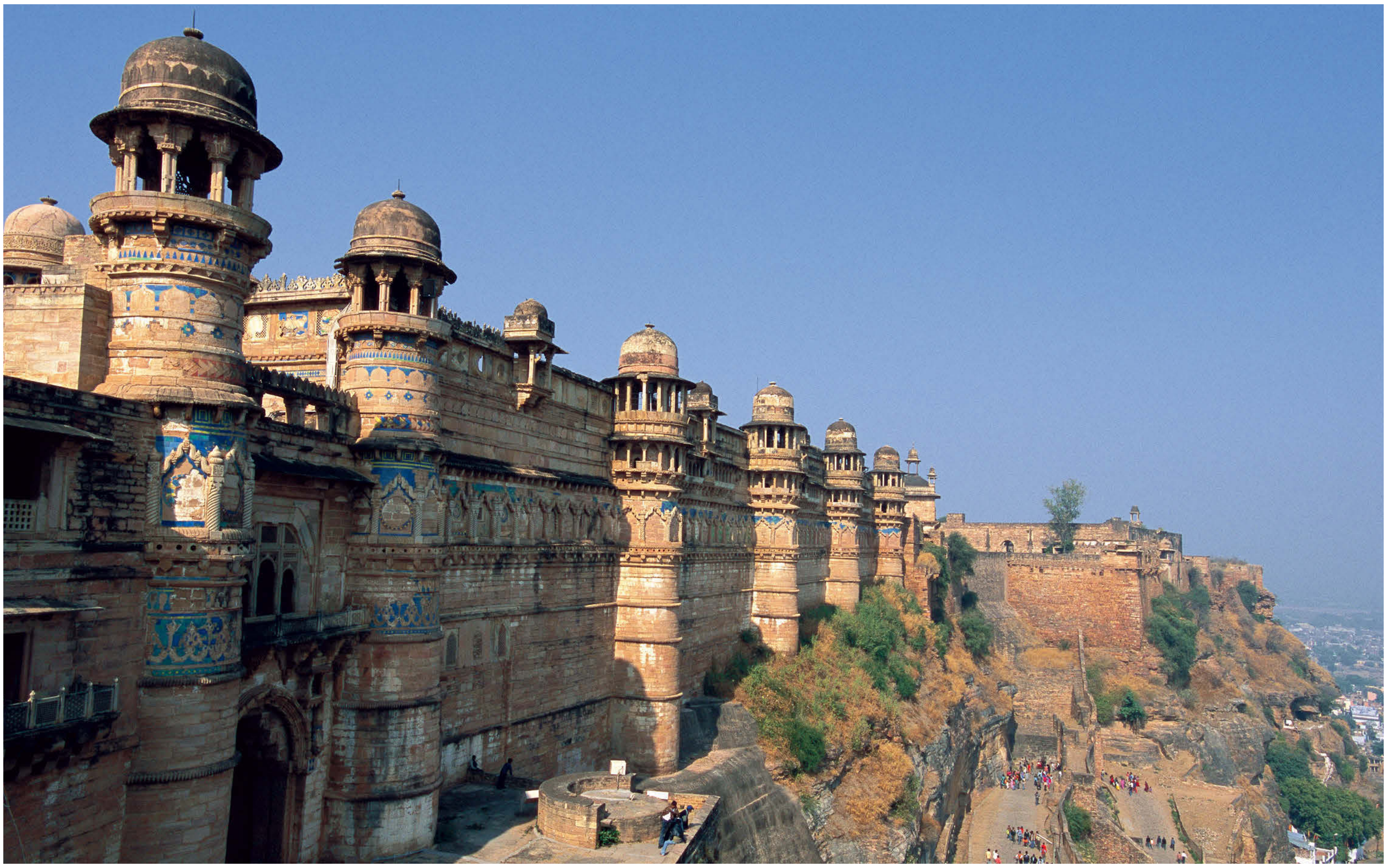
After his return to Kabul in 1514, Babur decided to turn once and for all to India. He prepared carefully for his mission by setting up a new army, which consisted of Afghans, Persians and Turko-Mongols, who had fled with him. Babur's military genius was that he did not simply depend on heavy and light cavalry – the traditional armed branches of Turko-Mongolian steppe warriors – but also tried to acquire and utilise firearms in a modern fashion. Impressed by the resounding victory at Chaldiran of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I over the Safavid and former patron of Babur, Ismail I, in 1514, Babur asked Selim for cannon foundry and artillery experts, which he also received. Babur mentions two of them in his memoirs: Ustad Ali Kuli and 'Mutafa Rumi [the Ottoman], the cannoneer'.[9] Babur had these specialists build several gun types: heavy mortars mounted on a four-wheeled cart (*kazan*); lighter field guns and culverins mounted on a two-wheeled carriage (*zarbzan*); and light swivel guns mounted on a revolving base. Babur also adopted the Ottoman operational doctrine concerning firearms. The artillery stood behind an obstacle such as interconnected wagons, or the guns were bundled together themselves, and it was protected by infantrymen armed with matchlock rifles, standing just behind and to the side. The cavalry, armed with bows and arrows and sabres, waited on the flanks to surround the enemy, which was bewildered by the cannon fire. Once the cavalry attacked the enemy on the flanks, the rifle-carrying infantry also moved up, so that the enemy found itself surrounded on all three sides.[10] After Selim, Babur was the second ruler of Asia not only to use cannons statically for siege purposes, but to manoeuvre them in pitched battles.

After several smaller campaigns in the Punjab, Babur received invitations around the end of 1523 from Daulat Khan Lodi, the rebellious governor of Punjab, and the Hindu Prince of Mewar in the current province of Rajasthan, to topple the despised Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (r. 1517–26). Ibrahim originated from the Pashtun (i.e. southern Afghanistan) Lodi dynasty.[11] Babur's relatively small army with its 12,000 soldiers crossed the Indus in December 1525 and on 21 April 1526, in the First Battle of Panipat north of Delhi, destroyed the 40,000-strong force of Ibrahim Lodi, which had 100 war elephants and an additional 60,000 followers. Ibrahim died in battle. The victorious Babur positioned his army as follows: 'I directed that, according to the custom of Rûm [the Ottomans], the gun-carriages should be connected together with twisted bull-hides or with chains. Between every two gun carriages were six or seven *tûras*, breast-works. The matchlock-men stood behind these guns [and cannons] and *tûras*, and discharged their matchlocks.'[12] Babur further reported that he had lined up his army so that the suburbs of the city of Panipat were on his right. To protect his left flank, he had trenches dug. This funnel-shaped formation forced Ibrahim Lodi to attack head-on and to expose his troops to the lethal fire of the enemy artillery. Babur's cavalry encircled Lodi's army.[13] Babur then occupied Delhi and Agra, which he chose for his formal capital, and laid the foundation for the **Mughal** dynasty (1526–1858), as the Mongols were called in Persian. In the following year, Babur used the same strategy to defeat the rebellious Rajput ruler of Mewar named Rana Sangha in the Battle of Khanwa. Like his great-great-grandfather Timur-e Lang, Babur built a macabre memorial: 'On this hillock, I directed a tower of the skulls of the Infidels to be constructed.'[14]

Babur's empire stretched from southern Afghanistan in the west to Bihar in the east and Kabul in the north to Mewar (central India) in the south. However, just as Babur established the Mughal Empire, which was later similar in size to the realms of the Safavids and Ottomans, a development began that would fundamentally change the balance of power in Asia in the centuries that followed. The Western European maritime powers arrived on the scene, and, due to their mobility and technological superiority, as well as a novel, quasi-state concept of rule, soon put the sovereignty of Asian countries in question. After the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut in 1498, the second Portuguese governor Afonso de Albuquerque (in office 1509–15) captured the port city of Goa and its hinterland. It remained in Portuguese hands until 1961. The English East India Company, founded in 1600, followed the Portuguese. In the small but important Battle of Swally near Surat, Gujarat, the main port city of the Mughal Empire, it won a decisive victory over the Portuguese in 1612. This marked the beginning of the British Indian colonial empire. The ships of the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, used Surat from about 1608 as a transit port on the way to Java. English ships also began to dock at Surat around 1608.[15] The English East India Company opened its first independent trading post on the Indian subcontinent in 1611 in the port city of Machilipatnam on the south-east coast, where their Dutch competition had been active since 1606. In the years 1616–19 English warships demonstrated their superiority in two battles against the Portuguese and Sir Henry Middleton attacked foreign merchant ships in the Red Sea. After this the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe obtained the concession to establish an exclusive commercial settlement in Surat from the fourth Mughal Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27). Further settlements followed in Madras in 1639, in Bombay in 1668, and in Calcutta in 1690.[16] These foreign trading posts were not limited to trade, but also organised the production of textiles on Indian soil. These textiles were intended for export to Europe, and the East India Company even had a monopoly on this trade. But the Mughal Empire remained purely a land power, in contrast to the Ottomans, despite its thousands of kilometres of coastline. Therefore, it was hardly in a position to oppose the Europeans' armed trade companies. As a result of the slow, continuous progress of the East India Company to the interior and of the political fragmentation of the subcontinent, the dominion of the Mughal emperors shrank at the beginning of the nineteenth century to their royal seat, the Red Fort in Delhi.

In the four years that remained to him, Babur travelled constantly to consolidate his new empire, which is why the government and court were located at the same place as his camp. Since Babur planned to go back and forth between the large and strategically important cities, he laid spacious gardens there to serve as campsites. In Kabul alone he created ten gardens. Several of Babur's gardens and those of his successors corresponded to the Perso-Timurid type of a Chahar Bagh, a quadrilateral garden with two intersecting axes. These axes formed four channels arranged at right angles, emanating from a pool of water in the centre of the compound. Babur ascribed great importance to such gardens, which he designed himself: 'It always appeared to me, that one of the chief defects of Hindustân is the want of artificial water-courses. I had intended, wherever I might fix my residence, to construct water-wheels, to produce an artificial stream, and to lay out an elegant and regularly planned pleasure-ground.' After describing the Chahar Bagh of Agra, whose construction began in 1526, Babur observed: 'I, however, produced edifices and gardens which possessed considerable regularity.'[17] Such geometrically arranged gardens were often part of the grave sites of the Mughal rulers, as, for example, at the mausoleum of Humayum in Delhi (built *ca.* 1562–71, fig. 28); at the mausoleums of Akbar in Sikandra near Agra (*ca.* 1605–13), of Itimad al-Daula in Agra (*ca.* 1622–28), and of Jahangir in Lahore (*ca.* 1627–37); at the Taj Mahal in Agra (*ca.* 1632–43; fig. 32); and at the grave of Bibi Ka Maqbara in Aurangabad (*ca.* 1753–54). These Chahar Bagh gardens, which were located in front of or around a mausoleum, probably symbolised Paradise: the four channels hinted at Paradise's four rivers,[18] and the central, slightly raised water tank, at Paradise's abundance. The mausoleum itself can be understood as the throne of God on the Day of Resurrection, and, in the case of the Taj Mahal, the minarets as its four supporting columns.[19]


The Mughal and Safavid empires, largest extent in the 17th century
● Cities
- - - International borders
▨ Major disputed region
→ Mughal attack 1646–47
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000
N
Aral Sea
Iaxartes River (Syr Darya)
UZBEK KHANATE
Caspian Sea
Khiva
Oxus River (Amu Darya)
Tashkent
CHORASMIAN KHANATE
Bukhara
Samarkand
Chaldiran
Van Lake
Tabriz
Merv
Pamirs
Balkh
C H I N A
Qazvin
Mashhad
Hindu Kush
Hamadan
Hari Rud River
Herat
Kabul
Ghazna
Isfahan
SAFAVID EMPIRE
Yazd
Helmand River
Kandahar
Lahore
Euphrates River
Sutlej River
Kerman
Panipat
Delhi
Indus River
Persian Gulf
Bandar Abbas
HORMUZ
BALUCHISTAN
MAKRAN
Fatehpur Sikri
Agra
Gwalior
Ganges River
Varanasi
Brahmaputra River
MUGHAL EMPIRE
Calcutta
ARABIA
Arabian Sea
Surat
Bombay (Mumbai)
Golconda
Bijapur
DECCAN
Bay of Bengal
Madras (Chennai)
Calicut (Kozhikode)
Thanjavur

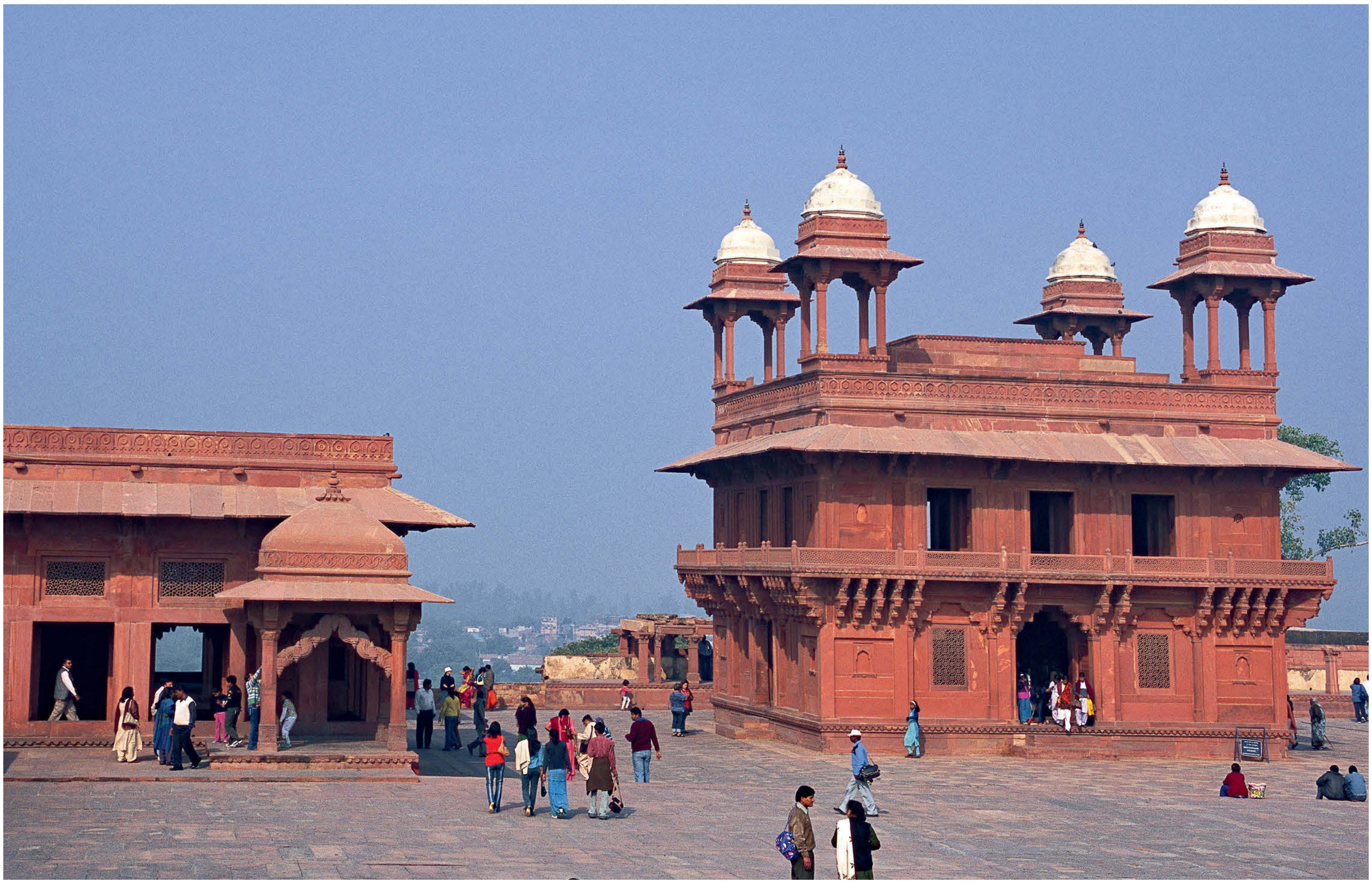


29. Resting on a mountain ridge, Gwalior Fort is located in Madhya Pradesh, India, south of Agra; it was seized by Emperor Babur in 1527 and Emperor Akbar in 1558.[3] Photo: 2006.

Babur's son and successor **Humayum** (r. 1530–40, 1555–56) inherited a still unconsolidated empire. In the east, Afghan commanders waited for the opportunity to restore the rule of the Pashtun Lodi; within the empire, Humayum was the victim of the Timurid government system, in which a realm was divided into more or less autonomous appanages. The four brothers of Humayum thus possessed important regions: Sulaiman had Badakhshan, Kamran had Kabul and Kandahar, and Askari and Hindal had large tracts of land at their disposal in Punjab. In 1537, Hindal made an unsuccessful coup attempt. All four brothers challenged Humayum's authority more or less openly and denied him any access to the resources and commercial revenues of Punjab and Afghanistan. In the years 1539 and 1540, the Afghan Sher Khan (d. 1545) attacked Humayum from his power base of Bihar, dealing him two crushing defeats. Humayum fled to Lahore and continued on to Herat, which belonged to the Safavids. At the same time, he left all of northern India to Sher Khan, who established the short-lived Sur dynasty (1540–55). After Humayum had converted to Shia under pressure from the Persian Shah Tahmasp, the latter provided him with Persian troops. Thanks to the Persian support, Humayum managed to prevail in the eight-year fratricidal war against Kamran and to occupy Kabul in 1553. When a succession dispute broke out the following year between the sons of Islam Shah Suri (d. 1554), Sher Khan's successor, Humayum sent his general Bairam Khan, who defeated the Afghans and put Humayum on the throne in the summer of 1555. A short time later, Humayum took a fall in his library in Delhi and died.[20]

Unlike Humayum, his son and successor **Akbar** (r. 1556–1605) was an excellent general, a cunning diplomat, and a far-sighted planner. First, Humayum's general Bairam Khan took over the regency for the just thirteen-year-old emperor. On 5 November 1556, he secured the continuation of the dynasty in the Second Battle of Panipat, when he defeated the superior army of the rebellious Hindu general Hemu, who called himself Vikramaditya.[21] In the years 1557–58, Bairam Khan subjugated Ajmer, Lahore and Multan in the west, Gwalior in the south, and Jaunpur in the east. In 1560, the now-adult Akbar exploited the dislike of his Sunni circles for the Shiite prime minister Bairam Khan, and forced his abdication. Bairam Khan was assassinated soon thereafter. One of Akbar's greatest achievements was to build a close-knit, centrally managed administration, headed by four ministers who were responsible for revenue and finance, military and intelligence, judicial and religious matters, as well as public buildings and the imperial court. The same structures were built in each province, where the provincial governor stood directly under the emperor. In order to keep the finances under control, each administrative unit had to report its balance twice a month in writing.[22] Finally, Akbar created a new nobility to reduce the influence of the commanders and nobles originating from Central Asia, who were inclined to revolt. Also, to minimise the gulf between the Muslim conquerors and Hindu subjects, he allowed Hindus, and especially the Rajputs, to join a new military aristocracy. For the same reason, in 1579 he abolished the Jiziya, a special wealth tax imposed on all non-Muslims.[23] Akbar laid the foundation for an empire that later nearly united the entire Indian subcontinent in 1700 and numbered around 135 million people – a tremendous achievement for a small community originating from Central Asia. Akbar's empire was by no means inferior to the 1,500-year-older empire of the Kushans, who also came from Central Asia.[24]

In keeping with the Timurid tradition of magnificent architecture, Akbar emulated his illustrious ancestors Timur-e Lang, Shah Rukh and Ulugh Beg by ordering the construction of the new capital Fatehpur Sikri, 30 km south-west of Agra, in 1570. His contemporary biographer Arif Kandahari confirmed that Akbar was driven by the same expectation as his ancestor Timur-e Lang,[25] who thought that monumental architecture should reflect the greatness of the ruler: 'Through majestic buildings a king establishes a reputation . . . That is, the worth of their buildings suggests the size of the men and the grandeur of their buildings the state of the royal house.'[26] As the building site, Akbar decided on the village of Sikri, where Sheikh Salim Chishti (d. 1572) from the moderate Sufi Order of Chishtiyya lived. It was Chishti who had foretold the birth of Akbar's first son Salim, the future Emperor Jahangir. Sikri's nickname Fatehpur, 'City of Victory', recalled Akbar's conquest of



30. On the right of the image stands the Diwan-i-Khas in the city of Fatehpur Sikri, the private audience chamber of Emperor Akbar, built from 1570 to 1582; on the left is the Ankh Micholi Treasury; Uttar Pradesh, India. Photo: 2005.

Gujarat.[27] The association of his person with the most popular Sufi order underlined Akbar's adherence to Islam. In 1571, Akbar moved to his capital (still under construction). He left fourteen years later, however, in favour of Lahore due to problems with the water supply and the uncertain political situation in Rajputana (Rajasthan) and at the border with the Uzbek Khanate of Bukhara. Akbar's reverence for Sheikh Salim did not prevent him, though, from introducing a sun cult at his court in the 1580s, aimed at deifying the monarch. He gathered a small circle of nobles around himself who swore their unquestioning obedience to him, as disciples to their master. Together, they introduced rituals honouring the sun and light that Akbar designed himself.[28] Finally, the members of this chosen group even worshipped the deified emperor himself, which was blasphemous in an Islamic context.

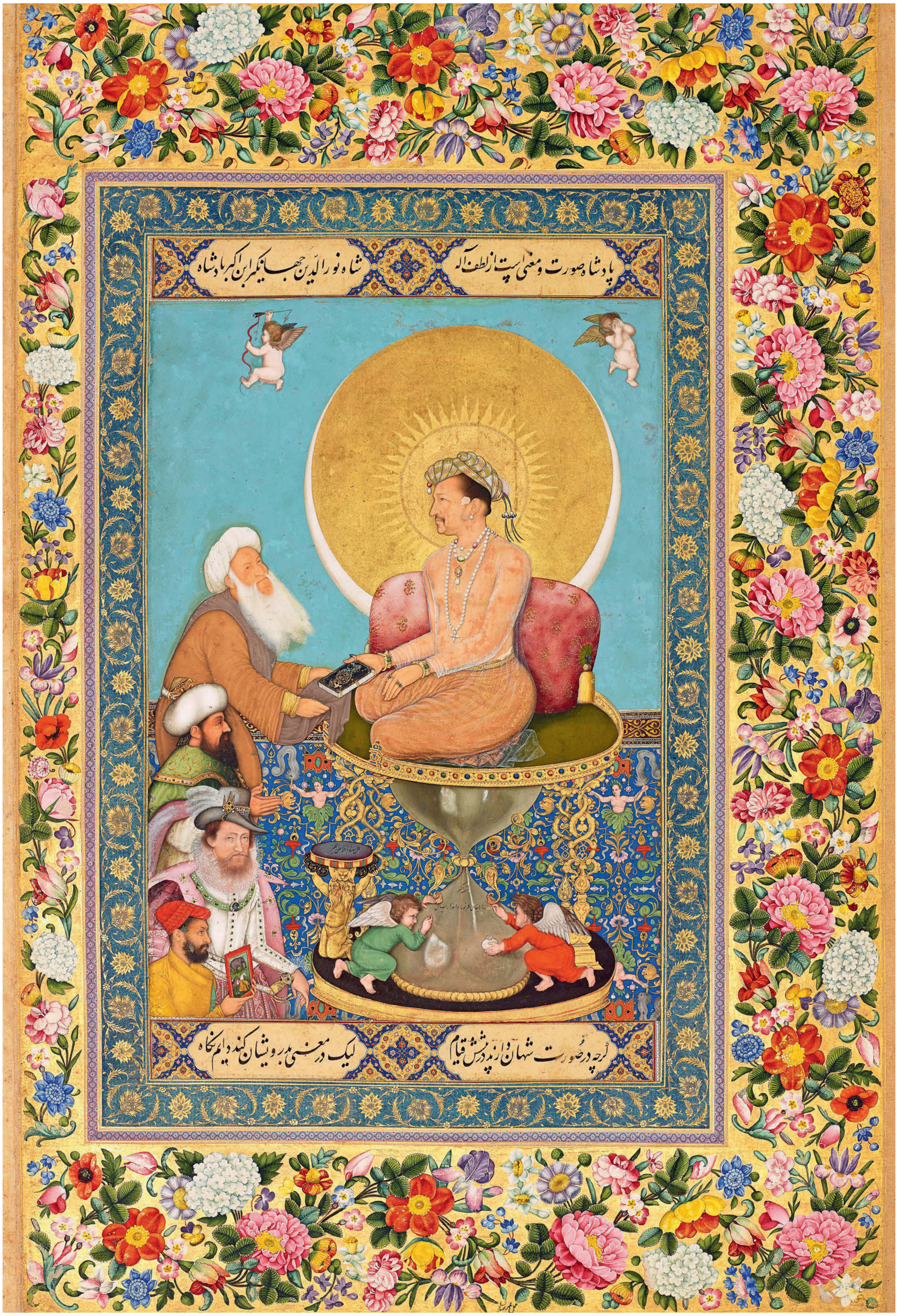
In 1585, Akbar moved to Lahore because of the looming threat from the north-west.[29] A year earlier, the Uzbek Abdullah Khan had occupied Badakhshan. Then, Akbar's half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim had died in 1585; he had ruled in Kabul independently for 29 years and Akbar had to drive him out of Lahore in 1566. To prevent Abdullah Khan from taking advantage of the resulting power vacuum in Kabul, Akbar ordered Kabul to be quickly occupied. As a result, he secured the control of trade with Central Asia all the way to the Hindu Kush, along with the vital supply of horses for the army. After the city of Kandahar, which had belonged to Persia, put itself under Akbar's protection in 1595, Abdullah recognised the Hindu Kush as a border to the Mughal. Since the Persian Shah Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) was preoccupied with consolidating his power, he did not react immediately to this disloyalty and waited for a favourable opportunity to regain Kandahar without risking a war with the Mughal. This opportunity arose when Akbar's opium-addicted successor, Jahangir, became seriously ill in 1620, and the inner circle of power vied to take control. In March 1622, Shah Abbas recaptured Kandahar. When Abdullah Khan died in 1598 and power struggles broke out in Bukhara, the situation on the north-west border of the empire calmed to such an extent that Akbar left Lahore and moved his court to Agra.[30] It is also possible that the ongoing conflict with his eldest son Salim persuaded Akbar to return to the centre of the empire. Salim in fact rebelled in 1600 and 1602, whereupon Akbar put him under house arrest in Agra. On his deathbed – despite everything – Akbar appointed Salim his successor.[31]

2. Stagnation and Decline: from Jahangir to Bahadur Shah II

During Akbar's final days, his son Salim – who named himself **Jahangir**, 'world conqueror' (r. 1605–27) – nearly lost his throne to his own rebellious son Khusrau, who instigated a first insurrection among the nobles. In the following two years, Khusrau also attempted an armed uprising. In suppressing the revolt, Jahangir impaled the captured followers of his son right before his son's eyes. Khusrau then organised an assassination plot against his father. Jahangir was warned in time, however, and had his treacherous son blinded.[32] As Jahangir discovered again in 1622/23, and his son Shah Jahan would learn later, the militarily capable adult sons of Mughal emperors were a serious threat to their ruling fathers, which often led to open-ended wars. The fact that these brutal power struggles did not permanently damage the empire speaks to the quality of the administrative structures that Akbar established. The adage about the Roman Empire, that it was so strong that it could even survive bad emperors, was also true for the Mughal Empire until the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the case of Jahangir, one could add that the empire also withstood drug-addicted emperors. Jahangir was a serious opium addict and alcoholic. He soon left government affairs to four individuals from his immediate circle: his wife Nur Jahan, whom he married in 1611, her father Itimad al-Daula, his brother-in-law Asaf Khan and crown prince Kamran, the future emperor Shah Jahan. The crucial position of Nur Jahan was also expressed by the silver rupees that she had minted: Jahangir's titles could of course be read on the front, but on the back was the inscription 'minted on behalf of the Queen Begum, Nur Jahan'.[33] When Jahangir fell dangerously ill in 1620, Nur Jahan tried to seize power completely. She had Jahangir's youngest son Shahryar married to her own daughter from a previous marriage in order to position herself as regent in the event of a future birth of a son. These and other intrigues failed, however. Following the death of Jahangir, vizier Asaf Khan took sides with crown prince Kamran and turned against his sister. He put Nur Jahan under house arrest, ordered the execution of Shahryar and in January 1628 set Kamran on the throne as Emperor Shah Jahan. His name means 'king of the world'.

Jahangir was less active as an originator of monumental buildings, even if he finished the mausoleum of his father in Sikandra at Agra and created some splendid gardens, such as the Shalimar Bagh in Srinagar, Kashmir. In fact, he was an expert in and promoter of miniature painting. The art of elaborate books, written in fine

31. Emperor Jahangir, whose head is encircled by a luminous aureole, sits on a throne in the shape of an hourglass. He hands Sheikh Husayn Chishti a book and ignores the three smaller figures standing before the hourglass: an Ottoman Sultan, King James I of England and VI of Scotland, and the painter Bichitr himself, who produced the painting around 1616–20. The image symbolises Jahangir's understanding that all creation is transitory and his devotion to the spiritual world of the Sufi orders. Opaque watercolour, ink, and gold on paper. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC. Purchase Charles Lang Freer Endowment, F1942.15a.


پادشاه صورت و معنی است از لطف اله
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه
گرچه در صورت شهان دارند در پیش قیام
لیک در معنی بدرویشان کنند دایم نگاه

calligraphy and decorated with exquisite miniature paintings, were especially favoured by the Timurids – the much-admired ancestors of the Mughal – since the times of Shah Rukh, Gyath al-Din Baysunghur and Ulugh Beg.[34] Babur was himself not only a historian, but also a calligrapher who developed his own writing – *khatt-i baburi* – around 1504/05.[35] When Humayum, who owned a large library, returned to Delhi in 1555, he brought Persian miniature painters and calligraphers with him in his entourage, and they then trained local artists. Akbar's library reportedly counted 24,000 volumes. He promoted illustrated books that represented the Islamic traditions and stories such as the *Hamza nameh*, which includes the stories of Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, and Persian translations of Hindu epics like the *Ramayama* or *Ramzenameh*, the 'Book of Wars'. There were also dynastic chronicles, in which the ruler was the focal point, as in the illustrated *Babur nameh* and the *Akbar nameh*. Here, the realistic reproduction of portraits was central. When Akbar organised theological debates to be held in Fatehpur Sikri, which were not only attended by Islamic theologians, but also representatives of the Hindus, Parsi and Jains, he invited three Jesuits from Goa called Monserrate, Henriques and Aqua Viva, who stayed at his court in 1580–82.[36] They brought as gifts a multilingual illustrated bible,[37] small paintings, engravings, and altar paraphernalia. Many of the biblical images such as depictions of the Madonna and Child were then copied by court artists in the Mughal style.[38] Under Jahangir, portraiture and depictions of nature that were incorporated in large albums gained in prominence. Jahangir was fascinated by Akbar's collection of European paintings and dedicated to expanding it. The English paintings brought by the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe in 1616 gave further impetus to Mughal portrait painting. In a famous allegorical painting from Bichitr from *ca.* 1616–20, the larger-than-life Jahangir, whose head is surrounded by a luminous halo, sits on an hourglass, which serves as his throne. He hands over a book to the venerable-looking Sheikh Husayn Chishti, while he ignores three smaller figures cowering before the throne. They are an Ottoman sultan, King James I of England and VI of Scotland, and the painter Bichitr himself (fig. 31). The painting illustrates how Jahangir, aware of the transience of all created things, including himself, turns away from earthly power and the world toward the spiritual realm.[39] Painting under Jahangir's successor Shah Jahan lost its joy in experimentation and began to ossify into specified forms, and the orthodox Islamic Emperor Aurangzeb stopped promoting illustrated chronicles and closed the imperial scriptoria and painting studios.[40]

Under **Shah Jahan** (r. 1628–58, d. 1666) a counter-movement arose against the liberal attitude of his predecessors Akbar and Jahangir in religious matters. The new emperor promoted Naqshbandi, which was dominant in Central Asia Sufi orders, and Muslim orthodoxy, as taught by the four accepted legal schools of Sunni Islam. From 1633, he intensified religious repression and issued laws to regulate the construction and repair of temples and churches.[41] In terms of foreign policy, Shah Jahan undertook the last attempt by the Mughal to reclaim the ancestral homeland of the Timurids north of the Hindu Kush. The opportunity presented itself in the mid-1640s, when the Uzbek Abd al-Aziz forced his father Nazr Muhammad Khan to abdicate and the latter appealed to Shah Jahan for support. He sent an expeditionary force under the direction of his son Murad with a mandate to either once again enthrone as khan Nazr, as a vassal of the Mughal, or to annex the khanate. While Murad managed to occupy the city of Balkh in the summer of 1646 and to plunder the state treasury, the prince felt overwhelmed and returned to India. Shah Jahan then sent his war-tested second son Aurangzeb to Balkh. But even Aurangzeb was unable to contain the Uzbek-Afghan guerrillas led by Nazr, who had fled from his supposed allies. After negotiations with Aurangzeb, the latter withdrew with heavy losses to Kabul, while Nazr only nominally recognised the supremacy of the Mughal.[42] In the war against the Safavids over Kandahar, Shah Jahan was also denied a victory. The city, conquered in 1622 by Shah Abbas, actually fell to the Mughal in 1638 due to the treachery of the Persian governor. This, in turn, gave the Mughal control of the two 'gateways to India', Kabul and Kandahar, for the last time. Shah Abbas II. (r.1642–66), however, exploited the failure of the Mughal in northern Afghanistan by recapturing Kandahar in a daring winter campaign in 1648/49. In the years 1649, 1652 and 1653, the emperor launched three major campaigns against Kandahar. All failed miserably. Kandahar remained in Persian hands until 1709.[43] Jahangir and Shah Jahan were now paying the price for not being interested in infantry firearms and guns, unlike Babur and Akbar. They had wantonly neglected their further development and left the production to European and Ottoman emigrants. The former, however, were often deserters from European ships and garrisons and had only limited technological know-how. As evidenced by the siege of Kandahar, the artillery of the Mughal was no longer competitive by international standards.[44] The lack of interest of the Mughal in the

◀ **32. The Taj Mahal in Agra, India, is most likely the work of the Herat architect Ustad (master) Ahmad Lahori (1570/75–1649), who constructed the mausoleum for Shah Jahan's wife Mumtaz Mahal (d. 1631) between 1632 and 1643; the entire complex was completed in 1653.[4] Photo: 2005.**

33. The Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, commissioned by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), was completed in 1673/74; it is the largest mosque of the Mughal. Photo: 2007.

European development of weapons technology was part of a general unwillingness to look to and learn from the advances in technology, production methods and economic systems in Europe. In fact, the Mughal interest in Europe was primarily limited to painting.

The most lasting legacy of Shah Jahan was architectural in nature. He not only built the mausoleum for his father in Lahore and renewed the fort, but also erected the new capital Shahjahanabad near Delhi from 1639 to 1648. The most significant building was the palace complex, known today as Red Fort. Here stood the famous Peacock Throne that was stolen by Nader Shah in 1739. The other building of particular note was the Friday Mosque completed in 1656, the Jama Masjid. As the largest mosque in India, it served as a counterpoint to the palace (fig. 35). The palace takes its name from the 3-km red sandstone wall surrounding it. The main pavilions were brick structures, whose interior and exterior walls were completely covered with white marble slabs. The pinnacle of the Perso-Indian architecture of the Mughal is undoubtedly the Taj Mahal in Agra. Shah Jahan had it built from 1632 to 1643 for his deceased wife Mumtaz Mahal, who died in childbirth (fig. 32). The fact that the mausoleum was actually conceived as an allegory of Paradise and the Last Day of Resurrection is indicated by the marble-engraved verses from the Qur'an by the Persian calligrapher Abd al-Haqq Shirazi, called Amanat Khan ('Lord of Trust'). These include Sura 89 ('The Dawn'), which concerns the Last Judgement.[45]

When Shah Jahan fell seriously ill in 1657, a violent struggle for power broke out between his four sons Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb, Shah Shuya and Murad Bakhsh that only one could survive. The French doctor François Bernier, who was in India from 1656 to 1668, witnessed the civil war first hand as the doctor of Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb. He described the initial situation as follows: 'The four Princes openly declared their settled purpose of making the sword the sole arbiter of their lofty pretensions. It was, in fact, too late to recede: not only was the crown to be gained by victory alone, but in case of defeat life was certain to be forfeited. There was now no choice between a kingdom and death.'[46] The victor Aurangzeb took his father captive in the summer of 1658 and held him in the fort of Agra, under strict house arrest, until his death.[47] According to the Venetian traveller Niccolò Manucci, who lived in India from 1656 to *ca.* 1717 and served Dara Shikoh as an artilleryman, Aurangzeb did not hesitate to torture his father: as a special 'present', he had the severed head of his father's favourite son Dara Shikoh served to him for dinner.[48]

Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), who took the name Alamgir ('conqueror'), was the last Mughal with a link to Central Asia. This became manifest in Aurangzeb's response to the uprising of the Pashtun Afridi between Peshawar and the Khyber Pass in 1672/73. In 1674, the emperor personally led an army into difficult, mountainous terrain where the British in the nineteenth century would suffer several defeats to the same Afridi and other Pashtun tribes, and endeavoured to pacify the region. He then appointed as governor the Persian Amir Khan, who kept the province of Kabul under control until his death in 1698. Domestically, the devout emperor decided in the medium term to transform his realm into an Islamic state. To this end, he promoted leading Muslims and sought to steer the 'infidel' majority, especially the Hindu nobility,

34. The 'Lahore Gate', also known as the 'Amar Singh Gate', is the main entrance to the Red Fort in Agra, India. Emperor Akbar had the original military fort built from 1565–73; it was later reconstructed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan into a palace and expanded. Shah Jahan spent the last eight years of his life here as a prisoner of his son Aurangzeb. Photo: 2005.

35. Shah Jahan had the Masjid-i Jahan Numa (Persian 'World-Reflecting Mosque'), also called the Friday Mosque, built in Delhi from 1644–56. Photo: 2005.

towards conversion through rewarding and repressive measures. The latter included the ordered destruction in 1669 of recently built Hindu temples; the execution of the ninth Nanak (master) of the Sikh, Tegh Bahadur, in November 1675; and the reintroduction of Jiziya, a special tax for non-Muslims, in 1679.[49] Aurangzeb not only saw himself as a champion of Islam, but also as a conqueror in the spirit of his heroic ancestors Babur and Akbar. He devoted the last quarter-century of his rule to the conquest of the Deccan Plateau; that is, central and southern India. He managed to curb the rising power of the Hindu Marathas and to subdue the two sultanates of the Deccan, Bijapur (1685) and Golconda (1687), allowing the Mughal Empire to reach its greatest territorial expansion. Nonetheless, the continuous wars were a heavy burden on the state administration and budget.[50] Aurangzeb's forced Islamisation efforts increasingly alienated previously loyal Hindu nobles and commanders from the empire and his ruling dynasty. Finally, the resistance extended in the face of forced Islamisation to a rejection of the Timurid Empire.

Two incidents announced the coming loss of authority and the empire's decline: in 1687, the rebellious Jats – a predominantly peasant people of semi-nomadic origin, whose members often banded together to form robber gangs – succeeded in taking the suburb of Agra Sikandra. There, they plundered the mausoleum of Akbar and desecrated his remains.[51] Furthermore, Aurangzeb's attempts to crush the growing autonomy of European trading companies, particularly the East India Company, and to avert the dangers posed by European naval blockades and piracy, failed. Between 1686 and 1690, a dispute escalated with the fortified port city of Bombay (present-day Mumbai), which Charles II, King of England and Scotland had obtained as a dowry from the Portuguese in 1661. He subsequently transferred the city to the East India Company, which began to mint its own coins. A war ensued. While Aurangzeb's vassal Siddi Yaqut Khan managed to besiege the island, he could not capture the citadel and drive out the English, as the emperor ordered. As a compromise, the East India Company paid an indemnity, but retained its fortified port.

Similarly unsuccessful were the attacks that Aurangzeb ordered in 1701/02 on the heavily fortified trading post of Madras (Chennai), established by the Company in 1639, and on the French settlement of Pondicherry. In both cases, reparation payments to Aurangzeb's warring vassal halted the conflict in favour of the Europeans.[52] The East India Company had successfully defended its three heavily fortified outposts: Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Compared to Aurangzeb, the Persian Shah Abbas had had greater success 80 years earlier. In 1622, he actually forced the East India Company to help the small Persian navy to capture the port of Hormuz being held by the Portuguese. Shortly thereafter, Shah Abbas relocated the trade from the island of Hormuz to the neighbouring port city of Bandar Abbas, which he had already wrested from the Portuguese in 1614.[53] The fact that a parastatal trading company, whose head office was more than 13,000 km from India's west coast by ship, could hold its own against the resistance of the Mughal, demonstrated that the latter had two fundamental weaknesses. First, Western European weapons technology was far superior to the Mughals' own. Secondly, a land power with maritime borders, but without a naval force, was virtually defenceless against attacks from modern naval powers. This was a painful experience that India would also endure in the eighteenth century and China in the nineteenth.

In the twelve years from 1707 to 1719, four emperors, whose ascents to the throne were each preceded by bloody fratricidal wars for power, assumed the Peacock Throne. The unity of the empire, which was already fragile under Aurangzeb, broke apart and the provinces claimed their independence. Over the following decades, the former empire degenerated into the prey of aggressive neighbours. In 1737, the Marathas plundered Delhi, and two years later the Persian Nader Shah thoroughly ransacked the city and set it ablaze. Nader Shah's former commander and later ruler of Afghanistan, Ahmad Abdali, then plundered the tormented city again in 1757 and 1761. In September 1803, General Gerard Lake finally occupied Delhi. The last two nominal emperors of the Mughal lived out their lives under British protection at the Red Fort. But when the Indian uprising, also called the Sepoy Mutiny, broke out in May 1857, insurgents put the aged **Bahadur Shah II** (r. 1837–58, d. 1862) at the nominal head of their rebellion. The reconquest of Delhi sealed the end of the uprising, which claimed two prominent victims when all was said and done: the dynasty of the Indian Timurids was abolished, and the East India Company was transformed into a crown colony. Bahadur Shah, who was deported to Rangoon, wrote shortly before his death in 1862:

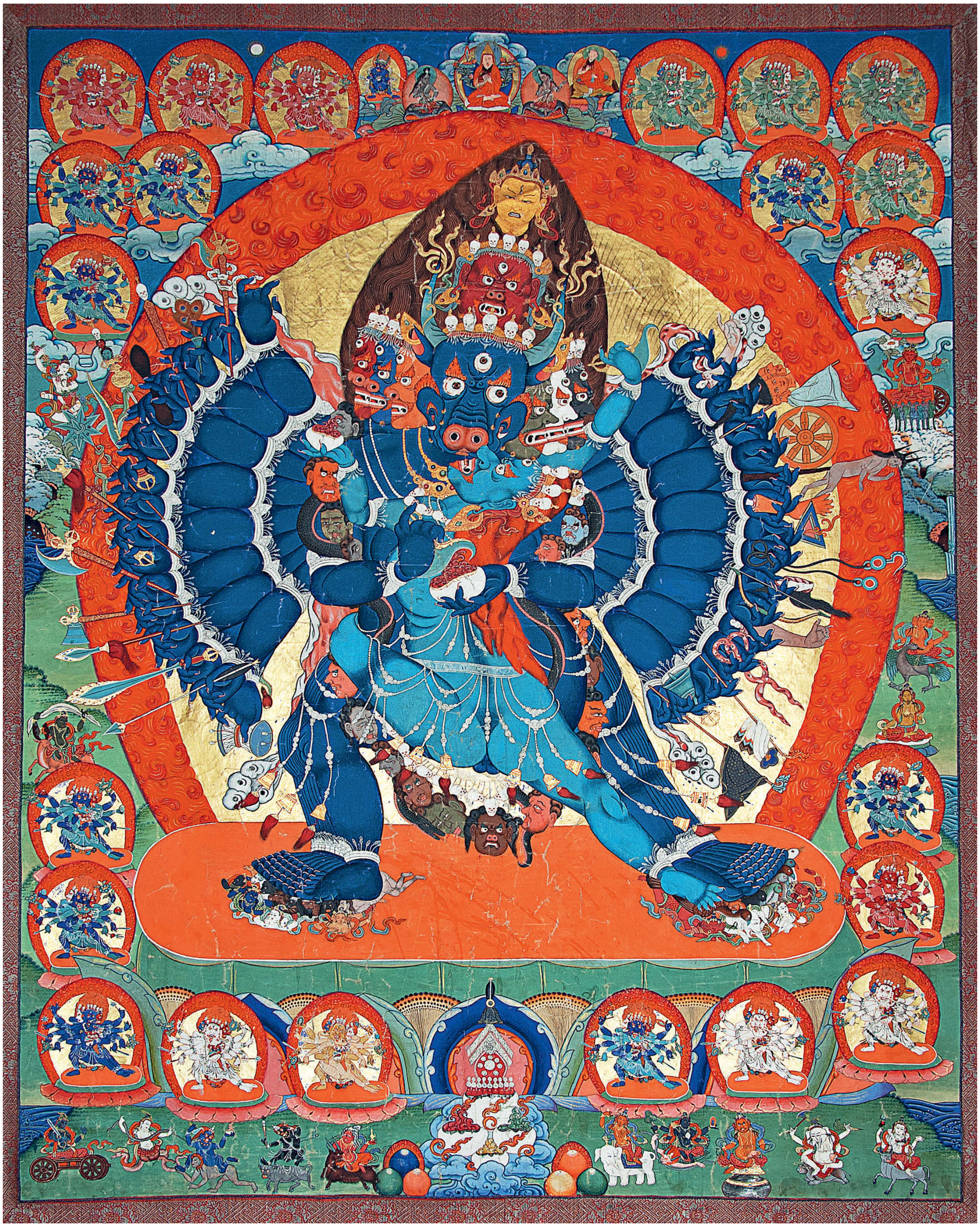
> *'I am the light of no one's eye*
> *The balm of no one's heart*
> *I am of no use anymore*
> *A handful of dust, that's all.'*[54]

III

A Reorganisation of Geography: North Central Asia Becomes a Periphery

'The construction of a single temple spares the nourishment of one hundred thousand soldiers stationed in Mongolia.'

EMPEROR KANGXI, who purposely promoted Buddhism among the Mongols[1]



36. Erlig-jin Jarghagchi (Vajrabhairava) is a wrathful manifestation of the transcendent Bodhisattva Manjushri. Here, he is represented with 34 arms, 16 legs, and 9 heads, of which the uppermost head represents Manjushri himself. Vajrabhairava is in sexual union with his companion Vidyadhara, who has the third eye in her demonic face. Both deities trample upon various animals and Hindu deities. Thangka painting, nineteenth century, Zanabazar Museum, Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia.

With their withdrawal from China to Mongolia in 1368, the Mongols did not entirely disappear from the historical record, even if their political fragmentation makes it difficult to historically trace certain events.[2] East Central Asia soon became the scene of a battle between Eastern Mongolian Genghis Khanids, Western Mongolian Oirats and the Chinese Ming dynasty, which sought to prevent a reunited Mongolian Empire through any means necessary. In fact, no Mongolian leader ever succeeded again in rallying all the tribes, let alone in seriously threatening the Ming – the sole exception being the Oirat Esen Khan in the autumn of 1449. Around the mid-seventeenth century, two new actors emerged: in the north of Central Asia, Dzungars of Oirat origin created a powerful steppe empire, while Russian Cossacks simultaneously appeared east of Mongolia along the Amur River. This second three-way struggle between the Dzungars, the Chinese dynasty of the Qing of Manchu origin, and Russia ended with the integration of the Eastern Mongols in the Qing's vassal system and the destruction of the Oirat state and people. From about 1760, the northern half of Central Asia became just the peripheral regions of China and Russia.

1. The Legacy of the Yuan: the Western Mongolian Oirats and the Genghis Khanid Eastern Mongols

The last emperor of the Yuan dynasty **Toghon Temür** (r. 1333–68, 1368–70) was also the first of the **Northern Yuan dynasty** (1368–1634). He and his successors regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of Genghis Khan and claimed dominion over all Mongols. The young Chinese dynasty of the Ming (1368–1644) found itself confronted with the question of how to deal with the threat of new Mongol aggression. Over time, they applied three different strategies: first, there was an offensive in which the Chinese armies crossed the Gobi Desert to break the fighting power of the Mongols and to prevent the re-emergence of a united Mongol Empire. At the same time, they tried to pit the Mongols against each other by supporting the respective weaker party in internal Mongol clashes. At the end of the 1420s, the Ming adopted a defensive strategy by setting up larger military garrisons and, from about 1470, by means of the stone construction of the Great Wall. They also established a trade boycott against their northern neighbours, which the latter countered with increased raids in the Chinese border regions. In 1571, the Ming finally abandoned the trade boycott. They won peace by offering generous gifts to Mongol commanders and began to promote Buddhism among the Mongols.

While Toghon Temür's successor **Ayushiridara** (r. 1370–78) suffered a crushing defeat against the Ming in 1370, his general Kökö Temür scored a resounding victory two years later when the Chinese attacked Karakorum. However, in the west, the Ming succeeded in conquering the oasis city of Khara-Khoto, which traditionally served as a gateway from south-west Gobi to Gansu. They also annexed Gansu, which gave them control over the bottleneck of the Silk Road, the Hexi Corridor. In 1404, the Ming consolidated its supremacy over the Hexi Corridor, as the neighbouring principality of Hami in the west declared itself a Ming vassal. In 1388, Ayushiridara's brother and successor **Tögüs Temür** (r. 1378–88) suffered a crushing and decisive defeat against a strong Chinese army in eastern Mongolia at Buir Lake. This shattered the supremacy of the Northern Yuan and split up the Mongols into Eastern Mongols and Western Mongols. Soon after this defeat, **Yesüder** (r. 1388–92), a descendant of Arik Böge, murdered the fleeing khan and allied himself with the Western Mongolian Oirats.[3] From this point on, the Genghisid khans of Mongolia were little more than puppets of non-Genghisid Eastern Mongol or Oirat leaders; the latter bore the Chinese honorific *tayishi* ('great master'). The home of the Oirat confederation was at the upper reaches of the Yenisei in Tuva and belonged to the forest peoples. Genghis Khan had bequeathed the region to his son Jochi in 1207/08 as an appanage.[4] The first quarter of the fifteenth century was marked by the three-way struggle between the powerful Eastern Mongol Arughtai (d. 1434), the Oirat Mahmud Tayishi (Batula, d. 1416) and his son Toghan Tayishi (d. 1438/39), and the battle-tested Ming emperor Yongle (r. 1402–24), who deliberately moved the capital from Nanjing to Beijing in order to launch military offensives against the Mongols. Both Mongolian parties had puppet khans from the family of Genghis Khan, which they dethroned or murdered as necessary. Khan **Elbeg** (r. 1393–99) was killed by the Oirats and Khan **Gung Temür** (r. 1400–02) by Arughtai. The khans who stood in Arughtai's good graces were **Örüg Temür** (r. 1402–08**),** **Öljey Temür** (Bunyashiri, r. 1408–12), who had converted to Islam in his previous exile at the court of Timur-e Lang in Samarkand, and **Adai** (r. 1426–38). The khans of the Oirats Mahmud and Toghan were **Delbeg** (r. 1412–14), **Oyiradai** (r. 1415–25) and **Toghtoa Bukha** (r. *ca*. 1438–53).[5]

The fact that no party was able to prevail in Mongolia was the result of the active intervention of the Yongle Emperor. He deliberately weakened the respective stronger faction by supporting the weaker one. He also sowed discord and envy in the camp of the

37. The Great Wall of China near Badaling from the 1570s, about 60 km north of Beijing. This section guards the Juyong Guan Pass. It is one of the most important passes along the Great Wall, for it leads from the southern reaches of Inner Mongolia directly to the lowlands of Beijing. Thus, if the enemy could manage to get through the Juyong Pass, there were no other natural obstacles along his way to Beijing. The fortifications consist of two complexes: the southern *Juyong Guan* and the northern *Badaling*. The name roughly means 'eight (Ba) big (da) mountain paths (ling)'. Photo: 2015.

superior party through the targeted giving of gifts and honours. In addition, the emperor himself undertook five campaigns in Mongolia. After Arughtai had defeated a Chinese army at the Kherlen River in 1409, Yongle launched his first campaign in the spring of 1410. He twice defeated Arughtai, who nominally subordinated himself. But after the Oirat Mahmud defeated Arughtai, killed his puppet khan Öljey Temür, and advanced to the Kherlen River in north-east Mongolia, Yongle began a second campaign in 1414, this time against the Oirats. Thanks to the use of lighter guns, he won out in the end. However, he suffered heavy losses, not least because Arughtai stayed away from the battle to spare his own troops. The now stronger Arughtai exploited the weakened condition of the Oirat Mahmud, whom he defeated and killed in 1416. He subsequently advanced to the south of Mongolia to Kalgan (Zhangjiakou). As Kalgan is located just 160 km north-west of Beijing, Arughtai threatened the safety of the capital – especially given that he had conquered the Eastern Mongolian Uriyangkhad tribes, who protected the north-eastern border as China's ally. In 1422, Yongle penetrated all the way to Dolon in today's Inner Mongolia. Arughtai, however, fled to the north. Even during Yongle's fourth (1423) and fifth (1424) offensives, Arughtai managed to avoid getting caught up in a pitched battle. Yongle, on the other hand, died at Dolon in 1424.[6] The relative failure of Yongle's campaigns was due to the fact that the fast-moving Mongolian troops were able to escape his grasp on a regular basis. Nearly two centuries later, Emperor Kangxi (r. 1661–1722) adopted the Mongolian tactic of employing several armies simultaneously in a coordinated manner: while the main army and a minor division marched towards their target striving for a decisive victory, one or two more divisions ensured that the enemy's retreat or escape route was cut off.

Yongle's campaigns, each with more than 100,000 soldiers, presented a huge logistical challenge. In 1414, the imperial army covered more than 3,000 km in hostile terrain that could not sustain the army. All the supplies thus had to be transported. The fourth campaign, for example, brought with it 340,000 donkeys, 117,000 carts, 235,000 draft animals and 24,000 tons of flour.[7] Yongle's successors were neither able nor willing to continue this costly strategy (with the disastrous exception of 1449). Not only did it not decisively weaken the Mongol tribes, but it also did not prevent them in the medium term from threatening the northern Chinese border. Nonetheless, Yongle's campaigns, which brought the war to Mongolia, compensated for the lack of strategic depth north of the capital. The Juyong Pass (the 'North Gate' south of Zhangjiakou) was just 60 km north of the capital. The alternative to Yongle's strategy was to withdraw the Chinese armies behind the Great Wall, which had increasingly deteriorated since the thirteenth century.

In Mongolia, where the Ming had not intervened since Yongle's death, there were three power centres in the later 1420s and 1430s: the Oirats in the west; Arughtai and the Chahar Mongols in the south-east; and the Uriyangkhad in the north-east. Mahmud's son and successor Toghan Tayishi (r. 1415–38/39) destroyed this delicate balance. He united the Oirats, and, in 1434, killed Arughtai, his main rival for domination of the Mongol tribes. Toghan's successor Esen Tayishi (r. de facto 1438/39–53, as khan 1453–55), who retained the Genghis Khanid Toghtoa Bukha (r. *ca*. 1438–53) as nominal khan, began to rapidly expand his territory. He conquered the Uriyangkhad tribes and, between 1443 and 1448, wrested the oasis city of Hami from the Ming. At the same time, Yongle's successors wantonly neglected the defence of the northern border: deserters were not replaced, drills and training were abandoned, and the soldiers were misappropriated for non-military menial labour. In addition, the military colonies settled along the border, called *tuntian*, fell into decline, as the officers became landowners and the soldiers were relegated to serfs. Esen, however, needed ever-greater revenue to secure his dominion over the newly conquered territories, which extended from Hami in the east of today's Xinjiang region to the Korean border, and to finance the 'loyalty' of his followers. He therefore demanded that the Ming pay increasingly higher tributes in exchange for peace. These were presented each year at court as 'imperial gifts' to his arriving legations. When

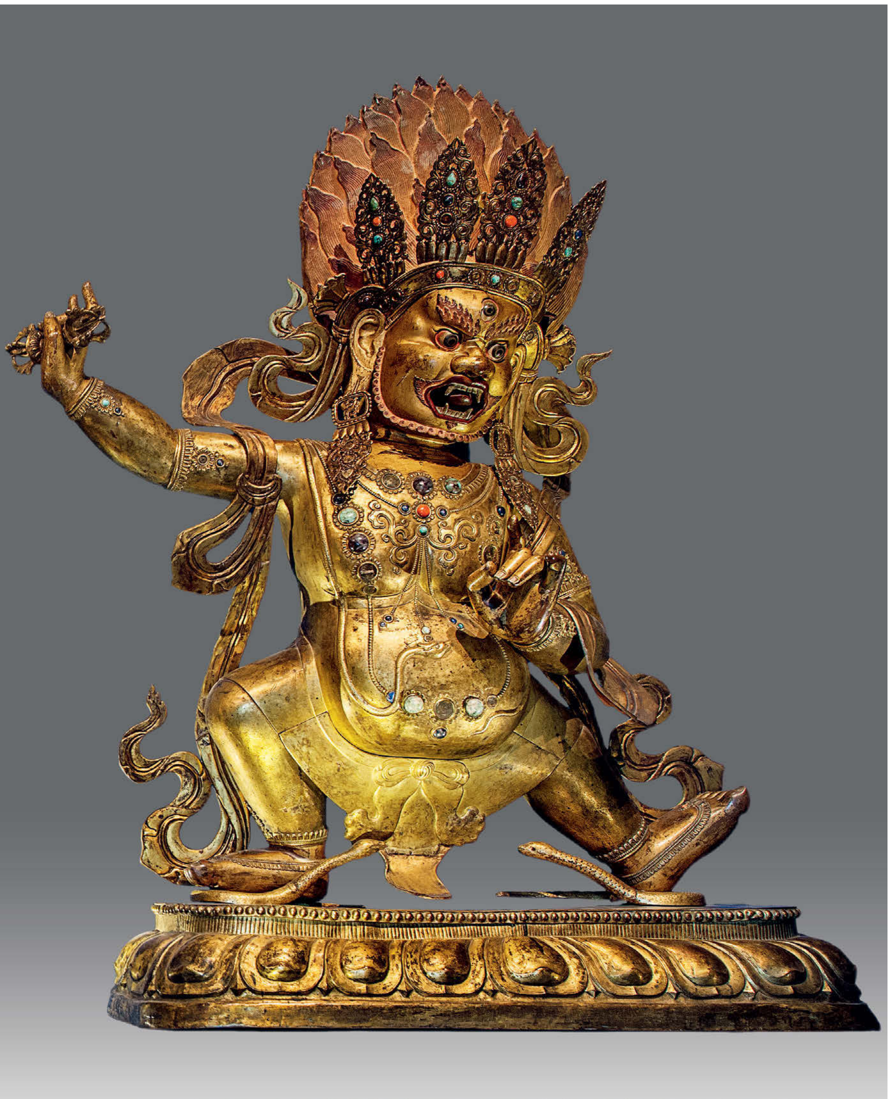
38. The so-called 'White Palace' Tsagaan Baishing of Tsogtu Khong Tayishi (1581–1637), Bulgan Aimag, Mongolia. South-west of the palace, a stone stele in Tibetan and Mongolian reports that the 'White Palace' was not a palace, but a fortified Buddhist monastery called Samye, which most likely belonged to the Tibeto-Buddhist school of the Sakyapa. As founder of the monastery, built in the Iron-Ox Year (1601), the inscription mentions the Khalkha prince Tsogtu Khong Tayishi and his mother Tsin Taihu Khatun. The monastery consisted of a main temple and five smaller shrines and was built on the ruins of a much older building, probably from the time of the Khitan (907–1125).[5] Single photo: 2012.

China refused to meet Esen's demands in the winter of 1448/49, he declared war, not least because he knew that the Chinese troops were unfit for battle.

He attacked with three columns in the summer of 1449, while the division under his command rode against Datong. The young emperor Zhengtong (r. 1435–49, 1457–64), who was ill advised by chief eunuch Wang Chen, personally headed up a nearly 400,000-strong army against Esen Tayishi. The campaign, however, was poorly planned, while the unprepared army was miserably equipped and even more incompetently commanded. After a futile march to Datong, Wang Chen and Zhengtong decided to return to the capital. Esen observed the disorderly withdrawal of Chinese troops and destroyed them in the three-day Battle of Tumu (30 August – 1 September 1449). All high-ranking Chinese officers were killed in action and the emperor was taken prisoner. Esen was by no means prepared for this success – he demanded a large ransom for the captive emperor, whereas he could have quickly taken Beijing instead, before it had organised a defence. When the majority of the court, the eunuchs, and the ministers in the capital expressed a preference for either paying the ransom or escaping to the south, the vice minister of war, Yu Qian (1398–1457), threatened to execute anyone who wished to escape. He prevailed in the end, denying any ransom payment and providing fresh troops from the provinces. In a brilliant move, he then eliminated Esen's imperial pawn by putting Zhengtong's brother Zhu Qiyu on the throne as Emperor Jingtai (r. 1449–57) on 23 September. At a single stroke, Esen's hostage Zhengtong was not only worthless, but even became a risk, as the immensely high ransom demand had sparked the greed of the Mongol leaders. When Esen realised that Yu Qian would neither negotiate nor pay, he decided to march on Beijing after all, on 27 October. The city now had its defences ready, however. Esen Tayishi's 70,000 mounted warriors, on the other

hand, were not sufficient to besiege the city, let alone occupy it. He therefore quickly withdrew and, in 1450, released the now useless former emperor without having received a ransom. In response, Jingtai immediately put Zhengtong under house arrest.[8]

Esen's inability to capitalise on his resounding victory at Tumu or his imprisonment of the emperor was the beginning of the end for him. In 1453, he murdered his nominal khan Toghtoa Bukha and proclaimed himself khan. Nonetheless, according to the unwritten law of the Turko-Mongol peoples, only the descendants of Genghis Khan could claim for themselves the title of khan. This move exacerbated the discontent of Esen's commanders so much that they killed him in 1455. The young empire of the Oirats later collapsed. Esen's attempt to consolidate his domain did not fail solely because of the unexpected resistance of the Ming. It was also due to the lack of new, cross-tribal structures, like the ones Genghis Khan had introduced in his decimal-based division of all Turko-Mongols and the creation of a new military aristocracy.[9] From the Chinese perspective, assertive leaders such as the Yongle Emperor or Yu Qian proved to be an equal match to the Mongol warlords. At the same time, however, the governments led by Confucian-inspired ministers and eunuchs, who were hostile to the military, undermined the capacity of the state and dynasty to defend themselves. The governor of Datong, Wang Yue, was another capable official: in the 1470s, he claimed several victories against invading Mongols such as Khan Mar Körgis and Bolai Tayishi. Beyond this, he took the initiative from 1471 to compensate for the lack of strategic depth north of Beijing by rebuilding the Great Wall out of stone. He built the first section on the southern edge of the Ordos. This gave way in the 1540s and 1570s to the construction of additional sections, from Datong to Beijing and then to the Gulf of Bohai in the Pacific. The Great Wall thus emerged as we know it today[10] (fig. 37).



39. Three of the four monumental painted and gilded Buddhist brass figures, which the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin acquired in 1930 from the owner of the abandoned and dilapidated Efi monastery in Chahar, north-eastern Inner Mongolia. On the left, the 180.3-cm-tall figure of Manjushri, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom; in the middle, the also 180.3-cm-tall figure of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara Shadakshari; and, on the right, the 184.5-cm-tall figure of the protector deity Vajrapani. The three bodhisattvas often appear together, representing the fundamental values of strength (Vajrapani), compassion (Avalokiteshvara), and wisdom (Manjushri). The fourth 129.5-cm-tall figure represents the founder of the Gelugpa Order, Tsong Khapa. The four figures are ascribed to the atelier of Zanabazar (1635–1723) and dated around the year 1700.[6] Folkens Museum Etnografiska, Stockholm, Sweden.

40. The outer wall of the Erdene Zuu Buddhist monastery, founded in 1586 by Abatai Khan and renovated in 1796, in Övörkhangai Aimag, Mongolia. The wall, which is 420 m long on each side, was not built until the early nineteenth century.[7] Photo: 2001.

With the collapse of the Oirat confederacy, the pendulum swung again in Mongolia in the Eastern Mongols' favour. After the rather insignificant khans **Mar Körgis** (r. 1455– *ca*. 1465), whose name hints at his Christian-Nestorian roots,[11] **Molon** (**Tögüs** r. *ca*. 1465–66), and **Mandughul** (r. *ca*. 1473–78/79)[12], the Eastern Mongol **Batu Möngke Dayan Khan** (r. *ca*. 1480– *ca*. 1524) managed to temporarily unite the Mongols again.[13] Dayan Khan's early life is not well documented. According to the Mongolian chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči* of 1662, Khan Mandughul's widow Mandukai Sechen Khatun (d. *ca*. 1510) adopted a boy whom she claimed was a great-grandson of the younger brother of Khan Toghtoa Bukha. She remained regent in office and title until he reached adulthood. She then married him in the late 1480s and thus remained involved in the exercise of power.[14] It cannot be determined whether Dayan Khan was actually a Genghis Khanid. Dayan Khan and Mandukai first defeated Ismayil Tayishi and, in a second step, conquered the Oirats. The remaining Mongol commanders then recognised Dayan Khan as khan in the hope of gaining plunder and wealth under his leadership. For the khan, these expectations meant that he had to force the Chinese Ming dynasty to finance his young, embryonic state. Although militarily weak, China refused to receive his envoys. It also rejected the possibility of buying peace through payments and lifting the trade boycott. Although his rule was not yet well established, Dayan Khan went on the attack and advanced on Beijing three times. But his relatively small armies suffered a number of defeats and had to be content with pillaging. The result was that the loyalty of his followers began to disintegrate.[15] After Dayan Khan's death, probably around 1524, the fragile Mongolian unity rapidly fell apart. On the other hand, his division of Eastern Mongolian tribes into six socio-military units called 'tümen', which was based on older structures, proved sustainable. The left, eastern, and dominant flank consisted of the tümen of the Chahar, the appanage of the crown prince, the Uriyangkhad, and the Khalkha. The right and western flank was made up of the Ordos, the Twelve Tümed, and a group that included the Asud and the Karachin. But Dayan Khan decided not to integrate the Western Mongols and maintained their division into the Four Oirat-Tümen of the Choros (Olot, Dzungars), Torghut, Dörbet and Khoshut.[16] The four khans who followed Dayan remained local tribal leaders: **Bodi Alagh** (r. ? –1547) **Daraisung Gudeng** (r. 1547–57), **Tümen Jasaghtu** (r. 1557–92), and **Buyan Sechen** (r. 1592–1604).[17] Only the last khan of the Northern Yuan, **Ligdan** (r. 1604–34), was able to extend his influence over his tümen of Chahar.

The Genghis Khanid **Ligdan Khan** (r. 1604–34) was one of nine tribal leaders of the Chahar-Eastern Mongols and nominally Great Khan of all Mongols. He tried to transform the nominal title of Great Khan into an actual sovereign position, which brought him into conflict with the other Eastern Mongolian leaders. To finance his wars, he settled a treaty with the Ming dynasty in 1618 to protect its northern border against the rising Manchus for a fee. The founder of the Manchu dynasty (1616–1911), China's future Qing dynasty (1644–1911), was Nurhaci (1559–1626). From 1619, he attacked China in the north-east and began to occupy territory. When his son and successor Hung Taiji (Abahai, r. 1626–43) recognised that the Chinese stronghold on the eastern end of the Great Wall near the strategically important pass of Shanhai was invincible, he changed his tactics. He chose Inner Mongolia instead as the basis for a future attack on Beijing. Ligdan's aggressive approach against the other Eastern Mongolian princes benefited him, as many fled in his direction with their mounted warriors and were incorporated into the Manchurian army. Ligdan Khan and Hung Taiji were now on a collision course – particularly as Ligdan had Nurhaci's envoy, who proposed an anti-Ming alliance, beheaded in 1620. After several attacks between 1626 and 1632, Hung Taiji – who possessed artillery, unlike his opponent – expelled Ligdan from Mongolia. The khan fled into the territory of Kokonor (today's Qinghai Province) and died in 1634. With the incorporation of Chahar into his sphere of influence, the Manchurian Hung Taiji separated the southern Eastern Mongols from the Northern. In doing so, he anticipated the future separation of Inner Mongolia from Outer Mongolia. Hung Taiji integrated the southern Mongols into the territorially defined Manchurian banner system. By prohibiting them from leaving their assigned banner, he ended their traditional mobility.[18] Ligdan's death effectively put to an end the dynasty of the Northern Yuan, as his son Ejei Khan (d. 1661) never actually governed.[19] However, Hung Taiji – who renamed his Jurchen people the Manchus in 1635, and bestowed his dynasty with the name Qing in 1636 – was recognised by the Dalai Lama (who was constantly on the lookout for potential patrons) as the embodiment of Bodhisattva Manjushri in 1640.[20]

41. On the left, the whitewashed Altan (golden) Stupa; on the right, the again active Laviran (Tibetan: Labrang) temple in the Erdene Zuu Monastery, Mongolia. Photo: 2001.

2. Altan Khan and the Revival of Buddhism: an Alliance between Mongol Rulers and Tibetan-Buddhist Hierarchs

The weakness of the four Great Khans who succeeded Dayan Khan offered other regional rulers the opportunity to extend their power. The most successful and historically significant of these was a grandson of Dayan Khan called Altan (Altyn) Khan (1507–82) from the Twelve Tümed, whose name means 'golden khan'. In the 1540s, he expanded his power to the entire right flank of the Eastern Mongols, and he drove the Oirats from Karakorum in 1552. With regard to China, he continued the policy of his grandfather by regularly attacking the adjacent territories. In 1550, he even advanced to the gates of Beijing, with the aim of bringing an end to the Chinese trade boycott. The military weakness of China, whose troops were 'unfit to combat, but able to loot',[21] forced the government to change its thinking. Wang Chonggu, governor of Shaanxi Province, convinced Emperor Longqing (r. 1567–72) that Altan Khan's actual goal was a trade agreement with China and regular tribute payments. The raids were merely a means to this end. In 1571, China bought peace by ending the trade boycott and settled a treaty with the khan that guaranteed him and his tribal leaders predictable tribute payments and marketplaces, where China had to buy inadequate horses at inflated prices.[22] The price that China paid to secure the peace was not only monetary, but also political in nature. After all, the Middle Kingdom financed the budget and continued existence of a threatening opponent. But as Wang Chonggu had probably recognised, Altan Khan was interested in the continuation of the Ming dynasty insofar as he needed a steady source of income.

Shortly after the treaty was concluded, Wang Chonggu issued another sage piece of advice: he recommended promoting the spread of Buddhism among the Mongols, so as to make the bellicose and

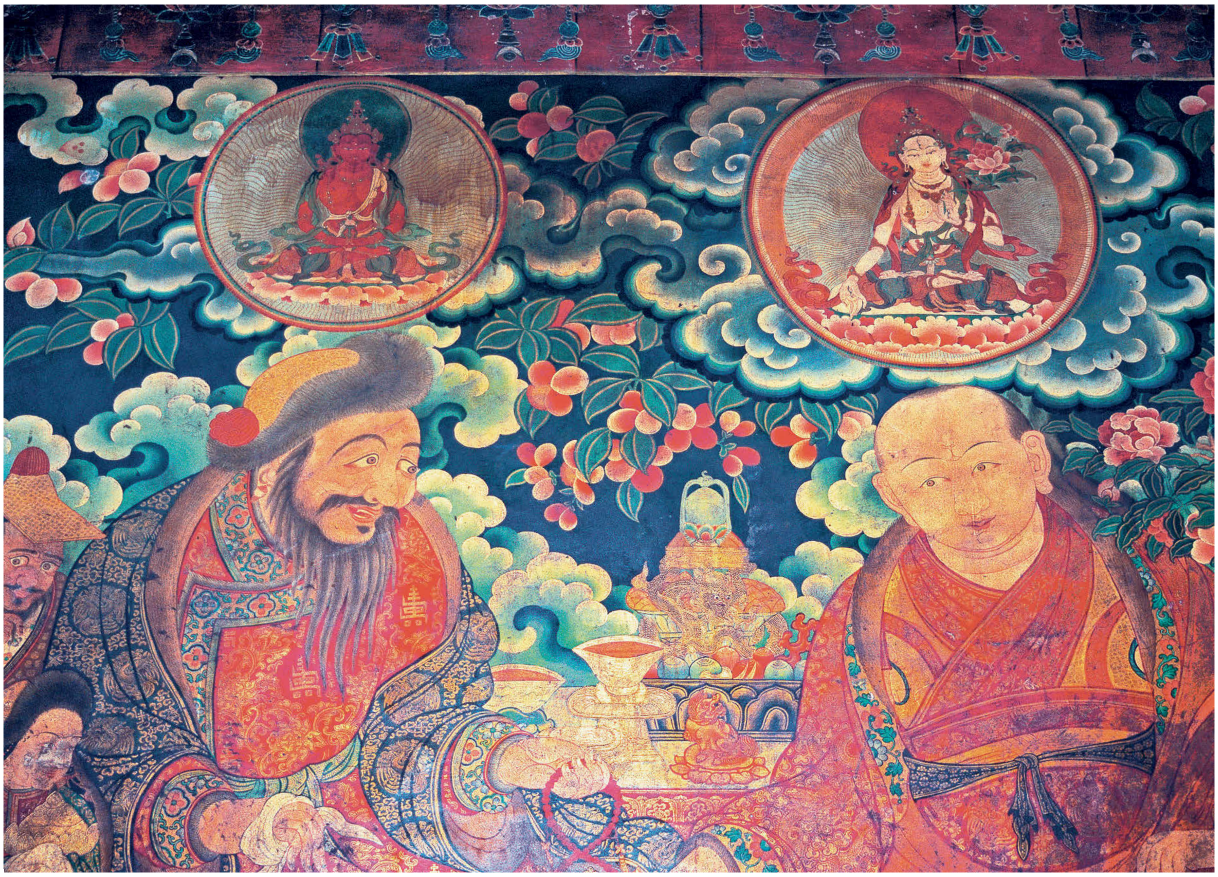
42. Sakyamuni Buddha flanked by his disciples Sariputra and Maudgalyayana; standing in front are Suryaprabha, the Bodhisattva of Sunlight, and Chandraprabha, the Bodhisattva of Moonlight. The middle temple of the Erdene Zuu three-temple complex, Mongolia. Photo: 2001.

brutal Mongols softer and more pliable.[23] In addition, the construction of monasteries in Mongolia and in the Kokonor territory would tempt young men to become monks instead of warriors. This strategy, which was aimed at weakening the military might of the Mongols and was also pursued by the subsequent Qing dynasty (1644–1911), was ultimately successful from the Chinese point of view. Nonetheless, it carried the risk that a leading Buddhist figure, such as a Dalai Lama, could be incarnated again in the family of a ruling Genghis Khanid. This could give rise to a Buddhist-Genghis-Khanid theocracy that would rally together all the Mongols. Such a figure would combine in his own person the two most prestigious lineages – that of the Buddha and that of the world conqueror – and could even surpass the standing of the Chinese emperor.

Altan Khan had probably encountered Buddhism on several occasions. It can be deduced from archaeological finds, for instance, that it survived the fall of the Yuan dynasty in Mongolia.[24] Moreover, Altan Khan's campaigns into the region of Kokonor – where the Tibeto-Buddhist school of the Gelugpa was established with its monasteries – brought him into contact with Tibetan Buddhism. Around the year 1574 (the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cites the year 1576), Altan Khan decided to revive the old politico-religious alliance between a Tibetan-Buddhist hierarch and a secular Mongolian patron, as it had existed between Chögyel Phagspa and Kublai Khan in the 1260s.[25] This alliance, called *khoyar yosun* in Mongolian, was aimed at a world order in which the hierarch, as Buddha's representative, legitimised the rule of the Mongol ruler and gave it a religious dimension. On the other hand, the ruler, who was considered a contemporary embodiment of the Buddhist ideal ruler Cakravartin Raja, would protect and promote Buddhism. The chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči* reports how Khutukhtai Sechen Khong Tayishi (1540–86), Altan Khan's great-nephew, who had visited Tibet, advised the khan to invite Sonam Gyatso (1543–88), the highest incarnation of the Gelugpa order and abbot of the Tibetan Drepung Monastery, to a meeting in Kokonor: 'You have taken revenge on the Chinese . . . and you have avenged yourself on the Oirats . . . But now your years have increased, and you are approaching old age. [. . .] Would it not be wonderful if we were to invite him [the corporeal form of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara], and re-establish the relations between Church and State as they once existed between Emperor Khublai and the lama Phagspa?'[26]

After a second invitation around 1577, Sonam Gyatso consented and met Altan Khan in Kokonor in 1578. There, they formed a *khoyar yosun* alliance and exchanged honorary titles: Altan Khan gave the head of the Gelugpa the title 'Wonderful Vajradhara, Good and Splendid Ocean of Merit', in short Dalai Lama, and the Third Dalai Lama[27] called the khan the 'Perfect Brahma, Supremely Powerful Cakravartin Dharmaraja'.[28] In addition, the khan pledged to ban animal sacrifices at funerals (the animals were to be given to a monastery instead), to arrange hunting-free fasts, and to free the Buddhist clergy from taxes and forced labour.[29] Thanks to this alliance, the Mongolian khan won a unique legitimacy for his claim to rule. The Dalai Lama acquired not only a militarily strong ally in the political dispute with the other Tibetan orders, but he opened the vast missionary field of Mongolia for the Tibetan Gelugpa. Altan Khan thus laid the foundation for the secular rule of the Dalai Lama (1642–1951). Immediately after the meeting, Ming emperor Wanli (r. 1572–1620) invited the Third Dalai Lama to Beijing, presumably because he was unsettled by this Tibeto-Mongol alliance. The Dalai Lama refused, however, and returned to Tibet. From now on, there was an unpredictable

43. The wrathful Buddhist protector Gombo Gur (Panjara-Mahakala) is the patron deity of Mongolia, especially the yurts of pastoral nomads. He stands on a corpse and holds a wand in front of his chest, decorated at both ends with jewels. The middle temple of the Erdene Zuu three-temple complex, Mongolia. Photo: 2001.



44. Gushri Khan (1582–1655), the ruler of Oirat Khoshut, and the regent of Tibet Desi Sangye Gyatso (1653–1705). The mural in the Great Courtyard (Khyamra Chenmo) of the Tsuglagkhang (Jokhang) Temple in Lhasa was created after the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1682; Tibet, China.[8] Photo: 1996.

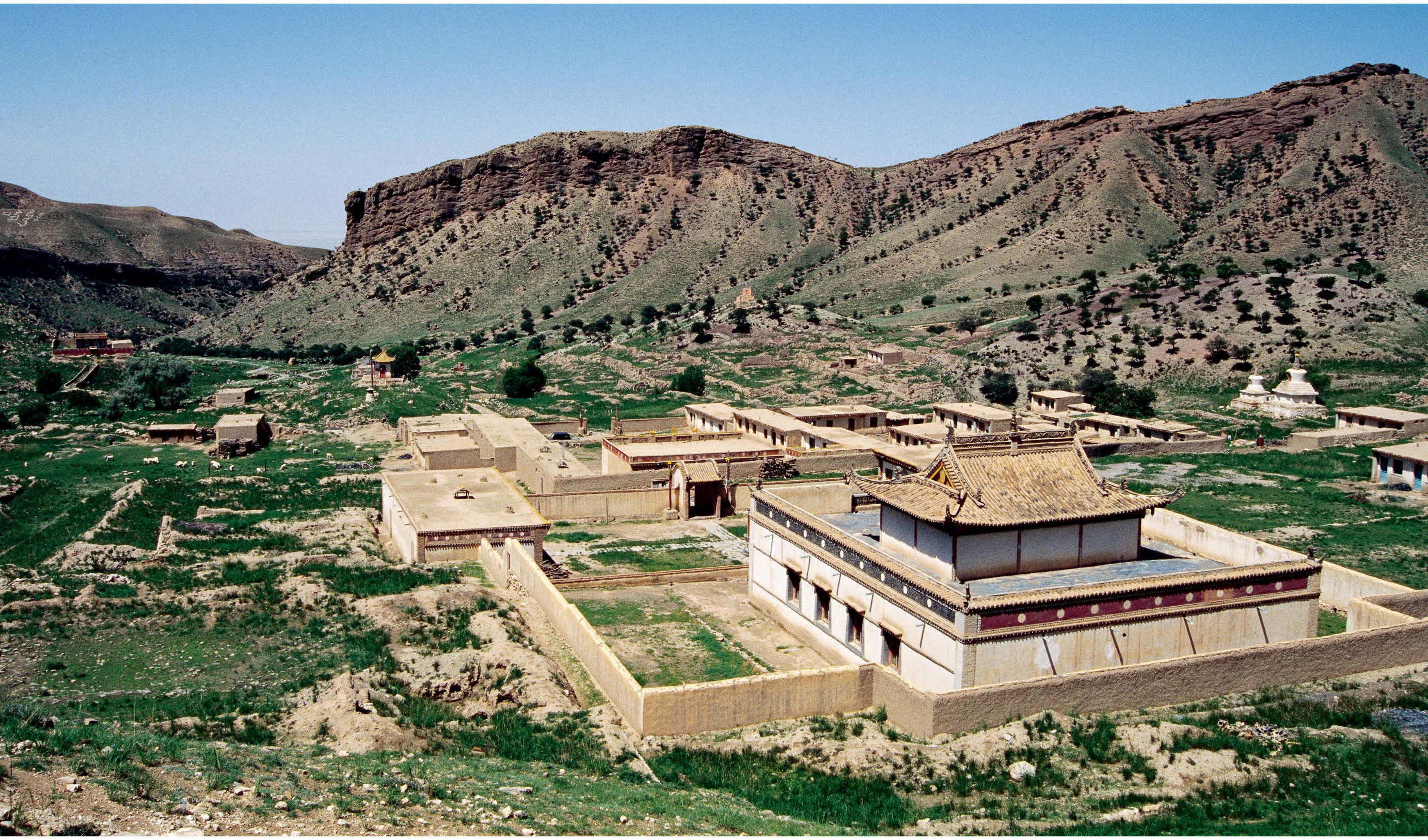
three-way relationship between the Mongolian rulers, Tibet, and China. Emperor Kangxi stabilised it in China's favour in 1720 by occupying Lhasa and downgrading Tibet to a protectorate.

Altan Khan's son and successor Dügüreng Sengge (r. 1582–86) and his wife Jönggen Khatun (d. 1612), the former third wife of Altan Khan, invited the Third Dalai Lama to southern Mongolia. He arrived there in 1585 and evangelised diligently until his death in 1588, which later gave the Gelugpa a religious monopoly. The visit of the prince of Eastern Mongolian Khalkha helped lay the foundation for the spread of Buddhism in Central Mongolia: Abatai Khan (d. 1588) was a great-grandson of Dayan Khan and met with the Dalai Lama in 1586 in the capital city of Köke Qota, the 'blue city' (today's Hohhot). The Dalai Lama gave him the honorary title 'Incarnation of the Bodhisattva Manjushri' and thereby gained the protection of a second Mongolian tribal leader. A short time earlier, Abatai had followed the example of Altan Khan by founding a small Buddhist temple in Karakorum. When he returned, he expanded it into the large Erdene Zuu ('Precious Lord') Monastery. The building material was taken from the ruins of Karakorum. (Figs. 40–43) The monastery standing over the destroyed palace of the Great Khan Ögödei was last renovated and expanded between 1780 and 1799.[30]

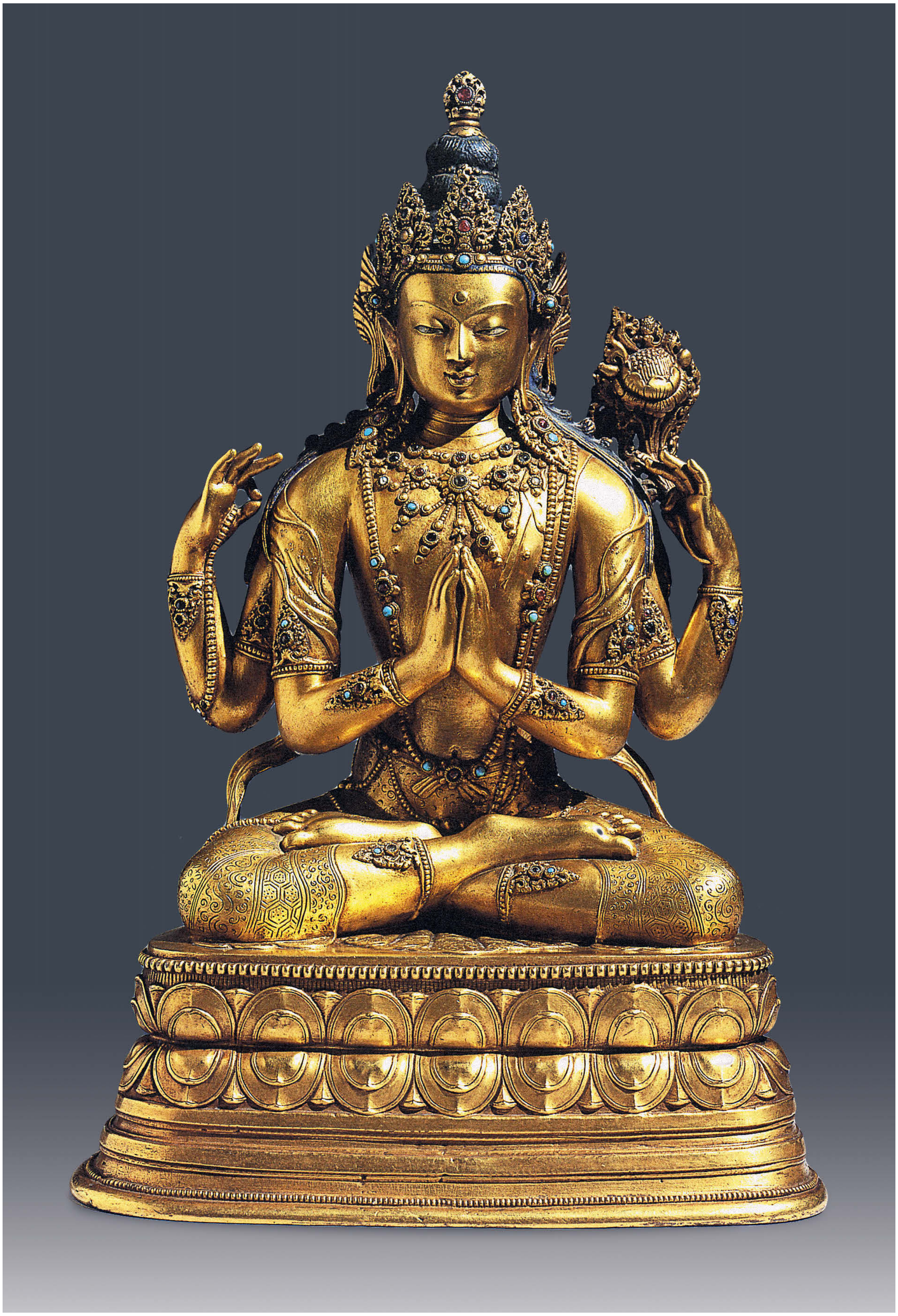
The alliance between the emerging Gelugpa order and the Mongol rulers was soon deepened further. When the Third Dalai Lama died in Mongolia in 1588, his reincarnation was not 'discovered,' for example, in Tibet, but in Mongolia – in the person of a great-grandson of Altan Khan and grandson of Dügüreng Sengge, born in the beginning of 1589. With the selection of a Mongol from the lineage of Altan Khan, the Gelugpa were able to ensure the continuation of the *khoyar yosun* alliance. The Fourth Dalai Lama, Yontan Gyatso (1589–1617), was a Genghis Khanid on his mother's and his father's side. He was simultaneously the leader of the Gelugpa. The Dalai Lama was not escorted to Lhasa until 1602, where he received the monk ordination in 1603. His early death under suspicious circumstances and the disintegration of the supremacy of the Tümed after 1612[31] prevented him or his Mongolian patrons from taking advantage of this unusual situation. Yontan Gyatso was the only non-Tibetan Dalai Lama.

Twenty years after Yontan Gyatso's death, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617–82), gained the powerful ruler of the Oirat Khoshut, Gushri Khan (1582–1655), as protector of the Gelugpa (fig. 44). In a six-year war, Gushri Khan defeated the political opponents of the Gelugpa and established the theocracy of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa. As a result, Tibet became a focus of Mongolian (and later Chinese) policy. In the mid-1630s, the Dalai Lama asked for military aid against the competing order of the Karmapa and the non-Buddhist Bönpo church, along with their mutually allied patrons: the Tibetan king of Tsang based in Shigatse and the king of Beri in eastern Tibetan Kham, Donyo Dorje. The opponents of the Gelugpa also included the Khalkha prince Tsogtu Khong Tayishi (1581–1637), who supported Gushri Khan's rival Ligdan Khan and resisted the spread of the Gelugpa (fig. 38). In 1635/36, Gushri Khan occupied Kokonor. The following winter he defeated Tsogtu Khong Tayishi, and between 1639 and 1642 he destroyed the kings of Beri and Tsang. He then transferred rule over Tibet to the Fifth Dalai Lama, who awarded him the title 'King of the Dharma'. But Gushri Khan retained control of the Tibetan forces and appointed a Tibetan regent, a so-called Desi, to run government affairs. The Dalai Lama took advantage of the opportunity to convert monasteries of the Kagyüpa, Sakyapa, Nyingmapa and Bönpo into Gelugpa monasteries and to consolidate the supremacy of the Gelugpa.[32] Depending on one's point of view, Tibet was a united, theocratic state under the leadership of the Gelugpa, or a Mongolian protectorate. Eighty years later, Emperor Kangxi ended a power struggle over the true Seventh Dalai Lama and occupied Lhasa in 1720. From then on, Tibet belonged to China's sphere of influence.

The Mongolian identity was now based on the identification with the legacy of Genghis Khan and his descendants, as well as on Buddhism. In the seventeenth century, the link between the Mongol ruling families and Buddhist institutions of the Gelugpa was further strengthened. Here, Mongolian princes exploited Buddhism to protect their power, and the order of the Gelugpa



45. The northern Buddhist Barun-khit monastery, also called Zsun khit, was founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century and is located in the Ala-Shan (Helan) Mountains, Inner Mongolia, China. Here, the mummy of the Sixth Dalai Lama, who died under mysterious circumstances, was allegedly preserved in a gilded stupa.[9] The complex has been under reconstruction since 1991; photo 1995.

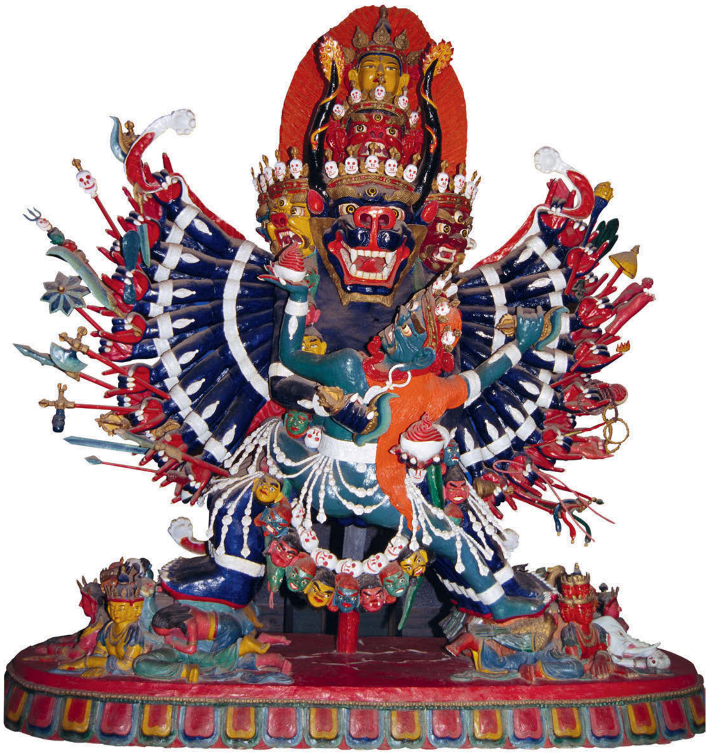


46. Gilt bronze figure of Shadakshari Avalokiteshvara from the atelier of Zanabazar (1635–1723). Rossi & Rossi, London.

found ways, despite celibacy, to establish dynasties with their own deified hierarchs by means of the system of rebirths.[33] In 1639, the ruler of Middle Khalkha, Tushiyetu Khan Gombodorji (1594–1655), possibly a Genghis Khanid and a grandson of Abatai Khan, managed to have his son, born in 1635, recognised by an assembly of leading princes of Khalkha as the reincarnation of Târanâtha (1575–1634), the famous philosopher and teacher of the Tibetan school of the Jonangpas. Gombodorji probably hoped that if his son was equipped with the prestige of a high Buddhist incarnation, he could end the political divisions between the leaders of Khalkha and ultimately rally all the Mongols behind him. By around 1616, all the princes of the Oirats had converted to Buddhism themselves.[34] The Fifth Dalai Lama confirmed this reincarnation contrived by Mongol princes, bestowing it with the title Jebtsundamba ('Holy, Precious Master'). He named the boy Zanabazar (Sanskrit Jnanavajra, 'Thunderbolt of Wisdom'). The Mongols called him Bogda Gegeen ('Holy Incarnate Lama'). Because the Dalai Lama condemned the rival order of Jonangpa as heretical, he integrated the young Zanabazar (1635–1723) into his Gelugpa order. And since Târanâtha had founded many monasteries among the Khalkha, this move automatically put them into the Gelugpas' possession.[35] Because Emperor Kangxi recognised the equal standing of this new reincarnation as the supreme authority of the Gelugpa in Mongolia, he restricted the Dalai Lama's influence to Tibet.

Although Zanabazar – who also created wonderful Buddhist metal figurines and invented the ornate Soyombo alphabet in 1686 – enjoyed the highest reputation as head of the Gelugpa in Mongolia and as the undisputed spiritual leader of the Khalkha Mongols and as a descendant of the lineage of Genghis Khan, he did not succeed – unlike the Fifth Dalai Lama – in unifying all Mongols under his leadership. On the one hand, the Oirat Galdan Khan (r. 1671–97) was not willing to compromise in regard to his claim to leadership. On the other hand, the formation of a Genghis Khanid-Buddhist theocracy on the northern border with China was in no way consistent with Emperor Kangxi's strategy to eliminate the risk of a strong, reunited Mongol Empire by incorporating the Mongolian tribal organisations into a future Chinese protectorate. Nonetheless, the institution of Jebtsundamba at least preserved the identity of the Khalkha. In 1686, Zanabazar's effort to reconcile the Oirats and the Khalkha failed. Galdan Khan subsequently attacked with full force. Followed by tens of thousands of Khalkha Mongols in 1688, Zanabazar and his brother the Tushiyetu Khan fled to Inner Mongolia, where they asked Emperor Kangxi for aid and protection. With this appeal, Zanabazar and the Khalkha presented Emperor Kangxi with an opportunity to realise his strategic goal. In 1690, he halted Galdan's advance. He also forced the Khalkha princes, the Jebtsundamba Zanabazar, and 550 nobles, to become vassals of the Chinese Qing emperors by swearing an oath of allegiance at Dolon Nor in the early summer of 1691. Some four centuries after Kublai Khan's rule, the Genghis Khanids of Mongolia had been degraded to supplicants and vassals of China.[36] In this way, Kangxi greatly restricted Zanabazar's political independence. He further claimed sovereignty over the successors of Genghis Khan and, along with it, the title of Cakravartin Raja.

In 1696, three Chinese armies invaded Mongolia. They decimated Galdan and, in the process, strengthened the protectorate of the Qing over the territories of today's Outer and Inner Mongolia.[37] As an emperor of Manchurian origin, Kangxi continued the policy of his grandfather Hung Taiji (r. 1626–43). The latter regulated Buddhism in the territories under his control and restricted its dissemination, while promoting the religion among the Mongols for political reasons.[38] If the statement from the Jesuit Gerbillon, who lived at Kangxi's court from 1687 to 1707, is to be believed, the emperor deplored the Tibetan monks for being



47. Erlig-jin Jarghagchi (Vajrabhairava) combats death and rebirth and is revered as an important meditational deity by the Gelugpa order. Maidari-yin Juu monastery, Tümed Right Banner, Baotou, Inner Mongolia, China. Photo: 1995.

uncivilised. Thus, while he supported the Lamas 'to maintain the Tatars [Mongols] obedience . . . he actually despised them for their coarseness, as they knew nothing about science nor the visual arts. It was for political reasons that he hid his true feelings and gave them outwards signs of his appreciation and favour.'[39] Kangxi confirmed in a bon mot that he supported the Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols for political reasons: 'The construction of a single temple spares the nourishment of one hundred thousand soldiers stationed in Mongolia.'[40] Zanabazar lived from 1691 to 1701 at the court of Emperor Kangxi until the protectorate of the Qing was firmly established.

Although Emperor Kangxi promoted the Jebtsundamba religiously, while severely limiting his political scope, he established a counterweight in the form of the Changkya Khutukhtu of the Gelugpa, Ngawang Lobsang Choeden (1642–1714). Kangxi had met him at the oath of allegiance of Dolon Nor.[41] Emperor Qianlong (r. 1735–96, de facto until 1799) continued Kangxi's policy. He also made every effort to support his ally the Second Changkya Khutukhtu Rölpai Dorje (1717–86) from the small nation of the Mongolian-speaking Monguor, who glorified him as the incarnation of Manjushri, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom.[42] With this strategy, the Qing emperor purposely limited the spiritual authority of the four highest Gelugpa hierarchs along territorial lines: The Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, who had been Chinese vassals since 1720, were responsible for the Tibetans and Kalmyk;[43] the Jebtsundamba for Outer Mongolia; and the Changkya Khutukhtu for Inner Mongolia. Qianlong's displeasure with the Jebtsundamba's disloyalty was revealed when the second incarnation (1724–58) of Genghis-Khanid descent hesitated during the revolt of the Khalkha princes in 1756–57 to declare his support for the existing order and his opposition to the rebels. By all appearances, Qianlong had him poisoned in 1758.[44] In response to the suspect loyalty of the religious leader of Mongolia, who enjoyed the prestige of being a descendant of Genghis Khan, Qianlong decreed that all future supreme Khutukhtus would have to be born in Tibet as Tibetans. He consequently severed the familial ties between leading hierarchs and the Mongolian nobility.[45] Just over 30 years later, in 1792, he nullified the competence of the leading lamas of Mongolia and Tibet to determine the reincarnations of their leaders. He ordered that they would have to be determined by lottery from a circle of acceptable candidates. In this way, he also prevented the development of hereditary dynasties.[46] Now, the Gelugpa incarnations of Avalokiteshvara (that of the Dalai Lama) and Manjushri (that of the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu and Changkya Khutukhtu) stood under the authority of the Cakravartin Raja emperor of the Qing. Even though Emperor Kangxi liked to have himself painted on Buddhist scroll paintings as a Bodhisattva Manjushri[47] (fig. 54), he said in a proclamation from 1792: 'In patronizing the Yellow Church [Gelugpa], we maintain peace with the Mongols. [. . .But in doing this,] we do not in any way give preference to or adulate the Tibetan priests, as was done under the Yuan.'[48] The Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933) and the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu (1870–1924) were the first to successfully exploit the weaknesses of the Qing Dynasty, shake off its sovereignty, and free the short-lived, more or less autonomous states of Tibet (1912–51) and Mongolia (1911–19, nominally 1921–24) from the Chinese yoke. But both countries were heavily dependent on major foreign powers: Tibet on British India and Mongolia on Russia, and later on the Soviet Union.[49]

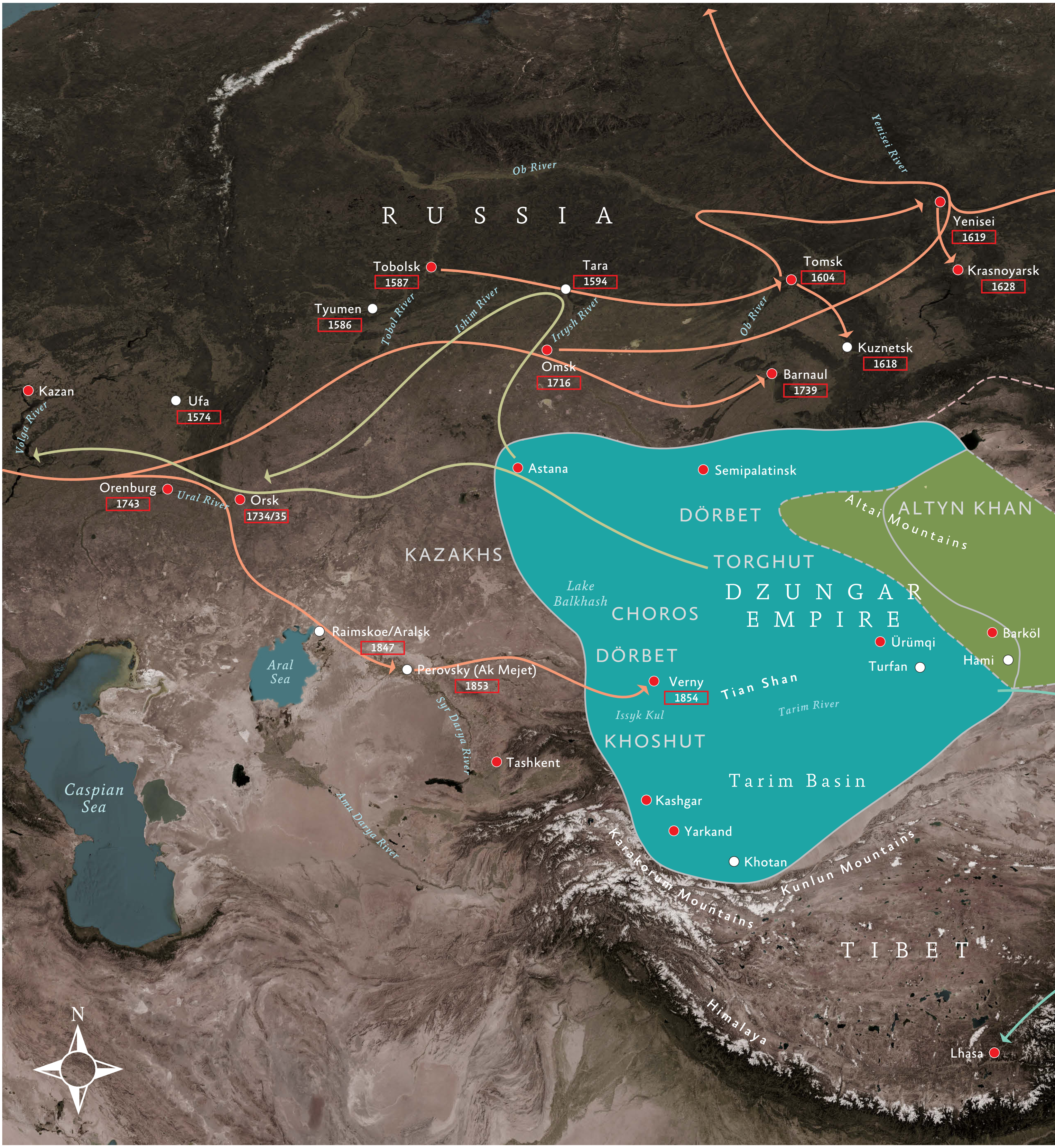
3. Russia Advances to the East

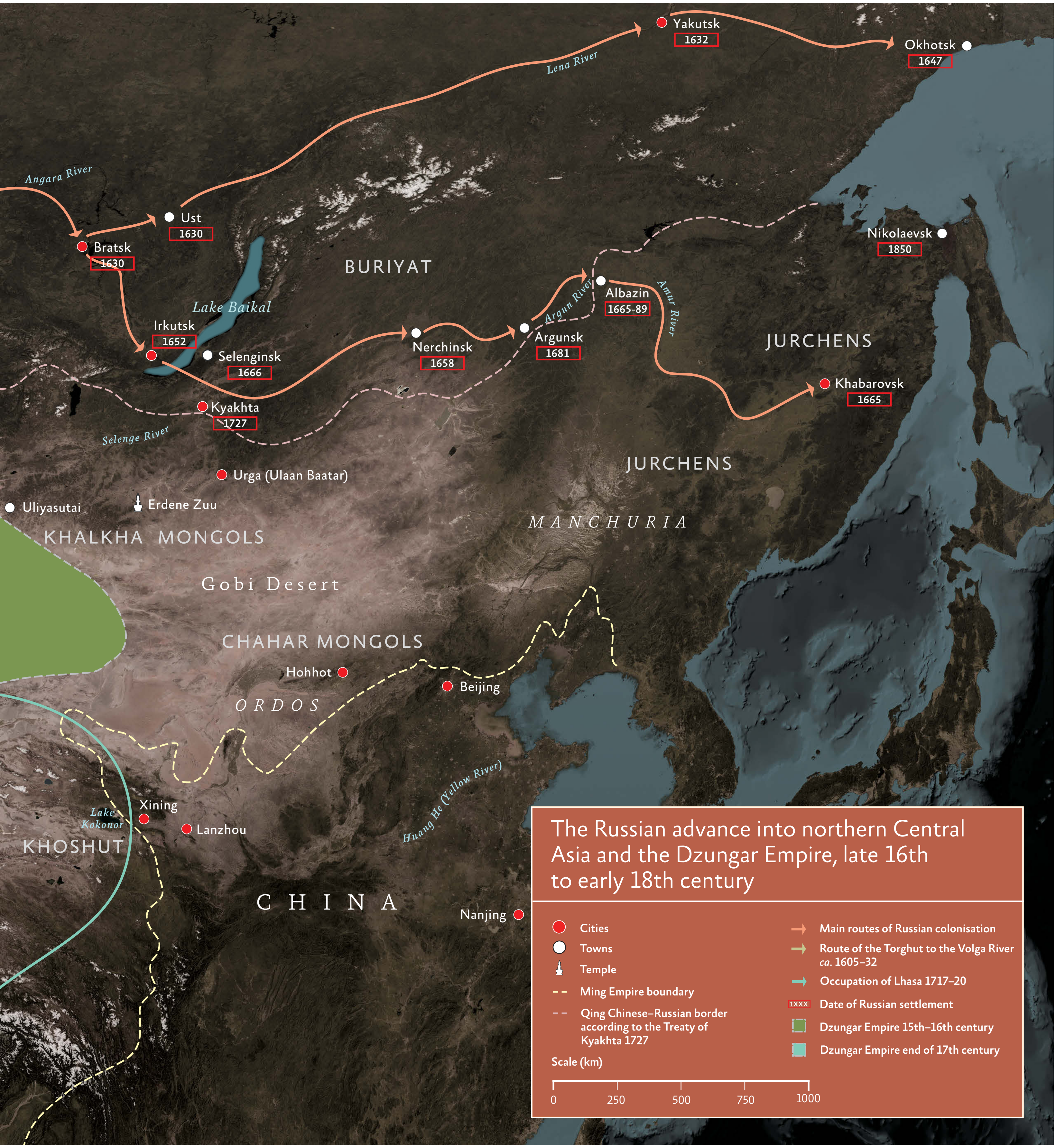
While China dealt with its northern neighbour for security reasons, Russian hunters, traders, and Cossacks penetrated into the north-east of Central Asia out of commercial motives. They looked for salt deposits, furs and metals and, on behalf of the tsar, explored a possible direct trade route to China.[50] At the end of this process, the Russians and Chinese clashed along the Amur River in the mid-seventeenth century. The greatest impulse behind the Russian eastward expansion was to capture valuable furs, especially sable, ermine, black fox and marten, which were called 'soft gold'.[51] In Russia, a veritable fur fever broke out. And, as soon as the hunters and trappers had killed off all fur-bearing animals in a region, they moved onward to the east. The rapid conquest of Siberia was driven by the greed for furs and the desire for trade, not missionary zeal. The Cossacks followed on the heels of the hunters. They erected fortresses and fortified settlements in strategic locations that were commanded by voivodes, who were under the tsar's control. Tsar Ivan IV had already declared Siberia an Imperial possession and the wholesale trade of furs a state monopoly.[52] On the march eastward, Ufa was founded in 1574, Tyumen in 1586, Tobolsk in 1587 (fig. 48), Tomsk in 1604, Yakutsk in 1632, the port of Okhotsk on the Pacific in 1647 and Irkutsk on Lake Baikal in 1652/61.[53] The advance of Russians with their superior arms had catastrophic consequences for the approximately 140 tribes of Siberia. They were not only relegated to tribute-paying subjects, who were at the mercy of voivode tax collectors, but the extermination of fur-bearing animals deprived them of their livelihood. Those who could not pay taxes in the form

48. The Tobolsk Kremlin founded in 1587, Tyumen Oblast, Russia; in the background, the Irtysh River.

of furs or the debts accrued on the purchase of alcoholic beverages were forced to hand over young women, who were then sold to the surrounding garrisons. Furs, women and spirits were accordingly the most profitable trade goods for the Russians.[54]

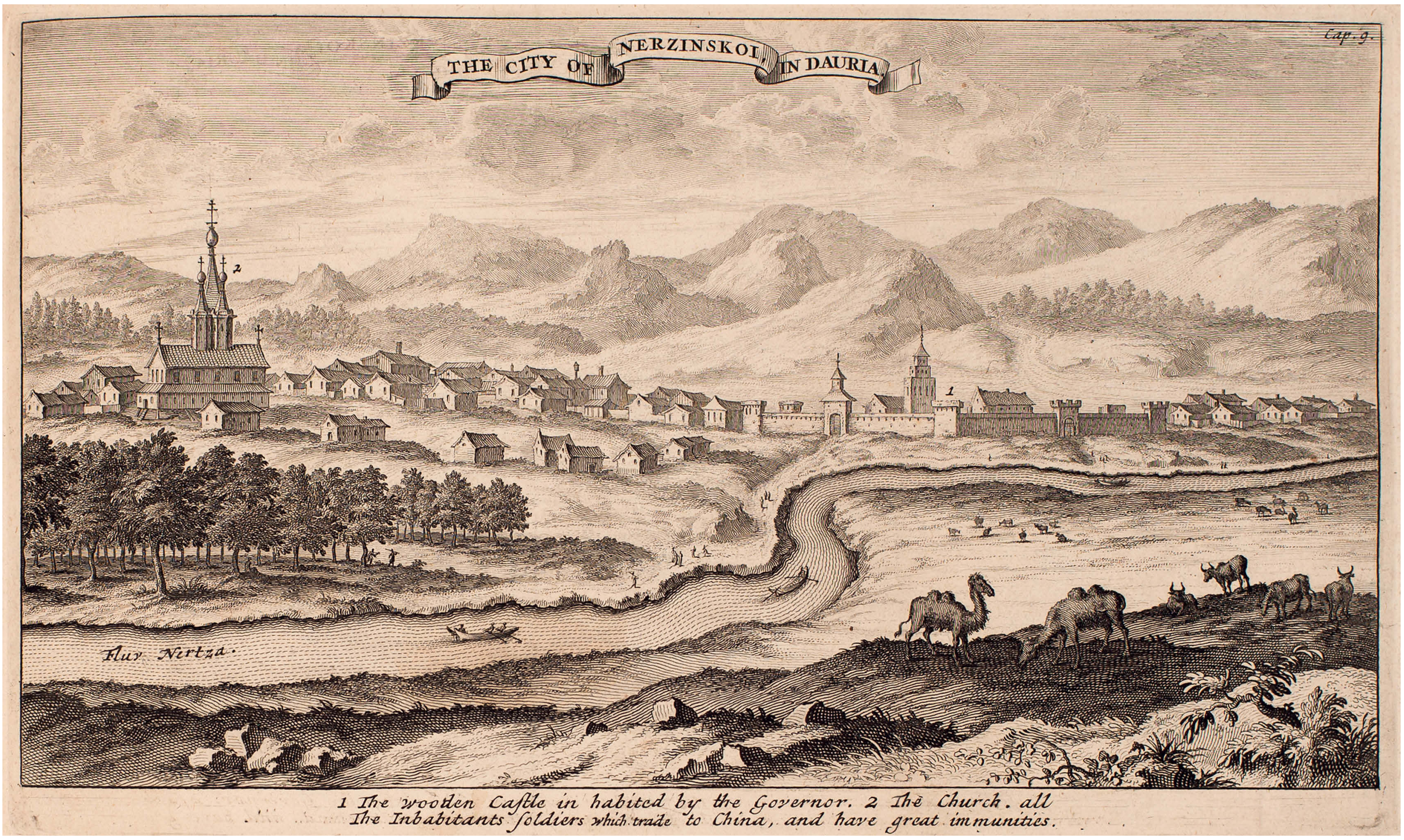
As the Russians were determined to find a direct trade route to China, they pushed on to the south-east, into the Baraba steppe south of Tobolsk. Instead of fur-bearing animals, they encountered the Turkic people the Teleuts, who were subjects of the up-and-coming Oirat leader Khara-Khula (r. *ca*. 1600–34). As a result of Khara-Khula's military strength, the Russians ruled out the possibility of a violent incursion. Instead, they entered into negotiations with the khan. This, however, did not prevent Khara-Khula from attacking the Russian settlers of southern Siberia from 1628–34.[55] When the voivode of Tomsk sent Cossack expeditions south into the Central Asian steppes between 1604 and 1606, they ran headlong on the Upper Yenisei into one of the then four khans of Khalkha, Sholoi Ubashi Khong Tayishi (1567–1623), a bitter enemy of the Oirat Khara-Khula. The Russians realised that there was a potential route to China from the khanate of Sholoi Ubashi, whom they called 'Altan Khan'.[56] The political situation was complicated: some tribal leaders of the Oirats who lived on the border of the khanate of Sholoi Ubashi had sworn an oath of allegiance to the tsar around 1607/08. In return, Russia promised military support.[57] For Russian transit rights, however, Altan Khan demanded military aid against the same Oirats who had placed themselves under Russian protection. When Sholoi's envoy, the Lama Tarkhan, tactlessly appeared in Moscow in 1620, demanding not only Cossacks, but also gunsmiths, Tsar Mikhail I Romanov (r. 1613–45)


Ob River
Yenisei River
R U S S I A
Yenisei
1619
Tobolsk
1587
Tara
1594
Tomsk
1604
Krasnoyarsk
1628
Tyumen
1586
Tobol River
Ishim River
Irtysh River
Ob River
Kuznetsk
1618
Omsk
1716
Barnaul
1739
Kazan
Volga River
Ufa
1574
Astana
Semipalatinsk
Orenburg
1743
Ural River
Orsk
1734/35
DÖRBET
Altai Mountains
ALTYN KHAN
KAZAKHS
TORGHUT
Lake Balkhash
CHOROS
DZUNGAR EMPIRE
Barköl
Ürümqi
Raimskoe/Aralsk
1847
Aral Sea
Perovsky (Ak Mejet)
1853
DÖRBET
Turfan
Hami
Verny
1854
Tian Shan
Tarim River
Issyk Kul
Syr Darya River
KHOSHUT
Tashkent
Caspian Sea
Tarim Basin
Kashgar
Amu Darya River
Yarkand
Khotan
Karakorum Mountains
Kunlun Mountains
TIBET
N
Himalaya
Lhasa



The Russian advance into northern Central Asia and the Dzungar Empire, late 16th to early 18th century

Yakutsk
1632
Okhotsk
1647
Lena River
Angara River
Ust
1630
Bratsk
1630
BURIYAT
Nikolaevsk
1850
Lake Baikal
Irkutsk
1652
Selenginsk
1666
Nerchinsk
1658
Argun River
Argunsk
1681
Albazin
1665-89
Amur River
JURCHENS
Khabarovsk
1665
Kyakhta
1727
Selenge River
JURCHENS
Urga (Ulaan Baatar)
Uliyasutai
Erdene Zuu
MANCHURIA
KHALKHA MONGOLS
Gobi Desert
CHAHAR MONGOLS
Hohhot
Beijing
ORDOS
Huang He (Yellow River)
Lake Kokonor
Xining
Lanzhou
KHOSHUT
CHINA
Nanjing
● Cities
○ Towns
Temple
- - Ming Empire boundary
- - Qing Chinese–Russian border according to the Treaty of Kyakhta 1727
→ Main routes of Russian colonisation
→ Route of the Torghut to the Volga River ca. 1605–32
→ Occupation of Lhasa 1717–20
1XXX Date of Russian settlement
🟩 Dzungar Empire 15th–16th century
🟩 Dzungar Empire end of 17th century
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000


THE CITY OF NERZINSKOI, IN DAURIA
Cap. 9.
1
2
Flur Nertza.
1 The wooden Castle in habited by the Governor. 2 The Church. all The Inhabitants soldiers which trade to China, and have great immunities.

49. The city of Nerchinsk established in 1658 in Transbaikalia, Russia. It was here that the border in Transbaikalia was determined between Russia and China in 1689 and trade relations were defined. E. Ysbrants Ides*, Three years travels from Moscow over-land to China: thro' Great Ustiga, Siriania, Permia, Sibiria, Daour, Great Tartary, &c. to Peking* (London: Printed for W. Freeman et al., 1706), opposite p. 42.

replied that Russia would not fight against its own Oirat vassals. He thus refused any form of military aid. The transit route through Sholoi's khanate, accordingly, remained off limits to the Russians, which forced them to look for an alternative further to the east.[58] The failure to obtain transit rights through Sholoi's khanate was all the more painful for Moscow later on, when the Cossacks Ivan Petlin and Andrey Madov were able to prove the feasibility of this trade route in the course of their trip to Beijing in 1618. Since the two Cossacks did not have diplomatic accreditation from the tsar, they were forbidden to see the emperor. They received a letter for the tsar written in Chinese, which stated that the emperor never sent his own envoys to foreign powers and that if the tsar wished to have diplomatic and commercial relations with China, he would first have to send a tribute-bearing delegation. In any event, as no one in Moscow understood Chinese, the letter remained unread until 1675.[59]

The next two options for a possible transit route to China were in Buryatia, south of Lake Baikal, and in Transbaikalia, also called Dauria. The second compelling reason to explore these southern areas was the logistical need for Russian settlements to be able to sustain themselves east of the Urals. When the Cossacks heard that there were fertile and agriculturally viable regions in south-eastern Transbaikalia, along the Amur River, they moved there under the leadership of Vasily Poyarkov in 1643–46 and, in the early 1650s, under Yerofey Khabarov. This led to the establishment of the fortress of Nerchinsk (1654; the settlement was completed in 1658; fig. 49) on the Nercha River, one of the headwaters of the Shilka, and of the forts of Khabarovsk (as a camp in 1652, as a fortress in 1665) and Albazin (as a camp in 1651, as a fortress in 1665) on the Amur itself. At the same time, the Cossacks built the fort of Selenginsk (1666) in southern Buryatia.[60] Owing to the brutality of the Cossacks, the native Daurs turned to Qing emperor Shunzhi (r. 1644–61) for help. Since the Manchus considered Dauria to be part of their northern safety zone, they sent a small army with artillery. A defeat in 1652 was followed in 1658 by the overwhelming victory of a powerful Manchurian flotilla which freed the middle Amur of Russians, east of Nerchinsk.[61] Since the Cossacks, who returned between 1665 and 1672, posed a threat, Emperor Kangxi demanded that Moscow destroy the fortresses, especially that of Albazin. The negotiations were unsuccessful, prompting a Manchurian army to destroy the Albazin fortress in June 1685. Also in June, Khalkha Mongols laid siege to Selenginsk, but failed to conquer the fortress there.

The Cossacks, however, returned to the Amur and rebuilt the fortress of Albazin. Kangxi, in turn, also sent back his army. The Cossacks held out under the renewed siege for months until Kangxi ordered a ceasefire in early 1687. The reason for this surprising turn of events was a letter from Moscow that announced the arrival of the envoy Prince Fedor Golovin, who was authorised to resolve all border disputes between Russia and China. In fact, the negotiations culminated in the Treaty of Nerchinsk, which not only regulated the north-eastern border between Russia and China, but also severely undermined the long-term survival of a Central Asian steppe empire.[62] Northern Central Asia had thus become the scene of an armed conflict between two non-Central Asian great powers for the first time.

The Treaty of Nerchinsk: the Jesuits Jean-François Gerbillon and Thomas Pereira as Intermediaries between China and Russia

The starting point in the negotiations was lopsided: Russia was primarily interested in trade with China, yet was neither willing nor able to send more troops to the region, which was 6,000 km from Moscow. At the time, Russia's interest in Siberia and the Amur region was purely economic: the tsars sought the highest possible revenue with minimal administrative expenditure to realise their strategic objectives in the west. China, conversely, did not want trade, but only security on its northern border. In particular, Emperor Kangxi feared an anti-China alliance between the Dzungar Khan Galdan and Russia following his decision to expel Galdan from the territories of the Khalkha Mongols. For Galdan, an alliance with Moscow would have given him access to Russian firearms and strategic depth in Siberia. Emperor Kangxi, who was kept informed of Russia's disputes with Sweden and Poland thanks to the Jesuits residing at court,[63] was therefore prepared to drive the Russians from the Amur militarily. Kangxi instructed his envoy and minister Songgotu that the Russians would have to clear out of the Amur and that military pressure could be exercised, if necessary. Ideally, it would be possible to neutralise the Russians politically in western Transbaikalia through concessions. Golovin, on the other hand, was directed to avoid a war with China at all costs.[64] The Chinese delegation could therefore proceed from a position of strength, which was demonstrated by the differently-sized escorts of the envoys. As the Jesuit and interpreter Gerbillon reported, where Golovin was accompanied by 500 soldiers, Songgotu arrived with an army of 10,000.[65]

A first round of negotiations had failed in 1687/88 when a delegation of Khalkha Mongols allied with Kangxi and a delegation from Jebtsundamba Zanabazar arrived in Selenginsk. They issued an ultimatum to Prince Golovin to transfer dominion over the Buryat to them. Golovin categorically refused. An 8,000-strong Khalkha army then began to besiege Selenginsk in January 1688 – a negotiating tactic that Songgotu also threatened to use a year later in Nerchinsk. Nevertheless, the Khalkha suddenly withdrew in late March after Galdan launched a major offensive against them.[66] The continuation of the negotiations was postponed to the following year. In view of the Dzungar offensive, Golovin proposed that they take place further to the east in Nerchinsk. Kangxi decided to go along with the proposal, firstly because of the Dzungar–Khalkha war that erupted and secondly because Galdan had announced he would go to war on behalf of the tsar. Kangxi now had to immediately neutralise Russia. Although the Manchus had Russian-speaking interpreters and the Russians had Mongolian speakers, the parties agreed to use the Latin and Chinese-speaking Jesuits Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707) and Thomas Pereira (1645–1708) as interpreters. Both Jesuits were mathematicians and resided in Beijing. Gerbillon, moreover, undertook eight trips to 'Tartary' between 1688 and 1698 on behalf of Kangxi.[67] As a reward for their efforts, the Jesuits hoped that Kangxi would give them permission to proselytise. This, in fact, occurred with the tolerance edict from 1692.[68]

Right at the beginning of the highly charged negotiations on 22 August 1689, Songgotu issued his highest demand: the Russians were to withdraw from Selenginsk and all areas further east. This prompted Golovin to suggest maintaining the status quo, i.e. a border demarcation along the Amur River all the way to the Pacific. The talks faltered. When Golovin refused to give up Albazin, Songgotu, who was under considerable pressure to force a rapid settlement, began to surround the Russian fortress of Nerchinsk on 27 August and establish a blockade. Given his military inferiority and the order to avoid war at all costs, Golovin yielded the next day and offered to destroy the Albazin fortress (as Gerbillon reported).[69] The standoff was broken and the treaty, drafted in Latin, was signed by both agents on 7 September. It went into force immediately.[70] Russia destroyed the Albazin fortress and moved the border with China to a course that ran about 120 km north of the Amur River. It retained, however, the fortresses of Argunsk along the Argun River and Nerchinsk as well as Buryatia. China dispensed with Buryatia and most of Transbaikal and granted Russia trading rights. It held on to Mongolia, however. In return, Russia committed to not supporting

Galdan and his Dzungars. Both parties agreed to return refugees and deserters, so that Dzungar refugees would not be able to escape the clutches of the imperial armies, and nor would Buryat subjects be able to flee to the south. The treaty was beneficial for both sides: Russia won trading rights[71] and Kangxi was free to wage war against Galdan. Indeed, Galdan was the loser of the agreement, which he must have quickly realised when Golovin rebuffed his proposal of an anti-Khalkha alliance in early 1690.[72] Galdan also lost strategic depth, for the agreement robbed him of the opportunity to seek temporary refuge in southern Siberia if the war took an unfavourable turn. The Treaty of Nerchinsk and the subsequent Treaty of Kyakhta of 1727 defined the Russian-Chinese border as having a length of more than 4,000 km, which sealed off the steppe to the north.[73] Another attack by the Manchurian hammer would have caused fleeing Dzungars to collide with the Russian anvil. These two agreements thus paved the way for the division of Central Asia between Russia and China. At the same time, Central Asia, which in the age of the Mongols was a centre of power and trading hub of the Eurasian continent, was relegated to the periphery of foreign powers.

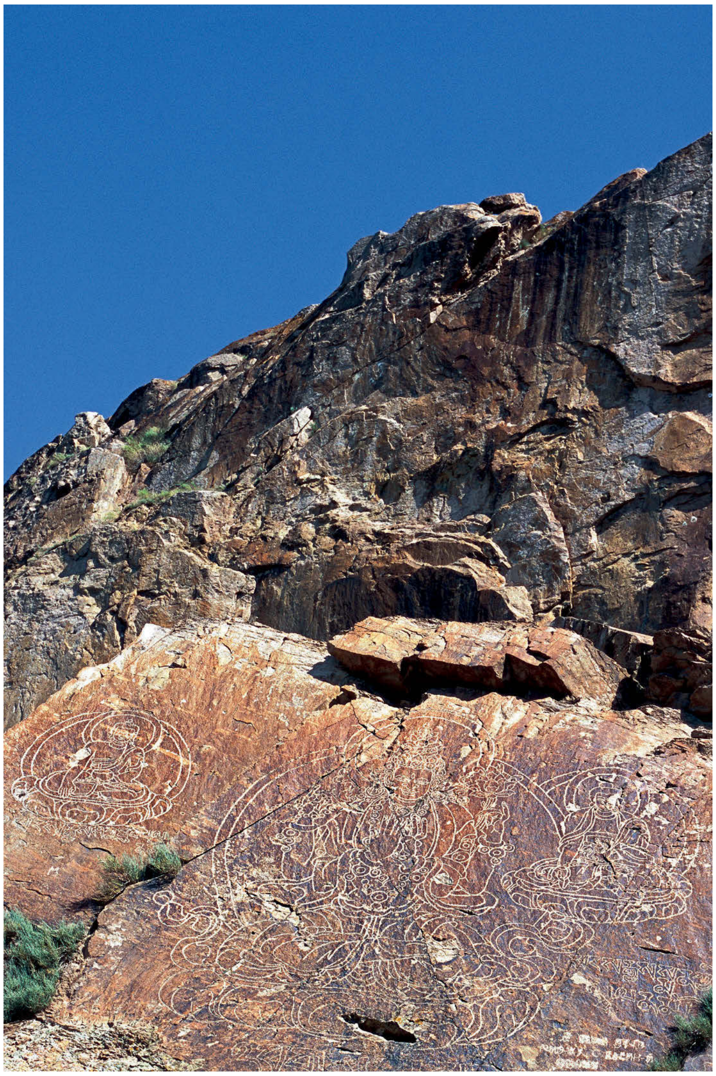
The border north of the Amur drawn in 1689 remained in place until 1854. But when the explorer Alexander von Middendorf, who had traced the course of the river in 1843, reported in St Petersburg that the Chinese had never occupied the border awarded to them in 1689 and, moreover, that there was a risk that British or American ships would sail up the Amur and take possession of Albazin, the governor of Eastern Siberia, Infantry General Nikolay Muravyov-Amursky (1809–87), seized the initiative. First, he sent Lieutenant Colonel Gennady Nevelskoy, who established Fort Nikolaevsk in 1850 along the lower reaches of the Amur. In light of the exploration of the Lower Amur by British agents and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853, where Russia faced an Ottoman-British-French alliance, Muravyov was convinced that Russia needed to occupy the Middle and Upper Amur as quickly as possible. Otherwise, the British would advance there and, in a second move, threaten Irkutsk. The circumstances were propitious. Because of the Taiping Rebellion of 1851–64, China was unable to send troops to the north. In May 1854, Muravyov again occupied Albazin and repulsed an Anglo-French attack on the port city of Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula. In the following year, he fended off another allied attack on Nikolaevsk, and the left bank of the Amur River remained Russian – which China was forced to accept in the Treaties of Aigun (1858) and Beijing (1860).[74]

50. The small Tubten Chokhorling monastery in Kyzyl, Tuva, Russia, consecrated in 1992 by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Photo: 2002.

4. The Dzungars: The Last Powerful Steppe Empire of Central Asia

In the wake of the death of Esen Khan in 1455, the first confederation of Oirats had collapsed. Four main Oirat branches then formed – Torghut, Dörbet, Khoshut and Choros – which, however, were severely pressured in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the east, the Eastern Mongol Altan Khan expelled them from Central Mongolia to the west into the region of Khobdo (Khovd). Under pressure from the Khalkha in the years 1619–21, they continued from there to flee westwards. In the south-west, however, the Uzbeks advanced to the north; and in the west, they were beset by the Kazakh Tevekkel (Tauekel) Khan (r. 1582–98). As a result, from around 1627/28, the Torghut migrated westward in droves, all the way to the Lower Volga, where they were known as Kalmyks. Around the year 1635/36, the Khoshut wandered into Kokonor and Amdo (north-eastern Tibet).[75] But the Choros, called 'Eleuths' by older European sources; the Dörbet; and a sub-tribe of the Khoit established the khanate of the Dzungars in the territory of Tarbaghatai (eastern Kazakhstan and northern Xinjiang).[76] In the 1630s, three Oirat confederations emerged: the khanates of the Kalmyks, the Khoshut and the Dzungars. Of these, only the last had embryonic state structures.

The founder of the Dzungar confederation was **Khara-Khula Tayishi** (r. *ca*. 1600–34). He expanded the rule of the Dzungars and, in 1618, also settled a first treaty with Russia, which had destroyed the khanate of Sibir and pushed forward to the south-east. This agreement regulated the affiliation and tax liability of the tribes living along the common border. Khara-Khula's son and successor **Erdeni Batur Khong Tayishi** (r. 1634–53) defeated the Kazakhs in the years 1635 and 1643. Further, he participated in Gushri Khan's campaign in Tibet which led to the establishment of the theocracy of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Erdeni Batur engaged in lively diplomatic exchanges with Russia, sending 33 Dzungar legations and receiving 19 Russian ones. As during the time of Khara-Khula, questions of trade and the taxation of border tribes predominated in Russian-Dzungar relations. In a dispute over the tax liability of the Kyrgyz living along the Yenisei in 1641, the two powers arrived at a compromise whereby the Kyrgyz had to pay tributes to both parties. Civilian trade with the Russians flourished: the Dzungars exchanged horses, cattle and furs for raw materials and handicraft products made of leather, as well as ivory, silver and other metals. Although Moscow severely punished the export of firearms and gunpowder,[77] the Dzungars managed to acquire them. After 1713, the Swede Renat instructed them how to cast small lightweight field guns, which were carried into battle by camels.[78]



51. Buddhist carvings from Tamgaly Tas, the 'painted stone', on the right bank of the Ili River in the south-east of Kazakhstan. The petroglyphs were carved at the time of the Dzungars around 1710. Appearing in the centre is Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara; to his right, Buddha Sakyamuni, and to his left, Manla, the medicine Buddha. Photo: 2005; the petroglyphs have since been vandalised.[10]

Erdeni Batur's efforts to secure hegemony over other Oirat tribes, and also probably over Eastern Mongols, failed, however. In 1635/36, many Khoshuts fled to Kokonor and Amdo. In 1648, further Khoshuts wandered westward into the regions of the Upper River Tobol and between the Urals and Volga, from where they expelled the Torghut-Kalmyks.[79] The large pan-Mongolian conference of 1640, involving leaders of the Dzungars, Kalmyks, Amdo Khoshuts and Khalkhas, was politically unsuccessful. Although the conference, convened by Erdeni Batur, the Khalkha Jasaghtu Khan, and the Buddhist monk Zaya Pandita, declared Tibetan Buddhism the official religion of all Mongols and procedures were agreed upon for dealing with inner-Mongolian conflicts, it did not achieve a political consensus. The Khoshut and Kalmyks wanted to preserve their independence and the Khalkha, threatened by the Manchus, were not willing to submit to the hegemonic claims of the Dzungars.[80] Zaya Pandita (1599–1662), however, developed the *todo* or so-called 'Clear Script' in 1648 for the Oirat language from the Mongolian-Uyghur script and from the Galik script developed by Lama Zordji Osir in 1587. It was written in vertical columns, from left to right, and was used by the Kalmyks until 1924, when it was replaced by a modified Cyrillic alphabet.[81] The reign of Erdeni Batur's son and successor **Sengge Khong Tayishi** (r. 1653–71) was overshadowed by the power struggles with two half-brothers, who murdered him in 1671 with the intent of succeeding him. Although Sengge was absorbed by these conflicts, he nonetheless managed to annex the khanate of Altan Khan in Khobdo in 1667. Ultimately, the plot of the two half-brothers failed, as Sengge's younger brother Galdan killed them and put himself on the throne.[82]

Galdan Boshughthtu Khan (r. 1671–97) had studied as a young monk in Tibet with the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama bestowed upon him the title Boshughthtu Khan ('legitimate khan') in 1678, even though he was a descendant of Esen Khan and thus not a Genghis Khanid.[83] Galdan was determined to bring all the Mongol tribes, except for the Kalmyks, under his rule – not by means of a conference as in 1640, but by war. He first conquered the Khoshut in 1676 and occupied the Kokonor. He then conquered the Muslim oasis towns of Hami, Turfan, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan in 1678–80.[84] Galdan's next target was the Eastern Mongolian Khalkha, who served the Manchu Qing in the north as a protective barrier against the Cossacks. A successful attack on the Khalkha by Galdan would make military conflict with Emperor Kangxi unavoidable. Despite this danger, Galdan intervened in a dispute between the Jasaghtu Khan and Tushiyetu Khan (both names were titles) of the Khalkha in 1686, which Zanabazar tried to mediate. He sent his brother to help the Jasaghtu Khan, but both were killed in battle with the Tushiyetu Khan. Galdan then unleashed an all-out attack. Galdan not only wanted to avenge his brother, but above all to conquer the Khalkha and to destroy the rival of the Dalai Lama, the Jebtsundamba. Galdan's army decimated the troops of the Khalkha and the survivors fled to the border with China. As discussed above,[85] Kangxi feared a Russian-Dzungar alliance, which is why he neutralised Russia in the Treaty of Nerchinsk and personally took to the field of battle against Galdan the following year in 1690. Kangxi won a victory at Ulaan Butung, 350 km north of Beijing, but was unable to destroy Galdan. Kangxi's top ally, however, was a Dzungar – specifically Galdan's nephew and Sengge's son Tsewang Rabtan. He had rebelled in the same year in Dzungaria and proclaimed himself the new khan. Galdan was forced to retreat to Khobdo.[86] Yet Kangxi wanted to eliminate Galdan as a threat once and for all. After the forced submission of the Khalkha princes at Dolon Nor, he ordered an economic blockade around Galdan's base, Khobdo, and sent gifts to Galdan's rival Tsewang Rabtan. When Galdan moved his camp eastward to the Kherlen River, Emperor Kangxi personally led three army columns into the fray. Thanks to artillery, his general Fiyanggû completely destroyed Galdan's troops on 12 June 1696 at the Battle of Jao Modo, about 50 km east of the present-day city of Ulaan Baatar. Galdan fled with a few followers to Khobdo, where Kangxi tracked him down the following year. As he was severely threatened by Kangxi and unable to escape to the west, where Tsewang Rabtan ruled, Galdan committed suicide. That same year, Hami and the Khoshut of Kokonor asked Kangxi for protection.[87] In general, it can be said that Galdan's impetuous attack in 1688 drove the Khalkha into the arms of China. Until 1911, China retained its supremacy over Mongolia.

Tsewang Rabtan (r. 1697–1727), who severely defeated the Kazakhs in 1698,[88] avoided a conflict with Russia sometime around 1703. Instead of offering military protection to the Kyrgyz living on the Upper Yenisei against invading Russian Cossacks, he asked his Kyrgyz vassals to leave their homes and settle south of Lake Balkhash in the valley of the Ili. Shortly thereafter, the Russians began to exploit the rich natural resources. Russia's hunger at the time for metal ore is explained by Tsar Peter's efforts to modernise the Russian army and switch to muskets and cannons. Russian peasants soon flowed into the region. In 1739, the city of Minusinsk and the Barnaul fortress were established.[89]

In the face of the military strength of the Qing, Tsewang Rabtan adopted a wait-and-see attitude with regard to China. Kangxi, for his part, did not want to attack the empire of the Dzungars head on, but rather waited for an opportunity to free subordinated Tibet from their control. Tibet had moved to the forefront of Kangxi's concern when he learned from Oirat prisoners-of-war in 1696 that the Fifth Dalai Lama had already been dead for fourteen years. The Dalai Lama had appointed Desi Sangye Gyatso (r. 1679–1705), his alleged son, regent in 1679. When he died in 1682, the regent, who pursued a pro-Dzungar policy, kept the death a secret and continued to rule. Enraged, Emperor Kangxi demanded that the regent enthrone the Sixth Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso (1683–1706). This occurred on 8 December 1697.

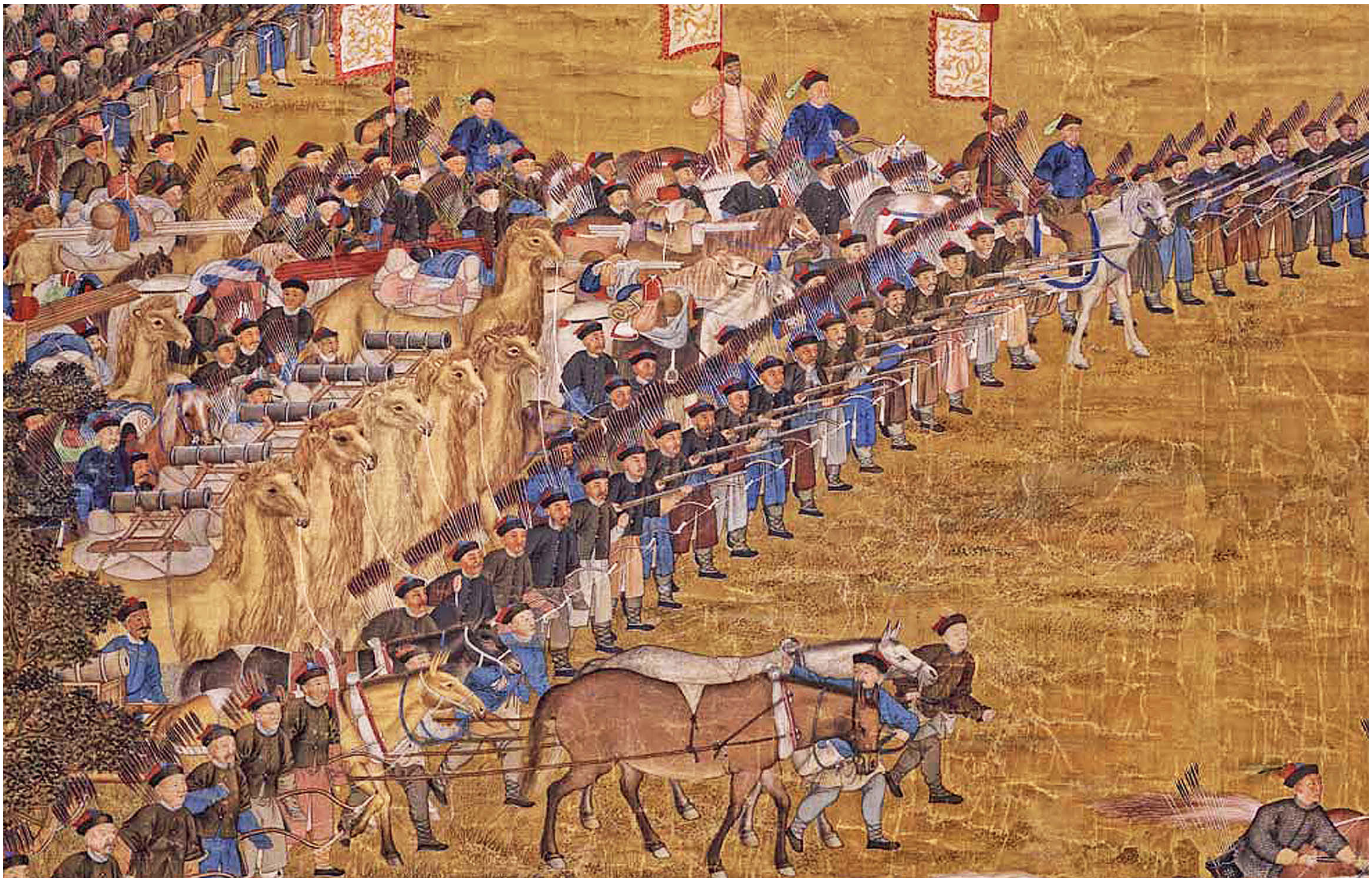
But as the new Dalai Lama was more interested in mundane things like poetry, archery, wine and young women than his

52. The Potala Palace, located on the Marpori Mountain in Lhasa, Tibet, was the main residence of the Dalai Lama from 1649 to 1959. The Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82) built the Potrang Karpo, the 'White Palace', in 1645–48; the Potrang Marpo, the 'Red Palace', was completed by the Regent Desi Sangye Gyatso in 1694.[11] Photo: 1996.

monastic obligations, the Desi remained in control.[90] In 1702, the Dalai Lama renounced his monastic vows, while retaining his temporal authority. For Kangxi and his nominal vassal Khoshut Lazang Khan (r. 1703–17), this political constellation was unacceptable because it solidified the supremacy of the Dzungars in Tibet. With Kangxi's encouragement, Lazang Khan, a descendant of Gushri Khan, captured Lhasa in 1705 and killed the regent. Now, Lazang Khan was the ruler of Tibet, and the country was part of the Qing's zone of influence.[91] At Kangxi's behest, Lazang sent the deposed Sixth Dalai Lama to Beijing, but he died along the way near Kokonor.[92] Lazang then enthroned a new 'true' Sixth Dalai Lama called Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso, who was rumoured to be his own son. Lazang's intervention was met with resistance among the Tibetans. This resistance stiffened further after a rebirth of the Sixth Dalai Lama, that is a future Seventh Hierarch, had supposedly been discovered in Kham (eastern Tibet). Kangxi recognised the explosive nature of this alternate Dalai Lama, and had him brought to the Kumbum Monastery in Qinghai.[93]

The displeasure of the Tibetans continued to grow, which provided Tsewang Rabtan with an opportunity to intervene in Lhasa and to restore Dzungar sovereignty. But before Kangxi could launch a preventive attack on the Dzungars, he had to assure himself of Russia's neutrality. At the same time, he wanted to clarify whether the Kalmyk khan Ayuka (r. 1669–1724) – who had tried in vain after Galdan's death to become a Dzungar ruler in place of Tsewang Rabtan – could be won as an ally to attack the Dzungars by means of a pincer movement.[94] Kangxi's envoy Tulishen (1667–1741), whose report has been preserved, met Ayuka Khan in July 1714 east of the Volga. However, the khan of the Kalmyks, who owed his throne to Tsar Peter, could not pursue an independent foreign policy and had to take the tsar's instructions into account. In fact, Tsar Peter warned Ayuka in no uncertain terms against an attack on the Dzungars, as it would embroil Russia in the conflict, at a time no less when Russia was at war with Sweden. Despite Ayuka's cautious attitude, Tulishen's delegation was successful insofar as it was able to confirm Russia's neutrality in a Sino-Dzungar war. Kangxi thus had free rein to move against Tsewang Rabtan.[95] On his return, Tulishen had a remarkable conversation with the governor of Siberia, Prince Gagarin. When the governor asked about Chinese warfare, Tulishen answered: 'As soon as the enemy are within the range of our shot, we fire at them with great guns; when they are nearer, we shoot at them with bows and arrows, and musketry.' Gagarin replied that the Russian army had until recently fought with the same weapons. Now, however, Tsar Peter ordered that conventional weapons such as bows and arrows and spears be done away with and that war should now only be conducted with firearms.[96] But neither Tulishen nor Emperor Kangxi took Tsar Peter's military reform and its possible consequences for Chinese warfare seriously. Just like the Mughal in India, China was not sufficiently prepared to learn about Europe's military technology or its operational doctrine.

Tsewang Rabtan was most likely aware of Tulishen's delegation and decided to take the initiative. But the attack on Hami in 1715 failed, prompting Tulishen to comment sardonically in his report: 'The rats have accordingly returned to their holes.'[97] Two years later, however, Tsewang Rabtan sent a powerful army to Tibet under Tsering Dondub. The attack on Kumbum, which was aimed at abducting the young Seventh Dalai Lama, did not

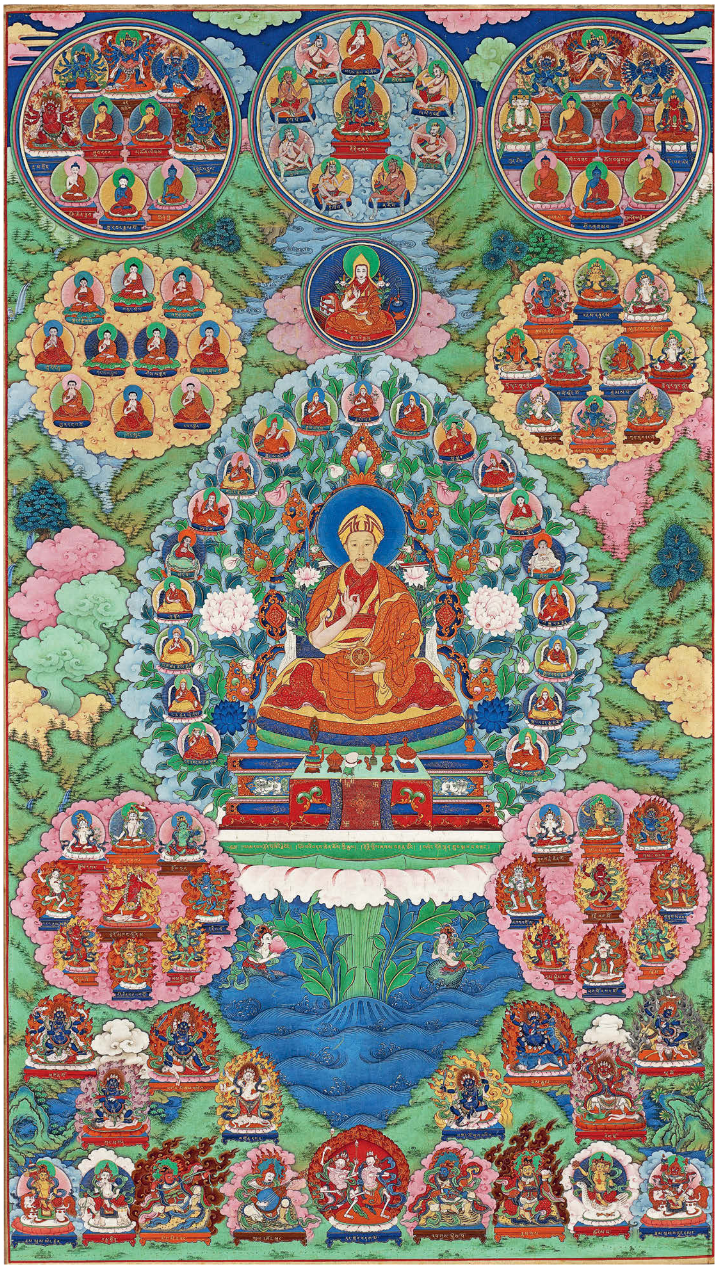


53. Detail of a painting of the Battle of Qurman, in which the Chinese general Fude won a victory over Khoja Burhan al-Din on 3 February 1759. Like the Dzungars, the troops of the Qing had camels carry light field guns into battle. Library of Congress, Prints and Etching Division. LC USZ62-44377. Palace Museum Beijing, 6336-7-16.

succeed. Nonetheless, it resulted in Lhasa's capture and the death of Lazang Khan. The city and the surrounding monasteries subsequently suffered heavy looting by the Dzungars. Tsewang Rabtan now controlled Lhasa, but the Seventh Dalai Lama was in Kangxi's hands. After the failure of a first army that Emperor Kangxi had sent to Lhasa in 1718, he now sent two armies that advanced on Lhasa – one from Sichuan, the other from Kokonor. The Kokonor army, which largely consisted of Khoshut warriors, defeated Tsering Dondub, who fled to Dzungaria, and the Sichuan army occupied Lhasa without a fight. The Kokonor army, for its part, reached Lhasa on 24 September 1720 and immediately enthroned Kelsang Gyatso as the Seventh Dalai Lama.[98] From this point forward, Kangxi and his successors controlled not only Tibet, which served China as a bulwark against attacks from the West, but also the institution of the Dalai Lamas, who enjoyed the highest standing among all Buddhist Mongols. Kangxi clearly settled the dispute with Tsewang Rabtan over control of the two highest authorities of Tibetan-Mongolian Buddhism in his own favour. Kangxi and his successor Yongzheng (r. 1722–35) secured their dominion over Tibet by installing two senior civilian officials called *amban* above the Dalai Lama and his council of ministers. They had a 2,000-strong force at their disposal[99] and Tibet was now a Chinese protectorate. In the campaigns of 1669–97 and 1720, the combination of field artillery, muskets and Mongolian cavalry proved highly effective in the fighting against the Dzungar federations. The biggest challenges were still the logistics of the enormously long approach routes and the fact that several target regions could not support larger armies (e.g. Mongolia, northern Tibet, the oases of Altishahr). For this reason, Kangxi refrained from directly attacking Dzungaria.[100] But when the Mongolian Khoshut launched an uprising after the death of Kangxi, Emperor Yongzheng quickly put it down. He then abolished the previous autonomy of the Khoshut princes and severed their political connections to Tibet by annexing the Kokonor (Amdo) and Kham to the neighbouring Chinese provinces. This division of the Tibet region from 1724 corresponds almost exactly to the present provincial borders of the People's Republic of China.[101]

Tsewang Rabten managed to compensate for his losses: he undertook a massive offensive against the Kazakhs in the west in 1723–24 and advanced to the cities of Turkistan and Tashkent.[102] The khan died in 1727 from poisoning, probably administered by his wife or his son and successor **Galdan Tsering** (r. 1727–45).[103] The latter's victories against the Khalkha, who had been vassals of the Qing since 1691, motivated Emperor Yongzheng to send troops to Luntai (East Turkestan) in 1731. He also sent a larger army to Khobdo, where they fell into a Dzungar trap and were slaughtered. At the same time, the Qing had to evacuate from Luntai again. Galdan Tsering then tried to win the Khalkha over to his side, but they remained loyal to the emperor and dealt a devastating blow to the advancing Dzungars under the leadership of the Genghis-Khanid Sayin Noyan in 1732. The war was now in a stalemate, which led to the peace agreement of 1739. Galdan Tsering had to relinquish Tuva and the Great Lake Depression in today's Western Mongolia, though he obtained trading rights with China.[104] Galdan Tsering also tried to take maximum advantage of his numerous foreign prisoners of war, including the Swede Johan Gustaf Renat, who was held captive from 1716 to 1733. Renat and his fellow prisoners taught the Dzungars the production of cannons and mortars, the processing of ore, letterpress printing and paper making, and the drawing of maps. Following the outbreak of power struggles after Galdan Tsering's death, all of these manufacturing skills fell again into decline.[105]

The death of Galdan Tsering in 1745 gave way to bloody in-fighting among the Dzungars. This presented Emperor Qianlong with the long-awaited opportunity to destroy the Central Asian empire of the Dzungars and to eliminate for good the threat posed by mounted nomadic steppe warriors to agrarian China. Galdan Tsering's successor **Tsewang Dorje Namgyal** (r. 1746–50) was a cruel and poor khan, who was overthrown and blinded by his elder brother **Lama Darja** (Dorji, 1750–52). The internal power struggle then immediately flared up again. His rivals were Amursana, a descendant of Tsewang Rabtan, and Dawachi, a grandson of Tsering Dondub. In December 1752, Lama Darja was killed by mutinous soldiers and **Dawachi** (r. 1753–55), who was appointed Tayishi, promptly expelled his ally Amursana. In his distress, the latter committed the fatal mistake of requesting military aid from Emperor Qianlong and offering, in return, his subservience. The emperor did not hesitate to agree, sending two armies to the west to capture Dawachi. Qianlong, however, had decided to divide the empire of the Dzungars into four tribal groups and to appoint four equal khans. **Amursana** (r. as khan of the Khoit 1755–57) rejected this power-sharing and successfully rebelled in late summer 1755, as Qianlong had already withdrawn his victorious armies. Amursana's resistance motivated the Khalkha prince Chinggunjav to also rebel against Qianlong in July 1756. Faced with the threat of Dzungars and the Khalkha closing ranks, Qianlong decided to wipe out all of the Dzungar population. In January 1757, he defeated Chinggunjav and then conducted a genocidal war against the Dzungars. Simultaneously, a smallpox epidemic broke out among the Dzungars. Ultimately, the Dzungar people and their state



54. Portrait of the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736–96, de facto until 1799) as the Bodhisattva Manjushri and as high Tibetan Lama. The emperor's face may have been painted by the Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining, 1688–1766), who lived in China from 1715.[12] Thangka, ink and colour on silk, around or before 1766. Like his grandfather Kangxi before him, Qianlong promoted Buddhism among the Mongolians and the Tibetans for political reasons. By spreading the idea that he was an incarnation of Bodhisattva Manjushri, he linked to himself the Buddhist Mongols and Tibetans, who themselves felt no particular allegiance to the Qing dynasty. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC; Purchase: Charles Lang Freer Endowment, F2000.4.

were wiped off the map. Of the approximately 600,000 to 800,000 Dzungars, about 40 per cent died from disease, 20 per cent fled to the Kazakhs and Russians, and 20 per cent were killed or died of starvation. Only 20 per cent survived. Amursana, furthermore, fled to Russia, where he died in 1757. That same year, with Dzungaria almost completely depopulated, Qianlong settled in the region Han Chinese, Manchus, and Turkish oasis dwellers from Altishahr, along with the Kalmyks who had fled there from the Volga in 1771/72.[106] The destruction of the Dzungars not only eliminated a 2,000-year threat, which had endangered China since Chanyu Modu (r. 209–174 BCE),[107] but also brought to an end the glorious history of Central Asia's steppe empires.

The strategic foreign policy goal of Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong with regard to Central Asia was the long-term protection of China's northern and western borders. Before 1757, the major milestones toward achieving this objective had been the two border agreements with Russia in 1689 and 1727, the integration of Mongolia in 1691, the subjugation of Tibet, and the extermination of the Dzungars. The only remaining weakness was East Turkestan, which regularly attracted Muslim conquerors from the west. There was concern that they might provoke unrest among their coreligionists in western China, in particular the Huizú (Dungans) living in Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia, who were ethnically and linguistically Chinese. What's more, Mongolia could be easily attacked from Turkestan. Since Mongolia was critical to the security of Beijing, and since its stability depended on the control of East Turkestan,[108] Qianlong decided to pursue two measures.

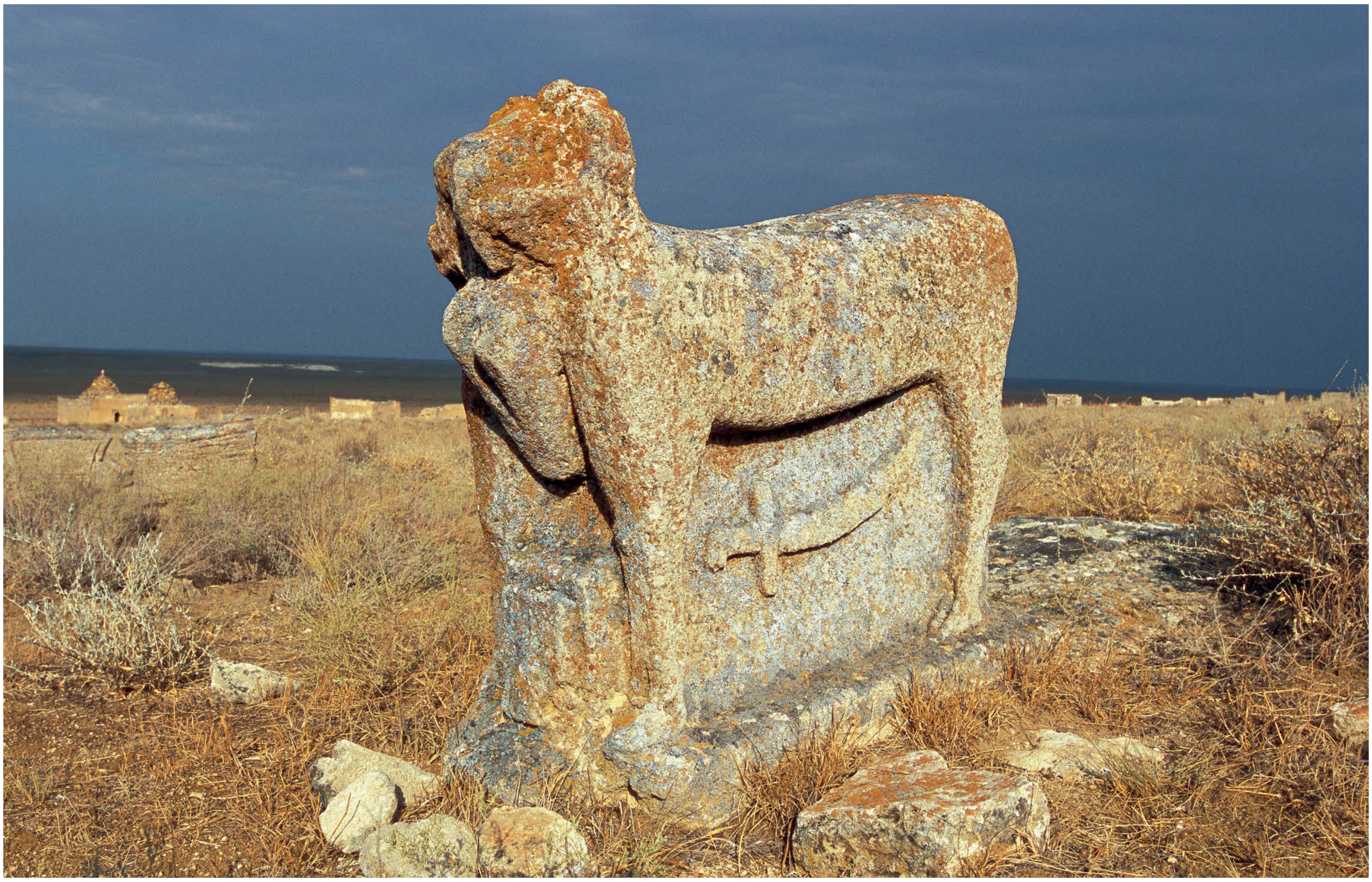
First, in December 1759, his troops conquered all of East Turkestan – to the Ili Valley in the north-west and Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan in the south-west. The Qing armies managed this logistical feat with relative ease, not least because there was neither a Uyghur state nor a Uyghur nation, or even a Uyghur identity, at that time. East Turkestan rather consisted of various oasis states, and there was no overarching ethnonym. People called themselves Kashgarlik ('person from Kashgar'), Khotanlik, Kuchalik or Loplik.[109] The ethnonym 'Uyghur' to indicate the Turkic Muslims of Xinjiang is a creation of Russian Orientalists of the late nineteenth century. It was recorded at a socialist 'Workers and Peasants Congress' that convened in Tashkent and then officially adopted in 1934 by the warlord Sheng Shicai.[110] Under Qianlong, East Turkestan became China's 'new frontier' – which is the precise meaning of the current province name Xinjiang, introduced at the end of the eighteenth century.[111]

Second, the imperial armies moved far to the west, as far as Taraz and even Tashkent, where no Chinese army had penetrated for more than a thousand years,[112] and to Kokand and the mountain region of Pamir.[113] The emperor had no aims here of further territorial expansion. With this show of force, he rather wanted to make clear to his western neighbours that they were always within range of Chinese artillery. The ruler of Badakhshan, Mir Sultan Shah, received the message: he had the last two khojas of Kashgar, Burhan al-Din and Jahan,[114] who had fled to him, executed. Other Muslim princes tried, with the help of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the ruler of Afghanistan, to forge an alliance directed against the 'infidels'. But Ahmad Shah was not interested in a military confrontation with the Qing. He was content to invade, together with his ally Bukhara, Badakhshan in 1765 and to kill the 'traitor' Mir Sultan Shah.[115] However, because the Chinese commander Fu Tajen had a trilingual stone stele erected at the site of his victory over the elusive khojas in 1759, which celebrated the Chinese success in the Chinese, Manchu and East Turkic languages, China later claimed the area between Alichur Pamir and Lake Yashil Kul as state territory. This claim was contested in the late 1880s and early 1890s by both Afghanistan and tsarist Russia, which in the course of the 'Great Game' moved ever closer to the Upper Oxus and thus the Hindu Kush.[116]

With the Chinese triumph over the Dzungars, the Mongolian steppe warriors of the Khalkha, who had provided the bulk of the Qing armies used against the Dzungars, rapidly lost in importance. They were demobilised and, as a result, the number of Buddhist monks under the Mongols exploded, not least because the Qing dropped the existing restrictions on the number of monasteries and monks. At the same time, immigration of Chinese peasants in Inner Mongolia was allowed, and in Outer Mongolia the restrictions on Chinese traders to conduct business were gradually loosened. As a consequence, in Inner Mongolia, land was developed and pastures were converted into farmland;[117] in Outer Mongolia, the Mongolian

ئىمىن خۇجا
额敏和卓

55. The 44-m-high Emin Minaret and the Friday Mosque of Turfan with the modern sculpture of Emin Khoja, Xinjiang, China. The minaret was built in 1777–78 in honour of the local ruler and military leader Emin Khoja, who took sides with China in the Sino-Dzungar War of 1755–59. Photo: 2009.



56. The medieval stone figure of a sheep called *koshkartas,* which stands over the grave of a mounted warrior. Necropolis of Masat Ata, Mangyshlak Peninsula, West Kazakhstan. Photo: 2005.

clan leaders and nobles gradually went into debt, obtaining credit from traders by putting up the possessions under their banner as collateral. These three factors – demilitarisation, the large increase in the number of unproductive monks, and the predominance of credit-giving Chinese traders – strongly contributed to the impoverishment of the Mongol population in the nineteenth century.[118]

As for the newly acquired territories in East Turkestan, Emperor Qianlong decided in 1760 against integrating them into the Chinese Empire and instead converted them into a military colony. The supreme authority had a military governor in northern Xinjiang, located in the Prefecture of Ili, today's Yining. The Manchurian cavalry was stationed in the north, because of the lush pastures there. The oasis towns of the Tarim Basin in the south, however, were unable to support larger numbers of troops. The garrisons functioned according to the 'tuntian' system of self-sustaining, agricultural production units, introduced by the Han Dynasty in the second century BC.[119] To increase the productivity of the now so-called 'bingtuan' local military colonies and to resettle the depopulated Dzungaria, thousands of Turkic farmers of the Tarim Basin, the Taranchi, were relocated to the north. Living there as military serfs, they were not permitted to leave the land that was allotted to them. There were also exiled criminals and impoverished farmers from the neighbouring Gansu Province. On the other hand, Han Chinese remained prohibited from unregulated settlement in Xinjiang until 1830. In the large districts, senior officials, called 'amban', supported the military governor in the administration. At the same time, individual ethnic groups such as the Kazakhs and the Kalmyks who returned to Dzungaria in 1771, along with the urban oases Turfan and Kashgar, were governed according to the yasak system by their own hereditary princes. In the other southern oases, local Muslim officials called Begs managed the Turkic population. Their main tasks lay in maintaining public order and in collecting taxes to finance the northern garrisons.[120] After the destruction of the Dzungar Empire the Kazakh hordes were the only remaining buffer between Russia and China, so that their strategic importance increased for St Petersburg.

5. The Kazakh Hordes

Unlike the Dzungar Empire, the khanate of the Kazakhs (*ca.* 1465/70–1718) never formed a stable state.[121] The establishment of the khanate began with the Jochids **Giray Khan** (d. *ca.* 1480) and **Jani Beg Khan** (d. 1480), the putative sons of Baraq Khan (r. 1422–27), a ruler of the Golden Horde. Around 1458–61, they left the federation of Uzbeks led by Abu'l Khayr and, with their 200,000-strong entourage, went to Moghulistan.[122] The two separatist leaders rejected Abu'l Khayr's sole claim to power and his strict Islamic codes of conduct. The efforts of Abu'l Khayr, who died around 1468, to force the Uzbek-Kazakhs' return failed, which is why the beginning of the Kazakh Khanate is dated 1465–70.[123] Although the next two khans, **Burunduq Khan** (r. 1480–1511), a son of Giray Khan, and **Qasim Khan** (r. 1511–19/21), a son of Jani Beg, were able to extend the realm of the Kazakhs in the northern steppes between the Urals and western Altai, the khanate remained unstable. Following in quick succession were **Muhammad Husain (Mumash) Khan** (r. 1519/21–23) **Tahir Khan** (r. 1523–*ca.* 29/33) **Birilash** (**Buydash**) **Khan** (r. 1529/33–34) and **Tughum Khan** (r. 1534–38), all of whom were only recognised by minority Kazakh groups.[124] **Haqq (Aq) Nazar Khan** (r. *ca.* 1538–80) was the first to succeed in restoring the unity of the khanate. He also made peace with the Uzbek Khanate

57. The rebuilt city wall of Turkistan, Kazakhstan, overlooking the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi (1094–1166) constructed by Timur-e Lang in 1396/97. Photo: 2005.

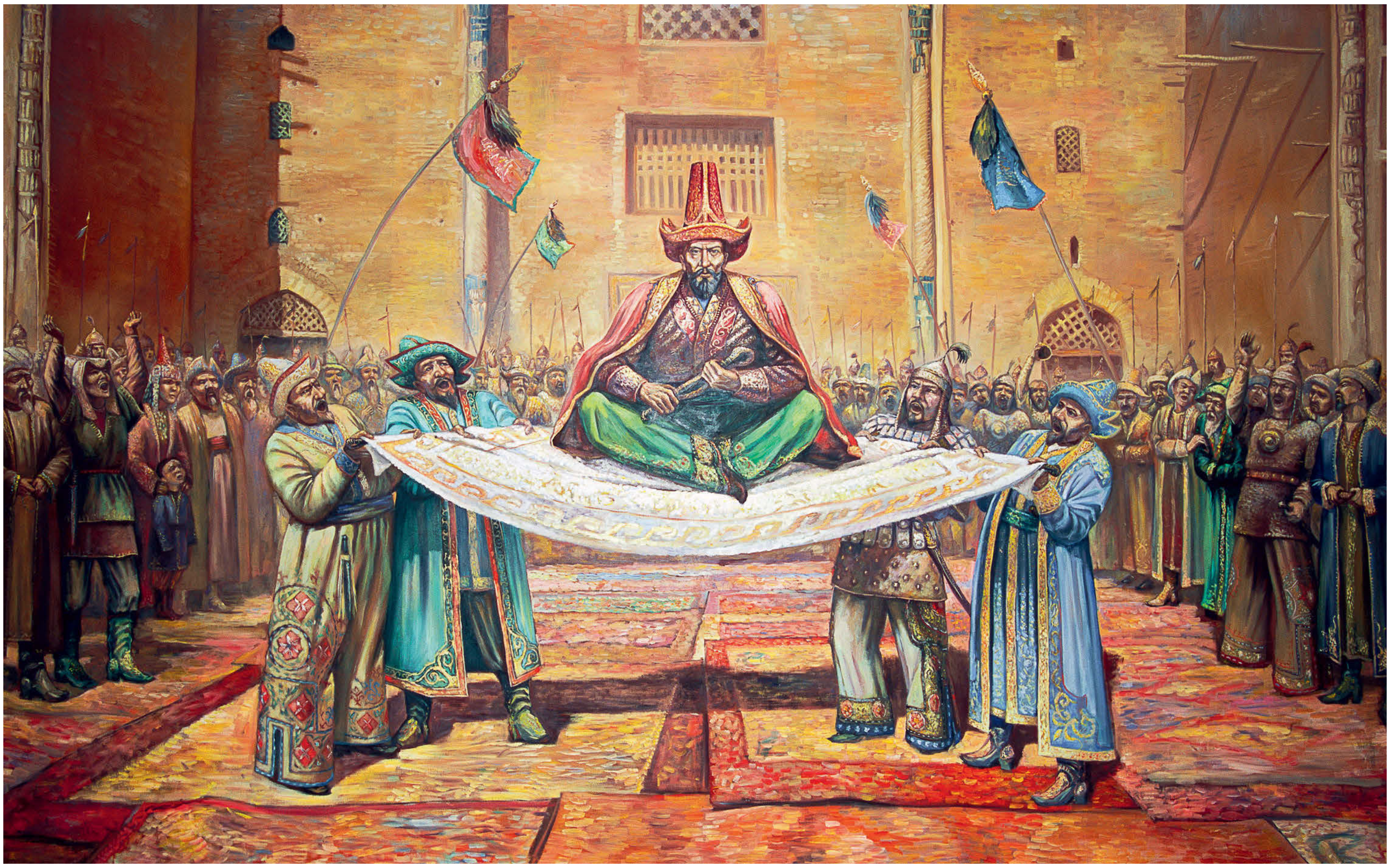
and wrested control of the eastern pastures from the Nogai in 1568, which allowed the Kazakh Khanate to extend all the way to the Yaik (Ural) and Irtysh rivers. The short reign of **Shighay Khan** (1580–82) gave way to that of **Tevekkel (Tauekel) Khan** (r. 1582–98), who counted the Uzbek Khanate, Küchüm Khan of Sibir, and the Dzungar tribes among his rivals. In these conflicts, the bow-and-arrow carrying Kazakhs were outmatched by the Uzbeks, who possessed firearms. For this reason, Tevekkel Khan sent a delegation in 1594 to Tsar Feodor I and regent Boris Godunov to obtain guns. Godunov interpreted Tevekkel's delegation as a request to be recognised as a Russian vassal. The diplomatic exchange was continued and in early 1598 khan Tevekkel penetrated deep into the Uzbek Khanate thanks to his newly acquired weaponry. He conquered Tashkent and Samarkand, but came up short against Bukhara. His death ended the campaign. Tashkent and Turkistan, though, remained intermittently in Kazakh possession until 1723 although the Astarkhanid Imam Quli Khan also claimed a rather nominal sovereignty over Tashkent.[125]

The fragmentation of the khanate began again under Tevekkel's successors. While Tevekkel's brother **Ishim (Esin) Khan** (r. 1598–1628) resided in the city of Turkistan, which served as the capital of the khanate, **Tursun Mohammad** (r. before 1613–28) reigned virtually autonomously in Tashkent. The dissolution of the khanate and Dzungar attacks continued under **Jahangir Khan** (r. 1628–52), **Batyr** (a title, r. 1652–80?),[126] and **Tavke (Tauke) Khan** (r. 1680–1718). Although Jahangir Khan still won a victory in 1643 against the Dzungars, Batyr and Tavke suffered several defeats, respectively in 1680 and between 1709 and 1718. After Tavke's death, the khanate finally broke apart into three hordes, the zhuz. In the west and closest to Russia, there was the **Junior Horde** (Kishi Zhuz), whose pastures stretched from the lowland north-east of the Caspian Sea to the delta of the Syr Darya; in the centre, there was the **Middle Horde** (Orta Zhuz), which occupied the area of modern Central Kazakhstan to Lake Balkhash; finally, there was the **Senior Horde** (Ulu Zhuz), whose territory ranged from the lower reaches of the Syr Darya to around Semirechie (Zhetysu) in today's Kyrgyzstan, including Turkistan and Tashkent.[127] The latter horde was most exposed to Dzungar attacks and suffered a brutal attack at the hands of Tsewang Rabtan in 1723/24.[128] At the same time, numerous clans of the Middle Horde fled to Samarkand and those of the Junior Horde to Bukhara and Khiva. There, they proceeded to carry out repeated devastating onslaughts of their own. Threatened with the extinction of the Kazakh identity, the clans of the Middle and Junior Hordes combined their forces and won a first victory in 1726. In a second important step, the two hordes agreed to a shared command, which they bestowed upon **Abu'l Khayr**, the khan of the Junior Horde (r. 1718–48). Shortly thereafter, in 1730, Abu'l Khayr Khan claimed a resounding victory over Galdan Tsering's Dzungars. He forced them to more or less evacuate the territories of the two hordes, allowing the clans to return to their homeland.[129]

ҚАЗЫБЕК БИ
ТӨЛЕ БИ
ӘЙТЕКЕ БИ

58. The three Kazakh sages, from left to right Kasybek Biy (leader of the Middle Horde), Töle Biy (poet and leader of the Senior Horde) and Aiteke Biy (judge and leader of the Junior Horde), who, according to tradition, contractually regulated the relations between the Kazakh tribes in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Monument in Astana, Kazakhstan. Photo: 2005.

But no sooner had the two hordes driven out the Dzungars than the 'Kazakh disease' of internal dissension broke out again. Abu'l Khayr's command was thus called into question. At the same time, Galdan Tsering was gearing up for a counter-attack. Given this dismal starting position, Abu'l Khayr was forced to seek protection for his approximately 100,000-tent-strong horde from its powerful neighbour Russia.[130] After brief negotiations, Tsarina Anna (r. 1730–40) recognised the Junior Horde as Russian vassals on 19 February 1731. On 10 October 1731, the khan and his leaders concluded the oath of allegiance. As a consequence, a Muslim community[131] sought protection from a Christian state against a Buddhist enemy. In the following year, khan Semeke (r. 1719–34) likewise expressed the desire of the Middle Horde to become Russian vassals. Also following suit between 1734 and 1742 were Jolbarys Khan and some of his followers from the Senior Horde.[132] The Kazakhs committed to paying nominal tributes; to neither attacking Russians nor Russian vassals; and to protecting Russian



59. On the occasion of the enthronement of an Uzbek or Kazakh khan, the new ruler was lifted into the air while sitting on a felt rug to demonstrate his exalted position. Painting in the municipal museum of Turkistan, Kazakhstan. Photo: 2005.

trade caravans. In return, they expected military protection against their Dzungar rivals. Russia used the opportunity to expand to the south-east. It built the Orsk fortress in 1734/35 at the confluence of the Ural and Or rivers, which was called Orenburg until 1743. In the same year it also erected present-day Orenburg, lying about 250 km downstream. At the same time the Russian military built a chain of small, but cannon-fitted fortresses, which connected to the east Samara on the Volga via Orenburg on the Ural, all the way to Omsk on the Irtysh River. This effectively separated the Bashkir vassals from the Kazakhs. As the Russian officer Nikolai Petrovich Rytchkov, who travelled the Kazakh steppe from 1769 to 1771, reported, this new 'Orenburg line' replaced the older 'Tsaritsyn line'. The latter, described by Rytchkov as the 'Szakam line', protected the area of Kazan against the Bashkirs.[133] Emerging along the new Orenburg line was a first Trans-Siberian route, which facilitated the immigration of Russian settlers into the Bashkir and the Kazakh steppe, while also serving troop movements.[134] But the Bashkirs revolted in response to the construction of the new fortress line and tried to win the Kazakhs of the Junior Horde over to their side. An eyewitness to this tumultuous time was John Castle, who had been commissioned by the Russians. He was a member of the Orenburg expedition from about 1734 and set out as an unofficial envoy from Orsk to Abu'l Khayr Khan's camp in 1736. On the way, he learned that about 40,000 Kazakh mounted warriors were preparing, together with the Bashkir rebel Kilmyak, to attack Orenburg; that is, Orsk, Ufa and Kazan. In a face-to-face meeting with the khan, Castle emphasised the might of Russia in hopes of dissuading the khan from participating in the Bashkir rebellion. Castle's efforts bore fruit, for the Kazakhs stayed away from the uprising.[135]

Due to the geographical distances, Russia was only able to militarily support and politically influence the Junior Horde. The Middle and Senior Horde quarrelled among themselves and remained exposed to Dzungar raids. The insignificance at the time of Russian sovereignty over the two geographically distant hordes became apparent after Galdan Tsering had made peace with Emperor Qianlong. In 1741/42, his troops devastated the regions of the Middle and Senior Horde and came within a four-day march of the fortified Orenburg line. Russia, for its part, failed to come to

60. The wooden Russian Orthodox cathedral of Karakol, Kyrgyzstan. During the Soviet period, it served as club premises and sports hall, which saved it from destruction. The church was restored in 1989 and has again been in use since 1995. Photo: 2004.

the aid of its new vassals. Instead, it avoided a military conflict with the Dzungars and remained passive. For this reason, both hordes remained subjects of the Dzungar Empire until it collapsed. The then leading Kazakh ruler was **Ablai (Ab'il Mansour)**, sultan of the Middle Horde (d. 1781). He recognised the Chinese supremacy around 1757 and subsequently expelled the remaining Dzungars from his territory. Ablai was appointed khan of all thee hordes in 1771 by a *kuriltai*, which Russia also recognised.[136] But the withdrawal of the Dzungars did not bring renewed independence to the Kazakhs, as increasing numbers of Russian settlers populated the fertile regions and numerous pastures were converted into arable land. This strongly limited the Kazakhs' freedom of movement. The ever-diminishing role of the cavalry in the Russian army also lowered the demand for imported horses, which caused the living standards of the Kazakh herders to fall even more. The varying factors of the Russian colonisation, the restriction of movement, impoverishment, and an intensified Islamisation provoked numerous Kazakh revolts. This began with the Kazakh participation in the Pugachov Uprising of 1773–75[137] and did not end until the 1850s.[138] Regarding the Islamisation of the Kazakhs, the initiative stemmed from Russia: from the 1740s, it had promoted the construction of mosques and Islamic proselytising by imams from the Volga-Ural region of Kazan.[139] These measures served to undermine the authority of the khans and to forestall missionaries from Bukhara, who had a stricter interpretation of Islam and were hostile towards the Russian 'infidels'.[140]

In the early nineteenth century, the Kazakh uprisings led to administrative adjustments. In 1801, the Russian government had allowed a part of the Junior Horde led by Sultan Bukey to settle between the Ural and Volga rivers, an area that had only been sparsely populated since the exodus of the Kalmyks in 1771.[141] The allocation of new pastures eased the plight of the Junior Horde, whose pastureland had shrunk due to the colonisation of Russian settlers. This splinter group of the Junior Horde was called the 'Inner Horde' and in 1812 Sultan Bukey received the title of khan. However, from the Russian point of view, the growing number of Russian settlers and Cossacks, along with the rebellious Kazakh khans and sultans, made the traditional structures obsolete. As a result, the Russian government gradually disbanded the hordes: the Middle Horde in 1822, the Junior Horde in 1824, the Inner Horde in 1845, and the Senior Horde in 1848.[142] The territories were then incorporated into the Russian Empire.[143] The colonisation by Russian settlers, which the Kazakhs considered a land grab, was extended further as a result of Tsar Alexander's (r. 1855–81) abolition of serfdom in 1861. At first, the liberated serfs were forbidden from settling in the Kazakh steppes. However, once the new Steppe Statute of 1891 declared the steppes to be state property, hundreds of thousands of Russian peasants flocked to the fertile northern region of Kazakhstan. The boundary for arable farming, accordingly, shifted southward.[144] The Russian southward advance from the 1820s , though, soon led to conflicts with the khanates of Khiva and Kokand expanding northward. Khiva tried to penetrate areas of the former Junior Horde, and regularly plundered Russian trade caravans, which gave rise to General Perovsky's failed winter expedition in 1839.[145] Kokand, however, conquered the cities of Tashkent, Shymkent and Sairam in 1809, which put the khanate on a collision course with Russia. In 1847, the Russian army erected the fortress of Raimskoe (later Aralsk) in the delta of the Syr Darya. From this position, the Russians posed a threat to Khiva, Shymkent and Tashkent. The first major military confrontation with the Kokand Khanate occurred in 1852. Here, Colonel Blaramberg unsuccessfully attacked the Kokand fortress Ak Mejet (Ak Masjit), located in southern Kazakhstan at the site of the present city of Kyzyl Orda. In the following year, General Perovsky conquered Ak Mejet, prompting Russia to establish the fortress of Verny in 1854 in Semirechie. Later, it would become the city of Almaty.[146] The peace over the ensuing decade in the unstable Kokand Khanate was merely due to the fact that Russia's military resources were tied up in the Crimean War from 1853 to 1856.

61. The *Burkhan Bakshin Altan Sume*, the Golden Abode of Buddha Shakyamuni, in Elista, Kalmykia, built in 2005, is the largest Buddhist temple in Europe and has 27 monks (as of February 2017). The spiritual leader of the Buddhists of Kalmykia is the 20th Shadjin Lama, who was born in the United States as Erdene Basan Ombadykow in 1972. He is in charge of the 27 reconstructed Buddhist temples and prayer houses of Kalmykia. Photo: 2017.

6. Migration and Exodus of the Kalmyks

The migration of the ethnically Oirat Kalmyks,[147] which occurred in several waves between 1606 and the 1680s, was the last great migration of Central Asian nomadic horsemen to the west. In early 1771, however, it experienced a surprising turn, for the majority of the Kalmyks of the Volga wandered back to Central Asia. There were several drivers of this multi-stage migration. To begin with, the Oirat tribes in the sixteenth century were severely pressured, first by the Eastern Mongol Altan Khan and then by the Kazakh Khan Tevekkel from the south. As a result, they sought safe haven in the north and west. In the seventeenth century, the leadership claims of the two founders of the Dzungar confederation, Khara-Khula Tayishi and Erdeni Batur Khong Tayishi,[148] prompted other Oirat groups to migrate to the Volga. The first to emigrate to the north was **Khoo-Örlög Tayishi** (r. before 1604–44) of the Torghut tribe, whose camp was on the Upper Irtysh. Its trade links with Mawarannahr had been severed by the Kazakhs. The hope was that Khoo-Örlög and his followers could settle in the territory of the former khanate of Sibir. In 1606, however, he encountered the Russian Tara fortress, founded in 1594. In 1607, the nomads of Dörbet, led by Dalay Bagatur Tayishi, also arrived on the scene. Both groups asked for permission to graze in Sibir and to trade with Russia. Moscow agreed in principle, but demanded that the two Tayishis recognise Russian sovereignty and pay yasak (tribute). The Tayishis, however, steadfastly refused. This led to a series of skirmishes in the 1610s between the Russian garrisons and the Oirat immigrants, all of which the garrisons won thanks to their firearms. Faced with this stalemate, the Tayishis decided to flee to the south-west, namely to the lush pastures of the Nogai surrounding the Emba, Ural and Volga rivers. They sent cavalry with the mission to survey the territories, to attack the camp of the nomadic Nogai, and to send them running. Oirat warrior units thus emerged along the Emba River in 1608. These bands then crossed the Urals in 1613 and reached the Volga in 1632. These heavily armed cavalry units left devastation everywhere in their path.[149]

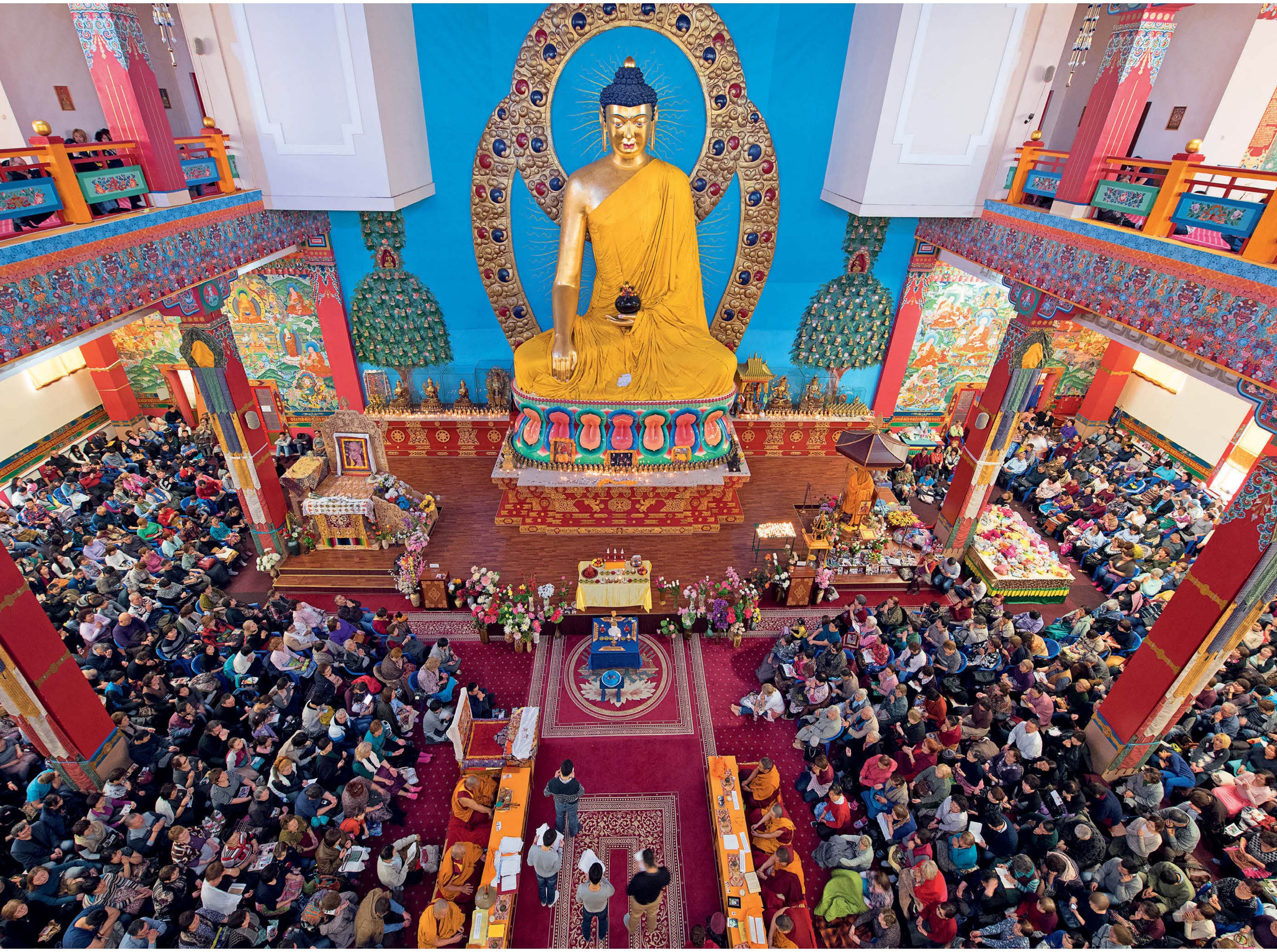
The migration to the west, which swelled to a mass emigration around 1627/28, could finally not be reversed from 1630–32. This is when Khoo-Örlög, his son Daichin, and the Torghut Louzang Tayishi overran the Caspian lowlands and the northern steppes with more than 10,000 mounted Kalmyk warriors. They drove the Nogai – who were unable to coordinate a resistance – before them like cattle. The latter, for their part, appealed to the Russian governor for protection. But Louzang Tayishi defeated Astrakhan's musketeers in 1633. At the same time, the persistent Kalmyk attacks forced the defeated Nogai to flee again to the Ottoman fortress of Azov in 1635, and then even further into the Kuban region and the Ottoman protectorate of the Crimea in 1637. After an invasion lasting only five to seven years, the Kalmyks dominated the vast Caspian steppe between the Don and Ural rivers. Consequently, the Buddhist Kalmyks comprised a veritable Buddhist-Mongolian island between the Muslim-Turkic peoples of the Bashkirs, Kazakhs, Nogai, Crimean Tatars and the Orthodox Russians.[150] Now, the once pro-Russian Nogai began to take part in the Crimean Tatar raids against Russian cities. Simultaneously, the Don Cossacks took advantage of the withdrawal of the Nogai to conquer the Azov Fortress (Azak) in 1637.[151] Around the year 1641/42, however, groups of the Dörbet and Khoshut who refused to recognise Erdeni Batur's claim to leadership began to pressure Khoo-Örlög's Torghuts, causing him to flee to the south-west. There, he met his death in 1644 when he attacked the Circassian tribe of the Kabardians in the North Caucasus. Since Khoo-Örlög's son **Daichin Tayishi** (r. 1647–61) was staying in Tibet on pilgrimage at the time, he did not assume the leadership of the Kalmyks until three years later. He immediately faced an invasion of hostile Dörbet and Khoshut who had lost a power struggle with Erdeni Batur. The newcomers occupied the steppe between Tobol and Ural, while Daichin's Kalmyks now nomadised between the Ural and Volga.[152]

Around the mid-seventeenth century, there was a strategic rapprochement between the Kalmyks and Russia. After the Zaporozhian Cossacks of today's Ukraine had a successful uprising against Poland-Lithuania in 1648, they took an oath of allegiance to the Russian Tsar Alexei I at the Pereyaslav Council in January 1654. Afterwards, Poland-Lithuania allied itself with the Crimean Tatars against Moscow, which immediately looked for an ally with a strong cavalry. The Kalmyks, who were rivals of the Nogai and Crimean Tatars, had a strong cavalry, and an inexhaustible supply of horses, formed a perfect complement to the musket- and cannon-armed Russian foot-soldiers and the slow Russian cavalry. The first three Russian-Kalmyk treaties of 1655, 1656 and 1657 were more or less ineffective. While the Kalmyks interpreted them as a purely military alliance between two equal generals, the Russian side understood them as a commitment between vassal and monarch.[153] Only the fourth Russian-Kalmyk treaty between Moscow and Daichin Tayishi and his son and successor **Puntsuk Tayishi** (r. 1661–69) had beneficial results for both sides: the Kalmyks, who were allied with the Zaporozhian Cossacks, dealt

62. More than 80 per cent of ethnic Kalmyks consider themselves practising Buddhists; the affiliation to Buddhism is a strong element of Kalmyk national identity. Prayer drums in the Golden Abode of Buddha Shakyamuni in Elista, Kalmykia. Photo: 2017.

the Crimean Tatars several more devastating defeats. In return, the Russians allowed the Kalmyks to nomadise along the Don, erecting for their defence against Dzungar attacks a fortification line along the Ural River manned with 2,000 musketeers.[154] This strategy, which the Russians pursued from 1661 until about 1722/23, aimed at establishing a single powerful ruler among the Kalmyks, who, in return, would defend the south-eastern edge of the Russian Empire. Puntsuk's successor **Ayuka Khan** (r. 1669–1724) attempted to implement his own policy, but internal Kalmyk conflicts and threats from Khoshut tribes forced him to seek Moscow's help. On four occasions (1672/73, 1697, 1699 and 1701), he owed his throne to Russia's continued military presence. Despite his loyalty oath from 1673, he cultivated an anti-Russian policy from 1680 to 1697. He sabotaged the Russian siege of the fortress of Azov in 1695, which had belonged to the Ottomans since 1642. The following year, Ayuka suffered a defeat against the Nogai and Kuban Tatars, while Tsar Peter I conquered the fortress of Azov. This broke the connecting line between the Ottoman and Crimean Tatars, on the one hand, and the Tatars still inhabiting the Caspian steppe and the Nogai and the Kalmyks, on the other. In his weakened position, Ayuka recognised both the regional power shift in favour of Russia and the growing relevance of firearms, in particular field artillery. For this reason, he signed a mutual assistance pact with Prince Golitsyn in July 1697.[155] Despite the alliance, Russian sales of firearms to the Kalmyks were prohibited. If they nevertheless obtained cannons for a limited time in the case of war, the cannons had to be operated by Russian artillerymen.

The treaty from 1697 was beneficial for both parties: Russia saved Ayuka's throne three times; the latter, for his part, put down uprisings of the Bashkirs and Don Cossacks on Tsar Peter's behalf in 1708/09. He also caused widespread devastation in the Kuban in 1711. And during the visit of Emperor Kangxi's Manchu envoy Tulishen in 1714, he at least took a neutral stance as per Russian instructions.[156] On 22 June 1722, Ayuka met his monarch



63. The Sherning Dyundok ceremony in honour of the female Bodhisattva Green Tara. The ritual is aimed at removing and overcoming external and internal obstacles with the help of Green Tara. It is held on the second day of the four-day celebration of the Mongolian New Year, *Tsagaan Sar*, which is also celebrated by the Kalmyks as the start of spring. Tsagaan Sar, the ‘White Moon’, falls on the first day of the Mongolian lunar calendar. Around 600 people took part in the three-hour prayer; the four men standing in the centre of the image read aloud from a list the names of those believers who want to personally entreat the Green Tara for help. Photo: 2017.

Tsar Peter near the modern city of Saratov on the Volga. Tsar Peter had decided to take advantage of the disintegration of the Persian Safavid Empire for conquests along the west coast of the Caspian Sea. He then continued on to Astrakhan. According to the contemporary Voltaire (1694–1778), Peter's goal was to dominate the Caspian Sea with a powerful fleet in order to establish a direct trade route to India.[157] Scottish doctor and traveller John Bell of Antermony, who had travelled from 1715 to 1722 on behalf of Russia to Persia and China, was a member of Tsar Peter's Russian military expedition and therefore witnessed the meeting between the Tsar and Ayuka. He commented: 'The Ayuka-Chan came on horseback, attended by two of the princes his sons, and escorted by a troop of about fifty of his officers and great men, all exceedingly well mounted. About twenty yards from the shore [of the Volga] the King alighted from his horse, and was received by a privy-councellor and an officer of the guards. When the Emperor saw him advancing, he went on shore, saluted him, and, taking him by the hand, conducted him on board the galley. [. . .] The Emperor intimated to the Ayuka-Chan, that he would be desirous of ten thousand of his troops to accompany him to PERSIA. The King of the KALMUCKS replied, that ten thousand were at the Emperor's service, but that he thought that one half of that number would be more than sufficient to answer all these purposes.'[158] Then Tsar Peter sailed for Astrakhan and conquered the ports of Derbent and Baku, and the Caspian provinces of Dagestan, Mazandaran, Gilan and Astarabad (Gorgan). Ayuka, however, was double-dealing: He provided only 3,727 unusable cavalrymen, among whom there was a Nogai spy. Presumably, this convinced Tsar Peter to change his strategy in 1723. Instead of supporting a single strong Kalmyk ruler, a 'divide-and-conquer' philosophy prevailed. It was propagated by Artemy Volynsky, the governor of Astrakhan, who was also responsible for the relations with the Kalmyks.[159]

Ayuka was succeeded by his son **Cheren Donduk Khan** (r. 1724–35). His power, however, was increasingly restricted by his mother Darma Bala and her lover Donduk Ombo, a grandson of Ayuka. Following the new strategy, Russia reduced its financial support of the Kalmyks after Tsar Peter's death. It further divided up the khan's reduced financial support to him and his mother Darma Bala, which suited well the 'strongman' Donduk Ombo. In addition, the Russian authorities systematically favoured Kalmyks who allowed themselves to be baptised.[160] On the basis of these two tactical manoeuvres, Russia split both the Kalmyks' leadership and their community. In 1730, Darma Bala and several Tayishis attempted to pursue an independent foreign policy once again. For this purpose, they sent a delegation that was supposed to travel to Tibet, but in reality went to Beijing. The envoys were to propose a military alliance to Emperor Yongzheng directed against the Dzungars. They also were to suggest the replacement of Cheren Donduk with Galdan Danjin, another son of Darma Bala, who would then return the Kalmyks to their ancient homeland. The latter proposal presented China with a compelling opportunity to make the Kalmyks into its vassals. The government thus sent its own delegation to the Kalmyks in 1731. In the meantime, the Russian authorities had become suspicious: fearing a China-supported putsch in favour of Galdan Danjin, they arrested four Kalmyk envoys during their return journey and confirmed Cheren Donduk as khan. Simultaneously, they forcefully reminded the khan that the Kalmyks were Russian vassals and that he could not enter into any treaties without Russia's consent. When Cheren Donduk and Darma Bala received the Chinese delegation in the presence of the Russian governor of Saratov in June 1731, the khan adhered to the Russian instructions. He decided that he could not send troops against the Dzungars without the express orders of Tsarina Anna. This put to an end the plan for a Kalmyk-Chinese alliance.[161]

Nonetheless, when the rivalry between Cheren Donduk and Donduk Ombo degenerated into a bloody civil war, Russia dropped the khan. It then recognised **Donduk Ombo Khan** (r. 1735–41) as the new ruler. Under him and his successors **Donduk Dashi Khan** (r. 1741–61) and **Ubashi Khan** (r. 1761–71, d. 1774/75) the economic situation of the Kalmyks worsened dramatically. As a result of the resettlement of the Don Cossacks on the Volga, the local population swelled rapidly. In the process, the number of pastures converted into arable land also increased. The situation was further exacerbated when Tsarina Catherine II (r. 1762–96) called for and accordingly promoted the settlement of German immigrants along the Volga. The extensive land use of the nomads was further restricted, and the impoverished Kalmyks had to look for work in the Russian fishing industry. A similar development had taken place after the Russian reconquest of the Azov fortress in 1739, with thousands of Russian peasants settling along the Don River. The rapid expansion of fortified border lines continued to worsen the Kalmyks' economic situation, making it impossible for them to continue their traditional nomadic way of life. In the south-west, the Dnieper line (from the Dnieper to the Donets) sealed off Crimea, while in the south the Mozdok line, finished in 1762,[162] shielded the Northern Caucasus from the steppe between the Don and Astrakhan. In the north-east, the new Orenburg line threatened to limit the freedom of movement to the east, and in the north-west the Tsaritsyn line forced the Kalmyks to ask for permission to use their pastures west of the Volga.[163] The Kalmyks were effectively trapped between the fortress lines.

Faced with this impasse, the Kalmyks decided under Ubashi Khan's leadership to return to Dzungaria, which had been depopulated since the Dzungars were wiped out.[164] Although Tsarina Catherine was warned by the governor of Astrakhan of the Kalmyks' imminent escape, she ignored the warning. She also reprimanded the governor for wanting to take leading Tayishis hostage: 'The empress was convinced that the Kalmyks could not possibly leave Russia because they had nowhere to go.'[165] In the autumn of 1770, Ubashi was able to freely gather the majority of the Kalmyks – according to Emperor Qianlong about 170,000 people[166] – on the eastern bank of the Volga, while about 60,000 Kalmyks remained to the west of the Volga. Vasily Mikhailov,[167] who was an inadvertent eyewitness to the Kalmyk exodus, reported that in order to appease suspicious border posts Ubashi maintained he was preparing for a conflict with attacking Kazakhs.[168] On 5 January 1771, the Kalmyks' exodus east began. As the Kalmyks moved forward quickly without regard to losses, they were able to escape the Russian divisions of Major General von Traubenberg (1722–72), who was pursuing them. Officer Rytchkov, who participated in the chase, reported that the Russian cavalry was too slow, barely had food, and lacked useful maps.[169] When the Kalmyks reached Lake Balkhash, they were repeatedly attacked by Kazakhs. The Kazakhs did not want to miss out on such an opportunity to plunder. They moreover feared that the fleeing Kalmyks might establish a strong state again. The exodus cost the Kalmyks more than 85,000 lives.[170] The survivors were initially allowed to settle in Dzungaria. After 1774, however, many were moved inland and assigned to various military units.[171] Catherine's lack of foresight and the exodus had serious consequences for Russia: Rytchkov reported that trade collapsed and major riots broke out in the province of Orenburg as a result.[172] The unhindered flight of the Kalmyks had revealed the weaknesses of the Russian border troops, which emboldened the Circassians to attack the Russian border fortresses and cities. The riots in Orenburg that erupted in 1771 gave way to a Cossack uprising in the Urals in 1771/72. This culminated shortly after in the bloody Pugachov Uprising of 1773–75.

The Kalmyks who remained in Russia were placed under the rule of the governor of Astrakhan in 1771 and the title of the Kalmyk Khan was abolished. Although the Kalmyk mounted warriors continued to fight with bows and arrows and spears, they were used on the Russian side during the Napoleonic Wars as scouts and guerrillas.[173] Like many other non-Russian ethnic groups, the Kalmyks who lived south-west of Astrakhan suffered woefully under the Stalin dictatorship. From 1930, its Buddhist temples and monasteries were destroyed, and as a new large-scale collectivisation began in 1935, herders who owned more than 500 sheep were deported to Siberia.[174] Although many Kalmyks fought loyally on the Soviet side in World War II, a significant minority welcomed the German *Wehrmacht* as liberators from the Soviet yoke when it occupied the capital of Elista without a fight in August 1942. However, the German occupiers left Kalmykia a few months later in January 1943, after the failed attack on Astrakhan in autumn 1942. The Red Army then advanced once again. On 27 December 1943, a decree proclaimed the dissolution of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Kalmykia and ordered the deportation of all Kalmyks to Central Asia and Siberia. In all, 120,000 Kalmyks were deported. Khrushchev finally revoked the deportation in 1956. On 7 January 1957, the Kalmyk Autonomous Oblast was then established, which allowed the Mongolian Kalmyk people to return to their homeland in far-eastern Europe.[175]

IV

Afghanistan until 1837 and the Khanates of Central Asia until the Russian Conquest

'In all other parts of the world light descends upon earth,
from holy Bokhara it ascends.'

Proverb from Bukhara, nineteenth century.[1]

As in northern Central Asia, there were also significant upheavals in the south in the mid-eighteenth century. The new state of Afghanistan was formed south of the Hindu Kush and, to the north, the three Uzbek khanates of Khiva, Bukhara and Kokand were consolidated after the military expedition of Nader Shah.[2] From an economic point of view, these countries were of little importance, not least because of the uncertainty and high transit duties on trade routes. In political terms, on the other hand, they became a primary concern of the two rival great powers, Russia and Great Britain.

1. The Emergence of Afghanistan as a Tribal Alliance

Hardly any country is as strongly influenced by its geography as Afghanistan:[3] 'Afghanistan is a term of geography combined with an own mindset, barely a country at all.'[4] Indeed, in this extremely craggy mountain landscape, with its steep mountain slopes and deep canyons, a tribal society is the most suitable form of organisation for larger groups of people. Recent history has shown that this observation does not need to be qualified even in the twenty-first century, despite the opportunities offered by air transport and electronic communications. Each fertile valley offers tribes and sub-tribes the opportunity to exist independently of one another. Unless the tribes make an effort to come into contact, they remain separate from each other and from a central government. In an environment that greatly separates people from each other, the common characteristics that remain include, first, the affiliation to a particular ethnicity and language, such as Pashto, Tajik, Uzbek or Hazaragi; second, the different manifestations of the Muslim identity; and, third, the respective mindset. South of the Hindu Kush, the latter is particularly pronounced among the Pashtuns in the code of ethics, the so-called 'Pashtunwali'. The Pashtunwali includes hospitality, which ends at one's own doorstep or at the border of the clan; a pronounced sense of honour or of the violation of one's own honour or that of family members; retaliation, hereditary blood feuds, conciliation and consensus through meetings of the distinguished elders; and an unrestrained pride in the freedom and independence of one's own tribe.[5] Such a cocktail of values was and is the breeding ground for a strong warrior culture, which radically rejects any form of foreign intervention. Such a mindset makes the work of any central government difficult, which must continually seek balance and compromise. The British officer and philologist Sir Henry Rawlinson rightly maintained in 1874: 'Afghanistan never has had, and never can have, the cohesion and consistency of a regular monarchical government. The nation consists of a mere collection of tribes.'[6]

When a local government was open to compromise, and refrained from interfering in the affairs of the tribes, the latter remained in their mountains. But when a foreign power penetrated into the country, for example into the Kabul Basin, the tribal warriors rushed to fight the intruder. If the occupier was an 'infidel', the liberation war assumed the character of a jihad, a holy war. Thus, the Persian Safavids, British, Soviets, Americans, and NATO troops experienced the same painful reality – that it is easy to invade Afghanistan, but impossible to control the country in the long run. However, as soon as they claimed their victory, the unity of the Afghans came to an immediate end. Given this complex situation, a central government could only function as a kind of feudal state. The great tribal leaders, the Sardars, needed financial resources to assure themselves of the 'loyalty' of their subordinates. For its part, the government needed troops to maintain internal and, above all, external security, as the monarch only had authority over his own tribe. For this reason, the monarch transferred the revenues from state agricultural property, called Jagir, to the Sardars. In return, the Sardars were obliged to provide armed warriors.[7] Afghanistan's most important ethnic groups are the Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazara, Baloch and Turkmen. The Pashtuns, who since the early eighteenth century have mainly lived south of the Hindu Kush, speak a north-eastern Iranian language. Of the approximately 49 million Pashtuns in the world today, around 16 million live in Afghanistan and 30 million in Pakistan. Two million of these are Afghan refugees. They are divided into four large tribal federations, the Ghilzai, Durrani (Abdali), Karlani and Ghurghusht, with the first two being the largest. The power of the Durrani, who predominated politically from 1747 to 1978, rested on four subgroups: the Popalzai, whose Sadozai tribe held power from 1747 to 1818; the Alikozai; the Achakzai; and the dominant Barakzai, whose Muhammadzai tribe determined policy from 1818 to 1978.[8] In Afghanistan, clan, tribe and tribal federation were the relevant social units and not the nation, composed of at least six different ethnic groups. Despite the poverty of the landlocked country, and even though it was cut off from the important trade flows, Afghanistan became the focus of the major powers from the end of the 1830s – a circumstance that would shape the history of its northern neighbours.

Modern Afghanistan is a creation of Abdali-Pashtun Ahmad Khan (*ca.* 1722–72). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the southern half of Afghanistan was divided between the kingdom of the Mughal and that of the Safavids. The border ran approximately between Ghazna and Kandahar, near Moqor.[9] The two most important cities of southern Afghanistan, Herat and Kandahar, which formed the gateways to India, were under Safavid sovereignty. At the same time, the Ghilzai dominated in Kandahar and the Abdali (Durrani) in Herat. When the bigoted Safavid Shah Sultan Husayn (1694–1722) pushed the Sunni Pashtuns to convert to Shia Islam, it stirred resistance. Among the protagonists of the resistance in Kandahar was Mir Ways, the leader of the tribe of the Hotaki, who belonged to the Ghilzai federation. Gurgin Khan – the former Georgian King Giorgi XI of Kartli, who had converted to Islam and was appointed Safavid governor in 1704 – arrested Mir Ways and sent him to Isfahan, but there he was set free. When **Mir Ways** (r. 1709–15) – who allegedly called himself 'God's Shadow on Earth'[10] – returned to Kandahar, he succeeded in killing Gurgin Khan in 1709 and established the short-lived **Hotaki dynasty** (1709–38). Since Mir Ways' brother and successor **Abd al-Aziz** (r. 1715–17) wanted to submit again to Shah Husayn, against the will of the Hotaki, Mir Ways' son **Mir Mahmud** (r. 1717–25) overthrew him. At the same time, the Abdali of Herat liberated themselves under Abdallah Khan Sadozai (r. 1717–19/20), who – after the defeat of his son Asad Allah at the hands of Mir Mahmud Hotaki – was overthrown by Muhammad Zaman Khan Sadozai,

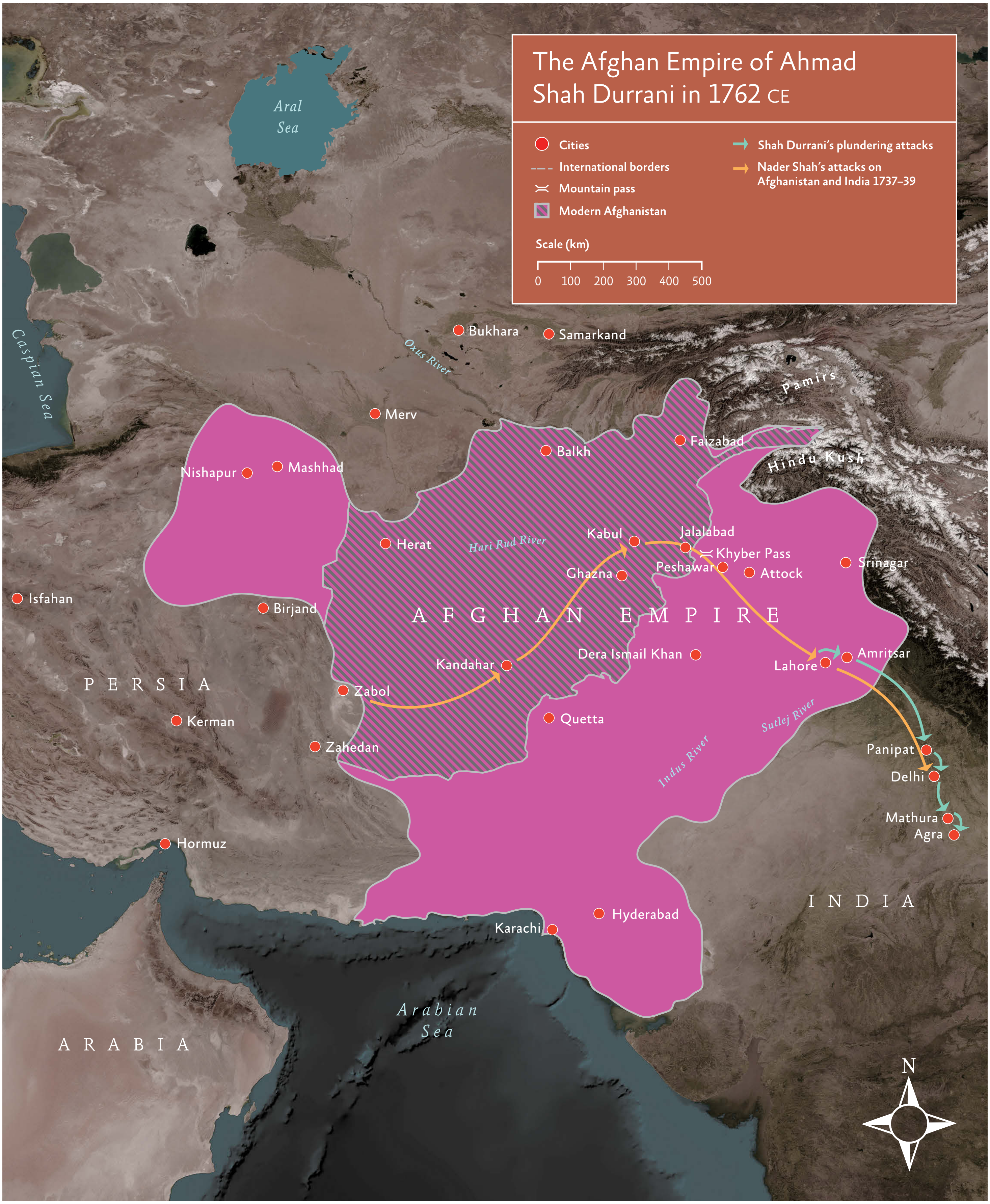
64. Camel caravan in south-eastern Afghanistan. Photo: 1980.

the father of the future King Ahmad Khan Abdali.[11]Muhammad Zaman's seizure of power after Asad Allah's defeat nullified the rare victory of a Ghilzai leader over an Abdali clan and stabilized the latter's position.

As soon as Mir Mahmud Hotaki cemented his rule in Kandahar, he turned west to fight the 'infidel' Shiites and Zoroastrians of Kerman. There, he carried out a massacre in 1720. The next year he returned to Kerman, from where he marched on Isfahan, the capital of the Safavids. On 22 October 1722, he conquered Isfahan and took the title of shah. Shah Husayn abdicated and of all his sons only Tahmasp Mirza was able to escape. He first fled to Qazvin, where he declared himself Shah Tahmasp II (r. 1722–32). When the Afghan Ghilzai conquered Qazvin in December 1722, he fled to Mazandaran. The Ghilzai dominated a large part of Iran, but only briefly. Shah Mahmud's reign was marked by numerous arbitrary executions, which is why some of his followers invited **Ashraf Khan** (r. 1725–29, d. 1730), the oldest son of Abd al-Aziz, to Isfahan. Immediately after his violent seizure of power, Ashraf Khan was confronted with Ottoman and Russian invaders. Like birds of prey swooping in for the kill, the Ottomans and Russia overthrew the moribund Safavid Empire in 1722.[12] When the Ottomans attacked the province of Azerbaijan in the spring of 1726, Ashraf Khan first ordered the imprisoned Shah Husayn to be executed. He next defeated the superior Turkish army near Korramabad, south of Hamedan. In the Treaty of Hamedan concluded in 1727, Ashraf surrendered western Iran, and the Ottomans recognised him as the Shah of Iran. While Ashraf Khan suffered a defeat at Langarud against the Russians stationed in Gilan, the Peace of Rasht signed in February 1729 effectively recognised his rule.[13] Although Ashraf Khan succeeded in keeping the two great powers in check, General Nader Quli Beg Afshar now emerged as a superior rival. The local warlord, Nader Shah, had offered his support to Tahmasp II at the beginning of 1726, and conquered the city of Mashhad in November. At the beginning of 1729, Nader neutralised the Abdali at Herat and then proceeded to defeat Ashraf Khan twice, on 29 September at Mihmandust near Damghan, and in November at Murchakhur, north of Isfahan. This ended Afghan rule in Iran. While fleeing to Kandahar, Ashraf Khan was murdered by Balochis, presumably at the behest of **Husayn Hotaki** (r. in Kandahar 1725–38). This fifth and last ruler of the Hotaki was overthrown and killed in March 1738 by Nader Shah on the occasion of the conquest of Kandahar. Nader Shah, on the other hand, had Tahmasp II deposed in 1732 and declared himself to be the new shah in 1736. In Kandahar, Nader Shah liberated the sixteen-year-old Ahmad Khan Abdali of the Sadozai tribe and took him into his service.[14]

65. Cheerful rider next to the busy road between Herat and Kandahar. Photo: 2002.

Ahmad Khan soon rose under Nader Shah to command a 4,000-strong division of Abdali mounted warriors, who accompanied the shah everywhere as his guard. When Nader Shah was murdered by his own officers in 1747, the Abdali returned to Kandahar. On the way, they plundered a caravan from India with treasure destined for Nader Shah. This gave Ahmad the means to buy the followers of other sub-tribes. Since the leading Ghilzai had been decimated after the fall of Kandahar in 1738, the Abdali seized power and, in October 1747, chose **Ahmad Shah Durrani** (r. 1747–72) as their ruler. He took the title of Pâdshâh, Durr-i-Durran ('King, Pearl of Pearls'). From this point onward, the Abdali called themselves 'Durrani'. But even then, rivalry already manifested between the two leading subgroups of the Abdali: the Popalzai and the Barakzai. Since Ahmad Shah was a Sadozai of the Popalzai, Hajji Jamal Khan, a Muhammadzai of the Barakzai, was appointed vizier in compensation.[15] Ahmad seized the advantage and captured Ghazna,



The Afghan Empire of Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1762 CE

● Cities
International borders
Mountain pass
▨ Modern Afghanistan
Shah Durrani's plundering attacks
Nader Shah's attacks on Afghanistan and India 1737–39
Scale (km)
0 100 200 300 400 500
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Oxus River
Bukhara
Samarkand
Merv
Pamirs
Faizabad
Balkh
Hindu Kush
Nishapur
Mashhad
Herat
Hari Rud River
Kabul
Jalalabad
Khyber Pass
Peshawar
Attock
Srinagar
Ghazna
Isfahan
Birjand
AFGHAN EMPIRE
Kandahar
Dera Ismail Khan
Amritsar
Lahore
PERSIA
Zabol
Quetta
Sutlej River
Kerman
Zahedan
Indus River
Panipat
Delhi
Mathura
Agra
Hormuz
INDIA
Hyderabad
Karachi
Arabian Sea
ARABIA
N

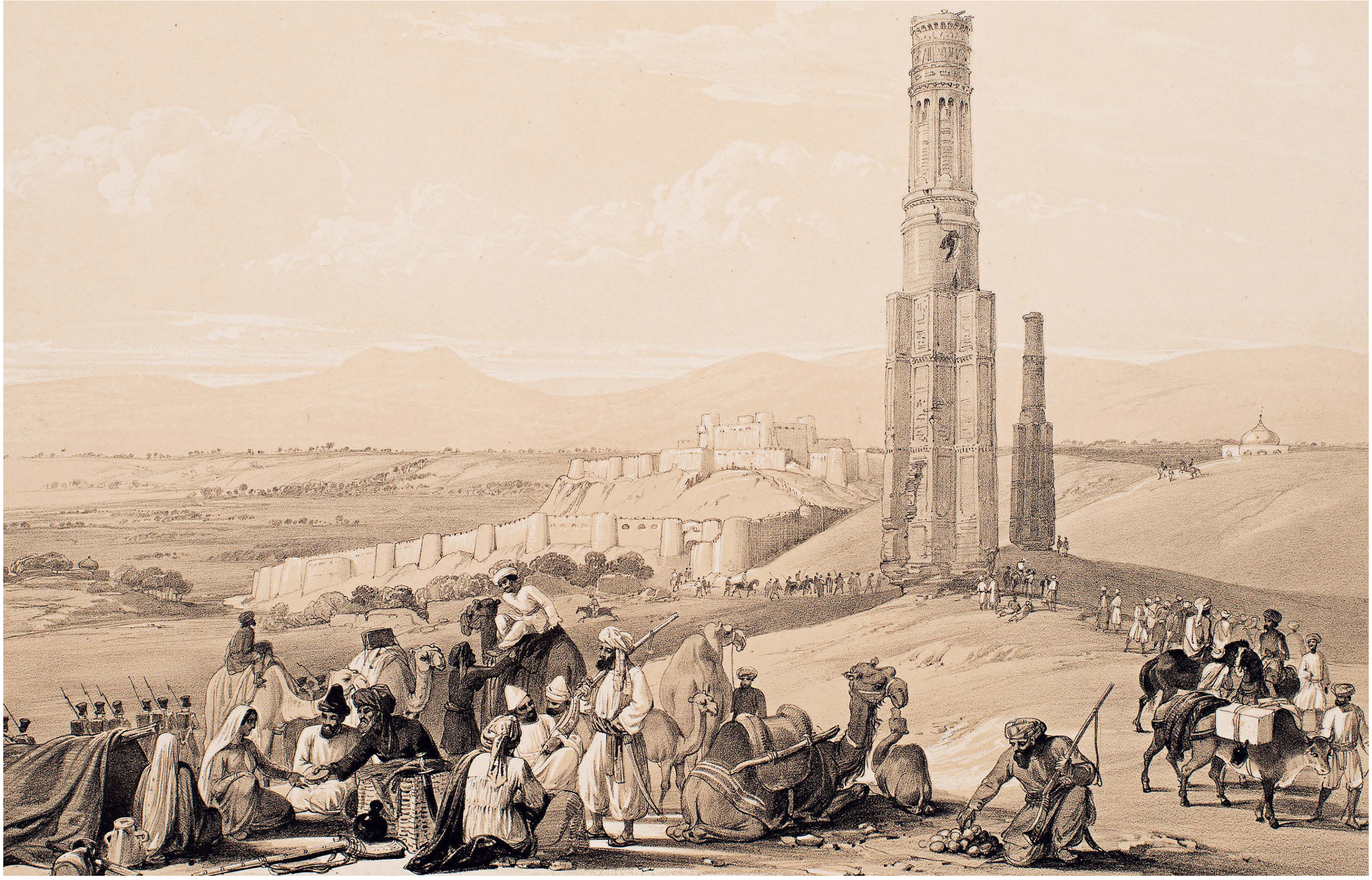
Kabul, Peshawar and Lahore by January 1748. Despite his military success, Ahmad Shah faced the classic dilemma of a leader who presided over an alliance of tribal federations. To maintain such an ad hoc coalition over the long haul and to defend its territory, he needed an army. But the army had to be paid for and the tribal chiefs financially supported. To paraphrase a dictum by General Nicolls (1778–1849): 'An Afghan king is certain of the allegiance of his people only within the range of his guns and of his gold.'[16] As taxes could not be imposed, Ahmad Shah decided to plunder and coerce tributes. Between 1748 and 1769, he attacked the Indian subcontinent seven times on the path of previous invaders such as the Ghaznavids, Ghurids, and Nader Shah. There, the weak Mughal were unable to make a stand, except in the year 1748. Ahmad Durrani plundered Delhi in 1757 and 1761, and Amritsar in 1757 and 1762. Agra and Mathura also suffered fierce plundering. Sir Alexander Burnes (1805–41), who visited Kabul three times, assessed the Afghan invasions of India as follows: 'The Afghan invasions of India were not made by open warfare: they were as the prowling of wild beasts after their prey; and, like them, the invaders were contented secretly, and by surprise, to obtain their spoil and drag it back into their dens.'[17]

The Afghans, however, were unable to control North India, not least because they had two new adversaries, the Hindu Marathas and the Sikhs, who followed the teachings of Guru Nanak (1469–1538). Although Ahmad Durrani managed to crush the supremacy of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat, his victory had unexpected consequences: the destruction of the Marathas paved the way for the military advancement of both the Sikhs and the East India Company, Afghanistan's two strongest opponents. Ahmad Shah's triumphs against the Sikhs between 1762 and 1767 were a Pyrrhic victory, as Punjab also escaped the control of the Afghans. In particular, the growing strength of the Sikh state in Punjab on Afghanistan's eastern frontier meant that the access route to further plundering in India was blocked and that Ahmad Shah's predatory economic model could not be sustained much longer. Ahmad Durrani, however, not only waged wars for the sake of looting, but also to establish a new empire. He therefore also conquered Herat, Mashhad, Bamiyan, Balkh, Mazar-e Sharif and Kunduz.[18]

Ahmad Durrani did not leave behind a consolidated state, but at best the outline of a state whose territorial delimitation he had marked out. Afghanistan had no institution that was superior to tribal structures and was little more than a tribal coalition, whose continued existence depended on the personality of the leader. As the Scottish diplomat Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779–1859) observed, the Afghan king controlled at most only the Durrani, while the other tribal federations merely recognised him as an army commander. Accordingly, they would not tolerate any royal interference in their internal affairs.[19] State formation was also made difficult by the fact that Ahmad Shah's kingdom was an initiative of the Pashtuns, and he had to either buy or coerce the loyalty of other ethnic groups. Thanks to British financial support, Amir Abdur Rahman (r. 1880–1901) finally succeeded in building a national administration, which restricted the tribal leaders' autonomy.

The process of territorial contraction and the decline of Afghanistan began immediately after the death of Ahmad Durrani. His second son and successor **Timur Shah** (r. 1772–93) attempted to free himself from the dominance of the Durrani tribal leaders soon after ascending to the throne. He moved the capital from Kandahar to Kabul in 1775/76, and designated Peshawar as his summer residence. At the same time, he created a 12,000-strong troop of bodyguards, consisting of Shiite Qizilbash ('red heads'). The Qizilbash were Turkic warriors who had converted to Shia. In foreign affairs, Timur Shah was engaged in defensive wars against Bukhara, the Sikhs and Sindh, which was largely liberated from Afghan supremacy. Timur, who may have died of poison, had 24 sons. Of these, **Zaman Shah** (r. 1793–1800) owed his throne to the leader of the Muhammadzai Sardar Payenda Khan, a son of Ahmad Shah's vizier Hajji Jamal Khan. Zaman had his brother Humayum, residing in Kandahar, blinded, but he left his brother Mahmud, who governed in Herat and had rebelled against him, in office. This later proved to be a fatal mistake. Zaman Shah then planned a campaign against the British in India at the prompting of Tipu Sultan of Mysore (r. 1782–99), the East India Company's arch-enemy. Since Tipu Sultan had also proposed a military alliance to France on several occasions, British fears of a Franco-Afghan-Indian alliance prevailed. For the first time, London realised that the British territories in India were vulnerable to attack from the north-west. When General Napoleon Bonaparte, who had landed in Egypt in July, and foreign minister Talleyrand declared in 1798 that the road to India went through Egypt, this possibility seemed to gain traction. Afghanistan thus became a central policy concern of the major European powers for the first time.[20] But in his campaigns to India, Zaman never made it past Lahore and had to return to Afghanistan each time because of rebellions. When Zaman tried to break the dominance of Durrani leaders, especially the Barakzai, they conspired together to overthrow Zaman. Zaman, however, beat them to the punch and executed the ringleader Sardar Payenda Khan. As the Afghan diplomat and historian Mohan Lal (1812–77) reported, Fateh Khan, the oldest of Payenda Khan's 21 sons, persuaded Zaman's brother Mahmud to rebel against Zaman. Zaman was captured and blinded in 1800, which led to **Shah Mahmud** (r. 1801–3) taking the throne.[21] During Mahmud's first short period of rule, Mashhad was lost to the Persians in 1802. Soon afterwards, street battles broke out in Kabul between Sunnis and Shiites, which offered Mahmud's younger half-brother **Shah Shujah** (first rule 1803–9) the opportunity to seize power himself. As the shah was almost constantly preoccupied with the suppression of Durrani and Ghilzai tribes, the region was hardly ever at peace.

The meeting in Peshawar between Shujah and the envoy of the East India Company, Mountstuart Elphinstone, was unprecedented from a foreign policy perspective. The treaty concluded on 17 June 1809 stipulated that neither France nor any other foreign power could open up a diplomatic office, let alone a military base, in Afghanistan.[22] It was directed against both Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I, and was intended to thwart a possible Franco-Persian or French-Russian attack on India via Afghanistan.[23] Elphinstone already pointed out at this time to the governor-general of the East India Company, Lord Minto (in office 1807–13) that the military frontier of India would have to be shifted northwards to the Indus if Great Britain hoped to stave off the Russian advance into Central Asia.[24] Even earlier, in March 1801, the British envoy in Tehran, John Malcolm (1769–1833), outlined the only possible approach for a Russian advance to India: given the topographical conditions, he presumed that Russian troops would land in Astarabad (today's Gorgan) on the south-east of the Caspian Sea, and continue from there to Mashhad, Herat and Kabul or Kandahar. Malcolm's hunch was surprisingly realistic. He also pointed out that it was unlikely the Afghan shah would ever enter into a military alliance with Russia.[25] The British ambassador in Baghdad, Harford Jones (1764–1847), offered a similar assessment: he considered the passage of a French army from Syria to the Caspian Sea feasible, where it could then unite with a Russian expeditionary corps. But in contrast to Malcolm, Jones assumed that the greed for plunder might motivate Afghanistan to join the French-Russian invaders.[26]



66. Sketch of the fortress of Ghazna, Afghanistan. In the foreground, the two Ghaznavid victory towers from the twelfth century.[13] James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London: Graves, 1842), pl. 15.

The renewed fears of the British stemmed from two treaties concluded by Napoleon: in the Treaty of Finkenstein of 4 May 1807, France guaranteed Persia's territorial integrity and promised arms and military instructors. Napoleon, furthermore, sent General Gardane as an envoy to Tehran. In return, Persia agreed to declare war on Britain, to give French troops free access to India, and to persuade the Afghans to attack the British possessions in India together with France.[27] The Treaty of Tilsit signed with Russia on 7 July 1807 largely annulled the Treaty of Finkenstein,[28] but left room for a joint French-Russian attack on India, as Napoleon and Tsar Paul had already contemplated in 1800/01.[29] Great Britain secured the vulnerable west flank of its Indian possessions in the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 12 March 1809, which annulled all previous treaties between Persia and a European power, and obligated the shah to prevent the passage of European troops to the best of his ability.[30] From the Persian point of view, however, the three Anglo-Persian treaties of 1809, 1812 and 1814 were worthless, since Great Britain, which had been allied with Russia against Napoleon since 1812, did nothing to stop the Russian advance into the south-eastern Caucasus.[31]

While Shah Shujah was still negotiating with Elphinstone, his half-brother Mahmud rebelled with the help of Fateh Khan and occupied Kabul. The two rebels then defeated Shah Shujah in the Battle of Nimla (between Kabul and Peshawar), and **Shah Mahmud** (1809–18) ascended the throne for the second time. After unsuccessful attempts to reclaim power, Shah Shujah fled to Ranjit Singh (r. 1801–39) in Lahore in 1813. There, the Maharajah of the Sikhs seized the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond from the refugee. The diamond had been stolen in Delhi by Nader Shah in 1739 and had fallen into Ahmad Durrani's hands after 1747.[32] Also in 1813, Ranjit conquered vizier Fateh Khan in the Battle of Attock. However, Shah Mahmud and his sadistic son Kamran were jealous of Fateh Khan, who had the real power. They therefore blinded him in 1818 and cruelly tortured him to death. But this proved to be a grave error. As Mohan Lal writes: 'The end of the Vazir Fatah Khan was the end of the Sadozai realm.'[33] In fact, the 20 brothers of the murdered Fateh Khan mobilised the Barakzai tribal warriors, forcing Shah Mahmud and Kamran to flee to Herat, where a small realm of Sadozai rule existed until 1863. Outside of Herat, a fratricidal war raged on among Fateh Khan's

67. **The Hazrat Ali Mosque in Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan. The mosque was rebuilt in 1481 by the Timurid Sultan Husayn Baqara and later renovated several times. The alleged tomb of the fourth caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–61) is highly revered by both Shiites and Sunnis from northern Afghanistan. Photo: 2002.**

68. Winter landscape between Kunduz and Farkhar in northern Afghanistan. Photo: January 2008.

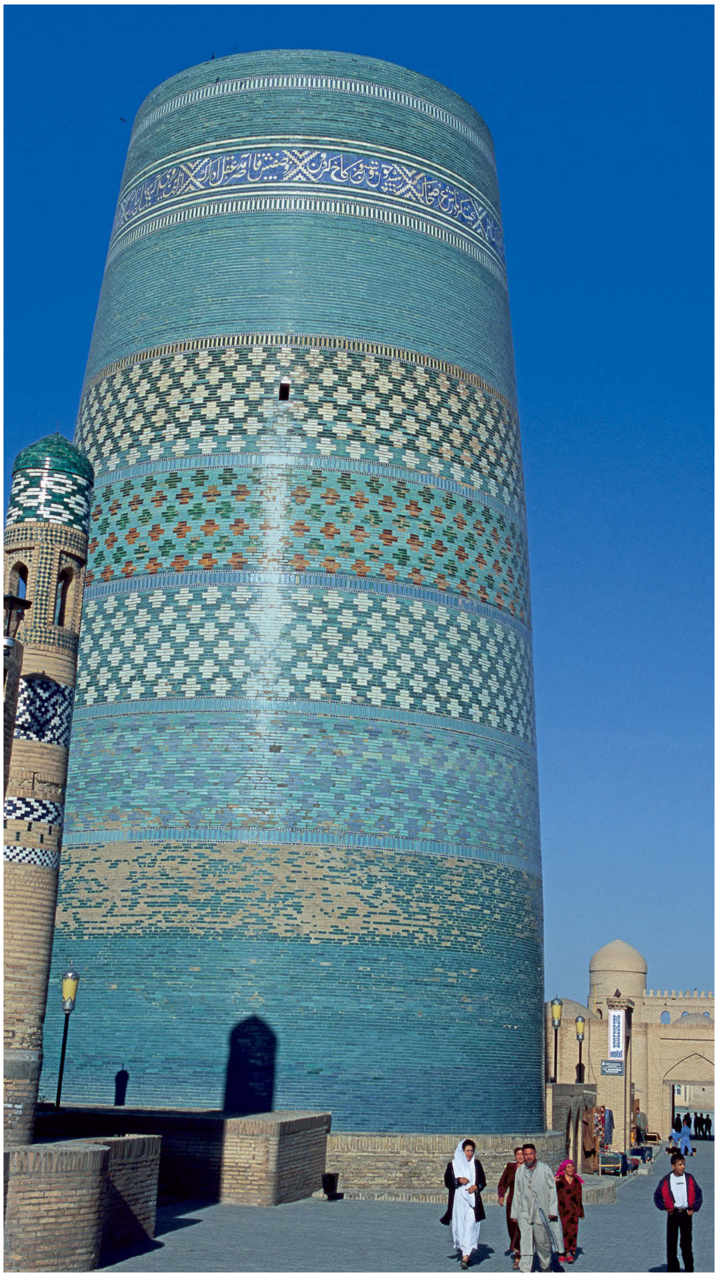
20 brothers until 1826, which Ranjit Singh exploited to conquer Multan and Kashmir. In 1826, the situation stabilised, as **Dost Muhammad Khan** (first rule 1826–39), fourth youngest brother of Fateh Khan, seized power in Kabul, Ghazna and Jalalabad, while his brother Kohandil Khan ruled in Kandahar. As a consequence, the Muhammadzai-Barakzai dynasty replaced that of the Sadozai-Popalzai.[34]

In 1834, Shah Shujah made another attempt to regain power in Kabul. In return for troops and financial support, he offered to officially transfer to Ranjit Singh the city of Peshawar, which, however, he did not even control. Armed with the unofficial support of the British diplomatic agent at Ranjit Singh's court, Captain Claude Wade, and the tacit understanding of governor-general Lord Bentinck, Shah Shujah attacked Kandahar in the summer. There, he suffered a severe defeat against Kohandil Khan and Dost Muhammad and had to flee. Ranjit Singh, however, annexed Peshawar, and Dost Muhammad henceforth called himself Amir al-Muminin ('Leader of the Faithful'). In April 1837, Amir Dost tried to recapture Peshawar and sent out his son Akbar Khan for this purpose. He defeated and killed the Sikh governor of Peshawar at Jamrud, at the southern end of the Khyber Pass. Instead of exploiting the victory by making an advance, the Amir Dost ordered a retreat – possibly because he feared direct confrontation with Ranjit Singh, or because he did not want to provoke the interference of Great Britain, Ranjit Singh's ally.[35] He chose the path of diplomacy and sent a letter to the new British governor-general Lord Auckland (in office 1836–42). In it, he complained about the aggression of the Sikhs and proposed making the Indus River a border to them. Peshawar thus would have belonged to Afghanistan again. The question of who possessed Peshawar forced Great Britain to choose either between its present ally Ranjit Singh or Dost Muhammad, who would provide a bulwark against possible invaders from the north and west. The third possibility was direct interference by deposing one of the two rivals in favour of a submissive successor who would not make any claim on the disputed city.[36]

2. The Khanate of Chorasmia under the Qungrat and the Prelude to the Anglo-Russian Rivalry

The reign of the Qungrat dynasty began in 1770, when **Muhammad Amin** (r. 1770–90) expelled Yomut Turkmen from Khiva and took power as chief minister, or atiq.[37] His successor **Avaz** (1790–1804) was content to maintain the title of atiq. However, **Iltüzer Khan** (r. 1804–6) called himself khan and established the **dynasty of the Qungrat** (1770/1804–1920).[38] After only two years of rule, Iltüzer fell in battle against Bukhara. His successor **Muhammad Rahim Bahadur I Khan** (1806–25) was much more successful. He managed to subdue various nomadic tribes of the Uzbeks, Turkmen and the Karakalpaks living on the eastern bank of the Aral Sea, whom he resettled in the delta of the Amu Darya. In 1822, he wrested the oasis of Merv from Bukhara, which was lost to the Turkmen tribe of the Sariq from 1843 to 1854. Relations with the Turkmen tribes of Tekke, Sariq and Yomut were tense: on the one hand, the Turkmen, who were active as kidnappers, supplied the slave market of Khiva, the largest in Central Asia. The khan levied a tax of 20 per cent on the trade in slaves, who also constituted the backbone of the army.[39] On the other hand, the Turkmen were inclined to rebel, and resisted the efforts of the government to increase the amount of arable land by expanding the irrigation system.[40] Muhammad Rahim's third successor – after **Allah Quli** (1825–42) and **Rahim Quli** (1842–46) – was **Muhammad Amin** (1846–55). He died in the fighting against the Tekke near Sarakhs, at which point Khiva finally lost control of Merv. The death of the khan set off further Turkmen revolts, in which two other khans, **Abdallah** (r. 1855) and **Qutlugh Murad** (r. 1855–56) lost their lives. **Sayyid Muhammad** (1856–65) was the first to stabilise the situation, especially in the areas north of the Amu Darya. His successor **Sayyid Muhammad Rahim II** (r. 1865–1910, Russian vassal from 1873), however, had to recognise the Russian supremacy in 1873.[41]

The economy of the khanate was parasitic: while it is true that agriculture flourished in the oases, the main source of income came through abductions. Turkmen invaded Iran and kidnapped defenceless Persian peasants, and Kazakhs in the north kidnapped Russian settlers, selling them on the slave market of Khiva and, less frequently, to Bukhara. Russia itself sometimes bought the freedom of Russian slaves. According to the Russian captain Nikolay N. Muravyov, who visited Khiva in 1819, 3,000 Russian and 30,000 Persian slaves languished in captivity.[42] Their owners were allowed to kill or mutilate them, and if a slave repeatedly tried to escape, 'the unfortunate soul was nailed by his ear to a stake or the door of the house of his master, where he had to remain without food for three whole days'.[43] For Russia, the regime in Khiva was a nuisance in many respects: first, it was a disgrace to know that their own citizens were enslaved; second, the khanate allowed raids on Russian merchant caravans; and, third, Khiva isolated itself, which made transit trade to the south impossible. Chorasmia, however, remained protected for a long time by its geography; namely, the



69. The 'short minaret' Kalta Minar in Khiva, Uzbekistan. The unfinished 26-m-high minaret was commissioned by Muhammad Amin Khan (r. 1846–55); construction was stopped after his death, however. Photo: 2004.

deserts Kyzyl Kum in the north and Kara Kum in the south-west, as well as the semi-desert peninsula of Mangyshlak in the north-west. Despite this, Russia undertook measures early on to subdue the disruptive khanate. After the failed expeditions of the Starenskoi Cossacks in 1603 and of Prince Alexander Bekovich-Cherkassky in 1717,[44] the governor of Orenburg had the opportunity in 1793 to explore the secluded khanate when a delegation from Khiva requested that he send an eye specialist to heal an eye complaint of the khan's uncle. The governor sent the doctor and later Major General Blankennagel, who stayed in Khiva from 5 October 1793 to 12 March 1794. Blankennagel, who could not heal the completely blind man, escaped death only because Avaz Atiq feared Russian reprisals should he kill its envoy. The doctor recognised the potential here for cotton cultivation and trade and recommended conquering Khiva, also in part to open a trade route to India.[45]

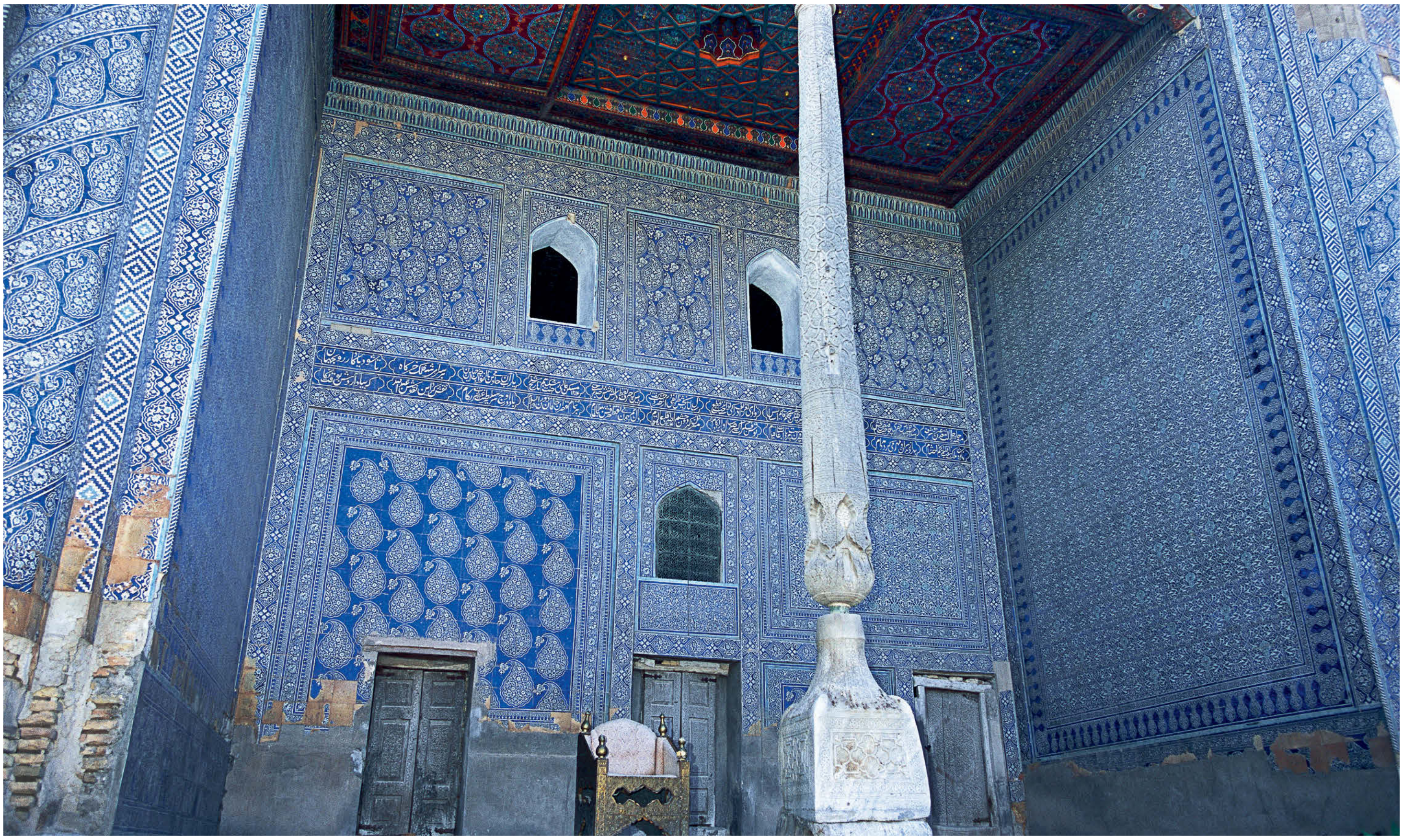
In 1819, General Aleksey Yermolov, the Russian supreme commander in the Caucasus, attempted to establish trade relations with Khiva in order to then, in a second step, annex the khanate. A short time earlier, Georg Stepanovich Vinsky, adviser to the Russian Foreign Ministry, had recommended conquering Khiva to secure trade routes and to promote trade with Bukhara and ultimately with India: 'Khiva, I conclude, would in time become a Russian Gibraltar in Great Tartary. She would serve the traders of all lands as a peaceful wharf . . . She would become a gateway through which our own merchants could import the rich wares of India.'[46] Yermolov dispatched Captain Nikolay Muravyov to Khiva with the additional secret commission of finding an approach route and spying on the khanate's military strength. Muravyov embarked in Baku, crossed the Caspian Sea and landed in the area of the former delta of the Uzboy River. He then followed its dried-up course.[47] His Turkmen travelling companions, however, noticed that Muravyov recorded the distances between the wells and their depths, so they denounced him as spy to the khan. Like Blankennagel, Muravyov escaped death only because of Muhammad Rahim Khan's fear of Russian retaliation. The khan received him after 48 days of imprisonment, but rejected trade with Baku via Krasnovodsk (today's Turkmenbashi) and over the Caspian Sea.[48] Muravyov also recommended the conquest of Khiva as it blocked a possible trade route to India.[49] Muravyov, and presumably Yermolov, hoped to divert India's trade with Europe via Khiva, Baku and Astrakhan to Russia, and to disrupt the British trade monopoly between India and Europe by way of India's back doors, the cities of Herat and Kandahar. Yermolov, however, was unpopular with Tsar Alexander, and Alexander's successor, Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825–55), soon dismissed him after taking power. Khiva consequently remained safe for another 20 years.

By the end of the 1830s, the geopolitical situation on the Eurasian continent had changed dramatically. The former allies against Napoleon from 1812–15 were now bitter rivals. Since the Treaty of Turkmenchay of 1828, Russia had established a de facto protectorate over Persia, annexed the southern Caucasus, and sought to gain control of Constantinople, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. For London, this was not acceptable. With the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869, this issue became much more explosive, as the canal would have allowed a Russian fleet, having passed the Bosphorus and Dardanelles unhindered, a further advance to India or South Persia. Already Napoleon's first ambassador in Persia, Antoine-Alexandre Romieu, had pointed out in 1805 that Russia's real aim in advancing into the Caucasus was not the conquest of Persia, but the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the conquest of Constantinople.[50] The British foreign minister George Canning (1770–1827, in office 1822–27) and prime minister Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (1769–1852, in office 1828–30), expressed their concern about Russia's intentions in the course of the Greek War of Independence (1821–32). Canning and Wellington were determined to ensure that the Ottoman Empire remained independent: 'The independence of the Porte is important to all powers of Christendom. Its maritime independence, and particularly the independent exercise of sovereign authority in its own waters, is important to all Powers of the Mediterranean, and to all maritime Powers.'[51] After the Crimean War, it appeared that several offensive Russian campaigns directed against India were aimed at getting a free hand against Constantinople.

In the 1820s, Russia had also begun its advance to the south-east and dispersed two of the four Kazakh hordes by 1824. Great Britain, on the other hand, had brought India largely under its rule, and was allied with Ranjit Singh, the powerful ruler of the Sikhs.[52] Moreover, in 1837–38, Persia had laid siege to Herat for nine months with active Russian support.[53] The city's defence had been organised by the British lieutenant Eldred Pottinger. The Persian-Russian advance on Herat was all the more menacing to British India given that the officer Arthur Conolly (1807–42) had already shown in 1830 that there was a route from the fertile oasis of Herat via Kandahar and Quetta to the Indus that could be easily negotiated by a large army. This was just as John Malcolm had outlined in 1801. The only geographical obstacle was the narrow Bolan Pass.[54] The British governor-general Lord Auckland forced the Persian Shah to withdraw by sending a small flotilla. The fleet occupied the Persian island of Kharg on 19 June 1838 and threatened war.[55] At the same time, the British envoy Alexander Burnes, who had visited Bukhara in 1832,[56] and the Russian captain Ivan Vitkevich,[57] who had already been to Bukhara three times, courted the favour of Dost Muhammad. When the latter decided to enter into an alliance with Russia in April 1838, Lord Auckland moved to depose the amir militarily and replace him with Shah Shujah. On 6 July 1839, the British army occupied Kabul.[58] From the Russian point of view, the question arose as to whether British India would use the newly established protectorate over Afghanistan to force the three Uzbek khanates into its sphere of influence. This suspicion was all the more justified as Colonel Charles Stoddart (1807–42) had arrived in Bukhara in December 1838 to assure Nasrallah Khan (r. 1827–60) that the impending British attack on Kabul was by no means directed against him.[59] In view of Great Britain's offensive strategy, Russia also decided to adopt a similar approach, specifically in its conquest of Khiva and the liberation of Russian prisoners.

In the late summer of 1839, General Vasily Perovsky (1794–1857), military governor of Orenburg, was ordered to annex Khiva. The timing was especially auspicious as the British were caught up in Afghanistan. As the route from Orenburg to Khiva crosses the arid Ustyurt plateau, Perovsky opted for a winter campaign to avoid the summer heat. The expedition was ill-prepared, however, especially since the 5,300-strong army consisted mainly of recruits, condemned criminals, exiles, and only few experienced Cossacks. The troops left Orenburg in mid-November and were soon surprised by extraordinarily heavy snowfall. As more and more soldiers fell victim to the cold and various diseases, and the transport camels fell by the dozen, General Perovsky had to order a retreat halfway to Khiva on 1 February 1840. It was the only way to avert the demise of the entire expeditionary corps.[60] The retreat was a disgrace – not a single Russian slave was liberated and Khiva was never at risk. The failure was all the more painful as Great Britain had apparently achieved a brilliant victory in Afghanistan. Great Britain did not remain inactive in the face of the Russian preparations for invasion, however. It sent Captain James Abbott (1807–96) to Khiva to convince Khan Allah Quli of the necessity of freeing the Russian slaves and thus preventing an impending Russian assault. Allah Quli received Abbott at the beginning of 1840 and was disappointed

70. The courtyard of the harem of the khans of Khiva in the palace Tash Hauli, the 'stone house', decorated with majolica tiles, built in 1830–38. Khiva, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.



71. The reception hall of the Khan of Khiva called Ichrat Hauli inside the Tash Hauli Palace; in the middle is the silver throne of the khans. Khiva, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

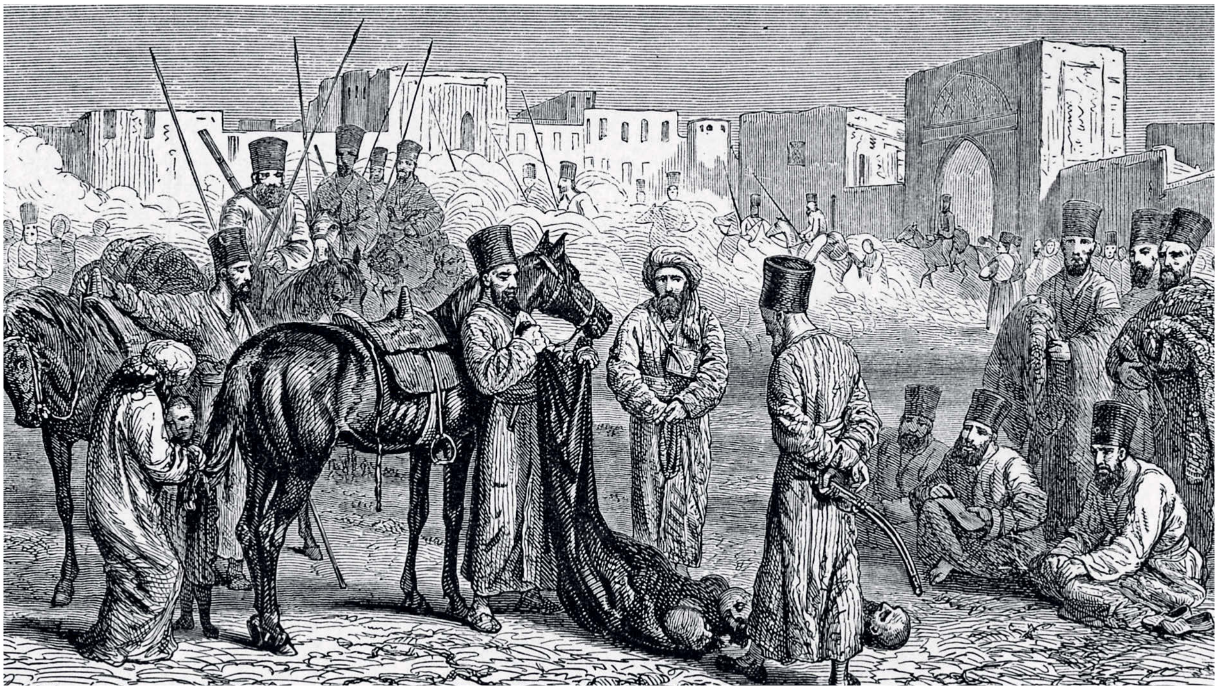
72. A carved wooden column on a marble pedestal. Tash Hauli Palace, Khiva, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

that the British would not promise him military support against the Russians. In March, he dismissed Abbott without giving him a positive answer.[61] Three months later, a second British officer, Lieutenant Richmond Shakespear (1812–61), appeared in Khiva with the same task. Shakespear's effort proved extremely successful: on 15 August he left Khiva in the direction of Orenburg together with 416 Russian slaves. General Perovsky was delighted, even though Shakespear had achieved single-handedly what he, Perovsky, had failed to accomplish with his army: to liberate some of the slaves. He released the 600 traders from Khiva, who were held in retaliation in Orenburg and Astrakhan. While Tsar Nicholas officially congratulated him on his success, he was privately furious that, in going it alone, the young Briton had eliminated the pretext for a second Russian invasion.[62] Two years later, Russia sent a peaceful delegation headed by Colonel Denilevsky to Khiva, which included the botanist Theodor Basiner, and signed a trade agreement with Khan Rahim Quli.[63]

A short time later, the priorities of the Russians changed, and they decided on a new strategy. In the North Caucasus, local resistance to the Russian occupation intensified, and in view of the catastrophic British defeat against the rebellious Afghans in the winter of 1841–42, Russian fears of a British intervention north of the Oxus were greatly reduced. The war in Dagestan and Chechnya, which lasted until 1859, and the lost Crimean War, gave the three Uzbek khanates a 20-year respite. Russia, moreover, had changed its tactics in Central Asia. Instead of undertaking risky military expeditions with long marches, Perovsky's successor, General Obruchev, pursued the ongoing pacification of the Kazakh steppe and the construction of small fortresses. The goal over the long term was to use the steppe as a springboard for conquering the khanates.[64] The establishment of the fortresses of Raimskoe (1847), Ak Mejet (1853) and Verny (1854) marked the most important stages of this new, more cautious strategy.[65] Russia maintained the goal of an annexation of Central Asia – not just for geopolitical, but also for economic, reasons. Although Russia's industry grew, its products were not competitive against those from Western Europe. As a result, they urgently needed new markets, not least because the purchasing power of the Russian population was still low due to widespread serfdom.[66] In 1826, Major General Alexander Vergin had already recommended in a memorandum to Tsar Nicholas I that a captive market be created in Central Asia for Russian goods, which could not keep up with Western European products.[67]

3. The Emirate of Bukhara and the Manghit Dynasty

As in the neighbouring Khiva, tribal leaders who served as ataliq displaced the khans from power and degraded them to interchangeable puppets. Since **Muhammad Hakim Bey** (as ataliq 1714–43) rose to chief minister in 1714, the leaders of the Manghit held power with brief interruptions until 1920.[68] Hakim Bey's successor **Muhammad Rahim** (r. as ataliq 1743–56, as khan 1756–58) appointed himself khan in 1756. However, due to the unrest following his death, **Danial Bey** (r. as ataliq 1758–85) settled on the title of ataliq. His son and successor **Shah Murad** (r. as amir 1785–99), on the other hand, called himself 'amir' and did away with nominating a Genghis-Khanid puppet khan. The pious Shah Murad not only sought to revitalise the emirate economically, but he also promoted tax-free Islamic foundations (*vaqf*) and conquered the oasis city of Merv around 1798. He then proceeded to deport its Shiite population to Bukhara and to impose the adoption of Sunni Islam. His son and successor **Amir Haydar Töre** (r. 1800–26) continued the conversion policy of his father in favour of Sunnism, as well as keeping up his efforts to extend the emirate's territory. In 1822, he lost Merv to Khiva, but conquered the territories of Balkh, Maymana, Kunduz and Badakhshan, south of the Amu Darya River (Oxus) in 1817. His son and



73. **As Arminius Vámbéry, who visited Khiva in 1863 dressed as a Dervish, reported, the tribal warriors who presented severed heads of defeated enemies to the treasurer were rewarded with different types of valuable honorary dress.[14] Vámbéry, *Voyages d'un faux derviche* (1865), opposite p. 132.**

successor Nasrallah, however, forfeited them once again between 1850 and 1855 to the Afghan ruler Dost Muhammad.[69]

Since Amir Haydar was interested in trade contacts with Russia, an embassy led by M. de Negri – protected by a strong military escort from attacks by Kazakhs and robbers from Khiva – reached Bukhara in 1820. Taking advantage of the opportunity to explore the enigmatic city and to map the region east of the Aral Sea were three scientists: officer and cartographer Georg von Meyendorff (1795–1863), who is responsible for one of Bukhara's earliest descriptions;[70] the botanist and zoologist Eduard F. Eversmann (1794–1860); and the zoologist Christian H. Pander (1794–1865). Five years later, the English veterinarian and horse breeder William Moorcroft (1767–1825) had less success. He reached Bukhara in February 1825, together with his companions George Guthrie and George Trebeck. Moorcroft intended to sell select British goods in Bukhara and to acquire horses for breeding with the proceeds. But he quickly recognised that the Bukhara market was flooded with cheap Russian bulk goods and that good horses were in short supply because the amir had confiscated them for a campaign. Amir Haydar, for his part, expected his guests to assist him in the operation of siege artillery. Moorcroft refused, however, and the disappointed amir dismissed him. Six weeks later, the three Britons died on their way home near Balkh without any signs of external injury. The amir presumably had them poisoned.[71] As Moorcroft's biographer Garry Alder emphasises, Moorcroft, who had been informed in detail about the armed Russian legation of 1820, predicted in his notes the military advance of Russia into the Uzbek khanates. He had also anticipated the Russian threat from Herat and Chinese Turkestan, where he additionally suspected the outbreak of Muslim revolts against China – events that took place between 1865 and 1914.[72]

74. The Chor Minor in Bukhara, built in 1807 and whose name in Persian means 'four minarets', was never a mosque, but rather the gatehouse to a now-vanished madrasah. Photo: 2004.

Amir Nasrallah (r. 1827–60) was infamous for his cruelty and bore the nickname Amir-i Qassab ('Amir the Butcher').[73] The eloquent diplomat Alexander Burnes, who also mastered the required etiquette in his contact with Central Asian despots and respected local customs, reported: 'The King of Bokhara rules, as in other Asiatic nations, a sovereign despot; nevertheless, he is controlled in every action by the authority of the Moolahs or priests. . . . The constitution of the monarchy, which is exclusively based on the laws of the Koran, [is] here more strictly enforced than in any other Mahommedan country. [. . .] The reigning king . . .appears, indeed, to be gradually sinking into the bigoted habits of his father. [. . .] There is no shadow of popular government, but still there is no evidence of discontent under such a system of rule, though people cannot be more thoroughly enslaved than the Uzbeks. [. . .] The most trivial offences are punished with death.'[74] Other travellers who visited Bukhara and Khiva also confirmed Burnes' impression of a rigid, backward and brutal society marked by pious bigotry. For example, Theodor Basiner in 1842 and the Hungarian Orientalist and British spy Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913), who had travelled to Khorasan, Khiva and Bukhara in 1863–64 disguised as a Turkish Dervish, reported of how women in Khiva, rightly or wrongly accused of adultery, were stoned to death. They further told of how warriors returning from a raid were rewarded according to how many severed heads and useful slaves they handed over to the authorities. 'I actually looked at 100 horsemen covered with dust arriving from their camp. Each one of had several captives to tow, including children and women, who were either bound to the tail of the horse or the saddle-knob; [the rider also] had a large open sack, which contained the cut-off

75. The gateway to the 'Ark' citadel of Bukhara; the structure that is visible today dates from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Photo: 2004.

heads of the enemy. Once arriving at the square, he surrendered the prisoners . . . and then untied the sack, grabbed a hold of it at both ends, and as if pouring out potatoes, these bearded and beardless heads rolled out in front of the clerk, whose servant thrust them together with his feet until a great mound of a several hundred had piled up. Each warrior got a receipt of the heads he handed over, and the payout took place a few days later'[75] (fig. 73). In Bukhara, on the other hand, Vámbéry was struck by the religious conceit according to which Bukhara and its native inhabitants were the 'true bearers of Islam' and the spy network of the mullahs and the government. 'Every trace of cheerfulness or exhilaration has been banished from circles where religion and the government's system of surveillance are so tyrannizing.'[76]

Less fortunate than Alexander Burnes were the two Britons Stoddart and Conolly a few years later. Lieutenant Colonel Stoddart (1807–42) was arrested in Bukhara shortly after his arrival at the end of 1838 and thrown into a miserable dungeon. Unlike Burnes, Stoddart lacked tact. He had already offended Amir Nasrallah at the first encounter. Nasrallah, moreover, suspected him of spying. To save his own life, Stoddart had to convert to Islam, though he remained in detention. The amir probably stopped short of carrying out an execution due to the fact that Kabul was occupied by the British. Three years after his arrest, Stoddart welcomed a fellow sufferer in the person of Captain Conolly. He had followed the utopian plan of reconciling the three Uzbek khanates with each other in order to form an anti-Russian bloc. When the two rulers of Khiva and Kokand, Allah Quli and Muhammad Ali, received Conolly, they made it clear that they had no interest in an anti-Russian alliance. In addition, both khans warned Conolly against travelling to Nasrallah. Despite all the warnings, however, he arrived in Bukhara in November 1841, where the amir also quickly sent him to prison. Nasrallah was irritated that his letter, sent months earlier to Queen Victoria, remained unanswered. Foreign minister Palmerston, furthermore, informed him that his letter had been passed on to the governor-general of British India. Nasrallah interpreted this as contempt on the part of London and, what is more, as a sign that Stoddart and Conolly were not official envoys, but mere impostors. Nor did the Russian legation, led by Major

76. The rebuilt entrance of the mighty fortress of Hissar, Tajikistan. The fortress stood on a natural hill that had been inhabited since the Stone Age, and it controlled the ancient trade route that linked Termez on the Oxus with Kashgar. In the late Middle Ages, Hissar was the capital of a smaller, more or less independent khanate, which Russia allotted to Bukhara in 1873.[15] Photo: 2008.

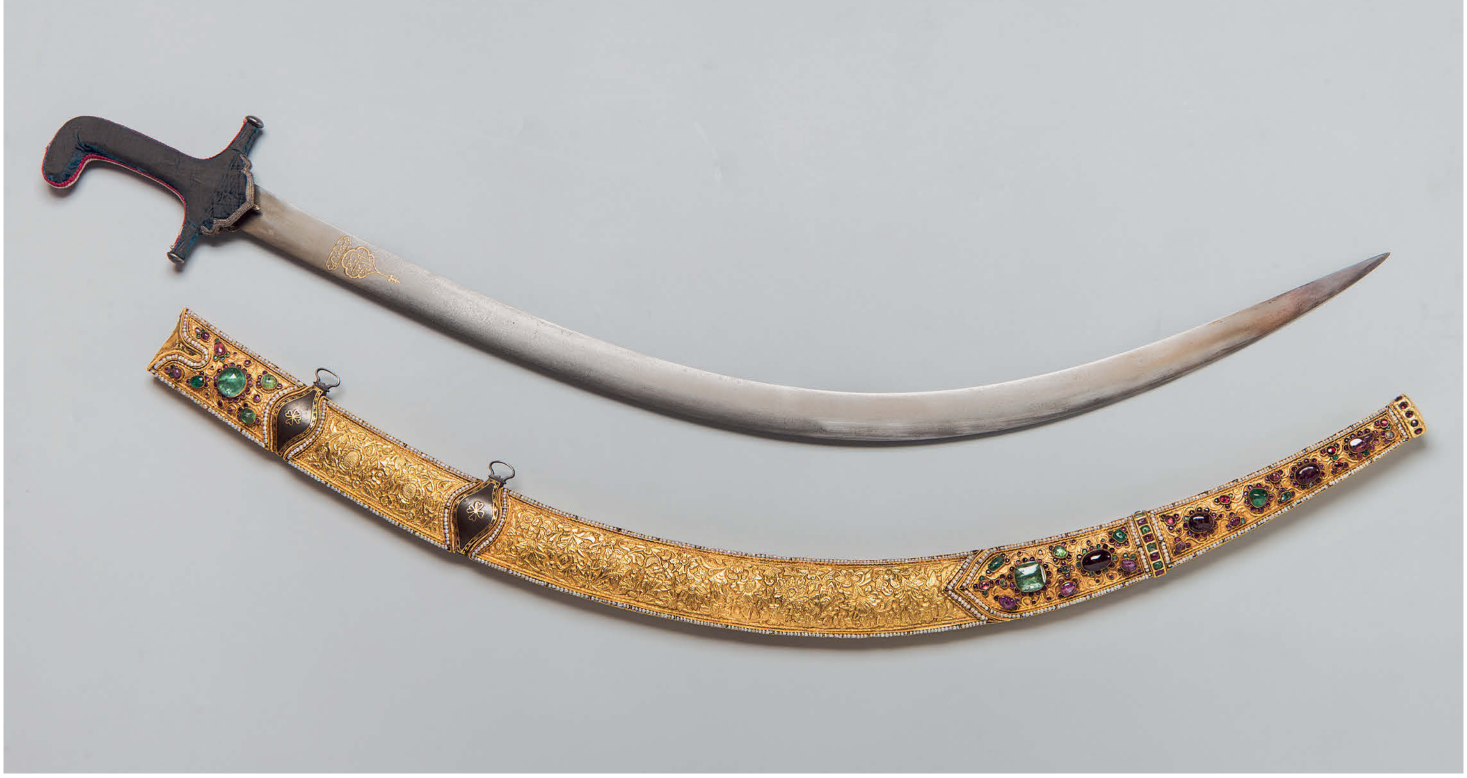
Butenev in the winter of 1841/42, manage to obtain the release of the two Britons.[77] However, when Nasrallah learned of the British catastrophe in Afghanistan, he no longer had to fear retribution. He had the two prisoners decapitated in June 1842. A year later, Nasrallah showed a gentler side when he permitted the Christian missionary Joseph Wolff, who had travelled to Bukhara to investigate the fate of Stoddart and Conolly, to leave the city unmolested.[78]

In 1858, Sayyid Muhammad, the khan of Khiva, and Nasrallah, the amir of Bukhara, were confronted by the arrival of a powerful Russian delegation. They had both sent legations to Russia a year earlier in 1855 on the occasion of Tsar Alexander II's ascension. The tsar, who was humiliated by the Crimean War, took the opportunity to regain the initiative lost in Central Asia after General Perovsky's debacle of 1839–40. He sent a delegation under the leadership of the young officer Count Nikolay Ignatyev (1832–1908) and protected by Cossacks, that arrived in Khiva in July 1858. Ignatyev's commission was to open up the markets of both khanates for Russian products, to explore the navigability of the Oxus, and to spy on the military strength of both khanates. In Khiva, Sayyid Muhammad, who was still angry about the appearance of the Russian flotilla on the lower reaches of the Oxus, was not very accommodating.[79] He rightly feared that regular shipping from the Aral Sea through his khanate and onwards to Bukhara would unsettle his dominion. Ignatyev's last audience with the khan on the night of 24 to 25 August was all the more terrifying, as he had to appear without his Cossacks: 'Near the gates of the Palace protruded two enormous stakes upon which were impaled tortured victims of this barbarous government to scare me personally.' The audience ended in turmoil, and Ignatyev owed his life to a troop of armed Cossacks, who entered the palace without instructions to ensure his safety.[80] Amir Nasrallah, who at the time was at war with the neighbouring khanate of Kokand, received Ignatyev cordially, but remained non-committal. He refused free navigation on the Oxus, yet proposed attacking the khanate of Khiva and dividing it between Russia and Bukhara.[81]

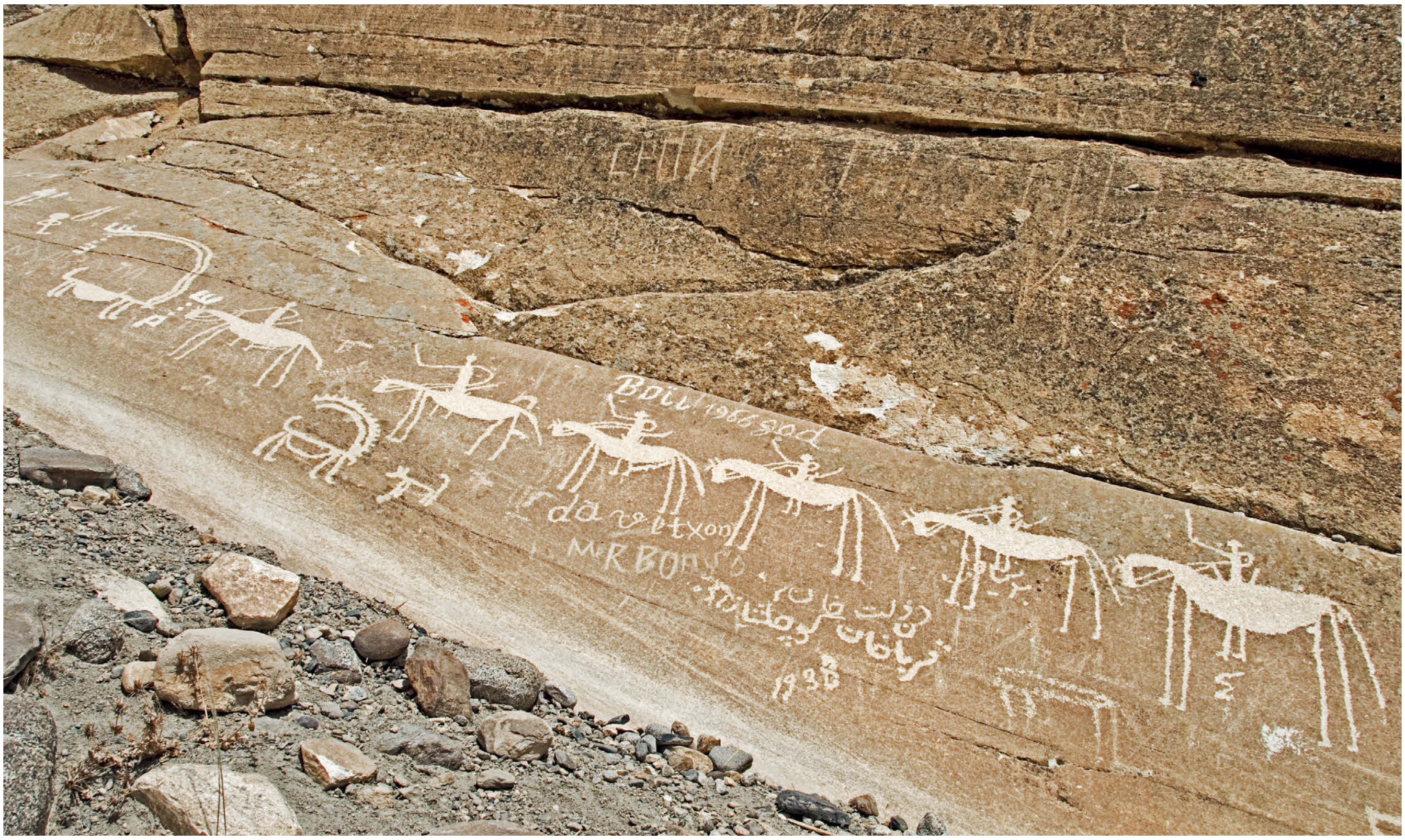
Nevertheless, the legation was successful from the Russian perspective, since it had revealed the military weakness of the two khanates and the unreliability of the two khans.[82] Ignatyev was convinced that the only way to eliminate the danger of British interference was a conquest of the khanates. In his report, Ignatyev programmatically defined the essential cornerstones of Russian foreign and military policy: 'In case of an explosion with Great Britain, only in Asia can we expect to win and harm Turkey [which stood under British protection]. [. . .] I felt that Asia was the only area remaining for our trade activities and development of our industry because we were too weak to enter into successful competition with Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States of America. [. . .] I continually showed the necessity . . .to subordinate Central Asia to Russian influence, gain control of the Amu Darya. . .for the use of our military ships and finally to threaten Great Britain in order to force it to value our friendship.'[83] A short time later, in 1859–60, Ignatyev pulled off a masterstroke of diplomacy. By playing off a Franco-British military alliance, which occupied Beijing, against the weakened Chinese government, it was possible to secure once and for all the possession of the territories conquered by General Muravyov on the Amur River.[84] Nasrallah, however, was the last independent ruling khan of Bukhara, as his son and successor **Muzaffar al-Din** (r. 1860–85) had to recognise the supremacy of Russia after three defeats suffered in 1868.[85]

4. The Khanate of Kokand and the Dynasty of the Ming

The origins of the khanate of Kokand go back to the early eighteenth century, when the khanate of Bukhara had begun to collapse. The chief **Shah Rukh** (r. 1709–21) from the Uzbek tribe of the Ming allegedly defeated his rivals in the Fergana Valley, including the Naqshbandi khojas of Chadak, and built a first fortress in Kokand. He was followed by his eldest son **Abdu'l Rahim** (r. 1721–33), who was killed in a conspiracy in 1733 due to an alleged mental disorder. His brother **Abdu'l Karim Bey** (r. 1733–46 or 1750) succeeded him. He rebuilt the citadel of Kokand, which had been destroyed in the previous power struggles, and expanded the surrounding city. Abdu'l's successor **Abdu'l Rahman** (r. *ca*. 1750–51) was deposed after only one year. **Irdana Bey** (1751–70) then asserted himself following a power struggle. As a consequence of Emperor Qianlong's destruction of the Dzungar Empire in 1757, Irdana Bey was confronted with foreign invaders. First, he had to repel fleeing Dzungars, who invaded the Fergana Valley. Chinese troops then began to close in on Kokand. When a Chinese envoy asked



77. Sabre with a scabbard. The Persian-made sabre dates from the late eighteenth century, the scabbard, manufactured in Khiva, from the middle of the nineteenth century. The total length of the sabre is 92.5 cm; it was presented by the Khan of Kokand Muhammad Khudayar Khan (3rd reign 1865–75) in 1868 to Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–81). Inv. No. B.O.-1848. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia.



78. Late medieval petroglyphs of riders and modern scrawlings of names at Langar II, Tajikistan. Photo: 2008.

Irdana Bey for assistance in the search for the two fleeing khojas from Kashgar, Irdana preferred to offer China the nominal subjugation of his khanate. This, in turn, gave him commercial advantages in trade with Kashgar. Afterwards, an Afghan army appeared around 1763/65 in the vicinity of Kokand: some Muslim rulers of the region, and allegedly also Irdana Bey, had called on Shah Ahmad Durrani for help against the 'infidels'. Ahmad Durrani contented himself with the intimidation of Bukhara and the plundering of Badakhshan, and withdrew his troops in 1765. Meanwhile, Irdana succeeded in conquering the important trading city of Osh in 1762. Irdana's successor **Sulayman Shah** (r. 1770) was murdered after a few months and the plotters put **Narbuta Bey** (r. 1770–98/99) on the throne. He succeeded in consolidating his rule over the entire Fergana Valley. During his reign, early tensions developed with Kokand's nominal overlord, when he refused to hand over Sarimsaq – the son of Burhan al-Din, one of the last two khojas of Kashgar[86] – to the Chinese authorities. A second source of conflict concerned trade policy. In 1785, China declared a trade boycott on Russia and closed the Kyakhta border market. Kokand, which bordered on Kashgaria, filled the void by buying and selling Chinese goods to Russia. In the dispute with China, Narbuta stood firm, for Sarimsaq, who continued to claim Kashgaria, was a valuable means of applying pressure to China. The Chinese military presence in Kashgaria was weak. What is more, an attack by Sarimsaq, supported from Kokand, likely would have appealed to the local Muslims.[87] Many Kokand merchants took advantage of the Chinese vulnerability and settled in Altishahr, the 'six cities'.[88] Kokand consequently requested permission as early as 1813 to send a political agent to East Turkestan, who would be responsible for the Kokand people. Although the request was made repeatedly, it was rejected until 1832.[89]

Narbuta's successor **Alim Khan** (r. 1798/99–1810) became the first ruler of Kokand to take the title of khan[90] and built up a strong army of standing mercenaries. Next, he extended the khanate far north, and conquered the cities of Tashkent, Shymkent and Sairam in 1809. As a result, the khanate controlled a part of the trade between Russia and Mawarannahr. These cities in the catchment area of the Syr Darya River were later secured by the construction of an advanced series of fortresses such as Ak Mejet (today's Kyzyl Orda) in the west and Karakol, later Przhevalsk, in the east. The latter was nominally located on Chinese territory. These fortresses also served as a starting point for advances into the Kazakh steppe. Here, conflict with Russia was essentially predestined once the tsar's empire expanded southwards.[91] The next khans, **Umar Khan** (r. 1810–22) and **Muhammad Ali** (Madali, r. 1822–42) continued the expansionist policy of Alim Khan, initially towards the south in the direction of the Pamirs and Badakhshan. This gave Kokand access to the Indian opium market and soon it operated a lucrative opium trade with West China.[92] Kokand then turned eastward and, from 1820, began to use its trump card from Kashgar: the descendants of the khojas living in exile. In the years 1820 and 1825, Sarimsaq's son Jahangir launched two unsuccessful attacks on Kashgar with the help of Kyrgyz mounted warriors, which Kokand benevolently tolerated. In the third expedition of 1826, in which Muhammad Ali participated personally, the invaders suffered two devastating defeats. Muhammad Ali was able to return to Kokand, but Jahangir was taken prisoner and executed through dismemberment. The fourth attack of 1830 under Muhammad Ali – Jahangir's son, Yusuf Khwaja, merely played a secondary role – did not result in any military success. Nevertheless, China had to accept that the mobilisation of larger armies to defend against Kokandian attacks was too costly and agreed to negotiate. In the treaty concluded in 1832, China conceded all three contentious points: first, the tax on goods imported by foreign traders (except those from Kashmir and Badakhshan) to Kashgaria was no longer owed to the Chinese authorities, but to Kokand. Second, in every city of Altishahr a Kokandian agent was now to collect this import tax. And, third, all the Kokandian merchants of Kashgaria would be subordinate to these agents in administrative and legal matters. The khanate in Kashgaria thus received tariff autonomy and extraterritorial jurisdiction within China, which anticipated the later concessions of the colonial powers. Despite the Chinese concessions, the attacks from Kokand continued in 1847, 1852, 1855 and 1857. Now, they were led by Khoja Wali Khan, a son of Jahangir. In his fourth campaign, Wali Khan managed to capture the city of Kashgar, but not the citadel. Nevertheless, this did not prevent him from killing innumerable Muslim Kashgarliks during his almost three-month reign of terror.[93] Adolf Schlagintweit, a German explorer, also fell victim to his tyranny on 26 August 1857.[94] Ultimately, these events were by no means uprisings of local Muslims of East Turkestan (let alone of Uyghurs) against Chinese domination. The descendants of the overthrown dynasty of the khojas had rather attempted to regain power in Kashgaria, which was tolerated or actively supported by Kokand.

79. The 7,135-m-high Ibn Sina Peak (right) in the Trans-Alai mountain range soars upward along the border of north-east Tajikistan and south-west Kyrgyzstan. From 1871 to 1928, the summit was called Mount Kaufmann in honour of the first Russian governor-general of Turkestan, Konstantin Kaufmann, and then until 2006, Lenin Peak. Photo taken from Sary-Mogol, Kyrgyzstan, 2008.

When unrest broke out in Kokand in 1842 and the khan abdicated in favour of his brother **Sultan Mahmud** (r. 1842), Amir Nasrallah took advantage of the situation from Bukhara to take the city, raze the palace, and execute the khan as well as his predecessor. Although a popular uprising was able to expel the occupying force from Bukhara after a few months, the three decades that remained for Kokand were marked by instability and ethnic clashes between the nomadic Kyrgyz and Kipchaks and the settled Tajiks and Uzbeks. **Sher Ali Khan** (1842–45), whom the Kyrgyz and Kipchaks enthroned, was deposed and killed by Alim Khan's son **Murad Bey Khan** (r. 1845). He met a violent end, however, at the hands of the Kipchak commander Musulman Quli after a mere eleven days. The new strongman Musulman Quli appointed **Muhammad Khudayar Khan** (r. 1845–58, 1862–63, 1865–75), the underage son of Sher Ali, to the throne. Musulman Quli reigned as an all-powerful regent until the year 1853, when Khudayar Khan joined a rebellion against the Kipchak rule, killed Musulman Quli, and took power. At the same time, a first Russian attack on the khanate took place, in which the Ak Mejet fortress was conquered. The Verny fortress was built in 1854, but the Crimean War subsequently interrupted the Russian advance for ten years.[95] But after a revolt broke out in Tashkent in 1858 and the khan sent his older brother **Mallya Khan** (r. 1858–62) there, the latter put himself on the throne. With Kyrgyz support, he forced Khudayar to go into exile in Bukhara. Real power, though, resided with the Kyrgyz Alim Quli until 1865. In 1864, Russia resumed its advance to the south and that same year wrested from the khanate the cities of Turkistan and Shymkent. While the first attack on Shymkent had been repulsed by Alim Quli in July, Alim Quli was forced to leave Shymkent when the khan of Bukhara Muzaffar al-Din took advantage of the Russo-Kokandian War to invade the Fergana Valley. This enabled Major General Mikhail Chernyayev (1828–98) to seize Shymkent in September. Chernyayev's first attack on Tashkent also failed. The second in May/June 1865 proved successful, however, with Alim Quli falling in battle from a defensive position.[96]

Again Muzaffar al-Din exploited Kokand's weakened condition to launch a new invasion and placed **Khudayar Khan** (3rd reign 1865–75) back on the throne. Russia now had to fear that Bukhara and its vassal Kokand would try to reconquer Tashkent. After Chernyayev failed once again – this time in taking Bukhara's fortress of Jizzakh – he was recalled and replaced by Major General D. Romanovsky. Romanovsky defeated Muzaffar al-Din in May 1866, and subsequently conquered the towns of Jizzakh, Khujand and Ura Tyube (Istaravshan) belonging to the emirate of Bukhara. This resulted in the geographic separation of Kokand and Bukhara. These cities, as well as Tashkent, were then annexed by Russia and made into the General Government of Turkestan in 1867 with Tashkent as the capital. The khanate of Kokand was thereby reduced to the Fergana Valley.[97] In the meantime, Russia renounced the annexation of Kokand in deference to Great Britain, since Kokand bordered on Badakhshan, which had belonged more or less nominally to Afghanistan since the late 1850s. Khudayar Khan acknowledged the informal sovereignty of Russia, and, in January 1868, granted the Russian governor-general of Turkestan, Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufmann, comprehensive trading rights. The loss of Tashkent, however, struck Kokand's economy hard. It caused a steep drop in revenues, which Khudayar tried to offset with massive tax increases. The resentment of the population, especially the Kyrgyz and Kipchaks, gave way to a general uprising in July 1875. Led by the Kyrgyz pretender, **Pulad Khan** (r. 1875), it was directed against both the khan and his Russian rulers. Khudayar fled to Tashkent and, to accommodate Pulad Khan's explicit request, the rebels appointed Khudayar's son **Nasir al-Din** (r. 1875–76) as the new khan. Governor von Kaufmann now dispatched General Mikhail Skobelev (1843–82) to Fergana, where the latter was able to quell the insurrection by January 1876. On 19 February 1876, Tsar Alexander II dissolved the remaining khanate and annexed it as the Fergana Oblast to the General Government of Turkestan. The principalities of Karategin and Darvaz were allocated to Bukhara to reward Muzzafar al-Din's neutrality during the war with Kokand.[98] Russia had already pacified the rebellious region of East Bukhara with the cities of Shahr-i Sabz and Hissar (fig. 76) on behalf of the amir Muzzafar al-Din in the years 1870–73.[99] Now, the General Government of Turkestan bordered on Badakhshan, which Afghanistan claimed. Russia, moreover, took advantage of the fact that Kyrgyz cattle breeders allowed their herds to graze in the Pamirs in the summer in order to also claim these mountain regions.[100] In fact, Russia had established a protectorate over Bukhara with the peace treaty of 30 June 1868, which meant that Russia had essentially bordered on Afghanistan since that date. The border was ill defined, however, due to conflicting local demands and a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Russia and Great Britain. Darvaz also included territories on the left bank of the Panj River, whereas the principalities of Shugnan and Roshan, which the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman occupied in 1883, likewise had areas on the right bank of the Panj.[101] The absence of a clear border between Russia and Afghanistan led to severe tensions between the two major powers, which were not resolved until the joint border demarcation of 1895.[102]

V

The 'Great Game': Central Asia as a Pivot of Russian and British Expansion Policy

'[The Russian's] object is not Calcutta, but Constantinople; not the Ganges, but the Golden Horn. He believes that the keys of the Bosphorus are more likely to be won on the banks of the Helmund [near Herat] than on the heights of Plevna [Russian victory over Turkey in today's Bulgaria in 1877]. To keep England quiet in Europe by keeping her employed in Asia, that, briefly put, is the sum and substance of Russian policy.'

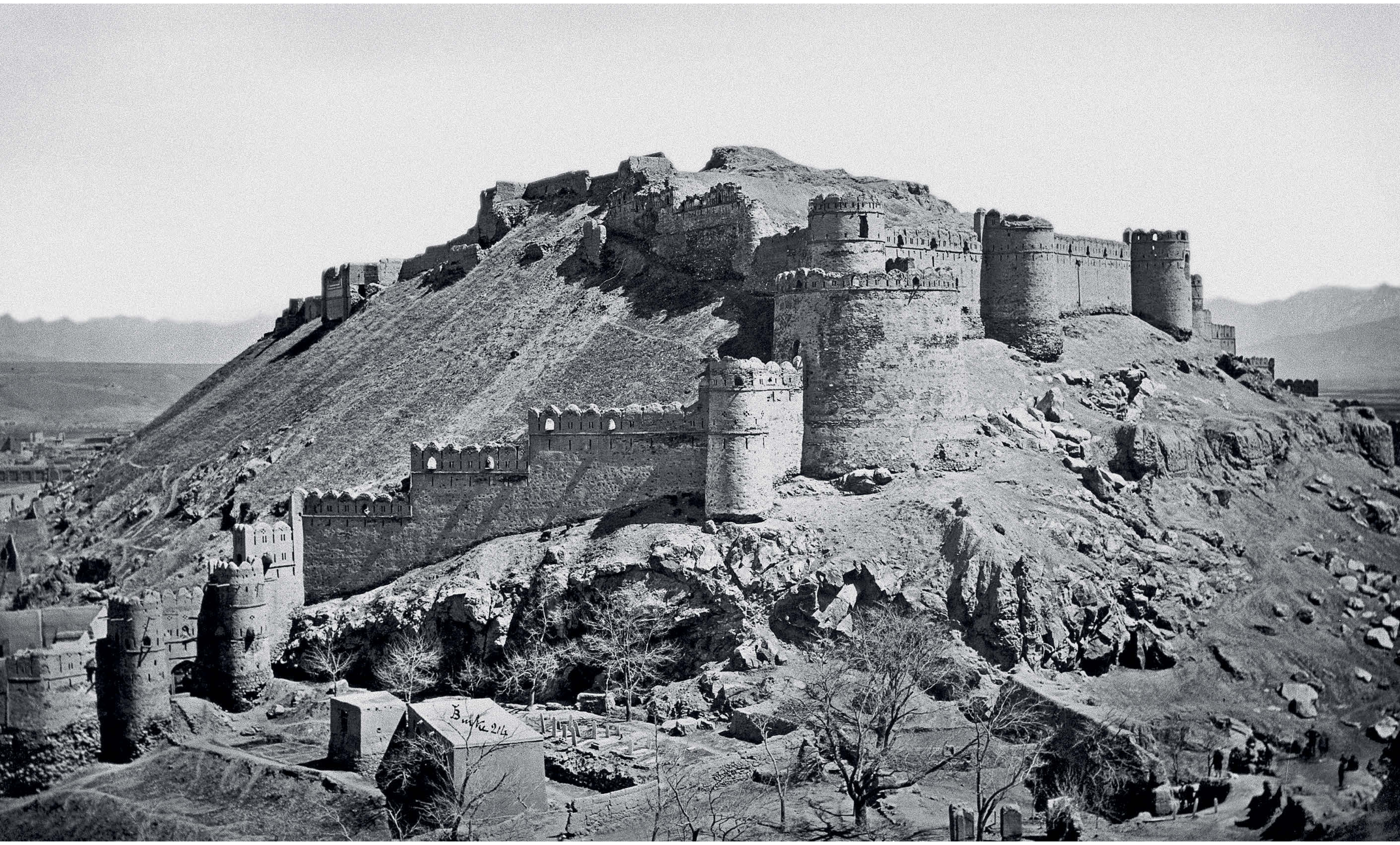
GEORGE NATHANIEL CURZON, MP and later Viceroy of India 1899–1905[1]

'To my mind the whole Central Asian Question is as clear as the daylight. If it does not enable us in a comparatively short time to take seriously in hand the Eastern Question, in other words, to dominate the Bosphorus, the [Central Asian] hide is not worth the tanning.'

Russian **GENERAL MIKHAIL SKOBELEV** after his successful conquest of the Turkmen fortress Geok Tepe in January 1881[2]

While the horse people and tribal confederations in the north of Central Asia came under the pressure of the centrally administered expanding states of Russia and China from the eighteenth century onward, the countries in the south went through a similar development a century later. Here, however, it was not two land powers that came into conflict, but the largest land power in the world, Russia, and the greatest naval power in the world, Great Britain.[3] Due to their different starting positions from a military point of view, the clashes were occasionally asymmetrical. Britain, specifically, did not necessarily respond militarily to a Russian advance in Central Asia in the same region, but rather with its fleet in the Baltic Sea or off the coast of Vladivostok. At same time, British India, which eventually grew into its own realm within the British Empire, was also exposed as a land power to the threat of internal revolts. While the British Isles remained safe behind the bulwark of the then invincible British navy, India also needed a strong army to ward off threats or to pre-empt them.

This rivalry between Great Britain and Russia was initiated by the Franco-Russian Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 and fought out in proxy battles, beginning with the Persian-Russian siege of Herat in 1837/38. It lasted exactly 100 years, until the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, but continued to unfold in Persia, the Caucasus and especially Transcaucasia until 1921. This 'cold war' is subsumed under the name the 'Great Game'. As indicated in the secondary literature, the term was coined by Arthur Conolly to convey a 'big game' or 'competition'. In July 1840, he wrote Major Rawlinson a letter in which he congratulated him on his appointment as a political agent in Kandahar: 'You've a great game. A noble game before you.'[4] However, as Malcolm Yapp has shown, Sir Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, had used the



80. **The upper Bala Hissar fortress located south of Kabul and overlooking the city from its dominating position; in the foreground lies a small cemetery. Photograph taken by John Burke (*ca.* 1843–1900) in 1879 during the Second Anglo-Afghan War. National Army Museum, London.**

expression long before Conolly, albeit not with reference to Central Asia. On 2 May 1804 he wrote to Colonel Murray, the commanding officer against the Marathas: 'You have now a great game on your hands.'[5] In the context of the competition of the two imperial colonial powers Russia and Britain, the officer and historian John William Kaye (1814–76) was the first to use the term.[6] On the Russian side, foreign minister Count Nesselrode (in office 1816–56) referred to this diplomatic and military chess as 'a Tournament of Shadows'.[7] The playing field of this 'Great Game' was first and foremost Afghanistan, and then Crimea, Persia, Xinjiang and Tibet. Developments and events taking place in Central Asia were thus directed from outside Central Asia.

1. The Setting of the 'Great Game' from Constantinople to Kabul

At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, it became clear to a number of Britain military strategists like General Robert Wilson and General George De Lacy Evans that Great Britain would have to pay a very high price for its victory over the pan-European hegemonic power, France. Russia was on the cusp of becoming a continental hegemon itself, with ambitions ranging from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.[8] Russia, after all, did not have a year-round port, since the ports of the Baltic Sea and of Odessa in the Black Sea were only free of ice for seven and nine months, respectively.[9] This severely limited the scope of both Russia's weak navy and its merchant navy. Since regional expansion to Western Europe did not come into the equation, Constantinople, which controlled the Bosphorus, presented an alternative. As the French diplomat Romieu had recognised in 1805, Russia's strategic goal in the Caucasus consisted less in conquering Persia than in seizing control of the Bosphorus.[10] For Russia, the push south meant the realisation of Tsar Peter I's vision of continual access to the world's oceans – a vision, however, that had been interrupted by his death in 1725 and domestic strife. With the conquest of the Crimea in 1771–83[11] and the gradual annexation of Kartli-Kakheti (East Georgia) in the years 1783–1801 and Imereti (West Georgia) in 1810,[12] Russia established two bases of operation against Constantinople: one by sea from Crimea, and one over land from Georgia. The Treaty of Gulistan on 24 October 1813, which ended the Russo-Persian War from 1804–13, confirmed Russia's possession of Georgia and the khanates of the present state of Azerbaijan. This underlined Russia's supremacy in the north of the Ottoman Empire and Persia.[13] With Napoleon's final defeat, Russia could deploy the forces that had become available on its western border in the south. The second motivation for Russia's involvement in the Caucasus and Persia was the hope of attracting part of the European trade with India towards land routes controlled by Russia instead of the existing sea routes controlled by Britain.[14]

But for the dominant naval power, Britain – which had destroyed France as its remaining maritime rival in the naval victories of Aboukir (1798) and Trafalgar (1805) – a Russian advance into the Mediterranean was unacceptable. After all, a Russian protectorate over the Ottoman Empire or its destruction would have massively disrupted the European balance of power. From the time of the Greek Revolution of 1821–29 and the Russian intervention from 1828–32 at the latest, the Britain diplomats Canning and Wellington and their successors had set about the difficult task of curtailing Russian support for the Greek insurgents. They sought, specifically, to limit it in a way that allowed the Greeks to achieve their goal, while preserving the Ottoman Empire at all costs and avoiding armed engagement with Russia.[15] Edward Law, Earl of Ellenborough (1790–1871) and recurring President of the Board of Control of the East India Company, was convinced that both the security of British India and the balance of power in Europe depended on the preservation of the Ottoman Empire.[16] Over the course of the next six decades, Britain deployed its navy no less than four times against Russia, just as General Wilson had advised: 'England must . . . attend to her naval power, and negotiate with the trident in her hand.'[17] In 1829, a partial mobilisation of the navy prevented the conquest of Constantinople by Russian troops, who had just occupied Edirne.[18] In 1853, a British-French fleet blocked the mouth of the Dardanelles to prevent Russia from establishing a protectorate over the Ottoman Empire, which led to the Crimean War.[19] And, in 1878, the British Mediterranean fleet stopped a Russian army off the coast of Constantinople and barred the establishment of a large Bulgarian principality which would have nominally stood under the sultan's control, but in fact have given Russia access to the Mediterranean.[20] As the Austrian Major General Alois Ritter von Haymerle realised, Britain, which already had strong military bases in Gibraltar and Malta, had reinforced in 1878 its supremacy in the Mediterranean by gaining control over Cyprus. From here, the British could control both the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal. Since the British fleet could shut down the Strait of Hormuz, the only strategically attractive port for Russia was one lying directly on the Indian Ocean. To obtain it, however, Russia needed to conquer the western Afghan city of Herat.[21] Russia took this step in March 1885, when it wrested the oasis of

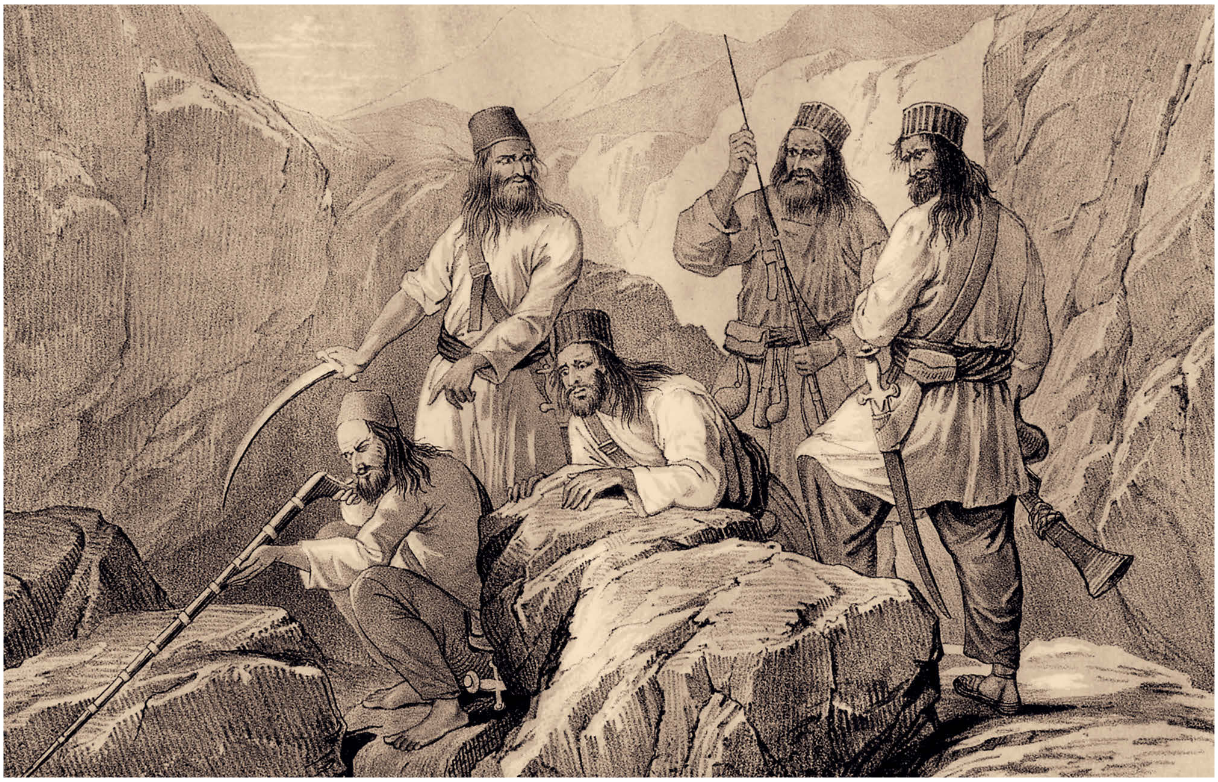
Panjdeh from Afghanistan and severely threatened Herat. Only the global mobilisation of the British navy and the threat of an all-out war forced Russia to suspend its advance.[22] Britain managed to force Russia to retreat three times solely by means of making a threat, just as the Chinese military strategist Sun Tzu (*ca.* 544–496 BC) had recommended: 'Those who render others' armies helpless without fighting are the best of all.'[23]

While in absolutist Russia, political leadership was concentrated in the person of the tsar, who presided over both the government and the military, in the parliamentary monarchy of Great Britain setting goals and priorities and decision-making responsibility fell under the purview of the elected government. In India, Britain pursued primarily commercial purposes – first in the form of tributes and then, from the nineteenth century onward, as a supplier of raw materials and an export market for British capital and industrial goods. The semi-private East India Company served as a vehicle for this undertaking, which, when necessary, received military support. It was not converted into a royal colony until 1858. The East India Company, which was supported militarily and diplomatically by the superior naval power of Great Britain, can be viewed as a kind of forerunner of the United States' global business empire today. The Company was headed by the governor-general, commonly called the viceroy. He, in turn, was subordinate to the President of the Board of Control, and, from 1858, to the Secretary of State for India, a cabinet minister. Until an undersea telegraph line with London was put into operation in 1870, the governor-general enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. Great Britain was both a European and an Asian power – in other words, a bipolar empire that occasionally pursued two mutually divergent foreign policies. A key factor in the British India policy was the composition of parliament, which was dominated by the Tories or the liberal Whigs and, from 1859, the Liberals. With regard to India, the Liberals preferred a prudent, tight financial strategy, the Tories one that was aggressive.

While Great Britain managed to preserve the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s, this was not the case with Persia. The Treaty of Turkmenchay of 22 February 1828, which ended the Russo-Persian War of 1826–28, transformed Persia gradually into a de facto Russian protectorate. Persia not only had to cede the khanates of Yerevan and Nakhchivan, but also to renounce its military maritime rights in the Caspian Sea, grant extraterritorial rights to Russian citizens, allow the stationing of Russian consuls in Persian cities, and accept Russian-dictated trade agreements.[24] Britain had long neglected to support Persia's independence, and, in the words of Harford Jones, 'Persia was delivered, bound hand and foot, to the court of St. Petersburgh'.[25] Persia was deeply disappointed by Great Britain, as Russia's sphere of influence was extended in one fell swoop to the Afghan border. The reason for this failure lay in the fact that Persia was considered of secondary importance from London's European perspective.[26] From India's point of view, however, it was extraordinarily important. This dichotomy of strategic priorities with regard to Persia persisted 40 years later. In his memorandum of 1868, Sir Henry Rawlinson complained: 'Every measure of defence, referring either to Persia or Afghanistan, must be organised in India and executed from India.'[27]

2. A Two-pronged Russian Attack on Afghanistan and the Siege of Herat

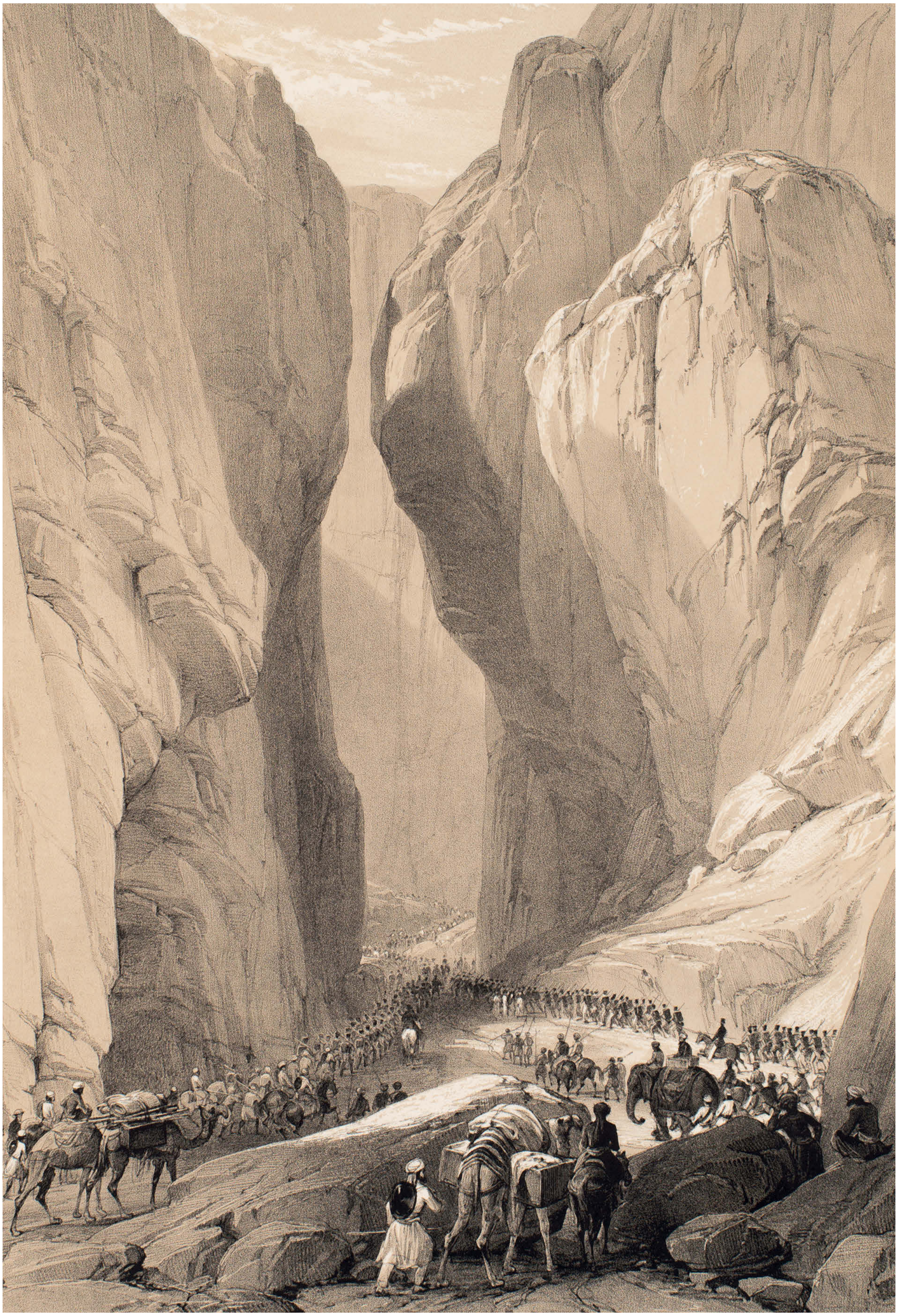
As a result of the Russian annexation of the Caucasus and the Treaty of Turkmenchay, the spectre of a Russian invasion of India, posited by Wilson and De Lacy Evans, seemed to take shape. This consequently forced prime minister Wellington and Lord Ellenborough to fundamentally rethink the situation. While Wellington was confident of being able to destroy a Russian army attacking from Persia on the other side of the Indus, he feared that Indian revolts might follow. Ellenborough, however, considered a direct Russian attack on India unlikely, expecting instead Russian advances against the Uzbek khanates. Both politicians were advocates of a 'Forward Policy', according to which British India needed strategic depth to the west and north. Along these boundaries, officially neutral but de facto pro-British buffer states would have to be set up, whose external borders would then be ensured by Great Britain.[28] Viceroy Sir John Lawrence (in office 1864–69), who rejected the Forward Policy as unnecessarily risky and expensive, was exemplary as a representative of the opposite strategy of 'Masterful Inactivity'. Instead of moving towards the enemy geographically with a Forward Policy, while moving away from their own base of operations, the British armed forces should instead await the enemy on its own border. The enemy – exhausted following a long march and weakened by guerrilla attacks by Afghan tribes – would thus run headlong into their own fresh troops. As for the risk of rebellion, this could be avoided with good governance.[29] To counter the threat, Ellenborough took two measures. First, he sought to acquire geographical knowledge of the unknown frontier areas in the north-west of India like Punjab, Sindh, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Uzbek khanates and scouted the local approach routes; second, he strove to expand trade relations to gain political influence in these border regions.[30]



81. Afghan tribal warriors with jezail rifles, which had more than three times the effective range of the British 'Brown Bess' rifles thanks to their long barrel. Burnes, *Kabul* (1843), opposite p. 61.

In 1830, Captain Arthur Conolly agreed to travel from England to India not by ship but by land, and in this manner to advance on Khiva. Although he was attacked and plundered near Astarabad (today's Gorgan), he survived and reached Herat in September, where he met Sadozai Kamran Shah.[31] His further journey then took him to Kandahar, Quetta, and through the Bolan Pass to the Indus. On this ride on horseback from the Caspian Sea to the Indus via Herat, Conolly recorded the simplest approach route for a Russian invasion. However, he also mentioned a second route, which he had not used, from Khiva to Balkh, and then over the Hindu Kush to Kabul and on through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar and Attock along the Indus. Conolly emphasised in his report to governor-general Lord Bentinck that both routes led through the territory of the Afghans, who would fanatically defend themselves and decimate any intruder, and also the hated Shiite Persians. Therefore, it would be advantageous for British India to restore the Afghan political unity, lost in 1818, with a strong leader, with whom the British could maintain good relations. Conolly recommended supporting Kamran Shah in the battle for supremacy in Afghanistan, not least because he controlled Herat.[32] Conolly thus outlined the British policy in Afghanistan until 1919. It consisted in forming a united Afghanistan into an upstream bulwark that would protect India and which, by excluding Russia, would fall within the British sphere of influence. Just as Russia had converted Persia into its own protectorate, British India was to direct the foreign policy of Afghanistan.

After Conolly had explored the remote western edge of British India, Governor Bentinck (in office 1828–35) commissioned the 25-year-old Alexander Burnes to explore the Indus. He was also to spy on the military strength of the principalities of Sindh and the Sikh state of Ranjit Singh, which was allied with the East India Company. Setting out in January 1831, Burnes proved the navigability of the Indus river system with flat-bottomed boats to Lahore. Ships, conversely, needed to be steam-operated due to the lack of wind.[33] In Lahore, Burnes was received by Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) with great ceremony. He then visited the exiled Shah Shuja,[34] who did not make a favourable impression on him: 'I do not believe the Shah possesses sufficient energy to seat himself on the throne of Cabool; and that if he did regain it, he has not the tact to discharge the duties of so difficult a situation.'[35] Burnes' critical assessment was completely borne out ten years later.[36] And just as he predicted, the Sikh Empire collapsed after Ranjit's death.[37] It was annexed by the Company in 1849, six years after the annexation of Sindh. After Burnes had made good contact with the unpredictable Ranjit Singh, he suggested that Governor Bentinck carefully take up diplomatic relations with Dost Muhammad Khan in Kabul to spy on his military strength, and then establish contact with Nasrallah Khan in Bukhara. Burnes' goal of winning Dost Muhammad for an



82. The British Indian 'Indus Army' marches through the 90-km-long Bolan Pass in March 1839. Sketch by James Atkinson (1780–1852), Superintending Surgeon of the 'Indus Army'. James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London: Graves, 1842), pl. 5.

informal alliance against Russia would soon, as of 1835, turn out to be like squaring a circle. While Dost Muhammad expected the return of the city of Peshawar, disputed since 1818 and which Ranjit Singh would finally annex in 1834, Britain was not willing to risk putting a nearby ally under pressure in favour of a potential ally further away.[38] In March 1832, Burnes left for Kabul, along with the officer James Gerard, the land surveyor Mohammed Ali, and the multilingual diplomat Mohan Lal, whose two-volume biography of Dost Muhammad is a primary resource for the First Anglo-Afghan War.[39] Burnes was warmly received in Kabul by Dost Muhammad, who hoped for the Company's support in his confrontation with Ranjit Singh. He even offered Burnes the post of Afghan commander-in-chief.[40] Burnes' group travelled on to Bamiyan, where they admired the two giant Buddhas, and then to Balkh, where they tracked down the graves of Moorcroft, Trebeck and Guthrie.[41] In late June 1832, they reached Bukhara. Here, too, the vizier received Burnes cordially. Yet he refused him access to Amir Nasrallah.[42] Burnes intended to visit Khiva next, but the vizier strongly discouraged him from doing so. Burnes thus decided to return to Bombay via Merv, Mashhad and Tehran, where he met Shah Qajar Fath'Ali (r. 1797–1834)[43].

Conolly and Burnes completed their missions and provided Lord Bentinck and the Board of Control with a wealth of invaluable geographical knowledge. But whereas Conolly advised aiding Kamran Shah of Herat in the fight for supremacy in Afghanistan, Burnes recommended backing the energetic and popular Dost Muhammad. Conversely, he noted that Kamran and Shah Shuja would not enjoy any support from the Afghans and could only be placed on the throne by a foreign power: 'It is evident, therefore, that the restauration of either Shooja ool Moolk, or Kamran, is an event of the most improbable nature. The dynasty of the Sudozyes has passed away, unless it is propped up by foreign aid; and it would be impossible to reclaim the lost provinces of the empire, without a continuation of the same assistance.'[44] Burnes, accordingly, formulated an insight that remains valid to this day: any regime that is inserted by an external power is likely to be rejected and resisted by the local population as a foreign presence and therefore cannot survive without continuous financial and military support. In the words of military historian Stephen Tanner: then comes the choice whether 'to support it [the regime] in perpetuity or to abandon it with more dire consequences than would have come before'.[45] This painful reality is especially true for tribal societies like those in Afghanistan – as the British learned twice in the years 1839–42 and 1878–80, the Soviet Union experienced in 1979–89, and as the alliance led by the United States has come to recognise since 2001. Alexander Burnes, though, would act against his better judgement a few years later and pay for it with his assassination in Kabul in the autumn of 1841.[46]

It was revealed in 1837 at the latest that the warnings from British diplomats, officers and spies of a future Russian push towards India were not the chimeras of alleged Russophobes. That year, in a coordinated pincer attack of both military and diplomatic dimensions, Russia started the project to gain control over both gateways to India: Herat and Kabul. It is not known whether Governor Lord Auckland (1784–1849, in office 1836–42) knew of Dost Muhammad's discreet establishing of contact with Russia in October 1835.[47] In any event, in the autumn of 1836, his superiors instructed him to send a special envoy to Kabul to counteract the Persian-Russian machinations. At the same time, he received carte blanche to intervene in Afghanistan (including militarily): 'The time has arrived at which it should be right for you to interfere decidedly in the affairs of Afghanistan.'[48] A game of chess now began with at least six players. Ranjit Singh wanted to keep Peshawar and to preserve the British alliance; British India hoped to neutralise the Afghan princes, especially Dost Muhammad, but without putting pressure on Ranjit Singh regarding the return of Peshawar; Persia sought to compensate for the loss of territory in the north-west through conquests in the east, particularly in Herat; and Russia strove to further expand its own sphere of influence in the direction of India. In Afghanistan, Dost Muhammad was looking for an ally who would help him to recapture Peshawar. As a result, he established open contact with Lord Auckland,[49] but also secretly approached Russia and even his arch-enemy Persia.[50] And the exiled Shah Shuja still hoped to finally find an ally who would put him on the throne in Kabul. As for the alliance possibilities: both the great powers as well as Dost Muhammad and Ranjit Singh were implacable enemies; Persia was a Russian satellite; the Sikhs counted on their friendship with the Company; and the two Afghan rivals were willing to enter any alliance as long as it was strong militarily. Two protagonists here faced a particularly painful dilemma. Specifically: if Lord Auckland decided in favour of Dost Muhammad, he would lose the goodwill of Ranjit Singh, while if he opted for the Sikhs, Dost Muhammad would open the door to the Russians. As for Dost Muhammad, if he chose an alliance with the Company, he would permanently lose Peshawar, whereas if he went with the Russians, he would have to renounce Herat.

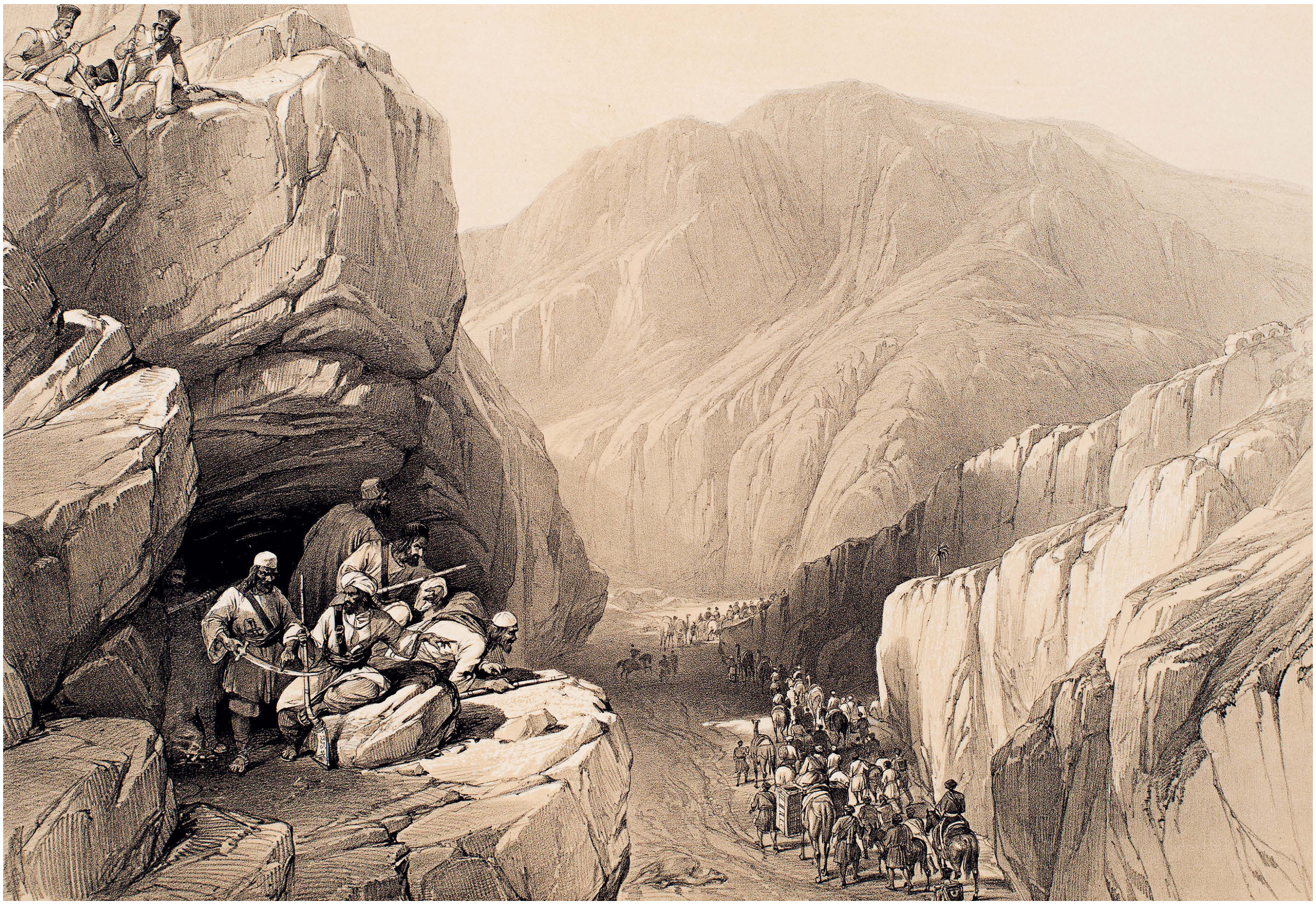
The Russian strategy was on the table in the late summer of 1837, when a strong Persian army marched on Herat. It was personally led by Mohammed Shah Qajar (r. 1834–48) and also included 2,000 Russian troops headed by the generals Berowski and Samson.[51] The Russian envoy and general Count Simonich, who had repeatedly urged Mohammad Shah Qajar (r. 1834–48) to attack Herat,[52] accompanied the army. At the same time, the young lieutenant Henry Rawlinson discovered by chance in East Persia that a Russian envoy named Ivan Vitkevich (1806–39) was on his way to Dost Muhammad in Kabul with a personal message from Tsar Nicholas.[53] Now, it became clear that Russia intended to simultaneously establish a foothold in Herat, Kandahar[54] and Kabul, and to bring the supposed bulwark Afghanistan under its control in a single stroke. This represented a serious threat to the security of British India. British India was fortunate, however, that a capable officer and spy named Eldred Pottinger (1811–43) was in Herat, and at the beginning of the siege of the city on 23 November he offered to help defend it. Shah Kamran and his vizier Yar Mohammed enthusiastically enlisted the support of the young artillerist. The ten-month siege, which lasted from 23 November 1837 to 9 September 1838, subsequently developed into a duel between Pottinger and Count Simonich, who personally oversaw the Persian attacks. Lord Auckland forcefully compelled the abandonment of the siege, when he sent a small flotilla which occupied Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf.[55] At the same time, Lieutenant Colonel Stoddart openly threatened the shah with war if the siege did not immediately end. Towards the end of their exchange, the shah said to Stoddart: ‘The fact is, if I don’t leave Herat, there will be war, is not that it?’ ‘It is war,’ Stoddart responded, ‘[it] all depends upon your Majesty’s answer.’[56] Shah Mohammad wanted in any case to avoid a two-front war against Britain and withdrew his army. Thus, thanks to the initiative of a lieutenant and skilful gunboat diplomacy, Great Britain won a strategic victory without any losses – and humiliated its Russian enemy in the process.[57]

Coinciding with the start of the Siege of Herat, Lord Auckland’s special envoy Alexander Burnes arrived in Kabul to negotiate with Dost Muhammad.[58] While the amir preferred an agreement with the Company over a deal with Russia, Burnes’ negotiations were doomed from the start. The amir insisted on the return of Peshawar and Lord Auckland absolutely refused to put pressure on the Sikhs for this reason. Shortly after Russian envoy Ivan Vitkevich likewise arrived in Kabul on 19 December 1837,[59] Auckland instructed Burnes that Dost Muhammad would have to renounce Peshawar. Auckland had probably already decided to forcefully replace Dost Muhammad with Shah Shuja on the recommendation of Captain Claude Wade, the British envoy at the court of Ranjit Singh.[60] He sent a final ultimatum on 20 January 1838. The amir had to immediately expel Vitkevich, otherwise Auckland would break off negotiations. And if the amir entered into a political agreement with Russia, ‘the act will be considered a direct breach of friendship with the British Government’; this was an indirect threat of war.[61] A month later, on 21 February, Auckland confirmed that Peshawar belonged to Ranjit Singh and that Vitkevich needed to be expelled. When Dost Muhammad responded to these two ultimatums with an official, ceremonial reception of the Russian ambassador, Burnes yielded to Vitkevich and left Kabul on 25 April.[62] Meanwhile, foreign minister Lord Palmerston (1784–1865, in office 1830–34, 1835–41, 1846–51) unconditionally demanded Russia’s dismissal of Simonich and Vitkevich and the nullification of the agreements concluded with Dost Muhammad and the leaders in Kandahar.[63] Tsar Alexander relented in May 1838, whereupon Count Nesselrode made the two men into scapegoats. Simonich, he claimed, had acted on his own and Vitkevich was merely an adventurer and intriguer. The forsaken Vitkevich subsequently committed suicide.[64]

With the abandonment of the Siege of Herat and the cancelling of the recently concluded Russian-Afghan agreement, Great Britain scored a brilliant dual victory without losing a single soldier. But Auckland and the Board of Control did not appreciate that Dost Muhammad was now completely isolated and that, if he wanted to keep his throne, he had to be prepared to compromise with regard to Peshawar. Instead of continuing to exploit Great Britain’s success through skilful diplomacy and to put the war preparations on hold, Auckland signed the Tripartite Treaty of Simla with Ranjit Singh and Shuja on 25 June 1838. The Company undertook to put Shuja on the throne of Kabul, even though he had not achieved a single success in 30 years. The latter, in turn, definitively renounced the Afghan claims to Peshawar, Kashmir and Sindh as well as his rights to an independent foreign policy. He also pledged to fight any enemy who attacked the Sikhs or the Company. The treaty thus effectively downgraded Afghanistan to an Anglo-Sikh protectorate.[65] Auckland then proceeded to make a public declaration of war in the infamous Simla Manifesto of 1 October,[66] despite the serious reservations expressed by experts on India. For example, ‘The Duke of Wellington said that our difficulties would commence where our military successes ended’ and ‘spoke of the folly of occupying a land of rocks, sands, deserts and snow.’ Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote almost prophetically: ‘If you send 27,000 men up the Durra-i Bolan [Pass] to Candahar . . . I have no doubt you will take Candahar and Caubul and set up Sooja; but for maintaining him . . . among a turbulent people like the Afghans, I own it seems to me to be hopeless. . . . I fear you will weaken the position against Russia.’[67] Auckland stubbornly held fast and turned the fresh diplomatic victory into one of Great Britain’s most bitter military defeats of the nineteenth century.

3. Dost Muhammad and the First Anglo-Afghan War: British Victory Transformed into Defeat

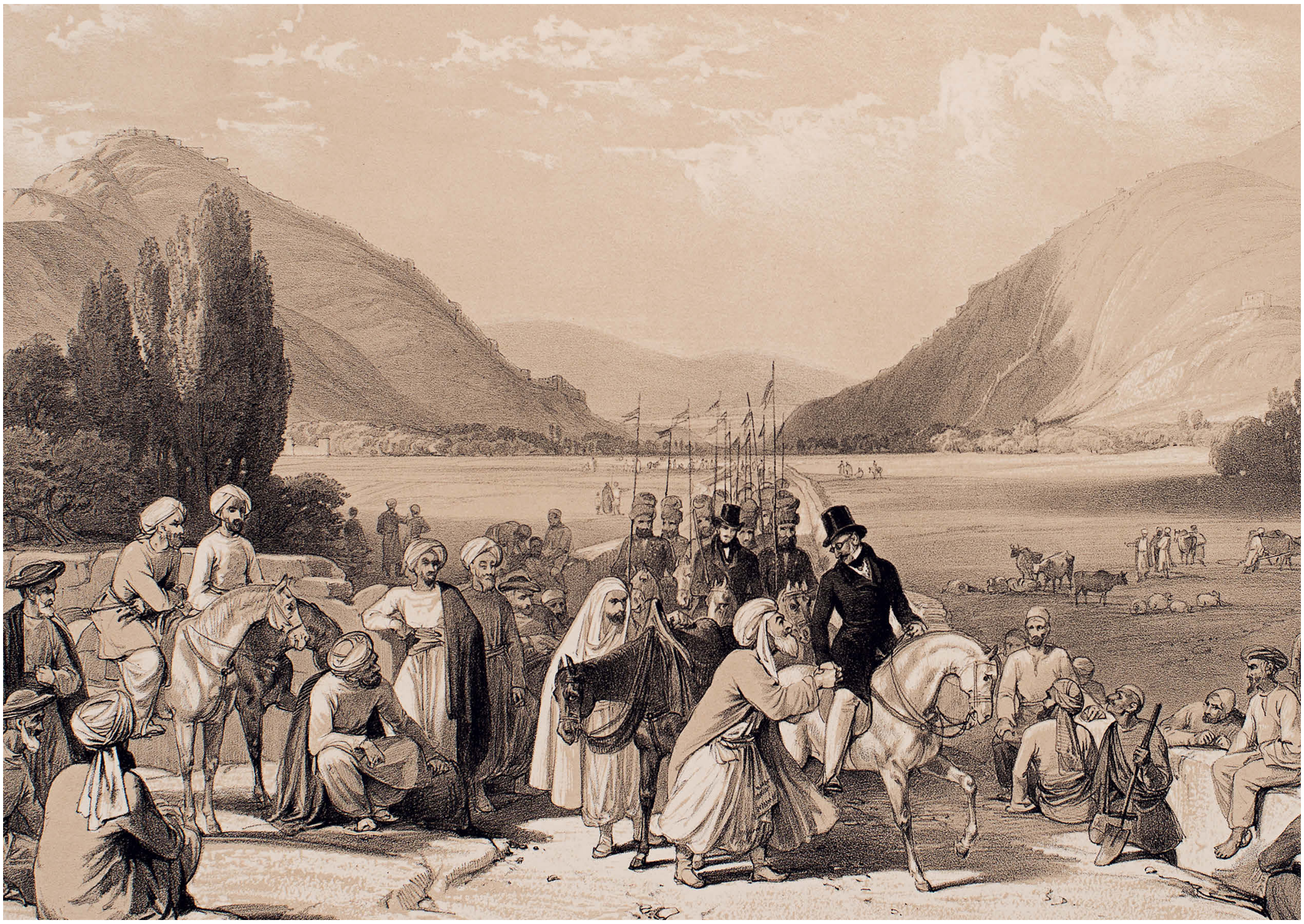
From a military standpoint, the invading army, called the 'Indus Army', was under the command of Lieutenant General Sir John Keane (1781–1844). From a political standpoint, it fell under the purview of envoy Sir William Macnaghten (1793–1841). Macnaghten's deputy was the now knighted Sir Alexander Burnes, who took part in the expedition against his better judgement. Although Britain was a war-tested colonial power, its army was not equal to the task. It consisted of 15,000 British and Indian soldiers and 6,000 followers of Shah Shuja, along with a disproportionately large baggage train of 38,000 men. The Indus Army thus resembled one of the huge military campaigns dating back to the Mughal in the seventeenth century. While Keane proved to be an able strategist, his two successors – Sir Willoughby Cotton (1783–1860) and William Elphinstone (1782–1842) – turned out to be incompetent, and, indeed, in the case of Elphinstone, senile. Both the light firearms of the British and their battle tactics dated back to the Napoleonic Wars. The standard rifle was the 'Brown Bess', a muzzle-loading smoothbore flintlock musket with an effective range of 135 m. It was hopelessly inferior, however, to the Afghan *jezail*, a long-barrelled matchlock that fired slowly, but had an effective range of 450 m (fig. 81). The Afghan snipers fought with several jezail guns that were loaded continuously by their young assistants, or they rode with several loaded guns into battle. Until General Pollock's counter-offensive in the spring of 1842, the British also refrained when marching through the mountain passes to occupy the ridges in advance. In pitched battles, the



83. Baluchi sharpshooters aiming in spring 1839 at British Indian troops passing through the Kajur Pass south-east of Quetta while being attacked by Indian sepoys from above. The picture illustrates the need to secure the crests of passes while one's own troops march through. James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London: Graves, 1842), pl. 6.

infantry fought in densely crowded squares, making them an easy target for the Afghan snipers who stood outside the range of their Brown Bess rifles. In the words of eyewitness Vincent Eyre: 'All have heard of the British SQUARES at Waterloo, which defied the repeated desperate onsets of Napoleon's choicest cavalry. At Beymaroo [Kabul, 23 November 1841] we formed squares to resist the distant fire of infantry, thus presenting a solid mass against the aim of perhaps the best marksmen in the world.'[68] To the extent that the Afghan foot-soldiers sat behind horsemen and were thus carried into the battle, the Afghan infantry also enjoyed a tremendous mobility advantage.[69] The British defeat at Beymaroo reflected the mismatch between a Napoleonic operational doctrine and the precursor of a motorised infantry. In the end, the invaders faced white-clad Ghazi, fanatical jihadists, and forerunners to contemporary mujahideen who could only be stopped with cannon and gun salvos.[70]

As Ranjit Singh prohibited the British army at the last moment from marching through Punjab, it had to invade Kandahar via Sindh, the Bolan Pass and Quetta. When it arrived in Kandahar on 25 April 1839, the British immediately realised that Shah Shuja enjoyed no support from tribal leaders and the population. He was despised as a puppet of the invaders.[71] The storming of the solid fortress of Ghazna on 22 July succeeded thanks to Mohan Lal, who convinced an Afghan to reveal which of the gates had not been walled up. A mine was affixed there, causing the gate to collapse and the fortress to fall.[72] Lieutenant Colonel Wade (1794–1861) then defeated Dost Muhammad's son Akbar (1816– *ca.* 1845/47), and, on 7 August, the army and **Shah Shuja** (second reign 1839–42) marched into Kabul after Dost Muhammad's troops had deserted. In Kabul too, Shah Shuja was met with contempt: 'there was no popular enthusiasm. [. . .] It was more like a funeral procession than the entry of a King into the capital of his restored dominions.'[73]



84. Amir Dost Muhammad Khan surrenders to the British ambassador Macnaghten on 3 November 1840. James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London: Graves, 1842), pl. 18.

Macnaghten immediately recognised that Shah Shuja would never survive without British bayonets. Auckland, however, ruled out deploying such a large army outside of India, especially given that Kabul could not sustain it. Therefore, General Keane left Kabul with the bulk of the army in October. He handed over command of the 8,000 remaining soldiers to General Cotton, who was replaced in December 1840 by the senile and completely overwhelmed General Elphinstone.[74] In his choice of camp for the remainder of the army, the inept Cotton put in place the first cornerstone for the disaster that followed in the late autumn of 1841. Instead of occupying the robust and spacious fortress of Bala Hissar that commanded Kabul and the surrounding area, Cotton had the cantonment built outside the city in marshy areas that were dominated on all sides by hills and three Afghan strongholds. Moreover, the camp lay within reach of the jezail rifles from two of these fortresses; conversely, these same fortresses were out of reach for the obsolete Brown Bess rifles. The marshes also prevented the use of the cavalry. Worse still, the ammunition depot and the food reserves were *outside* the camp, while the army treasury was within the city. Cotton, supported by Macnaghten, ignored all the advice of his officers and flagrantly violated several basic military principles.[75]

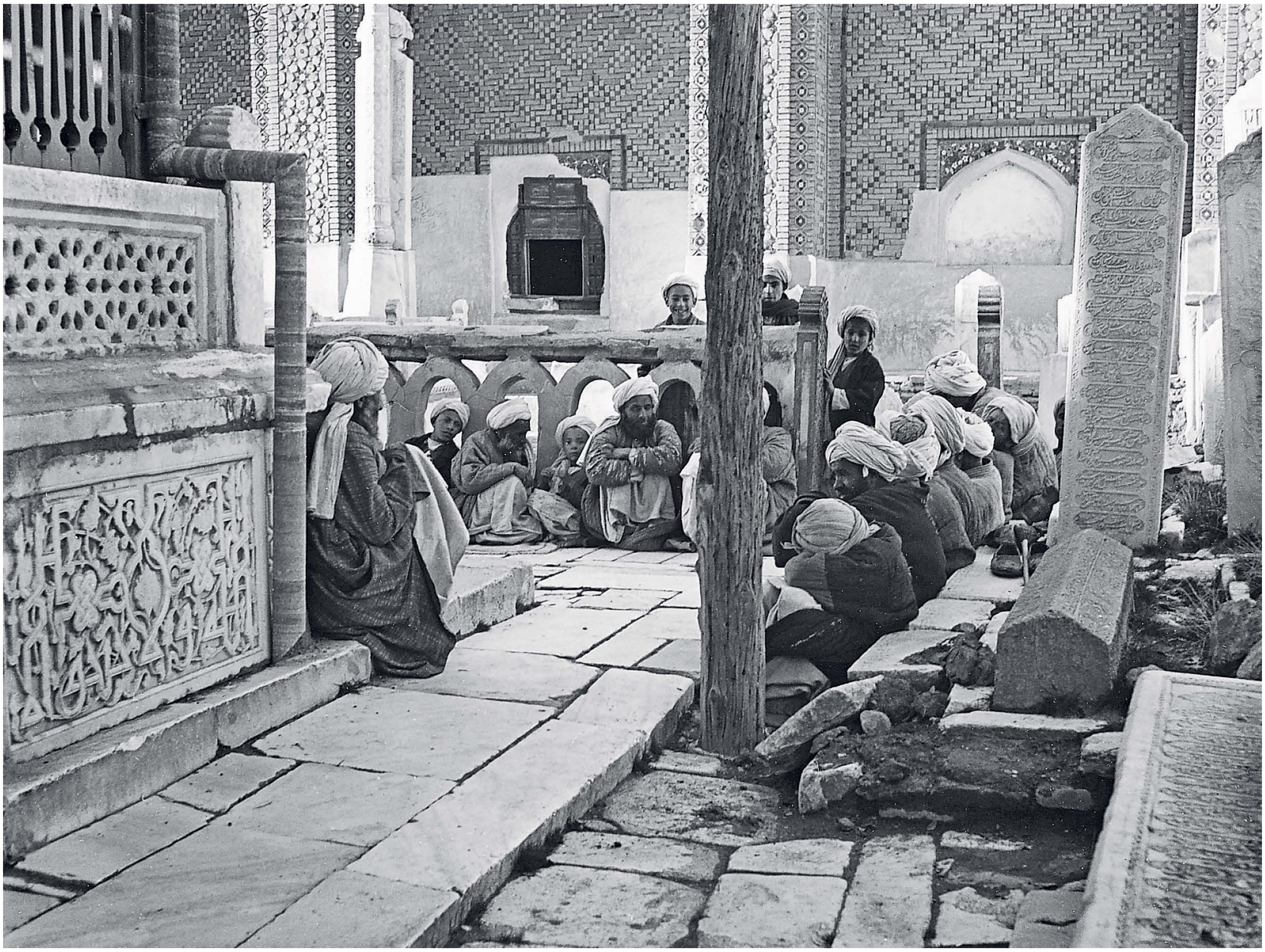
The year 1840 was relatively quiet, not least because Macnaghten possessed sufficient funds to buy peace with leading tribal leaders. News of the failed Russian expedition to Khiva in winter 1839/40 was auspicious, as was the surrender of Dost Muhammad on 3 November 1840. In the wake of this, Macnaghten and Burnes allowed themselves to ignore the local warning signs in the summer of 1841 and to imagine themselves in safety.[76] The accomplished Major General William Nott (1782–1845), stationed in Kandahar, had a much more realistic view of the situation. In a private letter of 29 September 1840, he wrote: 'We are become hated by the people. [. . .] The conduct of 10,001 politicals has ruined our case and bared the throat of every European in this country to the sword and knife of the revengeful Affghan and bloody Belooch and, when [i.e. unless] several regiments be quickly sent, not a man will be left to note the fall of his comrades.'[77] A change of government in London ultimately lit the powder keg's fuse. At the end of August, the Whig government of Lord Melbourne fell and the new Conservative prime minister, Sir Robert Peel, promptly decided to cut in half the financial resources that had been made available to Shah Shuja and Macnaghten and to withdraw the troops. By the end of September, Macnaghten was forced to halve the payments to the eastern Ghilzais, who dominated the passes to Jalalabad. In response, they rebelled. This was the signal for a general uprising against the hated shah and the British, which first erupted in Charikar north of Kabul. The 300-strong garrison was completely massacred, except for Major Pottinger and another officer.[78]

Although between November 1841 and mid-January 1842 only about 40 officers and soldiers survived of the 6,000-strong army, scholars are well informed about these tragic weeks thanks to the diary of Major General (at the time Lieutenant) Sir Vincent Eyre (1811–81).[79] The uprising in Kabul – coinciding with the one in Charikar – began on 2 November with the murder of Alexander Burnes and the looting of the army treasury. Two days later, the supply depot was lost, sparking an immediate lack of food.[80] General Elphinstone remained agonised by indecision and was unable to deploy his still-powerful army, while his deputy, Brigadier John Shelton (1791–1845) sulked and gave free rein to his contempt for his superior. Instead of requisitioning supplies in Kabul and occupying the fortress of Bala Hissar, as Macnaghten and various officers insisted,[81] or fighting his way to Jalalabad, Elphinstone did nothing and let Burnes' murder go unpunished. As a result of the general's blatant lack of leadership, discipline began to fall by the wayside, and on 13 November, Muslim gunners from the Punjab were the first to mutiny. Then, during a sortie under Shelton, the infantrymen ignored the attack orders and retreated in chaos.[82] The ultimate disaster struck the besieged on 23 November, when, in a desperate attack on the elevated Afghan position of Bemaru (Beymaroo), Brigadier Shelton committed several grave errors. Instead of taking the surrounding peaks in a night attack and securing the positions with stone walls, he attacked with half the army during the day. He then ignored the general command to always use guns in pairs, and took only one gun, which promptly overheated and repeatedly could not fire for an extended period of time. When the Afghan cavalry appeared on the battlefield, he formed his infantry into two squares. Since they were immobile, they were ideal targets for enemy snipers. And as the Afghan infantry divisions were advancing, the Indian foot-soldiers refused to follow their officers in a counter-attack. The front square broke up first, and the second soon followed. The survivors flocked haphazardly back to camp. But the victorious Afghan commander Osman Khan refrained from pursuing the fleeing soldiers. If he had gone after them, as Vincent Eyre maintains, not a single soldier would have survived the day, and the cantonment would also have been lost.[83]

Instead of pulling back with the remaining soldiers to the fortress of Bala Hissar, Elphinstone ordered the envoy to negotiate a withdrawal with Dost Muhammad's son Akbar. Akbar lured Macnaghten into a trap and killed him personally on 23 December. Before this, Elphinstone had refused to provide Macnaghten with a bodyguard.[84] In Mohan Lal's judgement, this was 'the loss of the British honor in Central Asia'.[85] Since neither Elphinstone nor Shelton were capable of responding, only a coup attempt by Major Pottinger – who wanted to fight all the way to Jalalabad with the guns, but without the baggage train – would have saved the expedition.[86] But Pottinger was not a mutineer and he noted with resignation in his diary: 'I was obliged [by Elphinstone] to negotiate for the safety of a parcel of fools who were doing all they could to ensure their destruction.'[87] The now clearly senile Elphinstone delivered most of the guns to the treacherous Akbar and received in return the vague promise of a unhindered withdrawal. On 6 January 1842, in snow and bitter cold, the death march of 4,500 soldiers and officers and 12,000 camp servants began. A week later, all were dead, except the doctor William Brydon.[88] Shah Shuja was recklessly left to his own fate. The Afghan tribal warriors, who had been fanaticised by the mullahs, tasted blood and fell like hungry wolves upon the disorderly fleeing soldiers. The army was destroyed on 12 January 1842 at the Jugdulluk Pass, south-east of Kabul. The next day, the final stand took place near Gandamak, where the remaining 65 soldiers and officers fell.[89] On 5 April Shah Shuja was assassinated and his son **Fateh Jang** (r. 1842) was installed as an impotent and merely nominal khan. His vizier was none other than Akbar Khan, the arch-enemy of his father.[90]

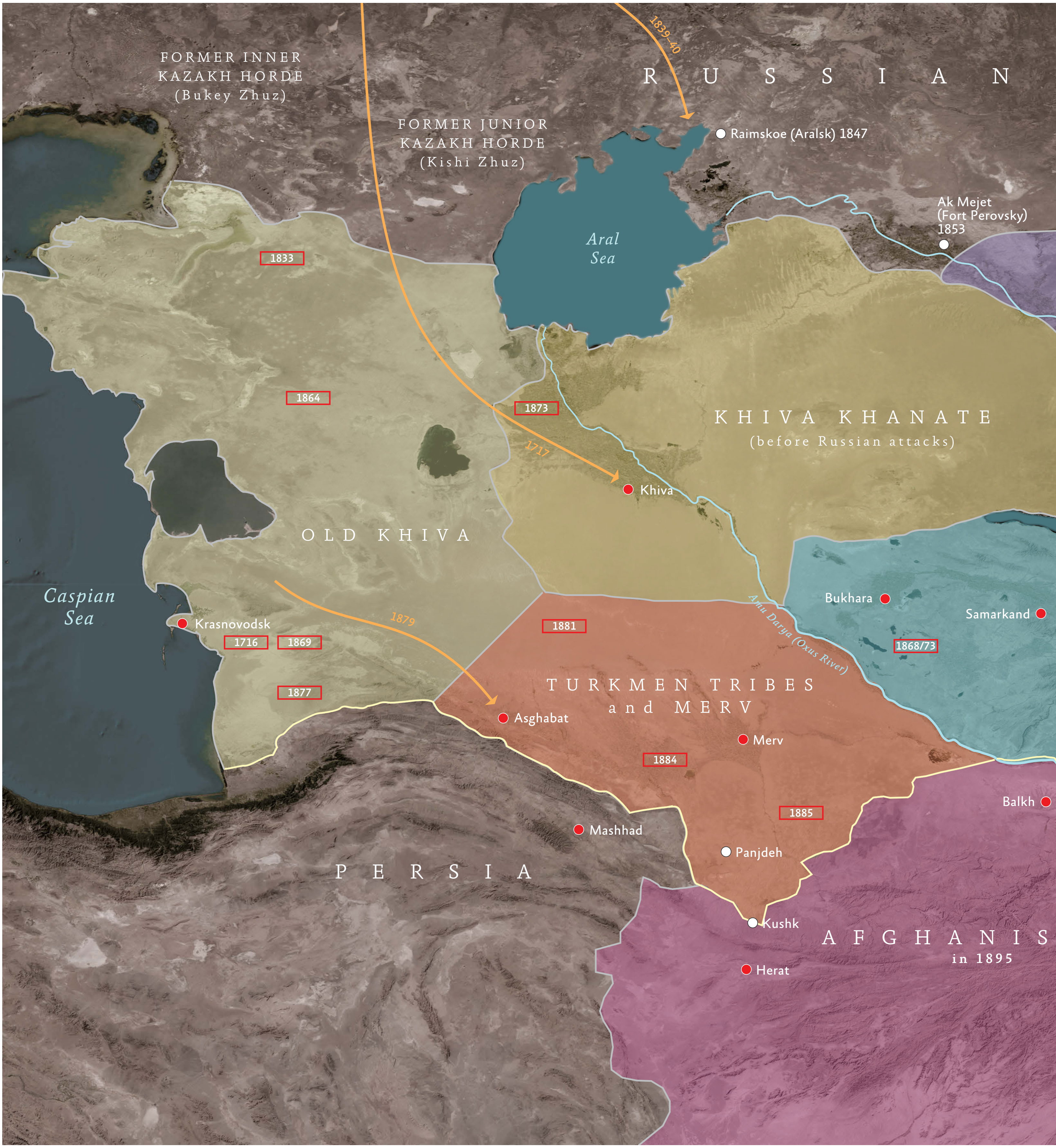
Blame for the disaster went, first of all, to Lord Auckland, who wanted to impose an unpopular ruler on the Afghans and had appointed the weak generals Cotton and Elphinstone as commanders, rather than, for example, the capable generals Pollock, Nott or Sale; second, to the stingy financial policy of the new Peel government; third, to the blind optimism of Macnaghten and Burnes; and, fourth, the incompetent officers Elphinstone, Cotton and Shelton. General Nott in Kandahar and Brigadier Sir Robert Sale (1782–1845) in Jalalabad both demonstrated that Kabul could have been held on to with intelligent planning and warfare. They each ignored Elphinstone's orders to vacate their strongholds and abandon Afghanistan and instead successfully defended their positions. On 7 April 1842, Sale even launched a victorious attack and blasted apart Akbar Khan's circumvallation.[91] Meanwhile, in February, Auckland had been replaced by Ellenborough. He wanted to pull out of Afghanistan entirely, but first had to free Sale in Jalalabad. For this task, he commissioned General George Pollock (1786–1872), who arrived in Jalalabad in mid-April, after occupying the ridge of mountains at the Khyber Pass. He and Nott, however, refused to pull back without having freed the British hostages being held north of Kabul. Wellington intervened and wrote to tell Ellenborough that abandoning the hostages was unacceptable. He further remarked: 'It is impossible to impress upon you too strongly the notion of the importance of Restoration and Reputation in the East.'[92] Ellenborough relented, and Pollock reached Kabul on 15 September. Nott arrived two days later. The prisoners were freed, and as retribution for Macnaghten's murder, they burned down the bazaar of Kabul.[93] On 12 October, the British and Fateh Jang, who did not want to experience the same fate as his father, left Kabul and evacuated Afghanistan. Now, **Shapur** (r. 1842), another one of Shah Shujah's sons, ascended the throne as an impotent ruler. Soon thereafter, however, he was forced to flee to exile in Peshawar. Despite the victories of Pollock and Nott, British policy in Afghanistan was an utter failure – not least because **Dost Muhammad** (second rule 1842/43–63) took power once again in Kabul, with his son Akbar (d. *ca.* 1845/47) as vizier, after being released by the British.[94] The only upshot of this unnecessary war was that, instead of forming an anti-Russian bulwark, the Afghans now had a passionate hatred for the British. What is more, the myth of British invincibility was in tatters. The British had to accept that, while it was easy to occupy this poor and barren land, it was virtually impossible to hold on to it. Afghanistan's geography is ideal for guerrilla warfare: 'No European troops . . . are any match whatever for the Afghan troops as mountaineers.'[95] In addition, Auckland's wilfully initiated war and Elphinstone's incompetent leadership caused a deep rift between the Indian soldiers and the British elite. As Pottinger noted in 1842: 'If the Government does not take some decided steps to recover the affections of the Army, I really think a single spark will blow the sepoys into mutiny.'[96] His prediction would come true fifteen years later in the 'Sepoy Mutiny'.

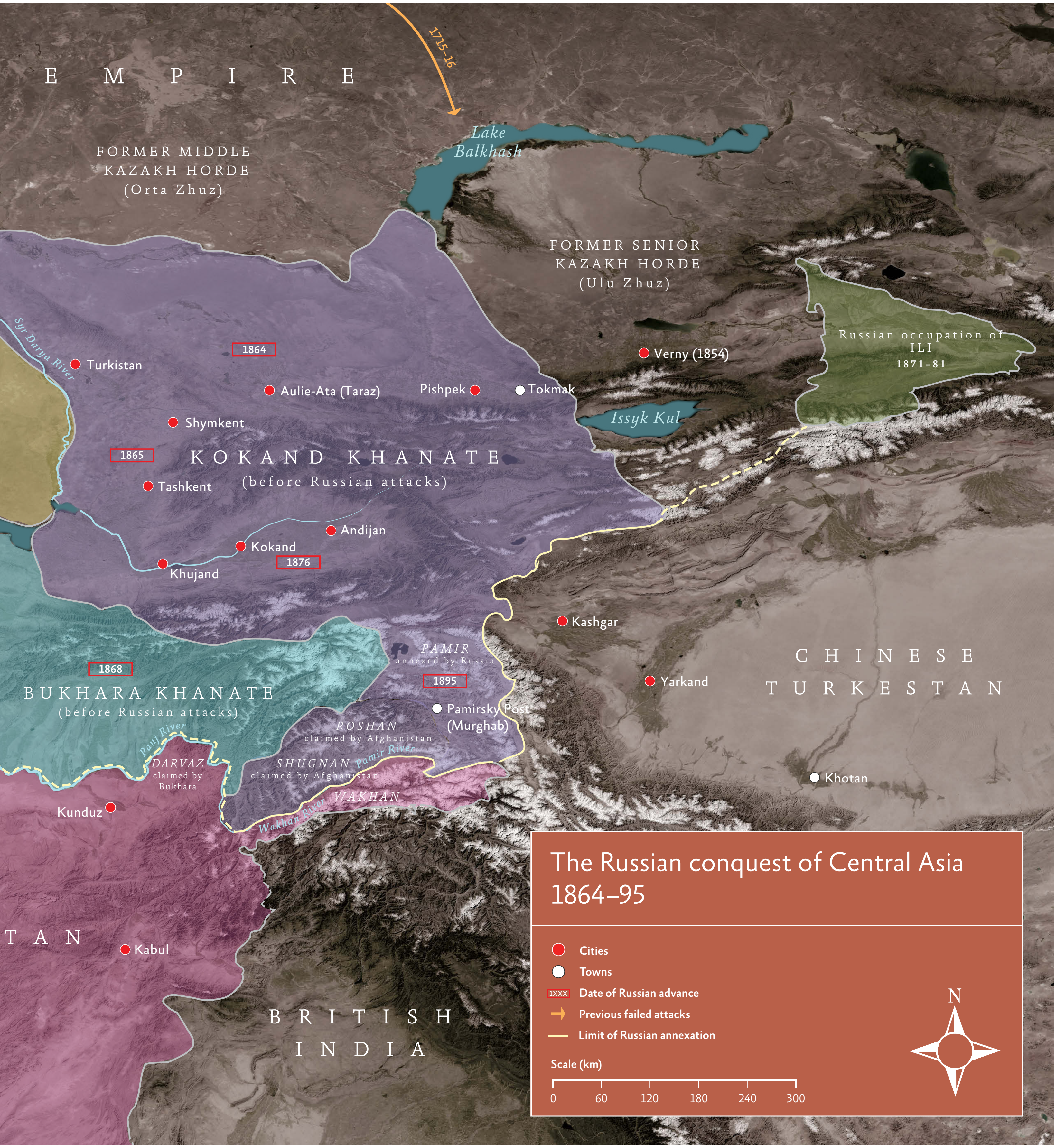
Dost Muhammad's most urgent task was to recapture those areas which had slipped from Kabul's control since the war in 1839–42. Between 1850 and 1855, he reconquered Balkh, Kunduz and Badakhshan to the north of the Hindu Kush, and then Kandahar in 1856.[97] His entry into the war in 1848 on the side of the Sikhs for the purpose of claiming Peshawar failed, however. In February 1849, the Sikhs suffered a crushing defeat against the British, and the amir just barely escaped. Afghanistan and the British now had a common border, established in the Treaty of Peshawar on 30 March 1855. Dost Muhammad recognised Peshawar as a British possession and vowed 'to be the friend of the friends and enemy of the enemies of the Honorable East India Company'.[98] According to the second Baron Montagu of Beaulieu (1866–1929), India now shared, from a strategic point of view, a common border with Central Asia: 'India is left behind and Central Asia is entered when the Indus is crossed.'[99]



85. Courtyard of the 'Gazar Gah' mausoleum in the north-east of Herat. On the left, the base is visible of the tomb of the Hanbali scholar and Sufi Mawlana Khwaja Abdullah Ansari (1006–89); behind on the right stands the stele at the head of the tomb of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan (1793–1863). Shah Rukh founded the mausoleum in the first half of the fifteenth century; the white marble panels and broken balustrades are said to have originated from the Musalla complex.[16] Photo by Rudolf Stuckert, 1942, RS 406. Foundation Phototheca Afghanica, Bubendorf, Switzerland.

The amir's decision to back down soon paid off. The following year, Persia, encouraged by renewed calls from Russia, occupied the city of Herat, whereupon Britain declared war on Persia on 1 November 1856. British troops landed in Kharg and Bushehr and marched inland to Ahvaz. In the Peace of Paris of 4 March 1857, Persia had to renounce Herat and evacuate the town, which was handed over to a governor of the Afghan Barakzai. During the war, British-Afghan relations were strengthened by the Treaty of Friendship of 26 January 1857.[100] Dost Muhammad showed his gratitude for Great Britain's support by remaining neutral during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857–58, also known as the Indian Mutiny. He had rightly anticipated that Britain would make every effort to put down the revolt.[101] On the other hand, Russia was left in such a weakened state by the lost Crimean War that it could not actively exploit the Indian uprising. In May 1863, Dost Muhammad finally succeeded in reclaiming Herat. Here, he more or less established the boundaries of the modern state of Afghanistan that exist today. The Afghan ruler was able to successfully confront a militarily superior colonial power and compel it to seek his friendship. Dost Muhammad died in June during the victory celebrations. A six-year civil war then broke out.


FORMER INNER KAZAKH HORDE (Bukey Zhuz)
1839–40
R U S S I A N
FORMER JUNIOR KAZAKH HORDE (Kishi Zhuz)
Raimskoe (Aralsk) 1847
Aral Sea
Ak Mejet (Fort Perovsky) 1853
1833
1864
1873
1717
KHIVA KHANATE (before Russian attacks)
Khiva
OLD KHIVA
Caspian Sea
Krasnovodsk
1716
1869
1879
1877
1881
Bukhara
Samarkand
1868/73
Amu Darya (Oxus River)
TURKMEN TRIBES and MERV
Asghabat
Merv
1884
Balkh
1885
Mashhad
Panjdeh
PERSIA
Kushk
AFGHANIS
in 1895
Herat



The Russian conquest of Central Asia 1864–95

- ● Cities
- ○ Towns
- 1XXX Date of Russian advance
- → Previous failed attacks
- — Limit of Russian annexation

E M P I R E
1715–16
Lake Balkhash
FORMER MIDDLE KAZAKH HORDE (Orta Zhuz)
FORMER SENIOR KAZAKH HORDE (Ulu Zhuz)
Russian occupation of ILI 1871–81
Verny (1854)
Syr Darya River
Turkistan
1864
Aulie-Ata (Taraz)
Pishpek
Tokmak
Issyk Kul
Shymkent
1865
KOKAND KHANATE (before Russian attacks)
Tashkent
Andijan
Kokand
1876
Khujand
Kashgar
PAMIR annexed by Russia
1895
Yarkand
CHINESE TURKESTAN
1868
BUKHARA KHANATE (before Russian attacks)
Panj River
Pamirsky Post (Murghab)
ROSHAN claimed by Afghanistan
DARVAZ claimed by Bukhara
SHUGNAN claimed by Afghanistan
Pamir River
WAKHAN
Wakhan River
Khotan
Kunduz
T A N
Kabul
BRITISH INDIA
Scale (km)
0
60
120
180
240
300
N

4. The March to the Oxus: the Russian Conquest of the Uzbek Khanates

After Russia and Britain had suffered grave defeats in Central Asia, the tensions between the two great powers regarding Central Asia subsided somewhat. Indeed, when Tsar Nicholas visited Great Britain in 1844, he assured the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen, that Russia recognised the independence of the three Uzbek khanates.[102] Nevertheless, as may be surmised by Russia's capture of the fortress Ak Mejet (Fort Perovsk, today's Kyzyl Orda) in 1853 and the erection of the fortress of Verny (Almaty) in 1854,[103] Russia did not lose sight of its long-term goal of advancing to the Oxus. Fort Perovsk formed the south-eastern stronghold of the Orenburg–Syr Darya fortress line, and Verny the end of the West Siberian line, beginning at the Ishim River and running through Semipalatinsk. As Major General Romanovsky reported, there was a gap between the two forts of 930 km, which is why 'it was resolved by a Special Committee [as early as 1854] and confirmed by the Emperor, to connect the then established Syr-Daria line with the newly advanced Siberian line of frontiers'.[104] The Crimean War of 1853–56 prevented Russia from realising the imperial command – only the two Kokandian fortresses of Tokmak and Pishpek (Bishkek) in today's Kyrgyzstan were taken.[105] After the war, the pacification of the Northern Caucasus and the securing of Russian dominance in south-east Siberia had first priority, and absorbed all Russian military resources. As Tsar Alexander II stressed in a directive to General Alexander Baryatinsky (1814–79) in the late 1850s: 'Only after Russia has subjugated the Caucasian nations and established her preponderance in the Amur Basin [will she] be able to go ahead in Central Asia.'[106] In 1859, the leading North-Caucasian resistance fighter Imam Shamil surrendered and, in the following year, Russia secured her possessions in the Amur region through the Convention of Peking.[107] The last major uprising in the Caucasus came to an end in 1864, thus clearing the way for a march to the Oxus.

On 20 December 1863, Tsar Alexander issued the order to close the gap between Fort Perovsk and Verny by means of a military offensive against Kokand. As the military historian and later minister of war General Alexey Kuropatkin (1848–1925) emphasised however, a further aim was to conquer Shymkent and Tashkent.[108] Underlying this offensive directive was a strategic memorandum from War Minister Dmitry Milyutin (1816–1912, in office 1861–81) to the tsar on 7 July 1863, which stated: 'In case of a European war we ought particularly to value the occupation of that region, which would bring us to the northern border of India . . . By ruling Kokand we can constantly threaten England's East-Asian possessions. This is especially important, since only in that quarter can we be dangerous to this enemy of ours.'[109] Russia wanted to coerce Great Britain to abandon the hated London Straits Convention of 1841. This convention (which was confirmed by the Treaty of Paris of 1856) prohibited all warships other than those of the sultan and his allies from passing through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. As a consequence, Russia was denied access to the Mediterranean.[110] The two imperial decrees of 1854 and 1863 leave no doubt that the ultimate and long-term strategic goal of Russia in Central Asia was to finally put pressure on Britain's Achilles heel – British India. Britain's maritime supremacy was thus to be challenged at the borders of Afghanistan. The countless assurances sent to London that there was no intention to conquer Tashkent, Bukhara, Khiva and

86. The Russian General Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufmann (1818–82) was the governor-general and commander-in-chief of the Russian troops in Turkestan, 1867–82. He was the architect of the continuous Russian dominion over vast areas of West Central Asia until 1991. *Turkestan Album*, commissioned by General von Kaufmann in 1872.

Merv were mere smokescreens, for this is exactly what happened. As the former foreign minister and future prime minister Lord Palmerston (1784–1865) aptly stated in 1853: 'The policy and practice of the Russian Government has always been to push forward its encroachments as fast and far as the apathy or want of firmness of other Governments would allow it to go, but always to stop and retire when it met with determined resistance, and then to wait for the next favourable opportunity to make another spring on the intended victim. In furtherance of this policy, the Russian Government has always had two strings on its bow – moderate language and disinterested professions at St. Petersburg and at London; active aggression by its agents on the scene of operation.'[111] The Russian plans to invade India of 1854, 1855, 1869, 1877 and 1878 demonstrate precisely what Russia had in mind.[112] In the view of the present author, the Russian annexation of Crimea in the spring of 2014 and the outbreak of fighting in eastern Ukraine show that Palmerston's assessment is still valid today.

Of course, it was not just geopolitical considerations that triggered Russia's southward advance, but also economic ones. The abolition of serfdom in 1861 liberated about 20 million peasants, but they did not receive any land – instead, they had to buy it themselves on credit. As a result, landless peasants gradually penetrated into the Kazakh steppes. Second, the expanding Russian industry needed new markets, as the purchasing power of the domestic market was too small and the products were not competitive on the world market. Russia identified these markets in Central Asia, which for the time being was shielded from the British India export economy due to the Hindu Kush. In contrast to the maritime power Great Britain, which advocated free trade, the land power Russia pursued a protectionist economic policy: high import duties impeded foreign imports, which, in turn, determined the political control of the markets. In addition, the cotton-producing Uzbek khanates became increasingly important to Russia in the early 1860s, as the American Civil War of 1861–65 severely hampered American cotton exports. Russia consequently became dependent on cotton imports from Central Asia. Since cotton was vital for the textile industry, Russia had to ensure that the Central Asian cotton market did not fall under the control of its arch-enemy Great Britain. As General Romanovsky reported, high-quality American cotton was also cultivated in Central Asia, where it replaced local short-fibre cotton.[113] Cotton became even more important in the 1880s when it found its way into ammunition production.

In the early summer of 1864, moves were made to implement the imperial directive of 20 December 1863. Starting from the Syr Darya line, Major General Verofkin conquered the city of Turkistan, and Major General Chernyayev, starting from the Siberian line, conquered Aulie-Ata and Shymkent, and, in May–June 1865, the important city of Tashkent.[114] The military objective of closing the gap between the two fortress lines was thus achieved, though not the political and economic objectives. Russia was determined to prevent Bukhara from taking advantage of Kokand's defeats for the purpose of territorial expansion and acquiring control itself of Kokand and its cotton plantations. General D. Romanovsky therefore continued with the war, capturing the Bukharan border fortress of Jizak, claiming victory at Irdjar, and conquering the cities of Khojand and Ura Tyube.[115] Russia annexed the northern half of the khanate of Kokand (including Tashkent) and made the southern half into a protectorate in January 1868. To counteract the British fears, foreign minister Alexander Gorchakov (1798–1883) had written a memorandum in November 1864 to explain the Russian policy. He justified the Russian advance on the grounds that all 'civilised' countries needed to secure their borders with a 'half-savage nomad population' by subduing it. This simply displaced the problem, however, for the pacified nomads bordered themselves on other half-savage tribes. 'The United States

87. Sabre with gilt scabbard decorated with pearls, diamonds, emeralds and rubies. Manufactured in Bukhara in the 1880s. Gift to Tsar Alexander III (r. 1881–94) from an embassy of Bukhara. Inv. No. B.O.-172. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia.

of America, France in Algeria, Holland in her colonies, England in India – all have been irresistibly forced, less by ambition than by imperious necessity, into this onward march, where the greatest difficulty is to know when to stop.'[116] The logic of this Asian policy implied that Russia would continue to subdue tribes and small states until it was hindered by a major power. In November, Gorchakov affirmed that the border near Shymkent would be drawn along the northern edge of Kokand's densely populated and agricultural areas. As early as the following June, however, Russia conquered Tashkent, located further south.

This strategy behind Russian foreign policy was based on the experience of the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century and the corresponding conviction that borders with tribal and mobile societies would always be vulnerable. There was an unbridgeable chasm between agrarian Russia and its pastoralist neighbours in the south-east: Russia wanted secure borders and trade routes, the pastoralists free access to pastures. Furthermore, the latter respected state boundaries and the integrity of trading caravans only against tribute payments. Since Tsar Ivan IV, Russian policy had aimed at pacifying its south-eastern neighbours and making them sedentary, a process which was accelerated by the settlement of Russian Cossacks and peasants.

With the appointment of General Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufmann (1818–82) as governor-general of Turkestan in July 1867, the conquest of the Uzbek khanates continued as planned. Kaufmann was given far-reaching powers: He could conduct diplomatic negotiations in Central Asia, declare war, and conclude binding contracts with neighbouring countries.[117] When Muzaffar al-Din (r. 1860–85) of Bukhara succumbed to the pressure of the mullahs and declared 'holy war' on Russia in April 1868, Kaufmann defeated his army and seized Samarkand on 2 May. In doing so, he controlled the Zeravshan River and thus Bukhara's water supply.[118] The amir capitulated on 30 June and surrendered to Kaufmann's conditions: he had to forfeit Samarkand, open access to the Bukhara market to Russian traders, and pay a war indemnity. He was allowed to keep his throne and remained nominally a sovereign ruler, but soon became a vassal of Russia. However, after the amir independently resumed negotiations with Afghanistan, Khiva and the Ottoman Empire from 1870 to 1872 without informing Kaufmann, Kaufmann forced him in 1873 to relinquish his foreign policy to Russia. It was then delegated to the governor-general. While Muzaffar al-Din retained domestic sovereignty, he nevertheless was forced to abolish slavery.[119] Abd al-Malik, the amir's oldest son, and the city of Shahr-i Sabz revolted after the signing of the peace treaty in 1868, but Kaufmann quashed the insurgency in 1870. Kaufmann then returned the territories to the amir. In the same year, the amir occupied the regions of Hissar and Kulyab in southern Tajikistan, with Russian support. Six years later, during the dissolution of the khanate of Kokand in the spring of 1876, Russia gave the areas of Darvaz and Karategin to Bukhara. It wanted to compensate the amir for the previous loss of Samarkand.[120]

The conquest of Bukhara put Russia directly on the border of the khanate of Khiva, which General Kaufmann defeated in 1873. In preparation for this, the port and the fortress of Krasnovodsk were established in 1869 on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea in the former delta of the Uzboy.[121] Now, Russia had the opportunity to ship troops to Krasnovodsk and, from there, to threaten not only Khiva, but also Herat, the gateway to India. Viceroy Lawrence, who had rejected a Forward Policy till late 1867 but was impressed by Rawlinson's memorandum of 1868,[122] wrote to Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon that the Court of St Petersburg should 'understand, that it cannot be permitted to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, or these of any state which lies contiguous to our frontier. [. . .] Failing that, we might give that power to understand that an advance towards India, beyond a certain point, would entail on her war, in all parts of the world, with England.'[123] With his recommendation to send an unmistakable threat of war to Russia, the 'dove' Lawrence suddenly mutated into a 'hawk'. The question of where this red line should be drawn, moreover, defined Russian-British relations regarding Afghanistan until 1895 and the neighbouring states until the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Lord Clarendon accepted Lawrence's recommendation to obtain a territorial agreement with Russia. At the same time, he aimed less at a sharp line of demarcation which would define the two zones of influence than at a neutral zone between the two empires. Gorchakov welcomed the initiative and proposed Afghanistan as such a neutral zone. London, however, could not agree to the neutralisation of Afghanistan. Clarendon, therefore, recommended the Oxus as a demarcation line, which Gorchakov promptly rejected. Although no agreement could be reached, the importance of defining the northern border of Afghanistan, in particular the status of small principalities in the Upper Oxus of Badakhshan and Wakhan, quickly became apparent. Great Britain claimed them for Afghanistan and Russia for Bukhara.[124]

In 1872, Foreign Secretary Lord Granville (1815–91) presented another proposal regarding Afghanistan's northern border. On 17 October, he sent the following message to Gorchakov: 'The right of the Ameer of Kabul (Sher Ali) to the possession of the territories up to the Oxus as far down as Khoja Saleh is fully established. [. . .] For Your Excellency's more complete information I state the territories and boundaries which Her Majesty's Government consider as fully belonging to the Ameer of Kabul, viz:

1. Badakhshan with its dependent district Wakhan from the Sarikal (Wood's Lake)[125] on the east to the junction of the Kokcha River with the Oxus (or Panjah), *on the west, the stream of the Oxus* forming the northern boundary . . .
2. Afghan Turkestan, comprising the districts of Kunduz, Khulm and Balkh, the northern boundary of which would be the line of the Oxus from the junction of the Kokcha River to the post of Khoja Saleh, inclusive, on the high road from Bokhara to Balkh. Nothing to be claimed by the Afghan Ameer on the left bank of the Oxus below Khojah Saleh.
3. The internal districts of Aksha, Seripuul, Maimana, Shibberjan and Andhui, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan frontier possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to independent tribes of Turkomans.
4. The western Afghan frontier between the dependencies of Herat and those of the province of Khorassan is well known and need not here be defined.'[126]

Contrary to what is often written, Granville's message and Gorchakov's answer did not represent a contract – there were only two letters, and Gorchakov's agreement remained decidedly vague. In addition, the British proposal had serious flaws: it was not sufficiently thought out, and was poorly formulated and founded on erroneous geographical assumptions. First of all, at point (1) in the official version, which sought to define the eastern half of the northern border, the secretary erroneously omitted the words in italics, making the passage difficult to understand. Second, rivers only form useful natural boundaries on plains, not in the mountains, where members of the same community sometimes live on both banks of a river; real natural boundaries are watersheds and mountain ridges, as General Gerard, commander of the British Pamir Boundary Commission emphasised in 1895.[127] Third, the small principalities of Wakhan, Shugnan and Roshan, to which Amir Sher Ali laid claim, also extended along the right bank of the Oxus/Panj, while Darvaz, which belonged to Bukhara, also possessed lands on the left bank.[128] The designation of the Oxus as a northern border of Afghanistan therefore did not correspond to the actual situation. Fourth, equating the Oxus and the Panj implied that the latter is the head stream of the former. Lieutenant Colonel T.E. Gordon contradicted this, however. He explored the Pamirs in the spring of 1874, and identified the River Murghab, lying 120 km further north, as the major tributary of the Oxus,[129] which would have granted Afghanistan a large area up to the north of the Alichur Pamirs. Fifth, as Gordon observed,[130] between Lake Zorkul (Wood's Lake) and the Chinese border there was a 100-km-long gap that Russia exploited in the early 1890s. Sixth, regarding the western northern border (2), the Russian-British Boundary Commission from 1886 was forced to conclude that the Fort Khoja Saleh no longer existed, if it ever had.[131] Seventh, (4) the western border near Herat was anything but distinct, as revealed in the course of the calamitous 'Panjdeh incident' of 1885.[132] Eighth, Granville ignored the question of the borders of the Russian sphere of influence. Ninth, he failed to even consult the Afghan amir, who only learned of the agreement through a letter from General Kaufmann.[133] And finally, Granville did not respond to the Russian proposal to designate the border on-site by means of a commission. Somewhat surprisingly, Gorchakov agreed to the British proposal on 31 January 1873 with reservations: 'The English cabinet includes within them [the dominions of Sher Ali] Badakhshan and Wakhan, which, according to our views, enjoyed a certain independence.' But 'we do not refuse to accept the boundary line laid down by England.'[134] Probably Russia agreed to the British proposal only to gain time until Khiva and the Turkmens were conquered.[135]

Russia, however, understood Granville's failure to address the demarcation of the Russian zone of influence west of Khoja Saleh as a licence to cross the lower reaches of the Oxus and to attack Khiva. On 19 December 1872, the tsar issued an order to seize the city.[136] The British omission was all the more surprising given that **Sayyid Muhammad Rahim II** (r. 1865–1910) had earlier requested help from British India, Persia and the Ottoman Empire with regard to the Russian ultimatum.[137] Within a few months, London's supposed diplomatic victory transformed into a Russian triumph and Great Britain's humiliation. Khiva provided the pretext for the invasion in 1871, when a cavalry detachment attacked a Russian unit from Krasnovodsk and stole its camels.[138] In the spring of 1873, three columns from Tashkent, Orenburg and Krasnovodsk attacked, and supreme commander Kaufmann rode into Khiva on 29 May.[139] Exercising his powers, Kaufmann decided to leave the khan on his throne, but established a protectorate over the khanate. In addition, Khiva had to cede the areas lying on the Oxus' right bank, release all its slaves, and pay a large indemnity. With the conquest of Khiva, Russia dominated the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea and navigation on the lower reaches of the Oxus up to Termez. Moreover, its troops were moved to within 800 km of Herat. In late 1874, Sir Henry Rawlinson warned: 'Russia in possession of Herat would have a grip on the throat of India.'[140]

While Russia annexed Kokand, it left domestic political sovereignty to Bukhara and Khiva. This had the great advantage that

88. Alichur Lake in the Alichur Pamir, over which Afghanistan, China and Russia all laid claim from the early 1870s until 1893. Photo: 2007.

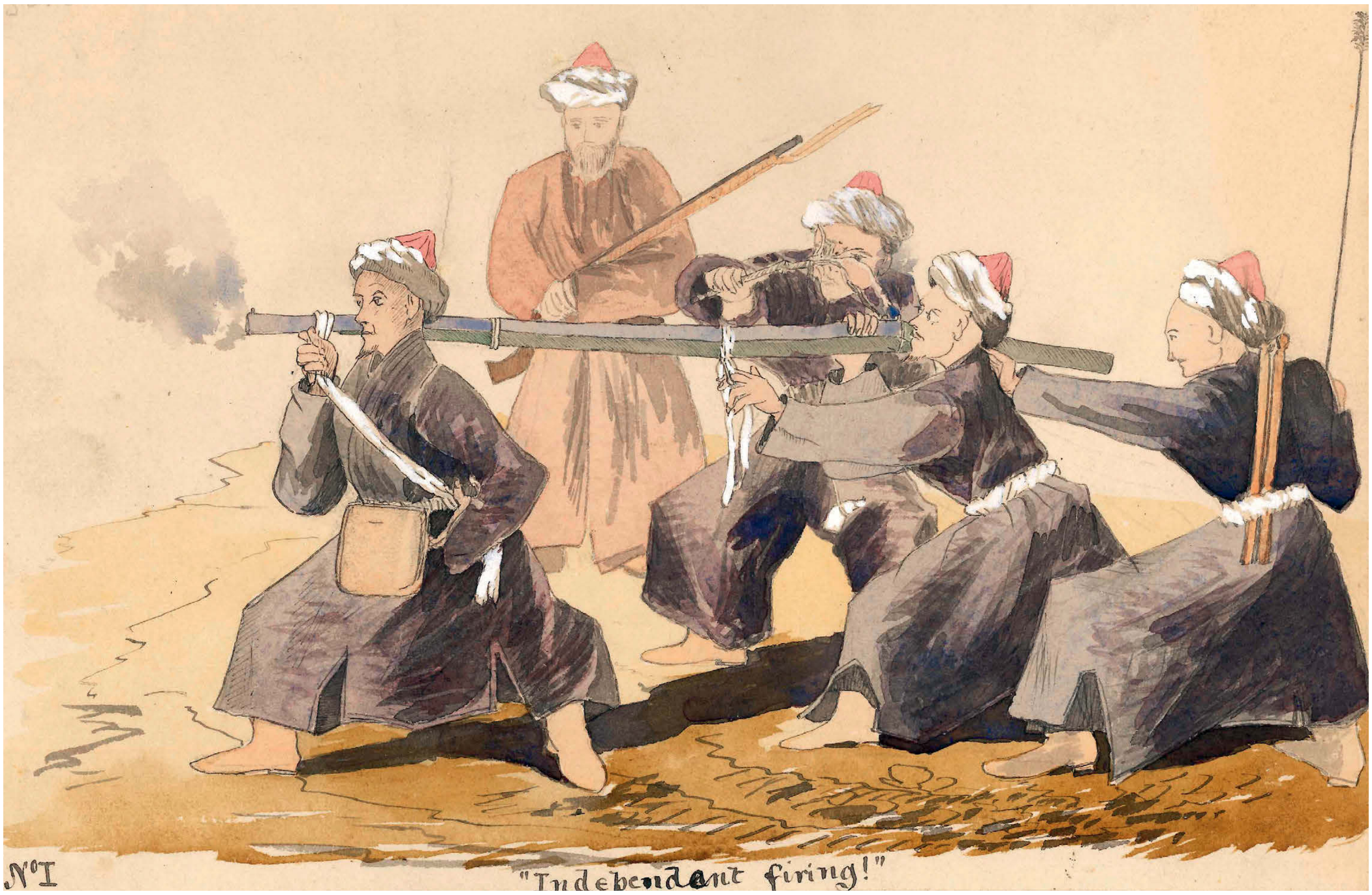
the khans still remained responsible for the administration, the collection of taxes, the judiciary and sensitive religious affairs within their dominions. This autonomy spared Russia substantial administrative costs and shielded it from the hostility of the local populations, which would not have accepted a foreign government of 'infidels'. Even Russian efforts to efficiently combat the annual locust plagues and to improve health care met with strong opposition. Mullahs and shamans 'denounced Russian solicitude as a subterfuge destined to further subjugate the Muslims'.[141] For these reasons, the settlement of Russian peasants in the khanates was prohibited, as was Orthodox Christian proselytising.[142] Russia had achieved its dual strategic objective: a monopoly over the resources of Central Asia and a closed market for Russian products. The inclusion of Bukhara in the Russian customs system in 1895 deepened the economic integration of the khanate into the empire.[143] Although the economic link of the khanates to Russia sparked economic growth, it also entailed serious disadvantages: the accelerated expansion of the cultivation of cotton caused a significant reduction in food production, so that the former self-sufficient populations of Bukhara, Fergana and Khiva became food importers. This would have catastrophic consequences in World War I when Russia neither paid for the cotton deliveries nor supplied food.[144] Second, the large-scale irrigation of cotton plantations in Semirechie and in the region of Samarkand took so much water from the Syr Darya and Oxus rivers that the territories at the rivers' lower reaches were threatened with water shortage and dehydration. The astronomer and meteorologist Franz von Schwarz had already warned of this in 1893.[145] Third, with its exorbitant interest rates, the credit system drove the farmers, who were 'paid' for their crops with overpriced payments in kind, into poverty

and de facto slavery.[146] Fourth, the Russian industrial enterprises wanted to retain value creation in western Russia and sell only finished products in the east. As a result, no industrial processing took place in Russian Central Asia, which downgraded the Uzbek khanates to Russian colonies. And, fifth, the import of cheap Russian commodities by train ruined local handicrafts, beginning in the 1890s. In the absence of industrialisation, the region degenerated into a supplier of raw materials, anticipating a process which has developed in trade between Central Asia and China since the mid-1990s. Here, Central Asia sells raw materials, fuels and metals and China exports cheap goods, which destroy the local artisanal and post-Soviet enterprises.[147]

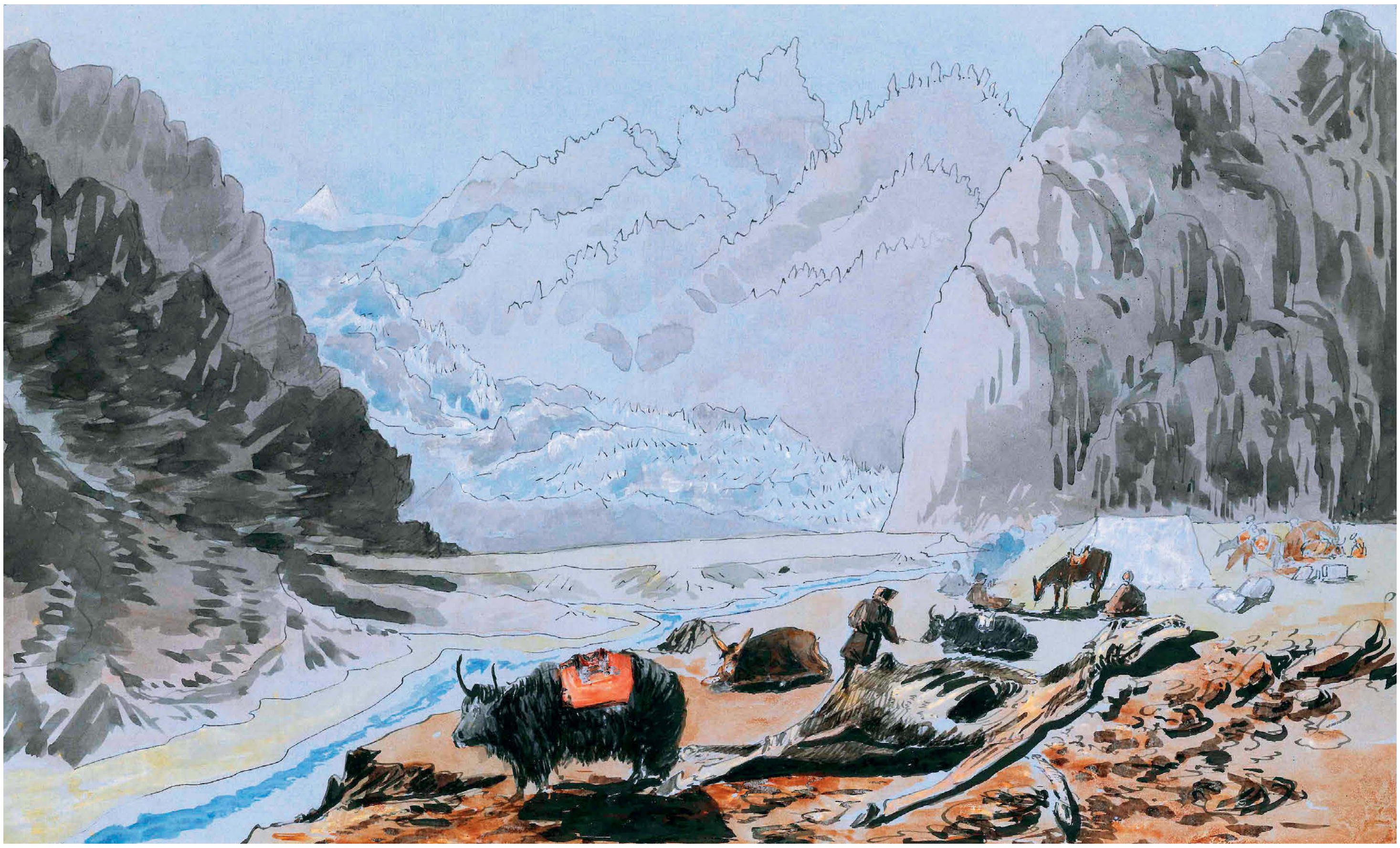
The next step in the Russian expansion was the annexation of Kokand in February 1876, which moved the borders of the empire closer to Afghanistan and Kashgaria. Within twelve years, Russia had shifted the 1,600-km-long military border an average of 450 km to the south, representing a territorial extension of 720,000 km², an area slightly larger than Texas. Since Russia had occupied the city and region of Kuldja (today's Yining) in the north-west of Xinjiang in 1871, Kashgaria found itself facing the threat of a Russian invasion.[148] From Kashgaria, however, it was possible to control the northern side of the passes leading to Kashmir and Ladakh. The Balkan crisis that broke out in April 1877 and the entrance of a British fleet squadron into the Sea of Marmara in February 1878, however, prevented the next Russian gambit in Central Asia.[149]

5. Yaqub Beg's Emirate of Turkestan in Xinjiang

In the early 1870s, the remote and economically poor region of East Turkestan was pulled into the wake of the 'Great Game'. The trigger for this was the Emirate of Turkestan (1866–77), which seceded from China as a result of Muslim revolts. Until the mid-1850s, there was little resistance from the Turkic-speaking Muslim population in the Tarim Basin against the government of the Qing dynasty. The revolts that broke out among the ethnically Chinese and Chinese-speaking Dungans were sparked by the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64) in China, which severely affected its financial situation. In response, the central government was forced to cut the subsidies to the western regions and to massively raise taxes. The first riots took place in Gansu and Shaanxi in 1862, and then in Ili in 1863, and in Kucha in June 1864. When the order was issued to disarm the Dungan soldiers in East Turkestan, the uprising expanded to the whole of East Turkestan. As the Chinese garrisons either only existed on paper or were opium-addicted and unfit for battle, the Dungan met little resistance. Soon, the Kyrgyz and the Muslim city dwellers, who also fought each other, also rebelled.[150] The ruler of Kokand, Alim Quli, wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to once again intervene militarily in Kashgaria. In early 1865, he sent Khoja Buzurg with a small army that was commanded by the Kokandian **Yaqub Beg** (1820–77, r. 1866–77). Yaqub Beg conquered Kashgar and Yarkand; he then got rid of Khoja Buzurg and in the spring of 1866 took power for himself. Over the next six years, Yaqub Beg conquered the cities of the Tarim Basin, whose Turkic-speaking residents resisted him until he managed to occupy Ürümqi in the winter of 1870/71.[151] At the same time as Yaqub Beg's conquest, the Taranchis in the north-west of Xinjiang drove out



89. Taifoochees of the Army of the Amir of Kashgar. The painter Captain Chapman explained: 'The armament of the Tungane and Chinese troops in the service of the Amir consist of what in European parlance would be called a wall-piece, but is here known as Taifoo. This is a cumbrous weapon about 6 feet long in stock and barrel. The taifoo throws a bullet of no more than 1 ½ ounces. . . Against an enemy not armed with rifle arms, a large number of taifoos . . . must be sufficiently formidable. [. . .] In the actual working of these pieces, strictest attention is paid to the minutiae of drill, and, the positions of the performers are in the highest degree studied.' Watercolour drawing by Captain E.F. Chapman, 1873–74. Private Collection.



90. The Valley of the Shyok in northern Ladakh. The second mission of Sir Thomas D. Forsyth marched in the autumn of 1873 from Leh to the Shyok Valley, crossed the 5,575-m-high Karakoram Pass, and reached Yarkand in today's Xinjiang on 7 November 1873. Captain (later General Sir) Edward Francis Chapman was in charge of the logistics of the expedition and documented it in watercolour drawings and photographs. Private Collection.

both the Qing troops and the Dungans and established the small sultanate of Kulja (1866–71) under **Ala Khan** (Abul Oghlan).[152] After Ala Khan had rejected the stationing of a Russian consul in Ili in late November 1870, Russia attacked in the next summer. It occupied the region of Ili and unlawfully appropriated Chinese territory.[153] Russia simultaneously made sure that the Dungans, who had plundered Uliasutai in 1870 and Khobdo in 1871, could not advance to Ili.[154] Yaqub Beg, for his part, escaped the same fate in 1872, only because he consented to a trade agreement favourable to Russia, which was making preparations in Verny (Almaty) for an invasion.[155] Yaqub Beg now tried to find support among Russia's enemies – British India and the Ottomans – and in the autumn of 1872 sent Yaqub Khan as an envoy to Calcutta and Istanbul. Sultan Abdulaziz (r. 1861–76) sent weapons and instructors to Kashgar, and Yaqub Beg announced on 28 January 1874 that East Turkestan had become an Ottoman protectorate. He, furthermore, took the title of an Amir al-mu'minin (Commander of the Faithful) and ordered the Friday prayer to be introduced in the name of the sultan and to have his name minted on the coins.[156]

Yaqub Beg's secession from China posed a dilemma for British foreign policy: while London supported the Chinese government and the territorial integrity of China and thus did not recognise Yaqub Beg's rule, British India feared that Yaqub Beg could fall under the Russian sphere of influence. Russia's area of control would then have reached the Karakoram Mountains. Therefore, India advocated a strong East Turkestan as a buffer state with Russia.[157] When Yaqub Beg decided to send an envoy to Viceroy Lord Mayo (1822–72, in office 1869–72) in 1870 with the request for a British official to come to Kashgar, he commissioned Sir Thomas D. Forsyth (1827–86). This first Forsyth mission in 1870 failed because of intrigues in Kashmir and Yaqub Beg's absence from Kashgar.[158] However, the tea merchant Robert Shaw and the explorer George Hayward – who was commissioned by Henry Rawlinson to survey the passes between Ladakh and Kashgaria – had already separately visited Yarkand and Kashgar in 1868.[159] Lord Mayo was alarmed by Hayward's assertion that the Chang-Lang Pass, which had an elevation of 5,742 m and connected Leh in Ladakh with the Yarkand Valley, was 'quite practicable for laden horses and camels, and would offer no great impediment to the passage of artillery'.[160] When Yaqub Beg sent another envoy to British India in 1873, Viceroy Lord Northbrook (1826–1904, in office 1872–76) seized the opportunity to confront Russia with a strong diplomatic offensive for the first time in 30 years. The second Forsyth mission of 1873/74 numbered 350 men, including officers, cavalry, infantry, and surveyors as well as one geologist, ethnologist, historian, and a watercolourist, who also took photographs[161] (figs. 89, 90). The expedition stayed in Kashgar from 4 December 1873 to 17 March 1874 and was highly successful in terms of trade and making new geographical discoveries. Forsyth and the amir concluded a comprehensive trade agreement, which even provided that a British agent be stationed in Kashgar. A political agent thus would have been posted outside of the red line from 1873 for the first time. But London hesitated to accredit a resident since Kashgar would be easy for Russia to conquer and represented an outpost for British India that it could not defend. The amir, in turn, refrained from ratifying the treaty out of fear of Russia, which is why the designated resident, Shaw, returned to India in 1875. As Sir Henry Trotter remembered, there were also surprising encounters: 'The punishment of theft was the loss of a hand, and on one occasion at Kashgar an unfortunate individual come to Dr. Bellew's dispensary, and, after some natural hesitations, pulled his severed hand out of his pocket, and asked the Doctor to affix it to its proper place.'[162]

On the other hand, the geographic knowledge that Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, captains Biddulph and Trotter, Dr Stoliczka and four so-called 'Pundits' gathered in the spring of 1874 in the Pamirs, a stronghold of the Ismailis, was critically important. The Pundits were specially trained local surveyors disguised as pilgrims, mullahs, or traders. They explored regions of the Hindu Kush, Pamirs, Karakoram and the Himalayas that were unfamiliar to the British and in reports were simply referred to by code names or letters.[163] The discoveries made in 1874 were worrying for British India. Granville's boundary definition of October 1872 was wrong in numerous respects. First of all, Afghanistan and East Turkestan did *not* share a common border in the Pamirs. There was in fact a gap that the Russians could penetrate. Gordon stated in a confidential report: 'It will be very easy for her [Russia] . . . to take possession of the Little Pamir Lake, and thus insert a very narrow wedge of actual Russian territory between Afghanistan and Kashgar.'[164] Eleven years later, in the autumn of 1885, the explorer and diplomat Ney Elias (1844–97) confirmed the existence of this gap in the Wakhan and recommended encouraging Afghanistan and China to close it.[165] By the same token, the Russian officer Lev Kostenko had already written after 1876 that the Pamirs were a no-man's land that had not been claimed by any country.[166] The group led by Gordon also discovered a practicable route from the Russian fortress of Osh across the Alai Mountains to the Little Pamir in the north-eastern Wakhan, and from there to Sarhad on the Wakhan River, the southernmost major tributary of the Oxus. Second, Trotter recognised that Roshan, Shugnan and Darvaz extended on both sides of the Oxus and that the Murghab River, lying far north of the Panj, is the Oxus' longest tributary.[167] Finally, Gordon's confidential report assessed the Karakoram Mountains to be impassable for an army with artillery, which contradicted Hayward. By contrast, two passes to the west in the southern Wakhan were quite negotiable for an army and also provided sufficient pastures: the Ishkoman Pass led to Yasin and Gilgit while the Baroghil Pass led either on an easy route to Chitral and further to Peshawar, or to Yasin and Gilgit via the difficult Darkot Pass.[168] Thus, from the mid-1870s, three approach routes theoretically came into question that put India at risk:

1. from the Caspian Sea to Herat and through the Bolan Pass to Quetta or to Kandahar and through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar,
2. from Termez to Balkh, Bamiyan, Kabul, and through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar,
3. from Osh to the Little Pamir, to Sarhad, and through the Baroghil Pass to Chitral and Peshawar.

Ultimately, the information that Gordon's team collected led to the realisation that the Sarikol Mountains, running from north to south, form the watershed between the Oxus to the west and Tarim to the east and, as Younghusband would confirm later, that the Hindu Kush divides the water systems of the Oxus to the north from those of the Indus to the south.[169]

In 1874, Russia responded to the Forsyth mission by dispatching Captain Reintal to Kashgar, who called for further trade concessions. Yaqub Beg refused, and it was only the outbreak of the revolt in Kokand that saved Yaqub Beg from a Russian invasion. Since Russia and Kashgaria shared a common border from February 1876, Yaqub Beg was forced to yield in early 1877, leaving three additional border posts to Russia.[170] His days, in any case, were numbered, for China, contrary to Russian and British expectations, had successfully started to recapture the breakaway region. General Zuo Zongtang (1812–85) reconquered Hami in 1875, Ürümqi in 1876, and Turfan in April 1877. Yaqub Beg died in Korla in May, probably from a stroke or poison. By the end of the year, Zuo occupied Kashgar, which enabled China to win back Xinjiang, with the exception of the Ili region occupied by Russia.[171] The three empires, Russia, Great Britain and China, now encountered each other in the Pamirs, where there was also a piece of unclaimed no-man's land. China demanded from Russia the immediate return of Ili. After completing a first round of negotiations in 1879, Beijing refused to ratify the unfavourable Treaty of Livadia and threatened war. In the Treaty of St Petersburg of 1881, China regained most of Ili, but had to pay an indemnity to Russia, grant painful trade concessions, and allow for the opening of seven consulates in Xinjiang.[172] Russia had no interest in annexing Xinjiang with its restless Muslim population, but was rather interested in its raw materials and in using the region as a market for Russian industrial goods. It also sought further strategic advantage over British India. The treaty, accordingly, corresponded with all of Russia's intentions. Not only did it provide Russia with most of Xinjiang's resources, but the opening of consulates with extraterritorial powers seriously undermined Chinese sovereignty. As the later British consul Percy Etherton (1879–1963, in office 1918–22) observed, the new Russian consul general Nikolai Petrovsky (1837–1908, in office 1882–1903) established himself as 'virtual ruler of Kashgar' thanks to his ruthlessness and his Cossack escort.[173] The

91. The approach to the 4,336-m-high Kyzyl Art Pass, leading from north-eastern Tajikistan to south-western Kyrgyzstan; in the background stand the Trans-Alai Mountains. Photo: 2008.

92. Guards of the artillery and officers assembled in the courtyard of the urda (palace) of the Dadkhhawah (governor) of Yarkand. Forsyth, *Report of a mission to Yarkund in 1873* (1875), photo facing p. 106.

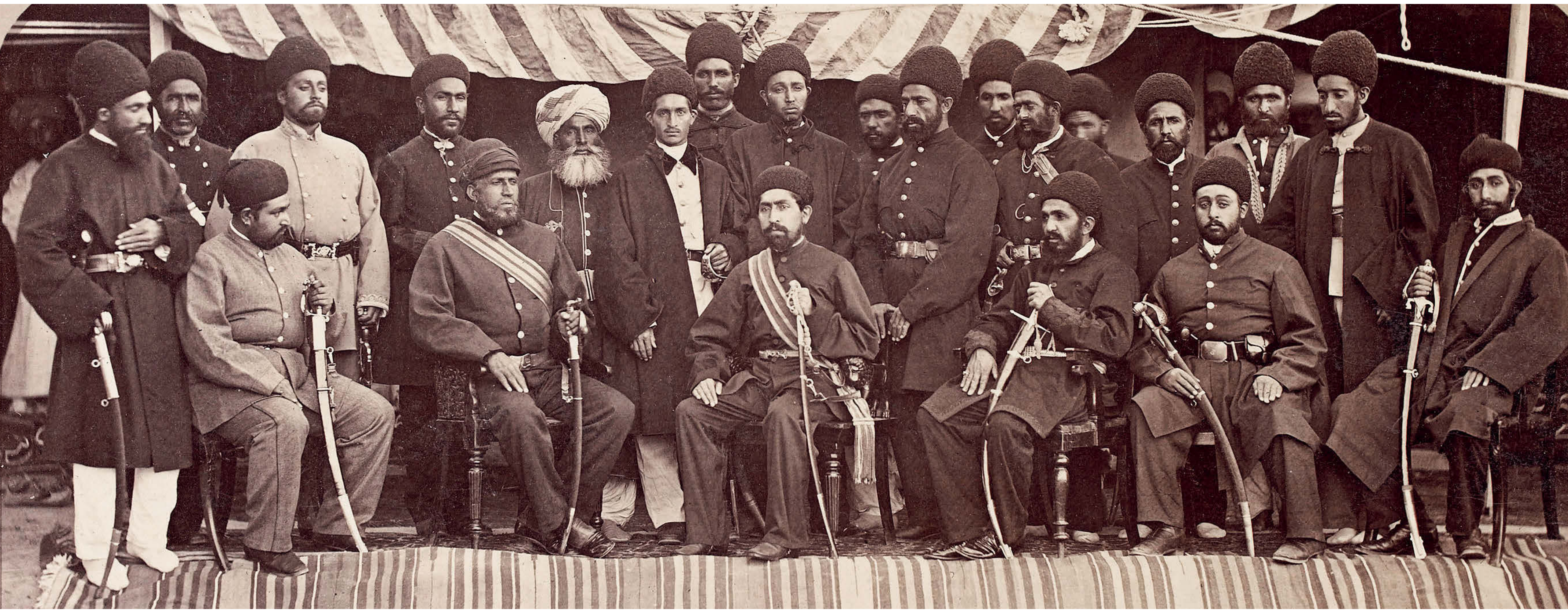
province, moreover, became an 'unofficial [Russian] colony'[174] – a situation that would persist until the October Revolution.

China wanted to bind Xinjiang more strongly to the empire and gave the region the status of a province in 1884. It then undertook efforts to sinicise the population by promoting the immigration of Han Chinese, not least to promote agriculture and thereby achieve a wider tax base. At the same time, Beijing tried to transfer Han Chinese administrative methods to Xinjiang and to introduce Confucian school curricula. Wealthy Muslim families circumvented these arrangements by paying poorer families to send their children to the Chinese schools instead of their own.[175] But Beijing's efforts soon failed and the two communities and worldviews remained apart. The Han Chinese built their own walled cities a few kilometres from the existing Muslim walled cities. Beijing's efforts proved futile since the local Muslims rejected any assimilation, there was a lack of transport infrastructure which made trade with Han China impossible, and Russia had unimpeded access to the region's resources. The poor province remained dependent on substantial subsidies from the central government.

6. Sher Ali and the Second Anglo-Afghan War

Tensions in Xinjiang had barely subsided following Yaqub Beg's death when a war threatened to break out between Russia and Britain 4,000 km to the west. The crisis was triggered in 1875 by an uprising of Christians in Bosnia-Herzegovina against the Ottomans, which the Bulgarians joined. Since the revolt was brutally suppressed by the Ottomans, Russia saw an opportunity. On the pretext of coming to the aid of their co-religionists as a protecting power of Orthodox Christians, the Russians declared war on the Ottoman Empire in April 1877. When the Russian army marched on Constantinople at the beginning of 1878, it ran headlong into a British naval fleet moored in the Sea of Marmara. Russia avoided direct confrontation, however, and the Russo-Turkish Treaty of San Stefano of 3 March 1878 forced Istanbul to establish a Greater Bulgarian kingdom. This would have become a de facto Russian protectorate. It would also have given Russia access to the Mediterranean and to India via the Suez Canal.[176] London was unwilling to go along with this and continued its preparations for war, including in Asia. Prime minister Disraeli had already explained to Queen Victoria in July 1877: 'Russia must be attacked from Asia, troops should be sent to the Persian Gulf, and the Empress of India should order her armies to clear Central Asia of the Muscovites, and drive them into the Caspian Sea. We have a good instrument for this purpose in Lord Lytton, and indeed he was sent there with that view.'[177] After Viceroy Northbrook's refusal to pursue a tougher policy towards the Afghan Amir Sher Ali, Disraeli chose the pretentious, impulsive, and unstable Lord Lytton (1831–90, in office 1876–80) as the new viceroy.

In 1863, Dost Muhammad had appointed his son **Sher Ali Khan** (first rule 1863–66) as his successor, but his two brothers Mohammad Afzal and Mohammad A'zam challenged him for the throne. At first, Sher Ali had the upper hand. But in 1866, Afzal's son Abdur Rahman Khan, the future amir from 1880–1901, prevailed over Sher Ali and placed his father **Mohammad Afzal** (r. 1866–67) on the throne; he died a year later, however. **Mohammad Khan A'zam** (1867–69) then followed, though **Sher Ali** (second rule 1869–79) overthrew him in 1869. Sher Ali pushed through a number of reforms: he removed the governors' authority to collect taxes and transferred it to the central government, which allowed for the financing of a standing army.[178] His initially positive relations with British India took a decided turn for the worse when General Frederic Goldsmid (1818–1908) was supposed to mediate a dispute between Afghanistan and Persia over the province of Sistan. He attributed the western half of Sistan, including the fertile oasis of Zabol, to Persia, while leaving the eastern, more arid half for Afghanistan. Conversely, the common Hamun Lake was now one-third in Persia and two-thirds in Afghanistan, from where it is also fed. Afghanistan had thus lost a fertile oasis, and Persia had to rely on water from Afghanistan. Colonel Sir T.H. Holdich (1843–1929), who was involved in five border commissions, observed laconically: 'Here we have an object-lesson on the lasting disadvantages of a boundary which cuts an irrigation system into two.'[179] Barely after arriving in India, Lytton began to implement both Disraeli's public and secret instructions. His public mission was to force Sher Ali to allow British Political Agents in Herat, Kandahar and later Kabul. His secret mission was to undertake the first assessments and preparations for an attack on Russia in Central Asia and, in the absence of cooperation from Sher Ali, to plan the break-up of Afghanistan. Towards the end of 1876, Lytton then compelled the khan of Khelat to hand over the city of Quetta, north-west of the strategic Bolan Pass. When in the spring of 1877 Sher Ali expressed to a British agent willingness

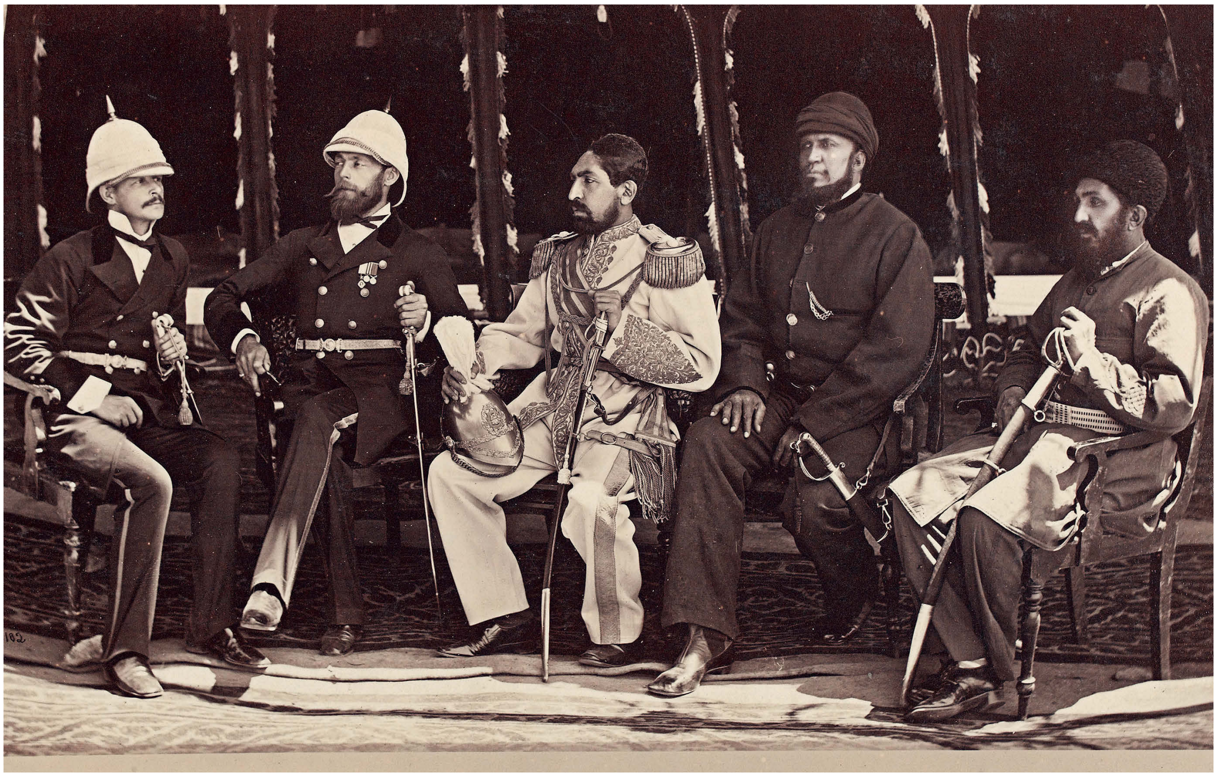


93. Amir Yaqub Khan (r. 1879–80) with his leading commanders and officers. The Amir is seated in the centre and at his right the Ghilzai Daoud Shah, commander-in-chief of the Afghan army. Photograph by John Burke in late spring 1879, when Yaqub Khan was forced on 26 May 1879 by the British envoy Sir Pierre Louis Napoléon Cavagnari to sign the humiliating Treaty of Gandamak, handing over foreign policy to British India. National Army Museum, London.

to compromise on the issue of the stationing of diplomats, Lytton suspended the talks, seeking a pretext to attack. London, however, still refused him permission to initiate the war.[180]

Russia was also making preparations for an offensive in Central Asia. On the military level, General Kaufmann mobilised three columns in April 1878, and on the diplomatic level, he sent General Nikolay Stolyetov (1834–1912) to Kabul. The first column was supposed to advance from Samarkand, via Kabul, to the Khyber Pass; the second to advance from Krasnovodsk via Merv to Herat; and the third to attack from Samarkand via Kokand, the Pamirs, the Wakhan, Chitral and Peshawar.[181] However, if operations had started, the first and third columns would have failed due to the topography, and even the second column might have quickly stalled because of a lack of adequate logistical planning. On 25 July, Stolyetov arrived in Kabul, where Sher Ali received him with great ceremony. The amir faced a dilemma: on the one hand he was being threatened by Lytton, and on the other hand Kaufmann could support his nephew Abdur Rahman, who was living in exile in Bukhara, militarily in a coup attempt. Kaufmann had instructed Stolyetov to obtain Sher Ali's permission for the free passage of Russia's armies and to convert Afghanistan into a Russian protectorate in exchange for the promise of Russian military aid. Tsar Alexander, however, had rejected the idea of a protectorate. Stolyetov, nonetheless, ignored the imperial directive and settled a military alliance with Sher Ali, promising to rush to his side with a 30,000-strong army in the event of British intervention.[182] Meanwhile, a revised peace treaty was signed between Russia and the Ottomans on 13 July at the Berlin Congress convened by Chancellor Bismarck. Here, the sultan recovered almost 70 per cent of the lost territories, Bosnia-Herzegovina was now ruled by Austria, and Russia was denied access to the Mediterranean. Thus, a reason for war in Central Asia no longer existed either for Great Britain, which had reached its strategic goal, or for Russia, which did not want to risk a global war against Britain. Lytton was aware of this and ignored London's instruction to delay the planned deployment of a militarily protected legation to Kabul that had been refused by the amir. On 21 September, it was halted by Afghan troops at the Khyber Pass, prompting Lytton to issue a 20-day ultimatum to Sher Ali on 2 November. Confident about his treaty with Stolyetov, Sher Ali did not respond. On 21 November, Lytton declared war on Afghanistan.

This Second Anglo-Afghan War, for which there was no longer a *casus belli* as in 1838/39, had a similar outcome to the first and proved futile. The British attacked Kandahar, Jalalabad and the Kurram Valley south of the Khyber in three columns. The troops now had the new Martini-Henry breech-loading rifle with an effective range of 550 m (but which tended to overheat in strong sunlight); a powerful light mountain artillery; and heliographs to communicate.[183] Sher Ali quickly called upon



94. British envoy and resident in Kabul Sir Pierre Louis Napoléon Cavagnari (1841–79) and Amir Yaqub Khan. F.l.t.r: William Jenkyns who spoke Pashtu and mainly negotiated the Treaty of Gandamak; Sir Cavagnari; Amir Yaqub Khan; Afghan commander-in-chief Daoud Shah and Mustafi (Prime Minister) Habibullah Khan.[17] Photograph by John Burke in late spring or summer 1879. National Army Museum, London.

95. Soldiers from a British Indian regiment, Peshawar Fieldforce, during the Second Anglo-Afghan War 1878–80. In the centre sits the then Lieutenant Robert Warburton (1842–99), whose father was Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Warburton and whose mother was a niece of Amir Dost Muhammad. Speaking Persian and Pashtu, he served for eighteen years as Political Agent for the Khyber District.[18] Photograph by John Burke; Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

General Kaufmann for help, who immediately ruled out a Russian intervention. Left in the lurch by Russia, the amir fled to Mazar-e Sharif, where he died on 21 February 1879. Given the rapid advance of the British, his successor **Yaqub Khan** (r. 1879–80) had no alternative but to take up negotiations with the victor. The treaty signed on 26 May 1879 in Gandamak, the site of the last stand in January 1842, committed Afghanistan foreign policy to Great Britain, which promised in return to defend the territorial integrity of the country with arms and troops. Moreover, Yaqub Khan had to agree to a resident British envoy in Kabul and to cede to Great Britain the Khyber Pass and the Michini Pass, and the districts of Kurram, Pishin, Shibi and the enclaves in Quetta. In response, Kandahar and Jalalabad were returned to him.[184] Now, British India controlled the three main passes that led from Afghanistan to India: the Khyber Pass, the Kurram Valley, and the Bolan Pass.[185] Lytton appeared to have won an easy victory and appointed Major Sir Pierre Louis Napoléon Cavagnari (1841–79) as British resident in Kabul (fig. 94). Major General Sir Frederick Roberts (1832–1914), who had commanded the Kurram column, had a more realistic assessment of the situation: 'I thought that peace had been signed too quickly, before, in fact, we had instilled that awe of us in the Afghan nation which would have been the only reliable guarantee for the safety of the Mission. [. . .] I could not help feeling . . . that the chances were against the Mission ever coming back.'[186] Roberts' foreboding soon became reality, for Cavagnari, who had arrived in Kabul in July 1879, was killed on 3 September with his small escort, like Macnaghten and Burnes before him.[187]

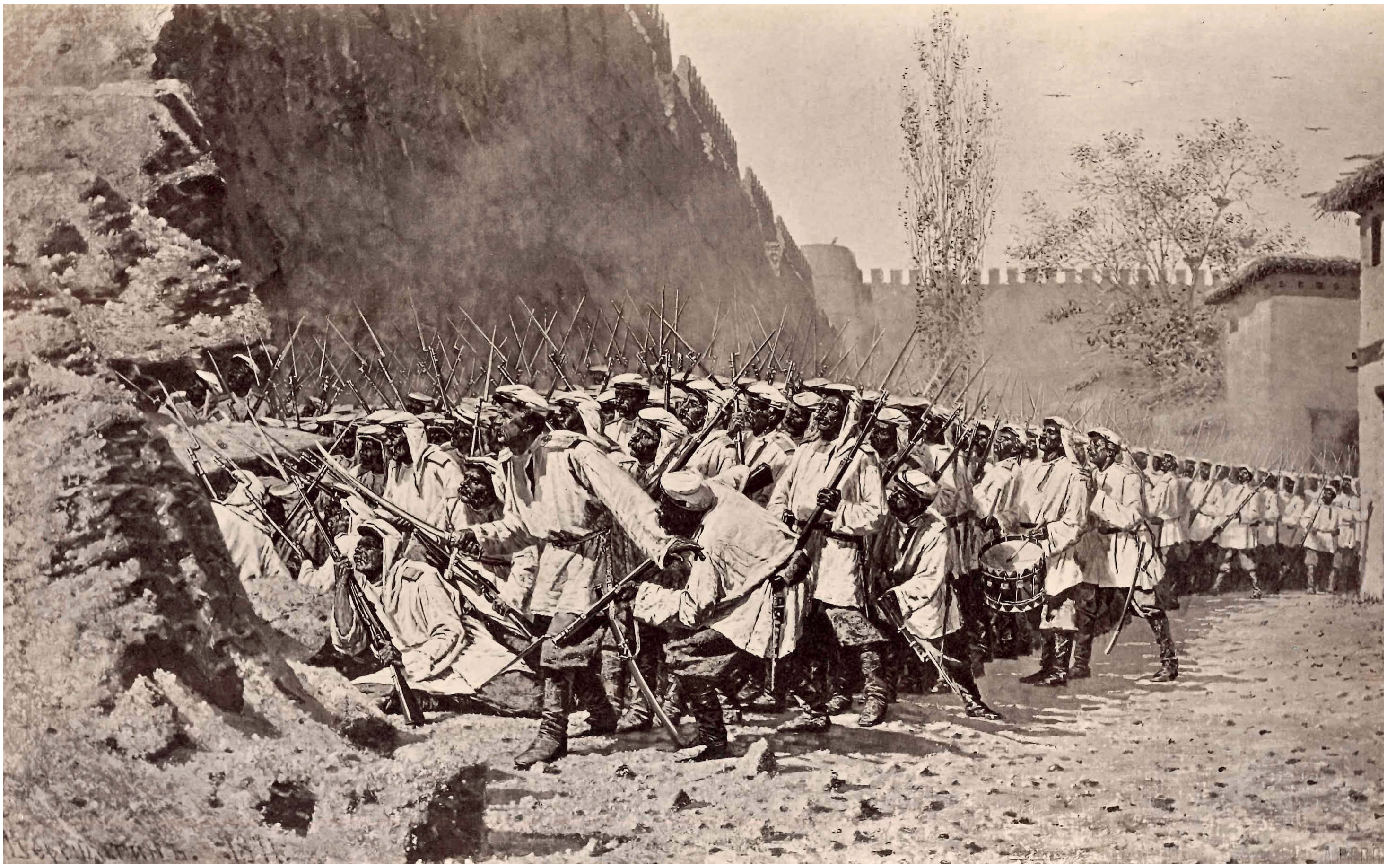
In September 1879, Russia also suffered a humiliating defeat near Ashgabat, now the capital of Turkmenistan. Russia had taken advantage of the international focus on Istanbul to penetrate into the territory of the Turkmen steppe nomads. After General Lomakin had been driven back to the coast by the Turkmen horsemen in 1877 and 1878, he launched a third attack in September 1879 on the fortress of Geok Tepe, halfway between Krasnovodsk and Merv. The assault failed, and Lomakin had to retreat back to the coast.[188] Meanwhile, General Roberts had been ordered to occupy Kabul and to punish Cavagnari's murderers. The order read as follows: 'Your object should be to strike terror, and striking it swiftly and deeply; but to avoid a Reign of Terror.'[189] Lytton's instruction seems to have come straight from Machiavelli's *Il Principe*: 'The conqueror who seizes power should weigh carefully all acts of violence which he must commit and perform them at a single stroke. [. . .] Violent acts

96. **General Frederick Roberts with Afghan officers and leaders in Kabul, *ca.* 1879/80. Photograph by John Burke; National Army Museum, London.**

must all be committed at once. [. . .] If [the ruler], namely, makes a few examples for the sake of deterrence, he is more merciful than those who as a result of too much leniency allow disorder to arise, giving rise to murder and plunder.'[190] Lytton's instruction also corresponded to the British 'hit and run' strategy used in tribal areas, in which a military expedition burned down villages in a tribal area in retaliation and immediately withdrew again. Despite Lytton's martial command, Roberts had only 89 ringleaders executed. After Roberts' victory near Charasia, 11 km south of Kabul – in which heliographs played an important role and two Gatling machine guns were used for the first time in Afghanistan[191] – he occupied Kabul on 13 September, one day after Yaqub Khan's abdication (fig. 94). But Roberts had learned the lesson of 1841–42 and selected as camp a strategic location with an unobstructed field of fire. Roberts' caution had been warranted, as the siege of his camp began on 14 December 1879. At first, it appeared as though the disaster of 1841–42 would repeat itself. Roberts was not Elphinstone, however, and he prepared scrupulously for the next attack. It took place in the early morning of 23 December, and about 50,000 Afghans stormed the camp of the 6,500-strong British army. As the Afghans rushed in the dark towards the apparently sleeping garrison, they were hit by a swarm of flares and dense artillery and gunfire. The British cavalry then demolished them even further. On 24 December, Brigadier Charles Gordon's column, which Roberts had urgently summoned by heliograph, arrived from Jagdalak, 40 km east of Kabul.[192]

In the interim, Disraeli and Lytton had taken the decision to divide Afghanistan into three kingdoms: Kabul, Kandahar (which was held by Lieutenant General Primrose) and Herat (where Yaqub Khan's brother Ayub Khan ruled). The situation became even more confused when Kaufmann sent Abdur Rahman to Kabul to enforce his demand. Abdur, however, did not trust Kaufmann in view of his 'betrayal' of Sher Ali and quickly came to an understanding with the British. On 22 July 1880, they put him on the throne as king of northern Afghanistan. Abdur was willing to leave foreign policy to the viceroy, but he also ensured that no British envoy would be stationed in Kabul, but instead an Indian Muslim representative or 'vakil'. The Lyall Agreement of July 1880 stated: 'it is plain that your Highness can have no political relations with any foreign power except with the British Government.'[193] In return, Great Britain promised to guarantee the territorial integrity of Afghanistan against a hostile third country. This meant that the Indian army could no longer counter a Russian attack on the Indus, but was forced to fight in Afghanistan.

Abdur Rahman (r. 1880–1901) proved to be a capable and energetic ruler. Moreover, 'he was neither pro-Russian nor anti-British, but pro-Afghan'.[194] Abdur Rahman also had the good fortune that on 21 April the Disraeli government had been overthrown and the Liberal Gladstone became prime minister. He replaced Lytton with Lord Ripon (1827–1909, in office 1880–84), who put an end to the 'Forward Policy' of his predecessor. But the war was not over yet: Ayub Khan began to march on Kandahar, where he crushed the army led by Brigadier George Burrows near Maiwand on 27 July. He then laid siege to Kandahar and dealt a devastating blow to Primrose, who ventured a careless attack. In this critical situation, General Roberts was accordingly asked not only to stop Ayub Khan, but also to restore British prestige in Afghanistan and northern India. He advanced in forced marches to Kandahar, where, thanks to superior tactics, he decisively defeated Ayub Khan and victoriously ended the war. As recognition, Roberts later received the noble title 'Earl Roberts of Kandahar' and became one of the most successful and highly decorated military leaders of Britain. The Second Anglo-Afghan war was over, and Gladstone decided in November 1880 to return Kandahar to Abdur Rahman, to finally refrain from dividing Afghanistan, and to support Abdur Rahman financially.[195] After all, as Stephen Tanner explains: 'Afghanistan was too troublesome to be annexed but too dangerous to be ignored.'[196] Furthermore, as in 1842, a military victory was also achieved in 1880 through superior military leadership – but at the price of heavy losses and very modest gains. In the end, British India essentially left the administration of the Khyber Pass region and the Kurram Valley to the local Pashtun tribes. The actual benefit was the stable government of Abdur Rahman and the understanding that Britain was prepared to answer threats and provocations with war, while Russia appeared to shy away from a direct confrontation with Britain.



97. Russian forces under General Skobelev storm the Turkmen fortress Geok Tepe on 24 January 1881. Based on a painting by Russian war painter Vasily Vereshchagin (1842–1904), who accompanied Russian military campaigns in Turkestan. Vereshchagin, *Turkestan. Etyudy s natury. Études d'après nature. Studien nach der Natur. Published on behalf of the governor-general of Turkestan* (St Petersburg: Hofkunstbuchhandlung A. Beggrow, 1874), Part II, panel 13.

7. Abdur Rahman, the Crisis of Panjdeh and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1895

Although Russia had lost any influence with the accession of Abdur Rahman in Afghanistan, it continued unabated with its strategic advance along Afghanistan's western border. After General Lomakin had failed to take Geok Tepe, General Mikhail Skobelev (1843–82) launched another campaign in the following year, which he capped with the storming of the fortress of Geok Tepe on 24 January 1881. Afterwards, he seized Ashgabat without a fight.[197] Russia then imposed upon Persia the secret Russian-Persian border agreement dated 21 December 1881, which allowed Russian troops to freely advance along its attack route against the Turkmen.[198] The conquest of Geok Tepe was of high military importance for Russia, since it made possible the prolongation of the railway to Ashgabat and Sarakhs, the springboard to Herat. For this reason, the military engineer Pavel Lessar was ordered to extend the Transcaspian railway, constructed up to Kizil Arvat in 1881, to Ashgabat and to prepare a further line to Sarakhs and Herat. Second, Lessar was to explore the feasibility of a diversion of the lower Amu Darya to the dry riverbed of the Uzboy. The Russian leadership wanted to set up a waterway from the Baltic via the Volga and the Caspian Sea to Bukhara and Termez.[199] Lessar did a thorough job in 1882. He reported that while a diversion of the Amu Darya to the Uzboy was impossible, a canal might be excavated from Chardju via Merv to Ashgabat to irrigate the desert-like territory and make it fertile. Lessar outlined here the future Karakum Canal. He also found out that the railroad could easily continue from Ashgabat to Sarakhs and that there were no insurmountable geological obstacles between Sarakhs and Herat for an army, including artillery. Lessar thus opened the way for Russia to Sarakhs and Herat.[200] He 'proved that the Key of India was more within the keeping of Russia than of England, that, in a word, Herat, by his newly discovered road, was completely at the mercy of the Cossack'.[201] Colonel Holdich, member of the British Boundary Commission from 1884–86, confirmed that British journalist Charles Marvin was not exaggerating when he said: 'Lessar had already disposed of the myth of an impassable range north of Herat to some extent, but we were hardly prepared to find that it actually could be *driven* over [with artillery], without taking the preliminary trouble of making a road.'[202]

To implement Lessar's findings, it was still necessary to conquer the Turkmen oasis city of Merv, which stood halfway between Ashgabat and Herat and between Bukhara and Herat. Merv also separated the Russian forces of Turkestan from those of Transcaspia. Coinciding with Lessar, Lieutenant Alikhanov,[203] a Muslim from Dagestan, spied on Merv and bribed influential leaders.[204] When Great Britain got bogged down in Sudan in early 1884 due to the Mahdi Uprising, Russia jumped into action: General Komarov established a strong outpost in Tejend, 120 km west of Merv, and in February Alikhanov issued Merv with an ultimatum, demanding immediate submission. After brief negotiations, Merv surrendered without a fight on 6 February 1884 and General Komarov quickly expanded the oasis into a military base.[205] Merv's annexation put the lie to the Russians' repeated insistence that they had no intention of occupying Merv (after the conquest of Khiva, the tsar personally and Russia's highest officials had made this assertion more than 30 times).[206] In light of the passivity of the Gladstone government, Charles Marvin had already warned in 1881: 'If we wait till Russia enters Merv and posts Cossacks on the Paropamisus ridge [50 km north of Herat], we shall have to accept, at the dictation of Russia, *her* delimitation of the two empires, with the dishonourable drawback of having to cede the best of India-menacing points [Herat] to her – as the power in possession.'[207] Marvin raised the stakes in February 1884: 'The annexation of Merv, being inevitably attended with the incorporation of the Sarik Turcomans, will extend Russian rule up the Murghab [River] to Panjdeh.'[208] Marvin was right. A year later, after a battle with Afghan troops, Russia captured the Panjdeh oasis about 150 km north of Herat.[209] By comparison, the nearest British base, Quetta, was 800 km away from Herat. Russia took advantage of the fact that Great Britain was preoccupied with Sudan to rapidly push onward to Herat. In May 1884, the Russians occupied the city of Sarakhs, which was halfway between Ashgabat and Herat.[210] Thanks to secure supply routes, Herat was now in reach of armies from Transcaucasia and Turkestan. Colonel MacGregor had already warned, in vain, in 1875: 'If England does not use Sarakhs for defence, Russia will use it for offence.'[211] Now, the vague description in Granville's letter of the Afghan border to the Turkmen was having dire consequences.

The offensive posture of the Russian military was all the more evident when it accelerated the construction of the railway network, which was used primarily for military purposes. It was General Skobelev who, after Lomakin's defeat at Geok Tepe, stressed the need for an immediate expansion of the Transcaspian railway for the rapid transport of troops, artillery, ammunition, and other supplies. As the explorer Henry Lansdell reported in 1893, the engineers of General Annenkov (1835–99) could lay up to 6 km

98. Mountain path on the Afghan side of the Panj River, south of the confluence of the Panj and the Vanj. Since the Anglo-Afghan Agreement of 12 November 1893, the Panj-Oxus and its feeder Pamir mark the northern border of Afghanistan from Zorkul Lake (Wood's Lake) in the east to the town of Kham-i Ali in the west. Photo: 2008.

of track per day on flat terrain.[212] The railway, which was administered by the Ministry of War, started on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, where the Russian navy enjoyed exclusive control. It reached Kizil Arvat in December 1881, Ashgabat in 1885, and Merv and Chardju in 1886. A wooden bridge across the Amu Darya allowed for onward travel to Bukhara and Samarkand in 1888 and to Andijan in the Fergana Valley in 1898. Another, purely military line reached the Afghan border in 1898 via Sarakhs near Kushk Post, less than 100 km from Herat. A year later, the railway led up to Tashkent and to Orenburg in 1906. The Transcaspian railway was thereby connected to the European-Russian rail network.[213] From now on, the new rail system fulfilled not only military but also economic purposes. Cotton, for instance, could be transported quickly and inexpensively for processing in the West, and the same was true for cheap industrial products going to Central Asia. In a military conflict over western Afghanistan, Russia already had a significant strategic advantage over Britain with the railway construction to Ashgabat. As Lord Curzon put it: 'Afghanistan has long been the Achilles' heel of Great Britain in the East. Impregnable elsewhere, she has shown herself uniformly vulnerable here.'[214]

Although Britain responded to the Russian occupation of Merv and Sarakhs by completing the railway line to Quetta in 1887,[215] it was apparent that a paradigm shift had occurred with regard to strategic mobility. Previously, firearms used by infantry pushed back the mobile steppe warriors; and, soon thereafter, maritime powers, which could carry guns and troops around the globe, acquired strategic advantages over the land powers. The railway now ushered in a new era. If they had a railway network, land powers could suddenly transport soldiers and heavy weapons faster and above all in larger numbers than the sea powers. The Russian rail network or the planned German Berlin–Baghdad railway, which was to continue on to Basra on the Persian Gulf, illustrated the land powers' new logistical superiority. If a naval power

lacked an inland rail system at its ports, it was at a disadvantage against a rapidly advancing attacking land power that had such a network. General Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of British India from 1885 to 1893, insisted for this reason that roads and railways should be rapidly built up in India's western provinces: 'We must have roads, and we must have railways. [. .] Nothing will tend to secure the safety of the Frontier so much as the power of rapidly concentrating troops on any threatened point. . . [And] there are no better civilizers than roads and railways.'[216] In order to prevent the construction of a railway controlled by Britain in southern Persia, Russia forced the shah in 1890 to renounce the construction of railways indefinitely.[217] It was solely thanks to the British-Russian rapprochement from 1906/07 that Great Britain was able to prevent a strategic cooperation between the Russian and German railway networks on the Eurasian continent. Despite its superiority in rail transport over Britain's sea transport, Russia was not in a position to use it as a trump card. It not only faced domestic political strife, but the 1904–05 war against Japan broke out at a time when the Trans-Siberian railway, which was started in 1891, only had a single track. After the defeat by Japan and the riots of 1905, Russia was severely weakened.

Russia doggedly pursued the goal of acquiring access to the high seas in the south, be it the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean. This goal was confirmed in a 1906 memorandum from the Russian Special Council for Persian Affairs: 'In Persia the aim had been the striving towards an outlet to the Persian Gulf, which idea had included that of building railways in the south.'[218] Another clear indication of Russia's plans to advance to the south was provided by a map produced by the War Department in 1884. It shifted the border with the Turkmen at the latitude of Sarakhs – claimed by Afghanistan in 1881 and recognised at the time by the Russian general staff – around 120 km to the south. This new border was south of the strategically important Zulfikar Pass and south of the Panjdeh oasis.[219] It reduced the distance from the border to Herat from 230 km to 110 km. This new map, which claimed Afghan territory, was based on a secret report that General Petrusevich produced in 1879. In it, he saw the future Russian border south of Panjdeh.[220] Abdur Rahman responded to the Russian provocations – the occupation of Sarakhs and aggressive border change by the War Department – by sending a small force to Panjdeh in the early summer of 1884. Komarov then advanced from Sarakhs

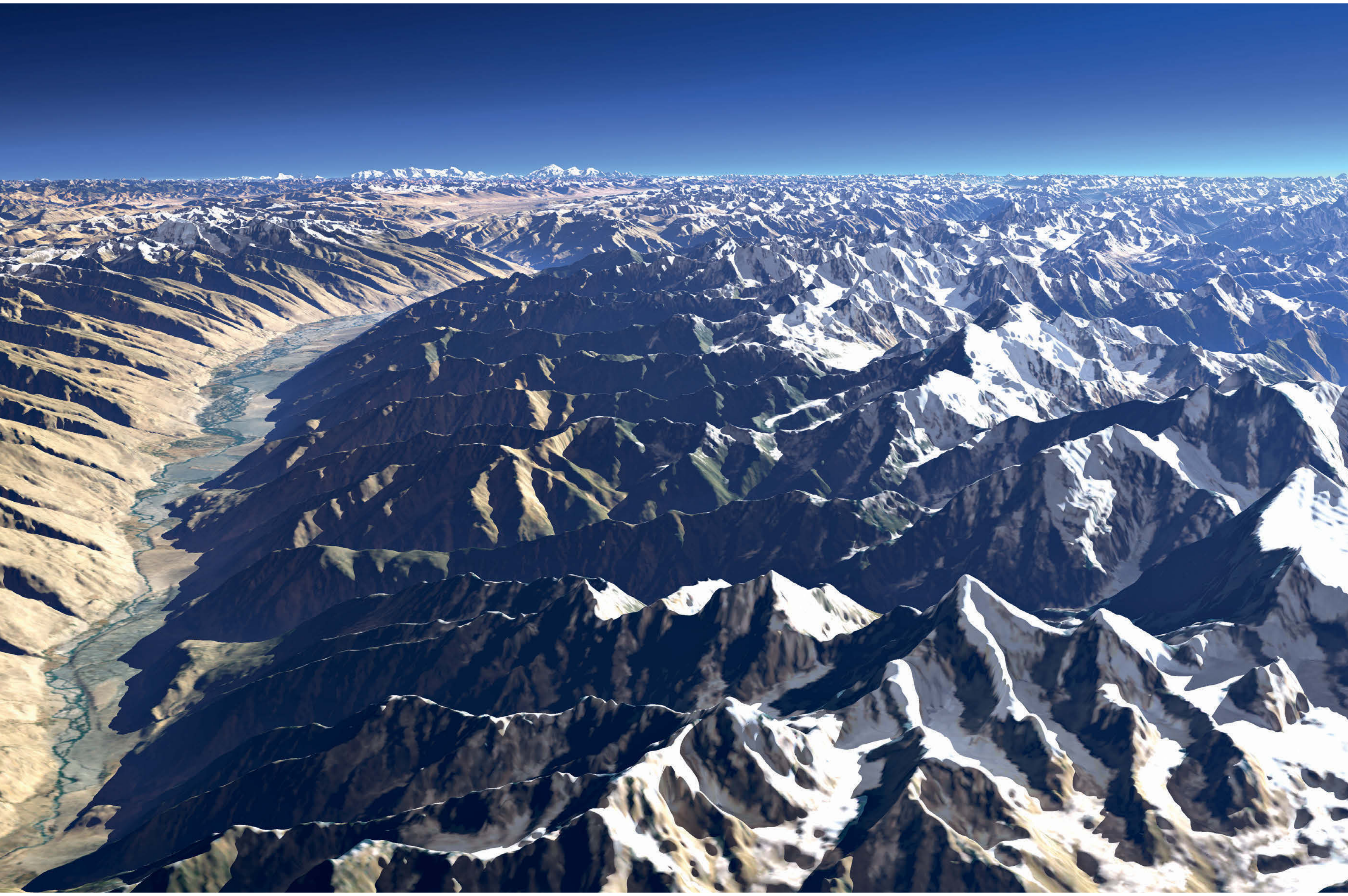
99. The British officer Francis Younghusband crossed the 4,805-m-high Aghil Pass in the years 1887 and 1889, both times in September.[19] The pass is located northwest of the Karakoram Pass and leads to Yarkand. Photo: September 2015.

60 km further south to Pul-i Khatun.[221] The distance between the troops of Russia and the British protectorate of Afghanistan rapidly diminished and a military clash seemed inevitable. It was after the occupation of Merv and Sarakhs that the Gladstone cabinet finally recognised the urgent need to demarcate Afghanistan's north-western frontier. Instead of determining the border together with Afghanistan, it agreed to the Russian proposal of a joint Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission. The Russian proposal soon proved to be a means to gain time. While the British commission, headed by General Sir Peter Lumsden (1829–1918) and Colonel Ridgeway (1844–1930), arrived in Sarakhs in October 1884, the Russian members did not arrive for several months.[222] Before the commission began its work, Russia wanted to at least occupy Panjdeh and probably also Herat. In the words of the British Commissioner Lieutenant Yate (1849–1940), '[the Russians] have led by the nose the Gladstonian Cabinet.'[223]

On 30 March 1885, General Komarov attacked Afghan positions near Panjdeh. Although the Afghans put up a tough resistance, 'two companies of the Afghans were killed to a man in the trenches'.[224] At the same time, the Russians occupied the Zulfikar Pass and immediately threatened Herat.[225] After the death of General Gordon in Khartoum in January 1885 had stirred up the public, the Gladstone government needed to show resolve. It put the navy on alert, and, in India, General Roberts mobilised two army corps. Two days before the fall of Panjdeh, the British government gave Russia notice: 'Any attempt on the part of Russian troops to approach Herat would be equivalent to a declaration of war and would be accepted by Her Majesty's Government.'[226] In other words, an attack on Herat would be answered with attacks on the Kronstadt fortress located off the coast of St Petersburg and on Vladivostok. As in the case with Constantinople in 1878, Curzon's statement from 1907 was once again fitting: 'Frontiers are the chief anxiety of nearly every Foreign Office. [. . .] They are the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations.'[227] As Russia was not advancing further, at least for the moment, the decision regarding war and peace now lay with Amir Abdur Rahman. He knew that under the Treaty of Gandamak, Britain was obliged to safeguard the territorial integrity of Afghanistan and thus to recapture Panjdeh. But the amir kept his cool. He did not want a Russian-British war inside Afghanistan, which would have brought a great deal of suffering and destruction to his people. It also carried the risk that his kingdom would be divided into a northern Russian half and a southern British one. He was willing to give up Panjdeh, but demanded the return of the Zulfikar Pass,[228] a guarantee of three districts south-west of Panjdeh, and a large quantity of weapons.[229] Russia, for its part, understood that Gladstone's threat of a global war was genuine. To be sure, Russia could have overrun Afghanistan. But the British navy – with over 700 warships, many of them highly modern and armoured – was clearly superior to the Russian fleet with its 360, in some instances highly obsolete, vessels.[230] The tsar gave in. He stopped the further preparations, evacuated the Zulfikar Pass, and was able to keep Panjdeh. The British-Russian Boundary Commission then proceeded to establish the Afghan border from the pass to the Amu Darya.[231] The border demarcation, which was not ratified until the summer of 1887, was a red line which signalled to Russia that its defiance would mean a global war with Britain. However, London was not prepared to grant Abdur Rahman's reasonable desire to have the demarcation continued from the Amu Darya to the Pamirs – a circumstance that again led to grave Russian-British tensions in the early 1890s.

After Britain had put a halt to the Russian expansion in north-western Afghanistan, the field of operation of the 'Great Game' shifted eastward – first to the Pamirs, and later to Tibet and, indirectly, Manchuria. In the Pamirs, both rivals tried to position themselves in an optimal way. In the summer of 1887, British India encouraged Abdur Rahman to occupy in the Pamirs an area north of the Oxus (Panj) up to the Chinese border.[232] The Chinese border, though, was poorly defined and based solely on a trilingual stone stele from 1759. It stood near Lake Yashil Kul and marked the Chinese territorial claim up to the Alichur Pamir.[233] This course of action was not without risk for Abdur Rahman, as it recalled the former British Council's suggestion that he occupy Panjdeh. His troops were subsequently massacred by the Russians nine months later, while the British stood by ready for battle.[234] This scenario repeated itself in June 1892. The Afghan push into the Alichur Pamir presented a pawn sacrifice for Great Britain with respect to future border negotiations with Russia. Russia also moved forward, and, in 1888, Captain Grombchevsky (1855–1926) arrived with a small Cossack escort in Baltit, the capital of Hunza. With the Mir (ruler) Safdar Ali, he concluded a tentative agreement on the stationing of a Russian post in Baltit and the training of Hunza troops.[235] British India was greatly troubled by the fact that Russia was able to establish an outpost south of the Hindu Kush, as it had counted these areas as part of its own sphere of influence. The young officer Francis Younghusband (1863–1942) was dispatched to the region north of the 5,575-m-high Karakoram Pass in 1889 to learn more about the geography between Hunza and Yarkand, the gateway to Kashgaria. There, in Raskam Valley, he encountered the Russian rival Grombchevsky on 23 October.[236] The Russian carelessly showed Younghusband a map on which the Wakhan and the passes leading to Hunza were marked in red as claimed Russia territory.[237] When Grombchevsky informed Younghusband that he intended to travel further to Ladakh, the Englishman bribed the Russian's Kyrgyz guide to lead Grombchevsky into extremely difficult terrain, 'to cause extreme hardship and loss to the party'.[238] As a result of Younghusband's intrigue, Grombchevsky lost all his pack animals and equipment and barely escaped with his life.

In June 1890, Viceroy Lord Lansdowne (1845–1927, in office 1888–94) sent Younghusband to Kashgar, together with George Macartney (1867–1945) as a translator, to persuade the Chinese authorities to mark out China's territorial claims in the Pamirs as quickly as possible using soldiers, as Ney Elias had recommended in 1885.[239] In this way, he hoped that Afghans coming from the south and the Chinese marching from the east would peacefully occupy the no-man's land before an imminent Russian advance. But this plan was naive for two reasons: first, it was doubtful whether the Afghan and Chinese soldiers, sent without a surveyor, would be able to peacefully agree upon exactly where the border should be drawn; second, Younghusband, who remained in Kashgar until the end of July 1891, was especially foolish to believe that the all-powerful General Petrovsky would not get wind of his recommendations to forestall Russia militarily. The English officer Ralph Cobbold (1869–1965), who was in Kashgar in December 1897, reported on how Petrovsky had duped Younghusband: 'He [Petrovsky] told me that all the while that



100. The Wakhan Valley in the extreme north-east of Afghanistan.

Captain Younghusband was interviewing the Taotai [District Commissioner] and urging him to dispatch troops to the Pamirs, to complete an effective occupation in anticipation of a Russian advance, the Taotai was keeping Petrovsky daily informed on the purport of Younghusband's proposals, acting on which the Russian agent took steps to render the Russian occupation effective before the Chinese troops were half-way to the Pamirs.'[240] It was through Younghusband's carelessness that the Russian side was first alerted to the fact that Afghan troops had already advanced and that Chinese troops would soon follow.

The Russian governor-general of Turkestan, Alexander Vrevsky, responded quickly. In the early summer of 1891, the Russian Colonel Mikhail Ionov was ordered to occupy six of the eleven Pamirs,[241] along with the side valleys on the northern shore of the Upper Oxus inhabited by Afghan settlers. He was further instructed to displace any Chinese and Afghan garrisons he encountered and to set up new boundary stones. At the site called Soma Tash ('written stone'), where the Chinese stele of 1759 stood, Ionov's battalion met the contingent of the Chinese commander Chang. Ionov ordered Chang to leave Soma Tash immediately and removed the stele, which eliminated China's physical proof of its claim to Alichur.[242] Ionov and his Cossacks then marched south towards the Hindu Kush. They crossed the Pamir and Wakhan rivers, the two headwaters of the Panj River, and then the three passes of Khora Bhort (4,651 m), Baroghil (3,882 m) and Darkot (4,704 m), from which Chitral could be reached, on the one hand, and Yasin and Gilgit, on the other.[243] In Gilgit, however, there was a resident British political agent who managed the district. With this march, Ionov had not only penetrated the British Indian sphere of influence, but he also revealed that there was a potential gateway here for a Russian offensive (albeit without artillery support) against British India. It appeared that the Hindu Kush was no longer an impenetrable shield that could protect India against Russia.[244] On his return to the Pamirs Ionov met Younghusband on 13 August 1891 near Bozai Gumbaz in what is now Afghanistan's Wakhan corridor, some 250 km south of the former Russian border. Younghusband had left George Macartney behind as an unofficial British representative in Kashgar. To Younghusband's astonishment, Ionov showed him a map on which the Russian border not only included the six Pamirs, but also continued further south of the Panj to the ridge of the Hindu Kush near the Khora

101. In the upper Yarkhun valley on the south side of the 3882-m-high Baroghil Pass, leading from the Wakhan River, a feeder of Panj, to Chitral and Gilgit; in the background, middle, stands the 6,872-m-high Koyo Mountain. Photo: 1999.

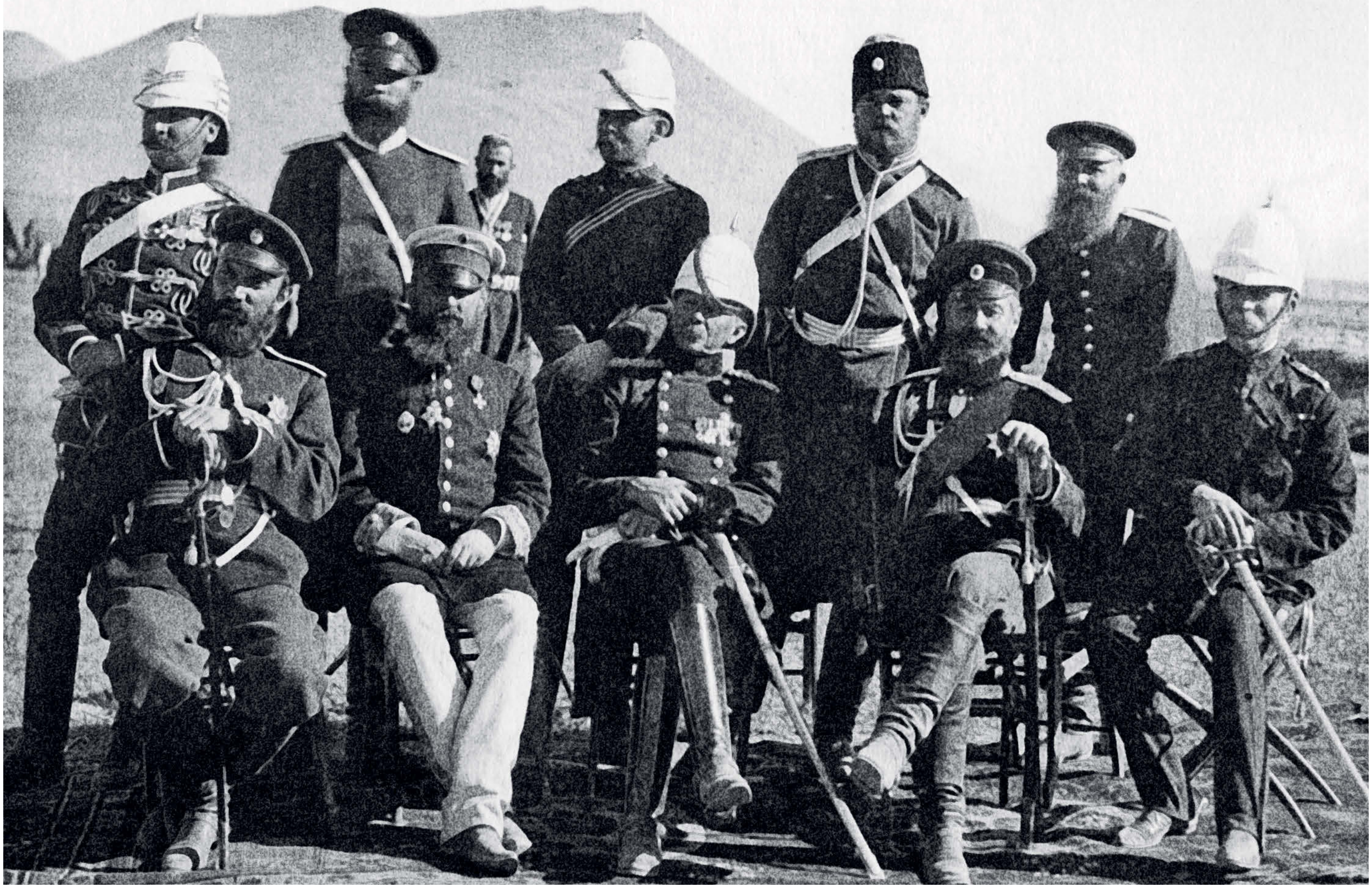
102. The 4,655-m-high Ak-Baital Pass in the Pamirs of East Tajikistan links Murghab with the Kara Kul Lake and further on with the Kyzyl Art Pass, which leads to Kyrgyzstan. Photo: August 2008.

Bhort Pass, from where a path led to Gilgit.[245] Ionov thereby revealed to Younghusband that he was in Russian territory and had to leave the Pamirs immediately. A short time later, Ionov arrested Younghusband's travel companion, Lieutenant Davison, near Bozai Gumbaz.[246] The apparent expulsion of two British officers from what they believed was Afghan territory, over which British India had established a protectorate since the Treaty of Gandamak of 26 May 1879, and Ionov's crossing of the Afghan passes, created quite a stir in British India and London. The commander-in-chief in India, General Roberts, responded by putting a division on combat alert.[247] British India, however, soon recognised that Bozai Gumbaz was in no-man's land, which eased tensions again.[248]

But the fact that Ionov had closed in on Chitral to within a few hours and Gilgit to within a few days demanded a British response. They had to make sure that the gateways across the Hindu Kush and down into the British sphere of influence were sealed off. Russia had indeed temporarily withdrawn its Cossacks from the Pamirs in the late autumn. However, in order to protect Gilgit, British India occupied the principalities of Hunza and Nagar in the north of present-day Pakistan in December 1891. Due to previous contacts, Hunza and Nagar reckoned with Russian military support.[249] Since Hunza considered itself a Chinese vassal, the British attack was a violation of the Chinese sphere of influence. On the other hand, Russia could have immediately claimed Hunza after seizing Kashgar, which would have thwarted British India.[250] As for Chitral, the principality was incorporated into the British Raj, when intense succession struggles broke out in 1892 after the death of the ruler Aman al-Mulk, who was well disposed to British India, and the British agent in the fortress was under siege.[251] Following Ionov's retreat, the Chinese border troops returned in February 1892. In April, a small Afghan detachment subsequently expelled the Chinese for the second time and took Soma Tash. China then declared that the area could not be defended and should be proclaimed a neutral zone.[252] Yet Ionov returned and commanded the Afghan border guards to leave their posts. Curzon offered his own account of what happened: 'the

Afghan commander, though hopelessly outnumbered, refused and a conflict ensued on June 22, 1892, in which fifteen out of the seventeen Afghans present were slain.'[253] The situation now came to a head. Abdur Rahman declared that he would not only forgo the area from the Panj to the Alichur Pamir, but almost half of the Wakhan up to the 73rd meridian east line of longitude, which would have extended the no-man's land to a length of 165 km.[254] It was foreseeable that Russia would soon rush to fill this vacuum. Meanwhile, Russia consolidated its rule over the Pamir by building the 'Pamirsky Post' fortress near today's town of Murghab in the spring of 1893.[255] Ionov then set up a military base on the Panj River near Khorog in the summer of 1894.[256] Russia had thus conquered all the Pamirs north of the Panj, except for those belonging to China (figs. 1, 88).

Because the agreement of 1872/73 was not only recognised by Russia, but was also used as an argument against Abdur Rahman's advances into the right-bank areas of Roshan and Shugnan, it was necessary for British India to quickly resolve its grave shortcomings.[257] And this time, unlike in 1872/73, the Afghan amir was involved in the negotiations. British India's primary interest was in keeping Russia away from the Hindu Kush and to avoid leaving a no-man's land in the Pamirs. Abdur Rahman's own concern was largely consistent with this. In addition, he insisted on defensible borders and military security guarantees on the part of Britain. He was also ready to surrender poor, economically insignificant or even costly areas. The amir was aware that, unlike for Herat, the British were not willing to go to war for the right-bank areas of Roshan and Shugnan. After an antagonistic exchange of letters between Abdur Rahman and Lord Lansdowne, Sir Mortimer Durand (1850–1924), the foreign minister of British India, arrived in Kabul on 2 October 1893 to negotiate directly with the suspicious amir. Durand succeeded in convincing the amir to give



103. The Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission, which demarcated the northern boundary of the Wakhan Corridor. Front row, from left to right, Colonel Galkin (Russian General Staff), Monsieur Ponafidine (Russian Councillor of State), Major General M.G. Gerard (British Commissioner), General Povalo-Shveykovsky (Russian Governor of Ferghana and Commissioner), Colonel T.H. Holdich (chief British surveyor); back row, from left to right, Captain E.F.H McSwiney (British Intelligence Officer), Lieutenant Orakolov (Russian interpreter), Surgeon-Captain Dr. A. Alcock (Indian Medical Services), Captain Krutorozhin (commanding the escort of Orenburg Cossacks), Dr. Welman (Russian medical officer). Gerard, Holdich, Wahab and Alcock, *Report on the proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission 1896* (1897), p. 1.

up the right-bank areas of Roshan and Shugnan provided that Bukhara ceded Darwaz on the left bank in return. Moreover, Abdur Rahman agreed to retain a narrow strip of land in the Wakhan, which stretched from Ishkashim to the Chinese border, but still needed to be defined on-site. This so-called Wakhan Corridor was to remain demilitarised as a buffer zone to prevent a direct encounter between the troops of British India and Russia. The most momentous passage of the agreement of 12 November 1893 reads as follows: the Amir 'agrees that he will evacuate all the districts held by him to the north of this portion of the Oxus on the clear understanding that all the districts lying to the south of this portion of the Oxus, and not now in his possession, be handed over to him in exchange.'[258] Nonetheless, Abdur Rahman's far-reaching concessions on the Oxus came at a price – one that British India had to pay by making substantial compromises on the Indo-Afghan border.[259] This southern, 2,430-km-long Durand Line forms the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan and, as it runs right through tribal areas of the Pashtuns and Baluchis, ignores ethnic considerations. This international, law-governed Durand Line was not identical with the inner administrative border. Between them, there was a 30 to 150-km-wide and more than 1,000-km-long tribal area with local, autonomous governments.[260] Those Pashtuns now living east of the line within British Indian authority resented this demarcation as a violation of their tribal independence.[261] The line is recognised by only a few of today's Afghan politicians and many of the 49 million Pashtuns have their hopes set on a united Pashtunistan. This unresolved issue is one of the main reasons for the continuing poor relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

104. **Carved ancestral figures on the tombs of the Kafirs in Krakal, Bumburet Valley, Kafiristan (Nuristan), eastern Afghanistan. Photo from 1935, German Hindu Kush expedition, Arnold Scheibe estate, DHE 233. Foundation Phototheca Afghanica, Bubendorf, Switzerland.**

Although the Russian military tried to torpedo Durand's negotiations with deliberate provocations, the tsar accepted the principles of the British proposals in December. On 11 March 1895, Great Britain and Russia agreed on the demarcation in the Pamirs, albeit without China's consent. The agreement was based on the British-Afghan Treaty of 1893, with the mutual territorial concessions established therein, and determined that the north-eastern border of the Wakhan should extend eastward, from a point just south of Lake Zorkul, along a mountain range to the Chinese border.[262] Although the parallel Sino-Russian border negotiations broke down in early 1894, Russia nevertheless pledged to keep its troops to the west of the Sarikol Pamir. Apart from small provocations – such as the stationing of Cossacks in Tashkurgan, south-east of the Sarikol Pamir, from 1901 to 1917 – Russia maintained the ceasefire.[263] China did not recognise the demarcation in Wakhan until 1963, and the border to Tajikistan until as late as 2002.[264]

The actual border demarcation was carried out by a mixed Russian-British commission, led on the Russian side by General Povalo-Shveykovsky and on the British side by Major General M.G. Gerard and Colonel T.H. Holdich[265] (fig. 103). Between 22 July and 10 September 1895, the commission defined the boundaries and set up the appropriate landmarks. The Panj and its feeder, the Pamir River, were confirmed to be the upper reaches of the Oxus up to Lake Zorkul (Wood's Lake). The border ran southward approximately 20 km from the eastern shore of the lake to the Nicholas Mountains, now called the Wakhan Mountains, and about 100 km along its eastern ridge to the Chinese border. This neutral buffer zone from Ishkashim to the Chinese border forms the 295-km-long and 15- to 65-km-wide Wakhan Corridor, which still belongs to Afghanistan today and separates Pakistan from Tajikistan. The three empires of Russia, China and Great Britain converged at the easternmost tip of the Wakhan Corridor, near the

105. The Joshi (Spring) Festival of the Kalash in Northern Pakistan. The Kalash of the Chitral region are the eastern neighbours of the former kafirs of Nuristan.

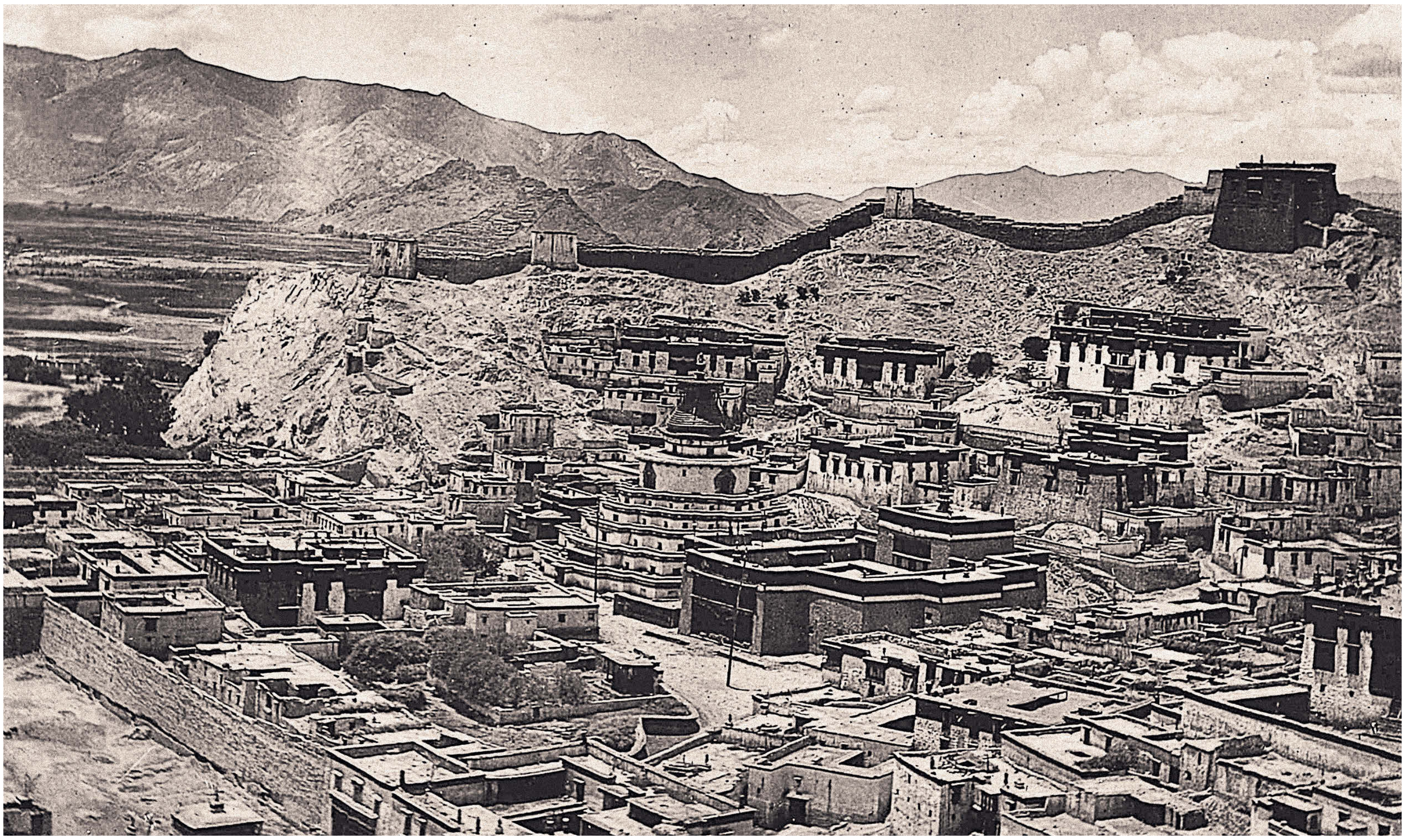
5,543-m-high peak Povalo Shveykovsky(Kokrash Kol). As Colonel Holdich described it: 'Here, amidst a solitary wilderness 20,000 feet above sea-level, absolutely inaccessible to man and within the ken of no living creature except the Pamir eagles, the three great Empires actually meet. No more fitting trijunction could possibly be found.'[266] The border agreement of 1895 supplemented that of 1885/87 and defined Afghanistan's northern border with Russia. Although Russia was able to secure large areas in the Pamirs in the agreement of 1895, British India was the real winner: the Russian advance towards the south was halted from Sarakhs in the west to the Taghdumbash Pamir in the east, and the northern side of the Hindu Kush remained demilitarised. As historian Gerry Alder aptly summarises: 'The Pamir [and Panjdeh] disagreement[s] were one of those relatively minor clashes of imperial interests in the pre-1914 years which could conceivably, if mishandled, have so involved the two Powers that honourable withdrawal would have become impossible.'[267] The border remained untouched until the Soviet invasion of December 1979.

Abdur Rahman took advantage of the calm along the external borders to consolidate his power domestically. From 1891 to 1893, he subjugated the Shiite Hazaras of central Afghanistan and settled Ghilzai Pashtuns from southern Afghanistan, who were hostile towards him, in the Hazaras' most fertile valleys. He also deported numerous Ghilzai to the northern regions inhabited by Uzbeks and Tajiks, resulting in a 'Pashtunisation' of north and central Afghanistan. At the same time, he made a significant effort to break the power of the mullahs and feudal lords and to strengthen the central government and the army. Finally, in 1895/96, after the Durand Line had established the boundary between his kingdom and British India, the amir forced the mountain people of Kafiristan (the 'land of the infidels') to embrace Islam, and now called the region Nuristan ('land of light').[268]

8. Kashgaria, Tibet, the Russo-Japanese War and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907

After the agreement of 1895, the British-Russian rivalry continued in Persia. It also further smouldered in Kashgaria and commenced in Tibet. For British India, Kashgaria was merely a sideshow and important solely as buffer zone to the difficult passes that led to Hunza and Kashmir. It had also served since Macartney's deployment in 1891 as a listening post for the rumours and goings-on in the Russian general government of Turkestan. For Russia, conversely, Kashgaria was a means of applying pressure against British India and a closed market for low-grade industrial products. Russia was not interested in occupying a poor Muslim country, which had to rely on financial support from the central government, but only in commercial advantages.[269] The low regard British India had for Kashgaria was also evident in Macartney's lack of official status. He was merely 'Special Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir'[270] and had no escort, while his counterpart Petrovsky maintained a guard of about 60 to 100 Cossacks. Petrovsky, therefore, ignored Macartney, while the Chinese merely tolerated him, as 'China [in Xinjiang] knew she had nothing to fear from British power and nothing to gain from British friendship'.[271] The local Chinese authorities feared Petrovsky and his successors all the more because they pursued a policy of provocation: they initiated or fomented conflicts and then let them escalate as a pretext for deploying additional troops in Kashgar. Nevertheless, Macartney, who was appointed consul only after eighteen years, managed to obtain the release of about 200 British, Indian-born slaves. However, when the new Russian consul Sokov started to register thousands of purportedly Russian citizens from 1910, the Chinese authorities took Macartney's side. Sokov and his secretary Behrens wanted to increase Kashgaria's Russian population to spread Russia's power base. They consequently lured local Muslim merchants by offering them pecuniary and commercial advantages for adopting the Russian nationality. The Chinese governor and district officials feared the loss of substantial tax revenue because Russians were exempt from taxation in Xinjiang. Macartney wrote a critical report, the contents of which prompted Russian foreign minister Sazanov to recall Sokov and Behrens in 1913.[272]

106. Four Indian officers of the 32nd Sikh Pioneers at Khamba Dzong in October 1903. Harvey St George Hume Harvey-Kelly (1880–1946) Archive, private collection. Photo: 1904.



107. The great Kumbum Chörten in the Pelkhor Chöde Monastery of Gyantse, Tibet. During the Anglo-Tibetan War of 1903–4, Tibetans shot from the fortress (Dzong, not seen in the photo) at Younghusband's mission in Gyantse from 5 May to 26 June 1904. Archive Major MacCarthy Reagh Emmet Ray (1867–1906), private collection.

British India's relationship with Tibet – which nominally belonged to China, but where the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933) reigned autonomously – was similar to the one with Kashgaria. Himalayan-dominated Tibet was considered a glacis of northern India, which could never fall into the hands of a hostile power such as Russia. The country was poor, the climate harsh, and trading with Sikkim very modest. In addition, both China and the mighty Tibetan clergy wanted to insulate the country from the outside and deny entry to foreigners. After British India and Beijing signed an agreement on a trading post at the border, Tibet, which had not been consulted, steadfastly refused to go along with it. When India increased the pressure on Tibet via China, Tibetan troops crossed the border with Sikkim and advanced about 20 km before they were expelled by British troops in 1888. In 1890 and 1893, India concluded two Tibet-related agreements with China, which Tibet likewise ignored.[273] This essentially banal concern became more important when Lord Curzon, who advocated a Forward Policy, was appointed viceroy in 1899. Curzon suspected that the Dalai Lama's independent posture vis-à-vis his sovereign China hinted at foreign support, namely from Russia. As neither the Tibetan government nor the Dalai Lama responded to Curzon's two letters and rumours were circulating in Calcutta (modern Kolkata), headquarters of the British Indian government, about alleged Russian agents in Tibet (which even included the Swedish Asia explorer Sven Hedin), Curzon decided to take a more aggressive approach in early 1903.[274]

The starting point of these rumours was the fantastical-sounding plan of the Buryat Russian Bamayev to bring Mongolia and Tibet under Russian control through the construction of a railway from Irkutsk to Kyakhta and then on to Lanzhou in the Chinese Gansu province. Tsar Alexander opposed the plan, but, in November 1893, he agreed to send emissaries to Mongolia under the cover of a trading company as well as young Buryats and Kalmyks to Tibet disguised as monks. Expeditions by Russian explorers such as Tsybikov, Kozlov and Norzunov followed in the succeeding years, to explore Tibet's communication links and resources. These journeys were analogous to the so-called 'private' hunting expedition of British officers to western Tibet. After Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918, r. 1894–1917) received the Buryat Buddhist monk Agvan Dorjiev (1854–1938), one of the masters of the Dalai Lama, three times from 1898 to 1901, the suspicion grew that he was an agent of the tsar who wanted to lead

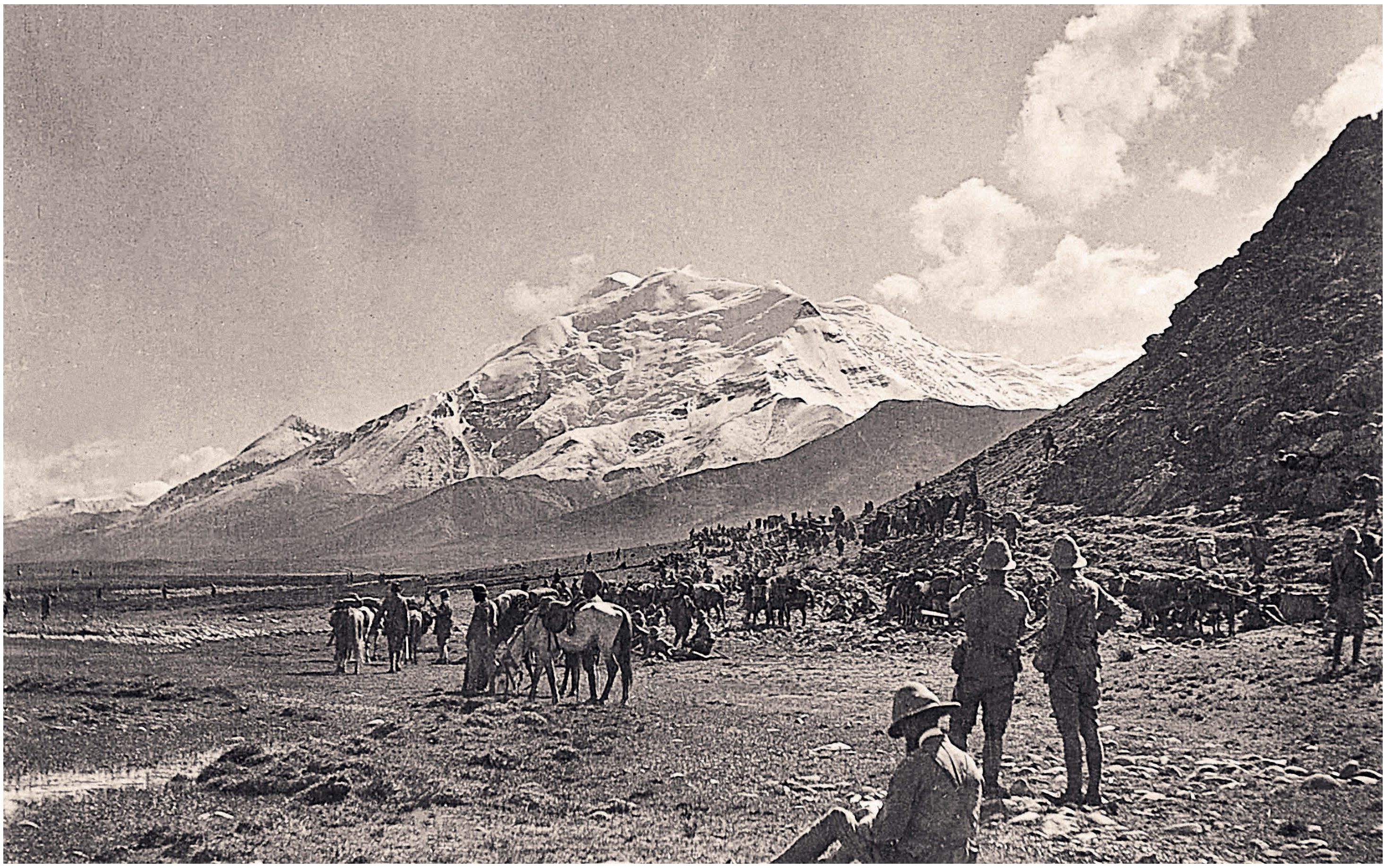
Tibet into the Russian sphere of influence. By the same token, the Russian government harboured no serious intentions of converting Tibet into a protectorate. The geographical espionage was rather part of everyday politics. And Tsar Nicholas's involvement went back to the naive vision promoted by the Orientalist Prince Ukhtomsky that he might rise to become patron of all Buddhists.[275]

At the turn of the twentieth century, several military and economic trends emerged which forced the leading colonial power, Great Britain, to rethink and restructure its previous security policies. This, in turn, had important ramifications for Central Asia. While the short First Boer War of 1880/81 had already revealed the striking weaknesses of British troops with respect to the mobile Boers, the Second Boer War (1899–1902) turned out to be an especially costly and protracted affair. Great Britain had to mobilise a disproportionate amount of forces to grapple with the two small Boer republics – a clear sign that the empire and its military were overstretched. The foreign minister for British India, Lord Hamilton, stated soberly in November 1899: 'This war [the Second Boer War] makes self-evident that our Empire is in excess of our armaments, or even of our power to defend it in all parts of the world.'[276] The empire, which consisted of strategically and economically relevant, as well as smaller, secondary colonies, had become too large in relation to the public finances, existing armaments, and the available troops. In addition, the German Empire, whose industry and overseas trade were growing rapidly and which had begun to acquire colonies, threatened to throw the European balance of power out of kilter. In addition, in the area of logistics, the Berlin–Basra railway targeted direct access to the Persian Gulf and the oil resources there by bypassing the Suez Canal.[277] Finally, the German Empire grew inexorably into a world-class military power in the course of a general buildup, especially through the Fleet Act of June 1900, which foresaw the rapid expansion of the German navy. The use of the British navy now needed to be focused on the defence of India and the British Isles, which is why Great Britain needed an ally in the Far East.

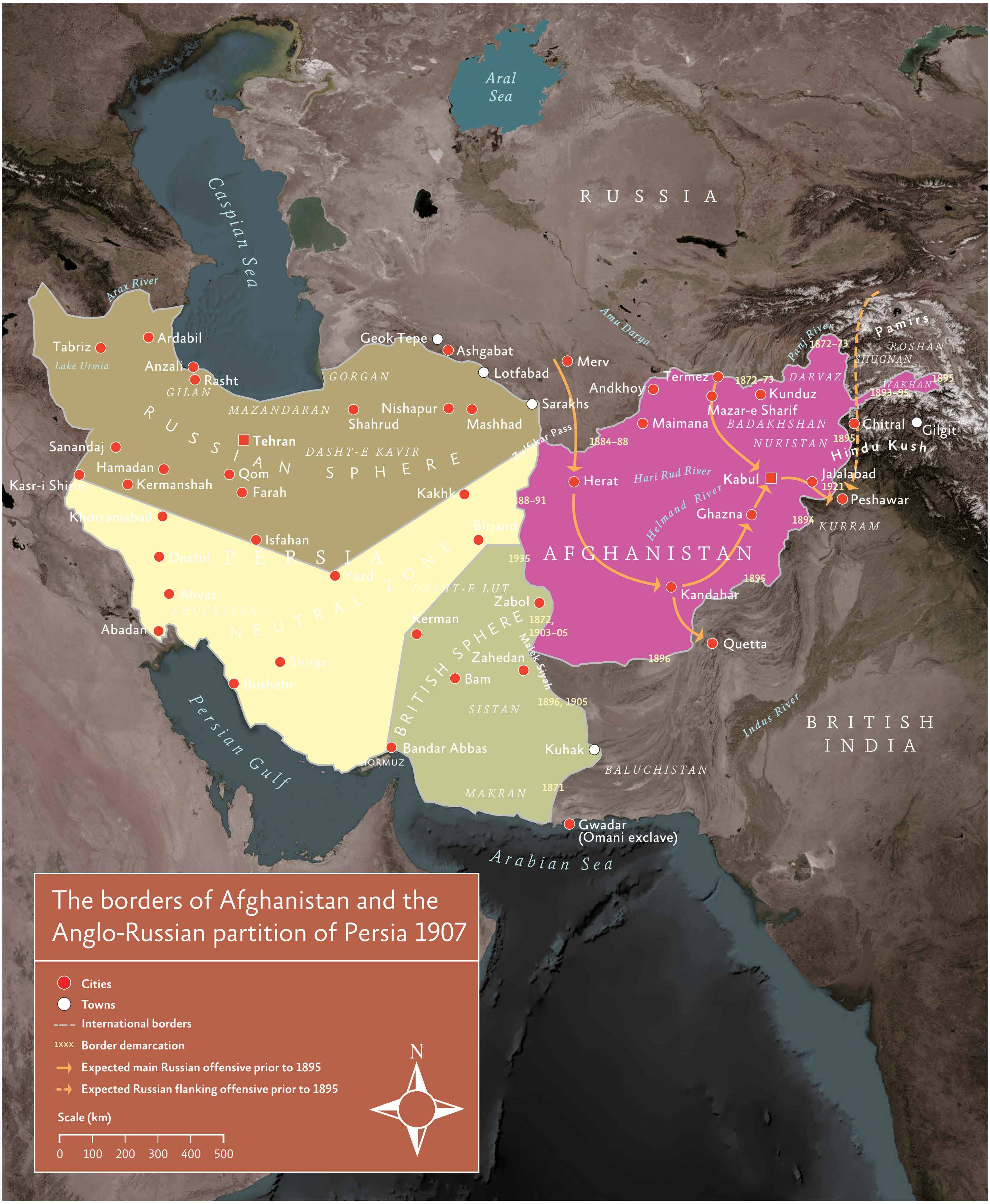
Such an ally was found in the emerging industrial and military power Japan, which had humiliated China in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and wrested control of Taiwan. On 30 January 1902, Great Britain ended its policy of non-alignment and signed the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which was renewed in 1905 and 1911. Although Article 1 recognised the independence of China and Korea, it also stressed the special concern of Great Britain in China and Japan's interests in China and Korea. Article 2 bound the partners to neutrality if one of the parties went to war with *another* power in connection with Article 1. Article 3 obliged the partners to provide support if a party went to war with *more than one* power. This meant that in a war between Japan and Russia Britain would be required to stay neutral; Japan, on the other hand, knew that no third power would aid Russia for fear that it would have to conduct a war with both Japan *and* Britain. The treaty extension of August 1905 nullified Article 3 and Article 2 stated in connection with the preamble that any attack by a *single* power on an ally would prompt the immediate entry of the treaty partner into the war. In addition, the scope of the agreement was extended to British India and the sovereignty of Korea was excluded. Britain was thus to enter the war if Russia attacked Japan or its protectorates, and a signal was sent to Russia that an attack on India also meant war with Japan.[278] The change in Great Britain's security-policy strategy, which came to light in 1902 in the British-Japanese alliance, sparked further alliances, including the Anglo-French 'Entente Cordiale' of 1904 and its expansion to the Anglo-French-Russian 'Triple Entente' of 31 August 1907. The latter caused the Central Powers, the German Empire and Austria-Hungary to harbour fears of encirclement. While the Triple Entente, which was signed in St Petersburg on the same day as the Anglo-Russian Convention, undoubtedly created a strong military counterweight to the Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria; it also tied Great Britain to France, which desired a reconquest of the areas of Alsace and Lorraine lost to the German Empire in 1871, and to Russia, whose military weaknesses had been obvious since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05. Besides, in the German Empire, the military in the early 1910s increasingly pushed for a rapid start of the war to forestall the alleged threat of complete encirclement. All these factors contributed to the outbreak of World War I. Nevertheless, the world war was not an autonomous fait accompli and could have been avoided. This was exemplified in the winter of 1908/09, when Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russia threatened to intervene because of Serbia, but Britain and France informed St Petersburg that they would not assist Russia militarily, despite the Triple Entente of 1907.[279]

In Asia, the impact of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was quickly apparent. In the summer of 1903, Curzon sent Colonel Younghusband and the Political Agent Jean-Claude White with a small escort to Khamba Dzong, which lay on the Tibetan side of the border with Sikkim, to force Lhasa to negotiate. When the Tibetans refused for four months to negotiate with the invaders on Tibetan soil, Younghusband reported to Curzon that Dorjiev had delivered an assistance agreement from the tsar to Lhasa. It laid out that Russian weapons would be brought to Lhasa and Cossacks would stay in Tibet. This 'news' had no basis whatever, but was merely, among else, the fabrication of a Scottish missionary called Annie Taylor living in Yatung (today's Yadong) who hoped that a British invasion of Tibet would facilitate her missionary work.[280] Curzon accepted the rumours uncritically, however, and he used them as a pretext to obtain permission from London to carry out a British invasion of Tibet to Gyantse with a 2,600-strong army. Curzon's action shows that so-called 'fake news' was already being exploited for political purposes more than a century ago. The army set out in December 1903 and encountered the Tibetan army at the hot springs of Chumik Shenko near Guru in southern Tibet on 31 March 1904. The Tibetans were equipped with muzzle-loaders and melee weapons while the British had mountain artillery and Maxim machine guns, with which they mowed down about 700 Tibetans within minutes.[281] When the Tibetans – who offered fierce resistance several times even though their Chinese overlords did not assist them – also refused (figs. 106–08) to negotiate in Gyantse, Younghusband marched on Lhasa, from where the Dalai Lama had fled on 30 July.[282]

In Lhasa, Younghusband imposed a severe treaty on the Tibetan regent and the Chinese amban (resident), which went far beyond his instructions from London. Younghusband's excesses concerned Articles 6 and 7, which compelled Tibet to pay reparations over 75 years and transferred southern Tibet's Chumbi Valley to Great Britain as collateral; Article 9, which made Tibet a de facto British protectorate, although it actually belonged to China; and the special agreement to station a political agent in Gyantse, who was authorised at all times to negotiate with the government in Lhasa.[283] There was great irritation in London. Younghusband had not only ignored his instructions, but the reasons for invading Tibet in the first place had vanished into thin air. In Tibet, there were neither traces of Russian weapons nor of Russian Cossacks or agents; nor was there a Russian-Tibetan Friendship Treaty. (The non-existence of Russian arms in Lhasa calls to mind the year 2003, when Iraq's Saddam Hussein allegedly held weapons of mass destruction.) Younghusband was reprimanded and the treaty unilaterally revised.[284] The subsequent British-Chinese Treaty of 1906 confirmed China's sovereignty over Tibet and paved the way for China in the winter of 1909/10 to once again force the Dalai Lama into exile, after he had returned to Lhasa.[285] The political fiasco of the invasion of Tibet was a further indication



108. The 7,206-m-high Nichi-kang-sang Mountain (Nojin Kangtsang) dominates the western climb to the 5,036-m-high Karo La pass, where the invading British Indian army defeated the Tibetans twice on 6 May and 18 July 1904. The fortifications on the west side of the Karo La blockaded the way to Lhasa.[20] Photo probably from mid-July 1904. Archive Major MacCarthy Reagh Emmet Ray (1867–1906), private collection.



The borders of Afghanistan and the Anglo-Russian partition of Persia 1907

Aral Sea
RUSSIA
Caspian Sea
Arax River
Tabriz
Lake Urmia
Ardabil
Anzali
Rasht
GILAN
MAZANDARAN
GORGAN
Geok Tepe
Ashgabat
Lotfabad
Merv
Amu Darya
Nishapur
Shahrud
Mashhad
Sarakhs
Zulfikar Pass
Andkhoy
Termez
1872–73
DARVAZ
Kunduz
Mazar-e Sharif
Maimana
1884–88
BADAKHSHAN
NURISTAN
Panj River
1872–73
Pamirs
ROSHAN
SHUGNAN
WAKHAN
1895
1893–95
Chitral
Gilgit
1895
Hindu Kush
Jalalabad
1921
Peshawar
Kabul
Herat
Hari Rud River
Helmand River
Ghazna
1894
KURRAM
AFGHANISTAN
1895
Kandahar
Quetta
1896
Sanandaj
Hamadan
Kermanshah
Kasr-i Shirin
Tehran
RUSSIAN SPHERE
DASHT-E KAVIR
Qom
Farah
Kakhk
88–91
Birjand
Khorramabad
Isfahan
Dezful
PERSIA
Yazd
NEUTRAL ZONE
1935
DASHT-E LUT
Zabol
Ahvaz
KHUZESTAN
Kerman
1872,
1903–05
Abadan
BRITISH SPHERE
Zahedan
Malek Siyah
Shiraz
Bushehr
Bam
1896, 1905
SISTAN
Persian Gulf
Bandar Abbas
HORMUZ
Kuhak
BALUCHISTAN
MAKRAN
1871
Gwadar (Omani exclave)
Arabian Sea
Indus River
BRITISH INDIA
Cities
Towns
International borders
1xxx Border demarcation
Expected main Russian offensive prior to 1895
Expected Russian flanking offensive prior to 1895
Scale (km)
0 100 200 300 400 500
N

that the era of expansive British imperialism was over and that future efforts would be limited to defending the status quo.

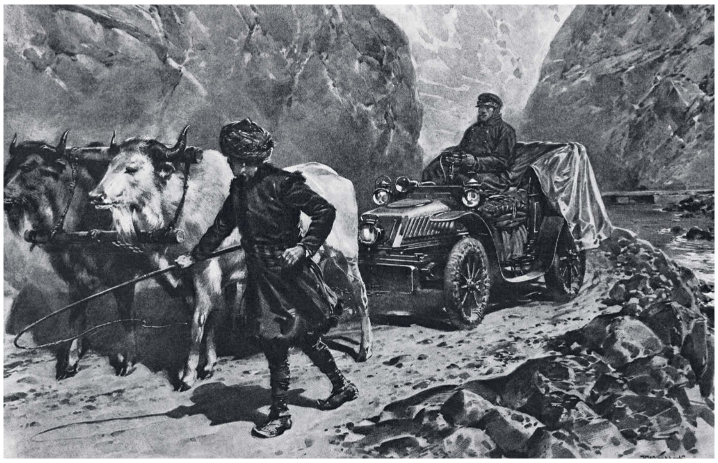
For Russia, on the other hand, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had drastic consequences. Japan was deeply distressed by the expansion of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which was completed with the Manchurian line and extended over Chinese territory to Vladivostok; by the stationing of 170,000 Russian soldiers in Manchuria; and by Russia's regional penetration. Time was not on Japan's side, as the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway permitted Russia to mobilise troops on a large scale. Unlike Britain, which issued ultimatums in conflicts and preferred diplomatic solutions, Japan elected to go with the element of surprise. In a similar way as with Pearl Harbor in World War II, Japan suddenly attacked the Russian naval base of Port Arthur (today's Lüshunkou) on 8 February 1904, without making a declaration of war. The Japanese generals were clearly superior to their Russian counterparts and won numerous victories. The conquest of Port Arthur and the land battle near Mukden (Shenyang) were among the most spectacular. The Japanese attack would probably have not taken place without Great Britain's backing in 1902. Russia's involvement in Manchuria and Korea was welcomed by the British prime minister Lord Balfour (1849–1930, in office 1902–5): 'Nothing [could] be better for us than that Russia should involve herself in the expense and trouble of Korean adventure, . . . which would be a perpetual guarantee that whenever Russia went to war with another power, no matter where or about what, Japan would be upon her back.'[286] Great Britain remained neutral during the war, though it supported Japan indirectly: invoking the peace treaties of Paris (1856) and Berlin (1878), Great Britain refused to allow the departure of Russia's Black Sea Fleet. For London, it would have represented a *casus belli*. And when Russia decided to send the Baltic Fleet to the Far East, London denied it the opportunity to obtain coal in any British port. Besides this, a serious incident took place on the night of 22/23 October 1904, when nervous units of the Baltic Fleet mistook British trawlers for Japanese torpedo boats on the Dogger Bank, a large shoal in the North Sea. In a state of panic, they opened fire on the harmless fishermen, killing several of them. In the fog, the Russian ships even fired on each other. The British 'Home Fleet' prepared for combat, but war was ultimately avoided when the tsar apologised.

The heterogeneous Russian fleet sailed onward and, on 26 May 1905, suffered one of the most devastating defeats in modern naval history. It occurred in the Strait of Tsushima, which lies between Korea and Japan, against a Japanese fleet superbly led by Admiral Togo. Since a general strike had broken out in Russia shortly before this and hundreds of unarmed demonstrators were shot on 'Bloody Sunday', 22 January 1905,[287] raising fears of a revolution, Russia agreed to a truce. In the Treaty of Portsmouth of 5 September, the enemies agreed to evacuate Manchuria and return it to China. Russia had to pay a high indemnity, recognise the Japanese protectorate over Korea, and cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin Island and Port Arthur, including its hinterland (the Liaodong Peninsula). Japan got control over the Russian-built Manchurian railway to Vladivostok and a bridgehead on the Asian continent.[288] The defeat by Japan and the dangers of revolution as well as mutinies in the army brought the expansion of the Russian Empire in Asia to an end. Like Great Britain, Russia sought ways to protect the status quo and to avoid conflicts with its main opponents. With the victory of an Asian power over a European country, the prestige of the 'white man' suffered irreparable damage in Asia, leading to the emergence of nationalist movements in China and India.

The Anglo-Russian rapprochement talks – which started in 1903/04,[289] were then interrupted, and resumed in 1906 – culminated in the Anglo-Russian Convention of 31 August 1907.[290] For the British government, one of the motivations to find a general settlement with Russia concerning Asia was the aborted secret military Treaty of Björkö signed on 24 July 1905 between Wilhelm II of Germany and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia. This defence treaty was directed against Great Britain and Japan. However, it was never ratified by the Russian or German government.[291] The Anglo-Russian Convention defined the respective spheres of influence in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, while leaving aside the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The three main goals were to avoid accidental conflicts in Asia, to preserve the status quo, and, above all, to reinforce the forces in Europe in the face of the German Empire's threatening military buildup by reducing the forces committed in Asia. It was the growing strength of the Germans which brought the two arch-enemies, Russia and Great Britain, closer together. As for Tibet, both parties recognised the full sovereignty of China and pledged to not exert influence there in any way. 'The Governments of Great Britain and Russia recognize the suzerain rights of China in Thibet. [. . .] The two High Contracting Parties engage to respect the territorial integrity of Thibet and to abstain from all interference in the internal administration.'[292] Regarding Afghanistan, Russia confirmed that the country was outside its zone of influence and renounced diplomatic contacts with the country. Great Britain committed itself to maintaining the political status quo in Afghanistan and to not occupy or annex any Afghan territory *provided* that the amir met his obligations. For Great Britain, this left open the possibility of military intervention. In addition, Great Britain agreed to refrain from either threatening

Russian possessions in Central Asia or from encouraging the amir to do so himself.[293]

By far the most important part of the agreement concerned Persia. This is because the country was not only significant with regard to the defence of India, but also economically. In 1901, the Englishman William Knox D'Arcy had acquired a 60-year concession for the promotion, sale, and export of petroleum for all of Persia, except the five northern provinces. Four years later, the British Burmah Oil Company took over D'Arcy's financially troubled company to ensure that it did not fall into Russian hands. Although no commercially viable oil deposits had been found yet in Persia, and the navy still used coal, the admiralty had a strategic interest in oil.[294] The convention of 1907 divided Persia into three zones: the northern provinces were assigned to the Russian zone, the south-eastern provinces to the British zone, and the central/south-western provinces to the neutral zone administered by the Persian government. The Russian zone ran along 'a line starting from Kasr-i Shirin [on the Baghdad–Kermanshah road], passing through Isfahan, Yazd, Kakhk, and ending at a point on the Persian frontier at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers'. The smaller British zone traced a line 'going from the Afghan frontier by way of Gažík, Birjand, Kerman and ending at Bandar Abbas'.[295] British interests were safeguarded to the extent that the mostly desert British zone shielded Afghanistan, Sistan and Baluchistan from Russia, while the neutral zone allocated to Persia prevented a Russian advance to the Persian Gulf. Nonetheless, the British consul in Mashhad, Sir Percy Sykes (1867–1945, in office in Mashhad 1905–13) – to whom the convention had been submitted for consideration before its signing – warned that the German Empire could rapidly infiltrate the neutral zone. This, in fact, occurred in 1915.[296]



109. A pair of bullocks help to bring a motor-car offered by the British Indian government to Amir Habibullah through the mountain passes to Kabul. *The Illustrated London News*, 13 May 1905.

Russia, in turn, fortified its protectorate over the northern zone, which also included the capital Tehran, by permanently stationing 12,000–15,000 soldiers there. In addition, Russia exerted considerable influence on the neutral zone by allowing the shah to avail himself of a special Cossack brigade. At the same time, Russia promoted the settlement of Russian citizens in the northern zone, where they enjoyed extraterritorial rights. Since the Russian settlers acquired land on a large scale, this immigration entailed a colonisation of northern Persia.[297] Persia, which was within reach of the Russian army in the north and the British navy in the south, was not consulted. With the signing of the two agreements on 31 August 1907, the 'Great Game' between Russia and Great Britain cooled noticeably, only to then blaze up again after 1917.

Soon after signing the agreement, Persia's importance for Britain increased enormously. In the neutral zone, a large oil field was discovered near Masjed Suleyman, after which the concessionaires founded the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) in 1909. In the same year, the navy began to fuel new destroyers and submarines with petroleum instead of coal. Petroleum was much more efficient. Ships could now travel twice as fast, required a smaller crew and could be refuelled much faster – even on the high seas. On the other hand, Great Britain had large coal repositories, but no petroleum, and was therefore dependent on the American Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill (1874–1965, first time in this office 1911–15) ordered the general conversion of the fleet to oil combustion in the beginning of 1912. Two years later, he acquired a government majority stake in APOC, the future British Petroleum (BP), which enabled him to secure the necessary fuel for the navy. That same year, APOC acquired 50 per cent of the Turkish Petroleum Company, in whose concession area the giant oil field of Kirkuk was later discovered in northern Iraq.[298] The conversion of the navy to petroleum marked the beginning of the strategic orientation of Western industrial powers towards the oil-producing regions of Iran, the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula, which was extended to Central Asia from 1991. As it turned out, however, the neutral zone continued to represent a bone of contention between Britain and Russia. Russia and Britain agreed, in series of secret assurances from March to April 1915, that after a victorious war Constantinople and the Dardanelles would go to Russia and the neutral zone of Persia with its oil fields would fall to Great Britain.[299] Russia had never been so close to achieving its main strategic objective. But the failed attack on the Gallipoli peninsula in the Dardanelles (25 April 1915 to 9 January 1916) and the October Revolution prevented it once again from becoming reality.

VI

The Drive for Sovereignty – Central Asia between the World Wars

'We will never allow you to dictate how to run our country and whom to employ in Afghanistan.'

THE PRESIDENT OF AFGHANISTAN DAOUD rebukes Leonid Brezhnev in the Kremlin in April 1977.[1]

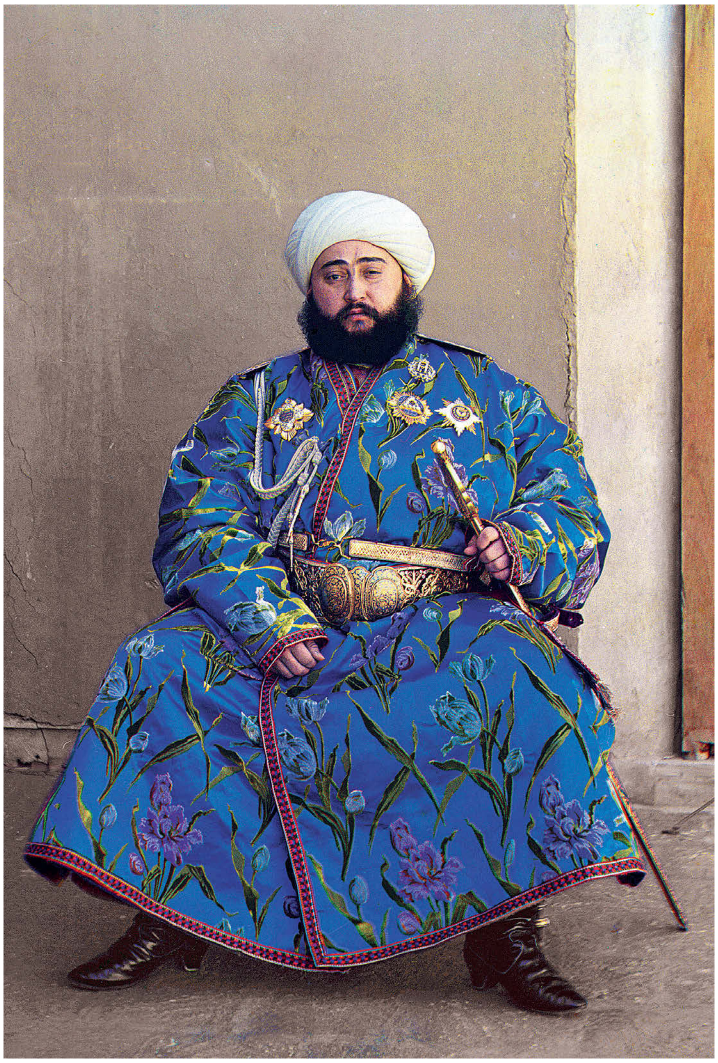
The subjugated states and peoples of Central Asia exploited the geopolitical shocks of World War I to regain their independence. While Afghanistan regained full sovereignty from the British Empire in 1919 and Xinjiang broke away from China with Soviet help, all such efforts within the decaying tsarist empire failed. The Soviet Union captured the regions back militarily that had seceded from Moscow and further extended their empire to Outer Mongolia.

1. Bukhara's and Khiva's Short-lived Independence

In Bukhara, Amir Muzaffar al-Din (r. 1860–85), who had to recognise Russian supremacy, was succeeded by his fifth son **Abd al-Ahad** (r. 1885–1911). Like his father, he ruled domestically independently of Russia. He ruled as an autocratic potentate and viewed the state treasury as his own personal wealth. Government revenue was used to finance the army, the administration and the court. Abd al-Ahad invested only a bare minimum in public infrastructure such as roads and irrigation systems, refusing to spend money on education and health care. Literacy was only at two per cent.[2] At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, new movements emerged that put into question the existing power structures. The Russian defeats by Japan and the unrest in early 1905 gave a big boost to the Muslim nationalists in Russia (who in places paid homage to pan-Turkism), and also in Bukhara. The Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905–06 and the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 had a similar effect. The guiding force among the nationalists were followers of Jadidism, an Islamic revival movement which arose in Kazan.[3] The Jadids wanted to curb the influence of the oppressive traditionalists and mullahs and restrict Islam to the cultural sphere. They stressed an alternative worldview guided by rational principles of judgement. In short: they sought to align themselves with modernity, while preserving the Muslim cultural heritage.[4] The Bukharian amir initially sympathised with the Jadids. Nonetheless, when he realised that they rejected hereditary dynasties, he took the side of the mullahs in 1909, ordering the reformist school of the local Jadids, established in Bukhara in 1908, to shut its doors.[5] Soon thereafter, the Jadids formed the politically active group of the 'Young Bukharists'.

In January 1910, a conflict that had been smouldering for years between Uzbek Sunnis and Shiite Persians suddenly flared up. As a counterweight to the Uzbek tribal leaders, Abd al-Ahad gave preference to former Persian slaves in his administration. The outrage of the Uzbek majority population over Abd al-Ahad's actions spread throughout the emirate, where massacres erupted among the Shiites which had to be quelled by Russian troops. Russia's engagement in international issues was the only factor that prevented the khanate from being annexed.[6] On the other hand, the standing of Abd al-Ahad's son and successor **Mohammed Alim Khan** (r. 1911–20, d. 1944) was greatly weakened at the time of his accession, which is why he sought the support of the anti-reform clergy (fig. 110). When the Ottoman sultan and caliph Mehmed V (r. 1909–18) declared a jihad against the Allies, including against Russia, on 14 November 1914, Alim Khan took the side of the tsar in demonstrative fashion and donated a large sum to Russia's war chest.[7]

Unlike Bukhara, everyday life in Chorasmia was less affected by the Russian conquest of 1873. Khiva had neither a railway



110. Amir Mohammed Alim Khan of Bukhara (r. 1911–20). Photo: 1911.

connection nor a Russian garrison nor border guards. Moreover, **Sayyid Muhammad Rahim** (r. 1865–1910) and his successor **Isfandiyar** (r. 1910–18) were less greedy than the Bukharian amir. They invested in infrastructure and maintained taxes at a relatively moderate level until 1912. There were also hardly any conflicts with the mullahs, who were less powerful than in Bukhara. Tensions arose instead with the Turkmen Yomut, who revolted as a result of tax reform in the years 1912–13 and 1915.[8]

The impact of World War I on Central Asia was at first apparent in the deterioration of the economic situation. The tsars had imposed a cotton monoculture on the khanates, forcing them to rely on food imports from Russia. The war then caused the demand for cotton – which was needed for the production of ammunition – to skyrocket. At the same time, Russia, which had to feed its large armies, found it increasingly difficult to send foodstuffs to Central Asia. This resulted in a severe undersupply of food. The shipment of tens of thousands of Austrian, Hungarian and German prisoners of war to Central Asia only intensified the problem. In the summer of 1916, the tensions led to a large-scale uprising of the Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. The tipping point was the decree of 25 June, according to which all able-bodied men of Central Asia, including those of the previously war-liberated peoples, were mobilised and had to serve in work brigades on the frontlines. On 21 July, the Russian governor-general declared martial law, and the uprising was bloodily suppressed by October.[9] But when the February Revolution broke out in Russia on 8 March 1917 (as per the Gregorian calendar),[10] the nationality question emerged once again for Muslims. The new 'Provisional Government' in St Petersburg replaced governor-general Kuropatkin in April with a **'Provisional Executive Committee'.** Simultaneously, workers' and soldiers' councils called 'soviets' were established (as in Western Russia), and, in Central Asia, Muslim groups also formed because Muslims were not represented in the committees and soviets.[11] After the October Revolution, when commanders who were loyal to the old regime began to fight the Moscow Bolsheviks from their own power bases, further anti-Bolshevik territorial dominions developed. In 1918/19, up to ten existed simultaneously east of the Volga.[12]

A severe famine broke out in the emirate of Bukhara in the beginning of 1917, as Russia neither provided food nor paid for the procured cotton. As a consequence, the peasants were unable to buy more seed. Given the glaring weakness of the Provisional Central Government, Mohammed Alim Khan decided it was an opportune time to leave Russia and to restore Bukhara's independence. His renewed freedom to act appears to have prompted him in April to get rid of the Jadids and Young Bukharists, to seek the support of the clergy and, in the summer, to announce that taxes would be cut in half. Immediately, he gained the broad support of the population. By contrast, in Khiva, the decades-old conflict between sedentary Uzbeks and semi-nomadic Turkmen came to a head again, when the Uzbek Jadids took power and proved unable to stop the plundering raids by Turkmen tribal horsemen. In June, Isfandiyar regained power in a coup, but he and the Cossacks also failed to restore order in the khanate, not least because the soldiers, organised in a soviet, threatened to mutiny.[13] In Tashkent, a power struggle manifested between three groups in 1917: the pro-government Executive Committee was opposed by the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet (among whose 263 delegates only five were Muslim) and the First Pan-Turkestan Congress of Muslims. The Council of Muslim Scholars, which strove for an Islamised state, soon emerged

111. The Sitorai Mokhi Khosa Palace – the 'Palace of Moon-like Stars' – was completed by the Russians in 1911 and known as the summer palace of the khans of Bukhara. Bukhara, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

from the latter. Lastly, the All-Kazakh Congress came into existence in Orenburg.[14]

In Tashkent, the Bolshevik Revolution began earlier, in September 1917, when the soviet made up of Mensheviks[15] and Bolsheviks ousted the Executive Committee. After the violent Bolshevik assumption of power in Petrograd (St Petersburg) on 7 November in the so-called October Revolution, soldiers stationed in Tashkent mutinied. On 14 November, the **Tashkent Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies** took power by military coup. This Bolshevik Revolution was a purely Russian affair, from which the local Muslims were excluded. The soviet, in fact, consisted of four Russians, four Jews, a German, a Pole and a Moldavian. When a Muslim group offered government participation to the soviet, it was rebuffed: 'Entry of the Muslims into the supreme territorial organ of revolutionary power is impossible.'[16] In the following months, two developments came to the fore that were diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the Muslims of Central Asia for self-determination. First, in the decision-making bodies of the soviets there was no place for Muslims, or at most they were figureheads. Second, the right of all peoples to self-determination that Lenin and Stalin proclaimed in April 1917, which included secession from Russia, turned out to be pure propaganda.[17] It was clear as early as March 1918 that the proclamations of independence by non-Russian peoples and political entities within the former Russian Empire, such as Bukhara, would be responded to with armed force. The self-determination of colonised peoples proclaimed by Lenin and Stalin only applied outside of the former Russian Empire, primarily to the peoples of the British Empire. The only differences between the imperial colonial policy of the tsars and the policy of the Bolsheviks lay in the greater ruthlessness of the new rulers and in the enforcement of cultural conformity by means of the soviets.

The Muslim and nationalist groups responded quickly to the Tashkent soviet's claim of omnipotence. On 10 December 1917, the Fourth Extraordinary Regional Muslim Congress in Kokand proclaimed the **Autonomy of Turkestan.** Moreover, in Orenburg, the Second All-Kazakh Congress in December 1917 pronounced the autonomous **Alash-Orda** government that was backed by the 'White'[18] Cossack ataman Alexander Dutov (1879–1921). Dutov had occupied Orenburg on 13 November and disrupted the railway line from Moscow to Tashkent. Mohammed Alim Khan of Bukhara, finally, also tried to win international recognition. But when the Bolsheviks succeeded in regaining Orenburg on 31 January 1918, military supplies began to reach Tashkent once again.[19] The Bolsheviks sent units of Red Guards and Armenian Dashnaks[20] to Kokand, who smashed the Islamic Kokand's autonomy in February/March, sacked the city, and carried out a massacre. Numerous peasants were also shot in Fergana on suspicion of hoarding cotton and foodstuffs – an event that laid the foundation for the later Basmachi Revolt.[21] The massacre of around 14,000 civilians then gave way to a major famine.[22]

The chairman of the Bolshevik **Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom)**, a man named Kolesov, then took control of the 600-strong Russian garrison of New Bukhara. On 14 March 1918, he issued Amir Alim Khan with a 24-hour ultimatum. To preempt the arrival of Russian reinforcements for Kolesov, the amir disrupted the railways and telegraph lines to Samarkand and Chardju and expelled the intruders to Samarkand. After this humiliating defeat, the Sovnarkom of Tashkent-Turkestan recognised the independence of Bukhara and made peace on 25 March. This victory over a Bolshevik army represented a major success for the amir, gaining him two years of sovereignty. He proclaimed the independence of Bukhara on 25 June.[23] In Khiva, by contrast, the Uzbek-Turkmen conflict in 1918 led to the murder of Khan Isfandiyar at the hands of Djunaid Khan, the Turkmen leader. Djunaid Khan proceeded to put the brother of the murdered man, **Sayyid Abdallah** (r. 1918–20, d. 1920s), on the throne as a puppet khan.[24] Moscow responded to Kolesov's debacle with a reorganisation of the Tashkent Sovnarkom, whose 26 members now included ten Muslims. On 30 April 1918, Turkestan was declared the **Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkestan (ASSRT)**.[25] Shortly thereafter, the revolt of the Czechoslovak Legion suspended[26] the rail connections between Moscow and Tashkent once again and, in mid-July, an anti-Bolshevik government[27] took power in Transcaspia.[28] A White Army then quickly occupied parts of Semirechie. Now, the Soviet Republic of Turkestan was threatened on four sides: from ataman Dutov's Cossacks who had recaptured Orenburg on 3 July,[29] from Semirechie, the Basmachis in Fergana, and Transcaspia. The situation became even more menacing for the Bolsheviks in Turkestan in the summer of 1918, when British, Japanese, French and American troops landed in Vladivostok. Here, the Western Allies pursued the unrealistic plan, in conjunction with the Czechoslovak Legion, of traversing Russia and attacking the German Empire from the east. Japan, however, sought a permanent annexation of East Siberia.[30] Furthermore, the Turkestan economy was facing collapse and, as Colonel Bailey observed in October 1918, 'the [government's] chief source of income was the [banknote] printing press'.[31] In the spring of 1919, the tide turned in favour of the Tashkent Bolsheviks. In late April, the Red Army began to expel the White troops of the monarchist Alexander Kolchak (1874–1920)

112. The madrasah, constructed in 1871, is named after its builder Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan II (r. 1865–1910), Khiva, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

from the Volga to Irkutsk. That same month, the British withdrew from Transcaspia, which cleared the way for the Bolsheviks to reclaim Turkmenistan. At the same time, the Red Army pushed forward into Kazakhstan and, by the spring of 1920, eliminated both the Alash Orda government and the White Russians of Semirechie. The foundation of the **Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KASSR)** then followed in December.[32]

Despite his victory in March 1918, Alim Khan of Bukhara was in a difficult position. His army was quite large, but poorly trained, and its weapons were obsolete. When the Czechoslovak Legion and Admiral Kolchak cut off the connections to Moscow in the summer of 1918 and the Provisional Trans-Caspian Government emerged, the isolated Tashkent Bolsheviks found it difficult fighting the rebellious Transcaspians. They could only reach the southern front via the railway to Chardju, which went through Bukharian territory. An interruption of the line would have stabilised Transcaspia, which was backed militarily by Great Britain,[33]and put Tashkent even more on the defensive. The amir not only asked the British for weapons and instructors, but also tried to win them as allies against Tashkent. In December 1918, an envoy of the amir met with General Malleson (1866–1946) in Merv. However, since the world war was already over by this point, and the withdrawal of British troops imminent, the general advised caution against Tashkent.[34] The amir received a transport of 100 camels with arms and ammunition, but no instructors.[35]

The end of the world war and the British withdrawal sealed the fate of Ashgabat, Khiva and Bukhara. First of all, in July 1919, Transcaspia was joined with the **ASSR Turkestan**. Then, the soviets captured Khiva on 1 February 1920 and replaced the khanate in late April with the **Soviet Chorasmia People's Soviet Republic**. The deposed Khan Sayyid Abdallah died in the 1920s in Moscow. Following the British refusal, Alim Khan had contacted the Afghan King Amanullah in July 1919. He opened an Afghan embassy in Bukhara in January 1920 and thus recognised the emirate as a sovereign state. Although Alim sent a delegation to Moscow in June to assure the leading soviets that his intentions were peaceful, General

113. The western city walls of Khiva with the Ata Darwase Gate, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

Mikhail Frunze (1885–1925) attacked Bukhara from three sides at the end of August. Frunze bombed the capital, which suffered major damage, and occupied it on 2 September 1920.[36] The emirate was abolished, and the **Soviet People's Republic of Bukhara** was then founded with the Jadid Faizullah Khojaev (1896–1938) as chairman. The situation of the population deteriorated rapidly in the impoverished city since the stationed Soviet troops demanded free room and board. The new government expropriated private landowners, nationalised undeveloped land and irrigation systems, and promised to provide the poor peasants with land and resources. Alim Khan, however, had already fled into the emirate's mountainous eastern region on 31 August to organise the resistance.[37]

Alim Khan joined the Basmachis' decentralised popular resistance movement, which developed in early 1918 in response to the Soviet massacre in Kokand and Fergana. In May 1920, it founded the **Turkestan Turkic Independent Islamic Republic**, which lasted until the end of 1922.[38] When the Red Army occupied Dushanbe and East Bukharian Faizobod in February 1921, Alim Khan fled to Kabul. He nonetheless continued to support the resistance movement. In mid-November, the former Turkish minister of war Enver Pasha (1881–1922), who had had a falling out with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, joined the Basmachi. He was an ardent supporter of pan-Turkism and dreamed of establishing a large Turkish state that would stretch from Constantinople all the way to Kazan, Kazakhstan and Kashgar. After some minor successes, he assumed command. However, his vanity got the best of him – he called himself 'Amir of Turkestan' and 'commander in chief of all Islamic armies, son of the caliph and representative of the Prophet' – which alienated him from some commanders and especially from Alim Khan, who refused to give him any support. After a defeat near Baysun north of Termez and a failed attack on Faizullah Khojaev, he was killed on 4 August 1922 in a skirmish near Baljuan south-east of Dushanbe. By the end of the autumn, the rebellion no longer represented a serious threat for the Soviets. The Basmachi movement enjoyed little support among the Western powers, who were suspicious of their pan-Islamism. The collapse of the movement was also accelerated thanks to the New Economic Policy (NEP) begun by Lenin in 1921, which included a temporary liberalisation of the economy. The economic recovery and amnesty offers to Basmachi fighters effectively pulled the rug out from under the movement.[39]

The ASSR Turkestan had hardly asserted itself when Stalin began to purge the local communist parties and organs of Muslim nationalists. The Muslims were denounced as pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic representatives of a bourgeois nationalism, which pursued national interests instead of devoting itself to class struggle. In Bukhara, for example, 15,000 of the 16,000 party members were excluded, whereupon former officials of the emirate, landowners, wholesalers and clerics all had their political rights revoked.[40] In a further step to destroy the traditional identity-structures and pan-Islamic or pan-Turkic ideas, Stalin decided to dissolve the two republics of Chorasmia and Bukhara as well as the Turkestan ASSR and to create new political entities. The governing criterion for drawing the new internal boundaries was Lenin's definition of a nation as a stable, historically developed community that is characterised by four commonalities: a common language, a contiguous territory, a common economic system, and a common culture.[41] There were three main categories of political entities:

1. The Soviet Socialist Republic SSR of the Soviet Union USSR.
2. The Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic ASSR within a Union Republic.
3. The Autonomous Soviet Socialist Oblast ASSO within a Union Republic.

In 1924, the following two nation-states and four autonomous entities were established:[42]

1. The **Uzbek SSR,** initially with Samarkand as its capital. The capital was moved to Tashkent in 1930. It included Samarkand, Fergana, central Bukhara and a part of Chorasmia. It lost the Tajik ASSR in 1929 plus the territory of Khujand and obtained the Karakalpak ASSR in 1936.
2. The **Turkmen SSR** with Ashgabat as capital. It included the Turkmen Oblast and western Bukhara.
3. The Kirgiz, as of 1925 **Kazakh ASSR,** within the Russian

114. The wooden Russian Orthodox Ascension Cathedral, constructed at the beginning of the twentieth century in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Photo: 2008.

Federation RSFSR, and with Kyzyl Orda as capital; in 1929 the capital was moved to Alma-ata (Almaty). The ASSR was elevated to a Union Republic SSR in 1936. It replaced the previous republic founded in 1920 and contained the Kazakh Steppes. It lost the Orenburg district in 1925 to the RSFSR and the Karakalpak ASSO in 1930 to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR.

4. The Kara-Kyrgyz, as of 1926 **Kyrgyz ASSR** within the Russian Federation RSFSR with Pishpek (Frunze, Bishkek) as capital. The Kyrgyz ASSR was elevated to a Union Republic SSR in 1936. It included part of the districts of Semirechie, Syr Darya and Fergana.
5. The **Tajik ASSO**, as of October 1924 ASSR within the Uzbek SSR with Dushanbe as capital. It became a Union Republic SSR in 1929. It included the mountainous eastern and south-eastern parts of the former Bukhara People's Republic; in 1929, it obtained the region of Khujand. It included the **Gorno Badakhshan ASSO**. Most Tajik people are Iranophone, yet about 90 per cent are Sunni.
6. The **Karakalpak ASSO** in 1925 within the Kazakh ASSR, as of 1930 within the RSFSR. In 1932 it became an ASSR and was attached in 1936 to the Uzbek SSR with Nukuz as capital. The Karakalpaks live along the Lower Amu Darya.

These internal boundaries, which were finally defined in 1936, became international borders after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. But the demarcation did not run strictly according to ethno-linguistic boundaries, because Moscow wanted to avoid religious or linguistic population centres. This limitation mainly affected the large Iranophone group which was deliberately divided into two parts: the East Bukharians, who were assigned to the mountainous area of Tajikistan, and the urban Iranophones of Samarkand and Bukhara, who constituted the majority of the latter, but were associated with Uzbekistan.[43] The Uzbeks were also torn apart, because the Uzbek majority in the region of Khujand (formerly Leninabad) was assigned to Tajikistan and the strong Uzbek minority of Osh to Kyrgyzstan.[44] In addition, the Uzbek-Tajik, the Uzbek-Kyrgyz, and the Tajik-Kyrgyz borders contained multiple exclaves and, indeed, enclaves that remain a source of tension to this day.

British Troops in East Persia, the Caucasus and Transcaspia, and a German Expedition to Afghanistan – a Revival of the Great Game

The two Russian revolutions of 1917 had a dramatic impact on all the warring parties. The Russian army collapsed[45] and dispersed due to desertions, forcing Lenin to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers on 3 March 1918, and to revoke the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 concerning Afghanistan and Persia. The Soviet withdrawal from the war offered substantial relief to the German Empire on its eastern front and Turkey on its northern front and thus new strategic opportunities in relation to the Allies, especially Great Britain. This was because Russia's absence eliminated three strongholds: in the Caucasus as well as in north-western and north-eastern Persia. As a result, the German Empire and Turkey had a chance to advance to the oil fields of both Khuzestan in south-western Persia and those in Baku, and from there to obtain Caspian cotton. In addition, the Russian withdrawal from Persia gave rise to the possibility of a German-Turkish advance to Afghanistan, which would force Britain to move troops from the Western Front to India.[46] Finally, the attitude of the Turkestan-Bolsheviks vis-à-vis the Central Powers was unclear, specifically as to whether they would remain neutral or sell cotton to the Germans, or even welcome a German-Turkish foray into India. It was equally uncertain how the 40,000 Austrian and German prisoners of war living in Turkestan would behave.[47] Therefore, four small operational teams were commissioned to avert these dangers. They were led by Brigadier General Sir Percy Sykes in southern Persia, Colonel Frederick M. Bailey in Tashkent, Major General Lionel Dunsterville in Baku and Major General Malleson and Captain Reginald Teague-Jones in Mashhad and Ashgabat.[48]

Brigadier General **Sir Percy Molesworth Sykes** (1867–1945), who had served as consul in eastern Persia since 1894, faced a particularly difficult task. Although Persia had declared itself neutral, four powers conducted war on its territory: the German Empire, Turkey, Russia and Great Britain. When the war began, Russia controlled the northern zone, Great Britain the south-eastern zone plus Ahvaz and Abadan in the south-west, and Persia the south-western and middle or so-called Neutral Zone. To uphold its own security, the Persian government had at its disposal a 10,000-strong 'gendarmerie', headed by Swedish officers, which had been formed as a counterweight to the Russian Cossack brigade. Since the Swedish officers had a pro-German attitude, it was easy for the German consuls and officers to take control of most of the cities in the Neutral Zone and the neighbouring districts and to expel the Allied consuls over the course of 1915. Isfahan was the centre of German power in Persia; other important locations were Kermanshah in the west, Shiraz in the south, and Kerman in the south-east. The British zone of influence was reduced to the oil-rich areas of Ahvaz and Abadan as well as the ports of Bushehr (Bushire) and Bandar Abbas.[49] The situation was also complex because the Allies pursued different objectives: Germany's main enemies were

115. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes (in white uniform) and Commandant Bielomestonov (wearing Cossacks' uniform) with British Indian and Russian officers in Isfahan, September 1916. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London: Macmillan, 1930), vol. II, photo facing p. 462.

France and Great Britain, and its goal in the Middle East was to access the oil fields and to destabilise India. Turkey's main enemy, on the other hand, was Russia, and its objective was territorial expansion on the Black Sea and the Caucasus in line with a pan-Turkic vision. Russia wanted to conquer Constantinople and the Dardanelles and, over the long term, to control southern Persia. Great Britain's objectives were to protect India and the Persian oil fields and to contain Russian infiltration in the south. Sykes' commission was therefore to secure eastern and south-western Persia, to eliminate Germans and Turks from the Neutral Zone, to free the major routes of bandits, and to halt the creeping Russian advance to the south.

When Sykes landed in Bandar Abbas in March 1916 his 'armed force' consisted of six officers, 20 Indian non-commissioned officers, and 25 Indian soldiers. It also carried weapons, ammunition and money.[50] Thanks to his previous contacts with Persian dignitaries such as Prince Abdol Hossein Farman Farma (1857–1939) and tribal leaders, he managed to quickly form a so-called 'South Persia Rifles' troop, which grew to 3,800 men by the end of 1916. It consisted of tribal warriors, deserting gendarmes, and a reinforcement from India numbering 700 men. Sykes spread the rumour that his force was far larger than its actual size, and initially reconquered Kerman and Yazd. On 11 September he reached Isfahan, which had been seized by Russian troops a few days earlier.[51] Here, Sykes and commander Bielomestonov organised a joint British-Russian military parade to demonstrate the Allies' superiority to the Persians (fig. 115). Sykes' next target was Shiraz, which the Germans had already lost in April, but where riots had broken out. He reached the city on 11 November. Sykes, however, failed to capture the dangerous German agent operating in southern Persia, Wilhelm Wassmuss (1880–1931). The so-called 'German Lawrence' understood better than anyone how to incite whole tribes against the British with gold. After the Russian collapse, the security situation in Persia again deteriorated dramatically. And, in the early summer of 1918, tribesmen of the Kashgai, whom Wassmuss had incited, besieged Shiraz. Sykes' commission was fulfilled by the end of the war. Despite inadequate funds, he succeeded thanks to his network, subterfuge and deception. However, Sykes vehemently opposed foreign minister Curzon's plan to transform Persia into a British protectorate at the beginning of 1919, which ensured that Sykes' military career was brought to an end.[52]

The mission awarded to Colonel **Frederick M. Bailey** (1882–1967) was the most dangerous because it involved gathering intelligence. He was supposed to clarify the attitude of the Bolshevik government in Tashkent toward Great Britain and the Central Powers. If necessary, he was also to convince them not to help the Central Powers or to sell cotton to the Germans, or to allow the freed Austrian prisoners of war passage to Persia, where they would stand at Wassmuss's disposal.[53] The Tibetan-speaking Bailey had previously participated in Younghusband's invasion of Tibet (1903–4) and, from 1905–9, served intermittently in Tibetan Gyantse as a British trade agent. Bailey, Captain Blacker and the consul Macartney, who was returning to England from Kashgar, arrived in Tashkent in August 1918. When the unsuspecting Britons met Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Damagatsky for the first time on 19 August, he revealed that British troops had pushed into Russian Transcaspia. There, they had engaged in skirmishes against Bolshevik troops at Dushak, 170 km east of Ashgabat, on 13 August.[54] This was the first time that the British and the 'Russians' had directly clashed in Central Asia, although 90 per cent of the Soviet troops in Transcaspia were made up of former Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war.[55] As Great Britain and the Soviet Union were in a de facto state of war in Transcaspia, not only was Bailey's mission doomed to failure, but the three Englishmen accused of espionage were in danger of being shot. On 28 August, British and Russian troops collided once again at Kaakha.[56] Whereas Macartney and Blacker managed to escape to India in mid-September, Bailey's capture seemed imminent following an order from Moscow.

Bailey escaped, however, by assuming the identity of an Austrian prisoner of war. He went into hiding on 20 October, first in Tashkent and then in the surrounding mountains. At that time, he still hoped the Bolshevik government would be overthrown. But when he learned of the British withdrawal from Transcaspia and the fall of Ashgabat, he decided to flee. Bailey then took on the identity of a Serb and, ironically, enlisted with the Cheka, the Soviet counter-intelligence, to spy on Bukhara's military strength. After he arrived in Bukhara, he interviewed the Indian revolutionary Mahendra Pratap, a member of the former Hentig–Niedermayer expedition.[57] In New Bukhara, Bailey received the following order from the Cheka headquarters in Tashkent: 'Please communicate all information you have regarding Anglo-Indian Service Colonel Bailey.' The Cheka thus knew that Bailey was in Bukhara, but not that he was identical with the new Serbian agent. Bailey escaped and reached Persia on 7 January 1920.[58] Thanks to his courage and presence of mind, he had survived deep behind enemy lines for more than a year. Still, he was unable to influence any decision makers, and the encrypted messages he transmitted were little appreciated. Later, Bailey was a Political Agent for Sikkim and Tibet (1921–28) and plenipotentiary minister for Nepal in Kathmandu (1935–38).

116. **Major General Lionel Dunsterville (1865–1946) commanded the expeditionary force called 'Dunsterforce' that was intended to operate in the Southern Caucasus. Photo *ca.* 1919. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (1920), frontispiece.**

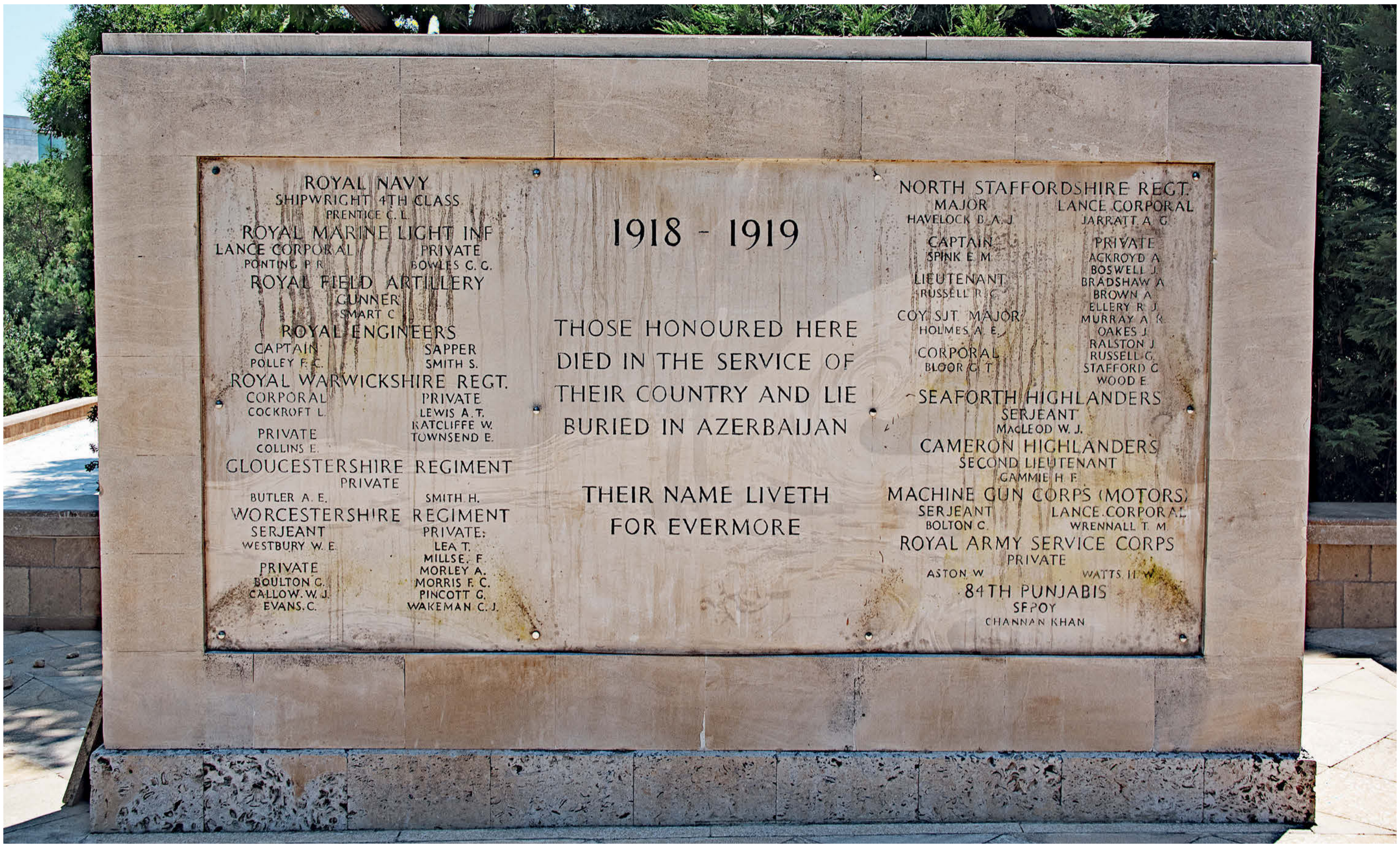
Major General **Lionel Dunsterville** (1865–1946) received far too few resources for his strategically important military mission[59] (fig. 116). From a British perspective, the situation in the South Caucasus was dramatic. The Russian troops posted in north-western Persia had melted away, and the government of the **Transcaucasian Commissariat** was established on 11 November 1917, shortly before the Russo-Turkish ceasefire in early December. Corresponding more or less to modern-day Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, it was quickly attacked by the Ottoman Islamic Army, led by Nuri Pasha, the half-brother of Enver Pasha. The short-term goal of the Turks was to defeat the Transcaucasian state and occupy the oil fields of Baku;[60] the long-term goal was a territorial expansion to Turkestan and thus the realisation of Enver's vision of a pan-Turkic empire. Founded on 22 April 1918, the **Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic** collapsed under the weight of the infighting between Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians and the Ottoman attacks after only one month. **Georgia** declared its independence on 26 May 1918, and placed itself under German protection at the Treaty of Poti two days later.[61] The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had allowed Germany to conclude an agreement with the Central Council of Revolutionary Ukraine and thus to obtain control over the Black Sea. A German column under General Friedrich Kress von Kressenstein landed at Poti, western Georgia, and reached Tbilisi on 19 June 1918 which saved Georgia from a full scale Turkish invasion.[62]

Two days after Georgia, on 28 May, the **Azerbaijan Democratic Republic** likewise emerged as an Ottoman protectorate, and on the same day the first **Republic of Armenia** was proclaimed. Armenia, for its part, was forced to surrender to Turkey on 4 June.[63] The Islamic Army could now go unhindered to the independent city of Baku, where the **Bolshevik People's Commissariat** ruled, headed by the Armenian Stepan Shahumyan (1878–1918). From Baku, however, it was easy to reach Krasnovodsk and the Transcaspian railway, whose auxiliary line extended all the way to Kushk and the Afghan border.[64] This meant that a Turkish advance into Turkestan would be able to

117. The city centre and the Bay of Baku; in the foreground, the three Flame Towers built between 2007 and 2012. Photo: 2016.

free the 40,000 Austrian prisoners of war held there and, in a second operation, this combined force could threaten India via Herat.[65] Another cause for alarm for Great Britain were reports from Major T.S.W. Jarvis, Captain Reginald Teague-Jones (1889–1988) and Colonel Charles Howard Ellis (1895–1975) regarding an agreement that had been reached between Moscow and the Germans. The Soviets agreed to sell to Germany petroleum from Baku and cotton from Turkestan, in the hope that the Germans would hinder their Turkish allies from advancing on Baku.[66] In fact, the rivalry that erupted between Turkey and the German Empire significantly delayed the Turkish attack on Baku.[67] Ultimately, both Germany and Turkey sought their own access to the oil reserves of Baku.

To thwart German or Turkish access to the Baku oil fields, Major General Dunsterville was appointed head of a Caucasus Mission on 14 January 1918 and appointed British representative in Tbilisi, Georgia. The establishment of the German protectorate over Georgia brought this plan to naught, and Dunsterville was instructed to stop the Turkish advance on Baku. Although the more than 30,000-strong Islamic Army, which consisted of two Turkish divisions and as many irregulars,[68] approached Baku quickly in the summer, Lenin strictly forbade Shahumyan from accepting Dunsterville's offer of military aid. Since Dunsterville could not land in Baku without Soviet consent, he worked out plans to destroy its pumping systems, pipelines and oil reserves.[69] At the same time, the British master spy Reginald Teague-Jones was commissioned to travel to Baku and to elicit alternatives to Shahumyan. He arrived in Baku on 10 July and informed the British consul Ranald MacDonell (1875–1941) of the new strategy. On 12 July, Teague-Jones was back in Krasnovodsk, where huge amounts of cotton bales were waiting for shipment to Astrakhan. There, a German delegation had bought whole train loads of cotton. Thanks to a fictitious telegram from Astrakhan to Krasnovodsk, Teague-Jones succeeded in unloading the already full freight ships and turning away further ships arriving from Astrakhan.[70] After a pro-British government took power in Ashgabat shortly thereafter in a coup, no more cotton left Transcaspia. The British had thus temporarily won the 'war for cotton'.[71] In Baku, events unfolded rapidly: on 25–26 July, social revolutionaries, Mensheviks and Armenian Dashnaks overthrew Shahumyan's 'Sovnarkom' and formed the **Centrocaspian Dictatorship**.[72] The commissioners tried to escape, but were picked up and arrested. They were then freed on 14 September, just before Baku fell. However, when they fled back to Astrakhan, the captain steered the ship to Krasnovodsk, where they were arrested once again. The Transcaspian Ashgabat committee sentenced them to


ROYAL NAVY
SHIPWRIGHT 4TH CLASS
PRENTICE C. L.
ROYAL MARINE LIGHT INF
LANCE CORPORAL
PONTING P. R.
PRIVATE
BOWLES G. G.
ROYAL FIELD ARTILLERY
GUNNER
SMART C
ROYAL ENGINEERS
CAPTAIN
POLLEY F. C.
SAPPER
SMITH S.
ROYAL WARWICKSHIRE REGT.
CORPORAL
COCKROFT L.
PRIVATE
COLLINS E.
PRIVATE
LEWIS A. T.
RATCLIFFE W.
TOWNSEND E.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE REGIMENT
PRIVATE
BUTLER A. E.
SMITH H.
WORCESTERSHIRE REGIMENT
SERJEANT
WESTBURY W. E.
PRIVATE
BOULTON C.
CALLOW. W. J.
EVANS. C.
PRIVATE:
LEA T.
MILLSE. F
MORLEY A.
MORRIS F. C.
PINCOTT G.
WAKEMAN C. J.
1918 - 1919
THOSE HONOURED HERE
DIED IN THE SERVICE OF
THEIR COUNTRY AND LIE
BURIED IN AZERBAIJAN
THEIR NAME LIVETH
FOR EVERMORE
NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE REGT.
MAJOR
HAVELOCK B. A. J.
CAPTAIN
SPINK E. M.
LIEUTENANT
RUSSELL R. C.
COY. SJT. MAJOR
HOLMES A. E.
CORPORAL
BLOOR G. T.
LANCE CORPORAL
JARRATT A. G.
PRIVATE
ACKROYD A.
BOSWELL J.
BRADSHAW A.
BROWN A.
ELLERY R. J.
MURRAY A. R.
OAKES J.
RALSTON J.
RUSSELL G.
STAFFORD C.
WOOD E.
SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS
SERJEANT
MACLEOD W. J.
CAMERON HIGHLANDERS
SECOND LIEUTENANT
GAMMIE H. F.
MACHINE GUN CORPS (MOTORS)
SERJEANT
BOLTON C.
LANCE.CORPORAL
WRENNALL T. M.
ROYAL ARMY SERVICE CORPS
PRIVATE
ASTON W.
WATTS H. W.
84TH PUNJABIS
SEPOY
CHANNAN KHAN

118. Memorial for the British Indian troops killed in action in Baku 1918–19. Baku, photo 2016.

death, and on the night of 19 September, 26 of the commissioners were shot. Only the future Soviet Politburo member Anastas Mikoyan escaped execution due to his youth.[73]

The Centrocaspian Dictatorship asked Dunsterville for military aid, and his vanguard arrived in Baku on 4 August, Dunsterville himself on 17 August. The 'Dunsterforce' mission resembled a suicide mission: 900 British soldiers, some 100 Cossacks and 6,000 battle-averse Armenians faced a whopping force of 14,000 battle-hardened Turks with access to strong artillery. The approaching second, larger Turkish force numbered more than 16,000 men. As Dunsterville and Ellis reported, the Armenians refused to fight, and so the entire burden of defending Baku rested on the shoulders of the British and the Cossacks.[74] When the Turks broke through the defence on 14 September, Dunsterville embarked with his decimated troops under the cover of night again to Anzali. The next day, Azerbaijani volunteers marched into Baku, where they slaughtered approximately 15,000 to 20,000 Armenians, partly in retaliation for their own heavy losses the previous March.[75] Although Dunsterville could not hold Baku, he nevertheless prevented the Central Powers from seizing the oil inventories over a period of six weeks. Equally successful as Dunsterville was Commodore D.T. Norris (1875–1937), who reached the port of Anzali on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea in summer 1918. He proceeded to Baku with Dunsterforce where he requisitioned several coast guard boats and six merchant ships which he had armed. Norris's flotilla controlled the Caspian Sea till May 1919 and successfully prevented the victorious Turks from advancing to Krasnovodsk after their conquest of Baku.[76] Six weeks after Dunsterville's departure from Baku, Turkey surrendered on 30 October and had to commit itself to evacuating its troops from the Caucasus.[77] Another six weeks later, on 17 November, General William Montgomery Thomson (1877–1963) arrived in Baku with the 5,000-strong North Persian Force (for short: 'Norperforce') to restore public order.[78] With these 5,000 men, Dunsterville likely would have been able to prevent Baku's fall and the massacre of the Armenians.

The mission of Major General **Wilfrid Malleson**, referred to as 'Mallmiss', was to restore the British-Russian cordon that shielded Afghanistan. He was also to prevent both a Turkish push towards Afghanistan and a breakout of former Austrian prisoners of war to Persia. When Malleson reached Mashhad in July, however, the main problem had already been resolved: an alliance of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries had overthrown the local Bolsheviks in Ashgabat and seized power on 14 July 1918. The **Transcaspian Ashgabat Committee**, led by the railway worker Fyodor Funtikov, soon controlled the railroad to Merv and Krasnovodsk. It subsequently asked Malleson for help against the expected attacks from Tashkent, as it had only a few (and what is more, unreliable) troops itself. Since Transcaspia now formed a buffer against Bolsheviks and possibly invading Turks, Malleson was given free rein by the British commander in India, General Sir Charles Monro. Should Dunsterville and Norris fail in their mission at Baku, then Malleson had to prevent by all means a Turkish capture of the Krasnovodsk–Ashgabat railway line: 'General Dunsterville [and Commodore Norris were] our first line of defence against the Turko-German plans; our Mission [Mallmiss] was the second.'[79]

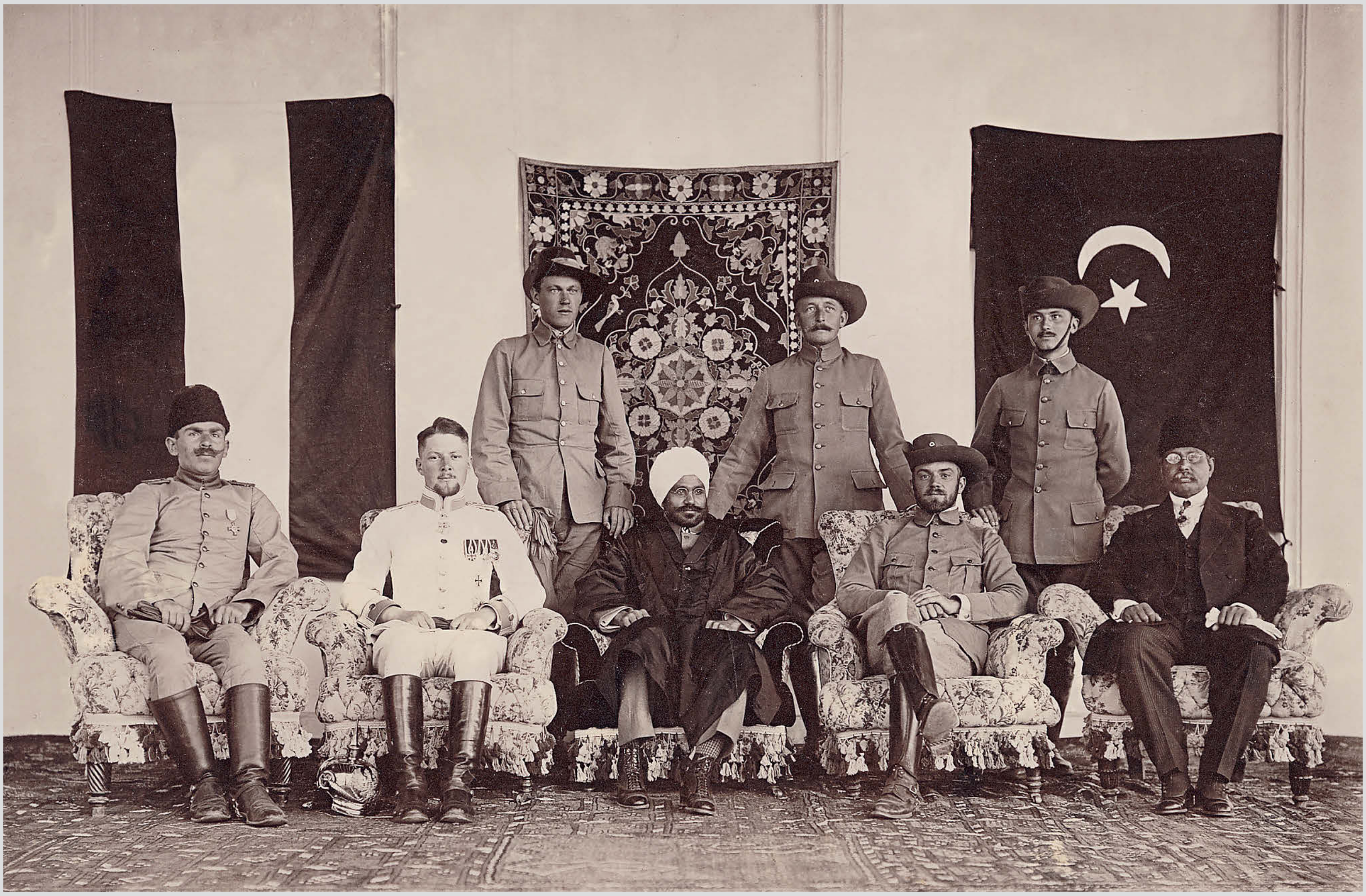
Malleson immediately sent a small Indian machine-gun unit, which just barely fended off a Bolshevik attack near Dushak on 13 August. On 28 August, near Kaakha, a larger unit of Punjabi soldiers repulsed a second strong Bolshevik attack after Malleson and the Ashgabat Committee had signed the protocol of an agreement on 19 August (which was never ratified, however). Teague-Jones, who was wounded near Kaakha, was appointed Political Representative in Transcaspia. Malleson, for his part, remained in Mashhad. The committee urged a further advance of the now 900-strong British Indian force to Merv and on to Chardju and the border with Bukhara. Because Great Britain was not officially at war with the Soviet Union and such a foray did not offer strategic advantages, Monro ruled out advancing beyond Merv.[80] The oasis was conquered after heavy fighting on 1 November and the British set up their position near the train station of Bairam Ali.[81] Like the war along the Trans-Siberian Railway, which was occupied by the Czechoslovak Legion, the war in Transcaspia was a railway war with armoured trains. These were armoured with steel and hydraulically pressed cotton and equipped with howitzers, field guns and machine guns. Right at the front were two long wagons, laden with heavy metal pieces, to absorb any mine explosions.[82] While Transcaspia had only two armoured trains, it had enough fuel. The Bolsheviks of Turkestan, on the other hand, had three armoured trains, but had to burn saxaul bushes and dried fish in their fireboxes.[83]

When Turkey surrendered on 30 October and the German Empire capitulated on 11 November 1918, the situation of the British changed abruptly: the German-Turkish danger was not only eliminated, but the strategic basis for 'Mallmiss' disappeared along with it. As a collapse of the unstable and virtually bankrupt Transcaspian government seemed imminent once the British withdrew, Malleson tried to win time. Yet, on 9 and 15 February 1919, London ordered Mallmiss's retreat, which was completed on 14 April.[84] The resurgent Bolsheviks immediately invaded, occupying Merv on 23 May. They then took Ashgabat on 9 July and Krasnovodsk on 6 February 1920.[85] The government in London had recognised that the era of the empire's territorial expansion was now a fading memory. Withdrawal, moreover, would have proven all the more difficult the longer such a military adventure lasted, especially given that there was no realistic alternative post-war scenario in sight.

Whereas Great Britain possessed defensive targets in southern Central Asia and the Middle East to preserve the status quo, the German Empire pursued an offensive strategy. From its perspective, the British Empire had to be destabilised in its colonies in order to bind enemy troops in peripheral regions. Germany also needed raw materials. Its tactics included acquiring new, battle-ready allies, as well as fomenting anti-British riots through propaganda and bribery, and sabotage. The most famous exponents were the agitator Wilhelm Wassmuss and the group led by Captain Fritz Klein, who had specialised in sabotaging pipelines.[86] The **Hentig–Niedermayer expedition**, by contrast, tried to persuade Afghan Amir **Habibullah** (r. 1901–19) to abandon his neutrality, to attack India with his tribal warriors, and to provoke Muslim riots there. Such an action would have a massive impact on western theatres of war. As Lord Kitchener (1850–1916, supreme commander of India 1902–09, and minister of war 1914–16) had estimated, the defence of India would have required pulling out 135,000 troops from the west.[87] The German plan was not entirely unrealistic, as the vast majority of the approximately 330 million Muslims lived under foreign rule, and most of these were in British, Russian and French colonies. The next step was to incite the Muslims of the Empire to revolt against the British in the name of jihad. The mastermind of this anti-British strategy, the diplomat and archaeologist Max von Oppenheim, did not even shy away from recruiting Indian terrorists and suicide bombers.[88] But when the Ottoman caliph declared a jihad against the Allies, it soon became apparent that the Shiite Persians felt that it hardly concerned them. Many of the Arabs living in the Ottoman Empire also were not interested in getting involved in a joint struggle *with* the Turks as they, after all, had been seeking their independence *from* the Turks.

The main actors of this small troop, which originally dated back to an initiative from Enver Pasha,[89] were as follows: the plenipotentiary diplomat and lieutenant **Werner Otto von Hentig** (1886–1984), the military commander and senior lieutenant **Oskar Niedermayer** (1885–1948), and the two Indian revolutionaries **Mahendra Pratap** (1886–1979), the nominal head of the expedition, and the Muslim lawyer **Mohammed Barakatullah** (1854–1927). Von Oppenheim hoped the two revolutionaries would be able to incite unrest and uprisings in India.[90] The missions, which were chaotically organised in Berlin, began inauspiciously. In January 1915, the original mission leader of the earlier military expedition, **Wilhelm Wassmuss**, had a falling out with his team. He left at the end of that month only to then stir up further tribes in southern Persia.[91] In early March, Wassmuss committed an unforgiveable mistake. While on the run after having been arrested by pro-British tribesmen, he left behind the manual for the new German secret code, which fell into British hands.[92] Even worse: he did not report the loss.[93] It was not least thanks to Wassmuss's secret code manual that the British were able to decipher the infamous Zimmermann Telegram of 16 January 1917. This subsequently helped precipitate the United States' entry into the war on 2 April.[94] In March 1915, Enver Pasha – who had originally conceived of the mission – finally revoked Turkish participation in the Afghanistan expedition. He was probably fearful that the German Empire could further strengthen its position in the Neutral Zone, which he wanted to occupy himself.[95] By the end of June, all the expedition's members had arrived in Isfahan.

To reach Herat from Isfahan, the expedition had to use the neutral corridor located between the Russian and British zones.[96] To avoid these areas, Niedermayer and von Hentig selected a marching route across the notorious salt desert of Dasht-i Kevir, despite the summer heat. But the Anglo-Russian cordon was the biggest obstacle. It blocked the way to Afghanistan; its northern half was patrolled by Russian troops, whereas it was patrolled by the British in the south. Niedermayer managed to break through, but only by means of a cunning stratagem. First, von Hentig gave a fictitious letter meant for the German envoy in Tehran to a rather unsuspecting messenger. In it, von Hentig informed the envoy that the expedition would take a north-eastern route.[97] The messenger was then promptly intercepted by the Russians. As Niedermayer further relates: 'I then detached a camel caravan . . . that we loaded with all kinds of expendable crates, which . . . were filled with stones. It was to be further utilized in the east against the English, who were coming from the south.'[98] Niedermayer then proceeded to divide the main group into the rapid advance group with the key members and weapons and a slower supply column. Shortly before entering the cordon, Niedermayer sacrificed the supply column, sending it to the north-east to lure the Russians away from his position. Niedermayer's 'flying column' then crossed the cordon where the Russian and British zones intersect and reached Afghanistan at night on 19 August. Of the 140 men who had left Isfahan, only 37 made it to Herat.[99] In Herat, von Hentig promised the governor that Afghanistan would receive territories extending from Samarkand to Bombay in the event of a successful joint Afghan-German-Turkish military engagement.[100] The Germans arrived in Kabul on 2 October, where Amir Habibullah placed them under house arrest for three



119. The German Afghanistan expedition in Kabul. Sitting from left to right, Kasim Bey (Turkish captain), Lt. Werner Otto von Hentig (imperial legation secretary and head of the diplomatic mission), Kumar Raja Mahendra Pratap (Indian prince and revolutionary), Oskar Niedermayer (senior lieutenant and head of the military mission), Mohammed Barakatullah (Indian revolutionary). Standing from left to right, Walter Röhr (multilingual Orient merchant and companion of Hentig), Kurt Wagner (captain-lieutenant), Günther Voigt (lieutenant and adjutant to Niedermayer).[21] Photo *ca*. May 1916. Werner Otto von Hentig Archive, vH 038. Foundation Phototheca Afghanica, Bubendorf, Switzerland weeks. The uninvited guests presented Habibullah with a seemingly intractable problem: Habibullah had declared Afghanistan's neutrality in August 1914, because he knew that an attack on northwest India would not only result in the loss of vital British subsidies, but it would also impose upon him a two-front war against Britain and Russia. On the other hand, the population harboured strong anti-British feelings, while the tribesmen expected rich booty from an India campaign. In addition, both his brother and prime minister Nasrullah (1857–1920) – who was very popular among the Pashtun tribes and had pulled strings in an anti-Habibullah conspiracy in 1909 – and his two sons, Amanullah (1892–1960) and Inayatullah (1888–1946), were pro-German.[101]

When the Germans began a hunger strike to protest their house arrest, the amir relented. He received them on 26 October in the presence of Nasrullah and his two sons. Habibullah listened politely to the delegation, but was only interested in playing for time to see who would most likely win the world war. He stressed that his country was sandwiched between two allied great powers and that the Central Powers were far away. If he decided to enter the war on the side of the Central Powers, he would need weapons, ammunition, money, and large contingents of German and Turkish troops.[102] Von Hentig, however, knew that the latter request was impossible. After all, Enver Pasha was not willing to send a strong enough army to Afghanistan, which would first have to fight its way through Persia.[103] After further negotiations, Habibullah commissioned Niedermayer to modernise the Afghan army. In this task, Niedermayer was aided by Austrian prisoners living in Kabul.[104] They directed the ammunition factory, reorganised the army structures, improved and expanded the officers' school, and had field fortifications erected along the road from Kabul to the Khyber Pass to defend against air attacks.[105] Towards the end of 1915, Nasrullah and Inayatullah attempted to initiate an attack on India behind the amir's back. Nasrullah forged a letter from his brother, in which he promised jihad for the spring of 1916, and sent it to the tribal leaders of the Pashtuns. The letter, however, was intercepted by the British, who had immediately notified the amir. The successful espionage led to two more compromising letters falling into British hands: in November, expedition member Walter Röhr wrote to the German envoy in Tehran that if Habibullah remained neutral any longer 'Perhaps we shall find it necessary to begin organising a coup d'état.' In the second letter, von Hentig wrote to Tehran: 'Perhaps internal revulsion of feeling is necessary here first. We are determined to go to any lengths.'[106] The British viceroy Lord Hardinge (1858–1944, in office 1910–16) quickly told Habibullah about the contents of the letters. Habibullah understood that his German guests were contemplating a coup and would even be willing to get rid of him, presumably in favour of Nasrullah.

To dispose of the German delegation, without provoking the ire of the German Empire, and to appease the pro-German lobby in his court, Habibullah agreed to a treaty protocol that was drafted on 24 January 1916. In the treaty, the Germans recognised the full independence of Afghanistan and committed themselves, without payment, to the supply of 100,000 modern rifles, 300 guns, engineers and officers, as well as £10 million in gold (which corresponded in 2016 to about £1.1 billion).[107] In addition, the German Empire agreed in the event of Afghanistan's entry into the war to return the territories that had been lost to India over the years. In early May, the amir demanded an additional 4 million marks a month (approx. £44 million) and 5,000 German soldiers. The cunning amir, conversely, had committed his country to nothing. He, moreover, insisted the treaty only enter into force *after* being ratified by Emperor Wilhelm II, which would remove any concern of an imminent attack on India. Habibullah had managed to appease both the British and the Germans and the pro-German lobby, without, however, changing his neutral course. The German delegation left Kabul on 21 May, divided into smaller groups. Niedermayer returned to Hamadan via Mashhad and fought on the German-Turkish side in Palestine against Lawrence's military units. From 1924–31, he led out of Moscow three secret German military centres located within the Soviet Union as part of the secret rearmament plan of General Hans von Seeckt (1866–1936) and the associated covert German-Soviet armaments cooperation. The first centre served to train military pilots; the second, to train tank crews; and the third was a laboratory for the production of chemical warfare agents. The aim was to bypass the Versailles Treaty and train future officers of the armoured corps and Luftwaffe in a way that would make it possible to quickly beef up the small, limited Reichswehr into the mass army of the Wehrmacht. During World War II, Major General Niedermayer trained a division consisting of Caucasian and Central Asian prisoners of war and was arrested on 28 September 1944 for making seditious ('*wehrkraftzersetzende*') statements. When the war ended, he escaped from prison and turned himself over to the Soviets, who immediately arrested him. He died in Russian captivity on 25 September 1948.[108] Von Hentig, however, managed to cross the Hindu Kush and reached Kashgaria, where he began to agitate. Expelled to Wuhan at Macartney's prompting, he fled to Shanghai. He then travelled as a stowaway on an American ship to Honolulu, from where he returned to Germany by way of New York. He later worked in the German consular and diplomatic service and died in 1984 at the age of 98.[109]

2. Soviet Centralism in Central Asia

In contrast to tsarist rule, which permitted the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia to retain many of their local peculiarities and was content to exploit the region's raw materials, the Soviet authorities strove for a radical restructuring of the Central Asian societies in order to create a 'classless' society. This gradual restructuring was centrally mandated by the Moscow rulers, and the measures touched on all relevant areas of life such as culture and justice, communication (in written and spoken form), forms of production, and ways of living. As long as the New Economic Policy (NEP) was in effect – which granted the peasants and cattle breeders certain liberties with regard to production until around 1927 – the struggle against Islam was limited to verbal propaganda. It was denounced as an alien religion that oppresses women, keeps its believers in ignorance, and was imposed by Arabs and Persians. What is more, the Muslim belief system, which separates the world into believers and non-believers, made fraternisation with the non-Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union and the establishment of a classless society impossible. To increase the level of education and literacy of the population, public schools were established, which were also open to girls. At the same time, the religious schools and mosques lost their financial support. Due to the rapid increase in literacy, people were no longer dependent on the mullahs to form opinions, but were able to educate themselves through the state media. The increased literacy and diminished influence of the mullahs helped women gain access to the labour market. Besides this, civil marriage was introduced and girls and women were granted equality in inheritance matters. In 1927, the battle lines against religion hardened: the vast majority of mosques and madrasahs were shut down; 'scientific atheism' replaced traditional religious instruction; and sharia courts were prohibited.[110]

The calendar was changed from Muslim to the Gregorian in 1937 to further distinguish the Central Asian societies from their southern, Muslim neighbours Iran and Afghanistan and to step up their Russification. In addition, personal names received the suffix '-ov' for men and '-ova' for women, so that 'Karim', for instance, became 'Karimov'. Nation-building within the Soviet Union also necessitated a modern style of writing. It would be introduced to replace the three previously common scripts: the Persian script for the Tajik language, a modified Arabic script for Turkic languages, and the classical Arabic script for religious subjects. From 1923 to 1928, a modified Arabic script was used. It was then replaced by the Latin alphabet in 1928/29, as the Arab script was considered the script of the Qur'an. In addition, the Latin alphabet severed the young generation from their Islamic heritage insofar as political boundaries were now writing boundaries with respect to the region's Muslim neighbours. From 1938, the Russification and enforced conformity were intensified, while Russian was elevated to the Soviet Union's common language. Numerous Russian loanwords were absorbed into the Central Asian languages and Russian was used almost exclusively in the exact sciences, medicine and politics. In addition, the teaching of Russian became mandatory in all Central Asian schools. The Cyrillic alphabet was first used for writing down Azerbaijani. From 1939–40, it was used across the Soviet Union for the Buryat, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkmen and Tajik languages, and, a year later, even for Mongolian.[111] After regaining their sovereignty, some Turkic states switched to the new Turkish-Latin alphabet, in slightly modified forms. Today, Turkish-Latin script is used in Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, while Latin and Cyrillic are used in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Only Cyrillic is used in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

In 1927, Stalin ended the NEP for two reasons: first, he considered well-off peasants (kulaks), rich cattle breeders, tribal and clan leaders, and village elders to be enemies of international socialism and supporters of a reactionary nationalism. Second, Stalin wanted to speed up the industrialisation of Russia west of the Urals and, in particular, to build up a powerful heavy industry. These goals could only be accomplished by means of corresponding imports from the more highly industrialised West. But the necessary foreign currency could only be procured through the export of agricultural products, primarily grain. This strategy called for a rapid increase in agricultural productivity through mechanisation and state control. The instruments to achieve these objectives were to liquidate the wealthy farmers and cattle breeders throughout the Soviet Union or to deport them to Siberia and Central Asia; to introduce a centralised planned economy; and to collectivise agriculture in terms of the five-year plan from 1929–33. Among the main victims of this approach were the Kazakh and Kyrgyz cattle breeders. The owners of larger herds and the wealthy peasants were deported to Siberia by the tens of thousands, while the herds were confiscated and brought to cooperative collective farms (kolkhozes) or state farms (sovkhozes). Production quotas were then determined for these farms, which they then had to meet. In addition, the semi-nomads were forced to settle down, either in kolkhozes or as factory workers. Rather than submit to the state power, many cattle breeders preferred to slaughter their herds or to escape with them to China, Afghanistan or Iran. Parallel to the collectivisation of cattle herds, grazing land was converted into arable land on a

120. The statue of Lenin in front of the Astrakhan Kremlin; on the left, the grain tower, on the right, the Dormition Cathedral. Photo: 2014.

large scale for the purpose of grain cultivation; in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, cotton monoculture was intensified. And, as in the Crimea, entire grain harvests were seized in order to sell them for hard currency abroad. The chairman of the Central Committee of the Crimea ASSR, Mehmet Kubay, protested in the early 1930s as a de facto representative of the Central Asian republics: 'Moscow plunders the Republic of Crimea and exports her natural resources, while leaving no food to the people starving to death.' Stalin responded by having Kubay executed.[112]

For the people of Central Asia, the consequences of the collectivisation policies were disastrous. In Kazakhstan, the quantity of livestock fell by more than 80 per cent. More than one million people died of hunger and disease, and another half million fled to China. Livestock numbers fell by 50 per cent in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Since Stalin concurrently exiled non-compliant Russians to Kazakhstan, the Kazakhs became a minority in their own country. Ultimately, the collectivisation of agriculture and the promotion of grain and cotton production represented a redistribution of wealth at the expense of the rural population of Central Asia in favour of the Russian urban industrial centres.[113] The Soviet economic policies of the 1930s in Central Asia reflected a tightening of the tsars' former colonial policy, for they maximised the exploitation of regional resources and neglected locally added value.

As in the whole of the Soviet Union, in 1936–38, Central Asia became a victim of Stalin's 'Great Purge'. No longer were just the kulaks targeted, but so were suspected opponents of Stalin's political and economic course within the Communist Party, the administration, the officer corps, and general scientific and cultural elite. There were also mass deportations of certain ethnic groups like Koreans,[114] Volga Germans, Ukrainian Poles, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks to Central Asia, which only further altered the ethnic composition there. Even earlier, in the 1920s, hundreds of thousands of Russians were moved to Central Asia to build proletarian cells in the context of agricultural mechanisation. As Oskar Niedermayer correctly recognised, the rapid mechanisation and collectivisation of agriculture transformed the peasants into workers, who were also employed in heavy industry and arms manufacture. The hundreds of thousands of tractor drivers and mechanics could be easily retrained as tank drivers. Thus, the mechanisation of agriculture indirectly served the mechanisation of the military.[115] The terror subsided towards the end of 1938, and with the outbreak of the 'Great Patriotic War', which began with the attack of the German Reich on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the ideological coercion loosened. Formerly proscribed local nationalism was revived and the persecution of Orthodox and Muslim clerics put on hold. The anti-Islamic campaigns disappeared, and important mosques were reopened to their original purpose. Suddenly, Marxism, patriotism and religion found common ground. This abrupt change in policy towards Muslim, non-Russian minorities was intended to motivate them to defend the motherland, and also to prevent the German Reich from winning over these ethnic groups with Islam-friendly policies. The new policy was successful and more than three million Central Asians fought against the Nazis. For example, 1.4 million people from Uzbekistan participated in the war. Of these, 263,000 fell in battle, 133,000 disappeared during the fighting, 396,000 did not return home, and 60,000 were crippled. In addition, 1.2 million Kazakhs and 360,000 Kyrgyz fought at the front.[116]

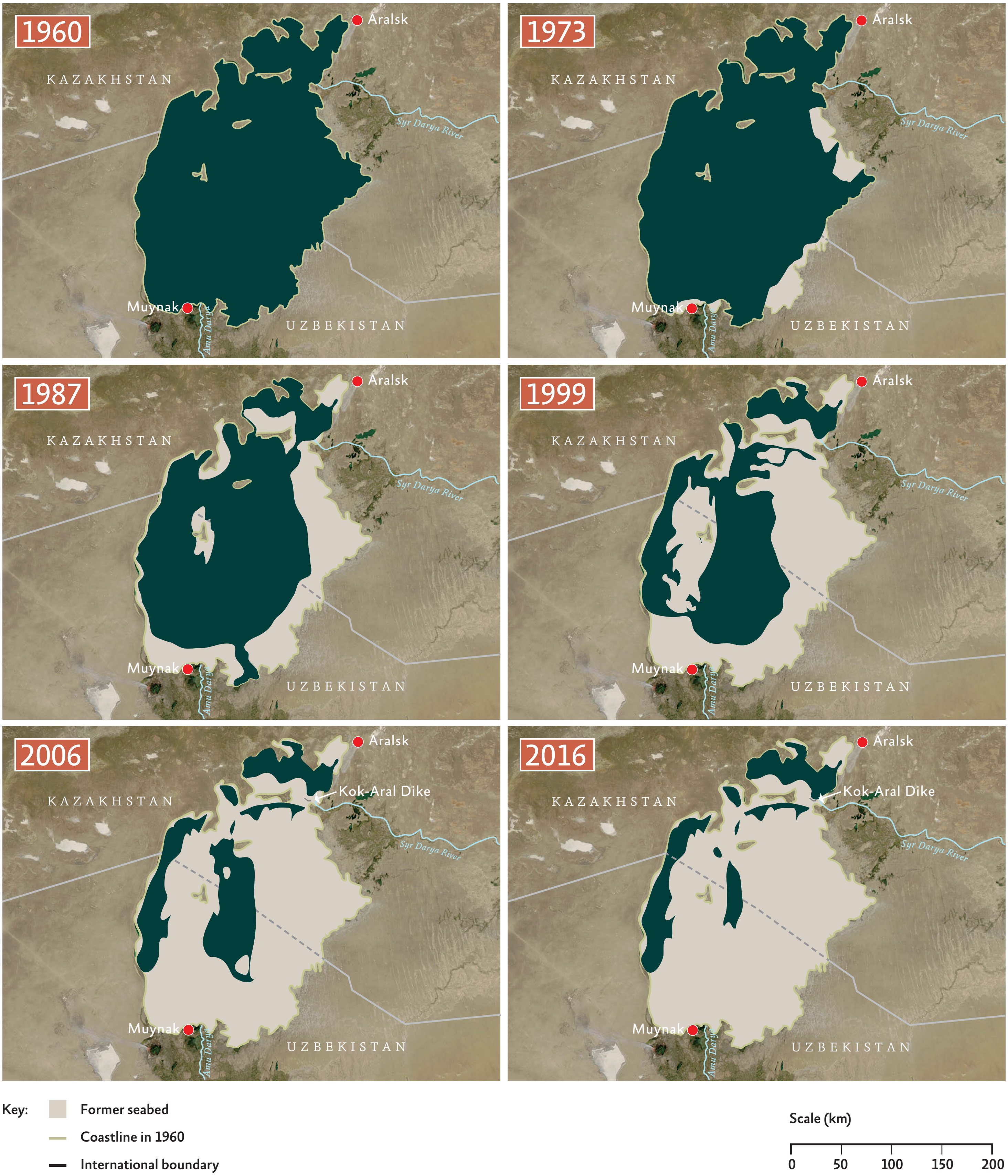
When the Wehrmacht rapidly pushed into the Soviet Union and severely endangered the arms industry, Stalin took advantage of the existing strategic depth. He moved arms production and other industrial facilities, as well as hospitals and research institutes, behind the Urals to Central Asia and Siberia, beyond the reach of German bombers. Uzbekistan thus received 238 new industrial complexes, including the production of Ilyushin

121. Fishermen on the frozen Aral Sea in western Kazakhstan. Photo: before 2009.

warplanes; Kazakhstan likewise received 140 production facilities and Kyrgyzstan more than 30. The Central Asian railway network played a vital role in bringing soldiers, military equipment and food to the front. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan became the arsenal of the Red Army. Through this shift of industrial complexes to Central Asia, industrialisation there experienced a dramatic shot in the arm.[117] This relocation eastwards was not limited to industrial plants, however. It also included members of non-Russian ethnic groups: first, from 1939, Poles, Balts and Karelian Finns; then, from 1941, Volga Germans and Romanians; and, from 1943/44, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Karachay-Cherkassians and Meskhetians. In total, between 1939 and 1945, approximately 3.2 million people were affected by these deportations, with a third of them dying of hunger and disease.[118] After 1956, many surviving deportees were allowed to return to their homes.

The continued promotion of agriculture within the scope of the planned economy also led to undesirable ecological developments. As the grain harvests in the Soviet Union were not satisfactory in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971, First Secretary of the Central Committee 1953–64) ordered 3.5 million hectares of pasture to be converted to farmland in Kazakhstan within one year, and then gradually more than 12.5 million hectares. After a short-term yield increase in 1956 and 1958, yields continually declined until 1963. The culprits were poor management in state enterprises, improper use of machinery, droughts, and especially rapid soil erosion due to the omission of regenerative fallow periods. The rapid exhaustion of the soil also caused the average yield of grain in 1963 to be more than 40 per cent less per hectare than in 1953.[119] This failure was one of the reasons that Khrushchev was dismissed in 1964. From an

The shrinking of the Aral Sea


1960
1973
1987
1999
2006
2016
Aralsk
KAZAKHSTAN
Syr Darya River
Muynak
Amu Darya
UZBEKISTAN
Kok-Aral Dike
Key:
Former seabed
Coastline in 1960
International boundary
Scale (km)
0
50
100
150
200

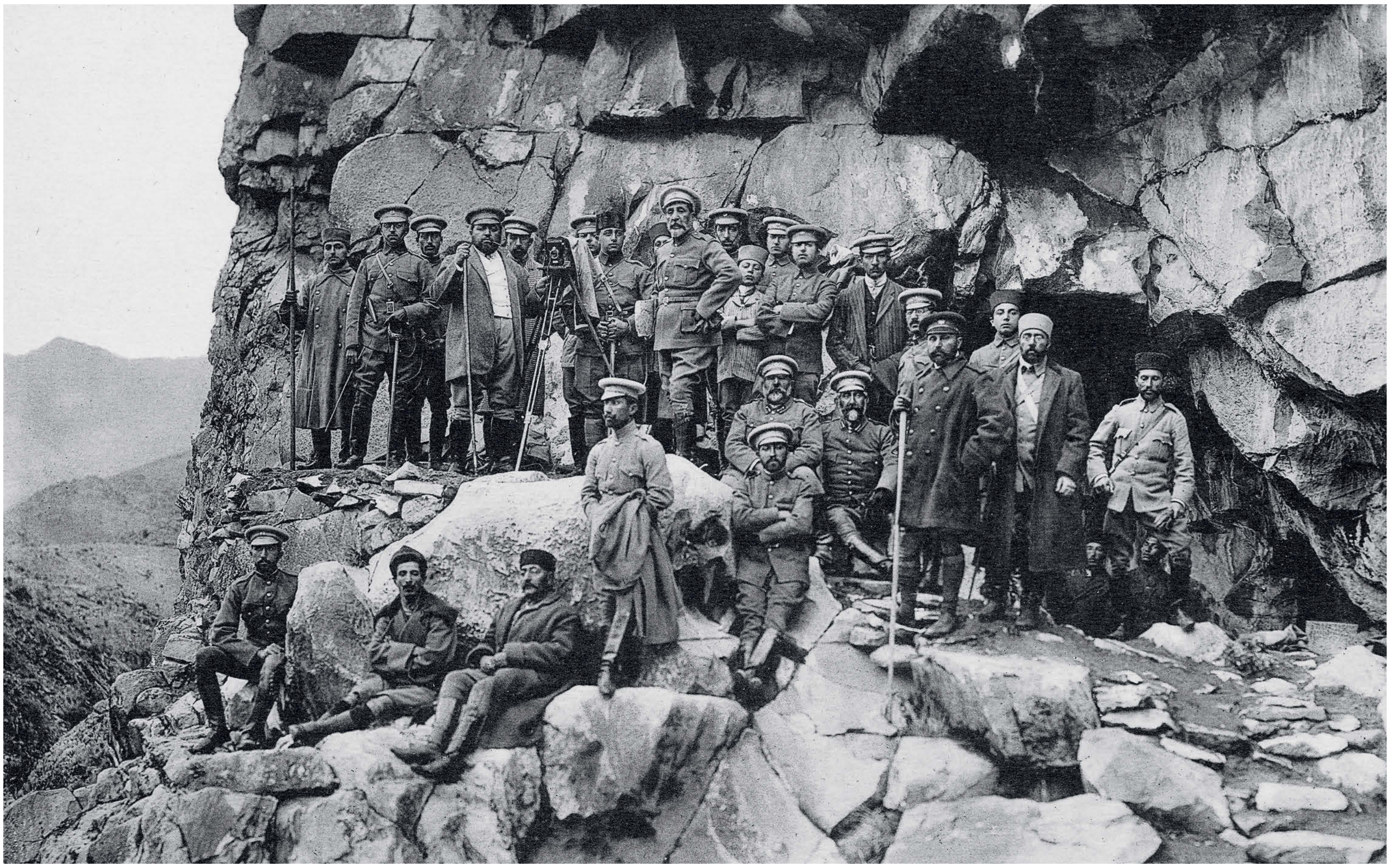
ecological point of view, even more devastating were the 456 nuclear tests – 116 of which were above ground – that took place from 1949 to 1989 around 160 km east of Semipalatinsk. Today, 18.000 km^2 – an area almost half the size of Switzerland – is considered to be contaminated by radiation.[120]

Another, likely irreparable ecological disaster was caused by the cotton monoculture in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Since cotton plants need a lot of water, Uzbekistan had to take in large amounts of water from the Amu Darya and Kazakhstan likewise from the Syr Darya. The poor quality of open irrigation canals led to large losses as a result of seepage and evaporation. This, in turn, required that additional water be taken from the rivers. Since crop rotation was not practised, there was irreversible soil degradation and salinisation, which was dealt with using ever-increasing amounts of pesticides and chemical fertilisers. The Karakum Canal in Turkmenistan – built from 1954–62 and expanded until 1988 – also withdrew large quantities of water from the Amu Darya in the direction of Ashgabat. However, as the canal was open and lacked a concrete bed, half of the water that passed through it was lost to seepage and evaporation. The consequence of these water withdrawals from the two rivers was the salinisation and desiccation of the endorheic Aral Sea, which has lost about 80 per cent of its area and 90 per cent of its volume since 1960. In 1989, the world's once fourth largest lake separated into two parts, the Great Aral Sea in the south belonging to Uzbekistan, and the Small Aral Sea in the north-east belonging to Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan built a dam in 1992 and 2003–05 to retain the waters of the Syr Darya and thus to save the Small Aral Sea. The measure has been successful from the Kazakh point of view, as they were able to stabilise the Small Aral Sea and decrease the salinity of the water. The fish stocks also rebounded. Meanwhile, the Great Aral Sea has shrunk to a narrow strip of dead water in the west; its former middle and eastern basin is now the newly formed Aral Kum Desert. Today, many former ports and fish factories are located more than 100 km from the water. The Great Aral Sea could only be saved through a massive restriction of the cotton monoculture in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, and a significant reduction in water intake of the Karakum Canal. At the moment, neither possibility seems realistic. The drying up of the lake has also had serious health consequences for the Karakalpaks, who live in the former delta of the Amur Darya: the salt dust, which is whirled up by the strong winds and distributed in Karakalpakstan settlements, is highly toxic due to the excessive application of pesticides, herbicides and chemical fertilisers.[121]

3. Afghanistan's Sovereignty, 1919–78

Amir **Habibullah** (r. 1901–19) quickly realised the need to modernise Afghanistan. He ordered the construction of the first modern hospital, the first hydroelectric power station and the first telephone line, and combated illiteracy (98 per cent of Afghans were illiterate) by opening schools for children of all classes and establishing the first Western-type grammar school. He also established the first teacher training college and the first military academy. Habibullah no longer wanted to leave education solely to the mullahs. At the same time, the amir permitted numerous Afghans who had been forced into exile by his father Abdur Rahman to return to Afghanistan. Among them were the families of the Tarzi and the Musahiban brothers from the Muhammadzai Barakzai tribe, who assumed power and conducted government affairs from 1930.[122] The exponents of the two families had differing foreign policy positions: Mahmud Beg Tarzi (1865–1933) was a nationalist and pan-Islamist who had lived in the Ottoman Empire for 22 years; he advocated for the country's rapid modernisation. He was also pro-Turkish and friendly towards Germany, just like Habibullah's sons Amanullah and Inayatullah. On the other hand, the five Musahiban brothers, led by General Muhammad Nadir Khan (1883–1933), were pro-British. Habibullah's first foreign policy test came when Viceroy Curzon issued an ultimatum demanding a revision of the Treaty of Gandamak and the agreement of 21 July 1880.[123] He insisted on even greater control of foreign policy, rigorous restrictions on arms imports, and other concessions. In the event of a renegotiation of the Treaty of Gandamak, Habibullah demanded in return the restoration of the territories that had been ceded to British India. As with Lytton before him, Curzon also responded angrily. In 1901, he aggregated the various semi-autonomous Pashtun areas that had been part of India since 1893 into the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and prepared a third invasion of Afghanistan designed to bring the amir to heel.

Curzon's deputy, Lord Ampthill, and his chief negotiator in Kabul, Louis Dane, came up with the solution to the conflict in 1904, when the viceroy was in England.[124] In the treaty dated 21 March 1905, Ampthill accepted Habibullah's counter-proposal, which referred to the agreements of 1879 and 1880, and recognised the preamble, which was non-negotiable for the amir. It read: 'His Majesty. . . Amir Habibullah Khan, Independent King of the State of Afghanistan. . .' Here, Britain recognised the independence

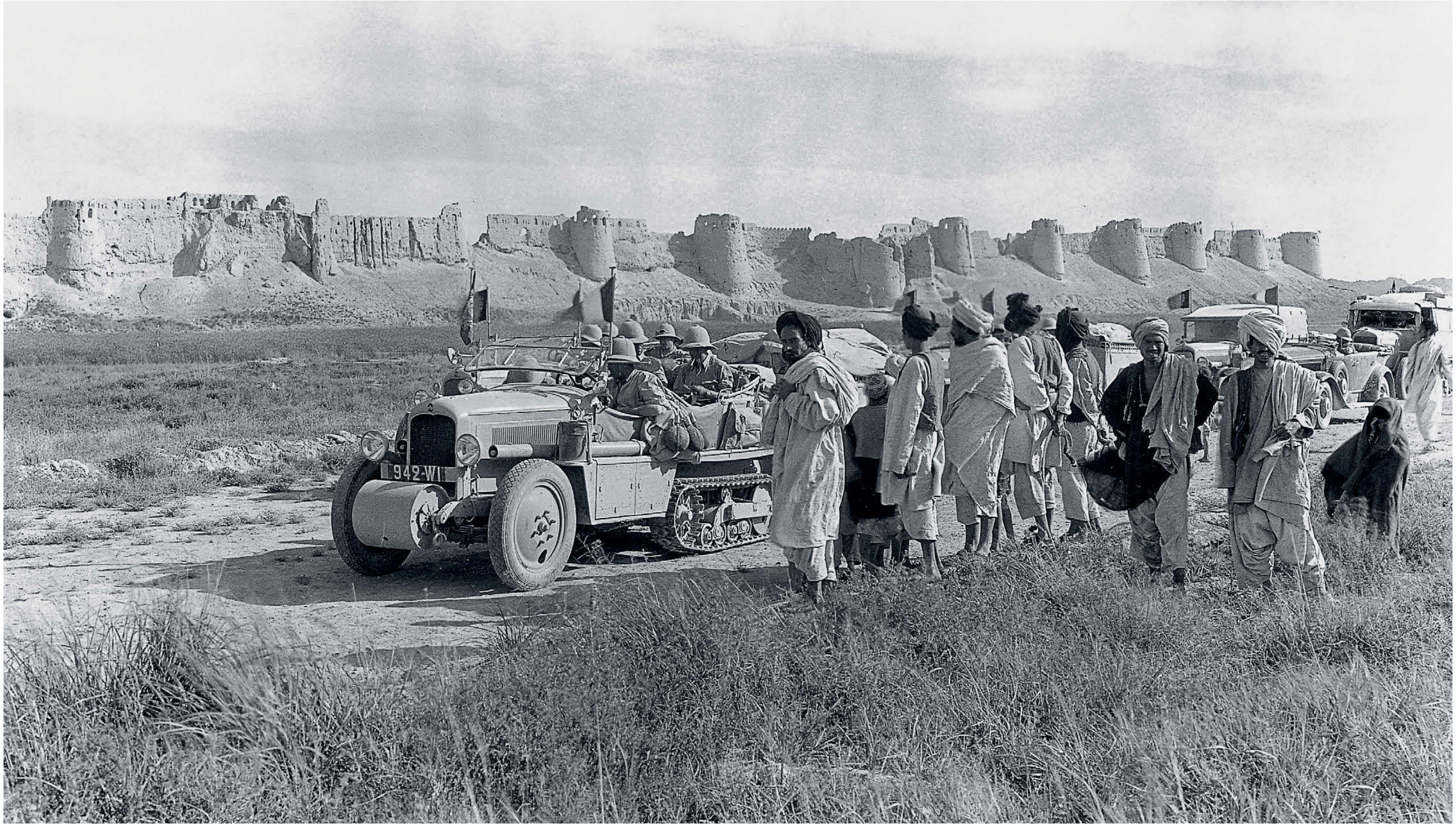


122. Amir Habibullah and his entourage on a hunt in the district of Paghman, west of Kabul. Paghman was the Amir's birthplace. In the top row, fourth from left, is Amir Habibullah (r. 1901–19); his son and successor Amanullah (r. 1919–29) is the second from the left. Appearing seventh from the left is Prince Inayatullah, who ruled for just four days in January 1929; second from the right is the moderniser Mahmud Beg Tarzi. In the foreground, middle, stands the future King Nadir Shah, Muhammad Nadir, on a protruding rock (r. 1929–33). Photo *ca.* 1910, Souvenir d'Afghanistan Collection, SdA 2-42. Foundation Phototheca Afghanica, Bubendorf, Switzerland.

of the state of Afghanistan, but retained control of its foreign policy.[125] Habibullah had outmanoeuvred Curzon and London with Ampthill's help. Now, he was no longer a vassal of India, but an independent king. At the outbreak of the world war, Habibullah – against the better judgement of his brother and his sons – declared Afghanistan's neutrality, because he knew that a two-front war against Russia and India would lead to its occupation. After the war, in early February 1919, Habibullah called for the recompense he believed he was due in the form of Afghanistan's unrestricted sovereignty, including in foreign policy matters. The initial response was negative, and Habibullah was murdered by an unknown assailant on 20 February 1919. The assassination was probably undertaken by an alliance between the anti-British traditionalists surrounding Nasrullah and the modernists surrounding Amanullah and Tarzi. On 21 February, **Nasrullah** (1874–1920, r. 21–28 February 1919), with the backing of Inayatullah and most of the tribes, declared himself the new amir in Jalalabad. **Amanullah** (1892–1960, r. 1919–29), however, then seized the arsenal and the state treasury in Kabul and proclaimed himself amir on 28 February. He had Nasrullah arrested, who died in prison in 1920.[126]

Amanullah subsequently declared the full sovereignty of Afghanistan on 13 April. When Great Britain responded with delaying tactics, he did not hesitate to make the decisive step that von Hentig and Niedermayer had urged Habibullah to make three years earlier. On 3 May 1919, near the Khyber Pass, he attacked India, triggering the Third Anglo-Afghan War. Amanullah had previously written a letter to Lenin on 7 April 1919, in which he said that, on the basis of Lenin's example, he had been able to instill in the Afghan people confidence that the country would win its fight for independence.[127] However, even though the Indian troops returning from Europe had already been demobilised, the amir had severely underestimated the opposing army's firepower. It had rifles with magazines, light Lewis machine guns, hand grenades, armoured vehicles, howitzers and aircraft. After some initial successes, the Afghans suffered a number of setbacks. The bombing of Kabul from the air induced the amir to seek a ceasefire on 28 May, which took effect on 3 June.[128] Amanullah had lost the war, but he won the peace: Great Britain may have emerged victorious from world war, but it was severely weakened and weary of conflict. Afghanistan and Great Britain made peace on 8 August, which was affirmed by the treaty of 22 November 1921. The amir lost the country's previous financial assistance and the possibility of importing weapons via India. He also had to recognise the Durand Line. In return, a letter acknowledged Afghanistan's independence, including in foreign affairs.[129]

Amanullah took advantage of the newly acquired space to manoeuvre in foreign policy to establish diplomatic and economic contacts with foreign countries. At the same time, he soon realised that the British Foreign Secretary Curzon was doing everything he could to limit this freedom.[130] The first state to recognise Afghan independence was the Soviet Union in May 1919. After all, the Bolsheviks were also looking for diplomatic recognition. This was followed in 1921–22 and subsequent years by friendship treaties with the Soviet Union, Iran, Turkey, Italy, France and Germany. But the new superpower, the United States, refused to take up full diplomatic relations with Afghanistan until 1942 in deference to Great Britain. Japan succumbed to similar pressure from the British until 1931. Amanullah had hoped for economic agreements and technology transfers with both countries. The German Weimar Republic initially balked at actively supporting Afghanistan for fear of British reprisals. Curzon's hostile policy towards Afghanistan drove the amir – who felt threatened – straight into the arms of Moscow. The Bolsheviks, for their part, wanted to demonstrate a model example of peaceful relations and build a spy network in Afghanistan directed against India. As the Afghan historian Amin Saikal puts it: 'By 1920 the Kremlin had by and large laid the foundations for its own regional forward policy: first Sovietising the Muslims of Central Asia; afterwards, with their help, Sovietising their brethren in Afghanistan, Iran



123. A caterpillar vehicle Citroën Kégresse P17 with trailer from the French Croisière Jaune expedition drives past the walls of Herat, Afghanistan in June 1931. The Croisière Jaune (4 April 1931–12 February 1932), also referred to as the 'Mission Centre-Asie', was supposed to demonstrate the superiority of Citroën's vehicles. Accompanied by archaeologist Joseph Hackin and the palaeontologist and geologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, it also had scientific objectives. The expedition was divided into two parts: the Pamir group travelled from Beirut to Herat, Kabul, Rawalpindi and Srinagar until it reached Gilgit, where the participants marched further on foot to Xinjiang. The China group, on the other hand, drove from Beijing to Ürümqi, where it ran into the turmoil of the Dungan Revolt and was taken hostage for five months by Governor Jin Shuren. Photo: June 1931.

and India. . . . Afghanistan was often described as the "Suez Canal of the Revolution" leading to India,' and, one should add, to the Indian Ocean.[131] However, material developmental aid from Moscow failed to come about, and the Soviet Union also refused to return the oasis of Panjdeh, annexed in 1885. Given that Turkey and Iran also had little interest in getting involved in Afghanistan in consideration of Great Britain, the landlocked country's actual room to manoeuvre remained limited. 'Amanullah was disliked by the British, ignored by the Americans, deceived by the Soviets and incapable of giving credibility to his pan-Islamic stance.'[132] The Weimar Republic alone was prepared to support Afghanistan with technology transfers, which enabled the country to carry out numerous large-scale projects.

Amanullah also modernised the state structures and, in 1923, put into effect Afghanistan's first constitution. The monarchy no longer rested on Allah's will or the consent of the tribal leaders, but on the will of the people. Although Islam was the state religion, all citizens of Afghanistan were equal, regardless of their religion or tribal affiliation. The rights to property, education and a free press were protected; slavery and torture were prohibited. A consultative state council was introduced as parliament – half of its members were elected, half chosen by the amir. In addition, a senate was appointed of preeminent figures. To find and promote a common national identity and story, Amanullah founded the National Museum. He also commissioned France, which was given a 30-year monopoly, with the archaeological exploration and inventory of Afghanistan.[133] He hoped that the archaeological finds would help familiarise all Afghans with a common culture, in reference to which, moreover, the mullahs would not enjoy sole interpretive authority. Nevertheless, the excavations of pre-Islamic Buddhist shrines and figures provoked the wrath of fanatical mullahs, as evidenced by Barthoux's excavations in Hadda in the 1920s.[134]

Although Amanullah's first constitution was moderate, it attracted the ire of Islamic traditionalists, particularly from the Sufi circles of Naqshbandiyya and members of the anti-British Deobandi movement established in India in 1866. The teachings of the Deobandi are strictly Sunni-Hanafi; they condemn any adoption of Western, non-Islamic values and worldviews and propagate a return to the very narrowly defined roots of Islam and the obligation to international jihad. Even though this doctrine disapproves of anti-civilian terrorism, it closely resembles Wahhabism and Salafism.[135] Amanullah was able to quell a first traditionalist-incited rebellion in 1924.[136] But, after a long overseas trip to the Middle East and Europe, which motivated him to further secularise Afghan society, he announced further reforms in July 1928. Intense rioting then broke out once again in October. In particular, Amanullah's plans for an elected people's parliament, compulsory military service, lifting the veil requirement for women, and granting girls free access to education were a source of outrage.[137] Amanullah, who had declared himself king in 1926, now had to pay the price for not heeding Kemal Atatürk's advice. The Turkish leader had stressed that before one could modernise a backward country, it was necessary to first build a strong and loyal army, a national ideology, a pioneering party, and a popular movement. Yet, all this was missing in Afghanistan. In January 1929, the army disintegrated and an ethnic Tajik, former officer, and bandit leader named Habibullah Kalakani marched on Kabul. To prevent a bloodbath, Amanullah abdicated on 14 January and set his brother **Inayatullah** (1888–1946, 14–17 January 1929) on the throne. He also stepped down after three days, however, at which point **Habibullah Kalakani** (1890–1929, r. 18 January to 13 October 1929) seized power in Kabul. Amanullah and Inayatullah fled into exile.[138]

Although Habibullah Kalakani undid most of Amanullah's reforms and pursued a conservative policy, as a Tajik, he lacked any kind of legitimacy for the Pashtuns. A resistance coalesced around General Muhammad Nadir Khan Musahiban and his two brothers Shah Wali Khan and Hashim Khan. Thanks to British help, Kabul fell to the Musahiban brothers on 15 October 1929. Kalakani was executed and **Nadir Shah** (r. 1929–33) was made the new king. The Pashtun tribe of the Muhammadzai Barakzai consequently regained the powerful monopoly that had been interrupted by Kalakani. Like Kalakani before him, Nadir Shah nullified most of Amanullah's reforms: he reintroduced the veil requirement for women and abolished women's suffrage as 'un-Islamic'. The legal system was again based solely on the Sharia, and the recruitment of soldiers was delegated back to the tribal leaders. The government came to resemble family rule, with Nadir as king and commander, Hashim Khan as prime minister, Shah Wali Khan as minister of war, and Aziz Khan as ambassador in Berlin. In terms of foreign policy, Nadir was actively neutral: he destroyed the last strongholds of the Basmachis in the north and denied any support to the rebels in the great anti-British uprising of the Waziris, Mashuds and Afridis in the NWFP. In remaining on the sidelines here, he essentially recognised the Durand Line. The king was assassinated on 8 November 1933 as part of a vendetta.[139]

The family of the Musahiban agreed to the succession on the same day and established co-rule. Nadir's young son **Zahir Shah** (r. nominally 1933–63, effectively 1963–73, d. 2007) was a ceremonial king and his uncle **Hashim Khan** (in office 1929–46) was prime minister. He was succeeded by his brother Shah

Mahmud Khan (in office 1946–53) who was in turn replaced as premier minister by Mohammed Daoud Khan in 1953 (in office 1953–63, as president 1973–78); Daoud was a son of Aziz Khan. Hashim Khan continued Nadir's conservative socio-religious policy. Just the same, he also invested in the road network and founded Afghanistan's first bank, prompting the emergence of private monopolies. In 1934, he managed a diplomatic coup when he realised Afghanistan's acceptance into the League of Nations. Three years later, Afghanistan signed the non-aggression Treaty of Sa'adabad with Persia, Iraq and Turkey.[140] He also cultivated close economic ties with the Germans. But when the Soviet Union and Great Britain became allies in the summer of 1941 in the war against Nazi Germany, they demanded in September that Hashim Khan (who had proclaimed Afghanistan's neutrality) banish all citizens of the Axis powers, with the exception of a minimal diplomatic service. Hashim knew he had little alternative, for in July the two allies had insisted that neutral Iran expel all Germans to secure the railway that crossed through the oil fields and Persia. When Reza Shah Pahlavi refused, Soviet and British troops invaded on 25 August, forcing the shah into exile. They occupied the country until the end of the war. In November, a *loya jirga* – a national gathering of tribal leaders and dignitaries – sanctioned the expulsion of German, Italian and Japanese citizens.[141] When Hashim Khan fell ill, his brother **Shah Mahmud Khan** (in office 1946–53) replaced him. While he shepherded Afghanistan into the UN in November 1946, he also faced the collapse of the country's historical rival British India in 1947 and the emergence of a new neighbour, Pakistan. Although Britain was among the victors of World War II, it was the real loser over the medium term: both its colonial empire and naval superiority deteriorated and Britain was relegated to a second-rate power. The descent took place not only as a result of the industrial and population-based superiority of the United States and the Soviet Union, both of which were essentially anti-colonial. The new military transport systems of missiles and aircraft, especially of the extremely expensive aircraft carriers, furthermore represented a new, strategically superior paradigm of power enforcement that had global reach.

The partitioning of India took place on 15 August 1947, wherein individual regions and principalities could vote on their future nationality. Premier Mahmud Khan, who declared the Durand Line obsolete with the departure of the British, demanded that the Pashtuns living in the NWFP should be given the choice to opt for a reunion with Afghanistan. But this was rejected by the Election Commission and the NWFP was assigned to Pakistan. Three conflicting positions now emerged that were partly responsible for the wars in Afghanistan from 1979. First, Afghanistan pushed for a reunification with the Pashtuns living to the east of the Durand Line, which unsettled the Afghan Uzbeks and Tajiks; second, a movement developed among the Pashtuns, which sought an independent state, Pashtunistan; and, third, both scenarios were a threat to Pakistan as its military sought a strategic depth in Afghanistan in the event of war with India. In August 1949, Afridi-Pashtuns proclaimed the Pashtunistan state, which Afghanistan recognised. Fighting subsequently broke out between Afghan and Pakistani border troops. Even worse, Pakistan closed its borders, so that the landlocked country of Afghanistan could no longer import fuel and weapons, or even essential goods.[142] Facing this predicament, the ruling Musahiban family decided to transfer power to the younger **Mohammed Daoud Khan** (1909–78, in office 1953–63); King Zahir remained merely a figurehead.[143]

Even the neutral Afghanistan could not avoid getting caught up in the Cold War (1947–91), which was no longer limited to Europe. Following Stalin's death in 1953, it also spilled over into Asia, Latin America and Africa. The Soviet-American rivalry revived the 'Great Game' once again, this time with global dimensions. And Afghanistan (along with Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Angola and the Middle East) became one of the main theatres. Daoud first approached the United States with a request for economic and military aid. But the Eisenhower administration only supported states that could be integrated into their anti-Soviet strategy, and, since the end of 1949, it had taken the side of its ally Pakistan in the matter of Pashtunistan. Afghanistan's enmity toward Pakistan also shut it out of the Western-oriented CENTO security pact.[144] After the United States turned him down, Daoud saw no alternative but to conclude a comprehensive agreement with the Soviet Union in January 1955. For Khrushchev, Afghanistan offered the chance to get a foothold in the developing world, to forge a Moscow-Kabul-New Delhi axis, and to attempt taking a step towards the Indian Ocean. Daoud was the first Afghan statesman to disregard the political testament Abdur Rahman uttered on his deathbed in 1901: 'Never trust the Russians.'[145] Daoud's agreement with Russia from 1955 and his obstinate struggle to annex Pashtunistan led to his assassination in 1978 and drove Afghanistan into the intractable civil war that exists to this day.

As a result of Soviet aid, numerous infrastructure projects were implemented, including the expressway leading over the Hindu Kush via the Salang Pass, which the Soviets used to invade the country at the end of 1979. The army was reorganised according to Russian principles, with Russian as a technical military language, and Afghanistan received Soviet weapons, tanks, aircraft and crew at favourable credit terms. The Soviet Union also financed 60 per cent of the incurred costs in the Five-Year Plan from 1956–60. Thousands of officers, civilian specialists and students were trained in the USSR, from where they were easily recruited by the KGB, the secret services and the GRU, the foreign military intelligence agency. The network of agents overseen by the Soviet embassy in Kabul rapidly infiltrated the army, administration and ministries, media and universities. During this time, known Afghan communists were recruited – such as Nur Mohammad Taraki, Hafizullah Amin and Babrak Karmal – who led Afghanistan into the abyss in 1978. Taraki, who had actually been recruited as early as 1951, was like Amin a Ghilzai, whose tribe had lost power to the Durrani in 1738. In 1956, he founded a Marxist group called Khalq ('mass'), whose members were rural Pashtun teachers, students, and civil servants. Amin joined with Taraki. In 1960, the KGB agent Karmal founded a second Marxist group, Parcham ('flag'), whose members were often urban Tajiks.[146] When Daoud attacked the Bajaur region located north of Peshawar in 1960 and again in 1961, Pakistan inflicted heavy losses on the Afghans and sealed off the border. Although Moscow established an air bridge to sustain the Afghan economy, the country suffered enormous damage from the Pakistani blockade. The threat of war loomed, but the Soviet Union was preoccupied with the Cuban missile crisis and wanted to avoid a second confrontation with the US. In March 1963, King Zahir forced Daoud, who had manoeuvred Afghanistan into a dead end, to step down and assumed power himself.[147]

King Zahir (r. 1963–73) pursued the half-hearted strategy of a regulated democratisation of politics and a liberalisation of economy and society. He normalised relations with Pakistan and renounced interfering in the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 that ended with an Indian victory and the collapse of CENTO, as the US did not rush to Pakistan's aid. In the next Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, Afghanistan also took a neutral position. In 1964, a new constitution went into force which cemented the king's autocratic rule, but barred other family members from taking power, including Daoud. However, as the weak Zahir refused to allow liberal political parties, the parliament continued to be dominated by tribal leaders and religious traditionalists, and, almost inexcusably, he neglected to found his own national political and identity-forming movement. The opposition had no choice but to go underground. It was dominated by two groups: the communists and militant Islamists. The Soviet Union took advantage of the relative political liberalisation. On 1 January 1965, it founded the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), with Taraki as secretary general and Karmal as his deputy. For personal, ethnic and ideological reasons, however, the leaders of the two factions, Khalq and Parcham, could not bear each other. There was a rupture in 1967. Parcham's followers continued to recruit from within the urban elite; Khalq increasingly strove to attract Pashtun officers.[148] The politically active Islamists rejected the higher clergy's willingness to compromise. In political Islam (e.g. as represented by the Muslim Brotherhood),[149] they saw a revolutionary force that would protect Afghanistan against the 'godless communists' and reorient the country toward the strict Islamic principles of Sharia. Among these early Islamists were the main protagonists of the anti-Soviet guerrillas and the subsequent civil war, such as Burhanuddin Rabbani, Abdurassul Sayyaf, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, and – somewhat later – the Tajik Ahmad Shah Massoud.[150] In light of the public political stagnation, Daoud found it easy from 1966 to initiate contact with discontented officers and Babrak Karmal's communists. He also had no qualms about provoking unrest, which was fuelled by the famine of 1971–72 and the squandering of foreign subsidies by corrupt officials. With Moscow's approval and the help of the KGB, on 17 July 1973 the Daoud-Parcham conspiracy toppled the king, who happened to be abroad, and announced the monarchy's abolition. The next day, Daoud declared himself President of the Republic of Afghanistan (in office 1973–78).

As soon as he was in power, Daoud continued his aggressive pro-Pashtunistan policy and funded rebel secessionists in northwest Pakistan. The Pakistani prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928–79, in office 1973–77), then decided to exploit for his own purposes the Islamists who were persecuted in Afghanistan and, like Hekmatyar and Rabbani, had found refuge in Pakistan. He ordered the military's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and Major General Nasrullah Babar, later one of the 'godfathers of the Taliban',[151] to give military training to hundreds of young Afghans. He also appointed Hekmatyar as coordinator with the ISI. In the summer of 1975, Babar sent the trained fighters into Afghanistan to instigate local rebellions. Here, Shah Massoud especially distinguished himself in the Panjir Valley, north of Kabul.[152] The uprisings failed due to a lack of broad support, yet out of fear that Pakistan could provide even more support to the Islamists, Daoud ended his hostile policy towards Pakistan.[153] While the first Pakistani-Soviet proxy war was concluded in 1975, the main players in the imminent 'Great Game' of the second half of the twentieth century had now taken positions: on the one hand, there was the southward advancing Soviet Union; on the other, Pakistan with the United States as an ally. Saudi Arabia joined the latter beginning in 1978. But Daoud sought to free himself from Soviet encirclement. He thus purged the ministries of Parcham members and strove for a rapprochement with the oil-rich Gulf

124. The Buddhist Amarbayas Galant monastery, 'Monastery of Tranquil Felicity', was built on the orders of Emperor Yongzheng from 1727–37 in honour of the Mongolian monk and artist Zanabazar. Amarbayas Galant is one of the few monasteries in Mongolia to have been more or less spared the systematic destruction of the 1930s. Reconstruction began in 1988. Photo: 2001.

States, Iran, Egypt, and the technologically superior United States. Although Daoud had drawn closer to Pakistan, the US remained indifferent. Daoud's contacts with Anwar al-Sadat, however, aroused the ire of the Soviet leadership. Since July 1972, the Egyptian president had been considered a traitor for having expelled Soviet military advisers.

The division was highlighted by a personal quarrel that developed between Brezhnev and Daoud in the Kremlin in April 1977. Brezhnev complained vehemently about the use of Western experts in northern Afghanistan, prompting Daoud to answer coolly in the presence of President Podgorny and prime minister Kosygin: 'We will never allow you to dictate how to run our country and whom to employ in Afghanistan. [. . .] Afghanistan shall remain poor, if necessary, but free in its acts and decisions.'[154] With these words, Daoud summed up the unbowed self-determination of the Afghan tribesmen. At the same time, however, he sealed his own fate. Moscow forced the warring Khalq and Parcham factions to cooperate in the PDPA, once again with Taraki as secretary general and Karmal as his deputy. Hafizullah Amin, who had infiltrated the officer corps, was commissioned to organise the coup, which was scheduled for August 1978. When Daoud had Taraki and Karmal arrested for inciting rebellion on 26 April, Amin, who was only under house arrest, triggered the coup ahead of schedule on 27 April and without consulting with Moscow. It ended the next morning with the shooting of President Daoud and almost his entire family. The rebels quickly asserted themselves: on 1 May, they proclaimed the

Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, with Taraki as chairman of the Revolutionary Council and as prime minister. Karmal, Amin and Major Aslam Watanjar, who had led the tank convoy that attacked the palace, were further appointed as deputy prime ministers. Moscow immediately promised generous economic and military aid.

In retrospect, Daoud, who wanted to modernise Afghanistan and take a neutral path, foundered because of foreign policy misjudgements and an erratic domestic policy. His Pashtunistan policy had devastating consequences. It was not only futile in the face of power relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, but Afghanistan also made an enemy of its neighbour, which was the only transit country for the import and export of Afghan goods. Due to its lack of infrastructure in its east, Iran was not a logistical alternative. In addition, tensions with Pakistan undermined the possibility of a rapprochement with the US, an ally of Pakistan. Domestically, the king's removal denied Afghanistan a potent national symbol. By the same token, a new identity-forming ideology was also missing that would have embraced the conservative rural areas. Daoud thereafter underestimated the communists, particularly their ability to infiltrate the administration, military and intelligence agencies. Thus, he gradually lost control over all three. Finally, Daoud proved to be inept and reckless in his rapprochement with the West, especially with Sadat: Sadat was able to free himself from the grip of the Soviets, because he enjoyed the full support of the United States. Egypt was also at a far remove from the Soviet Union. Conversely, the US ignored Daoud's solicitations, while the Soviet Union was essentially in Afghanistan's backyard. At the same time, the Soviets could rejoice, since the establishment of a socialist Afghanistan seemed to extend their sphere of influence across the Hindu Kush. That said, they soon learned otherwise: even though the PDPA controlled Kabul and the army, the hill country had never been exclusively controlled by the central government. On top of this, the Afghan communists proved to be insubordinate, and, in the end, Islam formed the sole beacon around which all the opponents of centralism and foreign intervention would soon converge.

125. The centrally located Sükhbaatar Square in Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia. In the foreground, an equestrian monument in honour of General Sükhbaatar, and in the background, the Blue Sky Tower Hotel built from 2006–11. Photo: 2012.

4. Mongolia as a Pawn of Major Regional Powers

As of the Oath of Dolon Nor of 1691, Mongolia was no longer a political entity.[155] The partitioning of Inner Mongolia into 49 banners and Outer Mongolia into 34, and later 86 banners, resulted in the allocation of the respective territory and population to a specific prince. This so-called 'hoshun' was, in turn, subordinated to the Manchurian administration. Many of the hoshun were highly indebted to Chinese lenders and usurers. Nevertheless, since they were by and large able to freely dispose of the goods within their banner, they pledged them to their creditors who, in this way, were able to establish a monopoly over Mongolian trade and finance in the nineteenth century. The Buddhist church also contributed greatly to the rapid impoverishment of Outer Mongolia. Its clergy was divided into three classes: the very small elite of high-ranking reincarnations, the Khutukhtu; the educated monastery administrators; and the great mass of ordinary lamas, who were little more than temple servants. The economic foundation of the monasteries relied not only on parcels of lands, herds, and donations accumulated through ornate ceremonies, but also on serfs. The church numbered about 113,000 monks, representing 16 per cent of the total population of around 700,000 or one-third of the male population. The majority of ordinary monks probably did not live in the monastery, but with their families. What is more, because the command of celibacy among the Gelugpas was consistently flouted, the monks, especially the itinerant lamas, were mostly responsible for the then rampant venereal diseases. Due to the near-hermetic isolation of Mongolian society, the lack of educational facilities, and the ideological stranglehold of the Buddhist clergy, the Mongols persisted in a state of superstition, ignorance and passive resignation to their fate.[156] Just the same, when the Chinese amban Sando introduced a policy of brisk assimilation in 1910, the highest nobility started to resist. With the consent of the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu (1870–1924), they turned to the tsar for help in July 1911. Russia's sole interest, though, was in having a Mongolian buffer zone to China and to the Japanese to secure the narrow Baikal Corridor east of Irkutsk. From Tsar Nicholas to Stalin, the fear prevailed that Japanese troops stationed in Manchuria could cross Mongolia to cut off the Trans-Siberian Railway and isolate Vladivostok from West Russia. Annexing Outer Mongolia was out of the question.[157]

But when the Chinese Revolution erupted on 10 October 1911, the amban's authority also disintegrated in Urga, today's Ulaan Baatar.[158] And on 1 December, the Provisional Government of the Khalkha proclaimed Outer Mongolia's independence. Soon thereafter, on 29 December 1911, a government was formed with five ministries and the Tibetan-born Eighth Khutukhtu Bogd Khan ('holy ruler') was enthroned as head of state.[159] Mongolia was nominally a theocracy, but in fact it was dominated by a few nationalist princes and clerics, whose sphere of influence was limited to eastern Mongolia. Still, the declaration of independence was inherently pan-Mongolian and directed at the Mongols in the west and Inner Mongolia alike. In the west, the Chinese troops stationed in the administrative capital of Uliasutai surrendered without a fight, whereas those in Khobdo (Khovd) capitulated in August 1912 only after a violent struggle. Here, the Kalmyk commander Dambijantsan, referred to as Ja Lama, distinguished himself by his extraordinary cruelty: he saturated the flags of his troops with blood from hearts torn from still-living bodies. The control of the government in Urga over the west remained nominal; the actual rulers were the warlords Dambijantsan, Damdinsuren and Magsarjav. In February 1914, Russian troops arrested Dambijantsan and, in April, occupied the neighbouring province of Uriankhai (today's Tuva region), which they immediately declared a Russian protectorate.[160] But the government in Urga failed to gain international recognition for their independence – with the exception of the controversial Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the government of Mongolia and Tibet of 11 January 1913.[161]

Neither China nor Russia would accept an independent Mongolia, which could serve as a springboard for Japan to Buryatia and Central Asia. Since securing the Baikal Corridor was a top priority for Russia, it signed a secret treaty with Japan on 8 July 1912 that allocated Outer Mongolia to the Russian and Inner Mongolia to the Japanese zone of influence. This, accordingly, obstructed the realisation of any pan-Mongolian ambitions.[162] Then, Russia and China agreed on 18 November 1913 that Inner Mongolia belonged fully to China and Outer Mongolia could remain politically autonomous domestically, but would stand under Chinese sovereignty.[163] Finally, in the Treaty of Kyakhta of 7 June 1915, Russia forced Mongolia to recognise the Sino-Russian agreement from 1913: China and Mongolia ended all hostilities; Mongolia recognised Chinese suzerainty, and, in return, Russia and China guaranteed Mongolia's autonomy in its internal affairs. Relations with foreign powers, however, were prohibited. Moreover, China could send an amban to the cities of Urga, Uliasutai, Khobdo, Kyakhta and to Uriankhai, while Russia was allowed to station a Cossack guard in Urga.[164] This ended, once and for all, not only the dream of a unified state of all Mongols, but also the genuine self-determination of Outer Mongolia. In Urga, however, the government failed to take advantage of the existing room to manoeuvre internally to enact urgently needed reforms in financial and tax matters, infrastructure, education and health. Even worse, the supreme clergy unscrupulously enriched themselves and had reformist nobles and officials killed. The collapse in 1917 of Russia, the guarantor of Mongolian independence, cleared the way for China to rescind the region's autonomy. The infiltration of Chinese troops began in 1918, and, in the autumn of 1919, the Chinese resident Chen Yi seduced disaffected aristocrats to agree to the nullification of Mongolian self-rule. He also convinced them to consent to the deployment of Chinese troops under the leadership of the pro-Japanese warlord Xu Shuzheng in the face of an impending invasion by the White warlord Grigory Semyonov. Xu seized power and on 17 November forced the government to revoke its own autonomy, which was confirmed in a humiliating ceremony on 20 February 1920.[165] The attempt to establish Mongolia as at least an autonomous state had fallen through, and the region had been reduced to a veritable plaything of foreign powers.

When Xu returned to China, Chen Yi relieved him and launched a comprehensive assimilation programme. This elicited the impotent fury of the nobility, clergy, and the Khutukhtu. At the same time, the Russian Civil War approached the borders of Mongolia. By the beginning of 1920, the Bolsheviks had brought Western Siberia under their control. It was only a matter of time until they succeeded in expelling the White warlord Semyonov from Transbaikalia and his ally Roman von Ungern-Sternberg (1886–1921) from Chita in southern Transbaikalia. Semyonov eluded the Bolsheviks by going eastward. Ungern, however, invaded Mongolia in mid-August 1920 with his small cavalry, which included, among others, 60 Japanese officers.[166] Mongolia thus became entangled in the Russian Civil War. Lenin was not willing to tolerate a pro-monarchist army, backed by Japan, which not only took refuge in a neighbouring state, but was also a potential threat to the Baikal Corridor.[167] A few weeks earlier, on 25 June, agents of the Communist International (Comintern) facilitated the merger of two groups of anti-Chinese nationalists into the Mongolian People's Party (MVP). Even then and until the early 1930s, the People's Party was very heterogeneous: its members were not only officers, officials, and revolutionaries, but also nationalists, nobles, and monks – albeit not workers, as there was no proletariat in Mongolia at the time. The goals of the party were liberation from the Chinese occupiers and the protection of religion and state.[168] The party then sent a delegation to the Soviet Union, to which Damdin Sükhbaatar (1893–1923; fig. 125) and the later dictator Khorloogiin Choibalsan (1895–1952) belonged.

Meanwhile, in the autumn of 1920, Ungern besieged Urga – at first without success. But, then, on 4 February 1921, he expelled the Chinese garrison and occupied the city where he immediately had Jews, alleged Bolsheviks, and Chinese traders killed. The former tsarist officer with German-Baltic roots seized power. On 21 February 1921, he put the Khutukhtu back on the throne as a figurehead and established an arbitrary reign of terror. But Ungern's despotism was short-lived. The Mongols surrounding Sükhbaatar and Choibalsan formed an exile government in Russian Kyakhta. Sükhbaatar then crossed the border to expel the Chinese garrison from Mongolian Kyakhta with his partisans on 18 March. The Provisional Government relocated there immediately and asked the Soviet Union for military aid. In the beginning of July 1921, the Red Army occupied Urga without a fight, and on 9 July, a constitutional monarchy was established. The Khutukhtu was made head of state, Dogsomyn Bodoo prime minister, and Sükhbaatar minister of war.[169] The Soviet troops, the majority of whom consisted of Kalmyks, remained in the country until 1925, not least to prevent counter-revolutionary actions by the Chinese and Japanese. Mongolia, however, had escaped from the Chinese yoke only to be made a protectorate of the Soviet Union. Establishing contact independently with other states remained prohibited. This hybrid state – characterised by a binding link to the Soviet Union and purely nominal Chinese suzerainty – persisted until the plebiscite of October 1945. In retrospect, Ungern did the Soviets a great service with the expulsion of the Chinese: they could then occupy Outer Mongolia and prevent Japanese advances, without having to ever confront China militarily.[170]

The short period of constitutional monarchy, which focused on the consolidation of state structures, met its demise with the death of the Khutukhtu on 20 May 1924. On 26 November 1924, the Third Party Congress decided on the state form of a People's Republic. As for the successor of the Khutukhtu, the leadership proceeded cautiously and did not abolish the institution of Buddhist reincarnations until 1929. Marking the first phase of the People's Republic from 1924 to 1928 was the New Economic Policy and a tolerant attitude towards the Buddhist church. Private companies prospered, and while trade with China dominated, it played a minor role with the Soviet Union.[171] Stalin did away with this relatively liberal policy in the winter of 1926/27, when he demanded the following changes: a purging of the heterogeneous party, especially of its nationalist and clerical elements; an uncompromising fight against the church and feudal lords and their expropriation; and a turning away from foreign states commercially and a radical collectivisation of herds. The Seventh Party Congress of 1928,

126. The Zaisan Monument, built to the south of Ulaan Baatar, commemorates the Soviet soldiers who fell in World War II. In the background, the city of Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia. Photo: 2012.

accordingly, adopted these directives.[172] Although there were neither managers of large enterprises in Mongolia nor agricultural engineers or veterinarians, the cattle breeders were expropriated and their herds collectivised; the system of transport was nationalised; and private trade was banned. The consequences were the same as in Kazakhstan: the cattle breeders living near the Chinese border fled by the tens of thousands to China, especially Xinjiang, and the nomads preferred to slaughter their animals rather than surrender them. Due to a lack of competence, at least a third of all livestock perished within three years. But when serious unrest broke out and the army had to intervene, Stalin found himself forced to stop the collectivisation campaign. Stalin's decision to relent was primarily due to the Japanese aggression against Chinese Manchuria, which Japan occupied in the winter of 1931/32 and converted into the puppet state of Manchukuo on 1 March 1932. On 29 May 1932, the Comintern ordered the reversal of the nationalisation measures and re-privatisation of the nationalised livestock. Since Stalin was infallible, overzealous Mongols were singled out as scapegoats. After the campaign of 1929–32 had eradicated the nobility, the following campaigns from 1936 – led by Marshal Choibalsan, the 'Mongolian Stalin' – focused on the party, which was purged of nearly all senior members, the officer corps, and the Buddhist church, which was virtually eliminated by 1939. The vast majority of the 800 monasteries were destroyed and about 94,000 monks were displaced to the laity.[173] As the Soviet scholar E.M. Mursajev noted with irony, images of Stalin and Choibalsan then replaced in the nomads' yurts the Buddhist ones.[174]

Japan did not let matters rest with its establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo. Rather, in February 1936, it established the second Japanese pseudo-state of Mengjiang in the eastern half of Inner Mongolia. It further launched a pan-Mongolian propaganda campaign with the aim of gaining a foothold both to the west, in the direction of Central Asia, and in Outer Mongolia.[175] In response to this threat, Mongolia and the Soviet Union, which had already

▶ **127.** Members of the small Tuvan ethnic group of the Tsaatan, who live mainly from reindeer husbandry. Khövsgöl Aimag, northern Mongolia. Photo: 2011.

sent troops into Mongolia in January 1935, signed a ten-year defence protocol. After a Russian-Japanese border incident in July 1938 south-west of Vladivostok, a further border war with high losses flared up from May to September 1939 along the Mongolian-Manchurian border, near the Khalkyn Gol River. Japan had provoked the conflict, which ended with a Soviet-Mongolian victory, to test the Soviets' willingness to aid Mongolia and the responsiveness of the Red Army. As a result of this defeat, Japan abandoned its expansion plans in north-east Asia. It further signed a neutrality pact with the Soviet Union on 13 April 1941 and decided not to attack the Soviets while on the side of Nazi Germany in the summer of 1941.[176]

The history of the small province of Uriankhai (Tuva) has a similar trajectory to that of Outer Mongolia. After it had been made into a Russian protectorate in 1914, a Chinese amban returned to the region in 1915. From 1917 to 1921, fighting took place in Uriankhai between Bolsheviks and several White groups, until Prince Buyan-Badrakhu founded the People's Republic of Tannu Tuva with the help of the Comintern in August 1921. The state was not officially recognised, however, except by the Soviet Union and, in 1926, by Mongolia. The leader of Tuva was the Buddhist monk Donduk Kuular (1888–1932), who sought close links with Mongolia and fought the immigration of Russian settlers. Although the small republic had only about 60,000 Tuvinians, Donduk Kuular dared to provoke Stalin in 1926 by proclaiming Buddhism the state religion. Three years later, Stalin had him arrested and initiated a policy of herd collectivisation and cracking down on Buddhism and shamanism. In October 1944, Tuva was transformed into an autonomous oblast of the RSFSR.[177]

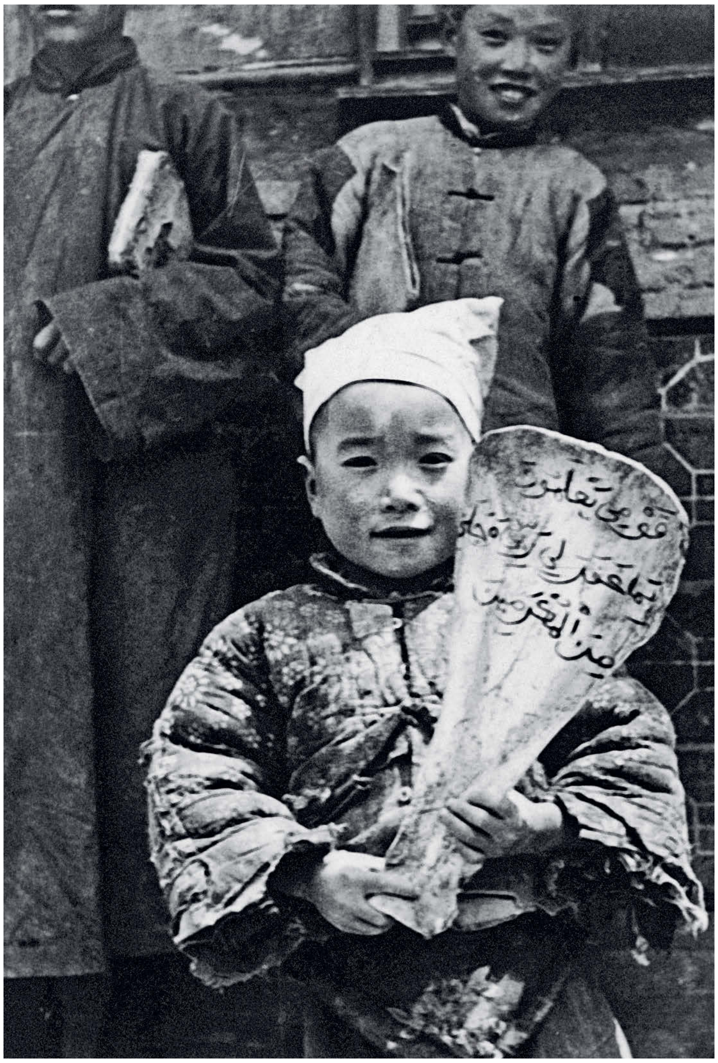
At the end of World War II, Mongolia nominally still belonged to China. In the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of 14 August, 1945, Stalin forced Chiang Kai-shek to agree to a referendum in Mongolia on the question of independence. The referendum took place on 20 October, and the Mongols entitled to vote decided almost unanimously in favour of independence, which was recognised by China on 5 January 1946.[178] Mongolia was now nominally independent, but it remained a de facto Soviet satellite. The extent to which the foreign policy of Mongolia was a function of Soviet foreign policy was exemplified in the relations with China. During the period of Soviet-Chinese cooperation from 1949–59, tens of thousands of Chinese worked in Mongolia, where there was a lack of workers. A Trans-Mongolian Railway was also constructed which connected Moscow to Beijing via Ulaan Baatar. With the onset of the Soviet-Chinese confrontation from 1960–62, Mongolia expelled the country's Chinese guest workers and closed the border with China.[179] Sino-Soviet – and as a consequence Sino-Mongolian – relations did not begin to ease until 1985 under Mikhail Gorbachev.

128. **The governor-general of the province of Xinjiang, Marshal Yang Zengxin (in office 1912–28) visited Sven Hedin's expedition in Ürümqi on 18 March. Sven Hedin, *Auf grosser Fahrt. Meine Expedition mit Schweden, Deutschen und Chinesen durch die Wüste Gobi 1927–28* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1929), opposite p. 328. The Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm.**

5. Xinjiang's Autonomy and the Era of Warlords, 1912–44

As in Mongolia, the Chinese Revolution of 1911 had power-political, rather than social, implications in Xinjiang. In the northern region of Ili, the young general and revolutionary Yang Zuanxu rebelled, and in the Tarim Basin, the xenophobic and anti-Manchurian secret society Gelaohui attempted to seize power through the targeted assassinations of government dignitaries. Fears were, in turn, stirred up that Russia could strengthen its Cossack guard to annex Kashgaria. In Xinjiang, therefore, there existed four centres of power: the established government in Tihua (Ürümqi); the republican revolutionaries in Ili; Gelaohui; and the Russian Consulate General. Governor **Yang Zengxin** (1867–1928, in office 1912–28), who was backed by President Yuan Shikai, won the power struggle thanks to the Dungan army of Chinese-speaking Muslims recruited by General Ma Fuxing (1864–1924) (fig. 128). Governor Yang convinced the leading rebels from Ili to form a unity government. Later, he moved them to provincial posts, where he then had them arrested and executed one by one. Afterwards, he weakened Gelaohui, and by the time World War I broke out there was no longer any reason to fear a Russian annexation of Kashgaria.[180] In 1916, Governor Yang rid himself of a group of conspirators from his immediate circle in a rather bizarre manner. First, he had the informant who tipped him off to the threat publicly executed, both to win time and to give the conspirators a false sense of security. A short time later, he invited them to a banquet, where he had three of the ringleaders who were sitting at the table beheaded. He then banished the other conspirators to southern China.[181]

At that time, Xinjiang was completely isolated due to a lack of roads and railways from Central China. Goods transport from Ürümqi to Beijing usually took 120 to 180 days. Travel was fastest from Beijing to the port of Tianjin; from there by ship to Kobe, Japan; from there to Vladivostok; then by train to Irkutsk and Novosibirsk; then with trucks to Barnaul and Kulja, Ili; and, finally, by horse to Ürümqi.[182] Despite this isolation, Governor Yang avoided proclaiming Xinjiang's independence. As the financial subsidies from the central government had failed to transpire since the revolution, he had to expand economic and trade relations with Russia, even though he was highly suspicious of his prodigious neighbour. Xinjiang's trading volume with the Soviet Union was ten times larger than with China, and the province was part of the Soviet economic sphere. Yang attached great importance to equality in diplomatic affairs. When the Soviet Union called for the transfer of Xinjiang's five former tsarist consulates, he successfully countered with a request to establish Chinese consulates in five cities of Soviet Central Asia administered by Ürümqi.[183]



129. Young Uyghur with a 'horn book'. 'The daily lesson of a Muslim boy at the mosque school. The verse from the Koran is written on the shoulder blade of a camel until the student knows his lesson; this verse is then rubbed out and another takes its place.'[22] Photo 1936, The Rev. Claude. L. Pickens Jr. Collection; Harvard-Yenching Library.

No sooner had Yang stabilised the domestic political situation than the Russian Civil War presented him with a new challenge. Specifically, he had to prevent Xinjiang from becoming drawn into the civil war like Mongolia and Tuva. Yang demonstrated his skilfulness when the defeated White General Boris Annenkov sought protection from the Red Army, which was hard on his heels, in northern Xinjiang in May 1920. By supplying little food to the starving White Army, he forced it to divide into small groups. He subsequently invited Annenkov to Ürümqi, where he then had

130. General Ma Zhongying (1911–37?), a Dungan warlord operating in Gansu and Xinjiang from the later 1920s until 1934. Photo 1933/34: Sven Hedin, *Die Flucht des Großen Pferdes* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1939), frontispiece. The Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm.

him arrested. At the same time, he expelled the White soldiers to Dunhuang. Finally, Annenkov had to share his prison cell with a Chinese opium addict; when he, too, become addicted to opium in 1924, Yang let the enfeebled White general go. In the case of the White General Bakich, who also invaded northern Xinjiang, Yang allowed the Red Army to fight Bakich on Chinese territory.[184] As Wu Aitchen, the representative of the Chinese Guomindang Party[185] in Ürümqi reported, Yang was proud to have not surrendered a single square metre of Chinese soil. 'These things I have done not with soldiers, for I have none, but with the power of my mind and my pen. I have never troubled to create a large army, for it was clear. . .that my army could not possibly be bigger than those of my neighbours, and if your army is not the biggest it is safest to have no army at all.'[186]

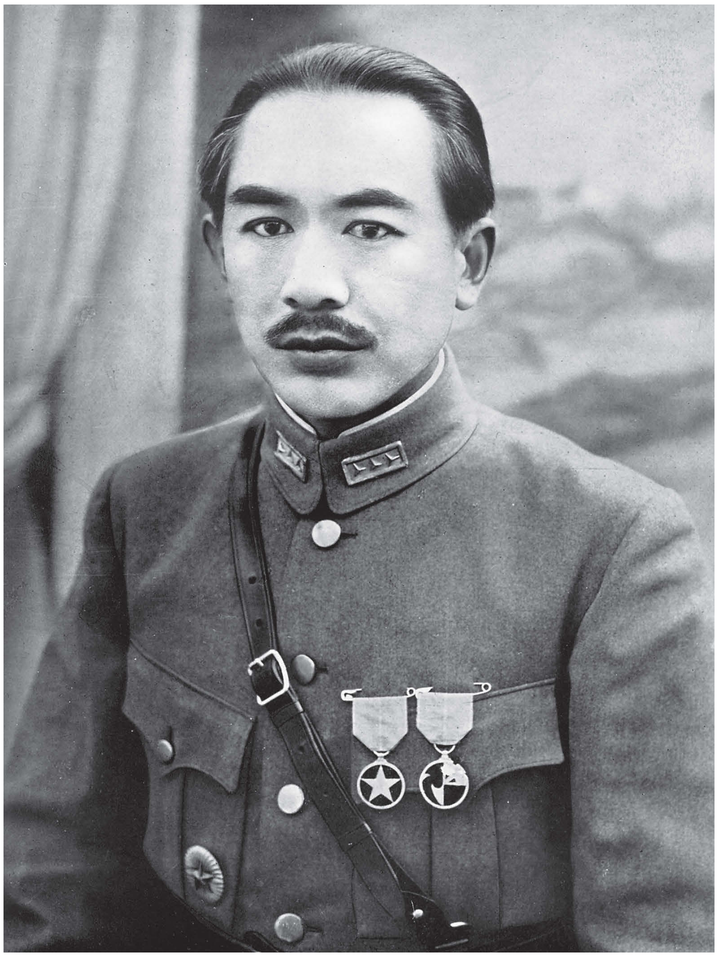
To increase the self-sufficiency of the province, Yang invested in agriculture and irrigation canals as well as in the gold mines. Because he feared having a proletariat that might be susceptible to Soviet propaganda, he prohibited industrial plants. To prevent cash outflows to China or the Soviet Union, and also to control the flow of funds within the province, he introduced four different local paper currencies: the taels of Ürümqi, Ili, Aksu and Kashgar. He manipulated their exchange rates with each other and with foreign currencies as needed. The Sinologist and Mongolist Owen Lattimore (1900–89), who was in China in the 1920s, praised Yang insofar as he accepted the regional paper money for paying taxes, whereas other warlords rejected their own paper money and insisted instead on goods or silver: 'Every regional potentate issues paper money, the acceptance of which is enforced at the point of a bayonet, while for payment of taxes and of the government receipts only silver is accepted. . .In Sinkiang there is no such maintenance of blatantly false values, . . .the government accepts its own paper.'[187] On 7 July 1928 Yang was murdered during a banquet by an ambitious official named Fan Yaonan. But Fan's coup attempt failed because Yang's deputy **Jin Shuren** (1883–1941, in office 1928–33) successfully mobilised loyal troops. Fan was executed the next day, and Jin proclaimed himself the new governor.[188]

Governor Jin, though, lacked Yang's ability to find a balance between the interests of different ethnic groups. This was revealed, for instance, by the incidents in Kumul (Hami), where he sought rapid sinicisation. In Kumul, there was an autonomous Muslim principality, whose khan allegedly descended from Genghis Khan's son Chagatai. When Khan Maqsud Shah died in March 1930, Jin not only abolished the khanate, but he doubled the taxes on all agricultural products. He then confiscated fertile land from Turkish-speaking Muslims, transferring it to Chinese refugees from the neighbouring province of Gansu. Moreover, he granted them a three-year tax exemption. To the expropriated Uyghurs, he not only allocated uncultivated and non-irrigated land on the edge of the desert, but also insisted on the payment of taxes. When a reckless Chinese tax collector provoked riots in the beginning of April 1931, Governor Jin initiated a massacre in Kumul.[189] At the same time, the rebels who fled to the mountains under the leadership of Khoja Niyaz and Yulbars Khan called on the young Dungan warlord Ma Zhongying (1911–37?) for help (fig. 130).

Ma Zhongying was one of five related Wu Ma ('Five Ma') Dungan warlords whose power centres were in the provinces of Qinghai, Gansu and Ningxia. Even before the distress call from Hami, Ma Zhongying had already planned to attack the wealthy oasis, as he had fully plundered his former base in north-west

Gansu. According to the British missionaries Mildred Gable and Francesca French, who were living in Gansu at the time, Ma Zhongying's way of operating 'was the method of the locust and the Hun, and his army was always viewed as a plague. It came, it devoured' and then moved on.[190] Ma's small army of less than 1,000 men unsuccessfully laid siege to Kumul and made a push towards Tihua. After a victory there, Ma continued the siege of Kumul. However, when he was injured in a battle with White troops in the service of Jin, he returned to Gansu. While he recuperated, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975)[191] promoted him in early 1932 to commander of the 36th National Army. Chiang presumably wanted to create a counterweight to Governor Jin, who had unilaterally concluded a secret agreement with the Soviet Union to acquire heavy weapons.[192] Ma Zhongying subsequently dispatched his deputy Ma Shiming to the west, along with Khoja Niyaz, to occupy the Turfan Oasis. After their conquest at the end of 1932, Ma Shiming attacked Ürümqi from January until March 1933, which was defended by General Sheng Shicai (1897–1970) and a contingent of White soldiers led by Soviet officers.[193] The Soviet leadership was alarmed by rumours that Ma Zhongying was employing Japanese consultants. It consequently had 2,000 Chinese soldiers – who were fleeing from Manchuria ahead of the Japanese invaders – transported to Ürümqi, where they successfully repulsed Ma Shiming's Dungans. In April, the White mercenaries mutinied against Governor Jin, whereupon **Liu Wen Lung** (in office April–July 1933) was installed as provisional governor and Sheng as commander in chief. **Sheng Shicai** (in office 1933–44) had the upper-hand, however, and forced Liu to resign at the beginning of July (fig. 131). Since Sheng took a decidedly anti-Japanese stance, he enjoyed the confidence of Stalin, which saved him during the next Dungan attack on Ürümqi.[194] Sheng then managed to convince the two ringleaders of the Hami Revolt, Khoja Niyaz and Yulbars Khan, to cross over to the side of the government. The Muslim front was thus effectively broken up into Turkish-speaking Uyghurs and Chinese-speaking Dungans. Sheng pursued in central Xinjiang a policy of reconciliation vis-à-vis the Uyghurs – to the detriment of the Dungans, whose influence he severely constrained.[195]

Local anti-Chinese rebellions also erupted in the south-western Tarim Basin. In Khotan, in March 1933, the three Uyghur Bughra brothers and Sabit Damollah from the Committee for National Revolution (CNR) proclaimed an emirate, the **Khotan Islamic Government**, which soon expanded its sphere of influence to Yarkand and Yangi Hissar. The four founders were influenced by pan-Turkic ideas and Jadidism and sought a purely Uyghur Islamic theocracy. They were decidedly anti-Chinese and anti-communist and hostile to the Dungans, their Chinese-speaking fellow Muslims, as well as to Christians and Hindus. Those Uyghurs who had been converted to Christianity by Swedish missionaries, and Hindu traders were either executed or forced to convert to Islam. Sheng also lost control in Kashgar: on 2 May, an alliance of anti-Chinese and anti-Dungan Uyghur nationalists and mutinous Kyrgyz mercenaries occupied the city of Old Kashgar. Then, on 3 May, the Dungan General Ma Zhancang, who belonged to Ma Zhongying's 36th National Army and had already conquered Aksu, seized New Kashgar. The military commander under Sheng, Ma Shaowu, and his troops entrenched themselves at his headquarters.[196] In Kashgar, three parties fought each other: government troops, Chinese-speaking Muslim Dungans, and Uyghur-speaking Muslim Uyghurs. Ethnic and linguistic ties were stronger than religious ones. When the Kyrgyz withdrew in early October, power fell to Sabit Damollah, who had been in Kashgar since July. Together with the nationalists



131. Governor-general Sheng Shicai governed in Xinjiang 1933–44 thanks to extensive Soviet military aid; during these years, the province, which was nominally part of China, was little more than a Soviet satellite. Photo 1935. Sir Eric Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937), opposite p. 104.

of Old Kashgar, he proclaimed the **Turkic-Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan** (TIRET) on 12 November 1933. It lasted only until 6 February 1934, however, when it was toppled by one of Ma Zhongying's Dungan armies.[197] The short-lived republic – which originally called itself the 'Republic of Uyghuristan'[198] and was not recognised by any foreign state – was not without significance. Specifically, it was the first national state structure created by the Turkic Muslims of Xinjiang which was first and foremost oriented toward ethnic-linguistic and only secondarily religious criteria.[199] The republic was clearly nationalistic and anti-Chinese, as evidenced by Damollah's written proclamation: 'The Dungans, more than the Han, are the enemy of our people. [. . .] Yellow Han people have not the slightest thing to do with Eastern Turkestan.'[200]

In December 1933, Ma Zhongying attacked Ürümqi again with a 10,000-strong army. Given the enemy's superior numbers, Governor Sheng requested Soviet intervention, which was quickly granted. The Soviet leadership was concerned about the prospect of Ma Zhongying with his Japanese advisers conquering Ürümqi, and also about the creation of a nationalist-Islamic state in Kashgaria which could establish contacts with Japan and incite disaffected Muslims in Soviet Central Asia. Moreover, the oil fields of Baku would be within reach of Japanese bombers stationed in Kashgar. Stalin would not tolerate a second 'Manchukuo'. At the beginning of January 1934, two Soviet brigades advanced with tank and air support. They ousted Ma Zhongying to Korla,[201] where, on 5 March, he threatened to shoot Sven Hedin if he did not immediately make his car and four trucks, including drivers, available for his escape to Aksu.[202] In April Ma Zhongying reached Kashgar, which his vanguard had occupied on 6 February. Given the hopelessness of his situation militarily, he sent his soldiers to Khotan. After negotiations with the Soviet consul, he went into Soviet exile, where he disappeared around 1937.[203] It appears that Stalin initially kept him as a pawn in order to put Sheng under pressure. Sheng stated: 'It was thought Stalin was keeping Ma as a check upon my own power.'[204] Sheng's troops soon arrived in Kashgar. Nonetheless, in Khotan the military dictatorship of Ma Zhongying's half-brother Ma Hushan was able to survive until 1937.[205] When riots broke out again in Kashgar in the summer of 1937 and Ma Hushan wanted to extend his sphere of influence there, Soviet troops intervened and put down the rebellion. Ma Hushan thus fled to India.[206] The Soviet troops did not return to the Soviet Union, however, but remained stationed in Hami to fend off attacks from Japan or from other Dungan warlords. In exchange for military aid, Stalin secured access to valuable minerals such as gold, tungsten, tin, uranium and manganese, as well as petroleum near Wusu, north of the Tian Shan mountain range.[207] Xinjiang had thus become a Soviet protectorate whose economy and raw materials were in the service of the Soviet Union. Sheng, though, had no alternative, because his nominal commander, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was unable to assist him militarily. Domestically, Sheng turned away from the Guomindang concept of the 'Five Peoples of China' (Han, Mongolian, Manchu, Hui, and Tibetan), and recognised 14 ethnic groups in Xinjiang. In doing so, he anticipated Mao's concept of the 56 ethnic groups of China.[208]

Sheng learned just how much he depended on the Soviet Union during his visit to Moscow in 1938, when he asked Stalin for permission to become a member of the Chinese Communist Party after reaching out to Mao Zedong in 1937. Stalin, however, forced him to become a member of the Soviet Communist Party, where he was subject to strict party discipline and, from a Chinese standpoint, was a traitor. Two years later, Stalin compelled him to sign the humiliating 'Tin Mine Agreement' of 26 November 1940, which granted the Soviet Union exclusive mining rights in the tin mines of Xinjiang and far-reaching extraterritorial rights, including an independent Soviet police force.[209] Incensed by Stalin's blackmail, and in light of the rapidly shrinking Soviet financial assistance after the attack from Nazi Germany, Sheng took up relations with Chiang Kai-shek. On 5 October 1942, he turned the tables in spectacular fashion, executing Mao Zedong's brother Mao Zemin, who served as vice finance minister in Xinjiang, and subordinating himself to the Guomindang government. He further banished the Soviets stationed in Xinjiang, hoping that he would also be able to escape his creditor, Russia. Sheng was mistaken, however: the Soviet Union managed to turn the tide of the war in the winter of 1942–43 at Stalingrad, and soon Chiang Kai-shek mobilised large contingents of troops to Xinjiang, making Sheng's dismissal imminent. In the summer of 1944, Sheng desperately tried to switch sides yet again and offered Stalin the opportunity to annex Xinjiang to the Soviet Union. Stalin, though, did not deign to respond to Sheng. Instead, he forwarded the letter to Chiang Kai-shek, who then ordered Sheng to Chungking, China's provisional capital, on 29 August. The era of Xinjiang's autonomy was over.[210]

With Sheng's removal and the appointment of Governor **Wu Zhongxin** (in office 1944–46), the central government took control over Xinjiang for the first time since October 1911. That said, tranquillity did not return to the province. The deployment of 100,000 troops triggered a food crisis and hyperinflation, so that the government no longer accepted its own paper money to settle tax claims and other accounts. It also collected property tax up to 90 years in advance. A deliberately promoted immigration of Han Chinese to Xinjiang for the sake of sinicising the province exacerbated the economic problems. It also aroused the anger of the Uyghurs and Kazakhs, which opened the door for the Soviet Union to once again get a foothold in Xinjiang.[211] In the autumn, two Soviet-sponsored rebellions broke out – one was carried out by Kazakhs living near the Mongolian border; the other, larger one was carried out by Taranchis of Ili. On 15 November 1944, the latter proclaimed the second **Eastern Turkestan Republic** (ETR), which existed de facto until October 1949. The decision to set up a Soviet puppet state in northern Xinjiang had already been taken by the Soviet Politburo, on 4 May 1943.[212] The rebels, in whose ranks Soviet officers and soldiers fought out of uniform,[213] achieved rapid territorial gains. This prompted the central government to send General Zhang Zhizong to Xinjiang as a mediator. Since Stalin had concluded a favourable agreement for the Soviet Union with Chiang in August 1945, and the valuable mineral and oil deposits were already controlled by the Eastern Turkestan Republic, Stalin was willing to compromise regarding Xinjiang. When the rebels won a major victory in early September owing to Soviet air support and threatened Ürümqi, he forced them to agree to a ceasefire and, in July 1946, to participate in a unity government under the new governor **Zhang Zhizong** (in office 1946–47).[214]

132. Monument in Khotan, Xinjiang. Mao Zedong welcomes a Uyghur farmer to demonstrate the friendship between the Uyghurs and the communist Han Chinese. Photo: 2009.

Officially, Ürümqi assumed control again of the Eastern Turkestan Republic, yet the rebel army remained as a separate entity. Xinjiang was thus divided into two parts: the governing Guomindang party ruled the centre and the south, while the Soviet Union under the guise of the Eastern Turkestan Republic ruled in the north.[215] The reform-minded Governor Zhang, however, was soon stymied by the clashes between Uyghur extremists and intransigent representatives of the central government and resigned in May 1947. His successor was the Uyghur **Masud Sabri** (in office 1947–49). Although he was indigenous, both the conservative Uyghurs in the south and the pro-Soviet Uyghurs in the north rejected Masud Sabri. The unity government collapsed in the autumn, and Sabri was replaced in January 1949 by **Burhan Shähidi** (in office in 1949, for the PRC 1949–55). When communist troops crossed Gansu in the summer of 1949 in the direction of Xinjiang, the Soviet Consul General advised the pro-government commander General Tao to declare Xinjiang's independence. He further promised that Moscow would force Mao to stop his advance to Ürümqi. General Tao, though, surrendered without a fight on 25 September and Governor Shähidi followed suit the next day. Shähidi was then confirmed by Mao, who proclaimed the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October, as government chairman. The problem of a pro-Soviet Eastern Turkestan Republic had already been 'resolved' earlier: Mao had invited its five leading exponents to Beijing, but their plane crashed in Soviet airspace on 27 August. The death of the five Uyghurs was equally auspicious for Mao and Stalin.[216]

The real power, however, lay not with Shähidi but with General Wang Zhen, who reformed Xinjiang according to communist principles. In the course of land reform, landowners were expropriated and their property transferred to poorer farmers, before it was collectivised in stages a few years later. Then, state agricultural and industrial enterprises (bingtuan) were established, which were run by demobilised soldiers and prisoners.

Conceptually, they resembled the military colonies (tuntian) of the Han period. This development gave rise to a massive immigration of Han Chinese. These bingtuan production and construction corps formed a state within a state, as they stood under the authority of neither the respective district authority nor the provincial government, but directly under the army or party leadership in Beijing. At the same time, without Islam being attacked head-on, the Islamic institutions were deprived of their privileges. In 1955, the People's Republic defined its minority policy. While the Soviet Union had chosen the model of a federal union of republics, China opted for the concept of national minorities: they enjoyed a limited amount of autonomy within a specific region, but were subject to the supervision of the Communist Party. All autonomous regions remained an essential part of the People's Republic. The **Uyghur Autonomous Region** was founded on 1 October 1955. It also included thirteen autonomous regions allocated to the thirteen non-Uyghur minorities. **Saifuddin Azizi** (in office 1955–67, 1972–78) was appointed the new government chairman, but the real power resided with party chief and Lieutenant General **Wang Enmao** (in office 1952–68, 1981–85).[217]

The period from 1957 until Mao's death and the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976 was characterised in Xinjiang, as in most provinces of China, by chaos and famine. After the trap Mao set for his critics called the 'Hundred Flowers Campaign' – in which he first called on disaffected citizens to criticise the party leadership and, in a second step, punished them with forced labour camps from the end of February 1957 – he invoked the 'Great Leap Forward' (1958–61). The hasty, unregulated and poorly executed promotion of heavy industry and the neglect of agriculture led to both their collapse and famine, which claimed up to 45 million lives. Although people died by the thousands from starvation in Xinjiang as well, about 2.5 million Han Chinese fled there from 1957 to 1962. This increased the total population from 4.9 million (1953) to approximately 7.5 million – not counting the PLA soldiers. At the same time, 100,000 to 200,000 Kazakhs, whose herds had been confiscated, fled to the Soviet Union. The 'Cultural Revolution' that Mao instigated in 1966 to regain power plunged China into chaos once again and caused civil-war-like conditions. As a result, another 2 million Han Chinese fled to Xinjiang or were sent to labour camps there. As in Tibet, the Red Guards (with Mao's blessing) rampaged against religious places of worship, and mosques were either torn down or converted into pigsties. In Xinjiang, however, not only did bands of Red Guards war against each other, but so did factions of the People's Army. In 1967, Wang Enmao even threatened to occupy the nuclear test site at Lop Nor, if Mao did not allow public order to be restored. This is exactly what happened in the summer of 1968. Wang was dismissed as a 'pawn', then rehabilitated in 1975, and, finally, reinstated in 1981 by Deng Xiaoping as party chief of Xinjiang.[218] The demographics, however, had changed drastically over the first 30 years of communist rule, to the disadvantage of the Uyghurs. Between 1953 and 1982, the total population increased from 4.9 million to 13.1 million and that of the Han people (without PLA soldiers) from 299,000 to just under 5.3 million. While the population of the Uyghurs rose from 3.6 million to 6 million, it decreased proportionally from 73.5 per cent to 45.8 per cent. Factoring in the nearly 3 million Han Chinese migrant workers, the Uyghurs became a minority within their own region.[219]

VII

A Multilateral Great Game in Afghanistan, 1978–92

'First we were invaded by our enemies [the Soviet Union], now we are invaded by our friends [Pakistan].'

Afghan army general **RAHMATULLAH SAFI**[1]

1. External Actors and Divergent Objectives

The communist coup on 27 April 1978 turned Afghanistan into a field of operations for three proxy wars (1978/79–92, 1992–2001, and since 2001) with six major external actors. All of these conflicts were at the same time civil wars. In contrast to the concluded international conflicts in Korea and Vietnam, the one in Afghanistan has continued for nearly 40 years. The complexity of the conflict is due not least to the fact that some actors, such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, are still pursuing to this day a dual strategy with different, even contradictory, objectives.

In line with the Brezhnev Doctrine – according to which the Soviet Union has the right to intervene in a socialist state whenever socialism is endangered – the **Soviet Union** wanted to ensure that Afghanistan remained socialist. It also aimed to safeguard the ground it had gained in the direction of the Indian Ocean. In the late autumn of 1979, however, the Politburo seems to have underestimated the resolve of the United States in responding to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. President Carter (in office 1977–81) began to support the resistance fighters via Pakistan, and President Reagan (in office 1981–89) not only expanded on this aid, but accelerated the arms race. In doing so, he followed a strategy paper of the CIA of April 1981, which argued that by intensifying the arms race, the US would put the Soviet Union under pressure since it would overstrain its economy.[2] In fact, the acute economic problems forced Gorbachev (in office 1985–91) to withdraw from Afghanistan and to enact radical reforms, which led to the implosion of the Soviet Union. After the Taliban seized power in Kabul in 1996, Russian foreign policy tried to prevent the spread of militant Islamism to the new republics of Central Asia. It also sought to curb opium and heroin smuggling, which increased dramatically due to the close cooperation between al-Qaeda and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU).[3]

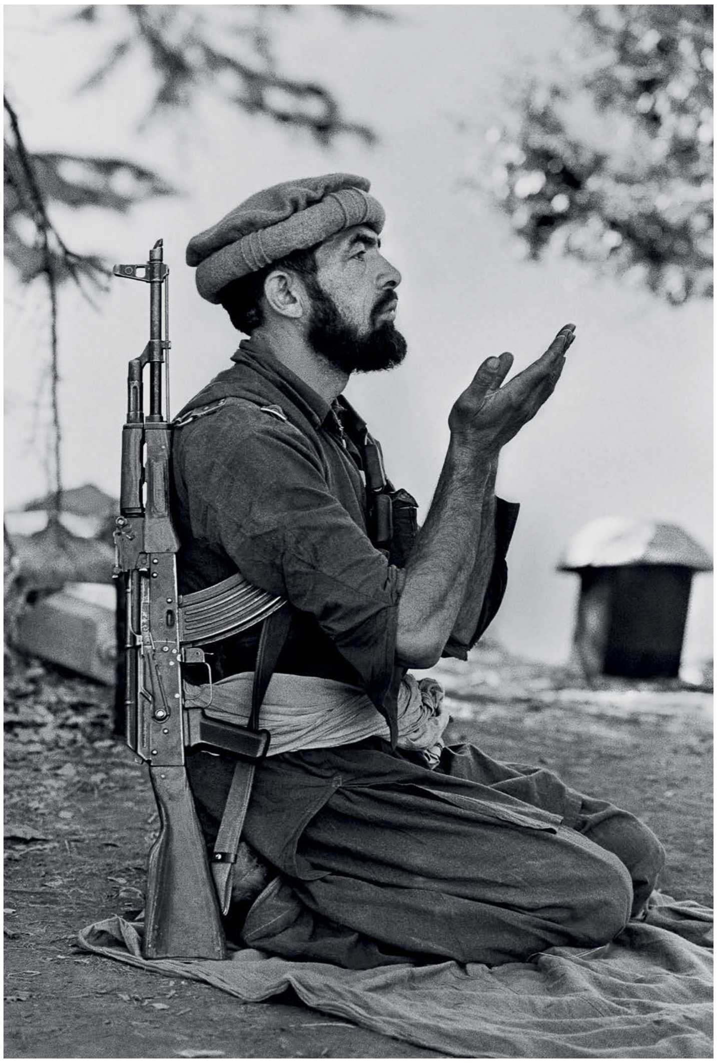
On the other hand, in the context of the Cold War, the **United States** wanted to undo the expansion of the Soviet sphere

133. Group of mujahideen fighters, armed with old rifles, in Kunar province. Photo: 1980.

of influence, stop the Soviet advance which threatened its ally Pakistan, and to inflict on its Soviet nemesis a 'second Vietnam'. In particular, the influential national security adviser to President Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski, wanted to pay back the Soviet leadership for its massive support of Hanoi and to draw the Soviet Union into a 'Vietnamese quagmire'.[4] The US supported Afghan mujahideen[5] with money and weapons, whose distribution it outsourced to its supposed ally Pakistan. Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq (in office 1977–88), however, pursued a very different, hidden agenda and backed anti-American leaders like Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Yet the United States had no choice but to depend on Pakistan to supply the mujahideen with weapons because, with the fall of the Shah of Iran on 16 January 1979 and Khomeini's seizure of power two weeks later, it had lost an important ally, Iran, which also bordered on Afghanistan.

The US failed to see that the maxim 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend' can quite well be wrong, especially when the putative friend has the long-term goal of destroying its backer. The US realised much too late that it had indirectly fostered its most dangerous rival: globally active and armed Islamism. After 11 September 2001, the once great rival powers, the United States, Russia and China, found themselves united in the struggle against a new, elusive power practising asymmetric warfare, Islamic extremism – a power which the Saudi-US-Pakistani alliance had cultivated. Islamic extremism is also a byproduct of the Cold War insofar as what the US viewed as an antidote against Marxism later turned on its sponsors. This new great power is a network of ideologies and sympathisers not bound to state borders who share entirely different values from those of the established major powers. Militant Islamism, which also engages in terrorism against civilian populations, epitomises the modern 'inversion of all values'.

Ostensibly, **Pakistan**'s government sought to finally exorcise the latent danger of a Pashtunistan, and with the advance of India's ally, the Soviet Union, it felt pressured on two fronts. President Zia, the army leadership, and intelligence service, however, secretly envisioned installing the radical Islamist Hekmatyar in Kabul to create a Pakistan-led Pakistani-Afghan confederation.[6] Over the medium term, Zia ul-Haq sought to extend jihad to the Soviet Central Asian republics. After Zia's death in 1988 and the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, the military elite and the secret service Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) broadened Zia's vision. They now not only aimed at a confederation of Central Asian communities, but the creation of a nuclear, Islamic power, led by Pakistan, that could go toe to toe with India as a regional power.[7] This vision was diametrically opposed to US interests, yet the Americans decided to ignore this two-sided game and to continue to support Pakistan. Pakistan recognised only much later that the madrasahs in the north-western tribal areas, which were subsidised with state and Saudi money, had become a haven for anti-government Taliban, who were beginning to encompass the region with terror. The radical Islamists, like the Pakistanis, were thus also double dealing.



134. Praying mujahid in Kunar province, Afghanistan. Photo: 1980.

India, for its part, sought an alliance with a strong, moderate Afghanistan which was independent of Pakistan and it used the Pashtunistan issue to put pressure on Pakistan. From India's perspective, Afghanistan could never be allowed to degenerate into the hinterland of Pakistan.

Thanks to the nascent oil boom in 1973–74, the **Saudi Arabian** government funded the mujahideen, first of all, to propagate Wahhabism, the Saudi version of an archaic militant Islam.[8] Second, it wanted to get rid of dangerous extremists in the circle of Osama bin Laden and Wahhabi missionaries. The US was largely preoccupied with fighting communism and neglected Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. The Saudis, on the other hand, wanted to promote the breakthrough of Wahhabism in South Asia and later in Central Asia. To be precise: where Saudi Arabia had a clear strategy in Afghanistan, the US had none. Individual members of the wealthy Saudi elite, however, shared the radical vision of the Saudi Osama bin Laden (1957–2011). Afghanistan, accordingly, was to be transformed into a strict Islamic state; used as a base for an international Salafist, al-Qaeda-coordinated jihad,[9] extending from the Hindu Kush across the Caucasus to the Maghreb; and to serve as a springboard for the seizure of power in Saudi Arabia.[10] The ultimate goal of the extremists was the establishment of a supranational, wholly Islamic state, with nuclear-power Pakistan as a close ally.

Iran ultimately pursued more modest goals, namely the protection of the Afghan Shiite Hazara, the securing of its eastern border, and the suppression of increasing opium and heroin smuggling. The leaders of the mujahideen massively expanded the cultivation of the opium poppy after the Soviet withdrawal to finance their private armies. Some of them, like Hekmatyar, ran

135. Arduous route at minus 20 degrees Celsius in the district of Kalafgan, Takhar province, northern Afghanistan. During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (25 Dec. 1979 to 15 Feb. 1989) the Soviets and government forces controlled at the most the cities and the national ring road, while the mujahideen were dominant in the remaining regions. Photo: January 2008.

their own laboratories for processing opium into heroin and controlled the smuggling through eastern Iran.[11]

In the end, Afghanistan's mujahideen, who fought against the communist government and went on to fight against the Soviet occupation, accepted any assistance they could get. When they had a falling out after their victory and waged war on each other, this tragic disunity opened the door for radical Islamists to gain a foothold in Afghanistan.

2. Afghanistan's Communist Regime

The Soviet-orchestrated unity government made up of members of the Khalq and Parcham factions quickly broke apart. As Khalq dominated the army elite, Taraki and Amin had little difficulty in expelling and arresting the representatives of Parcham from the government and the administration. In the process, Amin soon became the country's 'strongman'.[12] The new rulers then undertook a radical reconstruction of the Afghan economy and society in the second half of 1978 to convert the extremely conservative feudal society into a socialist one. Amin and Taraki carried out this reorganisation rapidly by decree, without however thinking of the consequences or necessary remedial measures. Three decrees, in particular, aroused the Afghans' anger: Decree 7, which was intended to be emancipatory, stipulated a minimum age for marriage and prohibited the payment of a dowry. This directly intervened in tribal customs and privacy, for it was customary to seal the arbitration of disputes between families or clans through the marriage of minors and the transfer of expensive gifts. When officials began to register girls in the villages, this awakened the fear that the authorities wanted to 'nationalise' the young women. Decree 6 wanted to provide radical relief to farmers regarding mortgage loans and high interest payments, which meant that private credit sources dried up. Finally, Decree 8 was the most controversial: it restricted the ownership of land per family to an area of 30 jarib (6 hectares), while larger plots were confiscated without compensation and distributed to landless peasants. The decree overlooked the fact that larger plots were shared by several families and that six hectares did not suffice to feed a large family. Even worse, the farmers scarcely received any loans and the land distribution policy had ignored the equally important issue of water rights. Although Soviet advisers counselled moderation, Amin tried to push through the measures by force.[13] Often, his 'land reforms' consisted merely in having landlords and wealthy farmers shot.[14] By the autumn of 1979, the Taraki regime had executed more than 50,000 Afghans.[15] The more power that was concentrated in Amin's hands, the more pronounced his despotic 'Kalashnikov mentality' became. In the summer of 1979, he announced: 'We have 10,000 feudals. We shall destroy them, and the question will be resolved. The Afghans recognise only crude force.'[16]

Despite Soviet loans of over US$14 billion, the internal political situation remained unstable. On the one hand, a relentless struggle for power raged at the centre of government: 'Like two scorpions in a bottle, Taraki and Amin were embarked on a fight to the death.'[17] On the other hand, an uncoordinated, poorly armed resistance flared up in 24 of the 28 provinces, and in Pakistan Islamic groups recruited guerrilla fighters from among the hundreds of thousands of refugees. What is more, as the rebellion of the 17th Infantry Division in Herat on 17 March 1979 demonstrated, the army was showing signs of decay. When the helpless President Taraki asked Brezhnev for a deployment of Soviet troops, prime minister Kosygin refused to shoot at Afghans. The intelligence chief Yuri Andropov further observed that 'Afghanistan is not ready at this time to resolve all the issues it faces through socialism. The economy is backward, the Islamic religion predominates and nearly all the rural population is illiterate.'[18] While Taraki did not officially receive any Red Army soldiers, there was a clear increase in the supply of weapons. Moreover, the Kremlin sent small special units of Uzbeks and Tajiks from Central Asia, who were disguised as 'volunteers' and wore Afghan uniforms.[19] The Kremlin, however, was concerned about Amin's brutal regime. When Taraki visited Moscow in early September, Brezhnev recommended that he depose Amin as prime minister and instead include representatives of the more moderate Parcham political wing in the government. Taraki's chief of staff, Tarun, who was present and also a spy for Amin, warned Amin straightaway. When Taraki flew back to Kabul, Amin unsuccessfully ordered an air defence unit to shoot down the presidential plane. He subsequently had Taraki arrested after a wild shootout at the presidential palace in the presence of the Soviet ambassador on 14 September 1979. Amin finally had Taraki killed on 8 October.[20]

The new Chairman of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council Amin purged the army and the administration of all Parcham followers, which resulted in thousands of executions and desertions. The government consequently quickly lost control of the rural areas to the various resistance groups. In terms of foreign policy, Amin does not seem to have learned from the fate of President Daoud, whom he ousted. Amin, likewise, made efforts to break away from dependence on Moscow and established contact

136. Abandoned anti-aircraft gun on the outskirts of Faizabad, Afghanistan. Photo: January 2008.

with Pakistan, Iran, the US and even the Islamist Hekmatyar. But he was considered a brutal and unreliable opportunist, who was rejected by the majority of Afghans. No one wanted to take Amin's side, and he possessed only a narrow power base in the army and his own tribe. The Kremlin, for its part, feared that Amin would behave like Sadat in 1972 and switch over to the US camp. Moscow faced a dilemma: either to shrug off the loss of a 'socialist sister state', which contradicted the Brezhnev Doctrine, or to intervene and set up an agreeable government in Kabul. The Soviets chose the latter. In November, the inner circle of the Politburo designated exiled Babrak Karmal as the new president. On 12 December it resolved to remove Amin by force and to install Karmal. The plan's implementation was entrusted to the 'Afghanistan Troika', which consisted of intelligence chief Andropov, defence minister Ustinov and foreign minister Gromyko.[21] Only Kosygin continued to reject the idea of an intervention. After several failed attempts to poison Amin or kill him using sharpshooters, the first Soviet troops crossed the border at Termez on 25 December 1979 and airborne troops landed in Kabul. Amin was convinced to the very last that these Soviet troops were the military aid that he had long requested. On 27 December, however, special forces stormed the presidential palace. Although the guard put up a strong opposition, Amin was killed and Karmal was declared the new chairman the next day. Eighty thousand Red Army soldiers were stationed in Afghanistan until the end of December.[22] Still, just as Shah Shujah and the British before them simply controlled individual cities, Karmal and the Soviets dominated only urban centres, along with the Ring Road (connecting Kabul via the Salang Pass with Mazar-e Sharif, Maimana, Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni and, again, Kabul), but not the rural areas. Between 1945 and 1979, the Soviet Union intervened twice in another state militarily: in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. For the first time, it was doing so in a Muslim country.

3. The Guerrilla War of the Islamic Mujahideen

A position paper of 26 December 1979 from National Security Adviser Brzezinski to President Carter stated: 'If the Soviets succeed in Afghanistan . . . the age-long dream of Moscow to have direct access to the Indian Ocean will have been fulfilled.'[23] The United States was not willing to go along with a Soviet advance to the Indian Ocean, from where the Soviet Union could threaten the oil-exporting countries of the Arabian Peninsula. Equally unacceptable was the threat to the remaining western part of Pakistan, which India had robbed of its eastern half (today's Bangladesh) thanks to Soviet aid in 1971. Brzezinski advised arming the Afghan resistance in coordination with Pakistan and ensuring Pakistan financial and military aid. China would then also be encouraged to help the mujahideen. All activities and propaganda campaigns were to be coordinated with Muslim states.[24] China also felt threatened by the Soviet advance and quickly began selling replicated Soviet weapons to the Pakistani secret service. The ISI then forwarded them to recognised mujahideen groups.[25] China allegedly even sent armed Uyghurs to Afghanistan to support the mujahideen.[26]

In early 1980, the Soviet Union had two final opportunities to extricate itself from the Afghan quagmire with minimal losses. The commander of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan, Marshal Sokolov, already expressed his concern in January: 'I'm afraid that the Afghan Army is going to melt away and leave us face-to-face with the guerrillas.'[27] The ailing Brezhnev shared this opinion. He wanted to arrange the withdrawal of Soviet troops, yet he allowed himself to be swayed by the Afghanistan Troika, which stressed that President Karmal was dependent upon them.[28] The Americans, who perceived the Soviet invasion as an attempt to reach the Indian

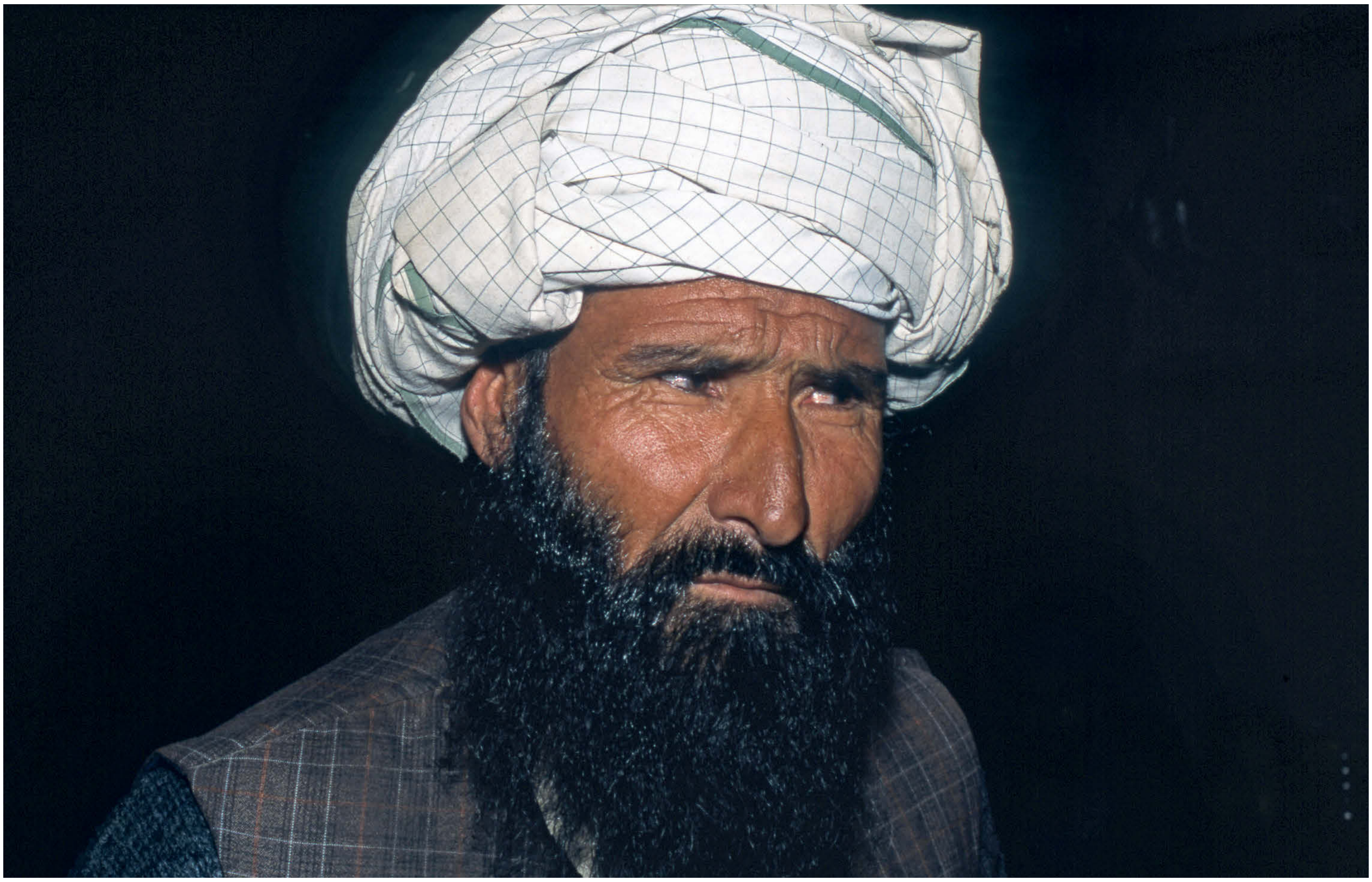
137. US President Reagan meets with Afghans from the eastern Afghan province of Logar at the White House in February 1983. They report on the massacres and torture committed by the Soviets. In clockwise order: Ronald Reagan; Gust Avrakotos (Afghan Task Force Chief for the CIA); the former judge Muhammad Omar Babarakzai; the mujahideen leader Mohammad Ghafoor Yousefzai; the villager Habib-Ur-Rehman Hashemi; the medical student from Kabul Farida Ahmadi; the villagers Mir Niamatullah and Gul Mohammad.[23] Public domain; US Federal Government.

Ocean and the Persian Gulf and thus a threat to the oil fields, proposed neutralising Afghanistan in February. Brzezinski assured the Soviet ambassador in Washington Dobrynin 'that the United States is for a neutral Afghanistan, friendly to the Soviet Union like Finland, but not another vassal like Mongolia'. A Politburo meeting on 10 April rebuffed the American proposal.[29] Nine years later, between 30,000 and 70,000 Red Army soldiers and 1.3 million Afghans were dead, another 5.5 million Afghans had fled abroad, and a further 2 million had been displaced internally. The government, though, controlled only 30 per cent of the territory.[30]

The aversion to the Soviet invaders and their puppet government quickly surmounted most of the internal Afghan tribal disputes and mobilised the majority of Afghans for armed resistance in the name of Islam. But the mujahideen, which initially entered the conflict with guns dating from the time of World War I, needed modern weapons and ammunition, as well as money to feed their families and to recruit and pay other fighters. The main financial backers were the United States and Saudi Arabia. Already on 3 July 1979, President Jimmy Carter had ordered modest financial support to the Afghan resistance fighters, which he expanded in January 1980 in 'Operation Cyclone'. Using these funds, older Soviet weapons were bought from Egyptian and Chinese stocks and shipped to Pakistan.[31] At the same time, the US and China installed two jointly operated listening posts in Xinjiang,[32] and selected Afghan fighters and Pakistani experts were trained in Scotland and in the Federal Republic of Germany.[33] The fact that Saudi Arabia quickly became the largest contributor to the mujahideen was connected not only with its zeal to spread Wahhabism, but also with the threat to the ruling al-Saud family by radical Wahhabis like Osama bin Laden. After all, on 20 November 1979, the radical Wahhabi and supporter of the international Muslim Brotherhood, Juhaiman Muhammad al-Otaybi (1936–80), had forcibly occupied the Grand Mosque of Mecca and called for the House of Saud's ouster. The incipient guerrilla war in Afghanistan gave the Saudi government the unexpected opportunity to export the radical Wahhabi preachers and violent rebels and hundreds of Muslim Brotherhood members from Egypt, the Middle East and the Maghreb living in Saudi Arabia to Pakistan to fight on the side of the Afghan mujahideen.[34] Later on, the exporting of fanatical fighters and missionaries was carried out once again, this time to the North Caucasus and the Maghreb, where one of the most important foundations of international Islamic terrorism took hold. The Saudi money, which was intermingled with 'donations' from the Gulf States – government and private sources alike – flowed either directly to Pakistan's organisations, particularly the ISI, or to Saudi 'charities', which built hundreds of madrasahs in the Pashtun tribal areas.[35] Here, young Afghan refugees and Pakistanis were indoctrinated with the radical teachings of Wahhabism and Deobandi. The Afghan mujahideen trained in Pakistan and the non-Afghan fighters – the so-called 'Arabs', who came from the Gulf countries, Egypt, North Africa, Somalia, the Middle East, the Caucasus, Bosnia and Xinjiang – brought with them fanatical and intolerant forms of Islam unlike any that had existed before in Afghanistan.

The seven Sunni mujahideen organisations recognised by Pakistan

SUNNI MUJAHIDEEN GROUP	LEADER	ORIENTATION	COMMENT
Hezb-i Islami (Hekmatyar)	Gulbuddin Hekmatyar	Radical Islamist	Until 1994, preferred by Pakistan
Hezb-i Islami (Khalis)	Mawlawi Yunus Khalis	Radical Islamist	Fanatical anti-Shiite, friends with bin Laden
Ittehad al-Islami	Abdul Rassoul Sayaf	Radical Islamist	Pashto-Wahhabi propagandist, preferred by Saudi Arabia
Jamiat-i Islami	Burhanuddin Rabbani, Ismail Khan and Ahmed Shah Massoud	Radical Islamist	Tajik-Afghan representative of the Muslim Brotherhood
Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami	Mawlawi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi	Moderate nationalist	Moderate cleric
Jebh-e-Nejat-e Melli	Sibghatullah Mojaheddi	Moderate traditionalist	Naqshbandi Sufi
Mahaz-e Milli-ye Islami	Sayyid Ahmad Gailani	Moderate traditionalist	The ISI crushed the strong guerrilla organisation after 1989



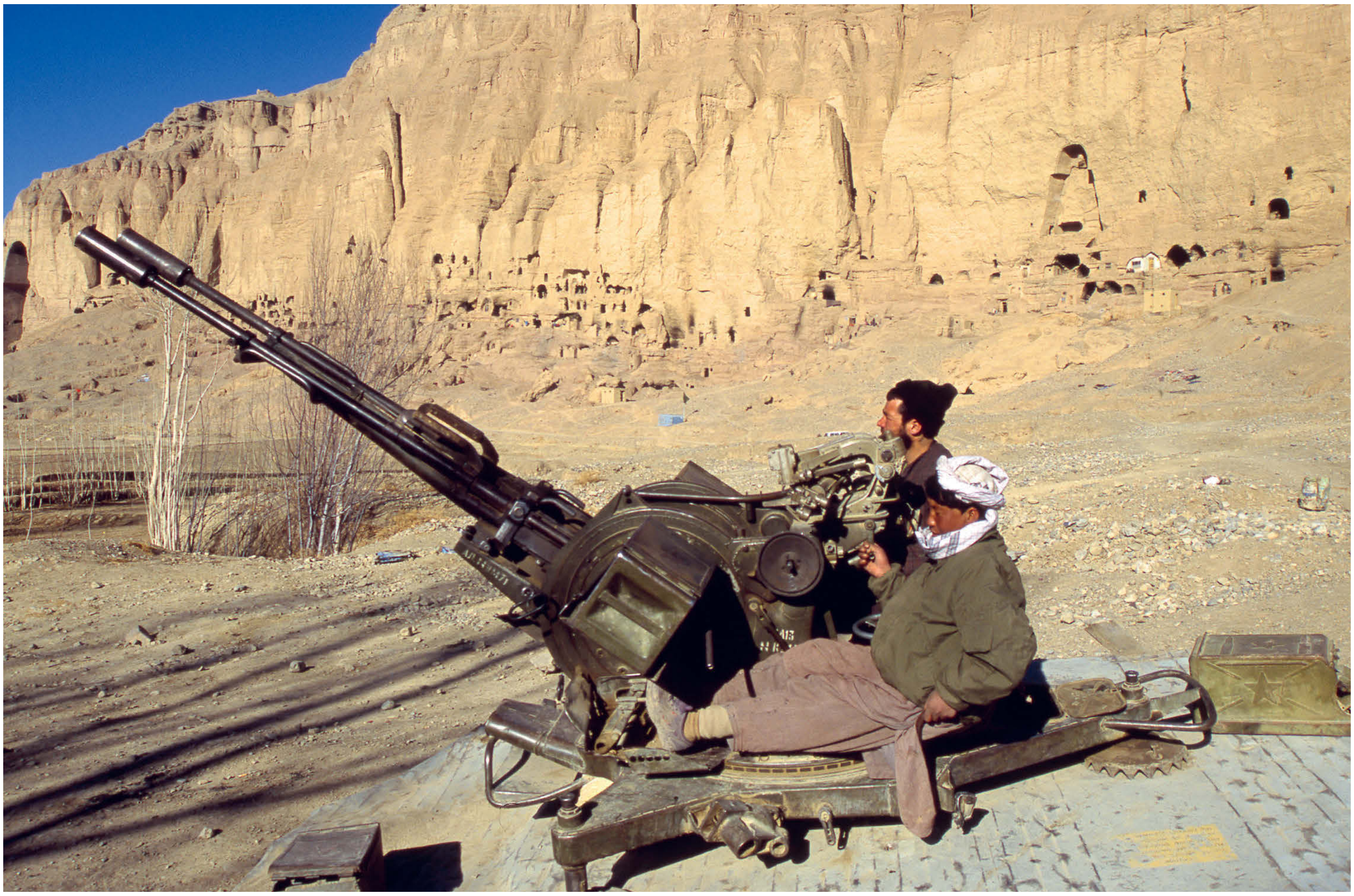
138. Former Taliban fighter in Bamiyan. Photo: 2002.

The US and Saudi Arabian support for the mujahideen was not only motivated by shared interests dating back to 1945, but by their mutual aversion to communism and to Imam Khomeini, who had returned to Tehran from his Parisian exile on 1 February 1979. But while the US had no plan for a post-communist Afghanistan, the Saudis and President Zia ul-Haq had very specific objectives. Zia wanted to turn Afghanistan into a satellite of Pakistan, to get rid of the problem of an independent Pashtunistan, and to later take jihad to Central Asia. In all this, the underlying goal was to eventually make Pakistan a power of great strategic depth on a par with India. The United States provided Zia with the means he required: the Carter, as well as the Reagan, Bush senior, and Clinton administrations, along with the CIA, outsourced the US Afghanistan policy to Pakistan, delivering weapons and money, which the Pakistanis then distributed as they saw fit. President Zia insisted that there could be no contact between Afghan leaders and the CIA except in the presence of an ISI agent.[36] The ISI applied the American and Saudi funds independently and coordinated the activities of the various Sunni factions. As a result, the surrogate in this proxy war – Pakistan – became more powerful than the sponsor – the United States.

From the dozens of Sunni groups of the mujahideen, there were seven formed by 1981 that were recognised and supported by Pakistan (see table opposite).[37]

Besides Hekmatyar's Hezb-i Islami, these parties formed the loose Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan.[38] Hekmatyar probably remained on the sidelines because of Pakistan's order against having an ALO (a strong umbrella organisation like the PLO). President Zia and the ISI preferred the four radical Islamist parties, which received 70 per cent of the weapons purchased with American and Saudi money, whereby Hekmatyar, who emphatically rejected the West and above all the United States, was especially favoured. Hekmatyar accepted aid from the US for twelve years only to then call for a global war against the Americans.[39] Even more surprising than Hekmatyar's double dealing was the fact that the CIA did not want to acknowledge this danger, despite numerous warnings. In addition to the seven groups that the ISI recognised, there were also standalone parties like that of the independent commander Abdul Haq, who defied the dictates of ISI and was executed by the Taliban in 2001.[40] The smaller Shiite groups financed by Iran received no support from the ISI. From 1981, Hekmatyar's Hezb-i Islami also fought against them, as well as against the Sunni Tajik Shah Massoud. Massoud then concluded a ceasefire with the Soviets that lasted until 1983.[41] The Soviet Union estimated there were 130,000 mujahideen; according to the US, there were 150,000. Still, there were never this many fighting in Afghanistan at one time. What is more, 20–25 per cent of them were non-Afghan 'Arabs'.[42] American intelligence not only neglected to appreciate just how dangerous Hekmatyar was, but it underestimated Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden was initially active as a fundraiser in Saudi Arabia; he then moved to Peshawar in 1984, where he worked closely with the head of the Saudi foreign intelligence service Turki ibn Faisal (in office 1977–2001). Around 1986, bin Laden decided to establish his own global jihadist organisation. To this end, he had artificial caves dug as ammunition depots in the Tora Bora mountains, south of Jalalabad, and expanded the cave and tunnel complex known as al-Masada ('lion's den') into a fortress. Finally, he and the Egyptian jihadist al-Zawahiri, his later successor, founded al-Qaeda al-Askariya ('military camp') at al-Masada in 1988. At the same time, he began to recruit non-Arab extremists for jihad, such as Muslim Filipinos and Burmese Rohingyas.[43] It was bin Laden who most systematically converted the fight against Afghanistan's Soviet occupiers into an anti-Western, globally operating jihad, which also did not shrink from carrying out targeted terror attacks against civilians.

In the beginning, the mujahideen were able to prevent the Soviet troops, who numbered up to 130,000 men, from conquering the rural areas and provinces. To be sure, the Soviets were able to control the strategically vital Ring Road during the day, but at night it belonged to the rebels. Both sides fought with great tenacity, and few prisoners were taken. The Soviet helicopters indiscriminately bombed villages and fired upon fleeing residents. Now and again, captured fighters were thrown out of flying helicopters. The mujahideen, in turn, retaliated by skinning alive captured Soviet



139. The Taliban also used such anti-aircraft guns to shoot at the giant Buddha statues of Bamiyan, Afghanistan. Photo: 2002.

soldiers.[44] The Soviet troops also did not receive any support from the poorly trained, undisciplined, and unmotivated Afghan army, whose soldiers deserted in droves and whose officers repeatedly betrayed to the mujahideen the Soviet operational plans.

Given the lack of progress, the Soviet leadership under the mentally and physically debilitated General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko (in office 1984–85) decided to intensify the war at the beginning of 1984 and to destroy the fighters' living environment. As the British journalist Mark Urban noted, the Soviet strategists were familiar with Mao Zedong's statement 'Guerrillas are like fish, and the people are the water in which fish swim'. They thus decided to dry up the 'fish tank' of the mujahideen. This meant driving out the rural population so that the fighters could no longer turn to it for aid.[45] Low flying Mil-Mi-24 helicopter gunships began to methodically depopulate whole regions by carpet bombing villages and herds, destroying fields and orchards, and dropping light miniature mines, which did not kill people, but nevertheless maimed them. They also used mines in the form of toys such as dolls or stuffed animals to deliberately kill children. At the same time, the Soviets steered clear of attacking the refugee camps in north-west Pakistan, as it might have discouraged rural populations from fleeing there.[46] The Soviet brutalisation of the war, which was now specifically targeted at the civilian population, was effective: the number of refugees fleeing to Pakistan and Iran rose from 750,000/100,000 in 1980 to 3.5/1.7 million in 1984.[47] The Soviet troops slowly gained the upper hand, and the resistance fighters were put on the defensive.

The unfavourable circumstances of the anti-Soviet alliance motivated the CIA and Pentagon in 1985 to supply the mujahideen with modern infrared-guided air defence missiles of the FIM-92 Stinger type, which could be fired from the shoulder. The Stinger missiles had an engagement altitude of 3,000 m and a range of 4,000 m and were intended to break the hitherto unassailable Soviet air superiority. Their success against low-flying helicopters and fighter jets was overwhelming. By mid-1988, the United States had delivered 900 Stinger missiles that were responsible for the crashing of 269 Soviet helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft, resulting in a high hit rate of 30 per cent. The Soviets were forced to adapt their combat tactics. Instead of helicopter gunships, they utilised high-flying jets for widespread bombings, which limited accuracy.[48] The success of the Stinger missiles buoyed the mujahideen, who became more confident that they could force a Soviet retreat. Conversely, the loss of helicopters and aircrafts had a devastating impact on the Soviets' morale. The question loomed among the army leadership as to whether the war was even winnable.

For the new Soviet leader Gorbachev, who wanted to modernise the economically and socially stagnant Soviet Union, the war in Afghanistan was by no means a priority. On the contrary, he decided to withdraw in October 1985. Just the same, he gave the army a year to defeat or at least weaken the resistance so that the Afghan government could then negotiate with the mujahideen from a position of strength. Concurrently, the Afghan army was to be put in a position to fight the insurgents on its own. Since the weak and discredited Babrak Karmal was unsuitable for the upcoming negotiations, Gorbachev forced him to step down in 1986 and replaced him with the head of the KHAD secret police, Mohammad Najibullah (in office 1986–92, d. 1996).[49] On 13 November 1986, the Politburo took stock of the situation and concluded that the war could not be won. Since it would drag on for many more years, it was determined that the Soviets would do well to end the combat mission as quickly as possible. In December, Gorbachev informed President Najibullah – who controlled less than 30 per cent of the remaining population in Afghanistan – about the decision.[50] The following year, the Soviet troops came under further pressure, although they were no longer carrying out offensive operations. The mujahideen received modern French infantry anti-tank missiles of the Milan type, and both the US and Pakistan refused to negotiate on the planned withdrawal.[51] In particular, President Zia refused to negotiate with Najibullah, wanting instead his ouster and the establishment of an Islamic state. The intensity of the extremists' opposition to a rapid return to normalcy in Afghanistan was especially evident when Sayyid Bahauddin Majrooh, the director of a small independent news agency, conducted a survey in 1987. In 106 of the 249 refugee camps, he asked Afghan refugees whom they would prefer as the next ruler of a liberated Afghanistan. Of the more than 2,000 responses, representing all ethnicities and 23 of the 28 provinces, 72 per cent cited King Zahir, whereas only 12.5 per cent wanted a 'pure Islamic state'. When Majrooh published the results, Hekmatyar and other extremists backed by the ISI declared that Zahir's return was out of the question. Moreover, the country's next president would have to be a leader of radical mujahideen. Majrooh was murdered on 11 February 1988, likely by Hekmatyar's camp or the ISI.[52] Three days earlier, Gorbachev unilaterally proclaimed the Soviet withdrawal. It would commence on 15 May and be completed in February 1989, given a successful conclusion by March to the Geneva Accords between the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, the United States and Pakistan (though without the mujahideen). This in fact occurred, albeit not until 14 April 1988.[53] Four months later, President Zia ul-Haq died in a mysterious plane crash, which was variously blamed on the Soviet, as well as the Afghan and Indian, intelligence services.

4. Afghanistan Loses the Peace: the So-called Afghan Civil War, 1989–92

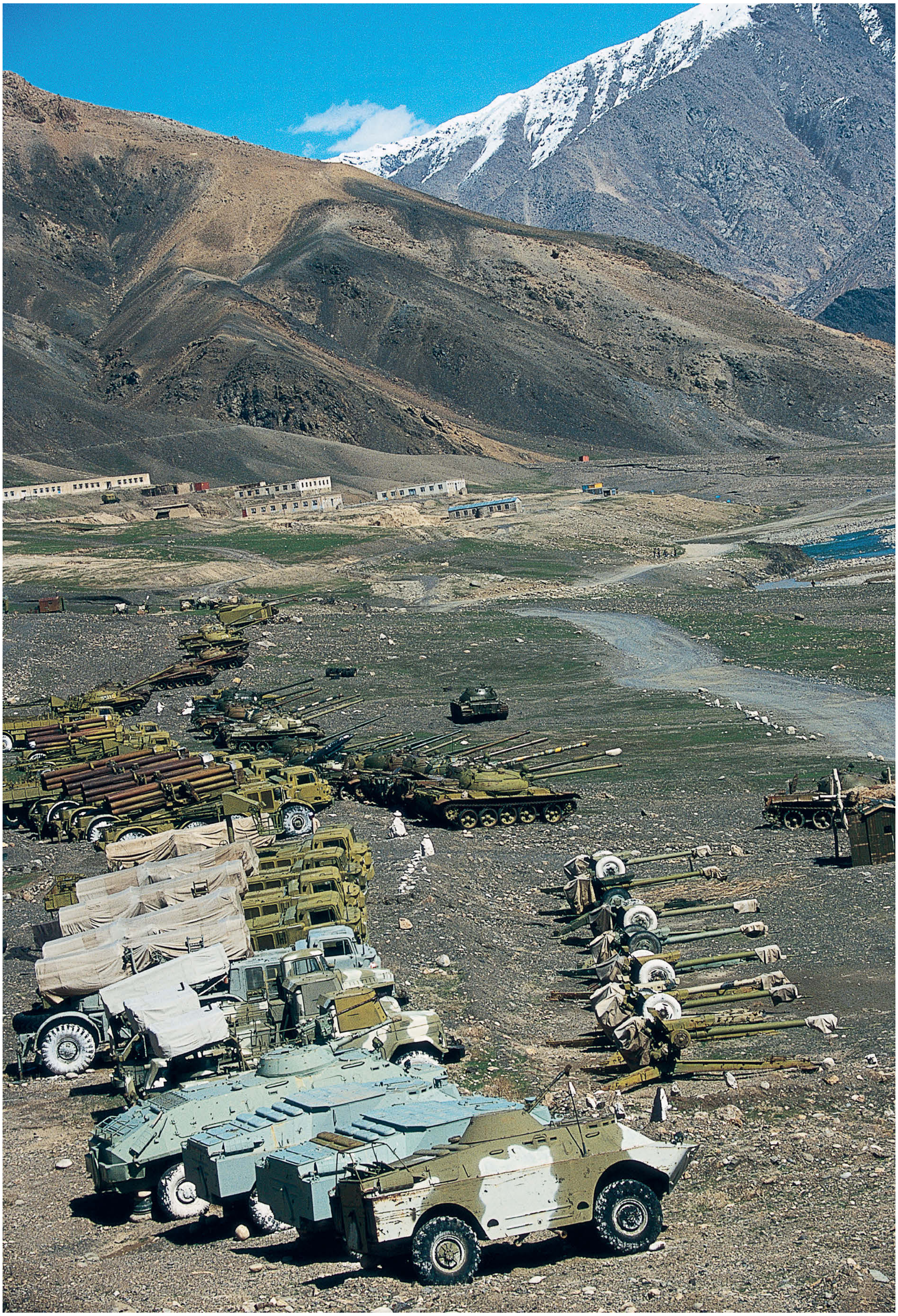
In actual fact, the conditions were ripe for a return of peace in Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. But none of the key parties who fought against the Soviets, however, was ready to negotiate with President Najibullah. Coinciding with the departure of the last Red Army troops from Afghanistan on 15 February 1989, the newly elected President George H.W. Bush (in office 1989–93) signed off on the continuation of the CIA's secret operation in Afghanistan and the financial support of the mujahideen. Before this, though, the State Department had warned about continuing to arm Islamic extremists like Hekmatyar and Jalaluddin Haqqani (a later commander of the Taliban). After the conclusion of the first Gulf War on 28 February 1991, the extremists even received from the United States Soviet T-55 and T-72 main battle tanks which had been captured in Iraq. This enabled them to carry out classic warfare.[54] In Pakistan, chief of staff Mirza Aslam Beg (in office 1988–91) and ISI director Lieutenant General Hamid Gul (in office 1987–89) continued with Zia's Afghanistan strategy of putting anti-US extremist Hekmatyar in place as a vassal of Pakistan. The civilian government, however, was not opposed to negotiations.[55] Unlike the CIA and the ISI, the State Department and the Pakistani Foreign Ministry were in favour of a negotiated settlement. On the Afghani side, Najibullah received large supplies of arms from Moscow, though no military squads, as well as generous financial assistance, which enabled him to buy the 'loyalty' of the army and of individual tribes.

In early 1989, the ISI attempted to force the hopelessly fractious mujahideen leaders to cooperate and form a provisional unity government, the Afghan Interim Government (AIG). It consisted of the leaders of the seven parties, including Hekmatyar, recognised by Pakistan in 1981. The AIG was rejected by most Afghans as a creature of the ISI and only recognised by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Malaysia. Ultimately, the AIG was just a figleaf for Hekmatyar's violent, ISI-controlled installation in the presidential palace in Kabul. As the ISI and Hekmatyar saw it, the greatest obstacle to seizing power in Kabul was not the despised Najibullah, but rather militarily strong, moderate regional leaders such as Ismail Khan in Herat and Shah Massoud in the Panjshir Valley, north of Kabul. The ISI, therefore, refused any delivery of arms to Ismail Khan and paid his commanders to defect to Hekmatyar. In July 1989, Hekmatyar murdered 30 of Massoud's commanders to keep him away from Kabul. As US diplomat and special envoy to the mujahideen, Peter Tomsen, described it: 'Far from a vehicle for mujahideen political unity, the AIG was fomenting mujahideen disunity.' Thanks to American and Saudi financial assistance, Pakistan's intelligence service and army were able to determine, via their instrument Hekmatyar, that Afghanistan was still far from achieving peace. In this respect, at least, the ISI, Hekmatyar and Najibullah were unified against moderate leaders like Gailani or Massoud.[56] It was, in any case, the deep disunity among the most important leaders of the resistance which relegated them to a pawn of the ISI and paved the way for the Taliban in 1994.

Najibullah's regime, though, had not completely deteriorated yet. Evidence of this could be found in the failed attack on Jalalabad, which lies halfway between Peshawar and Kabul. In early March 1989, under the indirect leadership of Hamid Gul, about 10,000 of Hekmatyar's and Rasul Sayyaf's fighters and 'Arabs' attacked Jalalabad with the aim of taking Kabul and then putting Hekmatyar in power. The city was defended by Afghan troops as well as the Uzbek 53rd Division under General Abdul Rashid Dostum, a mercenary squad financed by Najibullah. When the attackers reached the suburbs, a number of government soldiers surrendered. Arab fighters under bin Laden's leadership proceeded to brutally hack them to pieces, and individual body parts were then sent to the besieged city. This atrocity encouraged the defenders to hold the city at all costs. The attackers were thus forced to retreat in July. Prime minister Benazir Bhutto subsequently dismissed General Gul, who had promised a quick victory.[57] A year later, in October 1990, the ISI and Hekmatyar undertook another attempt to overthrow Najibullah. They planned to bomb Kabul with rockets from the front lines for as long as it took to force Najibullah to surrender. At the last moment, US diplomacy managed to exert enough pressure on Pakistan to put a halt to the action, which spared Kabul a bloodbath.[58] A few days earlier, the US suspended military aid to Pakistan because Pakistan had developed nuclear weapons.[59] The case of the Afghan Wahhabi Jamil al-Rahman demonstrated the intolerance of Hekmatyar and the ISI towards independent dissidents. Al-Rahman once belonged to Hekmatyar's Hezb-i Islami and controlled an area in the valley of Kunar in eastern Afghanistan. When he declared the independence of his small emirate in January 1991, Hekmatyar and the ISI attacked him with artillery and occupied the valley. Al-Rahman was assassinated by an Egyptian member of the Muslim Brotherhood, who had hidden a gun in a hollowed-out Qur'an. The destruction of the tiny Wahhabi emirate sent a signal to the Saudis that the ISI would not accept independent policies of any foreign sponsors in Afghanistan.[60]

It was only owing to the continued Soviet military and financial assistance that President Najibullah was able to remain in power. Despite this aid, however, the pressure on his regime did not abate in the first half of 1991. In the south, the ISI and task forces of the Pakistani Special Services Group (SSG) conquered the important city of Khost east of Ghazna. And, to the north, Shah Massoud took possession of a 500-km-long border strip of the Soviet Union between Kunduz and the Wakhan.[61] Najibullah controlled only 15–20 per cent of the territory. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1991, however, portended the end for Najibullah. After the failed coup against Gorbachev (19–21 August 1991), the Russian leader cut off support to Afghanistan, and on 13 September, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the 'Negative Symmetry Agreement'. Here, both sides agreed to suspend their financial and weapons aid to the mujahideen, or rather the ISI, and to the Najibullah regime by the end of the year. With the agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union, which was dissolved on 26 December 1991, abandoned the Afghanistan conflict. The agreement, though, did not bring any peace to Afghanistan. Since neither Saudi Arabia nor Pakistan were involved, it was ultimately incomplete. At the end of the Cold War, neither President Bush nor President Yeltsin of Russia was interested in Afghanistan. Pakistan continued with its military activities, endeavouring to establish Hekmatyar as a kind of proconsul in Kabul.[62]

140. Patrician mansion destroyed in the civil war of 1992–96, dating from the beginning of the twentieth century in Kabul, Afghanistan. Photo: 2002.



141. An operational battalion of Russian making in the Panjshir Valley north of Kabul, Afghanistan. Photo: 2002.

Najibullah's days were now numbered, not least because, without advance payment, Russia stopped supplying fuel for the air force or food. Financial aid was also no longer forthcoming. The president, furthermore, could not pay commanders, who were often tribal leaders, for their 'loyalty'. They thus looked elsewhere for a more powerful sponsor. Indeed, in a tribal society like Afghanistan there are no fixed loyalties, either personal or ideological – only tribal connections and respect for Islam are relevant. In December, General Dostum, whose base was located in northern Afghanistan near Sheberghan, broke away. He won Uzbek President Islom Karimov (in office 1991–2016) as a new patron, who immediately began supplying weapons, fuel and other goods. Other commanders and Najibullah's defence minister Watanjar followed Dostum's example. Najibullah had to anticipate that he would be attacked once the snow began to melt in the spring of 1992, both from the north and from the south, and that his air force – his only remaining military advantage at that point – would have to stay grounded due to a lack of fuel. When Dostum seized Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan's second largest city, on 17 March and publicly disavowed Najibullah, Najibullah announced the next day that he would resign in favour of a transitional government.[63] Najibullah's foreign minister Abdul Wakil promptly approached Massoud and asked him to rapidly occupy Kabul before Hekmatyar. A race to Kabul thus began between the ISI and Hekmatyar, on the one hand, and Rabbani, Massoud and Dostum, on the other. The UN desperately tried to make a neutral interim solution palatable to the parties. Rabbani, the leader of the radical Islamic party Jamiat-i Islami, categorically rejected the United Nations' efforts on 15 April: 'We will not allow foreigners from anywhere to implement their dirty plans and goals . . . We are waiting for the last strongholds of atheism and infidelity to fall.'[64] The Najibullah regime collapsed the same day, when the allied Massoud and Dostum captured Kabul's Bagram airport. Najibullah sought refuge in the UN compound in Kabul, remaining there until he was brutally murdered by the Taliban on 27 September 1996.[65] Both the victory of the mujahideen over the Soviet Union, the atheistic superpower which soon imploded after its withdrawal from Afghanistan, and the overthrow of its vassal Najibullah gave a tremendous boost to the fighting morale of the international jihadists and to the self-confidence of the Islamic world militarily. The effect of the Soviet defeat on the Islamic world is comparable to the effect that the Russian defeat in 1904/05 at the hands of Japan had on the peoples of Asia. The jihadists had humiliated one of the two secular superpowers in the mountains of Afghanistan. Now, it was time to do the same to the second. Hekmatyar announced in 1992: 'Afghanistan is the graveyard of the British and the Russians and in-sha'allah it will also become the graveyard of the arrogant Americans. The Afghans will rub the American pigs snout in the ground. . . . We call upon all Muslim nations and communities to rise up to the challenge of the world arrogance, the number one enemy of Islam.'[66]

142. **Father and daughter in the district of Kamdesh, Nuristan province in eastern Afghanistan. Photo: 1992.**

The capital Kabul, which the war had almost entirely spared, stood on the verge of imminent destruction, as the warring parties were preparing for a first showdown: Massoud and Dostum occupied the city centre and the north-east, Shiite militias the western part of Kabul, and Hekmatyar the southern suburbs. Meanwhile, the ISI tried half-heartedly to compel the seven Sunni groups to form a unity government. The Peshawar Accord, signed on 24 April, was already condemned to failure from the outset because Hekmatyar's heavily armed Hezb-i Islami remained aloof. Under the agreement, Rabbani and Mojaddedi were to alternate

143. Mujahideen hasten with tanks to Kabul during the fall of President Najibullah. Photo: 1992.

as president *ad interim;* Gailani was to be foreign minister, Sayyaf interior minister, Mohammadi minister of justice, Khalis minister of education, and Rabbani also defence minister. Notably missing from this cabinet, however, were Hekmatyar and Shah Massoud – the latter of whom enjoyed considerable prestige for having never left Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation. Rabbani immediately appointed him as defence minister and Hamid Karzai of the Popalzai tribe as vice foreign minister.[67] Despite this agreement, a brutal battle for Kabul raged from 25–28 April, during which the loser Hekmatyar ruthlessly shelled the city with rockets and all parties indiscriminately looted the houses of civilians. Hekmatyar withdrew to the Logar province south of Kabul, whereupon Sayyaf's Wahhabi fighters fought with Shiite militias in murderous street battles. Most of the city was under the control of Massoud and Dostum. Nonetheless, it remained within reach of the rockets of Hekmatyar, who began indiscriminately firing on Kabul with Pakistani missiles in August.[68] The first proxy war on Afghan soil in modern times thus seamlessly transitioned into the second. Chaos spread throughout the country when several leaders of the mujahideen and their fighters switched to banditry, extorting extra taxes and setting up roadblocks, where they demanded payment for passage. Others went into the drug trade.

VIII

Afghanistan Forces the Three Major Powers to Engage in a Joint Struggle against Islamic Extremism

'I do not know the Americans well, but what I do know tells me one thing. They will want revenge, and they will not rest until they get it. The Americans will come to Afghanistan. When they do we must be prepared.'

Afghan warlord **RASHID DOSTUM** to his commanders on 12 September 2001[1]

'We may be fighting the wrong enemy in the wrong country.'

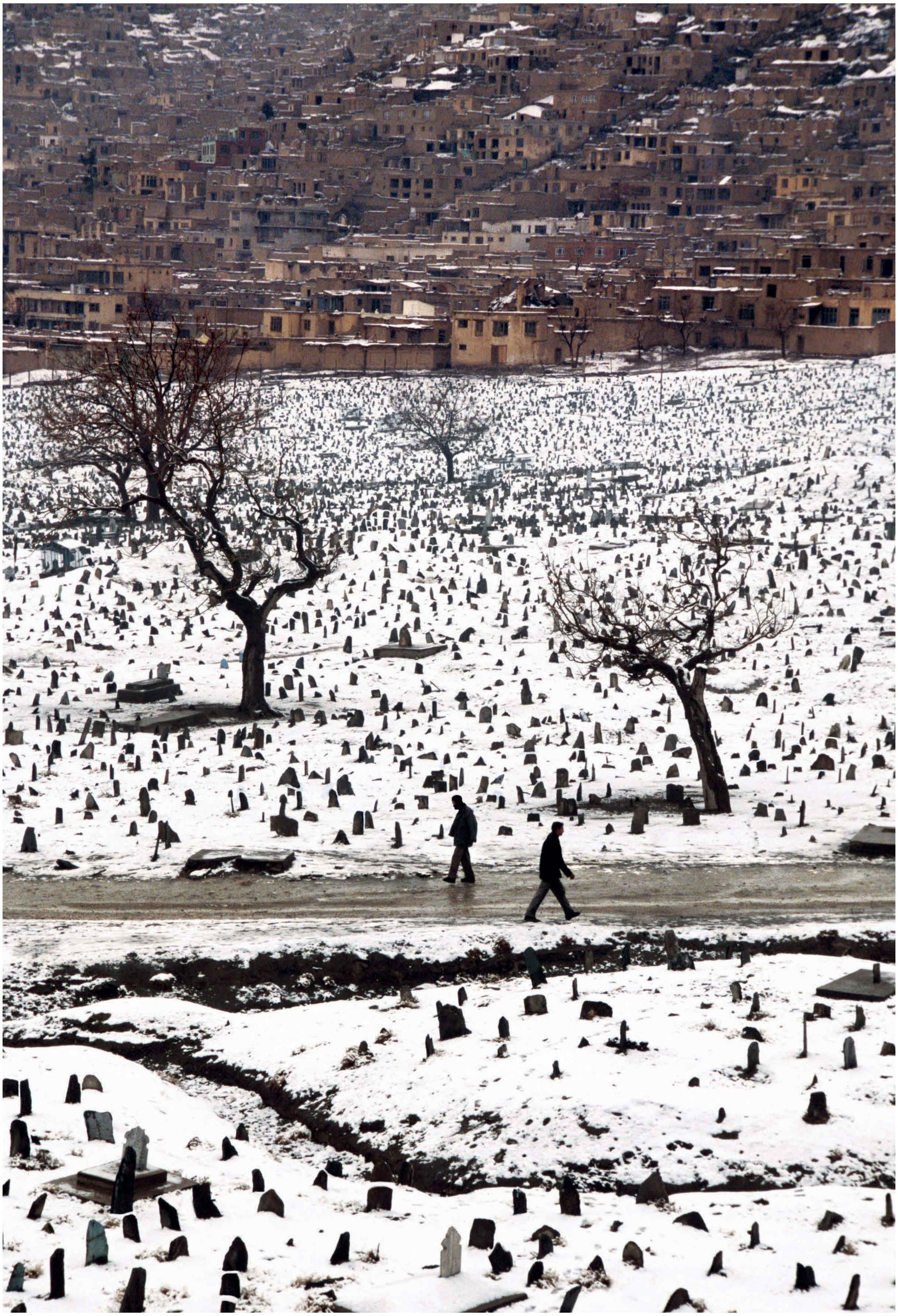
RICHARD HOLBROOKE (1941–2010), US special envoy for Afghanistan and Pakistan[2]

1. The Power Struggle of the Mujahideen, 1992–96

After the Soviet occupier and its vassal Najibullah were defeated, it was not long before the loose partnership of convenience among Afghan resistance fighters disintegrated again along ethnic divides. The Pashtuns rallied around Hekmatyar, Khalis and Sayyaf; the Tajiks around Massoud, Rabbani and Ismail Khan; the Uzbeks around Dostum's Junbesh-e Milli Islami (National Islamic Front) party; and the Shiite Hazaras around the Hezb-e Wahdat alliance. Their sponsors, respectively, were Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Emirates for the Pashtuns, India for the Tajiks, Uzbekistan for the Uzbeks and Iran for the Hazaras. For the Pashtuns and Pakistan, the Tajik Afghans' control of the capital was unacceptable, especially as Massoud would not allow himself to be exploited by the ISI. In the Kabul government, President Rabbani was little more than a figurehead.[3] Massoud actually maintained power: he not only commanded his own battle-hardened army, but also took charge of the 'useful' units of the former government army. Like Hekmatyar, Massoud was not willing to share power. In February 1993, along with Sayyaf, he expelled the Hazaras from Kabul. He further made sure that General Dostum remained marginalised and did not receive any ministerial posts. The secular general personally disapproved of the fundamentalist rules of conduct that Rabbani and Massoud imposed upon Kabul's liberal citizens. The Tajik Massoud subsequently turned against his Uzbek ally Dostum. First, he undermined the general's efforts against Hekmatyar's Hezb. In a second move, he convinced Ismail Khan to help him attack towards the end of 1993 the six northern provinces under Dostum's control from the south-west and south-east.

Massoud's marginalisation of Dostum had foreseeable consequences. Dostum, indeed, changed sides, concluding a triple alliance with Hekmatyar and the Hezb-e Wahdat. Pakistan promoted the new Hekmatyar-Dostum alliance, for it hoped that

144. The troops of the victorious Northern Alliance withdraw from Kabul in 2002 and are replaced by international peacekeepers of the International Security Assistance Force ISAF. Photo: 2002.



145. Cemetery in Kabul.
Photo: 1992.

146. The Deir al-Aman Palace, the 'Palace of Peace', destroyed during the civil war of 1992–96, outside of Kabul, Afghanistan. The classical palace, designed by the German architect Walter Harten, had been commissioned by King Amanullah in 1928 as a future parliament building. Amanullah was so impressed by the architecture of the German Reichstag during his previous visit to Berlin that he wanted a parliament building in a similar style in Kabul. But Amanullah was overthrown in 1929 and the palace remained empty for a long period. In the 1970s and 1980s, the palace served as a museum and as the headquarters of the defence ministry. Photo: 2004.

a conquest of Kabul would lead to a transit road being opened from Tashkent to Islamabad through the Salang Pass. In return, Massoud enjoyed robust military assistance from India.[4] The triple alliance attacked Kabul on 1 January 1994. Dostum came from the north, Hekmatyar from the south. Nevertheless, Massoud, an outstanding strategist, managed to repel both attacks. Dostum returned to the north, while Hekmatyar continued his futile, albeit extremely destructive, rocket attacks on Kabul. The conflict between the main opponents resulted in a bloody stalemate. In Afghanistan, there was no longer any trace of national unity; the country was ruled by ruthless warlords and smaller drug barons. The strategy of the Pakistani intelligence to install Hekmatyar as ruler of Afghanistan in Kabul had also clearly failed. At the same time, the Pakistani military leadership realised that a massive military intervention was not on the cards. Any overt action by the armed forces would have compelled the Afghan fighters to join forces against the Pakistani military. Pakistan's generals had thus taken to heart the failure of the Soviets' own incursion.

For Pakistan, the Central Asian republics' independence in 1991 gave the region, and along with it Afghanistan, even greater significance. Where Zia ul-Haq's policy on Afghanistan was primarily determined by strategic and religious-missionary vectors, prime minister Benazir Bhutto (in office 1988–90, 1993–96) and her successor Nawaz Sharif (in office 1990–93, 1997–99) also cast their eye on economic aspects. In the 1980s, trade between Pakistan and Soviet Central Asia was of relatively marginal importance, yet entirely new possibilities opened up for Pakistan from 1991. The Central Asian republics, which were no longer self-sufficient due to the cotton monoculture, were major potential export markets for Pakistani agricultural products. Islamabad, moreover, was highly interested in the import of crude oil and natural gas. The landlocked[5] exporters of fossil carbon – Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and (to a lesser degree) Uzbekistan – sought export opportunities that were independent from the Russian pipeline network and its restrictions. The focus was on the energy-hungry and emerging countries Pakistan and India as well as access to the Indian Ocean, which would permit export to Japan and Korea, but also to Western Europe. Since the United States put massive pressure on Pakistan and Turkmenistan not to build pipelines through Iran, Afghanistan remained the only possible transit country. Turkmenistan was blocked by the US-Russia power struggle for influence in Central Asia: Russian President Yeltsin insisted that Turkmenistan sell its gas to Russia at rock bottom prices, so that it could then sell this gas to Western Europe at much higher world-market prices. A new 'Great Game of Pipelines' had thus begun in Central Asia. The initiative to build a trans-Afghan pipeline originated with the Argentinian oil company Bridas Corporation, which had promoted natural gas in Turkmenistan since 1992 and was looking for export opportunities. Two years later, Turkmenistan and Pakistan began holding talks, and, on 15 March 1995, both countries signed a memorandum of understanding to build a pipeline with the involvement of Bridas. Since the planned Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan pipeline (TAP pipeline) would have to run through southern Afghanistan for geographical reasons, security needed to be guaranteed first and foremost. To this end, Pakistan changed its Afghanistan strategy. No longer would it support Hekmatyar, but rather the Taliban.[6]

The Taliban ('students') were an ultra-Orthodox, Sunni militia recruited from young Afghan and Pakistani Pashtuns, who had been indoctrinated at madrasahs in Pakistan's border region with Afghanistan since the early 1980s. Financed by Saudi Arabia and Gulf emirates, these madrasahs and mullahs taught the puritanical and intolerant doctrines of Wahhabism and Deobandism and prepared the Taliban for jihad. The origin of the Taliban was largely the work of their Pakistani 'godfathers', ISI Brigadier Sultan Amir Tarrar, called 'Colonel Imam', and Colonel Faizan. In 1988, they founded the Shura (council) of Argestan south of Kandahar, which consisted of ultra-conservative Afghan and Pakistani mullah warriors. They sought to prevent the tribal aristocracy of the Durrani from being reintroduced in their stronghold of Kandahar. Five years later, the third godfather, Interior Minister Nasrullah Babar, recruited and gave militarly training to several hundred Taliban. At the same time, he relocated to Quetta Najibullah's former Khalqi defence secretary, Shahnawaz Tanai, along with hundreds of officers and soldiers of the former government army. In April 1994, a few hundred Taliban along with Arab jihadists, mullah warriors from Kandahar Province, and the soldiers of Lieutenant General Tanai then attacked the Afghan border town of Spin Boldak. The operation proved successful. Afterwards, Babar quickly expanded the new force with the enthusiastic approval of prime minister Bhutto and her coalition partner Fazlur Rahman from the very conservative Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Party. In the autumn, the Taliban numbered 15,000 men. They were led by about 300 bearded ex-Khalqi officers (who called themselves 'mullahs') and Afghan warrior-mullahs, along with fanatical 'Arabs' and former government soldiers. They had at their disposal helicopters, tanks, artillery, and modern means of communication. Shahnawaz Tanai was head of operations.[7]

The Taliban was thus a colonialist apparatus made up of Afghans, Pakistanis, and 'Arabs' that was formed by the ISI and prime minister Bhutto[8] and funded by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). As former Pakistani finance and prime minister Shaukat Aziz (in office 1999–2007, 2004–07) told the present author, 'we created the Taliban'.[9] Poverty and high unemployment in Afghanistan made it easier for the Taliban to quickly recruit new fighters. In early November 1994, ISI leadership sent a large truck convoy under the command of Colonel Imam to Kandahar, allegedly to deliver relief supplies to Herat. This was merely a pretext. The actual purpose was to install in Kandahar the leader of the Taliban and member of the Hotaki Ghilzai tribe, Mohammad Omar, a.k.a. Mullah Omar (*ca.* 1960–2013). When the convoy hit an expected roadblock, Colonel Imam called on the Taliban troops waiting in Quetta for help. The campaign of highly motivated, well-trained, and heavily armed Taliban was an unqualified success: in November, they occupied Kandahar and, in December/January, Ghazna and Wardak. The first attack on Kabul failed because of the treachery of a Wahdat leader, who ostensibly joined the Taliban only to then defect to Massoud. Rather than suffer further losses outside of Kabul, the Taliban turned westward. Their conquest of Herat on 4 September 1995 gave them control of all southern and western Afghanistan.[10] Kabul's overthrow was only a matter of time.

The conquest of Herat suddenly made the project of a trans-Afghan gas pipeline a real possibility. What is more, an American-Saudi consortium had formed in the interim that also wanted to construct it. The joint venture consisting of the Californian UNOCAL and Saudi Delta Corporation had already reached a preliminary agreement with the Taliban in 1995. Now a period of intense lobbying began on the part of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia with the Clinton administration. The lobbyists for the new consortium Central Asia Gas Pipeline, 'CentGas', included former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former US ambassador to Pakistan, Robert Oakley. The lobbying worked: in April 1996, US Deputy Secretary of State Robin Raphel confirmed that Pakistan did not (!) support the Taliban, except for humanitarian purposes. She further recommended that Massoud and Rabbani come to an agreement with the Taliban. What is more, the American Afghanistan expert Zalmay Khalilzad in October affirmed that 'The Taliban does not practice the anti-US style of fundamentalism practiced by Iran. It is closer to the Saudi model'.[11] This statement actually came after the Taliban had captured Kabul from Massoud on 26/27 September 1996 and immediately started to implement Sharia law, which included restrictions on women's freedom of movement, such as a work and school ban.[12] Regardless, Raphel continued to push the narrative of a relatively benign Taliban. On 1 May 1997, she remarked: 'The Taliban appear to us to be Afghan nationalists rather than radical Islamists with an international agenda.'[13] Bin Laden meanwhile had already returned to Afghanistan in 1996[14] and begun setting up the dreaded 055 Brigade. It consisted of veterans of the anti-Soviet resistance, Pakistanis, Saudis, Egyptians, Chechens, Uyghurs, Uzbeks and Bosnians and formed a sort of al-Qaeda foreign legion. Additionally, bin Laden had officially declared war on the US on 23 August 1996 and, in February 1997, called on all Muslims to kill American soldiers. He repeated this imperative on 23 February 1998: 'To kill the Americans and their allies – civilians and military – is an individual duty for every Muslim.'[15] Notwithstanding these alarm bells, the US applied tremendous pressure on Turkmenistan and Pakistan to break their contract with Bridas Oil and to issue the final tender for constructing the trans-Afghan pipeline to CentGas. The Taliban subsequently reached an agreement with CentGas in January 1998. Russia, Uzbekistan and Iran felt threatened by the United States' support of the radical Taliban. Indeed, they assessed the US and the Taliban to be the biggest risks to the stability of Central Asia and the North Caucasus.[16]

The Russians' suspicions were all the more justified given that the Taliban had been supporting the insurgent Chechens since 1995 and the US vehemently criticised Russia's actions in the First Chechen War (1994–96). Afghan mercenaries fought on the Chechen side in both the First and the Second Chechen War (1999–2000; anti-terrorist operations 2000–09). On the other hand, the Americans encountered numerous Chechens in the ranks of Taliban fighters and their allies in Afghanistan in 2001/02. Pakistan also sought as early as 1996 to stoke the conflicts in Chechnya, for example, through deploying heavily armed extremist 'missionaries'.[17] As a result, the Chechen secessionist war mutated into an international jihad. The career of Ibn al-Khattab (1969–2002), the Saudi Arabian leader of Circassian origin, is paradigmatic: he first fought in Afghanistan, where he met bin Laden and arranged to have Chechen fighters trained at al-Qaeda camps; at the same time, he fought in the Tajik civil war. In 1995, he went to Chechnya, where he commanded a private army made up of Arabs and Turks.[18] Even earlier, around 4,000 Afghanistan veterans of foreign origin were drawn into the Bosnian War (1992–95) in the West, where they contributed significantly to establishing and spreading an extremist and violent form of Islamism.[19] This gave rise in the 1990s to what Vladimir Putin termed an 'arc of instability'[20] – a loosely interrelated, radical Islamist network extending all the way from South-East Asia to Kashmir, Afghanistan, the North Caucasus, Syria, Bosnia and Kosovo, and, more recently, even to terror cells in Western Europe. This 'arc of instability' has its origin in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

The terrorist attacks al-Qaeda perpetrated on 7 August 1998 against the American embassies in Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and the US bombardment of the al-Qaeda camp near Khost (Afghanistan) with cruise missiles put a temporary end to the project of a trans-Afghan pipeline.[21] The cause of the American blindness to the developments in Afghanistan was threefold: first, the US had no long-term policy for Afghanistan, but delegated it to Pakistan; second, the Clinton administration was entangled in the interests of a US-Saudi consortium; and, third, the US not only wanted to contain Iran's influence in South Asia, but to isolate the country as much as possible – a policy that was consistent with the interests of the Saudi regime, Iran's anti-Shiite enemy.

147. Taliban fighters captured in Bamiyan. Questioned by the photographer Helmut R. Schulze, they claimed they were forced by the Taliban to fight; also, they were too poor to buy their freedom with the required US$100.[24] Photo: 2002.

2. The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan

After the conquest of Kabul, the Taliban proclaimed the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan with Mullah Omar as amir. Nonetheless, the regime was only recognised by Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia in May 1997.[22] The objectives of the Taliban and their three alliance partners were fairly congruent. The Taliban, specifically, aimed at a 'pure' Islamic state and also supported the Uzbek terrorist organisation Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), whose fighters they trained. Pakistan continued to target a regional confederation of Islamic states under Islamabad's leadership, while Saudi Arabia funded extremist and terrorist groups in Central Asia in order to spread Wahhabism.[23] Ultimately, al-Qaeda set its sights on seizing power in Saudi Arabia and propagated an anti-American and anti-Western jihad, which was expressly directed against civilians. The closeness of the ties between Mullah Omar, bin Laden, and the ISI was revealed after the attacks in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam. Before striking bin Laden's training camp with cruise missiles near Khost on 20 August 1998, the United States had alerted Pakistan. Lieutenant General Gul, who remained extremely well informed, in turn warned bin Laden, who remained unharmed.[24] When Saudi Arabia, which viewed bin Laden's al-Qaeda as a threat, then demanded that Mullah Omar give up bin Laden for US$400 million, he brusquely refused. Shortly thereafter, Saudi Arabia and the UAE once again severed diplomatic relations with the Taliban regime.[25]

Although Massoud and Dostum had renewed the Northern Alliance in October 1996, the Taliban succeeded in occupying Dostum's northern provinces in May 1997, not least due to support from al-Qaeda and the ISI. Dostum, moreover, was betrayed by two important commanders, who allowed themselves to be bribed and decided to stab Dostum in the back. Dostum was forced to flee to Turkey in exile. The only remaining opponents of the Taliban, who now controlled 80 per cent of Afghan territory, were Massoud and the Hazaras.[26] But the general population was ambivalent toward the Taliban: although they were grateful for the end of the civil war and the return of a certain security, the Deobandi and Wahhabi ideology was foreign to them. They rejected the medieval-like enforcement of Sharia through bodily mutilations – where a person's ears, hands, feet, or head were cut off, depending on the offence – as well as the numerous behavioural proscriptions. TV, cinema, and music were forbidden, for instance, along with the popular pastime of kite flying.[27]

In 1997, tens of thousands of non-Afghan al-Qaeda fighters and Pakistani were in Afghanistan, virtually transforming the country into a Pakistani colony. In all the ministries and in the provinces, there were ISI officers who supported the mullahs, who had no government experience.[28] In 1999, when Mullah Omar began peace talks with Massoud to end the civil war and to even involve non-Pashtun Afghans in the government, General Pervez Musharraf (in office 1999–2008) – who seized power through a coup on 12 October 1999 – brought them to a halt.[29] Musharraf thus prevented peace from coming to Afghanistan.

The cultivation of the opium poppy was among the most important sources of income for the Taliban. Since it supplanted traditional food agriculture, it made Afghanistan increasingly dependent on food imports. Not only was the Taliban here to blame for promoting opium-poppy cultivation, but so is the fact that it is decidedly more lucrative for the farmers than the cultivation of cotton or wheat. In 1999, Afghanistan's annual opium production reached 4,500 tonnes, representing 75 per cent of the total amount produced worldwide.[30] The Taliban's ban on the cultivation of the opium poppy in 2000 only served to restrict the supply, which sent the prices of stored opium soaring.[31] About 60 per cent of Afghan opium was smuggled through Central Asia to Europe and Russia, with the Uzbek IMU responsible for the smuggling from the Afghan border. The IMU, which operated out of Tajikistan and maintained close contacts with Chechen rebels,

148. An Afghan sitting with a prayer chain on two ducts protruding from a destroyed house – a symbol of the destruction in Afghanistan and the anticipation of reconstruction. Photo: 2002.

was an ideal strategic partner for al-Qaeda – ideologically and in commercial terms.[32]

With the conquest of the Hazara territories in northern and central Afghanistan in 1998, 90 per cent of Afghanistan was under Taliban rule. On 8 August the Taliban massacred 8,000 Shiite Hazara civilians in the conquest of the city of Mazar-e Sharif and murdered eleven Iranian diplomats. Iran amassed its troops along the border with Afghanistan, but President Khatami ultimately refrained from taking punitive military action because he wanted to avoid inciting a general Sunni-Shiite conflict.[33] Instead, Iran, along with Russia and India, intensified its military assistance to Shah Massoud, the only leader still putting up fierce resistance in the Panjshir Valley. Even the major offensive from the year 2000, involving regular Pakistani soldiers and officers as well as al-Qaeda brigades, did not manage to defeat Massoud. Massoud appealed in vain to the United States and Western Europe for support. In an open letter to the American people from 1998, he wrote: 'More than 28,000 Pakistani citizens, including paramilitary personnel and military advisers are part of the Taliban occupation forces. [. . .] For many Afghans, regardless of ethnicity or religion, Afghanistan, for the second time in one decade, is once again an occupied country.'[34] US policy makers, however, were preoccupied with the Lewinsky affair and barely paid attention to Afghanistan. Even Massoud's letter of early 2001 to Vice President Dick Cheney went unanswered. Shortly thereafter, on 5 April 2001 – three weeks after Mullah Omar ordered the Buddha statues of Bamiyan to be blown up – Massoud warned the European Parliament in Strasbourg that the conflict in Afghanistan was 'not a civil war but the result of external interference'. He continued: 'If President Bush does not help us, these terrorists will damage the US and Europe very soon.' Massoud was not interested, however, in foreign troops, but rather broad military assistance. Above all, he wanted the US to force Pakistan to end its support of the Taliban and al-Qaeda.[35]

Once in office, President George W. Bush (in office 2001–9) was confronted from April 2001 with numerous warnings from the CIA that bin Laden was planning a large, spectacular attack in the United States, Israel or Western Europe. Some of these even mentioned aeroplane hijackings. Unlike the Clinton administration, Bush and his closest advisers took the warnings very seriously, recognising the extraordinary threat posed by Pakistan. At the same time, they did not know how to motivate the nuclear power Pakistan to carry out a strategic shift, resulting in the loss of valuable time.[36] To get ready for the period after the 11 September attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington, bin Laden ordered Massoud and Dostum to be killed. Given that Dostum had returned to Afghanistan in April and with Massoud's help revived the former Northern Alliance, bin Laden wanted to make sure that the US did not have any allies in Afghanistan. While the attack on Dostum and his deputy Lal on 8 September failed, the one on Massoud on 9 September proved successful. Here, two Moroccan members of al-Qaeda, posing as Belgian journalists, detonated a bomb during an interview. It is likely that the Afghan Wahhabi Sayyaf was involved in the assassination.[37] Two days later, nineteen of bin Laden's selected terrorists (including fifteen Saudi nationals) commandeered four aircraft in the United States. They guided two of them into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York and one into the Pentagon. The fourth, which was to smash into the Capitol Building, was brought down by its passengers east of Pittsburgh. A total of 2,996 people died, including the nineteen terrorists. As Hekmatyar indicated in 1992, bin Laden wanted to lure the United States into invading the country in order to defeat it – as with the Soviets in the 1980s – in the rugged mountain country.[38]

3. The US in Afghanistan and the Fall of the Taliban

President Bush and his team did many things right in the autumn of 2001. Above all, they avoided falling into the trap set by bin Laden with a major attack. First, Bush gave an ultimatum to Mullah Omar to hand over bin Laden in order to deprive al-Qaeda of its leader. 'Bush swore to bring him [bin Laden] to justice. If that failed, he promised, he would bring justice to bin Laden whom he wanted dead or alive.'[39] Mullah Omar immediately refused, which meant war with the Taliban regime. At the international level, Bush invoked Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty on 12 September, according to which an armed attack on one NATO member is equivalent to an attack on all members. The other members are thus obliged to come to the attacked partner's aid. Even earlier, on the evening of 11 September, President Putin was the first foreign head of state to assure his support for the US. The American initiative of putting together a broad-based coalition against the Taliban offered Russia the opportunity not only to improve relations with the US, but also to involve it in the fight against international Islamic extremism. Russia had both feared and struggled against Islamic extremism since the early 1990s. In fact, the two rivals had already identified al-Qaeda's terrorism as a common enemy when they brought a joint resolution before the UN Security Council in December 2000.[40] Bush and his Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld

149. An entrance to the Hazrat Ali Mosque in Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan. At the time of the photograph, the mosque was reserved for women and children. Photo: 2004.

subsequently requested flyover rights from the Central Asian states and were granted permission to use airports in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Although Putin was concerned about the extent of US influence in Central Asia, he gave his consent on 24 September. He made it clear, however, that Russia would not be sending troops to Afghanistan.[41] Finally, Bush demanded from the reluctant President Musharraf that he closely cooperate with the United States in the planned 'Operation Enduring Freedom – Afghanistan'.[42]

To avoid the making the same mistake as the Soviet Union of conducting a mass invasion, Bush, Rumsfeld and CIA Director George Tenet rejected the plan originally proposed by General Tommy Franks and Central Command[43] to undertake a classic invasion following a six-month preparation period. Instead, they decided on the following three strategies: first of all, the presumed camps and military installations of al-Qaeda and the Taliban were to be bombed. Since bombing campaigns in a country with little infrastructure have only limited effect, it would be necessary to, secondly, immediately send in ground troops in the form of special CIA and army commandos to track down bin Laden and Mullah Omar and to, thirdly, support anti-Taliban commanders like Dostum. Indeed, within a few days of 11 September, Dostum had already offered the support of his 2,500 fighters.[44] After the fall of the Taliban and the election of a new president, it was expected that a limited number of troops would be able to maintain security in the Kabul region. This unit of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in fact numbered no more than 5,000 men until August 2003.

Even before the bombings began on 7 October, which devastated the small air force of the Taliban, the CIA officer Gary Schroen landed with a small team in northern Afghanistan to initiate contact with Massoud's successor Fahim Khan and Dostum. While Fahim Khan hesitated, Dostum's plan to attack Mazar-e Sharif with his mounted troops and American air support and to establish a beachhead there met with Schroen's approval. On 20 October, a twelve-man strong commando of Green Berets[45] under Captain Mark Nutsch arrived at General Dostum's headquarters. Their joint initiative was a collaboration between modern military technology of the early twenty-first century and medieval warfare. The commando located the Taliban without being detected. Two soldiers with laser markers guided the bombs from bomber aircraft that had been piloted to the area. Then Dostum's mounted warriors killed the surprised Taliban with Kalashnikovs and light anti-tank weapons that were fired from the shoulder.[46] The offensive by Dostum and the commander Atta Muhammad Noor, who was also supported by a US special commando, was successful. Mazar-e Sharif was liberated on 9 November, which caused the Taliban resistance to collapse.

150. A German Tornado multirole combat aircraft starts a reconnaissance flight from Mazar-e Sharif in northern Afghanistan. Photo: 2008.

On 13 November, Fahim Khan's Tajiks occupied Kabul virtually without a fight. At the same time, the Taliban left Jalalabad, while the Hazaras liberated central Afghanistan and Ismail Khan likewise freed the city of Herat.[47] Finally, the Taliban surrendered Kandahar on 8 December. Most al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters, however, were neither killed nor captured, but fled to Pakistan or the mountains: 'The Taliban had disappeared before they could truly be defeated.'[48] Musharraf's promise to close the border with Afghanistan and to prevent fleeing Taliban from entering the country was empty; the border remained permeable. As a result, the US commandos operating in the south-east took few prisoners, while Pakistan merely handed over to US forces fighters or leaders of secondary importance. As the war reporter Carlotta Gall aptly summed up: 'When the [US] invasion took place, the Taliban were pushed into Pakistan, along with al-Qaeda. There was no [Pakistani] anvil, and there was only a[n] [American] hammer.'[49]

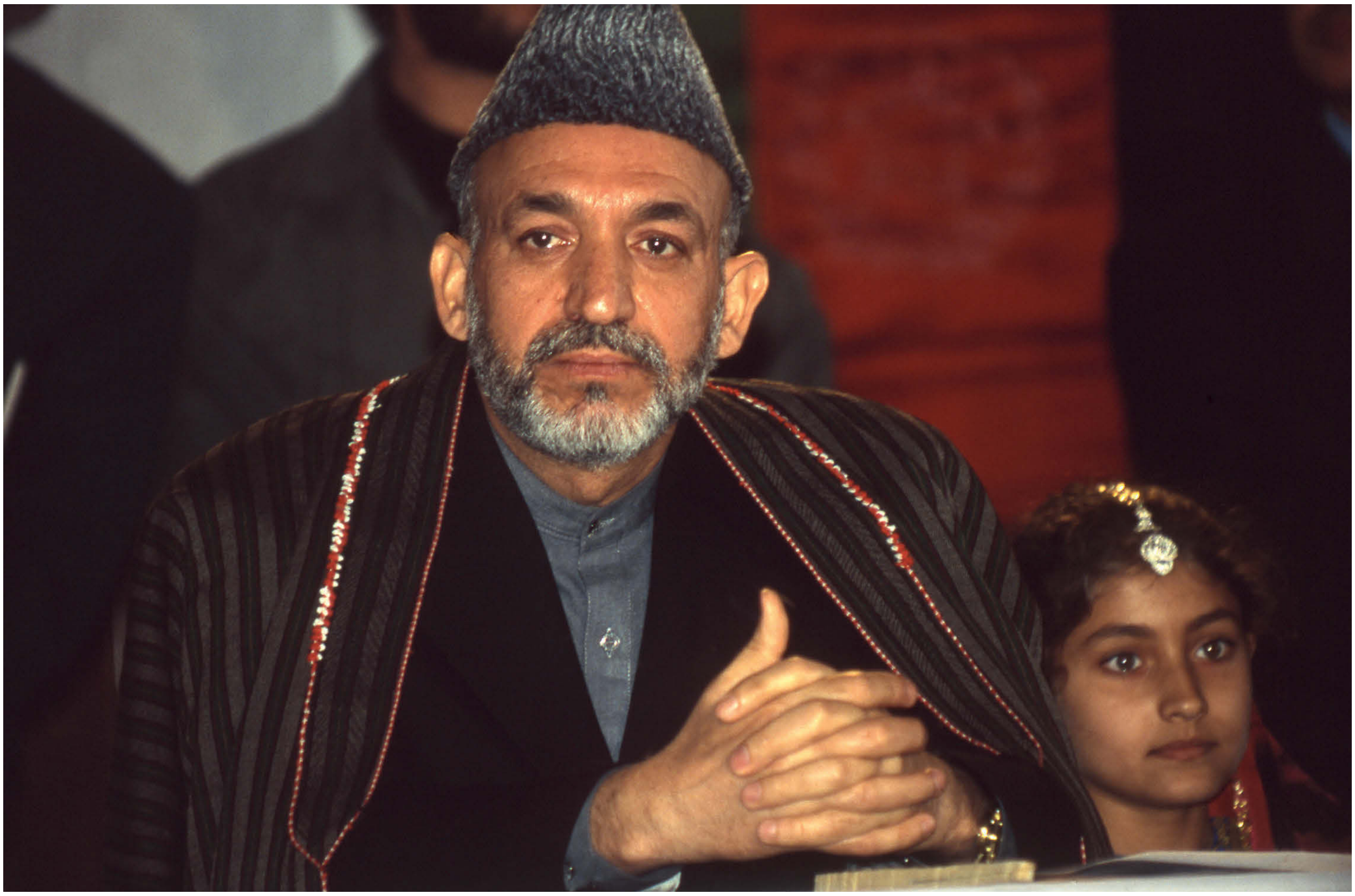
Only the northern Afghan city of Kunduz put up fierce resistance. Entrenched there were almost 3,000 Pakistani officers and soldiers, Taliban leaders and al-Qaeda. They were trapped, for Dostum and Atta Muhammad Noor, who besieged the city, had cut off all escape routes to the south. Dostum's Uzbeks would conquer the city within a matter of days. Around 18 November, General Musharraf personally called President Bush and asked permission to evacuate the Pakistanis, since the US controlled Afghan airspace. Bush acquiesced, thereby committing the United States' first error. In the ensuing nights, Pakistani aircraft evacuated around 2,000 ISI and army officers, Taliban commanders, al-Qaeda fighters of different nationalities and Uzbek fighters of the IMU – all dangerous men. It would have been worth interrogating each and every one of them. Dostum was only allowed to take the city after the evacuation was completed.[50]

The second, even more serious, error was committed by General Tommy Franks in southern Afghanistan. Around 13 November, bin Laden had fled to his underground Tora Bora bunker complex in the mountains, while being pursued by a powerful US special commando. Fearing losses, Franks prohibited General James Mattis from sealing off Tora Bora with his marines, and turned to Musharraf to take over the task at the Pakistani border. He also defied CIA director Tenet's urgent demand to quickly deploy additional Special Forces to track down and capture bin Laden. Instead, he directed three minor Afghan commanders of questionable loyalty to capture bin Laden. Despite a canopy of American bombs over Tora Bora, they advanced only slowly and, after ten days, agreed to a ceasefire with the trapped Taliban. As a result, bin Laden was able to flee with his family and followers to Pakistan. Mullah Omar escaped from Kandahar to Pakistan, allegedly on a motorcycle. He died there from an illness in 2013.[51] In light of General Franks' fear of taking losses, it is difficult to not see a grain of truth in a rather facetious remark by the British General David Richards, 2006/07 ISAF commander-in-chief: 'We inhabit an increasingly risk-averse world in which ignorant people . . . suppose that if wars are properly conducted, in accordance with Health & Safety Executive guidelines, nobody should get killed.'[52] As a result of Franks' aversion to risk and Musharraf's continued duplicity, the military operations missed one of their main objectives. Bin Laden and Mullah Omar were, therefore, able to quietly continue their terrorist jihad from Pakistan. Bin Laden initially lived in the Swat Valley in northern Pakistan; then, from 2004, in Haripur, north of Islamabad; and, from 2006, in neighbouring Abbottabad, where he was killed by US special forces on 2 May 2011.[53] His house was very close to the elite military academy of Pakistan. It is hardly conceivable that neither the ISI or the military leadership of the country knew that he was residing there.

For Musharraf, there were several reasons to not have bin Laden or the Taliban killed. Bin Laden enjoyed respect and sympathy among many Muslims worldwide, and the Taliban were – in Musharraf's own words – 'my strategic reserve and I can unleash them in tens of thousands against India when I want'.[54] The Taliban were furthermore a destabilising factor in Afghanistan, should the new government decide to revive the old Pashtunistan question. And, finally, as long as there is a looming threat of Islamic extremism in Afghanistan, Pakistan – from the US standpoint – remains a front-line state. This earned the country annual military aid payments in the amount of US$1.6–2 billion between 2002 and 2008, along with access to advanced weapons systems. Besides this, there were billions more in undisclosed grants.[55] As former US special envoy to Afghanistan, Peter Tomsen, observed: 'Despite ample evidence that the Pakistani Army was orchestrating Taliban offensives inside Afghanistan, the avalanche of unconditioned American aid to Pakistan continued. From 2002 to 2009, the rising flow of U.S. money to Pakistan paralleled the steady territorial expansion of the Taliban inside Afghanistan.'[56] If there were peace in Afghanistan, this military aid to Pakistan would dry up. Instead, it has proven to be a veritable 'black hole', as many funds have simply been drained away. Musharraf, however, did not consider that his 'guests' might eventually turn against him and Pakistan.

4. The Presidencies of Hamid Karzai and Ashraf Ghani

The collapse of the Taliban threatened to leave a power vacuum in Afghanistan. Although Rabbani, who still viewed himself as the legitimate president of Afghanistan, had returned to Kabul, he was not acceptable to many Afghans or to the international community involved. After all, he was not only a 'man of the past', but a former Islamist. As time was of the essence and elections could not be held right away, it was decided to implement a multi-step procedure: starting with an interim administration, followed by a *loya jirga* – a 'great assembly' representing all tribes and ethnicities – and then a presidential election. Inquiries conducted by the US special envoy James Dobbins and UN delegate Lakhdar Brahimi indicated that the US-preferred moderate Pashtun Hamid Karzai (in office from 2001 to 2014) was agreeable to both the Northern Alliance and many Pashtuns, the ISI, Russia, Iran and Turkey. In early December at the Bonn Conference, to which no representative of the Taliban was invited, Karzai was appointed chair of a 29-member government committee. A *loya jirga* then confirmed him as president of the transitional government on 13 June 2002. Since Mohammed Fahim commanded the largest Afghan military power, Karzai appointed him vice president and minister of defence. Dostum, however, was sidelined.[57] Karzai won the first democratic presidential election in Afghanistan's history with a clear majority in October 2004. He also won the second presidential election in October 2009, although the vote was overshadowed by a lack of security, low turnout and allegations of manipulation.[58] Pursuant to the Afghan Constitution, Karzai was not allowed to run for a third term of office in 2014. In the first round of voting, the Tajik Abdullah Abdullah, a former companion of Massoud, won the most votes ahead of the Pashtun Ashraf Ghani. The second round, however, was decided in Ghani's favour. The election was in all likelihood rigged. To avoid another civil war, Secretary of State John Kerry brokered a compromise, whereby Ghani was declared president, Abdullah CEO of



151. President Hamid Karzai (in office 2001–14) was the first freely elected president of Afghanistan. Photo: 2002.

152. Patrol of German ISAF troops with light armoured transport vehicles of the Wiesel 1 type in a suburb of Kabul. Photo: 2004.

Afghanistan, and General Dostum first vice president. The power-sharing came into force on 19 September, but the cabinet formation proved extremely difficult. It lasted almost two years, for this was how long the position of defence minister remained vacant.[59] After the return of Hekmatyar from his exile in Pakistan in May 2017, a reshuffling of the cabinet is expected (at the time of writing), as he may insist on his own representation in the government.[60]

After the fall of the Taliban, Musharraf ostensibly cooperated with the US, but continued the secret cooperation with al-Qaeda and the Taliban in order to destabilise Karzai's government. It was not for nothing that Richard Holbrooke (1941–2010), US special envoy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, noted in the early 2000s: 'We may be fighting the wrong enemy in the wrong country.'[61] Holbrooke's gentle suggestion that neither the Taliban nor Afghanistan was the true enemy of the US was clarified by Peter Tomsen in 2011: 'The epicenter of world terrorism [was] in Pakistan, not Afghanistan; the terrorist sanctuaries in Pakistan are breeding grounds for targeting many nations around the world, Muslim and non-Muslim.'[62] That said, the primary epicentre was located in the Pakistani army leadership and the secret service, not among the people, who strove for peace and prosperity; the secondary epicentre was Saudi Arabia.

More than a year after his escape, Mullah Omar began to speak again in February 2003. He called on all Afghans to jihad against the Americans and threatened all those who collaborated with the United States or the Karzai government with death. Just one month later, a series of murders of pro-government politicians and mullahs, police officers and employees of Western NGOs started in Kandahar province.[63] Omar formed a leadership circle called 'Quetta Shura' to reorganise the Taliban and to carry out attacks in Afghanistan with the active help of the ISI. The Taliban and al-Qaeda divided the Afghan operation areas among themselves. In July 2003, Mullah Omar and Hekmatyar reconciled and joined forces to fight against American troops in Afghanistan and the Karzai government. They speculated that the US invasion of Iraq, commencing on 20 March, would cause Bush to turn his focus away from Afghanistan.[64] The Taliban also cooperated with ordinary bandits. They kidnapped employees of NGOs and sold them to the Taliban, who then extorted ransom from governments, NGOs or the victims' countries of origin.

The number of attacks on foreign soldiers, NGO workers and Afghan police increased dramatically. The wave of murders reached its initial peak in 2006 in southern Afghanistan, especially in Helmand; the British and later American troops then conducted counter-attacks from 2007 to 2010. In 2007, ISAF commander Lieutenant General Eikenberry emphasised before the US Congress that the war would not be won without including the Pakistani safe havens for terrorists.[65] In the following year, the United States was forced to increase its presence to 53,000 troops. When an American commando attacked three houses on Pakistani soil in September 2008, Pakistan took the incident as an excuse to temporarily halt the existing supplies for the ISAF troops via Pakistan. It also issued an order to shoot on American troops should they cross the border. At the same time, the Taliban stepped up their attacks on US supply convoys in Pakistan.[66] The Americans responded to this threat and the interruption of the supply line with drone attacks in the Pakistani border region, and they organised their supplies via Russia and through the three Central Asian states Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Despite further reinforcement of ISAF troops, the Taliban succeeded in expanding to the west and north, which provoked a broad British-American counter-offensive in 2010.[67] In the summer of 2011, President Obama announced the gradual withdrawal of American troops and the handover of war operations and their command to the Afghan army. When bin Laden was killed in 2011 by US Special Forces, he was succeeded as the head of al-Qaeda by his deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri. In the spring of 2013, the Afghan army began to assume responsibility for internal security, even though ISAF forces continue today to advise, train and assist the Afghan forces. On 28 December 2014, NATO formally ended its combat operations; about 13,500 troops officially remained in the country, including 10,000 Americans. These were mostly consultants, air force personnel, and Special Forces. Without American air support, the government army's territorial losses would be significantly greater. There are also about 25,000 military contractors.

In parallel with the withdrawal of ISAF troops, the Taliban and al-Qaeda intensified their activities. By 2016, they gained the upper hand in the southern provinces of Helmand and Uruzgen, as well as in certain places in Faryab (north-west), Bamiyan (central Afghanistan), Nangahar (east) and in Kunduz (north).[68] In the wake of Pakistan's offensive in Waziristan south-west of Peshawar in the summer of 2014 to expel fighters from the Haqqani network[69] and al-Qaeda and Uzbeks of the IMU, these fighters fled to neighbouring Afghanistan by the thousands. Pakistani Taliban then retaliated on 26 December 2014 by slaughtering 147 schoolchildren and teachers in Peshawar.[70] The formation of an Afghan offshoot of the Islamic State (IS) in the winter of 2014/15[71] reflected the emergence of a new militant group that shares similar goals to al-Qaeda and competes with the Taliban for influence, while exceeding it in brutality. The group also engages the Taliban in skirmishes.[72] The appearance of this IS offshoot in Afghanistan will further complicate the peace-finding process. It can be expected that radical Taliban will defect to IS if the moderate wing of the Taliban should ever come to terms with the government. On the part of the insurgents, there is increasingly a lack of representative negotiating partners. About a year earlier, in 2013/14, hundreds of foreign fighters, including Chechens, Uzbeks, Uyghurs, Iraqis and Turks, had set out to Syria and Iraq in order to bolster the ranks of Islamic State.[73]

It was not until July 2015 that the Afghan Taliban announced that Mullah Omar had died in April 2013. They chose Akhtar Mansur (*ca.* 1968–2016) as their new amir. Mansur was amir only for about a year until he was killed by an American drone in May 2016. His successor as the third amir is Hibatullah Akhundzada. In September/October 2016, he approved the resumption of the talks with representatives of the Afghan government that were suspended in 2013. At these discussions, Mullah Omar's brother Abdul Manan Akhun met the Afghan security chief Stanekzai.[74] In September 2016, President Ghani, who is determined to forge the peace process with former adversaries, announced that he had pardoned the former leader of the Hezb-i Islami, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, within the scope of a peace agreement with the Hezb.[75] Hekmatyar ratified the agreement and returned to Kabul with a heavily armed escort on 4 May 2017.[76] It remains uncertain if Hekmatyar is prepared to cooperate with his former enemies from the Northern Alliance, Vice President Dostum and Governor Atta Muhammad Noor, to find a peaceful solution to the inter-Afghan conflicts.

In Islamabad, in early 2006, President Karzai warned President Musharraf that the Pakistani Taliban could very well turn against their host: 'If anyone thinks that he can train a snake to bite another person, he should know that it is possible at any time for the snake to turn and bite his trainer. Terrorism is something like this example. It is nobody's friend.'[77] Karzai's warning turned into reality in June 2007, when heavily armed Pakistani Taliban entrenched themselves in the Red Mosque of Islamabad near the intelligence headquarters. After an eight-day siege, Pakistani Special Forces stormed the mosque. More than 100 people died.[78] Two years earlier, younger Pakistani Taliban called Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) had allied themselves with al-Qaeda, first, to seize control in Waziristan and, in a second step, to assume power throughout Pakistan. The Afghan Quetta Shura surrounding Mullah Omar remained loyal to Musharraf, but not al-Qaeda. The latter had carried out two unsuccessful attacks on the president in December 2003, because the ISI had arrested two leading al-Qaeda members.[79] This was followed by brazen, bloody attacks on police and army barracks, schools and hospitals, which continue to this day (mid-2017). Pakistan was now no longer simply a Taliban sanctuary, but also a target.[80] Pakistani Taliban of the TTP moreover did not hesitate to kidnap Brigadier Sultan Amir Tarrar, one of the godfathers of the Taliban, and to shoot him to death in January 2011. Figuratively speaking, the ISI had created a tiger, which it believed it could tame; now the tiger turned on its trainer. The revolt of the Pakistani Taliban became even more dangerous for the Musharraf regime when they infiltrated the Swat Valley in 2006, located a mere 130 km north of the capital Islamabad and which they controlled until 2007. They immediately introduced Sharia law, closed the girls' schools, destroyed Buddhist art, and had officials and locals who defended themselves flogged or beheaded.[81] Only now did it become clear to the army leadership that there was a risk that the TTP fighters could penetrate to Islamabad. The army recaptured the Swat Valley in 2009.[82] A tragic irony, however, emerged: Pakistani soldiers and officers had lost their lives against extremists who were sponsored and armed by a small group of senior Pakistani army officers and the ISI.

GESAMTZULADUNG
SCHRANK
MAX. 30 kg
NICHT ANFASSEN

153. Helicopter observation flight with an open hatch at 50 m ground clearance between Kunduz and Faizabad, northern Afghanistan. Photo: 2007.

BEI AUSFAHRT
ABBIEGEN
ICLES TO EXIT
RN LEFT
GPS
NICHT ANFASSEN
NO HAND HOLD
MANUELL
DER LA
EINFAHRV

5. An Initial Assessment

As of the end of 2017, peace still does not prevail in Afghanistan. The security situation is precarious, and the Taliban, who were defeated in 2001, are once again on the rise in several provinces. By the end of 2017, they controlled about one-third of the national territory[83] – despite US$60 billion in reconstruction aid or the deployment of up to 147,000 soldiers of the NATO-led ISAF (including 100,000 Americans) or, finally, the US$450 billion that has been spent on warfare.[84] The domestic reasons for the present state of affairs include the fact that democracy is a new form of government in Afghanistan and that a sense of national unity is still largely missing. Western-style democracy cannot be imposed at gunpoint, especially in a society that has never tested such mechanisms. Afghans to this day still vote along ethnic and tribal lines, and rarely with regard to an individual party or its respective ideology. In the prevailing rural patriarchal communities, women either relinquish their right to vote to their husbands, or both sexes follow the instructions of the village elders or tribal leader. In addition, the security situation from around 2007 was extremely poor in several southern provinces, and those who wanted to vote were seriously threatened by Taliban fighters.[85] In addition, many warlords and commanders were not willing to cede their regional power to the central government or to surrender their weapons. Therefore, Karzai was forced to make far-reaching compromises when appointing ministers and provincial governors. Apart from longstanding comrades-in-arms and charismatic tribal leaders or commanders, the loyalty of powerful Afghans still needs to be bought with lucrative posts. This, in turn, promotes the spread of corruption and criminal networks. On top of this, President Ghani and CEO Abdullah obstruct each other, which not only makes an efficient government impossible, but also undermines the confidence Afghans have in the government and the state. Since some of these regional potentates and the Taliban are involved in the cultivation of the opium poppy and its processing into opium, it is difficult to fight poppy cultivation. Finally, the economically very weak Afghanistan still depends on external financial assistance,[86] not least because the expanding production of the opium poppy increasingly restricts the cultivation of food.

---

154. Encounter between an Afghan couple and ambulances of the ISAF in Badakhshan, northern Afghanistan. Photo: 2008.

External reasons are primarily responsible for the continued unsatisfactory situation in Afghanistan, 16 years after the fall of the Taliban. They are listed here in brief:

1. The United States victory over the Taliban did not follow a carefully planned strategy for the economic and political reconstruction of the decimated country and the formation of the Afghan nation. Moreover, the financial resources employed at the outset were inadequate. There was no Marshall Plan for Afghanistan – defeating the Taliban militarily was not enough to stabilise the country. As General Richards rightly criticised, killing Taliban 'is just one weapon in the armoury, along with much speedier reconstruction and development, a political outreach programme, and much else. [. . .] Employment is key: jobs, jobs, jobs! Much too much development money goes on sandal-wearing initiatives that have no economic impact.'[87] When the Afghans, especially the young men, remain unemployed, they are easy prey for recruiters of the Taliban, who offer them up to US$10 per day.
2. Just a few months after the establishment of Karzai in Kabul, President Bush shifted the foreign policy focus on to Iraq and its alleged production of weapons of mass destruction. As a result, the inner circle of the administration and the army prepared for the coming invasion of Iraq. To be precise, the US took its eye off Afghanistan before it had completed its mission. Later, in 2006, the British Field Marshal Lord Peter Inge asked in the House of Lords: 'Where is the main effort? Is it Iraq or is it Afghanistan? I hope we are not making the mistake of trying to be strong everywhere and ending up being strong nowhere.'[88]
3. Even after the victory, the United States relied on the cooperation of dubious warlords such as Gul Agha in Kandahar, paying them to maintain public order and to prevent the Taliban from returning. But the warlords, who were far away from Kabul, were difficult to keep in check and they took money from both the US and the ISI. These warlords also demanded bribes to guarantee the 'protection' of the foreign professionals involved in the reconstruction of schools, hospitals, electricity and water distribution.[89] Since the coalition led by the United States relied on these former warlords, they neglected the reconstruction of a national army in the early years and thus encouraged corruption.
4. Another fatal mistake on the part of the Bush administration and the Northern Alliance was to veto the broad amnesty proposed by President Karzai for senior Taliban who wanted to lay down their arms and return to Afghanistan, but demanded immunity from judicial authorities. These included the former defence minister of the Taliban and his deputy, the interior minister and even Jalaluddin Haqqani, currently one of the most dangerous Taliban. But Karzai was not allowed to pardon them, and all high-ranking Taliban who fell into American hands were shipped off to Guantanamo. Some of the Taliban who were initially willing to capitulate later played a crucial role in the organisation's rehabilitation, while others were detained by Pakistan without charges.[90]
5. In the first Karzai government, the Tajik faction of the Northern Alliance predominated. It supplied the secretary of defence (Muhammad Fahim), interior minister (Yunus Qanooni), and foreign minister (Abdullah Abdullah). The Pashtuns were under-represented and the Taliban were excluded entirely. Although the US and Pakistan had initially advocated the inclusion of moderate Taliban in the new Afghan government, the Northern Alliance and Russia were strongly opposed. The US had already backed down on 2 November 2001.[91] Karzai was not able to offset the preponderance of Tajiks until August 2003.[92]
6. After three to four years, many Afghans were not only disappointed about the lack of progress in terms of reconstruction, but also angry about the many misguided bombings and drone attacks that killed innocent civilians (e.g. wedding parties). Such unintended killings of civilians could probably have been avoided in targeted commando raids. With justification, an Afghan officer once asked 'if the British Army would be allowed to bomb a house in Northern Ireland because it suspected an IRA gunman inside'.[93] Besides this, individual Afghan informants took advantage of the Americans for the sake of their own personal vendettas or greed. They denounced as 'Taliban' rivals, tribal enemies, or owners of rich fields that they wanted for themselves, leading to their assassination by US drones.[94] The US was hardly in a position to verify information on the ground due to the lack of its own confidants.
7. Another significant reason for the sluggish reconstruction, despite nominally extremely generous aid programmes, was the fact that only a fraction of the money was actually invested locally. Through 2008, 80 per cent of US$35 billion granted from international lenders did not make it into government hands. Instead, these funds either went to corporations, which outsourced the projects to private sub-contractors, who, in turn, outsourced them again to other private sub-contractors. In the process, each company pocketed a profit. The quality of the projects was often poor. Alternatively, the funds went to one of the 341 NGOs working in Afghanistan. Sub-contractors and NGOs used the greater part of the funds for wages of foreigners living in Afghanistan, consulting fees, security, vehicles,

housing rents and international travel expenses, and even for flown-in food and beverages. Added to this were bribes paid to corrupt Afghans. It is estimated that about 40 per cent of the aid money flowed back directly to the donor countries and that a comparable sum went towards financing the expenditures of UN agencies and NGOs as well as external contractors. Ultimately, 'less than 15 percent of the original funding was spent on the intended project'.[95]

8. Individual countries that took part in the ISAF, such as Germany, Spain and Italy, sent troops who did not participate in major offensives, but were only allowed to defend themselves. These troops were not in a position to do very much against the resurgent Taliban.[96]
9. It is also possible that President Bush's refusal to cooperate with Iran in bringing peace to Afghanistan was a mistake, even though the Sunni Pashtuns strongly opposed the Shiite Iranians. Iran, after all, had been engaged in the construction of highways in the Hazara region and to the west of Afghanistan.[97]
10. By far the most important factor in the ongoing crisis was that the Pakistani President Musharraf and his intelligence service continued to play their double game. Just like the top leaders of al-Qaeda, the Taliban who had fled from Afghanistan found refuge again in the tribal areas of north-west Pakistan. Neither Bush nor Obama exerted sufficient pressure on Musharraf and the all-powerful ISI director and later chief of staff Ashfaq Kayani (in office 2004–7; 2007–13) to force them to undertake a fundamental shift in their Afghanistan policy.[98] Instead, the Obama administration pressured Karzai publicly, which he perceived as a humiliation. Relations between Kabul and Washington deteriorated. In this context, an Afghan proverb seems quite apt: 'Through kindness you can even lead an Afghan to hell, but by force you can't even take him to heaven.'[99] There are many indications that the ties between Pakistan's ISI and the dreaded Haqqani network were especially intense. At a Senate hearing on 22 September 2011, the Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Michael Mullen (in office

155. Two students on the campus of the University of Kabul, Afghanistan. With the fall of the Taliban, girls and women once again had access to schools and universities. Photo: 2004.

2007–14), described the Haqqani network as a 'veritable arm' of the ISI. He further explained that Pakistan's government collaborates with the terrorists and should be punished for it.[100] Mullen's harsh criticism was motivated by the recent assassination of Burhanuddin Rabbani, whom Karzai had recruited for the presidency of the High Peace Council. Karzai had established this council in 2010 with the full support of President Obama to seek a reconciliation with moderate Taliban. Richards, the former ISAF commander in chief, was also convinced of this course of action: 'While we struggle over what to do with ISIS in Iraq and Syria, we can at least help ensure that Afghanistan does not become another part of the so-called caliphate. An accommodation with the Taliban must be part of the solution in Afghanistan.'[101] Rabbani's suicide bomber was an Afghan, but clues relating to the attack's planning pointed to Pakistan.[102]

In 2008, when Karzai once again sought a dialogue with moderate Taliban leaders living in Pakistan, Pakistan had dozens of them arrested to prevent them from negotiating with Karzai.[103] Pakistan thus sabotaged the peace efforts of Karzai and the Obama administration. Peace will not come to Afghanistan without absolute cooperation from all of Pakistan's power brokers, i.e. the government, the army and the secret service. Although certain civilian governments of Pakistan have tentatively tried to end the double game towards Afghanistan, while improving relations with India, they have not been able to prevail against the army. A peace initiative, however, would not only have to involve moderate Taliban and Pakistan, but also Pakistan's economic and financial partners, China and Saudi Arabia. China has substantial investments in both Pakistan and Afghanistan, such as the giant Mes Aynak copper mine near Kabul. The Chinese are thus highly interested in a lasting peace there for economic reasons, and all the more so because it would deny rebellious Uyghurs a refuge or training opportunities.[104] As for Saudi Arabia, it remains uncertain whether royalty and clergy are really prepared to give up on their missionary propagation of Wahhabism and the financing of Islamist extremists.

IX

The New Independence of Central Asian States

'No country can develop its own security by harming the fundamental security interests of others.'

Chinese president **JIANG ZEMIN** (in office 1993–2003)[1]

'There is no Central Asia or other common territorial entity.'

Political historian **S.N. ABASHIN**[2]

1. Non-independent Republics and Regions of the Russian Federation

The independence of the Central Asian republics was the result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which dissolved on 26 December 1991. The disintegration of the Soviet empire had begun at the latest with the upheavals in the Eastern European member states of the Warsaw Pact in 1989, which had continued in Mongolia in the spring of 1990. The republics in the heartland of Central Asia, however, declared their independence from the fading Soviet Union only reluctantly and only after the failed coup attempt against Gorbachev of 19–21 August 1991. Kyrgyzstan was the first country to do so on 30 August, Kazakhstan the last on 16 December. The relative prosperity of the autonomous republics was largely based on the combination of a command economy and secure markets, as well as subsidies from Moscow. In view of the huge Soviet military arsenal and not least nuclear weapons, the peaceful transition (a few regional conflicts notwithstanding) of the highly centralised Soviet Union into a number of independent states was nearly miraculous. It was to the credit of presidents George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin that they were able to avoid tensions and make the states that had broken away from Russia, such as Ukraine, Belarus and especially Kazakhstan, nuclear free.[3] The worst post-Soviet conflicts were the Tajik Civil War (1992–96) in Central Asia and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh (1988–94) in the Caucasus; the Russian-Georgian conflict over Abkhazia (1992–94); the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict (1990–92); the Russian-Georgian War from August 2008; and the two Chechen Wars. The second Chechen War was expanded into an international jihad by Afghanistan veterans, who had been trained and sponsored by al-Qaeda.[4]

In the years 1992–94, President Yeltsin's foreign policy priorities consisted in a rapprochement with the West and the simultaneous neglect of Central Asia, which was considered a financial burden.[5] This explains why the Central Asian republics

156. The two Tuvan shamans Seren Ojun and Darya Kendenova perform a shamanistic ritual at a spring near Kyzyl. Tuva, Russia. Photo: 2002.

157. The ‘White Mosque’, built in the years 2010–12, in Bolghar south of Kazan, Tatarstan, Russia. The head architect Sergei Shakurov was also involved in the construction of the Kul Sharif Mosque in the Kazan Kremlin. Photo: 2013.

were granted independence without resistance, while a different attitude was adopted towards regions that were either near Moscow or strategically important. The latter included the Republic of **Tuva**, which only had about 310,000 inhabitants and was ruled from 1932 to 1973 by the Stalinist Saltchak Toka. When assaults were made on Russians in 1990, Soviet troops were called in to restore public order. Tuva’s declaration of independence in November 1991 was not recognised by the Soviet Union or Russia. Today, it is a republic of the Russian Federation. The approximately 900,000-inhabitant-strong Republic of **Buryatia** is of considerable strategic importance for Russia, as it is crossed by the Trans-Siberian Railway. It proclaimed its sovereignty in 1990, but continued to be an autonomous republic of the Russian Federation. The **Kalmyk** Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, with its 285,000 inhabitants, also remained part of the Russian Federation. It is the only political region of Europe where the majority of the population professes Buddhism. Living between the Ural and the Volga are the Muslim Turkic peoples of the Bashkirs and Tatars, who formed the short-lived **Idel-Ural State** in 1917/18. The Red Amy dissolved the republic in late 1918, whereupon it was replaced by the Bashkir and the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. **Bashkortostan,** which has just over 4 million inhabitants, declared its sovereignty in October 1990. However, it remained an autonomous republic of the Russian Confederation. This is also true of the Republic of **Tatarstan**, which has 3.85 million inhabitants. The latter proclaimed its sovereignty on 30 August 1990, which the population then affirmed in a 1992 referendum. The relationship of the Republic of Tatarstan to the Russian Federation was contractually arranged in 1994. Tatarstan and Bashkortostan have similar economic structures: both have oil reserves and significant mechanical industries. Tatarstan, in particular, is largely industrialised. It has petrochemical plants and produces helicopters, airplanes and trucks and its largest market is still Russia. However, the special status of Tatarstan ended on 24 July 2017 when the agreement from 1994 expired. It is to be seen if Moscow is prepared to negotiate a follow-up treaty.[6]

158. The Kul Sharif Mosque and its library in the Kazan Kremlin, Tatarstan, Russia. Kul Sharif was the last imam of Kazan before the Russian conquest of 1552; the construction of a mosque, consecrated in 2005, within the Kremlin is a symbol of the peaceful coexistence of Christians and Muslims in Tatarstan. Photo: 2013.

2. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

The Chinese Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region was nominally a part of China from 1912 to 1944, but de facto an autonomous satellite state of the Soviet Union.[7] As already mentioned, the term 'Uyghurs' originated in the late nineteenth century to refer to the Turkish-speaking Muslims of Xinjiang and did not become an official designation until 1934.[8] Of the population of nearly 23 million that was officially counted at the end of 2014, Uyghurs make up about 43 per cent and Han Chinese about 40 per cent. If, however, the close to 3 million seasonal migrant workers, the majority of whom are Han Chinese, are also included, then the proportion of Uyghurs drops to about 38 per cent and that of the Han increases to about 43 per cent.[9] In 1981, Deng Xiaoping slightly pried open the lid on the Pandora's Box in Xinjiang: on the one hand, he spoke out against the secession of the Republic of Xinjiang; on the other, he advocated greater or genuine autonomy in the region and the self-determination of ethnic minorities.[10] Afterwards, tensions soon developed in the southern half of the province between long-established Uyghurs and Han Chinese immigrants.

Although these tensions were at first social in nature, they soon took on an additional religious character. Paradoxically, it was the Chinese government that initially brought the Uyghurs into contact with extremist Islamic thought. Beginning in 1980, the PLA[11] started training Afghan mujahideen in Pakistan, and, from 1985, it trained hundreds in Xinjiang itself, near Kashgar and Khotan. Specially trained Uyghurs also fought on the side of the mujahideen. They remained in Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal, became further radicalised there at local madrasahs, and, in 1996, put themselves at the service of the Taliban by the hundreds.[12] The Karakoram Highway, which connects Xinjiang with Pakistan, ended Xinjiang's isolation. Completed in 1979 and opened to the public in 1986, it has facilitated the spread of radical Islamist ideology among traditionally moderate Sunni Uyghurs.

The victory of the mujahideen over the Soviet Union and its vassal Najibullah stoked the confidence of Uyghur circles and caused them to interweave their political claims to sovereignty with religious demands. The construction of new mosques, funded by Arab states, the spread of Islamist propaganda material, and access to the internet since the late 1990s all contributed to the further radicalisation of Uyghur groups.[13] When the five sovereign '-stan' republics of Central Asia emerged from the wreckage of the Soviet Union in 1991, radicalised Uyghurs in Xinjiang were forced to recognise that they were the only major Muslim ethnic group in Central Asia that did not have their own sovereign homeland. Accordingly, calls for an independent Uyghuristan became louder.[14] As in other Muslim communities, radical Islam developed in the context of a one-party system into the only political alternative.

For China, the possibility of Xinjiang's secession is totally excluded. Not only would such a splitting off significantly undermine national unity, but the region is also of great economic importance. Indeed, since the 1950s and 1960s, when the region was little more than an economic cul de sac, Xinjiang has developed into a prime trading hub with the Central Asian republics. Chinese consumer goods replaced Soviet products there from 1992, and the new republics began to export oil, gas, steel, scrap iron and other metals via Xinjiang to China.[15] Furthermore, Xinjiang has large deposits of raw materials and a strong cotton industry. The region is responsible for a quarter of China's cotton, 40 per cent of which is produced on bingtuan state farms.[16] Of even greater importance are the oil and gas reserves in Xinjiang, which account for about 30 per cent of China's mainland reserves. The first mechanised oil drilling took place in 1909 near Dushanzi, northern Xinjiang, after which oil deposits were discovered in the Tarim and Turfan Basins in the late 1920s. Today, Xinjiang accounts for 13 per cent of China's natural gas and 11 per cent of its oil production. In addition, China imports oil and gas from Central Asia via pipelines running from Kazakhstan to Xinjiang and from there to eastern and southern China. The first oil pipeline between Kazakhstan and Xinjiang was put into operation in 2006, the first natural gas pipeline in 2009.[17]

159. The 12.3m-high-statue of Mao Zedong stands on a 11.7-m-high plinth in Kashgar, Xinjiang, China. It was built during the Cultural Revolution as an expression of the Uyghurs' loyalty to Mao and completed in 1969. Photo: 2009.

Since China's oil imports from the Middle East are mainly shipped through the Strait of Malacca, where they are exposed to the dangers of terrorism, piracy, or a US naval blockade, the oil and gas resources in Xinjiang are of paramount strategic importance.[18] The claim that China has made to supremacy in the South China Sea since 2009 with the so-called 'Nine-Dash-Line' shows that Beijing wants to protect this waterway no matter what.[19] In the East China Sea and in the Yellow Sea, however, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea could disrupt the waterways to north-east China and even threaten the offshore production facilities in the Bohai Bay.[20]

Still, the state implemented programme 'Develop the West' from 2001 that triggered rapid economic growth in Xinjiang and strong immigration from Central China is constrained by stringent environmental barriers. These relate primarily to the quality and availability of water, without which the desert environment of southern Xinjiang is uninhabitable. There are several reasons for the looming ecological crisis: the millions of immigrants and rising living standards in the cities have led to an explosion in water consumption. Also, oil drilling and petrochemical industries are water-intensive, and the expansion of irrigated agricultural land likewise leads to increased water consumption. The crisis is exacerbated by the fact that as water consumption increases, the amount of available water simultaneously decreases. As Xinjiang lies outside the monsoon system, the global temperature rise leads to less rainfall and a pronounced glacier melt, which can dry out the feeder of the Tarim River. The use of machine-made tubewells also lowers the water table and puts the traditional karez water system at acute risk.[21] Desertification is accelerated by the salinisation of annually flooded lands and the traditional felling of poplars and undergrowth for heating, practised at the edge of small oases. Despite large-scale reforestation programmes, the Taklamakan Desert is said to expand every year by around 400 km^2.[22] This strong demographic and environmental pressure fuels the discontent among many Uyghurs. Not only are they increasingly marginalised in the face of growing economic prosperity, but they feel discriminated against with regard to the Han Chinese. This resentment is a breeding ground for Islamic extremism. Just the same, there are no indications that non-Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang, like the Hui, Kazakh and Tajik, want to secede from China.

160. **Prayer in the Altyn (Golden) Mosque of Yarkand, Xinjiang, China. Photo: 1994.**

The armed struggle of Islamist Uyghur groups began in April 1990 with the Baren Township Riot, south of Kashgar. Here, barely armed insurgents besieged and threw hand grenades at the local government and police buildings. Army units repressed the uprising, which had been organised by the terrorist group Hezb al-Islami li-Turkestan al sharqiah, the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM).[23] The ETIM is the largest of about 30 militant and separatist Islamist groups in Xinjiang, which have been blamed for around 150 to 200 terrorist attacks and murders (even of moderate clerics) between 1990 and 2009. The unrest reached a climax in the riots of 5–7 July 2009 in Ürümqi, as thousands of Uyghurs armed with batons and long knives preyed on Chinese passers-by. Enraged Chinese then proceeded to set Uyghur shops on fire. According to official figures, 197 people died and 1,721 were injured.[24] However, these riots were hardly motivated by religion or separatist tendencies. In fact, such slogans were completely missing. Rather, they seem to have sprung from a sense of frustration over perceived social and economic injustices and later took on the character of racial unrest. Even the 'modernisation' of the old town of Kashgar that began in the spring of 2009, involving its partial demolition, seems to have played no role

161. The Buddhist Gandantegchinlen Monastery (Great Place of Complete Joy) to the west of Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia. Built in 1838, the monastery was partially spared the Stalinist destruction wave of the 1930s; it was closed, however, from 1938 to 1944. In the picture, the Migjid Janraisig Temple, where a 5.26-m-high statue of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara (Tibetan: Chenrezig), newly built in 1996, is located. Photo: 2001.

in the outbreak of riots in Ürümqi.[25] It remains uncertain whether exiled Uyghurs coordinated the unrest from abroad.[26] Five years later, a group of terrorists who were allegedly tied to the ETIM killed 29 civilians and injured over 140 more in the train station at Kunming,[27] and, on 18 September 2015, more than 50 mostly Han Chinese workers fell victim to a terrorist attack at a coal mine in Aksu.[28]

The ETIM, which is also called the Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP), was founded in 1940 and revived in the late 1980s by Zia al-Din bin Yousef (d. 1990). The organisation, which is funded by the Uyghur diaspora, seeks to bring about Xinjiang's secession from China through violent means, along with the expulsion of all 'infidel' Han Chinese and the introduction of Sharia law. In 1997, Hasan Makhsum (d. 2003) reorganised the group and established a training base in the Tora Bora region, where al-Qaeda and bin Laden had their headquarters. He met with bin Laden several times. Makhsum also maintained close relations with the Uzbek terrorist organisation IMU. At the time, the strength of the ETIM inside Afghanistan was estimated to be anywhere from several hundred to around 2,000 men. After the fall of the Taliban, the ETIM moved its headquarters to Waziristan in north-western Pakistan. Makhsum was killed on 2 October 2003 as part of a Pakistani military operation after China had pressured Islamabad to no longer tolerate his presence on Pakistani soil.[29] Unlike al-Qaeda, ETIM does not have a global orientation; its jihad is rather centred on China. By the same token, this does not prevent Uyghur fighters from fighting in Syria. From Beijing's point of view, the ETIM and similar groups represent the 'three evils' of terrorism, separatism, and religious extremism that must be defeated. It is still difficult to assess how much support such militant separatist organisations have among the wider Uyghur population. In any event, attacks like those of July 2009 have led to great mistrust and a deeper sense of alienation between the Uyghurs and the Chinese.

3. Independent Mongolia

In Mongolia, the transition from a communist one-party state to a multi-party democracy took place peacefully. This was due in no small measure to the general secretary of the Mongolian Communist Party, Jambyn Batmönkh (in office 1984–90). He had replaced his predecessor Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal (in power 1952–84), who resisted the Soviet Union's rapprochement with China initiated in 1982. Buoyed by the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 and the peaceful transition to multi-party systems in countries of the Eastern Bloc, young Mongolian intellectuals founded the Mongolian Democratic Union on 9 December 1989. It organised its first mass demonstration in Ulaan Baatar on 14 January 1990. After further demonstrations and party foundations, around 100,000 people gathered in the central Sükhbaatar Square on 4 March and called for democracy to be introduced. Three days later, leaders of the democracy movement began a public hunger strike. In this political crisis, the chairman of the Political Bureau, Batmönkh, refused to sign a police deployment order to break up the demonstrations. Instead, he dissolved the Politburo and resigned on 9 March, paving the way for a multi-party system. The first free elections in Mongolia took place on 29 July 1990. Surprisingly, the Mongol People's Revolution Party (MPRP), the successor to the Communist Party, won the general election, which involved four major parties. In the Grand Chamber, it won 60 per cent of the vote and 387 of the 430 seats (83 per cent).[30] As in Eastern Europe, the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia did not intervene, but gradually withdrew.

The reformer Davaadorjiin Ganbold was the driving force in the new government under prime minister Byambasüren. The political and economic challenges were enormous. From 1989, Mongolia not only lost markets and investors in the wake of the democratic changes in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union, but it now had to pay for much-needed raw materials, fuels and combustibles and spare parts in hard currency. Mongolia was consequently highly dependent on loans from the capitalist world, which

162. In the northern suburbs of Ulaan Baatar, there are extensive yurt settlements. The majority of those who move to the capital are impoverished families from the rural population. Due to a lack of financial resources, they set up their ger (yurt) here or a small house with a corrugated roof. The infrastructure is poor, lacking running water, sufficient electricity, roads, and transportation to the city. Photo: 2012.

forced the government to submit to the instructions of its lenders, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Asian Development Bank and USAID. Where Asian 'tiger states' like Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong had managed in the past to achieve economic growth and prosperity through state-directed economic development, significant investments in infrastructure, technology and education, as well as selective import tariffs, Mongolia's creditors prescribed a market-based shock therapy. This consisted of a poorly designed privatisation of state enterprises and collectivised herds, a release of the consumer price index, and disinvestment in education, infrastructure, social services, health and veterinary activities. The consequences for the general population were disastrous. In 1992, inflation reached 325 per cent and in the following year 183 per cent; at the same time, industrial production in 1992 fell by 24 per cent. In some provinces, more than half of the factories were closed. Despite high per-capita development assistance, the standard of living of many Mongols fell below the poverty line.[31] The international financial institutions made the allocation and disbursement of loans dependent on the implementation of drastic macroeconomic measures. They thus constituted a kind of illegitimate shadow government, which greatly restricted the elected government's room to manoeuvre. Ultimately, they undermined the sovereignty that the Mongols had struggled for.

This externally imposed economic policy had serious consequences for the majority of Mongolians. To begin with, countless unemployed workers migrated from the cities and turned to livestock farming in the country. But as the workers lacked knowledge of animal husbandry, and since the state no longer invested in feed supplies, the livestock farmers were left vulnerable to the harsh winters.[32] Between 1990 and 1995, the number of nomadic households doubled, while the animal population only increased by about 35 per cent. As a result, fewer than half of all pastoral households had enough animals to survive on over the long term. Just the same, pastureland was damaged due to the sudden increase in the overgrazing of livestock.[33] In a second phase, a rural exodus set in, as impoverished ranchers flocked back to the capital. With

MCS property LLC
2013.IV
улирал
BUDDHA VISTA
PENTHOUSE DUPLEX
APARTMENT PLAZA MALL
www.BUDDHAVISTA.mn

163. A 17-m-high Buddha statue in front of a modern apartment complex in the south of Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia. Photo: 2012.

1.4 million inhabitants, almost half of the country's total population (3.1 million) reside there. In the second half of the 1990s, GDP began to grow again, thanks largely to the sale of raw materials such as copper, gold, silver and cashmere. The growth of the gross domestic product here is tied directly to the respective world market prices.

The first of the two major drivers of growth is the Erdenet copper mine, located north-west of the capital. It is the fourth largest in the world and operated as a Mongolian-Russian consortium. The second driver is the Oyu Tolgoi gold and copper mine in southern Mongolia, where copper has been mined and then processed in China since 2013. Due to the disputes between the major investor Rio Tinto and the Mongolian government – which has wavered between showing friendly and hostile attitudes towards investors – the negotiations were especially challenging. South of Oyu Tolgoi is the huge Avan Tolgoy coal reserve with an estimated deposit of 6.4 billion tons, spread over an area of 1,200 km$^{2.}$ The coal is sent to China. As China absorbs 88 per cent of Mongolian exports, 90 per cent of which are raw materials (as of 2014/15), the country is almost completely economically dependent on China and world market prices. It has to sell its raw materials in order to import fuel and electricity from Russia and cheap manufactured goods from China.[34]

The enforced abolition by international creditors of most import duties and the far-reaching liberalisation of foreign capital transactions has virtually destroyed Mongolia's manufacturing industry. In terms of price, Mongolian private companies simply cannot compete with the government-subsidised Chinese companies. As a consequence, Mongolia has been 'turned into a raw material warehouse for China'.[35] Mongolia has been transformed from an Eastern-bloc exporter of agricultural products and manufactured goods into a China exporter of raw materials. Mongolia will only be able to reduce its dependency on China and world market prices by becoming a processor of raw materials itself. The region's recent economic growth illustrates the dramatic consequences of such dependency: due to a collapse in the price of raw materials, it declined from 17.3 per cent in 2011 to a meagre 2.3 per cent in 2015. At the same time, direct foreign investment fell from US$4.4 billion in 2012 to US$530 million in 2015.[36] To reverse the trend, Mongolia will have to free itself from the tutelage of international financial institutions.

4. The Central Asian Republics

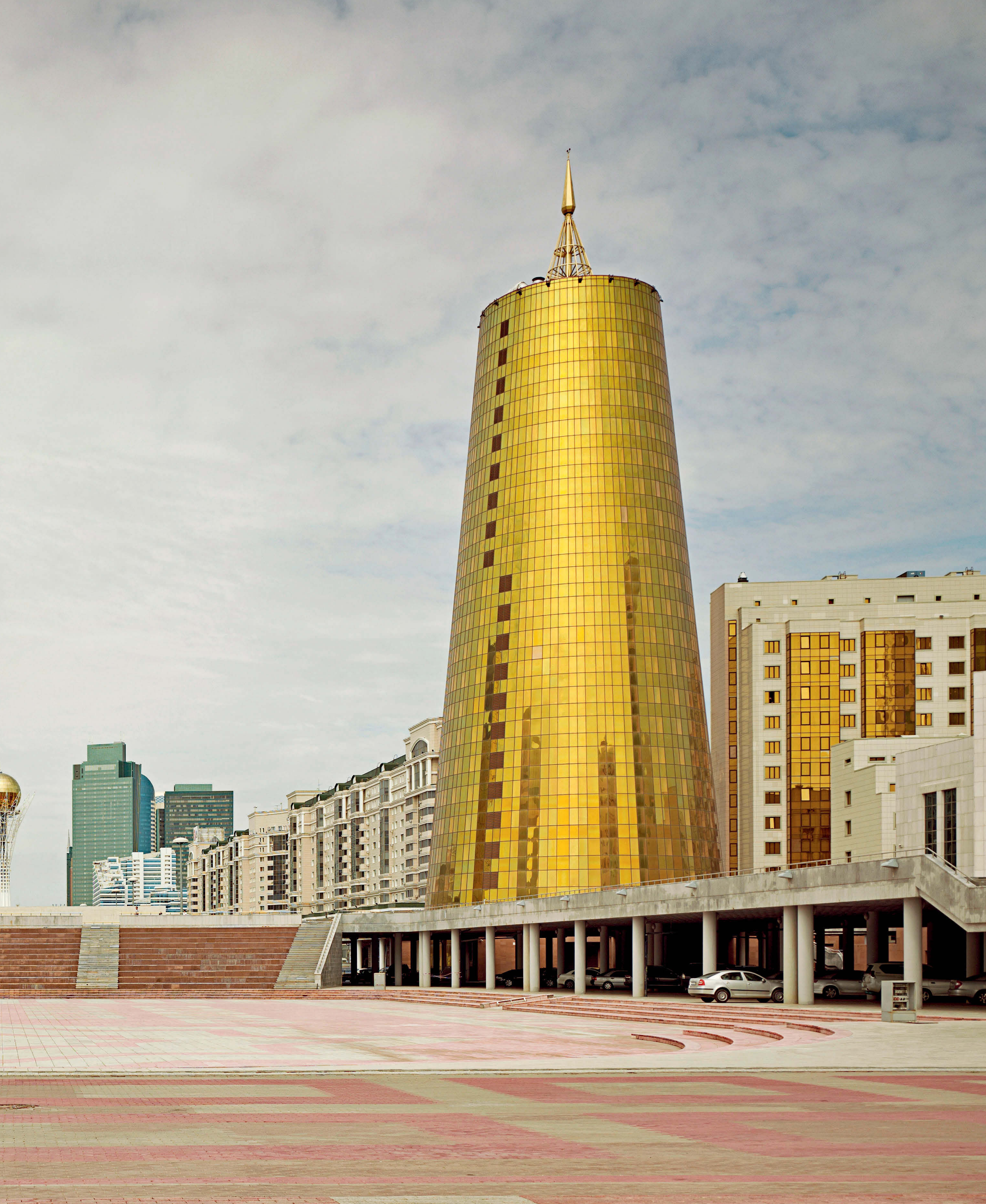
4.1 Central Asia within the Russia-China-US Triangle

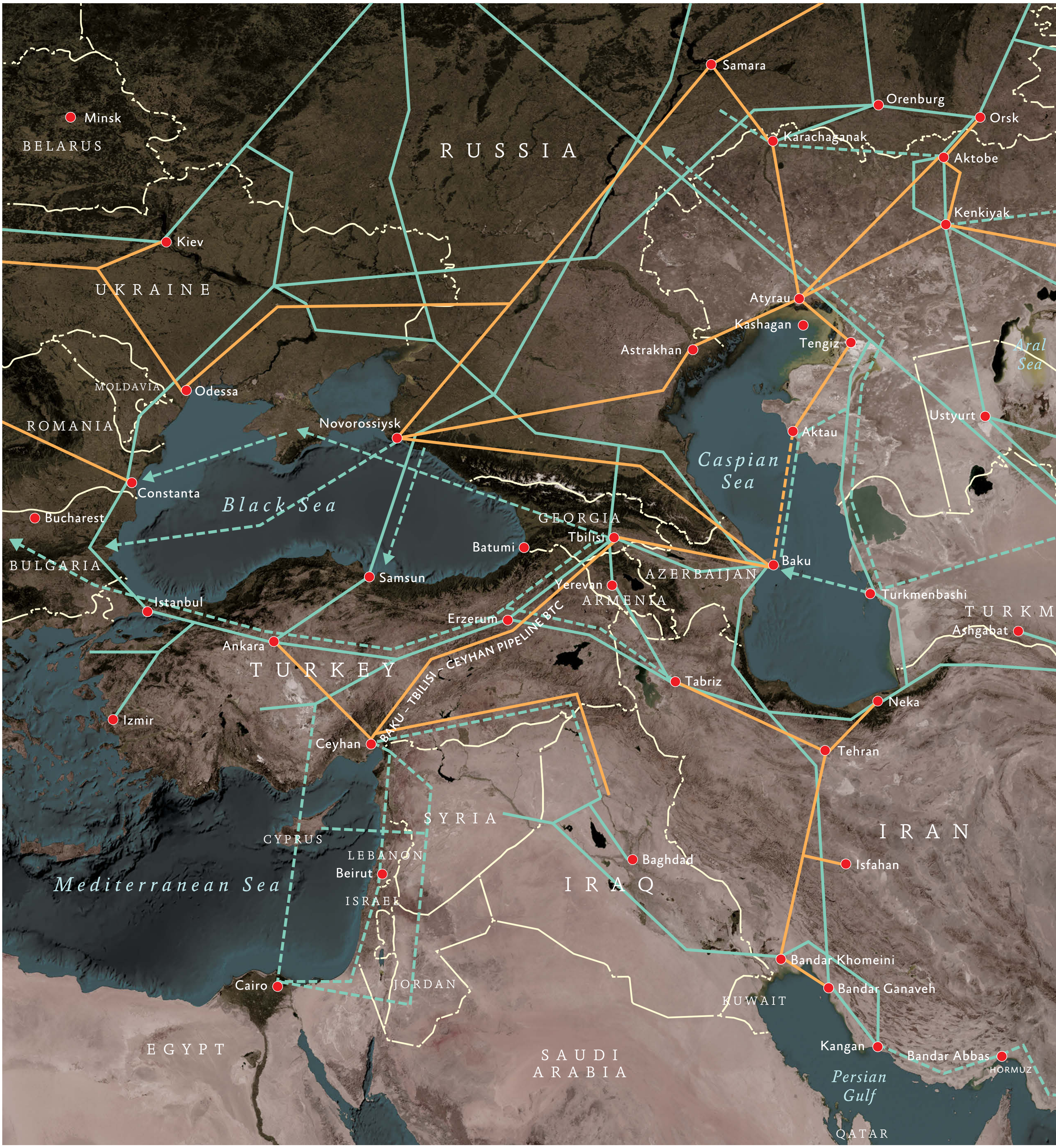
Since attaining independence, the 70 million inhabitants of the Central Asian republics are no longer unified. Following the surrender of the Soviet-controlled shared power grid, the slow development of the oil and natural gas pipeline system, and the promotion of local languages, they are now only bound in political and economic terms by their common history. The states are pitted against each other as economic competitors, and there are strong conflicts of interest in the use of critical water supplies. The biggest differences between the five republics lie in their respective raw material reserves. At one end of the spectrum, there are the energy exporters Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, which have large oil and gas deposits. The former also has significant deposits of uranium, chromite, bauxite and copper, while the latter is furthermore a major cotton producer. At the other end of the spectrum are the poorer, mountainous countries Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. They are, on the one hand, energy importers and, on the other, labour exporters. Their most valuable commodity is water (although they cannot freely dispose of it according to their needs owing to the militarily strong agricultural state Uzbekistan) and a significant source of income are the remittances from citizens working abroad. Kyrgyzstan also has significant deposits of gold and rare earth elements. Uzbekistan is positioned between the two poles: while it is a major cotton producer, it also has significant deposits of natural gas, gold, copper and uranium. The country, though, has relatively little petroleum and is a net importer.

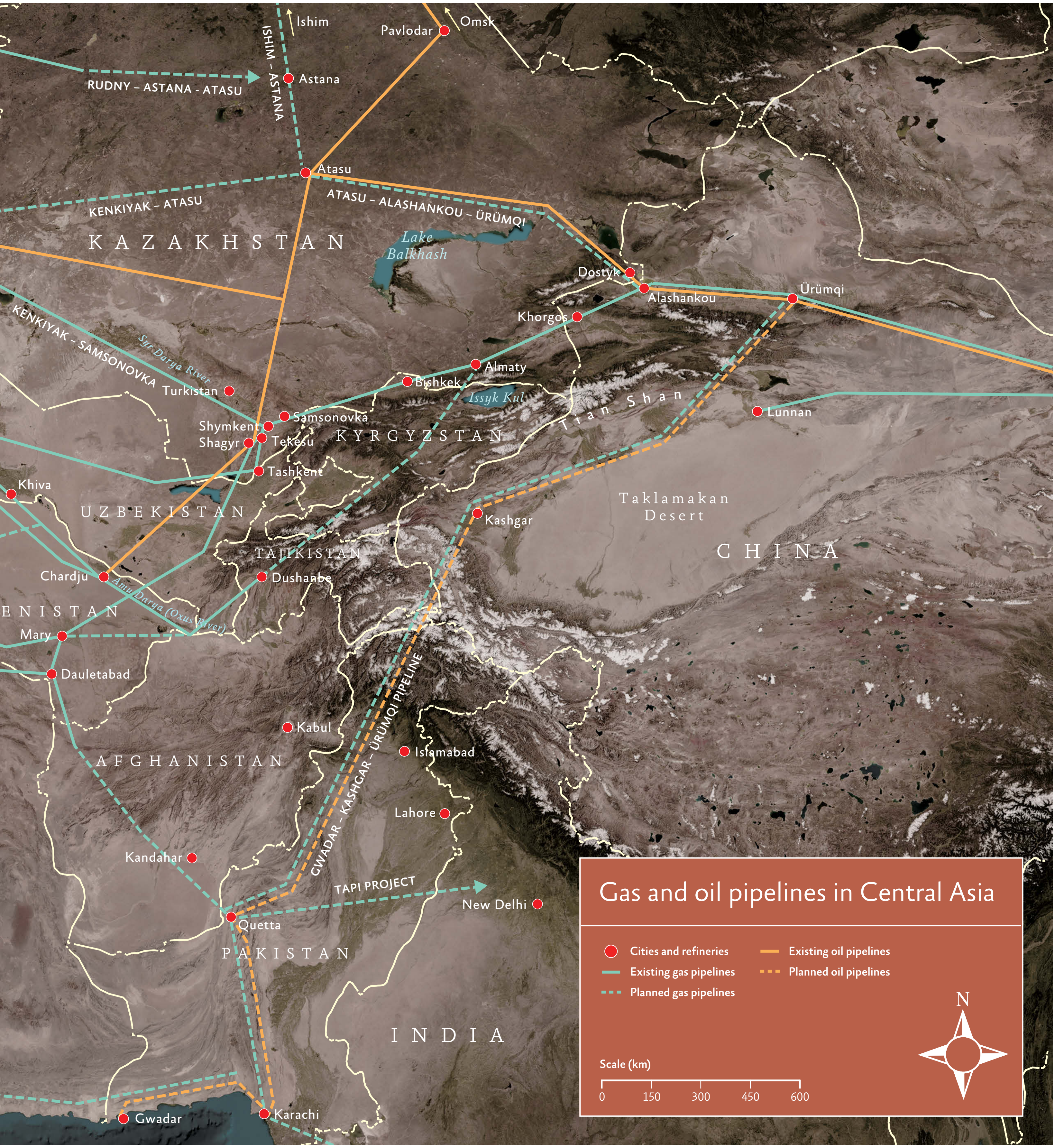
At the same time, all five countries share the same fatal handicap, namely geographical centrality. As they are all landlocked (the Caspian Sea is an inland sea), they exist only on the periphery of the international flow of goods. This geographical disadvantage also has a dire impact on both fuel and gas exporters, since they require long pipelines to bring their raw materials to end users and ocean ports. To make matters worse, the existing Soviet pipeline network was geared towards Russia. In the 1990s, Russia greatly underpaid exporters for their raw materials in order to then resell them at high profit margins to Europe. In addition, the United States blocked the construction of pipelines running through Iran, and the poor security situation in Afghanistan through 2017 made building a trans-Afghan pipeline to Pakistan and the Indian Ocean so far impossible. Finally, the insufficient capacity of Central Asia in the area of oil refining and natural gas liquefaction constitutes a further drawback. Liquefied natural gas (LNG) or compressed natural gas (CNG) can be transported without having to use a pipeline and more conveniently at sea.[37] To this day, the pipelines from Kazakhstan (and Turkmenistan) to China are the only real alternatives to the Russian transport monopoly. Other external similarities between the five republics include their more or less authoritarian regimes, as well as adverse business environments with high entry barriers and business expenses, corruption and legal uncertainty.[38]

Finally, the five states are caught up to varying degrees in the field of tension between geographical neighbours Russia and China as well as the international stakeholders the US and Islamist extremism. While President Yeltsin initially overlooked the Central Asian states, Yevgeny Primakov, head of the Foreign Intelligence Service (1991–96) and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia (1996–98), and President Putin recognised – even before the United States – the dangers of Islamic radicalism and the important role of Central Asia in combating it.[39] The presidents of Central Asia, however, had warned about Islamist extremism even earlier still. For the United States, by contrast, Central Asia was only relevant in the early 1990s when it came to ridding Kazakhstan of nuclear weapons, and after 11 September 2001. Apart from a purely military standpoint, the degree of interest waned once again during the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The strategic objectives of the three major powers are not identical and therefore not necessarily exclusive. Russia seeks to retain its historic hegemony, but has too few resources to invest significantly in the new republics. The main Russian instruments are the military Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and its economic counterpart the Eurasian Economic Community (EURASEC), which was replaced by the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) on 1 January 2015.[40] In addition, Russia wants to maintain the already deteriorating pipeline monopoly as long as it can and, like China, to keep Islamic extremism away from its borders, and to nip any separatism in the bud. China also seeks to secure its share of the Caspian fuels and combustibles over the long term, which is why it is investing heavily in local infrastructure. The main tools in China are a differentiated diplomacy that is customised to each country and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which emerged in 2001 from the Shanghai Five, established

▶ 164. Two ministry towers, built in 2004, in the centre of Astana, capital of Kazakhstan. In the background, the Bayterek Tower. Photo: 2012.




Samara
Minsk
Orenburg
Orsk
BELARUS
RUSSIA
Karachaganak
Aktobe
Kenkiyak
Kiev
UKRAINE
Atyrau
Kashagan
Tengiz
Astrakhan
Aral Sea
MOLDAVIA
Odessa
Ustyurt
ROMANIA
Novorossiysk
Aktau
Caspian Sea
Constanta
Black Sea
Bucharest
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
Batumi
Baku
BULGARIA
Samsun
AZERBAIJAN
Yerevan
ARMENIA
Turkmenbashi
Istanbul
TURKM
Erzerum
Ashgabat
BAKU - TBILISI - CEYHAN PIPELINE BTC
Ankara
TURKEY
Tabriz
Neka
Izmir
Ceyhan
Tehran
SYRIA
IRAN
CYPRUS
LEBANON
Baghdad
Isfahan
Beirut
Mediterranean Sea
IRAQ
ISRAEL
Bandar Khomeini
Cairo
JORDAN
Bandar Ganaveh
KUWAIT
Kangan
Bandar Abbas
HORMUZ
EGYPT
SAUDI ARABIA
Persian Gulf
QATAR



Gas and oil pipelines in Central Asia

Ishim
Pavlodar
Omsk
Astana
RUDNY – ASTANA - ATASU
ISHIM – ASTANA
Atasu
KENKIYAK – ATASU
ATASU – ALASHANKOU – ÜRÜMQI
KAZAKHSTAN
Lake Balkhash
Dostyk
Alashankou
Ürümqi
Khorgos
KENKIYAK – SAMSONOVKA
Syr Darya River
Turkistan
Almaty
Bishkek
Issyk Kul
Tian Shan
Lunnan
Samsonovka
Shymkent
Shagyr
Tekesu
KYRGYZSTAN
Tashkent
Khiva
UZBEKISTAN
Taklamakan Desert
Kashgar
CHINA
TAJIKISTAN
Chardju
Dushanbe
Amu Darya (Oxus River)
ENISTAN
Mary
Dauletabad
GWADAR – KASHGAR – ÜRÜMQI PIPELINE
Kabul
Islamabad
AFGHANISTAN
Lahore
Kandahar
TAPI PROJECT
New Delhi
Quetta
PAKISTAN
INDIA
Gwadar
Karachi
Cities and refineries
Existing gas pipelines
Planned gas pipelines
Existing oil pipelines
Planned oil pipelines
N
Scale (km)
0
150
300
450
600

in 1996. The latter consisted of China and neighbouring Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, which earlier belonged to the Soviet Union. The organisation served as a platform to resolve contentious border issues and to demilitarise the borders. Uzbekistan joined the collective in 2001. The SCO wants to ensure the stability of the region and its member states through close cooperation in economic, trade, transport and security issues. They abide by principles pertaining to the members' sovereignty, non-interference in the politics of neighbouring states, and cultural and political diversity. The members of the SCO states thus reject US unilateralism as well as the political guidelines that Western lenders have imposed on Central Asian borrowers, which the SCO deems to be 'values colonialism'.[41] Chinese loans are therefore preferred in particular, because they are not linked to conditions such as the privatisation of state enterprises and land, political pluralism, or the observance of human rights.

For the US, after 11 September 2001, the Central Asian states ultimately transformed from a sideshow into front-line states in the war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda. In this regard, their logistical support seemed critically important. As an institutional tool for the stabilisation of Asian countries and non-NATO members, the US-led NATO launched the 'Partnership for Peace' in 1994, which included all five Central Asian republics. This loose military organisation, though, expressly does not reflect a defence alliance. The mutual assistance requirement applies only to NATO members. In Central Asia, the major powers forged tactical alliances depending on the objective, as for example in the fight against terrorism. The multivector foreign policies of the five republics are the counterpart to the non-exclusive objectives of the major powers. Indeed, they have been used to good effect to play the major powers off against each other. To paraphrase a well-known saying: 'Happiness has many pipelines.'[42]

165. Parade of presidential guard with the Kazakh national flag during the state visit of the German President Roman Herzog in Almaty in April 1995. A steppe eagle is shown on the flag, flying under a sun with 32 rays. The sky-blue colour was considered sacred by the Old Turks and Mongols because it symbolised 'Eternal Heaven'. The basic colour of the flag expresses the Kazakhs' bond with the Turko-Mongolian heritage. Photo: 1995.

166. German President Roman Herzog receives a traditional welcome of bread and salt at the airport of Shymkent, South Kazakhstan, from provincial governor Zautbek Turisbekov. Photo: 11 April 1995.

4.2 Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan was the last Central Asian republic to declare its independence, on 16 December 1991. With an area of 2,724,900 km^2, it is the largest landlocked country in the world. The sparsely populated country has fewer than 18 million inhabitants, 64 per cent of whom are ethnic Kazakhs and 23 per cent Russian. The head of state of the presidential republic is Nursultan Nazarbayev, who was elected on 1 December 1991 as the only candidate for president. Similar to Uzbek President Karimov and Turkmen President Niyazov, Nazarbayev had been appointed leader of the regional Communist Party by Gorbachev before independence.[43] While the leaders of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan officially supported the anti-Gorbachev coup of August 1991, Nazarbayev and Kyrgyz Communist Party leader Masaliyev refused to recognise the coup leaders and their decrees.[44] Like the other Central Asian heads of state (except for Tajikistan's), Nazarbayev was confronted with Turkey's pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic aspirations. Thanks to Gorbachev's glasnost, Turkey began sending hundreds of Islamic activists and missionaries to Central Asia as early as 1990, thereby contributing to the re-Islamisation of the region. When the Turkish president Özal proposed the signing of a pan-Turkic declaration in December 1991, Nazarbayev replied: 'Mr. President, we just left the Russian Empire. We do not want to enter another empire now.'[45]

Kazakhstan immediately attracted the attention of the United States after it declared its independence, for the world's fourth largest nuclear arsenal was on Kazakh soil. It not only included 650 tactical nuclear weapons, but also 104 intercontinental ballistic missiles of the R-36M type (NATO code name: SS-18) in fixed silos with ten individually targeted nuclear warheads – the most dangerous weapon of the former Soviet Union – and 40 long-range bombers of the Tupolev Tu-95 type with a range of up to 15,000 km unrefueled. Thanks to Russian-US-Kazakh cooperation, all tactical nuclear weapons were moved back to Russia by May 1992; then, all ICBMs were removed and all silos were destroyed by 1995. This joint achievement of the former rivals was unprecedented.[46] In a next step, the tunnels and bore holes where the underground firings took place

167. A part of the war memorial in Panfilov Park in Almaty, Kazakhstan. The monument honours the Kazakh soldiers who fell in World War II in the defence of Moscow; in particular, it commemorates General Panfilov (1893–1941), who commanded the 316th Infantry Division consisting of Kazakh and Kyrgyz reservists and who, with a small number of soldiers, allegedly destroyed 50 German tanks (other sources speak of 18 tanks) outside of Moscow. The veracity of this episode is greatly debated.[25] Photo: 2005.

at the nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk were demolished and sealed until the year 2000. Just the same, an 18,000-km^2-wide area remains contaminated and there is a high incidence of cancer and blood diseases as well as deformities.[47] A delicate bone of contention then concerned the further use of the Baikonur Cosmodrome, the world's largest space port. In 1994, presidents Nazarbayev and Yeltsin agreed that Kazakhstan would lease the space station to Russia on an annual basis for US$115 million, with a term of 20 years. In 2005, the term was extended until 2050.[48] While Kazakhstan had already settled the course of its 6,846-km-long border with Russia in 1992, the negotiations over the 1,533-km-long border with China took somewhat longer. The discussions to resolve the numerous border disputes between the Soviet Union and China had begun in November 1989 and were continued by Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Russian-Chinese border demarcation was laid down in the protocols of 1991, 1994 and 9 December 1999; the Kazakh-Chinese border demarcation was settled in the agreements of 1994, 1997, 1998, and from May 2002. The agreements also encompassed the establishment of demilitarised zones along the borders and other confidence-building measures.[49]

Nazarbayev's decision to hold off as long as he did before declaring independence is explained by Kazakhstan's geographical location as a border state with Russia. After 1991, more Slavs lived in Kazakhstan – mostly Russians and Ukrainians, who accounted for 43 per cent of the total population – than ethnic Kazakhs. In the northern areas adjacent to Russia, the Slavs were very much in the majority, comprising up to 90 per cent of the population in eight of the nine oblasts.[50] Even the officer corps of the 440,000-strong Soviet force in Kazakhstan was 95 per cent Slavic.[51] The Cossacks in particular were opposed to Kazakh independence and called for splitting off from Kazakhstan should it come to this. What is more, between August and December 1991, leading Soviet politicians threatened to redraw the Russian-Kazakh border if the republic left the Soviet Union. Even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Cossacks and Slavs insisted on the country's union with Russia or at least the creation of a largely autonomous Slavic region.[52] Nazarbayev manoeuvred skillfully: he facilitated the emigration of Russians and Ukrainians, even though it meant a substantial loss of expertise; he also offered immediate citizenship to returning ethnic Kazakhs from abroad. Although he rejected the introduction of a Kazakh-Russian dual citizenship, he recognised Russian as a second official language. The measures proved successful. By 2009, the proportion of Slavs decreased to 26 per cent, while that of the Kazakhs rose to 64 per cent.[53] To promote economic development and ethnic intermingling of north and central Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev decided in 1994 to move the capital from Almaty, located in south Kazakhstan, to the inland city of Aqmola. The newly built capital was dedicated on 10 December 1997 and renamed Astana in 1998, which means 'capital' in Kazakh[54] (figs. 164, 168, 184). Although Kazakhstan is a member of the Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union, Kazakhstan's status as a neighbour to Putin's Russia remains uneasy. This was apparent in an ambiguous comment from the Russian President after the occupation of the Crimea: on 29 August 2014, Putin said Kazakhstan had never existed as a state and was merely the outcome of Nazarbayev's policies. Kazakhstan, he further emphasised, was part of the greater Russian world and the majority of Kazakhs desired close relations with Russia. Nazarbayev, on the other hand, was an allegedly prudent president who would never challenge the will of the (supposedly pro-Russian) majority.[55] Putin's warning to Nazarbayev to not pursue a policy that was hostile to Russia was unmistakable.

Thanks to its rich reserves of raw materials and the sensible policies of President Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan is responsible for 60 per cent of the gross domestic product of all five Central Asian republics (173.2 of a total of US$289.3 billion). Also, in terms of per capita gross domestic product, Kazakhstan led as of 2015 with US$10,510, followed by Turkmenistan (US$6,672), Uzbekistan (US$2,132), Kyrgyzstan (US$1,103) and Tajikistan (US$926).[56] The three commodity-producing states owe their reserves not least to the Soviet Union, as the Soviets neglected or even completely ignored the Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek natural resources in favour of the more easily exploitable deposits in Western Siberia and Azerbaijan.[57] With 30,000 million barrels[58] (MMbbl) of verified oil reserves, Kazakhstan has the twelfth largest oil reserves in the world. As a producer, it ranked 18th in the world in 2015.[59] Kazakhstan is also 18th with regard to verified natural gas reserves.[60] Kazakhstan's three largest oil and gas fields are the two mainland fields Karachaganak and Tengiz and the giant sea field Kashagan, whose deposit is located at a depth of more than 4,000 m beneath the Caspian Sea and is accordingly difficult to extract. Discovered in 2000, the field was considered to be the largest new discovery in the oil industry for more than 40 years. Extraction, though, had to be stopped in 2013 only a few weeks after operations began due to technical problems. In the autumn of 2016, extraction was resumed with a modest output of 90,000 barrels of oil per day. Nevertheless, it is surely not profitable with a world market price around US$50 per barrel.[61] As Kazakhstan lacked the capital, know-how, and technical equipment to exploit these deposits, it was forced to sell a majority stake in these exploration and production projects to foreign consortia. Because Kazakhstan was dependent as a landlocked country on the Russian pipeline network, Moscow was able to block any project that displeased it and to insist on Russia's own share from the relevant consortium. This is exactly what happened in May 1994: after Kazakhstan granted a 50 per cent stake to Chevron, 20 per cent to Exxon Mobile, and the remaining 30 per cent to the state company KazMunayGas as part of the Tengiz-Chevroil consortium, Russia proceeded to block the Kazakhstan pipeline from Tengiz to the port of Novorossiysk on the Black Sea. As a consequence, Kazakh oil exports fell by a third compared with 1991. This dealt a severe blow to the Kazakh economy, as many factories that previously manufactured for the Soviet Union had closed that year.[62] To this day, Russia continues to do everything within its power to maintain the highly profitable transit monopoly on oil and gas, while limiting competition with their own oil and gas production. In Milan Hauner's words, 'an oil or gas pipeline valve can be turned off, producing an instant paralysing effect on the consumer countries along the pipeline [and on the producer country], far more quickly and cheaply than a military operation can be prepared and launched.'[63] It was due not least due to these kinds of blockades and the financial crisis of 2007/08 that Kazakhstan was forced to sell larger shares in the development of its oil and gas fields. Kazakhstan is estimated to still have 15–18 per cent of the twelve largest domestic fields and to receive about 20 per cent of the profit. China, on the other hand, is believed to now own more than a third of the domestic fields. It is also a stakeholder in KazMunayGas International, which operates in the mid- and downstream business.[64] Kazakhstan is working on reducing its dependence on the Russian distribution network. In the new Caspian Pipeline Consortium, whose pipeline has connected the Tengiz field to Novorossiysk since 2001, Kazakhstan has a share of 19 per cent, the Russian state-owned company Transneft of 31 per cent, Chevron of 15 per cent and Russian Lukoil of 12.5 per cent.[65] Kazakhstan broke the Russian monopoly in 2006 with the 3,000-km-long oil pipeline from Atyrau to the Chinese city of Alashankou. The first natural gas pipeline, the Asia Gas Pipeline, followed in 2009 with the total length of 8,700 km.[66] The second natural gas pipeline was put into operation in 2010 and the third in 2014. Work continues on the fourth.[67] While Kazakhstan can continue to gradually free itself in the natural gas business from the grip of Gazprom (albeit at the cost of dependence on China), more than half of Kazakh oil continues to flow through Russian pipelines. Then again, the Kazakh pipeline to China is also used to transport Russian oil from Western Siberia to China.[68] Russia and Iran oppose the project of a trans-Caspian gas pipeline, which would benefit Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. The pipeline, in any event, cannot be built without the consent of all the neighbouring states. What is more, Azerbaijan's interest has waned since the discovery of its huge Shah Deniz gas field.[69]

As with all commodity exporters, the question of the sustainability of the relatively high gross domestic product is closely linked to the ability to diversify the economy in areas such as manufacturing, finance and services. Compared to the other republics in the region, Kazakhstan is quite well off in terms of its favourable business climate. Of decisive importance will be the implementation of the state stabilisation fund under Nazarbayev's control.[70] For Kazakhstan, as well as Turkmenistan, the challenge of economic diversification is all the more urgent given that the oil age will not last forever. Alternative energy sources such as hydrogen could slow the demand for oil and, when coupled with a simultaneously expanding offer by countries such as Venezuela and Iran, cause prices to fall. As the former Saudi oil minister Sheikh Zaki Yamani remarked: 'The Stone Age did not end for lack of stone, and the Oil Age will end long before the world runs out of oil.'[71] Kazakhstan managed to build a stable financial industry, which has grown into the leading provider of financial services in Central Asia. In the manufacturing industry, efforts in the pharmaceuticals and the field of fertilisers and pesticides, not to mention petrochemicals, are promising.[72] Kazakhstan has also successfully invested in agribusiness, with a priority being placed on grain. With its 650 mill plants, the country was the world's eighth-largest wheat exporter and second largest flour exporter in 2015. The main markets are Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and Russia.[73] As for Kazakhstan's future, the biggest uncertainty lies in the lack of succession planning for the aging President Nazarbayev, born in 1940. The greatest danger is possibly the merger of criminal gangs with Salafist provocateurs, who recruit followers among the low-paid oil and gas workers in west Kazakhstan and carry out terrorist attacks. One such attack took place at the beginning of June 2016, when armed gangs plundered arms businesses and attacked a military base in the industrial city of Aktobe.[74]

4.3 Kyrgyzstan

The state of Kyrgyzstan – which spans an area of 199,951 km^2 and has approximately 6 million inhabitants – declared its independence on 30 August 1991. The history of the young republic has been marked by regional power struggles. The longstanding first secretary of the Kyrgyz Communist Party, Turdakun Usubaliyev (in office 1961–85), enjoyed the support of the east Kyrgyzstan Naryn community. In 1985, Gorbachev replaced him with Absamat Masaliyev (in office 1985–90), who was supported by the west Kyrgyzstan Talas group. In the spring of 1990, violent clashes broke out between the two factions. Bloody unrest then followed in June between local Kyrgyz and the strong Uzbek minority in the south-western region of Osh, resulting in approximately 300 to 1000 deaths. The Uzbeks from Osh fought on the side of the neutral Askar Akayev (in office 1990–2005) from north Kyrgyzstan, who succeeded in winning the support of the Naryn faction. Akayev was appointed Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic and, in the autumn of 1991, won the first free presidential elections unopposed.[75]

The poor mountainous region was hit especially hard by the collapse of the Soviet Union, as subsidies from Moscow constituted 75 per cent of the state budget. Kyrgyzstan was in urgent need of financial assistance and had to borrow from Russia and the IMF. Because the IMF tied the extension of loans to liberal economic conditions, the government had to end control of the prices of basic goods and privatise state-owned enterprises. This resulted in hyperinflation, the closure of unprofitable companies, and the impoverishment of the general population. A decrease in agricultural production and herd stocks followed. The fact that the country joined the WTO in 1998 did little to change the difficult economic situation. Kyrgyzstan had indeed received plenty of credit, but there was hardly any investment to boost the economy. As a result, the country's debt burden grew continuously.[76]

One of Kyrgyzstan's most important export items is gold. The Kumtor gold mine, though, belongs to the Canadian company Centerra Gold (formerly Cameco Gold Corporation), while the Kyrgyz government itself holds a 32.7 per cent stake. Another significant export activity is the statistically poorly documented, but rapidly growing resale of cheap Chinese products. Kyrgyzstan has 'become a hub for the reexport of Chinese goods to the rest of Central Asia and the CIS'.[77] Just the same, a significant part of this

▶ **168. The main concert hall, built in 2009 by Italian architect Manfredi Nicoletti, Astana, Kazakhstan. The largest venue of the hall has 3,500 seats. Photo: 2012.**

ҚАЗАҚСТАН
ОРТАЛЫҚ КОНЦЕРТ ЗАЛЫ

169. The 65-km-long Toktogul Dam in Kyrgyzstan, filled in the 1970s, holds 19.5 km^3 of water. The reservoir dams up the Naryn River, a tributary of the Syr Darya. Photo: 2016.

import-export business is conducted within the informal economy. The modest per capita gross domestic product of Kyrgyzstan is US$1,103, almost nine times lower than that of Kazakhstan.[78] At the same time, Kyrgyz consumer prices for domestic products and Chinese imports are lower than comparable Kazakh goods. What is more, the informal economy generates an estimated 40–60 per cent of total economic output. Still, the single most important source of income of Kyrgyzstan are the remittances of Kyrgyz working in Russia – Kyrgyzstan's, and also Tajikistan's, most important 'trade goods' are therefore neither raw materials nor industrial products, but people. The 500,000 to 1 million Kyrgyz working in Russia transfer about US$2 billion home, which constitutes *ca.* 27 per cent of GDP.[79] But as these remittances are often made as cash transfers, they remain untaxed.[80] These transfers are not only of vital economic importance, but have socio-political significance to the extent that they serve as a safety valve against civic unrest. Since the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Kyrgyz or Tajik from Russia would destabilise both countries and their respective governments, Moscow possesses a potent political lever. On the other hand, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are more than just dependent on Russia's migration policy; they are also at the mercy of its economic development with respect to the price of oil. When the price of a barrel of crude fell from US$144 to US$34 in 2008 due to the financial crisis, hundreds of thousands of Kyrgyz lost their jobs and were forced to leave Russia. Remittances were consequently cut in half.[81]

Kyrgyzstan shares another feature with the equally mountainous Tajikistan: an abundance of water. In the face of Uzbekistan's economic and military superiority, however, the two mountainous states are hardly in a position to exploit or sell it. Ultimately, the interests of electricity producers Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are diametrically opposed to those of the agrarian states of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, for the use of water for the production of electricity is temporally at odds with its use for irrigation. The upstream mountainous states want to retain the water in their reservoirs in the summer, when relatively little power is consumed. This enables them to use the water in the winter, when the demand for electricity, especially for heating purposes, skyrockets and the reservoirs drain. Conversely, the downstream states, particularly Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, need large amounts of water in the summer to irrigate the watering-intensive cotton fields and orchards. Yet water that is discharged in the winter causes floods. The end result is that either the agricultural states lack water for irrigation or the mountainous states lack water for electricity. During the Soviet era, these contradictions were remedied by a cross-regional, Central Asian power grid and a coordination office. In the winter, the power producers were only permitted to use a limited amount of water so that the reservoirs were filled to the maximum for the summer irrigation needs downstream. In turn, in the winter and the spring, these agricultural republics were obliged to provide the mountainous states with oil, coal, gas or electricity produced from thermal power plants free of charge. After 1991, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan left the supraregional power grid. The system of coordinated water management then disappeared and was replaced by a series of bilateral agreements.[82] The downstream states, however, have invoked a UN convention regarding the non-navigational use of international waters from 1997 and flatly refuse to compensate upstream republics for irrigation water. As a result, the two poor mountainous states Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan bear the extremely high costs of construction and maintenance of dams, even though they cannot use them at their own discretion. Kyrgyzstan controls 70 per cent of the water supply of Uzbekistan, whose president Karimov has repeatedly warned of the possibility of 'water wars', but it can use only 10–15 per cent of its estimated hydroelectric potential due to the unequal power relations. Uzbekistan has interrupted electricity and gas supplies to the two mountain republics more than once during the winter as a warning against increased hydroelectric water use. Kyrgyzstan's situation is further aggravated by the fact that the modernisation and development of antiquated water power plants cannot be accomplished without foreign investors. At the same time, private investors are discouraged by corruption and, above all, by the government's artificial suppression of electricity prices, which hinders profitable power generation.[83]

In Kyrgyzstan, as in the other presidential republics of Central Asia, the difficult economic situation is a breeding ground for corruption. President Akayev may not have fallen prey to corruption during his first presidential term, but from 1996 onward he began to rule in an authoritarian manner and to enrich himself and his immediate family. Personal enrichment first took place by way of monopolies through the sale of fuel and alcohol as well as in the operation of casinos. In total, Akayev allegedly controlled 42 companies through his son and son-in-law, including the Kumtor gold mine. In a second step, Akayev expanded nepotism even further and sold important or prestigious government posts. Corruption subsequently widened in the middle and lower levels of government.[84] The discontent of the population reached its peak in the parliamentary elections of February 2005. There were voting irregularities, and the alleged election of Akayev's son Aidar and daughter Bermet aroused fears that the soon-outgoing president would nominate one of the two as his successor. The discontent erupted into mass demonstrations, looting, and arson, first in Jalalabad and Osh, and, on 24 March, in Bishkek. Akayev and his family then fled to Moscow. The next day the parliament appointed Kurmanbek Bakiyev (in office 2005–10) interim president, who then won the presidential elections in July by a wide margin.[85]

Akayev's overthrow in the wake of mass demonstrations was a cause of concern for the other Central Asian potentates, particularly Islom Karimov in Uzbekistan. Indeed, it was the third violent overthrow of a president of a former Soviet republic within three years, with all three coups having been sponsored to a greater or lesser degree by externally financed NGOs. US Ambassador Richard Miles and foreign NGOs such as the 'Open Society Institute' (OSI) of the American currency speculator George Soros played an active role during the Georgian 'Rose Revolution' in November 2003, which led to President Shevardnadze's ouster. In Ukraine's 'Orange Revolution' in the winter of 2004/05, which forced a re-run of the presidential elections, American institutions and NGOs like Soros's OSI or the semi-public 'Freedom House' based in Washington and the German Konrad Adenauer Foundation likewise exerted significant influence.[86] And during the Kyrgyz 'Tulip Revolution' in 2005, the very same actors – the Freedom House, OSI, the US embassy – backed the Kyrgyz opposition.[87] It should not be surprising therefore that many Central Asian potentates believe that certain American and Western European NGOs and the US embassies were the masterminds behind some of the disturbances directed against them.

Though Kyrgyzstan does not border on Afghanistan, it has nevertheless been impacted by Islamist terrorism. Specifically, there were internal Uzbek clashes between the government and the militant Islamist terrorist organisation Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), which was founded in 1997/98 and has worked closely with al-Qaeda and the Taliban. In 1999, Kyrgyzstan was thrust into the undertow of Islamist terror after the IMU committed six car bombs attacks in Tashkent on 16 February, one of which was aimed at President Karimov. Afterwards, Juma Namangani (1968–2001), the military leader of the IMU built a network of sympathisers, which stretched from the remote mountain region of Tavildara in

Tajikistan to the poorly controlled Batken province in south-western Kyrgyzstan. There are five Uzbek and two Tajik exclaves in Batken. Fighters of the IMU settled there and built a weapons depot. In particular, the two larger exclaves – the Uzbek Sukh exclave with an area of 234 km^2 and the Tajik Vorukh exclave with an area of 97 km^2 – were ideally suited as a base for Islamist operations. The local population was traditionally fundamentalist, and they were out of the reach of Uzbek troops. From Sukh, Namangani could declare an Uzbek 'exile government', whereas the Uzbek army could not intervene without violating Kyrgyz sovereignty.[88] In August 1999, the IMU fighters from Tajikistan invaded Batken, where they abducted Kyrgyz civilians, officials, and officers as well as Japanese geologists. In battles with Kyrgyz soldiers, the Islamists also suffered losses, including, among others, the infamous Chechnya-trained Abduwali Yuldashev.[89] Kyrgyzstan and Japan paid ransoms to free the hostages, and, in the autumn, Russia evacuated around 600 IMU fighters and their families to Afghanistan by helicopter. In the autumn/winter of 2000/01, history repeated itself – this time IMU fighters were also evacuated from their Tajik stronghold in Tavildara.[90] The question remains whether the two Russian air evacuations of IMU fighters were merely intended to free Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan of their unwelcome guests or whether there were other considerations. In any case, the IMU terrorist operations had severe consequences for Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The enraged Uzbek President Karimov accused the two republics of neglecting the fight against international terrorism. To put them under additional pressure, he further cut off the gas supply to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan several times during the winter months, closed the border crossings, and laid mines at the borders.[91] Kyrgyzstan, on the other hand, is able to block the roads leading to the Uzbek exclaves and completely seal them off.[92]

Similar to Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan also complied with the United States' desire for an airport permitting troop transport, supply delivery, and refuelling in December 2001. To this end, it provided the Manas International Airport near Bishkek. Like the other Central Asian republics, Kyrgyzstan expected it could free itself from Russia's stranglehold through deeper relations with the United States. These states also hoped that the Bush administration would break with the outgoing Clinton administration's moralising and missionary emphasis on democratic values and human rights. This hope proved to be illusory by 2005 at the latest.[93] The initial annual rent for the air base was very low at US$2 million. For this reason, President Bakiyev negotiated an annual fee of US$17 million in the summer of 2006 and the promise that the US would also provide assistance of US$133 million. The US was willing to negotiate, as President Karimov had ordered it to vacate the Uzbek Karshi-Khanabad Air Base (K2) by November 2005, which it had used since December 2001. Nonetheless, because the US subsumed the additional assistance under humanitarian programmes that Bakiyev did not want, it was of dubious value. One example here is the work of the Peace Corps, which also serves as an American propaganda tool. [94] To avoid falling behind politically, Russia leased the smaller former Kant Air Base in Bishkek for a period of fifteen years from December 2002. The contract was extended for another fifteen years in 2012.[95] Kyrgyzstan is the only country in the world where there was both an American and a Russian air base from 2002 to 2014 – at a distance of less than 40 km apart.[96]

Despite the Kyrgyz hope of less political corruption, President Bakiyev continued with the kleptocracy of his predecessor. His closest relatives had investments in banks, power supply, department stores, and restaurants, and his family from the south was also allegedly involved in drug smuggling.[97] But the main source of income of both presidents came through the sale of kerosene to the US Air Force, which used the fuel to refill its aircraft onsite, but also for aerial refuelling. President Akayev had organised the kerosene trade via subcontractors, who were controlled by his son and son-in-law. Kerosene purchased from Russia cost US$780 per metric ton (including transportation to Kyrgyzstan). It was then sold to the US Air Force for US$1,263 per ton, resulting in a profit margin of 38.2 per cent. Since the United States bought US$1.857 billion worth of kerosene from 2001 to the end of 2011, the resulting profit was US$709 million – a considerable portion of which was absorbed by the entourages of both presidents.[98] As it is hardly conceivable that the United States was unaware of the huge margins of the Kyrgyz middlemen, the Pentagon must have been actively involved in paying bribes to the ruling families of Kyrgyzstan. The efforts of the State Department to combat corruption in Central Asia thus appear blatantly hypocritical.

When the remittances of Kyrgyz migrant labourers plummeted by 50 per cent in 2008, Bakiyev dangerously wheeled and dealed with both Russia and the United States over the American military base. In February 2009, he announced that he would close the US base and that Russia would transfer a generous aid package, consisting of US$450 million in subsidies and soft loans and US$1.7 billion in credit. At the same time, Bakiyev negotiated with the United States for a continuation of the US base. Moscow had barely paid a first instalment of US$300 million when Bakiyev came to an agreement with the United States in April regarding a yearly lease of US$60 million. The president announced the new deal in July, revealing the duplicitous game he had been playing.[99] Yet Bakiyev's calculation misfired: in the autumn, a campaign began in the Russian press that exposed Bakiyev's corruption and nepotism, and, in early 2010, Russia introduced a fuel export tax to Kyrgyzstan of US$193.50 per tonne. The fuel and transport costs soared immediately in Kyrgyzstan and boosted inflation. This led to mass demonstrations at the beginning of April and to the overthrow of Bakiyev, who fled to Belarus.[100] Simultaneously, a transitional government was put together under interim President Roza Otunbayeva (in office 2010–11). She initiated a constitutional amendment to transform the presidential republic into a parliamentary republic and to transfer more powers to the parliament. The vast majority of the electorate voted in favour of this change in a referendum on 27 June 2010. Shortly thereafter, Otunbayeva had her term extended to December 2011. Under her interim presidency, relatively free parliamentary and presidential elections were conducted. The latter were won by Social Democrat Almazbek Atambayev (in office 2011–17).[101] Since the new constitution limits the term in power of the president to six years, Atambayev was not allowed to run for the next elections held on 15 October 2017. The more or less fair elections were won by the former prime minister Sooronbay Jeenbekov, Atambayev's candidate. The outgoing president will become Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, a post he already held from 1999 to 2011, thus remaining an influential politician.

The interim government of Otunbayeva was weak, however, and unable to protect the population. In June 2010, severe rioting broke out in the cities of Osh, Uzgen, Jalalabad and Kochkor in south-western Kyrgyzstan between ethnic Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, which lasted a week. In the riots and arson, at least 470 people – mainly Uzbeks – were killed and entire Uzbek neighbourhoods were systematically looted and burned. As a consequence, 400,000 Uzbeks were left homeless and 100,000 fled to Uzbekistan. The unrest was both ethnic and social in nature, stemming from the poorer Kyrgyz, who

ЖЫЛЫ АКСЫ, 2010 - ЖЫЛЫ АПРЕЛЬ
ЖАРКЫН ЭЛЕСИНЕ

170. Monument honouring the fallen on the occasion of the unrest of 2002 in Bospiek Aksy and the revolution of April 7, 2010 in Bishkek. The monument shows a 7-m-high, white-and-black stone block; at the site of the fracture, people are sliding the black block down a slope. The monument symbolises the victory of good over evil. Ala-Too Square, Bishkek. Photo: 2017.

171. German President Roman Herzog (in office 1994–99) and his wife Christiane during a state visit to Uzbekistan in April 1995 together with the Uzbek President Islom Karimov (in office 1991–2016) and his wife Tatiana. Registan Square in Samarkand. Photo: 1995.

have traditionally worked as farmers and livestock breeders as well as in the municipalities. They targeted the large minority of affluent urban Uzbeks who controlled trade and commerce.[102] When the government sent in troops who consisted almost entirely of ethnic Kyrgyz, the troops sided with the Kyrgyz rioters. Order was only restored once Russia consented to Otunbayeva's request for military aid. The outbreak of violence shocked many Uzbeks, especially in the Fergana Valley, and promoted the belief that a strong regime which ensured security and stability in a weak state was more valuable than democratic processes.[103] Kyrgyzstan, in fact, remains a special case politically insofar as it staved off the establishment of a decades-long presidential rule twice and introduced a parliamentary system in 2010. Aside from its gold reserves, the country's vulnerabilities continue to be its lack of raw materials, along with its continued dependence on foreign transfers and, thus, ultimately Russia. The biggest challenges, moreover, lie with Uzbekistan and tensions over controversial water management, drug smuggling, and radical Islamist movements in the impoverished south.

4.4 Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan's 32 million inhabitants make it the most populous country in Central Asia. With a surface area of 448,978 km^2, however, it is only one-sixth as large as Kazakhstan. The term of First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Sharaf Rashidov (in office 1959–83) was overshadowed by the devastating earthquake of 26 April 1966, which utterly destroyed the old city of Tashkent. After being lavishly rebuilt, the city subsequently developed into the Soviet Union's fourth largest city.[104] When Andropov took power in Moscow in November 1982, he launched an anti-corruption campaign that took aim at the economically important Uzbekistan. Following Rashidov's death – either resulting from suicide or a heart attack – the country's massive mismanagement and a misappropriation of funds in connection with the cotton industry came to light. Although the next secretary general Inamjan Usmankhojaev (in office 1983–88) continued the anti-corruption campaign, he was also accused of corruption after being dismissed. Many young people were so disgusted at the widespread corruption among the party apparatus that they turned to Islam, partly due to the influence of Afghanistan veterans. When violent rioting broke out in Fergana[105] in June 1989, Gorbachev replaced First Secretary Nishanov (in office 1988–89) with Islom Karimov (first secretary 1989–91, president 1991–2016). Uzbekistan proclaimed its independence on 31 August 1991, and Karimov had himself elected president on 29 December.[106]

In a similar way as with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan faced the loss of predictable markets and the requirement to pay for Russian goods in hard currency as well as galloping inflation. Besides this, there was an imminent risk of a coup due to radical Islamist groups, which were gaining the sympathies of more and more young men. The instances of corruption caused the communist ideology to lose much of credibility. It had also lost much of its relevance after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Political Islam was thus the only remaining ideological alternative to the status quo. Karimov realised he needed to do everything he could to limit the impoverishment of broad sections of the population, which might make them susceptible to Islamist ideologies. The president decided on a dual strategy of methodically fighting against political Islamism and introducing prudent economic policies. Islamist groups sparked riots in Fergana already in the autumn of 1991, calling for the overthrow of the Karimov government, the establishment of an Islamic state, and the introduction of Sharia law. They included the Islamic Revival Party Uzbekistan (IRPU), the Wahhabism inspired Adolat ('Justice'), and the Islam Lashkarlari Party ('Warriors of Islam').[107] When civil servants were abducted in Fergana in the spring of 1992, Karimov restored order by using Interior Ministry troops and expelling foreign Salafists.[108] Many militants fled to Afghanistan or Tajikistan. A civil war broke out in the latter in May between the ruling neo-communists and Islamic parties of varying degrees of radicalism. When the armed Islamic opposition backed by Afghan mujahideen occupied Dushanbe and the revolution threatened to spill over into Uzbek Fergana, Karimov stepped in. He equipped and trained a brigade loyal to the Tajik regime and provided them with heavy military equipment in their successful attack on Dushanbe, which commenced on 4 December.[109] Karimov's intervention prevented the establishment of an Islamic state north of the Amu Darya River, which would have bordered on Taliban-controlled Afghanistan from 1996. Karimov pursued a strategy of systematically combating political Islamism until his death in 2016. By the same token, he also professed – possibly for political reasons – to being a non-political, tolerant Muslim.

In certain Muslim societies without a parliamentary tradition, it seems that the only alternative to fundamentalism consists in a secular authoritarian regime. Alexey Malashenko formulated the dilemma as follows: 'Experience has demonstrated that Islamism will be impossible to suppress by force alone, while any liberalization would open the way for the Islamists to make use of democratic institutions, especially elections, where they would be able to achieve significant success.'[110] This is the predicament that American and European politicians and NGOs have been slow to recognise; namely, that free elections in some Muslim states can actually lead to an alliance of Islamists gaining power, who then proceed to dismantle democratic institutions. The introduction of parliamentary democracy thus enables a secular regime to be transformed into an Islamist one. For Karimov and his colleagues, the Western slogan 'stability through democratic change' is a contradiction in terms. In their view, abruptly introduced democratic change causes instability. Like the other leaders of Central Asia, Karimov promoted cultural nationalism to affect a state-supported counterweight to political Islam. In each case, a famous real or mythical figure has been unearthed from the past and put on a pedestal such as Amir Timur (Timur-e Lang) in Uzbekistan, Khan Ablai in Kazakhstan, the legendary hero Manas in Kyrgyzstan, and the dynasty of the Samanids and Rudaki in Tajikistan.[111] In Turkmenistan, President Niyazov picked himself instead of a leading figure from the past: in the vein of Kemal Atatürk, he anointed himself 'Leader of all Turkmen' or simply Turkmenbashi.[112]

As a rise in unemployment was the most fundamental threat to the stability of Uzbekistan, Karimov went about modernising the economy cautiously. He was guided by the Chinese synthesis of a fairly free and controlled economy. In this vein, many economic sectors were liberalised, while strategically important segments such as cotton, grain, gold and other metals and natural gas were kept under state control. Today, the cultivation of cotton enjoys the highest priority as an earner of foreign currency and is clearly preferred over the textile processing industry. In addition, grain production was augmented to make Uzbekistan self-sufficient in this area and to put a halt to the spending of foreign currency on the purchase of grain from abroad. Most arable land remained state-owned, for it was feared that a privatisation of land could lead to disputes over water rights and unemployment. Along with the extraction of raw materials, the manufacturing industry was also promoted. For example, Karimov initiated the forming of a joint venture in 1992 with the Korean carmaker Daewoo, whose cars sold well throughout the CIS. After the collapse of Daewoo in 2001, General Motors acquired Daewoo's stake. Twenty-five per cent of GM Uzbekistan currently belongs to the Americans and 75 per cent to the Uzbek state.[113] Overall, Uzbekistan's

172. Cotton harvest south of Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2005.

economic output has been impressive: apart from the early 1990s and the period from 2000 to 2002, the country's gross domestic product has grown continuously, from US$9.7 billion in 2002 to US$66.7 billion in 2015.[114] Although cotton is still an important source of foreign currency, the country no longer has the same dependency on cotton production.[115] Cotton exports to the US and Europe also suffered due to boycotts on Uzbek cotton, initiated because the cotton harvest in Uzbekistan is not mechanised, but done manually by 'voluntary' civil servants and students, i.e. adolescents. Since then, Uzbek cotton has only been able to make its way into the processing industry abroad through circuitous routes.[116] Current cotton cultivation has additional challenges, however, including the ongoing threat of salinisation and the poor state of leaking irrigation channels. In addition, Uzbek migrant workers play an important role in Uzbekistan. The approximately 2 million Uzbeks working in Russia contribute remittances of around US$5.7 billion or 10 per cent of GDP (as of 2012), which is an important stopgap to the country's unemployment.[117] Due to complicated regulations, corruption, capital controls, and a dictated national exchange rate, conditions for foreign investors remain unfavourable.

In the latter half of the 1990s, two foreign-funded organisations emerged out of the numerous Islamist groups in Uzbekistan: Hezb al-Tahrir al-Islami (HTI) ('Liberation Party') and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). Both groups initially settled in Fergana, as the valley had become a stronghold of Salafist thought since liberalisation in the 1980s. In the early 1990s, Wahhabi and Salafi missionaries from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan and Afghanistan contributed to the further radicalisation of the densely populated valley. All these groups were motivated by the prospect of introducing Sharia law and the general Islamisation of state and society.[118] The fundamentalist Hezb al-Tahrir Party emerged from the politically active Muslim Brotherhood. Founded in 1953 by a Palestinian, it is active in Egypt, the Middle East, Central Asia and Europe. In Uzbekistan, the party coalesced out of the IRP, Adolat and Islam Lashkarlari factions, which were wiped out in 1992. HTI is organised strictly hierarchically into small cells; its goal is to establish a worldwide Sunni caliphate and the elimination of Shia Islam. HTI explicitly condemns Western values such as democracy, pluralism, the free market economy and human rights. In their view, democracy is relativistic because it equates nonbelievers with believers and prefers the secular state to the Islamic state. HTI considers pluralism blasphemous and atheistic, for it entails the propagation of non-Islamic or atheistic ideas. It suspects that the free market economy will solidify the rule of the hated West and human rights cast doubt on the relations between the individual and Muslim society as they are proclaimed by the Qur'an, while blurring the boundaries between believers and nonbelievers.[119] During the 1990s, the Uzbek HTI became strongly radicalised and a proclamation from June 2001 called for carrying out suicide attacks against nonbelieving civilians: 'There is no difference whether we shall be killing enemy soldiers or . . . destroying their children, women and old men.'[120]

The IMU was founded by the preacher Tahir Yuldashev (1967–2009) and Afghanistan veteran Juma Hojiev (1969–2001) called Namangani. It was more powerful because of its military organisation.[121] Both Yuldashev and Namangani had played a leading role in the riots of February 1992.[122] The original goal was to eliminate President Karimov and to establish an Islamic state. Yuldashev received assistance for the development and financing of the IMU as well as for recruiting, arming, and training its fighters from most anti-Western protagonists in the Afghanistan conflict: the Pakistani Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Party, closely allied with the Deobandi; Pakistan's ISI; Saudi intelligence; the Taliban; and al-Qaeda. Yuldashev received additional financial support from the Uzbek diaspora, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Turkey, and so-called Islamic charities, which are often controlled by Saudi-Wahhabi clergy or the Saudi royal family.[123] For bin Laden's al-Qaeda, collaborating with the IMU was especially attractive for two reasons: first, because of the geographical location of their base of operations north of Amu Darya, the IMU was an ideal tool for expanding jihad to Central Asia; second, the agent network Namangani had established, which extended from Tajikistan and Fergana to Chechnya, was highly suited for opium and heroin smuggling to Russia and Europe.[124] Al-Qaeda and the IMU effectively constituted a joint venture in international drug smuggling.

After the failed attack on President Karimov in February 1999,[125] which claimed sixteen lives, the IMU carried out robberies and kidnappings in the Batken region.[126] In the summer of 2000, Namangani launched coordinated attacks with hundreds of well-armed fighters in three different directions: the first squad attacked Batken once again, the second the province of Suchandarya in south-east Uzbekistan, and the third to the north of the capital Tashkent. The government forces were able to kill and drive out the guerrillas only with great difficulty. Few were actually taken captive, as injured IMU fighters were killed by their comrades so that they could not be interrogated by the army.[127] The IMU movement was strong enough to participate in the late summer of 2000 in a major Taliban attack on Massoud. By this point, their fighters were no longer simply Uzbeks, but also Pakistanis and Chechens. In response to these alarming attacks, Karimov closed off the borders with Tajikistan and had them mined. He also interrupted gas supplies to Dushanbe to force the Tajikistan government to take more decisive action against the IMU sanctuaries in Tajikistan.[128] In 2001, the IMU carried out their attacks yet again in Batken. Although Uzbekistan fell into a recession at the same time as the attacks in 2000, the International Monetary Fund closed its office in Tashkent in April 2001.

173. The Middle Ages meets modernity: right, the Kukeldash Madrasah from the 1570s; left, a modern hotel complex, Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Photo: 2004.

Western powers and organisations refused to recognise that international political Islamism had put the stability of the region into acute danger. Even so, the US had already classified the IMU in 2000 as a terrorist organisation.[129]

The attacks on 11 September 2001 fundamentally changed the United States' geostrategic perspective. Suddenly, previously neglected 'undemocratic' countries like Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan were among the front-line states in the war against al-Qaeda and the Taliban regime. Karimov reacted swiftly to the American request to use Uzbek airspace and airforce facilities. By 18 September, two Hercules military transport aircraft of the US Air Force had already landed in Tashkent; and, in October, Karimov made the former Soviet Karshi-Khanabad base (K2) south-east of Bukhara available for an annual subsidy, first of US$50 million and later US$150 million.[130] The IMF was also quick to announce that it would reopen the office it had closed a few months earlier in Tashkent and grant loans to Uzbekistan.[131] In the course of joint operations between US special forces and Afghan commanders of north Afghanistan in November 2001, Namangani and many of his fighters were killed. Yuldashev managed to flee to northern Pakistan. Although the IMU was greatly weakened, it conducted a series of bombings in Tashkent in 2004.[132] It seems that the US not only outsourced the interrogation of captured fighters in Afghanistan to private companies like Blackwater, but also availed itself of Uzbekistan's services.[133]

The 'honeymoon period' between the US and European institutions with Uzbekistan was short-lived. For although the Pentagon needed and appreciated the cooperation of Uzbekistan, the State Department and EU representatives criticised the country's failure to comply with Western standards; for example, in the area of human rights. From 2003 onward, Karimov was disappointed about not being rewarded for his loyalty in the fight against terrorism. Prospective loans from the IMF and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) were ultimately not granted due to the country's human-rights violations. Moreover, at the annual meeting of the EBRD in Tashkent in May 2003, Karimov was publicly reprimanded by EBRD President Jean Lemierre in front of Uzbek state television cameras. Moreover, it turned out that the numerous scholarships awarded by NGOs to Uzbek students to study in the US or Europe mostly involved the social and human sciences, not the exact sciences, an area in which Uzbekistan had had a lot of catching up to do since the withdrawal of Soviet experts. Karimov responded by concluding an economic and political rapprochement with Russia in August.[134] If one considers the human rights violations in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait, the United States' double standard in this regard is unmistakable.

In May 2005, riots severely hampered Uzbekistan-US relations. The earlier overthrow of Kyrgyz President Akayev in March, involving Western organisations in the shadows, had unsettled Karimov greatly. On the night of 12 May, armed men stormed a prison in the city of Andijan, Fergana to liberate 23 businessmen who were accused of belonging to the terrorist group Akramiya, a splinter group of HTI. The attackers freed the defendants and hundreds of other prisoners, after which they occupied municipal buildings and took government officials hostage. During the day, thousands demonstrated against the regime. When no negotiated solution with the hostage-takers was in the offing, security forces opened fire. The attackers then proceeded to hold their hostages before them as living shields. According to the government, 187 people died, mostly bandits and terrorists; human rights organisations estimated that between 300 and 500 civilians were killed.[135] A storm of protest arose in the Western media and among NGOs, and, in the United States, the State Department – against the wishes of the Department of Defense – called for an international inquiry into the events in Andijan. Karimov, however, ruled out the possibility that Uzbekistan, as a sovereign state, would tolerate an international commission on its soil. When the United States applied more pressure, the Uzbek Foreign Ministry demanded on 29 July the closure of the American Karshi-Khanabad airbase within the contractual deadline of 180 days. Despite the EU sanctions, the German government remained flexible and was able to retain the Termez airbase.[136]

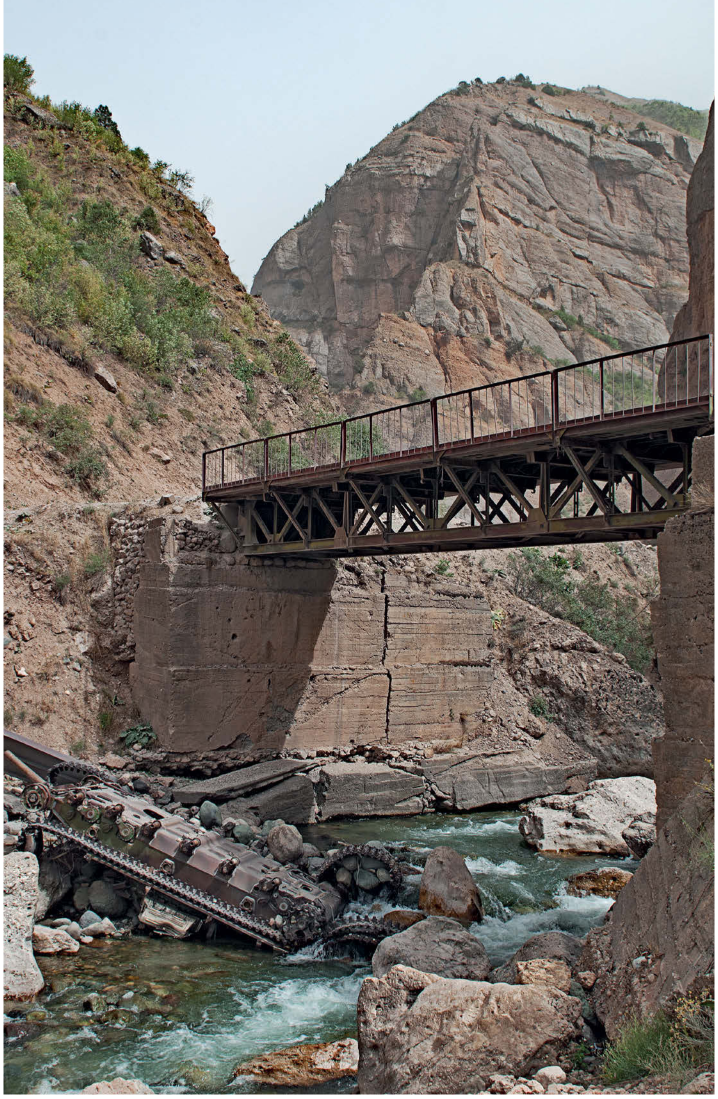
After the announcement of President Karimov's death on 2 September 2016, Shavkat Mirziyoyev – the incumbent prime minister since 2003 – was appointed interim president. He was then confirmed as president in the presidential elections on 14 December 2016. Uzbekistan's biggest challenges today are to diversify the economy, to improve the investment climate and to provide better legal certainty in order to avoid an impending rise in unemployment.[137] Even before the election, Mirziyoyev declared that he would review the strict regulations in currency trading and seek to improve relations with neighbouring countries.[138] Indeed, since April 2017 regular direct flights between Tashkent and Dushanbe have been restored, the tensions over the Tajik Rogun hydroelectric plant have decreased and progress has been achieved in demarking the mutual border.[139]

4.5 Tajikistan

The mountainous country has a surface area of 143,100 km^2 and 8.6 million inhabitants. With a per-capita gross domestic product of US$926 (only one-tenth of that of Kazakhstan), it is the poorest country in Central Asia. The reasons for this poverty are its mountainous and landlocked geography, proximity to Afghanistan, the lack of raw materials, and the civil war, which lasted from 1992 to 1997. Much like in Afghanistan, the severely rugged geography with highly elevated passes, which are inaccessible in the winter, impeded the formation of a nation-state. Individual regions of contemporary Tajikistan formerly belonged to the khanates of Bukhara and Kokand, to independent princes in the south-east, or to Afghanistan. From the 1870s, they were part of Russia and then its successor state, the Soviet Union. The most important cultural cornerstone of the Tajiks is their language, belonging to the western Persian language group. The vast majority are Hanafi Sunnis, whereas Ismaili Shiites live in Gorno Badakhshan in the east.[140] Towards the end of the Soviet era, five regional power centres formed with their respective stakeholders: in the north with its powerful Uzbek minority the group of Khujand (Leninabad), which was also the main base of the Tajik Communist Party; in the south, in the district of Kulyab, a second, smaller base of the Communist Party; in the capital Dushanbe, a heterogeneous group of reform advocates; and a re-Islamisation took place in the south-west, in the region of Kurgan-Tyube bordering Afghanistan, as well as in Badakhshan in the Pamir Mountains, which likewise borders on Afghanistan.[141] The 1980s witnessed an even more pronounced re-Islamisation of society than in Uzbekistan. It was supported by two factors: at the start of the Afghan War, the Soviet Union deployed a disproportionate number of Tajiks and Uzbeks,[142] who returned disillusioned after their service and turned to Islam. Second, the border to Afghanistan was porous, allowing Islamic missionaries to penetrate the remote southern regions, especially Badakhshan.

One of the early protagonists in the civil war was the former first secretary of the Communist Party, Rahmon Nabiyev from Khujand (in office 1982–85). Due to corruption, Gorbachev replaced him with

174. The Russian Orthodox Nicholas Church in Dushanbe, Tajikistan – a reminder of the strong Russian presence in the capital until the autumn of 2002. Photo: 2008.



175. Destroyed tank from the time of the civil war of 1992–96 on the north side of the 3,201-m-high Saghir Dasht Pass, on the route from Dushanbe to Qala-i Kum, Tajikistan. Photo: 2008.

Kakhar Makhamov (in office 1985–91, also president from 30 November 1990). Nationalist and Islamic fundamentalist forces were already noticeable in 1989, which prompted the Russians to start leaving the country. In February 1990, serious unrest broke out in Dushanbe when Moscow relocated three dozen Armenian refugees there. With help from Soviet special forces, Makhamov succeeded in suppressing the riots incited by nationalists and Muslim fundamentalists. After Makhamov verbally supported the failed anti-Gorbachev coup of August 1991, he had to resign. On 9 September, Tajikistan declared its independence. The appointed interim president Qadruddin Aslonov (7–23 September 1991) dissolved the Communist Party, which led to his downfall on 23 September. The communist Khujandi group appointed Nabiyev president, who then overturned the order to dissolve the Communist Party. On 6 October Nabiyev resigned in order to participate in the presidential elections in late November, which he won. The interim president during the elections was Akbarsho Iskandarov.[143] The opposition to Nabiyev's neo-communists consisted of the conservative Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT), the nationalist Rastakhiz party, the regional, nationalist-conservative La'l-i Badakhshan party, and the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan (IRPT). The latter party, which was prone to Islamic fundamentalism, was officially established after 28 October, when the government succumbed to mass demonstrations against the former Soviet law prohibiting political parties with a religious orientation.[144]

Nabiyev first restored the old north–south axis between the communist power centres of Khujand and Kulyab. This move, however, inspired the neglected regions in the south-west (Kurgan-Tyube) and the east (Karategin, Gharm and Pamir) to revolt. In the spring of 1992, the opposition organised mass demonstrations in Dushanbe, which were also joined by radical Islamists and criminals. In response, the government organised counter-demonstrations. The power struggle that ensued on the street was both a confrontation between traditionally more affluent and poorer disadvantaged regions, as well as between secular and religious parties. When the opposition's militia, which was supplied with arms by the Afghan leaders Hekmatyar and Massoud, occupied the presidential palace and the television station in Dushanbe on 5 May 1992, Nabiyev formed an armed national guard with Kulyab supporters. As a result, the power struggle threatened to turn into a civil war. To defuse the situation, Nabiyev initiated talks with the opposition. He set up a coalition government of national reconciliation, which included eight ministers from the opposition. This did not ease the tensions, however. The Khujandis categorically rejected the participation of Islamic fundamentalists in the government and refused to recognise them. Bands of armed Kulyabis advanced on Kurgan-Tyube, a stronghold of the fundamentalists. In June, the country was divided into five power centres: the government maintained only tenuous control in Dushanbe; the neo-communists controlled Khujand and Kulyab, and the nationalist fundamentalists controlled Kurgan-Tyube and the east. The latter received reinforcements in the summer of around 500 to 600 armed Afghan mujahideen. Heavy fighting broke out everywhere, except in the north, and harvests were abandoned in the countryside. The situation escalated further when Islamist militias violently forced President Nabiyev's ouster on 7 September. Akbarsho Iskandarov succeeded him as interim president. The 201st Russian Infantry Division then seized the airport and the access roads from Dushanbe to safeguard the mass exodus of ethnic Russians. In the autumn, secular forces established the People's Front, and, during a parliamentary session in Khujand, appointed Emomali Rakhmonov (in office since 1992) from Kulyab as the new president. Rakhmonov asked the CIS countries for immediate military aid.[145]

For both Russia and Uzbekistan, the prospect of an Islamist government in Tajikistan that maintained close contacts with the Afghan fundamentalists was unacceptable. After all, an Islamist regime north of the Amu Darya threatened to first destabilise Uzbekistan and then all of Central Asia, which would have caused countless more ethnic Russians to flee. Thanks to Uzbek and Russian help, government troops and militias from Kulyab managed to drive out the Islamist militias from Dushanbe and the surrounding areas to the east in December 1992. Rakhmonov continued with the offensives in 1993 and purged Kurgan-Tyube, Gharm and Karategin of Islamist opposition members. They took flight by the hundreds of thousands to either Afghanistan or to the Pamir Mountains, where they were recruited by the IRPT. At the end of March, the first phases of the civil war concluded with 30,000 to 50,000 dead. In the months that followed, Rakhmonov strengthened his position by replacing numerous Khujandis with acquiescent Kulyabis in the government, administration, and the army. President Karimov was enraged by this development, as many leading Khujandis were ethnic Uzbeks. In retaliation, Karimov began to support local warlords in northern Tajikistan.[146]

176. On the south side of the Anzob Pass, north of Dushanbe; in the valley, a tributary of the river Varzob, Tajikistan. Photo: 2008.

177. Gilded statue of Turkmen President Niyazov (in office 1991–2006), known as Turkmenbashi, 'Leader of all Turkmen', near the Independence Monument of Turkmenistan in Ashgabat. Photo: 2014.

In 1993, the four opposition parties joined forces in the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), which was led by Sayid Abdullah Nuri (1947–2006), the leader of the Islamist IRPT. While the Islamists entrenched in Badakhshan increasingly received arms, money and instructors through Hekmatyar, Massoud, the ISI and Saudi Arabia, Russian troops secured the southern border to Afghanistan, west of the Pamirs. Security Minister Viktor Barannikov confirmed that Russia was actually securing its own south-eastern border along the Amu Darya: 'By guarding the Tajik section of [CIS] border, we defend the strategic backbone of Russia.'[147] The open border of Badakhshan and the corruptibility of poorly paid Russian border guards motivated the Afghan warlords to organise the transport of opium and heroin by way of Tajikistan and beyond via Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, which weakened Tajik society further. Renewed heavy fighting in the summer of 1994 resulted in a stalemate, which was not resolved until the Taliban captured Kabul at the end of September 1996 and Massoud was forced to withdraw his support for the IRPT. Now Taliban commanders threatened to continue jihad beyond the Amu Darya in Tajikistan on the side of the IRTP fighters. Russia's new foreign minister Primakov recognised the danger of an Islamist conflagration and won the support of Iran. The Iranians were indeed sympathetic to the IRPT, but they also feared any further advance of the Taliban and al-Qaeda. With Iran's help, Primakov sought to force the rivals Rakhmonov and Nuri to reach a political compromise. The two leaders, who had had an inconclusive meeting in 1995, signed an agreement on 23 December 1996 that included the establishment of a joint Commission of National Reconciliation, a constitutional referendum, and a new electoral law. This was followed on 27 June 1997 with the signing of the peace agreement that ended the five-year civil war, which had claimed about 100,000 lives and completely decimated the country. The most important element of the deal was a power-sharing agreement, according to which 30 per cent of all state government agencies were to be assigned to the opposition UTO. In 1999, Rakhmonov won the presidential election, not least because the opposition could not agree on a joint candidate, but instead put up three. Rakhmonov's People's Democratic Party won the subsequent parliamentary elections. Soon, it became clear that the IRPT had no alternative economic programme to the People's Party that was either attractive and credible. It was therefore all the easier for Rakhmonov to gradually marginalise the opposition and keep it from power.[148]

The unrest and civil war put the country back by a decade: between 1988 and 1996, both the gross domestic product and industrial production fell by 70 per cent.[149] Tajikistan's ongoing economic crisis was exacerbated by the dictates of the International Monetary Fund. If it wanted to obtain IMF loans, the impoverished and politically weak country was forced to privatise state enterprises and lands. As a result, the still-functioning state farms were broken up, while the small farmers who obtained the acreage were unable to efficiently manage it due to a lack of financial resources.[150] The agricultural sector collapsed so that Tajikistan had to rely on food aid, mainly from Kazakhstan and Russia. Total economic collapse was only prevented by the remittances from the approximately one million Tajiks working in Russia. In 2011, they contributed almost half of the gross domestic product with nearly US$3 billion.[151] Nonetheless, a persistent economic crisis in Russia has caused these transfers to shrink more and more.

Even after the peace agreement, Tajikistan remained dependent on Russia, especially as a guarantor for its internal security and for the integrity of its 1,344-km-long southern border with Afghanistan. What is more, Tajikistan became the primary transit route for arms sales to Massoud, the last warlord still battling the Taliban. Even though the Russian troops numbered 16,000 men – whereby most of the soldiers were ethnic Tajiks and most of the officers Russian – the border remained porous. The transit paths remained open through remote mountain areas for drug smugglers and fighters of the IMU. After lengthy negotiations, Russia and Tajikistan agreed to a phased handover of border control to Tajik security forces, which was completed by 2006. The scaled-back Russian troops withdrew from the border region to their base at Dushanbe. Russia continues to maintain the Okno space observation station.[152]

As a result of 11 September 2001, Tajikistan suddenly gained importance for American warfare. The small country, in turn, had an opportunity to find new Western partners. On 3 November, President Rakhmonov approved the use of Tajik airfields, and, on 6 December, the first French troops landed in Dushanbe. But the progressive withdrawal of US combat troops from Afghanistan and the ending of the German Bundeswehr effort within the framework of ISAF in northern Afghanistan contributed to the deterioration of the security situation, both there and along the southern Tajik border. The need for Russian troops accordingly increased once again. The Russian military presence is contractually regulated until 2042. Its strength will be gradually increased from 7,500 (2015) to 9,000 soldiers by 2020.[153]

The biggest obstacle to a long-term positive economic development is the longstanding poor relations with Uzbekistan, upon which Tajikistan is dependent in multiple ways. Due to its geographic location, routes through Uzbekistan would be ideal for people and goods going abroad. In this regard, Afghanistan is not an option for the foreseeable future, and the Murghab highway in the Pamir Mountains to Kashgar, which opened in 2004, is only useful for trade with China. Furthermore, the road going to Osh, Kyrgyzstan, which also runs through the Pamirs, simply heads into another landlocked country. Nevertheless, the border posts between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are often closed and the transit fees on the Uzbek side are high. Tajikistan's only international railway lines also pass through Uzbek territory. Finally, Uzbekistan suspended air traffic with Tajikistan from 1999 until April 2017.[154] Despite these obstacles, the country's most serious hindrance to traffic was removed in 2006. Until then, northern Tajikistan was completely cut off during the winter from Dushanbe and the rest of the country, as snow obstructed the 3,400-m-high Anzob Pass. Unlike Saudi Arabia, whose 'development aid' was largely exhausted in Central Asia in the construction of large mosques, Iran made a productive contribution here by financing up to three-quarters of the construction of the Anzob Tunnel at a cost of US$120 million. In this way, it helped promote the Tajik domestic economy.[155]

The dire state of Uzbek-Tajik relations came to light in the spring of 2012, when Uzbekistan announced that it would stop providing gas to the state aluminium company TALCO from 1 April. The closure of the 11,000-employee-strong industrial plant – whose production accounts for 70 per cent of Tajikistan's legal exports – would have had catastrophic consequences. Uzbekistan presumably wanted to force its neighbour to make territorial concessions in the northern border region. This attempt at blackmail failed, however, as Tajikistan had a Chinese coal-gas plant, which converted coal extracted near Dushanbe into gas. When Tashkent realised that the aluminium plant could remain in operation without Uzbek gas, the suspension of deliveries was lifted again.[156]

As with the Uzbek-Kyrgyz tensions, the source of the strained relations lies in the utilisation of Tajikistan's immense water resources.[157] The Soviet distribution system coordinated Tajik water management until 1991. The reservoirs, which were built less for electricity generation than to regulate irrigation, were filled during the winter months and emptied in the summer to irrigate Uzbek and Turkmen cotton plantations. In return, Uzbekistan supplied gas and electricity. After 1991, the central distribution board vanished. Uzbekistan, for its part, then started to demand that the two mountainous republics pay world market prices for gas, oil, and electricity, while expecting to obtain water at the previous levels, on the same schedule, and free of charge. Ultimately, it sought to impose its preferred water management scheme on its two neighbours. At the same time, Kyrgyzstan began at the Toktogul hydroelectric dam to augment electricity production in the winter and thus to discharge water. Tajikistan did the same at Nurek, where the dam is 300 m high. To meet its own electricity needs – TALCO alone consumes 40 per cent of Tajikistan's electricity production – and to be able to export electricity, Tajikistan is now planning to build a second mega-storage plant 100 km north-east of Dushanbe. The Rogun hydroelectric plant is located on the upper reaches of the Vakhsh River. The dam will be 335 m high, the reservoir will hold 11.6 billion cubic metres of water, and the six turbines will supply 13.1 billion kilowatt hours of electricity annually. An agreement to build the dam concluded in 2004 with the Russian aluminium plant RUSAL was abandoned in 2007, when RUSAL proposed – under Uzbek pressure – reducing the dam's height to 285 m. Tajikistan, however, refused. The government decided to finance the project itself and began with the tunnelling work.[158] In July 2014, a report commissioned by the World Bank concluded that the chosen location, dam type, earthquake resistance, and the planned storage capacity were appropriate and realistic. The planned dam thus complies with the international safety standards.[159] President Rahmon officially initiated the construction of the dam on 29 October 2016.[160] If the dam is constructed at the intended height, Tajikistan would control to a large extent the Amu Darya, whose second feeder is the Vakhsh.

178. **In the foreground, a monument to the Akhal-Teke horses; behind, to the left, the old palace of President Turkmenbashi and, further left, the new palace, with three domes, of President Berdymuhamedov. Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. Photo: 2014.**

RUHUŇYZ TUG DEÝIN BELENTDE BOLSUN

179. Mausoleum for President Niyazov (Turkmenbashi), where his parents and two brothers are also buried. Kipchak, Turkmenistan. Photo: 2014.

A second large-scale energy project is near Bokhtar in the south-west of the country, where a large natural gas field was discovered at a depth of 6,000 m. In 2013, a consortium consisting of the British Tethys Petroleum, the French company Total, and the China National Petroleum Corporation, was awarded a permanent licence to extract natural gas until 2038. However, the relative proximity to the Afghan border is problematic, as the terrorist attack of January 2013 near the natural gas field of In Aménas in Algeria demonstrated.[161] Whether Tajikistan can rise to become a major exporter of natural gas to China also depends on the completion of the fourth gas pipeline from Central Asia to China. The 'Line D' is supposed to extend from Turkmenistan via southern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to the natural gas hub in Kazakhstan and from there to Xinjiang. The ambitious project, which would have connected the five republics for the first time, was suspended in early 2016 by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Where Kyrgyzstan argued against the uncertain costs, Uzbekistan opposes entering into a joint venture with Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan fears that a supply of Tajik natural gas from about 2019 would make the planned increase in Turkmen gas deliveries to China impossible.[162] The ultimate completion of the 'Line D', which is so critical to Tajikistan, depends not least on the political pressure that China is willing to exert.

Tajikistan continues to face a number of daunting challenges. In terms of security policy, the resurgent Taliban in northern Afghanistan represent a significant risk, as does the smuggling of drugs and potentially the Islamic state also operating in Afghanistan. The domestic political situation is not yet stable, as the failed uprising of the deputy defence minister General Abduchalim Nazarzoda in early September 2015 confirmed. Afterwards, the IRPT, with whom Nazarzoda sympathised, was prohibited, entailing the risk that moderate Islamists might become radicalised.[163] Other hurdles include the normalisation of relations with Uzbekistan, a reduction of dependence on foreign transfers, the search for a functional *modus vivendi* with moderate Islamists, and the fight against corruption. Tourism, too, has enormous untapped potential in the culturally rich and highly scenic country.

4.6 Turkmenistan

Despite a total land area of 491,210 km^2, the country only counts about 5.2 million inhabitants, about 90 per cent of whom are Sunni Muslims.[164] Similar to Tashkent, the capital was completely destroyed by a devastating earthquake, in October 1948, and then lavishly reconstructed. Like Nazarbayev and Karimov, the longstanding ruler of Turkmenistan, Saparmurat Niyazov (first secretary 1985–91, president 1991–2006), was appointed by Gorbachev as first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party. After the failed coup against Gorbachev, Turkmenistan declared its sovereignty, which was ratified in a popular referendum on 27 October. Niyazov was simultaneously elected president with 98.3 per cent of the vote.[165] The president quickly installed an authoritarian regime susceptible to corruption[166] and saw to it that he was surrounded by a strong cult of personality. He named himself Turkmenbashi ('Leader of all Turkmen') and had the port city of Krasnovodsk and airports, canals, schools, the month of January, and much else renamed 'Turkmenbashi'. The other months and days of the week were renamed as well. He subsequently declared his book *Ruhnama* ('Book of the Soul')[167] to be required reading in schools, universities, administrations, and large companies. The acquisition of a driving licence and an academic title required passing a test on the *Ruhnama*. The book even had to be placed alongside the Qur'an in mosques. In 2004, Niyazov ordered that the prayer leader was to read aloud from the *Ruhnama* at prayer.[168] In the following months, Niyazov closed all rural hospitals, ostensibly to cut costs, fired thousands of employees in nursing, and eliminated one-third of retiree pensions. The president died in December 2006, reportedly of heart failure. Deputy prime minister Gurbanguly Berdymuhamedov (in office since 2006) succeeded him. He hastened to reverse the absurd decrees of his predecessor and to return the pensions to those who were affected. At the same time, Berdymuhamedov retained Niyazov's generous policy of providing citizens with free gas, electricity and water. Beyond this, since 2008 every car owner has received an annual provision of 120 litres of petrol for free.[169] These 'gifts' have

180. The Turkmenbashi Rukhi Mosque, completed by the French construction company Bouygues in 2004, in Kipchak, 15 km north-west of Ashgabat. The name of the mosque means the 'Spirit of Turkmenbashi'. The mosque, with an octagonal floor plan, has seven gates, analogous to the seven gates of Paradise, and the eighth gate is the Qibla, indicating the direction of Mecca. Photo: 2014.

served to help make the continuing authoritarian regime palatable to citizens. Thanks to its foreign policy of 'permanent neutrality' introduced in 1996 and a flexible diplomacy with its own and Afghan Turkmen tribes, the country has been able to keep conflicts in Afghanistan from spilling over into Turkmen territory.

The Turkmen economy rests on two pillars: the cultivation of cotton and the production of natural gas, and (to a lesser extent) petroleum. As nearly 80 per cent of the country is desert, the 850-km-long Karakum Canal (Turkmenbashi Canal) was built from 1954 to 1962. The canal carries water from the Amu Darya to Ashgabat, yet has also contributed significantly to the disappearance of the Aral Sea. Since the canal is open and lacks a concrete bed, almost half of the water is lost to evaporation and seepage. By contrast, the 595-km-long extension to Krasnovodsk (Turkmenbashi) opened in 1986 is largely a closed aqueduct.[170] Turkmenistan's potential wealth lies in its natural gas reserves, which, according to CIA estimates, are the world's fourth largest, after those of Iran, Russia and Qatar. In terms of flow rate, however, Turkmenistan currently ranks only 13th.[171] There are several reasons for this, including a partially outdated pipeline system, too little capacity for liquefying gas to LNG, a lack of technology, and political constraints. The latter include the poor security situation in Afghanistan, which impedes the realisation of a Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India pipeline (TAPI pipeline),[172] strong US pressure to not do business with Iran, and disputes with Russia over the purchase of Turkmen gas.

Until 1997, Turkmenistan was dependent on the Russian giant Gazprom, the world's largest company in natural gas production and transport. All gas pipelines led to Russia and Turkmenistan was forced to sell its gas at very low prices to the CIS countries, or even to accept barter in lieu of foreign currency. Russia, in turn, then sold the cheaply procured Turkmen gas at world prices to Ukraine and Europe. Of the five Central Asian republics, Turkmenistan is closest to the world's oceans and therefore offers the best opportunity geographically to disrupt Russia's pipeline monopoly. The problem here is not geographical, however, but political in nature. The United States wants to isolate Iran at any price – politically, as well as economically and financially. In 1992, the US thwarted an agreement between Turkmenistan and Iran, in which Iran was to buy Turkmen gas, oil and electricity and subsidise the construction of a pipeline.

181. The Darwaza gas crater, whose name means 'open gate', located 260 km north of Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. The crater, which at first emanated only gas, was formed accidentally during prospecting at the beginning of the 1970s. When the animals of neighbouring farmers died from the gas or fell into the crater, a rancher set the crater on fire in 1973. The crater has burned continuously ever since. Photo: 2014.

The American threats, though, were successful. Ultimately, no international financial institution dared to finance a project that included Iran. The United States, however, could not prevent the construction of a railway line from Mashhad to the border town of Sarakhs, since Iran needed neither loans nor expertise. In May 1996, presidents Niyazov and Rafsanjani ceremoniously opened the railway line between Iranian Sarakhs and Tejen in Turkmenistan. It linked Central Asia's old rail network from the tsarist and Soviet era with Iran's, which is in turn connected to the Turkish network. The century-old tsarist plan to connect Central Asia with the warm-water ports of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea like Bandar Abbas was thus realised, if only to a very limited degree. Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan both have access to the rail network in Pakistan and an opportunity to export their goods to Iran and further to Turkey thanks to the completion in 2009 of the railway line from Bam (Iran) to Zahedan,[173] the border town with Pakistan, and to the line from Uzen (Kazakhstan) via Bereket and Etrek (Turkmenistan) to Gorgan (Iran), which went into operation in December 2014.[174] The Uzen–Gorgan line was financed by Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, and the Islamic Development Bank. This enabled Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan[175] to not only disrupt the Russian transport monopoly on land, but also to avoid the dictate of US finance via the IMF and the World Bank. The sovereignty of commodity exporters is also fundamentally determined by the control of the logistics chain.

When presidents Niyazov and Khatami inaugurated a natural gas pipeline from Korpeje, Turkmenistan to Kordkuy, Iran in December 1997, Turkmenistan managed to break through the Russian pipeline monopoly for the first time and to once again bypass US financial restrictions. As the two countries didn't seek loans from the IMF or the World Bank, the United States had no veto power. The mere 200 km pipeline also offered other attractive options. First of all, it would be possible to barter: Turkmenistan could deliver gas to northern Iran and Tehran could sell Iranian gas to a third country on behalf of Turkmenistan.[176] There was the possibility of selling Turkmen and Iranian gas to Europe via Turkey to the extent that the US embargo could be circumvented.[177] In 2000, a second Turkmen-Iranian pipeline was put into operation and then a third in 2010 with a much larger capacity. Owing to the Central Asia-China pipeline leading from Turkmenistan via Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to China, which was inaugurated in December 2009, China could be won as a new customer. This offered Ashgabat a much-needed alternative to Gazprom and Russia.

As long as Turkmenistan had no real supply alternative to Russia for its natural gas, it was forced to sell its gas cheaply to Gazprom, enabling the Russian company to make big profits. In the words of Berdymuhamedov, 'They [the Russians] robbed us for many years! They were buying our gas for forty dollars and reselling it for three hundred.'[178] In 2007, Turkmenistan increased the pressure and Gazprom finally relented. In order to secure Turkmen gas over the long term, Gazprom committed to buying about 70 billion m^3 at international prices.[179] However, when demand and prices declined for natural gas as a result of the financial crisis, Gazprom started to lose money. Although it no longer required Turkmen natural gas, it nonetheless remained obliged to continue importing it. On 9 April 2009, an explosion cut off the Turkmen-Russian pipeline that was most likely caused by Gazprom itself. Suddenly, the volume of procured gas dwindled massively. As a result, Turkmenistan lost approximately US$1 billion in revenue every month until early 2010. In December 2009, Russia and Turkmenistan agreed on a much smaller amount of natural gas, ranging from 10 to 12 billion m^3 annually. Without the Central Asia–China pipeline Turkmenistan would have experienced great financial difficulty.[180] Certainly, China and Iran now found themselves in a stronger negotiating position with respect to the import prices. Turkmenistan's own position deteriorated again in January 2016 when Gazprom announced that it would no longer procure any more Turkmen gas. At the same time, it sued Turkmenistan for repayment of US$5 billion for allegedly excessive prices from 2010 onward.[181] The loss of Gazprom hit Turkmenistan especially hard: revenues from the export of natural gas and crude oil fell from US$18.3 billion (2014) to an estimated US$8.9 billion (2016).[182]

In order not to be dependent on China as a purchaser of natural gas, Turkmenistan took the lead in a consortium including Afghanistan, Pakistan and India to realise the earlier project of a Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India pipeline. Although work began in Turkmenistan in December 2015, the project entails considerable security-related risks, both in Afghanistan and in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Without the inclusion of the Taliban and the tribes on both sides of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, it will neither be possible to construct the pipeline, nor to operate it safely. It remains doubtful whether the pipeline will be operational by late 2019 as planned, not least because an international investor has not yet been found as of November 2016.[183] Turkmenistan's challenges lie in a looming economic stagnation, the acquisition of new natural gas customers, and the deficits in the education and healthcare sectors inherited from Niyazov.

X

Outlook

[The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union] 'led to the assumption that all human divisions were surmountable; that democracy would conquer Africa, the Middle East [and Central Asia] as easily as it had Eastern Europe; that globalization . . . was nothing else than a moral direction of history and a system of security, rather what it actually was, merely an economic and cultural stage of development.'

Author and security expert **ROBERT D. KAPLAN**[1]

The five countries of Central Asia and Mongolia all managed to evolve rapidly from their status as Soviet colonies into stable sovereign states – indeed, in a manner that was largely peaceful, with the exception of Tajikistan. More than a quarter of a century after the Soviet Union's demise, none of these six states belongs to the so-called 'arc of instability' and none is a 'failed state'. Even Afghanistan should not be counted as a failed state, although its government controls only 57 per cent of districts and two thirds of the population, as per late 2017. Some government services work tolerably well and the country was and is still destabilised by heteronomous forces from abroad. Without elucidating the reasons, the differences in the post-colonial development in Central Asia and in Africa remain striking. Crucial for the continued stability in Central Asia were several key factors, including the adoption of established power structures and the general continuation of official staff, which the populations also accepted (with the exception of Tajikistan). The collapse of the Soviet Union hit each of these countries hard economically, but the authoritarian governments succeeded in avoiding acute shortages such as famines, which forestalled the outbreak of social unrest. Afghanistan's dire, externally controlled fate was a prime example for the vast majority of people in Central Asia of the impact of extreme Islamism. Moreover, it demonstrated that parliamentary democracy introduced from the outside cannot *per se* ensure either security or prosperity. Even the allegedly humanitarian-based US military interventions in Kosovo and Iraq made it abundantly clear that democracy may not be imposed with bombs or by means of decree. Indeed, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) already observed in *Leviathan* that violent anarchy threatens the social fabric of a society more than an authoritarian regime.[2]

For all the governments of Central Asia (except Mongolia), one of the biggest transnational challenges is the relationship with Islam, especially political Islam. To what extent should Islamic practice and propaganda be tolerated to prevent moderate Muslims from switching to the extremist camp? And where should the red line be drawn when it comes to the intervention of state power? With the exception of the Tajik Civil War and the incidents of 2005 in Andijan, the governments seem to have responded to these concerns fairly effectively. In any event, there have been no developments like the so-called 'Arab Spring', which later spiralled into chaos. The future stability of the region will depend in no small measure on Afghanistan's ongoing political development and Saudi Arabia's foreign policy. Saudi Arabia has invested relatively little in Central Asian infrastructure and industry, but rather focused on the construction of mosques, the propagation of Wahhabism, and on the funding of banned Islamist groups like the IMU, IRPT and HTI. It is not surprising that the governments of Central Asia are suspicious of Saudi Arabia, which they view – not unlike their perception of the US and NGOs – as a threat to their stability. Each of these actors seeks to impose certain ideas, values and codes of conduct on the governments and the citizens of Central Asia. As the quote above from Robert Kaplan's political analysis *The Revenge of Geography* suggests, however, financial flows, goods and technology can be globalised, but not values and worldviews.

The Central Asian republics have a number of unique strengths that distinguish them from other countries in Asia and Arabia. First of all, they inherited from the Soviet Union a fairly high level of education and a secular world view. This contributed to the fact that Sunni Islam in Central Asia, with the exception of Fergana, has largely remained moderate, in contrast to the Islam of Iran or Saudi Arabia. In addition, women of course – as during the Soviet Union – are integrated into the labour process and the people have a high work ethic. Again, this stands in contrast to Saudi Arabia and some Gulf states. Here most of the locals work in the administration or the service sector, whereas handicrafts or simple manual labour are left to foreign guest workers. Finally, the three republics with rich natural resources also have a functioning agricultural sector, even though up to 80–90 per cent of farming in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan requires irrigation. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have fewer raw materials, but constitute a 'water tower' for all Central Asia and could in theory export abundant power.

The Central Asian states also struggle with major disadvantages, some of which are geographical in nature, while others are self-inflicted. The latter include their sometimes poor diplomatic relations with each other, limited mutual trade, and the absence of a jointly regulated water management system and compensatory electricity and gas deliveries. There are also protectionist trade barriers, high import and transit duties, restrictions on capital flows and foreign exchange trading, corruption, outdated infrastructure, and relatively high labour costs. All of these factors make it unattractive for European companies to produce or invest in Central Asia, with the exception of business in raw materials.

The most serious handicap is the countries' landlocked geography, as the globalisation of the economy around the world has gone hand in hand with a pronounced 'maritimisation'. Transport by sea makes up 75 per cent of global volume and 67 per cent of the value of world trade.[3] This handicap manifests itself in three ways: commodity producers with access to the world's oceans have a significant price advantage over their landlocked competitors in Central Asia. Kazakhstan and Tajikistan have the further disadvantage that some of their natural resources are located at a great depth and in a challenging geological environment. Secondly, for logistical reasons, Central Asian factories also cannot compete with those in South-East Asian countries that have their own deep-sea ports such as China, Vietnam and Malaysia. Thirdly, plans to revive the ancient Silk Road through Central Asia as a transit route between Europe and China – as the EU TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe–Caucasus–Asia) project intends – are difficult to realise on a commercially profitable basis. More than 95 per cent of the goods transported between Asia and Europe use the sea routes.[4] The sea has many advantages over land freight. Among other things, it is cheaper and more customer-friendly due to the elimination of transit and customs formalities and forced bribes. Its primary disadvantage is that it is slower: Transport between Europe and China via Central Asia takes about 17 days by road; with the normal train route about 40 days; and with the still little-used Trans-Eurasia-Express, which crosses Russia and Kazakhstan, 14 to 16 days. Ship transport, however, takes around 30 to 35 days via the Suez Canal and around 45 days via the Cape of Good Hope.[5] As the joint venture of Deutsche Bahn and Russian Railways, the operator of the Trans-Eurasia-Express, shows, the only competitive land route bypasses the Central Asian countries to the south of Kazakhstan.[6] The Trans-Eurasia Express is twice as fast as the route by sea, but three times more expensive. On the other hand, it is much cheaper

182. The oil refinery of Atyrau, Kazakhstan. Photo: 2012.

183. The pyramid in the centre is the Palace of Peace and Reconciliation in Astana, Kazakhstan, which was designed by Foster and Partners and completed 2006. On the left stands the Kazakh National University of Arts, at the right the Palace of Independence. Photo: 2017.

than air freight. The Trans-Eurasia Express is used mainly by the German automotive and machinery industry. For trial purposes, a railway was subsequently opened in January 2016 from Eastern China to Tehran. Bypassing the Caucasus, it crosses Iran and Turkey and could continue on to Russia and Western Europe. This 'Iron Silk Road' project is co-funded by the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, established in 2015.[7]

Road traffic within Central Asia is burdened by many obstacles like poor roads, transit duties and formalities, a lack of terminals and refrigeration units, as well as corrupt officials. It is also conceivable that due to expected climate warming the 6,500-km-long North-East Passage through the northern Arctic Ocean will gain in importance. Longer ice-free periods would mean shorter travel times and reduced costs. Such a development would make it difficult to operate a profitable transit route over land, especially using roads. An important step was achieved in August 2017 when the Russian LNG tanker *Christophe de Margerie* accomplished the journey through the North-East Passage for the first time without the help of an icebreaker. The journey from Hammerfest, Norway, to Boryeong, South Korea, lasted only 19 days, about eleven to sixteen days less than through the Suez Canal.[8]

The future of Central Asia will continue to be dominated by the two regional superpowers, Russia and China. US interest in the region has decreased since its gradual withdrawal from Afghanistan, but also because of the experience that local authorities are 'resistant to learning' about issues relating to democracy. US foreign policy is focused on bringing the situation in Afghanistan under control to a reasonable degree and keeping

Iran isolated. Russia, for its part, has a keen interest in upholding the region's stability in view of its own 15–20 million Muslims and the extended border with Central Asia. It is expected to maintain this security policy focus. In the case of Tajikistan, Moscow demonstrated in tandem with strategic partner Iran that it can force the adversaries in the civil war to arrive at a peace settlement. As for natural gas, Russia is simultaneously a customer and competitor of the resource-rich countries, which regularly leads to conflicts. Finally, in light of Russia's annexation of Crimea and the simmering conflict in eastern Ukraine, Kazakhstan was forced to recognise that Moscow is determined to assert its interests – if necessary, even militarily.

Ultimately, China will remain the most important partner of the Central Asian republics and Mongolia over the medium and long term. The Middle Kingdom not only has an immense appetite for fossil fuels, but it also wants to diversify its sources of supply and import routes. From Central Asia's perspective, business relations with China offer several benefits: China has no territorial ambitions; it adheres to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and it provides loans without conditions relating to reforms and respect for human rights. In short, China lacks the missionary zeal of Western states and institutions. Still, similar to Western or Russian loans, the money from Chinese loans also partly remains within China's own financial system since it is often Chinese companies that carry out the execution of large infrastructure projects.[9] China's economic involvement, though, also holds dangers. Cheap imported manufactured goods from China are increasingly replacing the local products. Simultaneously, Central Asia is running the risk of degenerating into a mere supplier of raw materials. Trade with China, on the other hand, opens up access to new technologies and new opportunities in the services and financial sector such as in logistics, transportation, and legal and translation services.

The future of the Central Asian states will also depend on how skilfully they conduct their seesaw policy between Moscow and Beijing. After all, the history of Turkmenistan demonstrates how greatly dependent a supplier of raw materials can become on its only customer. The Central Asian republics also benefit from the fact that Russian-Chinese competition for raw materials, businesses, and influence in the region is not a zero-sum game. Certainly, in some areas such as security, transport and logistics, the two major powers are pursuing mutual interests and strategies.

If the security situation in Afghanistan and in the tribal areas of north-west Pakistan improves, Central Asia could become part of a huge Beijing-controlled economic zone including China, Mongolia, the Central Asian republics, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran. Here, Iran could also serve as a connecting link to equally resource-rich Azerbaijan and Russia. China is not only investing in Afghanistan, such as in the copper mine Mes Aynak, but is also building the Karakoram Highway into a multi-lane, year-round asphalt expressway that connects Kashgar with Rawalpindi and, ultimately, the port of Karachi. Another 530-km-long expressway will lead from Karachi to the port of Gwadar. China co-financed the port, which opened in 2007, and Beijing maintains a naval base there. This China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which anticipates Chinese investments in the amount of US$45 billion, also includes a future railway line and a natural gas pipeline running parallel to the expressway. China will thus be able to transport both natural gas from Iran and Qatar, as well as goods via the Karakoram Highway.[10] To this end, China is further building a large LNG terminal in Gwadar, where a duty-free industrial zone is also expected to arise. Finally, a branch of the TAPI pipeline has been designated to end in Gwadar, which Turkmenistan could then use to export its natural gas. Obviously, Beijing is also striving for closer relations with Saudi Arabia and Qatar to more fully incorporate these two suppliers of raw materials into its economic system.[11] If this China–Pakistan Economic Corridor actually comes to fruition, China would build a trade and economic empire of unparallelled scope and realise the old Russian dream of extending the empire to the Indian Ocean – without military means. This trade and economic zone, in turn, is part of President Xi Jinping's 'One Belt, One Road Initiative', which he announced in Kazakhstan in September 2013: 'The Silk Road Economic Belt focuses on bringing together China, Central Asia, Russia and Europe; linking China with the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea through Central Asia and the Indian Ocean.' Backbones of this gigantic project are a maritime and several land routes.

The twenty-first century maritime Silk Road is designed to go from China's coast to Europe through the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean in one route, and from China's coast through the South China Sea to the South Pacific in the other.[12] But, in contrast to TRACECA, the planned land route does not follow only logistical and short-term economic criteria, but also long-term economic and political ones. The southern route is, from a political point of view, the strategically most important one. It does not lead through Kazakhstan and southern Russia, which would be the fastest and cheapest option. On the contrary, it touches all five Central Asian republics and continues via Iran, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania and the Ukraine to Moscow, and from there via Belarus, Poland and Germany to Rotterdam.[13] This railway route not only leads through very challenging terrain, but it also connects mutually conflicting or even hostile states. ‘One Belt, One Road’ is not only an attempt to revitalise the ancient Silk Roads, but a large-scale attempt to develop the Eurasian economic zone under the leadership of Beijing. In such a scenario, Central Asia could manage to leave behind the peripheral status it has languished under since the sixteenth century. And China would rise to become the leading power of the Eurasian continent. From a commercial point of view the central railway route via Kazakhstan and the northern one via Mongolia, both linking up with the Trans-Siberian Railway, are more attractive. Since European industrial groups began to move their outsourced production plants from now relatively expensive east China to cheaper north-west China, the central route has the biggest growth potential. However, still unresolved are the issues of different spur widths in China, Russia and Western Europe, and the limited free capacities on the Trans-Siberian Railway. The China–Pakistan Economic Corridor is another element of this transcontinental network. Since the planned maritime route from China to Europe will also touch Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma,[14] Calcutta (India), Colombo (Sri Lanka), Mombasa (Kenya) and the Suez Canal (Egypt), this giant transport network will include more than 60 states. President Xi Jinping is cleverly exploiting the recent isolationist tendencies of the US under President Trump to position China as the champion of global free trade.

To further ensure this planned economic and transport zone, China agreed with Russia and Pakistan in December 2016 on removing individual representatives of the Taliban from the UN sanctions list to engage more moderate Taliban in a peace process.[15] It can be expected that Iran will also join in this agreement. These four states share an interest in preventing Islamic State from building up a safe retreat in Afghanistan in the light of its predictable defeat in Iraq and Syria, or infiltrating southern Tajikistan or southern Uzbekistan. This issue is the more vital as the IS has already established a regional base in the eastern Afghan province of Nangarhar. These four states also oppose a permanent US military presence at the Hindu Kush. If this interest group can establish a basis for talks with the Taliban, the Afghan government would come under intense pressure to enter into this negotiation process. The US Obama and Trump administrations thus seem to have not only lost the initiative to Russia in the Middle East, especially in Syria, but also in this instance to China in Afghanistan and South Asia.[16]

However, on 28 February 2018, Afghan president Ghani proposed peace talks, without preconditions, to the Taliban. As an initial step, he offered a ceasefire, an exchange of prisoners and the recognition of the Taliban as a political party. In return, the Taliban would have to recognise the government and respect the law. At the time of writing, the Taliban had not yet responded. But a week earlier they had endorsed the construction of the Afghan section of the planned Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India pipeline, including in those regions under their control.[17] In view of the obvious strategic stalemate between the main Afghan adversaries and general war weariness among ordinary Afghans, the timing of Ghani’s initiative isn’t unfavourable. Within Afghanistan, the main obstacles to peace are the ongoing power struggles within the government and the lack of unified command among the Taliban. Further hindrances are the other Islamist war parties such as the IS and the Haqqani network as well as the numerous war profiteers. At the same time, the most important key to peace is still to be found in Pakistan, to be precise with the army leadership and the ISI who have in the past sabotaged peace initiatives several times. Probably only maximum financial pressure from the US and China could bring these players to heel.

▶ 184. The Bayterek Tower, built in 2010, in Astana, Kazakhstan. The 105-m-high tower symbolises the Tree of Life, in whose crown the mythological bird Simurgh leaves behind an egg. The monument is an allegory for the solidarity of the nations of Central Asia with their cultural heritage, while at the same connoting an optimistic outlook of a self-designed future. Photo: 2012.

Appendix: The Most Important Dynasties of Central Asia from the Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Century

The Abu'l Khayrids of the Uzbek Khanate, 1500–1598

Muhammad Shahi Beg, called **Shaybani Khan** (r. 1500–1510)

Söyünch (Suyunjuq) Muhammed Khoja (r. 1511–1512)

Köchkünji (Kuchum) Muhammed (r. 1512–*ca.* 1530)

Abu Said Khan (r. 1530–1533)

Ubayd Allah Khan (r. 1533–1539)

Abdullah Sultan I (r. 1539–1540)

Abd al-Latif (r. 1540–1552)

Nawruz Ahmad, called **Buraq Khan** (r. 1552–1556)

Pir Muhammad (r. 1556–1561)

Iskandar Khan (r. 1561–1583)

Abdullah Khan II (r. 1583–1598)

Abd al-Mumin (r. 1598)

Sources: C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), p. 155. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 325.

The Togha-Timurids (Astarkhanids) of the Bukhara Uzbek Khanate, 1599–1785

Jani Muhammad Khan (r. 1599–1603)

Baqi Muhammad Khan (r. 1603–1605)

Wali Muhammad Khan (r. 1605–1611)

Imam Quli Khan (r. in Samarkand and Bukhara 1612–1641/42)

Nazr Muhammad (r. in Balkh 1612–1641/42, 1645–1651, as supreme khan 1641/42–1645)

Abd al-Aziz (r. in Bukhara 1645–1681)

Subhan Quli (r. in Balkh 1651–1681, as supreme khan 1681–1702).

Ubayd Allah Khan II (r.in Bukhara 1702–1711)

Muhammad Muqim Khan (r. in Balkh 1702–1707)

Abu'l Fayz Khan (r. 1711–1747)

Abd al-Mumin (nominal Khan 1747–1748)

Ubayd Allah III (nominal Khan 1748–1756)

Muhammad Rahim Manghit (not a Togha-Timurid, r. 1756–1758)

Abu'l Ghazi (nominal Khan 1758–1785)

Sources: Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), pp. 56–60. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (2000), pp. 325f.

The Manghits of the Emirate of Bukhara, 1756–1920

Muhammad Hakim Bey (r. as ataliq 1714–1743)

Muhammad Rahim (r. as ataliq 1743–1756, as khan 1756–1758)

Danial Bey (r. as ataliq 1758–1785)

Shah Murad (r. as amir 1785–1799)

Amir Haydar Töre (r. 1800–1826)

Amir Hussain (r. 1826–1827)

Amir Umar (r. 1827)

Amir Nasrallah (r. 1827–1860)

Muzaffar al-Din (r. 1860–1885, as of 1868 vassal of Russia)

Abd al-Ahad (r. 1885–1911, vassal of Russia)

Mohammed Alim (r. 1911–1917 as vassal of Russia, independent 1917–1920, d. 1944)

Sources: Yuri Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states: Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand: *c.* 1750–1886', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 392–411. Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Islam and the Russian Empire. Reform and Revolution in Central Asia* (London, I.B.Tauris, 2009), p. 193. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (2000), p. 325.

The Arabshahids of Chorasmia, 1511–1804

Ilbars Khan I (r. 1511–1525)

Sultan Hajji (r. 1525–?)

Hasan Quli

Sufyan

Bujugha

Avnik

Qal (r. 1539–1546)

Aqatay (r. 1546)

Dost Muhammad (r. 1546–1558)

Hajji Muhammad Khan I (r. 1558–1602)

Arab Muhammad Khan (r. 1602–1623)

Isfandiyar Khan (r. 1623–1643)

Abu'l Ghazi Khan I (r. 1643–1663)

Anusha Muhammad Khan (r. 1663–1685)

Muhammad Aurang (r. 1685–1688)

Ishaq Agha Shah Niyaz (r. 1688–1702)

Arab Muhammad II (1702–?)

Hajji Muhammad II (r. ?–1714?)

Yadigar (1714)

Aurang (r. 1714–*ca.* 1715)

Shir Ghazi Khan (r. 1714/15–1728)

Ilbars II (r. 1728–1740)

Tekir Shah (Nader Shah's governor, r. 1742–1745)

Abu'l Ghazi II Muhammad (r. 1742–1745)

Ghaib (r. 1745–1770)

Abu'l Ghazi III (r. 1770)

Puppet khans of Qungrat leaders Muhammad Amin Inaq (r. 1770–1790) and Avaz Amin Inaq (r. 1790–1804)

Sources: Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), pp. 54–60. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (2000), pp. 327f.

The Qungrats of Chorasmia, 1770/1804–1920

Muhammad Amin (r. as inaq 1770–1790)

Avaz Inaq (r. as inaq 1790–1804)

Iltüzer Khan (r. 1804–1806)

Muhammad Rahim Khan Bahadur I (r. 1806–1825)

Allah Quli (r. 1825–1842)

Rahim Quli (r. 1842–1846)

Muhammad Amin (r. 1846–1855)

Abdallah (r. 1855)

Qutlugh Murad (r. 1855–1856)

Sayyid Muhammad (r. 1856–1865)

Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan Bahadur II (r. 1865–1910, as of 1873 Russian vassal)

Isfandiyar (r. 1910–18, vassal of Russia)

Sayyid Abdallah (r. 1918–20, vassal of Russia, d. in 1920s)

Sources: Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia. Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004). Yuri Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states: Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand: *c.* 1750–1886' (2009), pp. 392–411. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (2000), p. 328.

The Chagataiids of Moghulistan, 1347–1705*

Tughlugh Temür (r. 1347–1363)

Ilyas Khwaja (r. 1363–1365)

Qamar al-Din Dughlat (not a Chagataiid, r. 1365–*ca.* 1390)

Khizr Khwaja (r. *ca.* 1383/90–1399)

Sham-i Jahan (r. 1399–1408)

Muhammad Khan (r. 1408–1416)

Naqsh-i Jahan (r. 1416–1418)

Uways Khan (first reign 1418–21)

Sher Muhammad (r. 1421–1425)

Uways Khan (second reign 1425–1428)

Esen Buqa (r. 1428–1462)

Yunus Khan (r. 1462–1487)

Mirza Abu Bakr Dughlat (not a Chagataiid, r. in Yarkand *ca.* 1481–1516)

Ahmad Alaq Khan (r. in Turfan 1487–1503)

Mahmud Khan (r. in Tashkent 1487–1508)

Mansur Khan (r. in Turfan 1508–1543)

Said Khan (r. in West Moghulistan 1514–1533)

Shah Khan (r. in Turfan 1543–1560)

Abdu'l Rashid (r. in Yarkand 1533–1560)

Abd al-Karim Khan (nominal paramount ruler 1560–1591)

Muhammad Sultan (nominal paramount ruler 1591–1609)

Shuja al-Din Ahmad Khan (r. in Yarkand *ca.* 1610–1618)

Kuraysh Khan (r. 1618)

Abdu'l Latif I (r. 1618–1630)

Sultan Ahmad (r. 1630–1633)

Mahmud Sultan (r. 1633–1636)

Sultan Ahmad Khan (r. 1636–?)

Abdullah Khan (r. *ca.* 1636–1667)

Yolbars Khan (r. 1667–1670)

Abdu'l Latif II (r. 1670)

Ismail Khan (r. 1670–1678)

Abdu'l Rashid II (r. 1679–1682)

Muhammad Amin Khan (r.*ca.* 1682–*ca.* 1694)

Yahya Khoja (not a Chagataiid, r. *ca.* 1694–1695)

Jallad Khanum (not a Chagataiid, r. 1695)

Abkash Khan (nominal rule in Yarkand 1695–1705)

* This list makes no claim to completeness, since rulers succeeded each other quickly and Moghulistan was divided into two or three centres of power. This overview lists only the most important rulers with their sometimes approximate dates.

Sources: Schwarz, Henry G., 'The Khwajas of Eastern Turkestan', in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 20, No. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), pp. 266–96. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (2000), pp. 322, 329f.

The Khans of Kazan, 1437/38–1552

Khan Ulugh Mohammad, (r. Golden Horde 1419–1421, 1428–1433, in Kazan 1437/38–1445)

Mahmud bin Ulugh Mohammad (r. 1445–1466)

Khalil bin Mahmud (1466–1467)

Ibrahim bin Mahmud (r. 1467–1479)

Ali bin Ibrahim (first reign 1479–1484)

Muhammad Amin bin Ibrahim (first reign 1484–1485)

Ali bin Ibrahim (second reign 1485–1487)

Muhammad Amin bin Ibrahim (second reign 1487–1495)

Mamuq Khan (r. 1495–1496)

Abd al-Latif (1496–1502)

Muhammad Amin bin Ibrahim (third reign 1502–1518)

Shah Ali bin Allah Yar (first reign 1518–1521)

Sahib Khan Giray (reg. 1521–1524)

Safa Khan Giray (first reign 1524–1532)

Jan Ali bin Allah Yar (r. in Kasimov 1519–1532, in Kazan 1532–1535)

Safa Khan Giray (second reign 1535–1546)

Shah Ali bin Allah Yar (second reign 1546)

Safa Khan Giray (third reign 1546–1549)

Ötemish Giray (r. 1549–1551)

Shah Ali bin Allah Yar (third reign 1551–1552)

Yadgar Muhammad (r. 1552)

Sources: Brian L. Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700* (2007), pp. 12–17. Allen J. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 245–50. Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943), pp. 164, 175.

The Khans of the Great Horde and Astrakhan *ca.* 1466–1556

Great Horde, *ca.* 1466–1502

Küchük Mohammad (of Golden Horde, r. *ca.* 1435–1459, since 1433 in Astrakhan)

Mahmud (of Golden Horde, r. 1459–1465)

Ahmad (the former Golden Horde is called the Great Horde from *ca.* 1466, r. 1465–1481)

Murtada Khan (co-ruler, 1481–1498, r. 1499)

Sheikh Ahmed (co-ruler, 1481–1498, r. 1499–1502)

Khanate of Astrakhan, 1502–1556*

Abd al-Karim Khan bin Mahmud Khan (r. de facto early 1490s–1502, de jure 1502–1514)

Jani Beg Khan bin Mahmud (1514–1521)

Husayn (?)

Rapid succession of nominal rulers descending from Ahmad Khan, Mahmud Khan, Murtada Khan and Islam Giray, all more or less depending on Noghai support.

Yamghurchi, a Noghai (1540s–1554)

Dervish Ali (r. 1554–1556)

* This list makes no claim to completeness.

Sources: Allen J. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 254f. Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin, *Astrakhan Anno 1770. Its History, Geography, Population, Trade, Flora, Fauna and Fisheries* (1770–84; English translation Washington: Mage Publishers, 2013), pp. 35–51.

The most important Khans and Amirs of the Nogai Horde and their predecessors, 2nd half fifteenth century–*ca.* 1634*

Amir Edigü (warlord of the Golden Horde, d. 1419)

Mansur bin Edigü (r. ?)

Nur al-Din bin Edigü (*ca.* 1426–*ca.* 1440)

?

Musa bin Waqqas (2nd half 15th century)

?

Yusuf Bey bin Musa (r. *ca.* 1536–*ca.* 1555)

Ismail Bey bin Musa (r. *ca.* 1554–1563)

Greater Horde

Ismail Bey bin Musa (r. *ca.* 1554–1563)

Din Achmad bin Ismail (r. 1563–78)

Mirza Urus bin Ismail (r. 1578– *ca.* 1600)

Ishterek Bey bin Din Achmad (r. *ca.* 1600–1618)

At least three competing Khans

Lesser Horde of Azov

Qasim bin Sheykh Mamai (r. *ca.* 1555– *ca.* 1601)

* This list makes no claim to completeness.

Sources: Brian L. Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700* (2007), pp. 8, 16. Allen J. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 241–45.

The Khans of Sibir, 1427–1582/98*

Hajji Muhammad Khan (d. 1428 or 1429)

Abu'l Khayr Khan (r. 1429–68/69)

Ibak Khan (r. *ca.* 1468/69– *ca.* 1494)

Mamuq (Mamat, Muhammad) Khan (r. *ca.* 1494–95, 1496–?)

?

Yagidar Bey (r. ?–1563)

Bey Bulad (co-ruler?)

Küchüm Khan (r. 1563–82, as guerilla leader 1582–98)

* This list makes no claim to completeness.

Sources: James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia. Russia's North Asian Colony 1581–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 25–27. Allen J. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 250–53.

The Khans of Crimea, *ca.* 1441–1783

Hajji Giray (r. *ca.* 1441–*ca.* 1466)

Haydar Giray (r. 1456, rebel against his father Hajji Giray)

Nur Devlet Giray (first reign 1466–1468)

Mengli Giray I (first reign 1468–1469)

Nur Devlet Giray (second reign 1469–1471)

Mengli Giray I (second reign 1471–1474)

Nur Devlet Giray (third reign 1474–1475)

Mengli Giray I (third reign 1475)

Nur Devlet Giray (fourth reign 1476–1478)

Mengli Giray I (fourth reign 1478–1514)

Mehmed Giray I (r. 1514–1523)

Ghazi Giray I (r. 1523–1524)

Saadet Giray I (r. 1524–1532)

Sahib Giray (r. 1532–1551)

Islam Giray I (r. as rival Khan 1532–1534)

Devlet Giray I (r. 1551–1577)

Mehmed Giray II (r. 1577–1584)

Saadet Giray II (r. 1584)

Islam Giray II (r. 1584–1588)

Ghazi Giray II (first reign 1588–1596)

Fatih Giray I (r. 1596)

Ghazi Giray II (second reign 1596–1608)

Toqtamish Giray (r. 1608)

Selamet Giray I (r. 1608–1610)

Jani Beg (first reign 1610–1623)

Mehmed Giray III (r. 1623–1628)

Jani Beg (second reign 1628–1635)

Inayet Giray (r. 1635–1637)

Bahadir Giray I (r. 1637–1641)

Mehmed Giray IV (first reign 1641–1644)

Islam Giray III (r. 1644–1654)

Mehmed Giray IV (second reign 1654–1666)

Adil Giray (r. 1666–1671)

Selim Giray I (first reign 1671–1678)

Murad Giray (r. 1678–1683)

Hajji Giray II (r. 1683–1684)

Selim Giray I (second reign 1684–1691)

Saadet Giray III (r. 1691)

Safa Giray (r. 1691–1692)

Selim Giray I (third reign 1692–1699)

Devlet Giray II (first reign 1699–1702)

Selim Giray I (fourth reign 1702–1704)

Ghazi Giray III (r. 1704–1707)

Kaplan Giray I (first reign 1707–1708)

Devlet Giray II (second reign 1709–1713)

Kaplan Giray I (second reign 1713–1715)

Devlet Giray III (r. 1716–1717)

Saadet Giray IV (r. 1717–1724)

Mengli Giray II (first reign 1724–1730)

Kaplan Giray I (third reign 1730–1736)

Fatih Giray II (r. 1736–1737)

Mengli Giray II (second reign 1737–1740)

Selamet Giray II (r. 1740–1743)

Selim Giray II (r. 1743–1748)

Arslan Giray (first reign 1748–1756)

Halim Giray (r. 1756–1758)

Qirim Giray (first reign 1758–1764)

Selim Giray III (first reign 1765–1767)

Arslan Giray (second reign 1767)

Maqsud Giray (r. 1767–1768)

Qirim Giray (second reign 1768–1769)

Devlet IV (first reign 1769–1770)

Kaplan Giray II (r. 1770)

Selim Giray III (second reign 1770–1771)

Sahib Giray II (r. 1771–1775)

Devlet Giray IV (second reign 1775–1777)

Sahin Giray (first reign 1777–1778)

Selim Giray III (third reign 1778)

Sahin Giray (second reign 1778–1782)

Bahadir Giray II (r. 1782)

Sahin Giray (third reign 1782–1783)

Sources: Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), pp. 1–69. Josef Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim unter osmanischer Herrschaft. Aus türkischen Quellen zusammengetragen* (1856, Reprint Charleston: BiblioLife, print-on-demand *ca*. 2012). Neil Kent, *Crimea. A History* (London: Hurst, 2016).

The Timurid Mughal Emperors of India, 1526–1858

Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (r. 1526–1530)

Humayum (first reign 1530–1540)

Sher Khan Suri, a non-Mughal Pashtun (r. 1540–1545)

Islam Shah Suri, a non-Mughal Pashtun (r. 1545–1554)

Firuz Shah Suri, a non-Mughal Pashtun (r. 1554)

Muhammad Adil Shah Suri, a non-Mughal Pashtun (r. 1554–1555)

Ibrahim Shah Suri, a non-Mughal Pashtun (r. 1555)

Sikander Shah Suri, a non-Mughal Pashtun (r. 1555)

Humayum (second reign 1555–1556)

Akbar (r. 1556–1605)

Jahangir (r. 1605–1627)

Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658, d. 1666)

Aurangzeb, Alamgir I (r. 1658–1707)

Bahadur Shah I (r. 1707–1712)

Jahandar Shah (1712–1713)

Farrukhsiyar (r. 1713–1719)

Muhammad Shah (1719–1748)

Ahmad Shah (r. 1748–1754)

Alamgir II (1754–1759)

Shah Alam (1759–1806)

Akbar II (r. 1806–1837)

Bahadur Shah II (r. 1837–1858, d. 1862)

Sources: John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Francis Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), pp. 112–79.

The Khans of the Northern Yuan Dynasty, 1368–1634

Toghon Temür (r. 1368–1370)

Biligtü Khan Ayushiridara (r. 1370–1378)

Ushkal Khan Tögüs Temür (r. 1378–1388)

Jorightu Khan Yesüder (r. 1388–1392)

Engke Khan?

Elbeg (r. 1393–1399)

Gung Temür Khan (r. 1400–1402)

Örüg Temür Khan (r. 1402–1408)

Öljey Temür Khan (**Bunyashiri**, r. 1408–1412)

Delbeg Khan (r. 1412–1414)

Oyiradai Khan (r. 1415–1425)

Adai Khan (r. 1426–1438)

Toghtoa Bukha (r. *ca.* 1438–1453)

Esen Khan (not a Genghis Khanid but an Oirat Tayishi, ruled de facto 1438/39–1453, r. as khan 1453–1455)

Mar Körgis Khan (r. 1455– *ca.* 1465)

Molon Khan (Tögüs, r. *ca.* 1465–1466)

Mandughul Khan (r. *ca.* 1473–1478/79)

Batu Möngke Dayan Khan (r. *ca.* 1480–1517 or 1524; the later dates 1533 or 1543 are unlikely)

Bodi Alagh Khan (r. ?–1547)

Daraisung Gudeng (r. 1547–1557)

Tümen Jasaghtu Khan (r. 1557–1592)

Buyan Sechen Khan (r. 1592–1604)

Ligdan Khan (r. 1604–1634)

Ejei Khan (did not really reign, d. 1661)

Sources: Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (2004), pp. 407–10. Veronika Veit, ‘The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan (1368–1636)’, in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 162f, 167f, 178, 181. Concerning Esen Khan’s reign duration, see chapter III, note 13.

The Khans of the Dzungars, *ca.* 1600–1757

Khara-Khula Tayishi (r. *ca.* 1600–1634)

Erdeni Batur Khong Tayishi (r. 1634–1653)

Sengge Khong Tayishi (r. 1653–1671)

Galdan Boshughthtu Khan (r. 1671–1697)

Tsewang Rabtan (r. 1697–1727)

Galdan Tsering (r. 1727–1745)

Tsewang Dorje Namgyal (r. 1746–1750)

Lama Darja (Dorji, r. 1750–1752)

Dawachi (r. 1753–55)

Amursana (r. as Khan of the Khoit 1755–1757)

Sources: Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 280. Michael Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. XIV.

The Kazakh Khans of the unified khanate, *ca.* 1465/70–1718

Giray Khan (d. *ca.* 1480)

Jani Beg Khan, co-ruler (d. 1480)

Burunduq Khan (r. 1480–1511)

Qasim Khan (r. 1511–1519 or 1521)

Muhammad Husayn (Mumash) Khan (r. 1519/21–1523)

Tahir Khan (r. 1523– *ca.* 1529/33)

Birilash (Buydash) Khan (r. *ca.* 1529/33–1534)

Tughum Khan (r. 1534–1538)

Haqq (Aq) Nazar Khan (r. *ca.* 1538–1580)

Shighay Khan (r. 1580–1582)

Tevekkel (Tauekel) Khan (r. 1582–1598)

Ishim (Esin) Khan (r. in Turkistan 1598–1628)

Tursun Mohammad (r. in Tashkent before 1613–1628)

Jahangir Khan (r. 1628–1652)

Batyr (a title, r. 1652–1680?)

Tavke (Tauke) Khan (r. 1680–1718)

After Tavke Khan's death the khanate broke up into three hordes:

The **Junior Horde** *Kishi Zhuz,* abolished by Russia in 1824 (a part of the Junior Horde formed 1801–1845 the **Inner Horde** *Bukey Zhuz*)

The **Middle Horde** *Orta Zhuz,* abolished by Russia in 1822

The **Senior Horde** *Ulu Zhuz,* abolished by Russia in 1848

Sources: Frank J. Allen, 'The Qazakhs and Russia', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 363–79. Karl Baipakov and B.F. Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 89–108. Paul Georg Geiss, *Pre-Tsarist and Tsarist Central Asia: Communal Development and Political Order in Change* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2013), p. 114.

The Tayishis and Khans of the Kalmyks, before 1604–1771

Khoo-Örlög Tayishi (r. before 1604–1644)

Daichin Tayishi (r. 1647–1661)

Puntsuk Tayishi (r. 1661–1669)

Ayuka Khan (r. 1669–1724)

Cheren Donduk Khan (r. 1724–1735)

Donduk Ombo Khan (r. 1735–1741)

Donduk Dashi Khan (r. 1741–1761)

Ubashi Khan (r. 1761–1771, d. 1774/75)

Source: Khodarkovsky, Michael, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

The Afghan Dynasty of the Hotaki Ghilzai, 1709–1738

Mir Ways (r. in Kandahar 1709–1715)

Abd al-Aziz (r. in Kandahar 1715–1717)

Mir Mahmud (r. in Kandahar 1717–1722, in Iran 1722–1725)

Ashraf Khan (r. in Iran 1725–1729, d. 1730)

Husayn Hotaki (r. in Kandahar 1725–1738)

Sources: D. Balland, 'Ashraf Gilzai, the Afghan chief who rules as Shah over part of Iran from 1137/1725 to 1142/1729', in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (2011). H.R. Roemer, 'The Safavid period', in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 314–17. Mir Hussain Shah, 'Afghanistan', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov, (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 280–85. Willem Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), pp. 221–27.

The Kings and Amirs of the Popalzai and Barakzai of Afghanistan, 1747–1973

Ahmad Shah Durrani (r. 1747–1772)

Timur Shah (r. 1772–1793)

Zaman Shah (r. 1793–1800)

Shah Mahmud (first reign 1801–1803)

Shah Shuja (first reign 1803–1809)

Shah Mahmud (second reign 1809–1818)

Power struggle among the Barakzai brothers, 1818–1826

Dost Muhammad Khan (first reign. 1826–1839)

Shah Shujah (second reign 1839–1842)

Fateh Jang Sadozai (r. 1842)

Shahpur Sadozai (r. 1842)

Akbar Khan (ruled in place of his father Dost Muhammad 1842/43)

Dost Muhammad Khan (second reign 1842/43–1863)

Sher Ali (first reign 1863–1866)

Muhammad Afzal (r. 1866–1867)

Muhammad A'zam (r. 1867–1869)

Sher Ali (second reign 1869–1879)

Yaqub Khan (1879–1880)

Abdur Rahman (r. 1880–1901)

Habibullah (r. 1901–1919)

Nasrullah (r. 21–28 February 1919, d. 1920)

Amanullah (r. 1919–1929, d. 1960)

Inayatullah (r. 14–17 January 1929, d. 1946)

Habibullah Kalakani (an ethnic Tajik, r. 18 January – 13 October 1929)

Nadir Shah (r. 1929–1933)

Zahir Shah (nominal r. 1933–1963, actual r. 1963–1973, d. 2007)

Sources: A. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars, 1839–1919* (London: Osprey, 1980). Mohan Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul: with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian, and Persian Governments, including the victory and disasters of the British army in Afghanistan* (London: Longman, 1846). Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; reprint, New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2002), Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War against the Taliban* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002). Willem Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).

The Khanate of Kokand and the Dynasty of the Ming, early 18th *c.*–1876

Shah Rukh (r. 1709–1721)*

Abdu'l Rahim (r. 1721–1733)*

Abdu'l Karim Bey (r. 1733–1746 or 1750)*

Abdu'l Rahman (r. *ca.* 1750–1751)*

Baba Beg (r. 1751?)*

Irdana Bey (r. 1751–1770)*

Sulayman Shah (r. 1770)*

Narbuta Bey (r. 1770–1798/99)*

Alim Khan (r. 1798/99–1810)

Umar Khan (r. 1810–1822)

Muhammad Ali (Madali, r. 1822–1842)

Sultan Mahmud (r. 1842)

Sher Ali Khan (r. 1842–45)

Murad Bey Khan (r. 1845)

Muhammad Khudayar Khan (first reign 1845–1858)

Mallya Khan (r. 1858–1862)

Shah Murad (r. 1862) **

Muhammad Khudayar Khan (second reign 1862–1863)

Sultan Murad or Shah Murad (1863–1865) ***

Khuda Qul (**Belbakchi Khan**, r. 1865)

Muhammad Khudayar Khan (third reign 1865–1875, vassal of Russia)

Pulad Khan, a Kyrgyz pretender (r. 1875)

Nasir al-Din (r. 1875–1876)

* The dates till 1798/99 are approximate and may differ from one source to another.

** Bababekov says that Shah Murad was a son of Mallya Khan (p. 76); Dubovitskii/Bababekov qualify him as nephew of Mallya Khan (p. 36).

*** Bababekov gives the name Shah Murad for this ruler and identifies him with the previous Shah Murad (p. 76), Dubovitskii/Bababekov name him Sultan Murad and qualify him as son of Mallya Khan (p. 37).

Sources: H.N. Bababekov, 'Fergana and the Khanate of Kokand', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 76f. Yuri Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states: Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand: c. 1750–1886' (2009), pp. 392–411. Victor Dubovitskii with Khaydarbek Bababekov, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Ferghana Valley. The Heart of Central Asia* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), pp. 29–68. Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (2000), p. 326f.

Notes

Introduction

1 Clifford Kinvig, ‘Review of *The Scope and Methods of Geography and the Geographical Pivot of History* by Halford Mackinder’ (London: International Affairs, vol. 27, no. 4, 1951), pp. 540–41.

2 Shireen Hunter, *Islam in Russia: The Politics of Identity and Security* (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), p. 309.

I. Descendants of the Genghis Khanids

1 Anthony Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1886), pp. 85, 87.

2 On the Islamic denominations and early intra-Muslim conflict, see: Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia: The Age of Islam and the Mongols*, vol. 3 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2016), pp. 6–11, 312f.

3 As already mentioned in volume III of the present work, the Mughal dynasty of India (1526–1858), founded by Babur, is not to be confused with the khanate of Moghulistan in East Turkestan (1347–1705). Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 342n 135.

4 Yuri Bregel, ‘The Abu’l-Khayrids’, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica (2009, updated 2011). R.D. McChesney, ‘The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785’, in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 277–79.

5 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. 3 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2016), pp. 267f.

6 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 295. Yuri Bregel, ‘Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens’, in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 222f.

7 ‘Tayishi’ is a Mongolian title of Chinese origin for a tribal leader who was immediately subordinate to the Khan of a tribal union.

8 Bregel, ‘Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens’ (2009), pp. 225. Mansura Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (Delhi: Manohar, 2002), pp. 66–68.

9 Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, Trans. D. Ross, (New Delhi: Abi Prints, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 272f.

10 Bregel, ‘Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens’ (2009), pp. 226. Allen J. Frank, ‘The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea’, in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 253.

11 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. 3 (2016), p. 300.

12 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), pp. 103–18. H.R. Roemer, ‘The Successors of Timur’, in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 126.

13 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), p. 117. R.D. McChesney, ‘The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785’ (2009), p. 292.

14 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 2, p. 162.

15 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), p. 102. R.D. McChesney, ‘The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785’ (2009), p. 280.

16 R.G. Mukminova and A. Mukhtarov, ‘The Khanate (Emirate) of Buchara’, in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), p. 37.

17 E.A. Davidovich, ‘Monetary policy and currency circulation under the Shaybanid and the Janid (Astarkhanid) dynasties’, in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), pp. 427–31. R.G. Mukminova and A. Mukhtarov, ‘The Khanate (Emirate) of Buchara’ (2003), p. 37.

18 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), pp. 119–21, 130.

19 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 2, p. 231.

20 H.R. Roemer, ‘The Safavid period’, in Jackson and Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 6 (1986), pp. 182–209, 216f.

21 Roemer, ‘The Safavid period’ (1986), pp. 198, 209, 214.

22 Khwandamir, Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad, *Habibu al-Siyar* [Beloved of Careers], in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, translated and annotated by Wheeler Thrackston, vol. II (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012), part IV, 523, p. 582. See also: Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 2, pp. 232–36.

23 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), pp. 133f. R.D. McChesney, ‘The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785’ (2009), p. 293.

24 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (2012), part IV, 524, p. 586. Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 2, pp. 237–42.

25 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (2012), part IV, 518f, pp. 584f.

26 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (2012), part IV, 524, p. 586.

27 Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), p. 50. Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (2012), part IV, 524f, pp. 586f.

28 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (2012), part IV, 526–29, pp. 587–89. H.R. Roemer, ‘The Successors of Timur’ (1986), p. 127.

29 Baber, Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed, *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber,* trans. the late John Leyden and William Erskine (London: Longman et al. 1826), pp. 243–45.

30 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (2012), part IV, 545–48, pp. 595f. H.R. Roemer, ‘The Safavid period’ (1986), pp. 224f.

31 Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), p. 52.

32 Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), p. 52. Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), pp. 163–70.

33 The Shia Ismailis inhabiting the Pamir Mountains of Tajikistan are an exception.

34 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), pp. 180–202.

35 Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels* vol. I, Introduction (1886), pp. i–ii.

36 Date given according to the Julian calendar which was in use in England until 1751. According to the Gregorian Calendar Jenkinson reached Bukhara on 2 January 1559.

37 Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels* vol. I (1886), pp. 41–91.

38 Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels* vol. I (1886), p. 88.

39 Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels* vol. I (1886), pp. 41–94. Kit Mayers, *The first English Explorer. The Life of Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1611) and his adventures on the route to the Orient* (Kibworth Beauchamp: Matador, 2017), pp. 36–131. The

Uzbek raids against Khorasan also made a return journey via Persia impossible.

40 The ruler of Samarkand who invaded Bukhara was probably Baba Sultan, the eldest son of Ahmad Nawruz, who inherited Samarkand in 1556. Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels* vol. I (1886), p. 93n.2.

41 Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), pp. 54f.

42 M. Annanepesov, 'Relations between the Khanates and with other powers', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 83. Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), pp. 54f. Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), p. 264.

43 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), p. 262.

44 A. Khan Iqtidar, 'Inter-state relations (c. 1550–1850)', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 330. Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), p. 272.

45 Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 223.

46 A. Khan Iqtidar, 'Inter-state relations' (2003), p. 333.

47 Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), p. 287.

48 J.L. Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy.' Bukhara, Afghanistan and the Battle for Balkh, 1731–1901* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 42–56.

49 Edward Allsworth, *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview: Encounter* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 40f.

50 McChesney, 'The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785' (2009), pp. 298–302. Mukminova and Mukhtarov, 'The Khanate (Emirate) of Buchara' (2003), pp. 45–48.

51 Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy'* (1996), pp. 50–53.

52 Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy'* (1996), pp. 57f. Mukminova and Mukhtarov, 'The Khanate (Emirate) of Buchara' (2003), pp. 48f.

53 Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy'* (1996), pp. 58–60, tables IV, i–vi. Jürgen Paul, *Zentralasien* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2012), pp. 357f.

54 Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 291. Fred W. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe. The Struggle of the Russians, Manchus, and the Zungar Mongols for Empire in Central Asia, 1619–1758* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 358–61.

55 Florio Beneveni, *Poslannik Petra I na Vostoke: posol'stvo Florio Beneveni v Persiû i Buharu v 1718–1725 godach* (Moskva: Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija, 1986), p. 75.

56 Frank J. Allen, 'The Qazakhs and Russia', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 368. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 361f, 370.

57 See here pp. 103f.

58 After a failed attempt on Nader Shah's life in 1741, he had his son Reza Quli blinded because he suspected his involvement in the conspiracy. Michael Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia. Nader Shah, from Tribal Warrior to Conquering Tyrant* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006), pp. 238–40.

59 Peter Avery, 'Nadir Shah and the Afsharid Legacy', in: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 36–43. E. Eshraghi, 'Persia during the period of the Safavids, the Afshars and the early Qajars', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), pp. 262f.

60 Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia* (2006), pp. 191–93, 221–27. R.G. Mukminova and A. Mukhtarov, 'The Khanate (Emirate) of Buchara' (2003), pp. 394f.

61 See here p. 115.

62 The name Chor Bakr essentially means 'four Bakr'. It refers to the tradition according to which the Imam Sayid Abu Bakr, one of the four Bakr brothers who were supposedly descendants of the Prophet, was buried here around the year 970.

63 For a photo, see: Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), fig. 219.

64 On the architecture in Bukhara: Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 199–204. Haidar, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (2002), pp. 325–35. Galina Pugachenkova, 'Architecture in Transoxania and Khurasan', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), pp. 479–97, 501.

65 George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), p. 220.

66 Blair, Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam* (1995), pp. 204–7. Galina Pugachenkova, 'Architecture in Transoxania and Khurasan' (2003), pp. 498–500.

67 Jenkinson, *Early voyages and travels*, vol. I (1886), p. 70.

68 Ebülgâzî Bahadir Khan, Khan of Khorezm, *A general history of the Turks, Moguls, and Tatars, vulgarly called Tartars. Together with a Description of the Countries they inhabit* (London: Knapton et al, 1730; Reprint Bibliolife, 2016), vol. II, pp. 444–51. See also: Theodor Friedrich Julius Basiner, 'Reise durch die Kirgisensteppe nach Chiwa', *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Russischen Reiches und der angrenzenden Länder Asiens* (St Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1848), p. 101. Carl Timmermann, *Denkschrift über den unteren Lauf des Oxus zum Karabugas-Haff des Caspischen Meeres und über die Strombahn des Ochus, oder Tedshen der Neueren, zur Balkan-Bay* (Berlin: Reimer, 1845), p. 179. For a longer discussion, see: Alexander von Humboldt, *Asie Centrale. Recherches sur les chaines de montagnes et la climatologie comparée* (Paris: Gide, 1843), vol. II, pp. 226–38. E.M. Mursajew, *Auf unbetretenen Pfaden. Durch Asiens Wüsten und Hochgebirge* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1956, pp. 100–109).

69 M. Annanepesov. 'The Khanate of Khiva (Khwarazm)', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 66.

70 Annanepesov, 'The Khanate of Khiva (Khwarazm)' (2003), p. 64. Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), pp. 52–54.

71 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states: Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand: c. 1750–1886', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 392f.

72 Allsworth, *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview: Encounter* (1994), p. 8. Josef Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1893; Reprint Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977), p. 31.

73 The Cossacks were a hierarchical association of cavalries led by an ataman. They were recruited from among escaped Russian and Ukrainian serfs, adventurers and – initially – from Tartars. When they started to settle along rivers from the sixteenth century, they became armed peasants. In the eighteenth century, the Cossacks were gradually absorbed into the Russian cavalry.

74 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 32, 36, 77.

75 Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet: Discoveries in former times compared with my own researches in 1906–1908* (Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army, 1917–22), vol. I, pp. 253–59. Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005), pp. 211f, 306f. Josef Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 31f.

76 Henry Sutherland Edwards, *Russian Projects against India. From the Czar Peter to General Skobeleff* (London: Remington, 1885), pp. 4–25. Michael Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 157–60. René Létolle Monique Mainguet, *Der Aralsee. Eine ökologische Katastrophe* (Berlin: Springer, 1996). Josef Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 153f.

77 See below pp. 122, 138f.

78 See below p. 113.

79 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), pp. 398f.

80 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), pp. 247f.

81 The terms Altishahr and Yetishahr were mainly used by Western travellers. See: Ildikó Bellér-Hann, *Community matters in Xinjiang, 1880–1949: towards a historical anthropology of the Uyghur* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 39f. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), p. 239.

82 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 2, p. 303.

83 On the history of Moghulistan until the end of the fourteenth century, see: Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), pp. 247–49.

84 Hodong Kim, 'The early history of the Moghul nomads: the legacy of the Chagatai Khanate', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 302f.

85 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 1, p. 58.

86 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 60–90. James Millward, 'Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 260–65.

87 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 99–112, vol. 2, pp. 254f, 310–28.

88 T. Choroev, 'The Kyrgyz', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), pp. 110f.

89 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 120–37.

90 Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1998), vol. 2, pp. 384–451, 467.

91 Millward, 'Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800' (2009), p. 266f.

92 Taken from: Cornelius Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travelers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1992), pp. 25f.

93 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 2 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014), pp. 12–14.

94 George Bishop, *In Search of Cathay. The Travels of Bento de Goes, S.J. (1562–1607)* (Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1998), pp. 116–294. Cornelius Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (1992), pp. 1–42.

95 Ma Dazheng, 'The Tarim Basin', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), pp. 184f. James Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads. A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 86. 'Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800' (2009), p. 268. Th. Zarcone, 'The Sufi orders in northern Central Asia', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 774.

96 Ma Dazheng, 'The Tarim Basin' (2003), pp. 184f, 191f. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 86–88. 'Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800' (2009), p. 268.

97 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 251f.

98 Henry G. Schwarz, 'The Khwajas of Eastern Turkestan', in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 20, No. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), pp. 276–80.

99 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 96. 'Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800' (2009), pp. 268f. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 289–91.

100 Zarcone, 'The Sufi orders in northern Central Asia' (2003), pp. 774f. See below pp. 120f.

101 Ma Dazheng, 'The Tarim Basin' (2003), pp. 192f, 201f. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 191f. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 199, 222. See below p. 208.

102 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), p. 286.

103 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), pp. 262–73, 279.

104 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), pp. 272f.

105 Concerning the history of Kazan, see also: Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier. The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 83–109.

106 Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943), pp. 160f.

107 Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), p. 246.

108 The generic term 'Tatars' refers to the Turkic Kipchaks, who in the Middle Ages mixed with the respective local populations and the Mongol conquerors.

109 Baumer, *History of Central Asia*, vol. 2 (2014), pp. 209–13.

110 Andreas Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich. Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall* (Frankfurt a.M.: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1992), p. 29. For an older history of the Khanate and its ethnic composition, see: Edward Tracy Turnerelli, *Russia on the borders of Asia: Kasan, the ancient capital of the Tartar khans*, 2 vols (London: R. Bentley, 1854).

111 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), pp. 269f.

112 Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), pp. 247, 258. Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), pp. 83, 203. Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland 1223–1502* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943), pp. 166, 175. Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), pp. 166, 175.

113 Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), p. 258.

114 Brian L. Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 5, 9, 13.

115 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 273.

116 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), p. 14. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), pp. 247f. Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), pp. 84–86. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (1943), pp. 191–95.

117 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), pp. 5, 8f. Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), p. 15. Andreas Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), pp. 28, 30. On relations between Moscow and Kazan, see also: Janet Martin, 'Muscovite Relations with the Khanates of Kasan and the Crimea (1460s to 1521)', in: *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, vol. 17, No. 4 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1983), pp. 435–53.

118 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), pp. 14f. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), p. 208.

119 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), p. 40.

120 Christian Noack, 'The western steppe: the Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea under Russian rule', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 303–6.

121 The Streltsy formed a palace guard, which was established by Tsar Ivan around 1550 and rapidly grew into a well-armed professional army. In 1698, Tsar Peter I disbanded the mutinous Streltsy.

122 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), p. 12f, 16f.

123 See below p. 42, here below n. 156.

124 Frank 'Russia and the peoples of the Volga-Ural region: 1600–1850', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 381–85. Andreas Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), pp. 31–34, 55.

125 Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East. An illustrated history of Assyrian Christianity* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2nd edition 2016), pp. 237–40.

126 Allan J. Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 34.

127 Frank, 'Russia and the peoples of the Volga-Ural region' (2009), pp. 376–86. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), pp. 33–36. Noack, 'The western steppe' (2009), pp. 328f.

128 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 271f.

129 Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), pp. 253f.

130 Bregel, 'Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens' (2009), p. 226. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), p. 253.

131 Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), p. 251. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (1943), pp. 176, 88–247.

132 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (1943), p. 190.

133 Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (1943), pp. 200–204.

134 Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), pp. 254f.

135 Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin, *Astrakhan Anno 1770. Its History, Geography, Population, Trade, Flora, Fauna and Fisheries* (1770–84; English translation Washington: Mage Publishers, 2013), p. 35.

136 A.A. Kurbatov, *Astrachan Kremlin* (Rostow am Don: I.P. Yutishev 2010), pp. 41–47. M.S. Zaitseva and E.S. Koblova, *Astrakhan Kremlin* (Astrachan: JSC Publishing House Nova, 2011), pp. 6–15.

137 Tsar Peter's efforts in 1701–9 to build a Don-Volga canal failed. The canal was only realised under Stalin and opened in 1952.

138 Gmelin, *Astrakhan Anno 1770* (2013), pp. 40f. See also: Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), pp. 12f. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 44f. Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), pp. 115–17.

139 Gmelin, *Astrakhan Anno 1770* (2013), pp. 41–51.

140 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 267.

141 The exact relationship of the almost interchangeable names 'Nogai' and 'Manghit' remains unclear.

142 Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), pp. 241–43.

143 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), pp. 8, 16. Allen J. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), pp. 243f.

144 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 77, 80f.

145 James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia. Russia's North Asian Colony 1581–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press1992), pp. 25f. Frank, 'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea' (2009), pp. 250f.

146 Bruce W. Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 39f.

147 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 22–29. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), pp. 29–35. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), p. 43.

148 Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), p. 63. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), p. 39.

149 Insofar as the Crimean Tatar Khanate only turned to Central Asia as a second priority and was primarily oriented to the Ottoman Empire, Moscow and Poland-Lithuania, its history will only be concisely summarised.

150 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), p. 3. Frank, 'The western steppe' (2009), p. 256.

151 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 20–22. Allen J. Frank, 'The western steppe' (2009), p. 256.

152 Lebedynsky cites the year 1441, Fisher 1443.

Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 3f. Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *La Horde d'Or. Conquête mongole et 'Joug tatar' en Europe 1236–1502* (Arles: Éditions Errance, 2013), p. 55.

153 Nicola Franco Balloni and Nelia Kukovalska (eds), *The Genoese in Crimea: A Historical Guide* (Kiev: Gorobez, 2009), pp. 82f. Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), p. 5.

154 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), p. 7. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 8–11, 14, 34.

155 Neil Kent, *Crimea. A History* (London: Hurst, 2016), p. 47.

156 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), p. 7.

157 According to Khodarkovsky, between 1600 and 1650 Moscow paid to Crimea 1 million rubles tribute and 5 million rubles ransom. The total corresponded to the cost of founding 1,200 cities, and the lack of these funds hampered the urbanisation of Russia. Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), p. 223.

158 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), pp. 20–27. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 16, 19, 26–28, 40. James Forsyth, *The Caucasus. A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 214.

159 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 38f.

160 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 42f.

161 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 16, 29f.

162 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society* (2007), pp. 183–87.

163 The Azov fortress fell again to the Ottomans in 1711, until finally passing into Russian hands in 1739.

164 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 30f. Neil Kent, *Crimea. A History* (London: Hurst, 2016), p. 50.

165 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 52f.

166 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 58–69. Neil Kent, *Crimea. A History* (London: Hurst, 2016), p. 52–57.

167 See Chapters IV and V.

II. The Descendants of the Timurids: the Dynasty of the Mughal in India and Afghanistan

1 John Jourdain, *The Journal of John Jourdain 1608–1617 describing his experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago,* ed. William Foster (1905, Reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational services, 1992), p. 224.

2 Baber, Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed, *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber,* trans. John Leyden and William Erskine (London: Longman et al. 1826), pp. XXVI, LX. This edition will be given in the following notes as Baber, *Memoirs* (1826).

3 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), p. VI.

4 See above pp. 8–11. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 300.

5 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), pp. 132–50. Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* (2012), part IV, 308, p. 494.

6 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), pp. 140, 156–66, 285.

7 Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar*, vol. II (2012), Part IV, 363, p. 521.

8 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), pp. 199–208. Khwandamir, *Habibu al-Siyar* ,(2012), part IV, 368–72, pp. 523–23.

9 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), p. 306.

10 Kenneth Chase, *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 131f. Francis Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors and the Islamic Dynasties of India, Iran and Central Asia* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p. 116.

11 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), p. 287.

12 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), p. 304.

13 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), pp. 304–7.

14 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), p. 368.

15 The French *Compagnie française des Indes orientales* was only founded in 1664 by Finance Minister Colbert. Iradj Amini, *Napoleon and Persia: Franco-Persian Relations under the First Empire* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), pp. 10, 16.

16 Bamber Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls* (New Delhi: Time Books International, 1987), pp. 137–39, 154. John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 199. Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), p. 140.

17 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), p. 341.

18 The Qur'an does not speak explicitly of the four rivers of Paradise, but simply of the fact that in the 'Gardens of Eternity ... rivers flow' (Qur'an Surahs 2:25, 18:31). But many hadiths mention four rivers flowing out of Paradise.

19 Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), pp. 117, 152.

20 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 9–12. Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), pp. 122–24.

21 In the Third Battle of Panipat on 14 January 1761, the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali defeated an army of Marathas, who fought on behalf of the weakened Mughal. Alexander Mikaberidze (ed.), *Conflict and Conquest in the Islamic World* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2011), vol. 2, pp. 707f.

22 Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), p. 132.

23 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 19–25, 39.

24 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 2 (2014), pp. 46–58.

25 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 246, fig. 173, 289.

26 Philippa Vaughan, 'Architektur [Indien: Sultanate und Moghuln]', in: Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), p. 464.

27 Bianca Maria Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Laurence King, 2000), pp. 205–22.

28 M. Athar Ali, 'The Mughal empire and its successors', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 313. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 35, 47f. Francis Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), p. 123.

29 An additional, secondary reason for Akbar leaving Fatehpur Sikri was its problematic water supply.

30 See above pp. 15f. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 18, 49f, 112, 114th

31 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 55f.

32 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 94f.

33 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 102f. Francis Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), p. 146. 'Begum' or 'Begam' is a royal and princely title encountered in Central Asia and India and is the feminine form of the title *beg*, *bey*.

34 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 303.

35 Baber, *Memoirs* (1826), p. 156. Babur himself wrote a Qur'an in the writing he devised and gave this one-of-a-kind work to the Persian Shah Ismail, his ally against the Uzbeks. The small-format Qur'an is now in the calligraphy museum of the Imam Reza shrine in Mashhad, Iran.

36 Father Monserrate, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*; transl. J.S. Hoyland (London: Oxford University Press, 1922).

37 It was the eight-volume polyglot Bible, which was printed 1568–72 by Christophe Plantin in Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin, and Greek. O. Okada, 'Painting in Mughal India', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 595.

38 Blair, Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam* (1995), pp. 287–94. Philippa Vaughan, 'Dekorative Künste [Indien: Sultanate und Moghuln]', in: Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 484f.

39 Blair, Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam* (1995), p. 295.

40 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), p. 173.

41 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 121f.

42 See above p. 19 and: Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy'* (1996), pp. 50–53.

43 Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls* (1987), p. 203.

44 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp.133–35, 142, 288f.

45 Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), p. 152. Philippa Vaughan, 'Architektur [Indien: Sultanate and Moguls]' (2000), p. 480.

46 Bernier, François, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656–1668*. A revised and improved edition based upon Irving Brock's translation by Archibald Constable (1891; Reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1996), p. 25. The private gem dealer Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–89), who made six trips to India, reported in detail on the power struggle between Shah Jahan's four sons. Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, ecuyer baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes : pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir, accompagnez d'observations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coûtumes & le commerce de chaque païs; avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours* (Utrecht: Guillaume van de Water, Guillaume & Jacob Poolsum, 1712), vol. II, pp. 230–64.

47 Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls* (1987), pp. 206–20.

48 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653–1708*. Transl. by William Irvine (London: John Murray, 1907), vol. I, p. 359.

49 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 171–78.

50 Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls* (1987), pp. 230–38.

51 Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), pp. 164f.

52 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), pp. 200f, 239–42.

53 Laurence Lockhart, 'European contacts with Persia, 1350–1736', in: Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 393.

54 Robinson, *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), p. 179.

III. A Reorganisation of Geography: North Central Asia Becomes a Periphery

1 Isabelle Charleux, *Temples et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2006), p. 86.

2 The chronicles of the Chinese Ming dynasty are virtually the only source for the history of early Northern Yuan. Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), p. 407.

3 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), pp. 156, 238f. Edward L., Dreyer, 'Military origins of Ming China', in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I*, ed. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 99–103. Hok-Lam Chan, 'The Chien-wen, Yung-lo, Hung-hsi, and Hsüan-te reigns, 1399–1435', in: *The Cambridge History of China,* Vol. 7, Part I (1988), p. 223. John D. Langlois, 'The Hung-wu reign, 1368–1398', in: *The Cambridge History of China,* Vol. 7, Part I (1988), pp. 128–30.

4 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 262.

5 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia* (2004), p. 408. Veronika Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan (1368–1636)', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 162f.

6 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 235–37. Hok-Lam Chan, 'The Chien-wen, Yung-lo, Hung-hsi, and Hsüan-te reigns' (1988), pp. 223–29. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 54–57.

7 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), p. 237.

8 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 238–42. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 58f. Denis Twitchett and Tilemann Grimm, 'The Cheng-t'ung, Ching-t'ai, and T'ien-shun reigns, 1436–1464', in: *The Cambridge History of China,* Vol. 7, Part I (1988), pp. 316–31. D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634* (Chengtu: West China Union University, 1947), pp. 47–51.

9 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 177.

10 Frederick W. Mote, 'The Ch'eng-hua and Hung-chi reigns, 1465–1505', in: *The Cambridge History of China,* Vol. 7, Part I (1988), pp. 389f, 400–02.

11 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia* (2004), p. 408. Louis Hambis, *Documents sur l'histoire des mongols à l'époque des Ming* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), pp. 34, 36.

12 Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan' (2009), p. 165.

13 The termination of Dayan Khan's reign and death have been reported with wide variations: Ishjamts 1504, which is certainly too early, Atwood 1517 Geiss 1524, Barfield 1533 and Veit 1532 or 1543 and the *Erdeni-tobči* 1543. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (2004), p. 138. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), p. 244. James Geiss, 'The Chia-ching reign, 1522–1566', in: *The Cambridge History of China,* Vol. 7, Part I (1988), p. 467. N. Ishjamts, 'The Mongols', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 211. Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses [Erdeni-tobči],* trans. from the Mongolian and ed. by Issac Jacob Schmidt (St Petersburg, 1829), pp. 195. Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan' (2009), p. 167.

14 Ssanang, *Erdeni-tobči* (1829), pp. 175–81.

15 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 243f. Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan' (2009), pp. 166f.

16 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 277f. Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 28. Michael Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 7f. N. Ishjamts, 'The Mongols' (2003), p. 69.

17 Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan (1368–1636)' (2009), pp. 167f.

18 The banner system was an administrative unit, not linked to the tribes themselves, that was both military and civilian in nature.

19 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 261f, 275f. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 164–74. Gertraude Roth Li, 'State Building before 1644', in: *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 9. Part One: The Ch'ing Empire to 1800*, ed. Williard J. Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 41–63. Ssanang, *Erdeni-tobči* (1829), p. 287. Veronika Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan (1368–1636)' (2009), pp. 178–81.

20 Roth Li, 'State Building before 1644' (2002), p. 65.

21 Geiss, 'The Chia-ching reign, 1522–1566' (1988), p. 475.

22 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 245f. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 65f.

23 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 66.

24 Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 26.

25 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 235.

26 Ssanang, *Erdeni-tobči* (1829), p. 225. English translation from: Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan' (2009), p. 170. See also: Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 38. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 66.

27 The two predecessors of Sonam Gyatso, as leaders of the Gelugpa, posthumously received the title of Dalai Lama. Gendun Drup (1391–1474), the successor of the order's founder Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), was honoured as the first Dalai Lama.

28 The title 'Dalai Lama' is accordingly described as 'ocean-like, wise Lama'. The title 'Dalai-yin Khan' has been used among the Mongols since the thirteenth century. Martin Brauen (ed.), *Die Dalai Lamas,* exhib. cat. Völkerkundemuseum Zürich (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2005), pp. 58f. Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 43.

29 Ssanang, *Erdeni-tobči* (1829), pp. 235, 237.

30 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), p. 198. Brauen (ed.), *Die Dalai Lamas* (2005), p. 59. Klaus Sagaster, 'Der mongolische Buddhismus' and 'Das Kloster Erdeni Joo (Erdenezuu)' in: Claudius Müller und Jacob Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, exhib. cat. Kunst und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik, Bonn (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), pp. 344f, 348.

31 *The Jewel Translucent Sutra, Erdeni Tunumal Sudur. Altan Khan and the Mongols in the Sixteenth Century.* Edited, translated and annotated by Johan Elverskog (*ca.* 1607; Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 36f.

32 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (2004), pp. 211, 550. Christoph Baumer and Therese Weber, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2005), pp. 75, 175. Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 65. Günther Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas* (Leipzig: VEB Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), pp. 230–35.

33 The institution of a Khutukhtu (Tibetan Tulku), in which a deceased Buddhist master again embodies himself in his next rebirth, was not invented by the Gelugpa. Rather, it was already employed at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the Order of the Kagyu Karmapa. Baumer and Weber, *Eastern Tibet* (2005) p. 83.

34 Bawden, Charles R. *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 53–56. Kyzlasov, L.R., 'The peoples of Southern Siberia in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), p. 175.

35 Charles R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 52–55. Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 64. Veit, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan (1368–1636)' (2009), p. 172.

36 The ceremony of 1691, which humiliated the Khalkha princes, was described by eyewitness Father Gerbillon. The princes had to prostrate themselves nine times before the emperor. Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages ou nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre*, vol. 7 of 25 (Paris: Didot, 1749), p. 557.

37 Charles R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 71–80. Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), pp. 70, 80–82. Nicola Di Cosmo, 'The Qing and Inner Asia: 1636–1800', in: Di Cosmo et al. (eds), The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age (2009), p. 348. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp.147–50, 175f, 180–89. Outer Mongolia is roughly equivalent to today's Republic of Mongolia and Inner Mongolia is more or the less the same as the area covered by the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China. The division took place for the first time in 1634 and was ratified in 1691.

38 Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 74.

39 Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, *Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, Et Physique De L'Empire De La Chine Et De La Tartarie Chinoise*; vol. 4 (Den Hague: Scheurleer, 1736), pp. 99, 117.

40 Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 86.

41 This First Changkya Khutukhtu was actually the thirteenth incarnation of an existing line of ancestry of the Gelugpa, active in the north of the Tibetan region of Amdo (today's south-western Gansu). Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011), p. 221. Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 80.

42 Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain* (2011), pp. 221f. Michael Henss, 'The Bodhisattva-Emperor: Tibeto-Chinese Portraits of Sacred and Secular Rule in the Qing Dynasty', in: *Oriental Art* (Singapore: Oriental Art Magazine, 2001), vol. XLVII, No. 3, pp. 75–77.

43 The Oirat Dzungars, who likewise glorified the Dalai Lama, were destroyed by Emperor Qianlong in 1756–58. See below pp. 87–90.

44 Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 58, 112–22.

45 Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 58, 132.

46 Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 80. Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 279, 440.

47 Henss, 'The Bodhisattva-Emperor' (2001), vol. XLVII, No. 3, figs. 1, 6–9, No. 5, fig. 1.

48 Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 84.

49 See below pp. 201–6.

50 See above p. 40.

51 Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), p. 40. Bruce W. Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), p. 55.

52 At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the state fur stocks also served as repositories for the ruble. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 74f, 98.

53 Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), pp. 45, 63. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), pp. 38f.

54 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 16, 98. Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), pp. 46, 84,

55 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 46f. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), p. 37.

56 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 33–36, 78, 80–82.

57 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 33f.

58 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 41–43, 84–96.

59 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 90–93.

60 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 102f, 111, 113, 123f. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), p. 96. Jonathan Spence, 'The K'ang-hsi Reign', in: *The Cambridge History of China,* Vol. 9. Part One (Press, 2002), p. 151.

61 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 138f. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), pp. 104f. Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), p. 71.

62 See the next sub-chapter. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 225–30. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), p. 107. Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), p. 193. Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages* (1749), vol. 7, p. 447. Spence, 'The K'ang-hsi Reign' (2002), p. 153.

63 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 214.

64 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 238.

65 Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages* (1749), vol. 7, p. 447. The garrison of Nerchinsk consisted of 600 additional soldiers. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 271.

66 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 240–42, 261–64. Perdue offers another account of these events and dates the siege of Selenginsk to early 1689. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 166.

67 Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages* (1749), vol. 7, p. 447. See also : Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, *Description Géographique,* vol. 4 (1736), pp. 240–318.

68 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 168. The tolerance edict was undermined in the years 1705–07 by the papal envoy Maillard de Tournon, when he excommunicated Chinese Catholics who had maintained Confucian rites with the consent of the missionary Jesuits in China. Spence, 'The K'ang-hsi Reign' (2002), p. 123, 158.

69 Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages* (1749), vol. 7, pp. 490–96.

70 Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages* (1749), vol. 7, pp. 496–500. The treaty was drafted in Latin, Russian, Chinese Manchurian and Mongolian. In the case of a dispute, the Latin version was binding. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 275.

71 Russia exported furs and imported cotton, silk, and tea from China. Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), pp. 145f

72 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 171f.

73 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 250.

74 Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent* (2007), pp. 190–95.

75 For the Kalmyks see below pp. 96–100.

76 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 94–102. Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 74–77.

77 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 105–7.

78 See above fig. 53 and p. 87 and Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 38.

79 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 88f.

80 James Millward, 'Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800' in: Di Cosmo et al. (eds), The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age (2009), p. 270. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 107f.

81 Harald Haarmann, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1998), pp. 510–12.

82 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 279f.

83 Di Cosmo, 'The Qing and Inner Asia: 1636–1800' (2009), p. 346.

84 See above p. 27.

85 See above p. 81.

86 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 284f. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 279f. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 151–58.

87 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 290–94, 297. Perdue believes that Galdan was poisoned. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 177–203. Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages* (1749), vol. 7, pp. 596–601.

88 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), p. 287.

89 Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), pp. 127, 226f.

90 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 292f. Brauen (ed.), *Die Dalai Lamas* (2005), pp. 81f, 93, 96–98. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 152, 178, 192, 228.

91 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 228.

92 The deposed Dalai Lama was probably poisoned as a potential threat. A later legend had it that he was able to escape to the holy mountain of Wutai Shan, where he lived incognito. Christoph Baumer, *China's Holy Mountain* (2011), pp. 281f.

93 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 303f. Brauen (ed.), *Die Dalai Lamas* (2005), p. 103.

94 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 299. Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 133f. In his report, however, Kangxi's envoy Tulishen writes that he had been instructed by the emperor not to accept such an alliance offer on the part of Ayuka. Sir George Thomas Staunton, *Narrative of the Chinese embassy to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, in the years 1712, 13, 14 & 15, by the Chinese ambassador [T'u-Li-Shin], and published by the emperor's authority, at Pekin* (London, John Murray, 1821), p. 10.

95 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 298–301. Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 154–56. Staunton, *Narrative of the Chinese embassy* (1821), pp. 147–55, 170–76. China in 1731 and 1732 tried again in vain to win Russia respectively the Kalmyks for a joint attack on Dzungaria. Jin Noda, *The Kazakh Khanates between the Russian and Qing Empires* (Leiden: Brill, 2016) pp. 105–15.

96 Staunton, *Narrative of the Chinese embassy* (1821), pp. 184f. See also: Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 301.

97 Staunton, *Narrative of the Chinese embassy to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars* (1821), p. 218.

98 Brauen (ed.), *Die Dalai Lamas* (2005), p. 108. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 235. Hugh M. Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (Boulder: Shambala, 1984), p. 49. Bergholz cites 1724 for the expulsion of Dzungars, which is too late. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 307.

99 Di Cosmo, 'The Qing and Inner Asia: 1636–1800' (2009), p. 350. Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (1984), pp. 50–52.

100 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), p. 238.

101 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 247, 311f.

102 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), p. 290. Allen J. Frank, 'The Qazakhs and Russia', in: Di Cosmo et al. (eds), The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age (2009), p. 368.

103 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), p. 186 n. 42.

104 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia* (2004), p. 194. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 253–55.

105 Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 306f.

106 Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia. Sinkiang and the Inner Asia Frontiers of China and Russia.* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950), p. 126. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 283–88, 297f.

107 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 2 (2014), pp. 8–14.

108 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 97.

109 See below pp. 207ff. Hodong Kim, *Holy War in China. The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877* (2004), p. 68. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 96, 109f. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 289–92.

110 It is ironic that the concept of a Uyghur identity and nation touted by today's Uyghur nationalists and separatists stems from the Chinese warlord Sheng Shicai and was further used by Mao Zedong. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 208. James Millward and Nabijan Tursun, 'Political History and Strategies of Control, 1884–1978', in: Starr, S. Frederick (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 73, 80. J. Todd Reed and Diana Raschke, *The ETIM. China's Islamic Militants and the Global Terrorist Threat* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010), pp. 6f.

111 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 97.

112 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 2 (2014), pp. 272, 284.

113 In the geological sense, a Pamir is a U-shaped valley in high mountains.

114 See above p. 28.

115 Kim, *Holy War in China.* (2004), pp. 20f. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 96f, 109f. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 289–92.

116 See below p. 158.

117 David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), p. 179.

118 Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier* (1992), pp. 300–302. Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1934), pp. 75–84.

119 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 2 (2014), pp. 7, 14.

120 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 97–105. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 337–52.

121 In older Russian literature until about 1920, the Kazakhs are called 'Kyrgyz', 'Kara Kyrgyz' ('Black Kyrgyz') or 'Kyrgyz Kaisak', even though the Russians realised that these 'Kyrgyz' referred to themselves as 'Kazakhs'. Georges de Meyendorff, *Voyage de Orenbourg a Boukhara, fait en 1820, a travers les steppes qui s'étendent a l'est de la mer d'Aral et au-dela de l'ancien Jaxartes; rédigé par et revu par M. le chevalier Amédée Jaubert* (Paris: Librairie Orientale de Dondey-Dupré, père et fils, 1826), p. 53.

122 On the genesis of the Kazakhs, see above p. 7.

123 Karl Baipakov and B.F. Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), pp .90f, 91n. 7.

124 Baipakov and Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', pp. 93f. Allen, 'The Qazakhs and Russia' (2009), pp. 363f.

125 S.G. Kljaštornyj and T.I. Sultanov, *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens. Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin: Schletzer, 2006), pp. 319f. See also: Baipakov and Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', p. 95. A. Khan Iqtidar, 'Inter-state relations (c 1550–1850), in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle et al. (2003), p. 333. McChesney, 'The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785' (2009), pp. 299f.

126 The chronology of the khans here is uncertain. Allen J. Frank provides no information for the period between 1652 and Tavke's takeover. On the other hand, Baipakov dates Jahangir's reign to 1630–80. For the questionable Batyr period, Geiss cites r. 1652–80. Baipakov and Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', p. 96. Frank J. Allen, 'The Qazakhs and Russia' (2009), p. 364. Paul Georg Geiss, *Pre-Tsarist and Tsarist Central Asia: Communal Development and Political Order in Change* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2013), p. 114.

127 On the difficulty of precisely dating the emergence of the three Zhuz and defining their territorial expansion, see: Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs* (Washington DC: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), pp. 10–13.

128 See above p. 87. Baipakov and Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', pp. 92–96. Khodarkovsky *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), p. 150. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), p. 283.

129 Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), p. 361.

130 Olcott, *The Kazakhs* (1995), p. 31.

131 The Kazakhs were only superficially Islamised and had no mosques in the steppe. They practised ancestor worship and maintained many shamanistic beliefs and rituals. Olcott, *The Kazakhs* (1995), p. 19.

132 The dating of the nominal accession of the Older Horde to Russia is variously represented: Bergholz cites 1734, Baipakov 1738, and Paul 1742. Baipakov and Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', pp. 98f. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 370–73. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 284f. See also: Khodarkovsky *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), pp. 152f, 163, 204.

133 Nikolaus Rytschkow, *Herrn Nikolaus Rytschkow kaiserlicher russischer Capitains Tagebuch über seine Reise durch verschiedne Provinzen des russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1769, 1770 und 1771* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1774), pp. 29–30.

134 Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), p. 59. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), p. 118–23. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), p. 44. Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 33, 57.

135 The number Castle specified of 40,000 is certainly too high. John Castle, 'Journal von der Ao 1736 aus Orenburg zu dem Abul Geier Chan der Kirgis-Cavsack Tartarischen Horda aus freyem Willen und bloß zu dem Besten des Russischen Reiches unternommenen höchst nöthigen und zwar gefährlichen doch glücklich vollbrachten Reise', in: *Materialien zu der russischen Geschichte seit dem Tode Kaisers Peters des Großen. Zweiter Theil, 1730–1741* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1784), pp. VII, 3–22, 45, 65f.

136 Baipakov and Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', p. 98. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe* (1993), pp. 372–75.

137 See above p. 36.

138 Baipakov and Kumekov, 'The Kazakhs', pp. 99f. Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), pp. 60, 62. Allen, 'The Qazakhs and Russia' (2009), p. 373.

139 Allen, 'The Qazakhs and Russia' (2009), pp. 376–78. 'Russia and the peoples of the Volga-Ural region: 1600–1850', in: Di Cosmo et al. (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (2009), p. 386.

140 Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), p. 39.

141 See below pp. 99f.

142 The southern regions of the Senior Horde were under the control of khanate of Kokand from 1809.

143 Allen, 'The Qazakhs and Russia' (2009), pp. 369–72. Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), p. 182f. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), p. 365.

144 Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), p. 159.

145 See below p. 113.

146 See below p. 138. Ravshan Abdullaev et al, 'Colonial Rule and Indigenous Responses, 1860–1917', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Ferghana Valley. The Heart of Central Asia* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), p. 33. Victor Dubovitskii with Khaydarbek Bababekov, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate', in: Starr (ed.*), Ferghana Valley* (2011), pp. 33, 45. Alexei Nikolajewitsch Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews in Turkmenien nebst einer Übersicht der kriegerischen Tätigkeit der russischen Truppen in Zentralasien von 1839–1876* (Mühlheim am Rhein: C.G. Künstler Wwe., 1904), pp. 11–18.

147 In contrast to the older Russian literature, where the ethnonym 'Kalmyks' means all Western Mongolian Oirats, today it is only applied to the Volga Oirats. As the only Western Mongols, they referred to themselves as 'Kalmyks' (Kalimag, Khal'mag). Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia* (2004), p. 288.

148 See above pp. 83f.

149 Forsyth, *The Caucasus* (2013), p. 148. Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp.74–80. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 251f.

150 On the Buddhism of the Kalmyks, which also contained natural religious ideas, see: Benjamin Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmücken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803* (Riga: Hartmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1804–05), vol. 3, pp. 23–184. Bergmann stayed in Kalmykia in 1802/3.

151 Forsyth, *The Caucasus* (2013), pp. 217, 230.

152 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 80–89.

153 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 66f, 90–95.

154 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 95–99.

155 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 100–33.

156 See above p. 86.

157 Voltaire (François Marie d'Arouet), *Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand* (No publisher given, 1763), vol. 2, p. 223.

158 John Bell of Antermony, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia, to diverse parts of Asia in two volumes* (Glasgow: Printed for the author by Robert and Andrew Foulis printers to the University 1763), vol. 2, pp. 331–33.

159 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 167f, 173, 183.

160 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 174–83, 189.

161 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 193–96.

162 Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier* (2002), pp. 141, 216.

163 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 212–30.

164 For an early description of the return, see: Benjamin Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmücken* (1804–05), vol. 1, pp. 141–245.

165 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), p. 230.

166 Paul Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire Kalmouke* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1960), vol. 1, p. 38.

167 Mikhailov was a native Persian who was first sold as a child to an Armenian stableman and then to a Russian priest. Later, he fought as Kalmyk dragoon and, from 1770, as a Cossack.

168 Benjamin Bergmann, *Schicksale des Persers Wassilij Michailow unter den Kalmüken, Kirgisen und Chiwensern* (Riga: Hartmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1804), 28f.

169 Nikolaus Rytschkow, *Herrn Nikolaus Rytschkow kaiserlicher russischer Capitains Tagebuch* (1774), pp. 323–409.

170 Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire Kalmouke* (1960), vol. 1, p. 38.

171 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met* (1992), pp. 232–35. Perdue, *China Marches West* (2005), pp. 295–98. A group of Volga-Kalmyks who had travelled to Lhasa for pilgrimage had already in 1705 settled in the region of the Etzin Gol (north-western China) when a Dzungar-Chinese war made their return to the Volga impossible. Henning Haslund-Christensen, *Zajagan. Menschen und Götter in der Mongolei* (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1936), pp. 107f.

172 Nikolaus Rytschkow, *Herrn Nikolaus Rytschkow kaiserlicher russischer Capitains Tagebuch* (1774), pp. 418f.

173 Justin J. Corfield, *The History of Kalmykia: from ancient times to Kirsan Ilyumzhinov and Aleksey Orlov* (Victoria: Gentext Publications, 2015), pp. 38–45.

174 Corfield, *The History of Kalmykia* (2015), pp. 81f. The Kalmyks were several times obliged to change their script: in 1924 a modified Cyrillic script replaced their traditional vertical Kalmyk script and in 1930 the former was replaced by the Latin alphabet. And in 1938 the Latin script was superseded by the Cyrillic one. Forsyth, *The Caucasus* (2013), p. 451.

175 Corfield, *The History of Kalmykia* (2015), pp. 87–109. Elza-Bair Guchinova, *The Kalmyks* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 25–40.

IV. Afghanistan until 1837 and the Khanates of Central Asia until the Russian Conquest

1 George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), p. 162.

2 The rulers of the Manghits in Bukhara wielded both titles, amir and khan, so that Bukhara could be described as both an emirate and a khanate. Yuri Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), pp. 306f.

3 The toponym 'Afghanistan', which means 'the country of the Afghans', emerged in the nineteenth century. The ethnonym 'Afghan' is mentioned for the first time in the Hudud al-Alam, compiled in 982. *Hudud al-Alam: The Regions of the World – A Persian Geography 372 A.H.–982 A.D.,* transl. by V. Minorsky, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), § 10, 16a 48,50, pp. 91.

4 The original text reads: 'Afghanistan is, in terms of geography, barely a country at all.' Robert D. *Kaplan, The Revenge of Geography* (New York: Random House, 2013), p. 245.

5 Mountstuart Elphinstone, *Tableau du royaume de Caboul et de ses dépendances, dans la Perse, la Tartarie et l'Inde, offrant les murs, usages et costumes de cet empire* (1815; abbreviated French translation Paris: Nepveu, 1817), vol. 1, pp. 149–54, 159–63; vol. 2, p. 67.

6 Henry Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East: A Series of Papers on the Political and Geographical Condition of Central Asia* (London: John Murray, 1875), vol. 369.

7 Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India: comprising a view of the Afghaun nation, and a history of the Doorannee monarchy* (London: Bentley, 1842), vol. 2, pp. 99–101. A. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars, 1839–1919* (London: Osprey, 1980), p. 10.

8 Mike Martin, *An Intimate War. An Oral History of the Helmand Conflict, 1978–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 288. Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan. A History of Struggle and Survival* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012), pp. 4, 13, 24.

9 Willem Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), p. 220.

10 Anonymus, *Der Persianische Cromwel oder Leben und Thaten des Miri-Ways, Fürsten von Candahar und Protectoris von Persien* (no publisher, 1723), p. 92. The alleged field report of the anonymous author from Saxony, which inspired G.P. Telemann to compose an opera, contains so many inaccuracies relating to Mir Ways that it was probably compiled from different sources.

11 Louis Dupree, *Afghanistan* (1973; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 322–24. Roemer, 'The Safavid period' (1986), pp. 314–17. Mir Hussain Shah, 'Afghanistan', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (2003), pp. 280–83. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 221–23.

12 On Tsar Peter's campaign, see see above pp. 98f.

13 Guive Mirfendereski, *A Diplomatic History of the Caspian Sea. Treaties, Diaries and Other Stories* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 14.

14 Peter Avery, 'Nadir Shah and the Afsharid Legacy' (1991), pp. 20–30, 38. Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia* (2006), pp. 97–105, 181–86. D. Balland, 'Ashraf Gilzai, the Afghan chief who rules as Shah over part of Iran from 1137/1725 to 1142/1729', in: Encyclopaedia Iranica (2011). H.R. Roemer, 'The Safavid period' (1986), pp. 326–28. Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; reprint, New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 325–38. Willem Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 221–23.

15 Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 228f.

16 The original saying of General Nicolls reads as follows: 'We only, in truth, are certain of the allegiance of the people within range of our guns and cavalry.' George Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection. The Extraordinary Adventures of Major Eldred Pottinger* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), p. 110.

17 Alexander Burnes, *Cabool: Personal narrative of a journey to, and residence in that city, in the years 1836, 7, and 8* (1843, Champaign: Book Jungle, 2016), p. 274.

18 Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War against the Taliban* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002), pp. 119–22. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 229–32.

19 Elphinstone, *Tableau du royaume de Caboul* (1817), vol. 1, pp. 165–67.

20 Rear Admiral Nelson's destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir on 1 and 2 August 1798 made a French advance to the east impossible, if such a plan existed. Iradj Amini, *Napoleon and Persia: Franco-Persian Relations under the First Empire* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), pp. 8, 11–13, 34–36. Mir Hussain Shah, 'Afghanistan' (2003), p. 292. Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), pp. 14f.

21 Mohan Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul: with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian, and Persian Governments, including the victory and disasters of the British army in Afghanistan* (London: Longman, 1846), vol. 1, pp. 21–23, 27–30.

22 John William Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan: from the unpublished letters and journals of political and military officers employed in Afghanistan throughout the entire period of British connexion with that country* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), vol. I, pp. 641f.

23 Elphinstone, *Tableau du royaume de Caboul* (1817), vol. 1, pp. 1–2, 56–93.

24 Edward Ingram, *The Beginning of the Great Game in Asia 1828–1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 75.

25 Malcolm, John, 'Despatch to Lord Elgin, British Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, 23 March 1801', published as 'An assessment of the possibility of a Russian invasion of India' in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 32–37. Martin Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier in Central Asia. Confrontation and Negotiation, 1865–95* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 7.

26 Harford Jones, 'Letter to Sir Hugh Inglis Bart, November 29, 1802', in: Martin Ewans (ed.) *The Great Game,* vol. I (2004), pp. 49–52.

27 For the text of the Treaty of Finkenstein see: Amini, *Napoleon and Persia* (1999), pp. 102f, 205–8. On 10 May 1807, Napoleon instructed General Gardane to obtain a triple alliance between France, Persia and the Ottomans, and to clarify all the logistical questions which would arise from the advance of a 20,000-strong French army. Napoleon Bonaparte, 'Instructions for General Gardane, 10 May 1807', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (2004), pp. 53–56.

28 Amini, *Napoleon and Persia* (1999), pp. 103f.

29 Napoleon soon dissociated himself from the plan of a joint attack on India, while Tsar Paul I gave the seemingly delusional order to Cavalry General Vasily Orlov to attack British India on 12 January 1801. Paul's assassination on 23 March 1801 put an end to the preparations. Tsar Paul I, 'Excerpts from Personal Supreme Rescripts by His Imperial Majesty Paul I to the Ataman of the Don Cossack Troops, Cavalry General Vasily Petrovich Orlov, relating to the Expedition to India, St. Petersburg, 1901', in: Martin Ewans (ed.) *The Great Game,* vol. I (2004), pp. 46–48. Amini, *Napoleon and Persia* (1999), p. 44. Henry Sutherland Edwards, *Russian Projects against India. From the Czar Peter to General Skobeleff* (London: Remington, 1885), pp. 32–38.

30 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 637–40. Napoleon's difficult war in Spain

from the middle of 1808 made a French military intervention in Asia impossible. Amini, *Napoleon and Persia* (1999), pp. 158f, 170f, 181. Yorke, Edmund, *Playing the Great Game. Britain, War and Politics in Afghanistan since 1839* (London: Robert Hale, 2012), p. 21.

31 Rose Greaves, 'Iranian relations with Great Britain and British India', in: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 385, 387. Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 81–84.

32 The East India Company forced Ranjit Singh's youngest son, Dalip Singh, to hand over the Koh-i-Noor diamond during the annexation of Punjab in 1849.

33 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan* (1846), vol. 1, p. 107.

34 William Dalrymple, *Return of a King. The Battle for Afghanistan, 1839-42* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), pp. XVIf. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 108–19, 145, 153.

35 A. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), p. 18. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 165–72, 226–29. Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; 2002), vol. 1, pp. 392–98.

36 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 248–50. Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; 2002), vol. 1, pp. 398.

37 See above p. 24.

38 For a detailed description of the history of Chorasmia at the end of the eighteenth century, see: Shir Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi, *Firdaws al-iqbal. History of Khorezm*, translated and annotated by Yuri Bregel (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

39 Nicolaus von Murawjew, *Des Kaiserlichen Russischen Gesandten Nicolaus von Murawjew Reise durch Turkmanien nach Chiwa in den Jahren 1819 und 1820* (Berlin: Reimer, 1824), part 2, pp. 113f.

40 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), pp. 399f.

41 See below p. 141. Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), p. 400.

42 Murawjew, *Nicolaus von Murawjew(s) Reise* (1824), part 1, pp. 118–20, 156f, part 2, p. 73f

43 Murawjew, *Nicolaus von Murawjew(s) Reise* (1824), part 2, p. 74.

44 See above p. 24.

45 Blankennagel, 'Bemerkungen über eine in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 ausgeführte Reise nach Chiwa' in: *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, vol. 18, 1859, pp. 351–83 (Berlin: Reimer, 1859), pp. 352–81.

46 G.S. Vinsky, 'Project concerning the consolidation of Russian trade with Upper Asia through Khiva and Bokhara in the year 1818', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 68.

47 Murawjew, *Nicolaus von Murawjew(s) Reise* (1824), part 1, pp. 78f, part 2, pp. 9–13.

48 Murawjew, *Nicolaus von Murawjew(s) Reise* (1824), part 1, pp. 95, 107, part 2, pp. 131, 145–49.

49 Murawjew, *Nicolaus von Murawjew(s) Reise* (1824), part 2, pp. 107f.

50 Amini, *Napoleon and Persia* (1999), p. 74.

51 Letter from Wellington to Lord Heytesbury, British envoy in Russia, November 4, 1829. Duke of Wellington, *The Eastern Question. Extracted from the Correspondence of the Late Duke of Wellington* (London: John Murray, 1877), p. 44.

52 For a detailed description of the First Anglo-Afghan War see pp. 123–34..

53 See pp. 129f. The Persian siege army had a unit of alleged 'Russian deserters', who were indirectly led by General Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador in Tehran. A very similar course of action was followed during the Russian annexation of the Crimea in the spring of 2014, when soldiers without national emblems occupied strategic places, and the ensuing battles in the Eastern Ukraine with the participation of so-called Russian 'volunteer units'.

54 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 128–30.

55 Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), pp. 28–44.

56 Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara; containing the Narrative of a voyage on the Indus from the sea to Lahore, with presents from the King of Great Britain; and an account of a journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia. Performed by order of the Supreme Government of India, in the years of 1831, 32, and 33*; (London, John Murray 1835), vol. II, pp. 229–81.

57 Melvin M. Kessler, Ivan Viktorovich Vitkevich 1806–39: A Tsarist Agent in Central Asia (Washington: Central Asian Collectanea, 1960), pp. 10–14.

58 Alexander Burnes, *Kabul. Schilderung einer Reise nach dieser Stadt und Aufenthaltes dasselbst, in den Jahren 1836, 1837 und 1838* (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1843), pp. 132–36, 246f, 259–62. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 19f, 26–31, 42. Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection*. (1983), pp. 52–54. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 26–30, 39.

59 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), p. 191.

60 Edwards, *Russian Projects against India* (1885), pp. 82–147.

61 James, Abbott, *Narrative of a Journey from Heraut to Khiva, Moscow and St. Petersburgh, during the late Russian invasion of Khiva; with some account of the Court of Khiva and the Kingdom of Khaurism* (London: Allen & Co, 1843).

62 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 204f, 213–27.

63 Basiner, 'Reise durch die Kirgisensteppe nach Chiwa' (1848), p. 150.

64 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 6. Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 39f.

65 See above p. 95.

66 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), p. 407.

67 Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 56f.

68 See above p. 20.

69 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), pp. 395–98. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 54. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 380–82.

70 Meyendorff, *Voyage de Orenbourg a Boukhara* (1826).

71 Garry Alder, *Beyond Bokhara. The Life of William Moorcroft. Asian Explorer and Pioneer Veterinary Surgeon, 1767–1825* (London: Century Publishing, 1985), pp. 343–62.

72 Garry Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier 1865–95* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1963), p. 19. *Beyond Bokhara* (1985), p. 350.

73 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), p. 397.

74 Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (London, John Murray 1835), vol. III, pp. 288–92.

75 Arminius Vámbéry, *Voyages d'un faux derviche dans l'Asie Centrale de Téhéran à Khiva, Bokhara et Samarcand par le grand désert Turkoman* (Paris: Hachette, 1865), p. 133.

76 Vámbéry, *Voyages d'un faux derviche* (1865), pp. 173f. Basiner, 'Reise durch die Kirgisensteppe' (1848), p. 131.

77 Colonel Zalesof, 'Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Bokhara, 1836–1843', in: Shoqan Valikanof and M. Veniukof, *The Russians in Central Asia*, transl. John and Robert Michell (1865; Charleston: Nabu Press, 2016).

78 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 201, 230–36, 278f. Joseph Wolff, *Narrative of a mission to Bokhara in the years 1843–1845, to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845), pp. 194–274.

79 Colonel Zalesof, 'Colonel Ignatief's Mission to Khiva and Bokhara in 1858', in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 36–42.

80 John L. Evans, *Mission of N.P. Ignat'ev to Khiva and Bukhara in 1858*, translated and edited by John Evans (Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1984), pp. 92f.

81 Evans, *Mission of N.P. Ignat'ev to Khiva and Bukhara in 1858* (1984), p. 114.

82 Edwards, *Russian Projects against India* (1885), pp. 159–211.

83 Evans, *Mission of N.P. Ignat'ev to Khiva and Bukhara in 1858* (1984), pp. 12f, 125. See also the following translation: Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (2010), pp. 295f.

84 See above p. 82. David MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002). pp. 167–200.

85 See below p. 140.

86 See above p. 89.

87 H.N. Bababekov, 'Fergana and the Khanate of Kokand', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. V (2003), pp. 73f. Victor Dubovitskii with Khaydarbek Bababekov, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate', in: Starr (ed.), *Ferghana Valley* (2011), pp. 30–32. Kim, *Holy War in China*. (2004), pp. 19–22.

88 See above p. 25.

89 Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), pp. 23, 28f.

90 Irdana Bey had already used the title in a letter in 1763, but not within Kokand. Kim, *Holy War in China*. (2004), p. 21.

91 See above p. 95. Dubovitskii with Bababekov, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate' (2011), pp.33, 37f. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), p. 378. Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), p. 41.

92 Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), p. 379.

93 Kim, *Holy War in China*. (2004), pp. 27–32. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 113f.

94 Hermann Rudolph Alfred Schlagintweit, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien* (1880; Reprint Saarbrücken: Fines Mundi, 2006), vol. 4, p. 275.

95 See above pp. 95, 115 and below pp. 138ff.

96 Bababekov, 'Fergana and the Khanate of

Kokand' (2003), pp. 75f. Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia. Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. 17f, 26–28. Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states (2009), p. 407f. Dubovitskii with Bababekov, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate' (2011), pp. 34–38. Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), pp. 30–32. D. Romanovsky, *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1870), pp. 10–13, Appendices Xi, XX.

97 Romanovsky, *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (1870), pp. 15, 23f, 30–34, 51f, 57, Appendices XXX, XXXIV, LII.

98 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 28–35, 89–91. Dubovitskii with Bababekov, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate' (2011), pp. 34–38.

99 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), pp. 409f. Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Islam and the Russian Empire. Reform and Revolution in Central Asia* (London, I.B.Tauris, 2009), p. 38. Alexei Nikolajewitsh Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews in Turkmenien* (1904), pp. 39f.

100 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier in Central Asia* (2010), p. 111.

101 John Keay, *The Gilgit Game. The Explorers of the Western Himalayas* (London: John Murray, 1979), p. 159. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 111, 113.

102 See below pp. 154–65.

V. The 'Great Game': Central Asia as a Pivot of Russian and British Expansion Policy

1 Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), p. 321.

2 Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), pp. 322f. General Skobelev had already expressed an identical opinion in a secret memorandum from January 1878 General M.D. Skobelev, 'Memorandum of Adjutant General M.D. Skobelev about a campaign to India', January 1878, in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 442.

3 To better elucidate the political context that shaped the history of Central Asia from the late 1830s, the history of South Central Asia will not be presented in this chapter from a regional perspective, but from the point of view of the two main players, Russia and Great Britain.

4 John William Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers, Illustrative of the History of the Civil and Military Services of India,* 2 vols. (London: A. Strahan and Co & Bell and Daldy, 1867), vol. II, p. 101.

5 Malcolm Yapp, 'The Legend of the Great Game', in: *Proceedings of the British Academy 111. 2000 Lectures and Memoirs* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 182.

6 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 496–541.

7 Evgeny Sergeev, *The Great Game 1856–1907. Russo-British Relations in Central and East Asia* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), p. 7.

8 Sir George Lacy Evans, *On the Designs of Russia* (1828, Reprint Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2016), pp. 17f, 23, 78, 154–70. *On the practicability of an invasion of British India and on the commercial, and financial prospects and resources of the Empire* (1829, Reprint Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2016), pp. 79–101. Robert Wilson, *A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia in the Year 1817,* published as *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia,* edited by Martin Ewans, vol. IV (1817, Reprint London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. VII–X, 111, 144–48.

9 Alois Ritter von Haymerle, *Ultima Thule. England und Russland in Central Asien* (Wien: Verlag von Streffleur's Österreichischen, militärischen Zeitschrift, 1885), p. 85.

10 See above p. 44.

11 See above p. 44.

12 Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires. A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), pp. 250–59, 269.

13 F. Kazemdazeh, 'Iranian relations with Russia and the Soviet Union', in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7 (1991), p. 334.

14 Muriel Atkin, *Russia and Iran, 1780–1828* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), pp. 4, 25, 32f.

15 See above p. 112. Greaves, 'Iranian relations with Great Britain and British India' (1991), p. 389.

16 Edward Ingram, *The Beginning of the Great Game in Asia 1828–1834* (1979), p. 49.

17 Wilson, *A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia* (1817, 2004), p. 197.

18 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 114f. Ingram, *The Beginning of the Great Game* (1979), pp. 49f.

19 Neil Kent, *Crimea. A History* (London: Hurst, 2016), pp. 71–75. Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova (eds), *Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013), p. 95, n. 16.

20 Martin Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier in Central Asia* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p. 65. Charles Thomas Marvin, *Reconnoitring Central Asia. Pioneering adventures in the region lying between Russia and India* (1885; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1996), pp. 252f. Sergeev, *The Great Game* (2013), pp. 172, 178.

21 Haymerle, *Ultima Thule* (1885), pp. 85f.

22 See below p. 158. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 93–100.

23 Sun Tsu, *The Art of War,* transl. Thomas Cleary (Boston: Shambala, 1988), p. 67.

24 Russian text of the Treaty of Turkmenchay: http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Etext/FOREIGN/turkman.htm. Ingram, *The Beginning of the Great Game* (1979), p. 42. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 145f. F. Kazemdazeh, 'Iranian relations with Russia and the Soviet Union' (1991), p. 338.

25 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, p. 146.

26 Atkin, *Russia and Iran* (1980), p. 154.

27 Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East* (1875), p. 297.

28 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 9. Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 118f. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 22f.

29 Sir John Lawrence, 'Dispatch No. 162 of 23 October 1867', published as 'A case against the 'Forward Policy', October 1867' in: Ewans, *Great Power Rivalry* (2006), pp. 225–35.

30 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 9.

31 See above p.109.

32 Twenty years before Conolly, Captain Charles Christie had visited Herat disguised as a horse trader. Kamran Ekbal, 'Charles Christie, Captain (d. 1812), of the Bombay Regiment, an Anglo-Indian officer under the command of Sir John Malcolm', in: Encyclopaedia Iranica (1991, 2011). http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christie-captain-charles-d. Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 39, 41–43, 123–32. C.E. Trevelyan and Arthur Conolly, 'Dispatch No. 24 to Lord Bentinck of 15 March 1831', published in: Ewans (ed.), *The Great Game* (2004), pp. 78–83.

33 Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (London, John Murray 1835), vol. I, 14–150, 195, 250. Lord Ellenborough, 'India Board to Lord Bentinck', 12 January 1830, published as 'The Board of Control of the East India Company expresses concern to the Governor General about Russian designs in Central Asia' in: Ewans (ed.), *The Great Game* (2004), pp. 69–74. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 40f, 87–100. Lieutenant John Wood, commanding the steamer *Indus*, proved in 1835 that the Indus was indeed navigable for steamships.

34 See above p. 109.

35 Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (London: John Murray 1835), vol. I, p. 159.

36 See below pp. 131ff.

37 Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (1835), vol. I, pp. 298f.

38 See above p. 110.

39 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul,* 2 vols. (1846).

40 Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (1835), vol. II, p. 141.

41 See above p. 116.

42 Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (1835), vol. II, pp. 231–34, 248, 277–80.

43 Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (1835), vol. III, pp.115–19.

44 Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (1835), vol. III, p. 272.

45 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 156.

46 See below p. 133.

47 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), p. 168.

48 'Secret Committee's Despatch to Lord Auckland, 25 January 1836', published as 'The Secret Committee of the East India Company's Board of Control prompts and authorizes the Governor-General to initiate the First Anglo-Afghan War', in: Ewans, *The Great Game* (2004), pp. 84f.

49 Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; 2002), vol. 1, p. 398.

50 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 247–52, 260–62, 278, 293.

51 The Russian troops were camouflaged as alleged 'volunteers' and 'deserters'. George Bruce Malleson, *The Russo-Afghan Question and the Invasion of India* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1885), p. 24.

52 Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 21f. George Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection. The Extraordinary Adventures of Major Eldred Pottinger* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), p. 35.

53 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 186f. n. Melvin M. Kessler, *Ivan Viktorovich*

Vitkevich 1806–39: A Tsarist Agent in Central Asia (Washington: Central Asian Collectanea, 1960), pp. 10, 12.

54 On the Russian overtures to local authorities of Kandahar, see: Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 288–92.

55 See above p. 112.

56 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 273f.

57 Concerning the siege of Kabul see: Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 276–85, 387–91. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 202–88. Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), pp. 30–45.

58 Burnes, *Cabool* (1843, 2016), pp. 141–45.

59 Gordon Whitteridge, *Charles Masson of Afghanistan: Explorer, Archaeologist, Numismatist and Intelligence Agent* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002), p. 148.

60 Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), p. 27. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 343f.

61 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, p. 325.

62 Burnes, *Cabool* (1843, 2016), pp. 275. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 175–201. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 294–334. Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; 2002), vol. 1, p. 406.

63 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 266f, 290–92, 338–40, 343.

64 Harold N. Ingle, *Nesselrode and the Russian Rapprochement with Britain, 1836–1844* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 78. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, p. 200, n. Kessler, *Ivan Viktorovich Vitkevich* (1960), pp. 14–16.

65 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 1, pp. 371–78.

66 The manifesto put the blame for the outbreak of war exclusively on Dost Muhammad. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 355–59.

67 Both quotes from: Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, p. 363, n.

68 Vincent Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul, which ended in the retreat and destruction of the British army, January 1842. With a journal of imprisonment in Afghanistan* (London: James Murray, 1843), p. 115.

69 Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), p. 110.

70 Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), p. 33. Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), pp. 60, 63. Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 140. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 30, 32f, 35.

71 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 404–30.

72 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 442–49. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 225–27.

73 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, p. 461. The Afghanistan expert Charles Masson, alias James Lewis, had already insistently warned in 1835 that Shah Shuja was unpopular among Afghans and that Great Britain's forced installation of him would be doomed to failure. Whitteridge, *Charles Masson of Afghanistan* (2002), pp. 154f.

74 Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. I, pp. 457–72.

75 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 32–34. C.W. Woodburn, *The Bala Hissar of Kabul. Revealing a fortress-palace in Afghanistan* (Chatham: Institution of Royal Engineers, 2009), pp. 2, 5, 16. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 68–71.

76 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 358f.

77 Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 91f.

78 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 16–18. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), p. 52. Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), pp. 123–34.

79 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843). Other contemporary sources include: Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. II. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2. Lady Sale, *A Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan, 1841–2* (1843; Reprint Uckfield: The Naval and Military Press, 2005). For modern descriptions see: Dalrymple, *Return of a King* (2013). Patrick Macrory, *Signal Catastrophe. The Story of the Disastrous Retreat from Kabul 1842* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966. Jules Stewart, *On Afghanistan's Plains. The Story of Britain's Afghan Wars* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

80 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 19–23, 39–52.

81 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 90–92, 119–26.

82 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 81f. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), p. 113.

83 Osman Khan was temporarily in contact with Mohan Lal. Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 96–118. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. II. 83–92.

84 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 155–57. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (1851), vol. II., pp. 151–54.

85 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, p. 427.

86 The dismissal of Elphinstone was discussed in and outside of the Military Council without result. Lady Sale, *A Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan* (1843; 2005), p. 120.

87 Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), p. 154.

88 Only a few women and young children and a couple of officers who were handed over to Akbar on 9 January as hostages survived captivity. Scattered sepoys (Indian soldiers) were also able to escape. A total of about 100 people survived the destruction of the proud Indus army. In early November 1841, it had a troop strength of 6,000 soldiers and more than 12,000 servants. Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 196–215, 417–26. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 429f. Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), pp. 154–60, 168. Edmund Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), p. 141.

89 Only Captain Souter, who had wrapped the regimental flag around himself, as well as four of his soldiers were captured alive. Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 230–33. Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), p. 168. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), p. 158.

90 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), p. 271. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), p. 67. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 441–48.

91 Eyre, *The military operations at Cabul* (1843), pp. 255f, 273–75. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 431–36. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 183, 193.

92 Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), p. 72.

93 Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 303–70.

94 Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 73–85. Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 270, 489f. Tanner cites 1845 as the year of Akbar's death, Heathcote and Vogelsang 1847; Sykes reports that Akbar was poisoned in 1846, when he set about overthrowing his father. Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; 2002), vol. 2, p. 63. Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 201. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), p. 254.

95 Sir T.H. Holdich at a hearing in 1907. In: Christopher M. Wyatt, *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire. Diplomacy and Strategy during the Great Game* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011), p. 160.

96 Pottinger, *The Afghan Connection* (1983), p. 54.

97 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 55.

98 M.A. Terentief, *Russia and England in Central Asia* (1876, Reprint, Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2016), vol. 2, p. 88. See also: Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; 2002), vol. 2, pp. 64f. Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), pp. 254f.

99 Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, 'The North-West Frontier of India', in: *Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. XI, No. 2, 1924 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1924), p. 137.

100 Terentief, *Russia and England in Central Asia* (1876, 2016), vol. 2, pp. 85–88. For the text of the Anglo-Persian agreement, see: Sir Henry Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East* (1875), Appendix IV, pp. 388–91.

101 Greaves, 'Iranian relations with Great Britain and British India' (1991), pp. 394f. Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (1940; 2002), vol. 2, pp. 65f.

102 Edwards, *Russian Projects against India* (1885), pp. 150, 155.

103 See above pp. 95, 115, 122.

104 D. Romanovsky, *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (1870), pp. 2, 6–8.

105 D. Romanovsky, *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (1870), p. 10.

106 Sergeev, *The Great Game 1856–1907* (2013), pp. 36, 49.

107 See above p. 82.

108 Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews* (1904), p. 19.

109 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), p. 17. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 18.

110 Jennifer Siegel, *Endgame. Britain, Russia and the Final Struggle for Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2002), p. 2f. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), p. 10.

111 Malleson, *The Russo-Afghan Question* (1885), pp. 38f.

112 G.M. Cherniaev, 'Memorandum of G.M. Cherniaev sent to Field Marshal Prince Bariatinskii in March 1869', in: Ewans, *Great Power Rivalry* (2006), pp. 247–52. Henry Edwards, *Russian Projects against India* (1885), pp. 262–66, 268–71, 271–93. M.D. Skobelev, 'Memorandum of Adjutant General M.D. Skobelev about a campaign to India', January 1878, in: Ewans, *Great Power Rivalry* (2006), pp. 439–48.

113 Romanovsky, *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (1870), p. 61. Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 21f.

114 See above p. 122. Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 45f. Romanovsky, *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (1870), pp. 10–13.

115 See above p. 122. Romanovsky, *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (1870), pp. 30–34, 51, 57, appendices XLI, XLV.

116 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), Appendix I, pp. 146–49.

117 Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews* (1904), p. 29.

118 Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews* (1904), p. 39.

119 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 42f, 50f, 56, 77–79.

120 Bregel, 'The new Uzbek states' (2009), p. 409.

121 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), p. 67.

122 Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East* (1875), pp. 271–300.

123 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 32. Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 317f.

124 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 58–62. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 33–36. Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 117f.

125 In February 1838, the Scottish officer John Wood (1812–71) identified Lake Zorkul (called Sarikal in Granville's letter) as the source of the Oxus. As he stood at a fork in the river near the village of Qala-i Panja, he correctly realised that the Wakhan River carried more water than the Pamir. He was persuaded, however, by the locals to follow the Pamir to Zorkul. John Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus* (London: John Murray, 1872), pp. 217, 232. In 1886, a local surveyor of Colonel Lockhart identified the Wakhjir-Panj River as the longest affluent of the Oxus River, which N. Curzon confirmed in 1894. George N. Curzon, 'The Pamirs and the source of the Oxus', revised and reprinted from *The Geographical Journal*, July–Sept. 1896 (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1898), pp. 30–32, 77f.

126 Cobbold, *Innermost Asia* (1900), Appendix D, p. 339.

127 Montagu Gilbert Gerard, et al., *Report on the proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission 1896* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1897), pp. 2f. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 43.

128 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 186, 189, 195.

129 Thomas Edward Gordon, *The Roof of the World: being a narrative of a journey over the high plateau of Tibet to the Russian frontier and the Oxus sources on Pamir* (1876; Reprint Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing, 1971), p. 140.

130 Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth, *Report of a mission to Yarkund in 1873, under command of Sir T.D. Forsyth with historical and geographical information regarding the possessions of the ameer of Yarkund* (Calcutta: Foreign Dept. Press, 1875), pp. 262–86. Gordon, *The Roof of the World* (1876; 1971), pp. 109–67.

131 Thomas Hungerford Holdich, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (London: Methuen, 1901), pp. 122, 158–60.

132 See below pp. 157f.

133 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 44.

134 Cobbold, *Innermost Asia* (1900), Appendix D, p. 340.

135 Malleson, *The Russo-Afghan Question* (1885), pp. 32–35, 99f.

136 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 40.

137 Sergeev, *The Great Game 1856–1907* (2013), pp. 144f. Kaufmann had concluded his ultimatum of 18 January 1870 with the threat: 'If I do not receive a satisfactory reply, I will [come and] and take it.' Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), p. 68.

138 Edwards, *Russian Projects against India* (1885), p. 214.

139 Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews* (1904), pp. 42f, 66–69.

140 Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East* (1875), p. 379.

141 Edward Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 167. The same arguments are still raised by religious interest groups in Africa and Pakistan against vaccination campaigns.

142 Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), pp. 393f. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich* (1992), p. 167.

143 Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 40, 50–52.

144 See below p. 175.

145 Franz von Schwarz, *Turkestan, die Wiege der indogermanischen Völker* (Freiburg i.B.: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1900), pp. 578–85.

146 Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 44f, 49, 73.

147 See below p. 295. The industrialisation of Central Asia began in World War II, when Stalin relocated industrial complexes there. In Central Asia, they were out of range of German bombers.

148 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 44.

149 See below p. 125.

150 Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), pp. 2–7, 18, 32–48. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 116f.

151 Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), pp. 71–97.

152 Svetlana Gorshenina, *Asie centrale. L'invention des frontiers et l'héritage russo-soviétique* (Paris: CNRS, 2012), p. 100, n. 16.

153 Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), pp. 140f. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 120, 122.

154 Robert Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled. A Political History of the Mongolian People's Republic 1900–1978* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1979), p. 7.

155 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 45, 69.

156 Forsyth, *Report of a mission to Yarkund in 1873* (1875), p. 10. Gordon, *The Roof of the World* (1876; 1971), pp. 29, 87. Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), pp. 151–54.

157 Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia. Sinkiang and the Inner Asia Frontiers of China and Russia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950), pp. 32f, 37f.

158 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 43f. Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 337f, 347.

159 George J. W. Hayward, 'Journey from Leh to Yarkand and Kashgar, and Exploration of the Sources of the Yarkand River', in: *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, vol. 40 (London: John Murray, 1870), pp. 33–166. Robert Shaw, *Visits to High Tartary, Yârkand, and Kâshghar (formerly Chinese Tartary), and Return Journey over the Karakoram Pass* (London: John Murray, 1871).

160 Hayward, 'Journey from Leh to Yarkand and Kashgar' (1870), pp. 38, 117f. The Chang-Lang Pass is not to be confused with the Chang-La Pass further west.

161 Forsyth, *Report of a mission to Yarkund in 1873* (1875), pp. 1f.

162 Sir Henry Trotter, 'The Amir Yakoub Khan and Eastern Turkistan in mid-nineteenth century', in: *Asian Affairs*, vol. IV, No. 4, July 1917 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 1917), p. 103.

163 The four Pundits of the second Forsyth mission were: 'The Pundit' (Nain Singh), 'A.K.' (Kishen Singh), 'G.K.' (Kalian Singh) and 'the Munshi' (Abdul Subhan). Derek Waller, *The Pundits. British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1990), pp. 147–68.

164 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 218.

165 Gerald Morgan, *Ney Elias. Explorer and envoy extraordinary in High-Asia* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), pp. 173, 200, 205.

166 Morgan, *Ney Elias* (1971), p. 173. *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia: 1810–1895* (Oxon: Routledge, 1981), p. 200.

167 Forsyth, *Report of a mission to Yarkund in 1873* (1875), pp. 272, 280f. The information regarding the Murghab River came from the Pundits 'the Havildar' and 'the Munshi'. Ney Elias, however, demonstrated in 1885 that the Panj carried much more water than the Murghab. Morgan, *Ney Elias* (1971), pp. 158, 167.

168 Biddulph revised the notion of the easy passability of the Ishkoman Pass, when he explored its southern side in 1877. Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 111, 118. Keay, *The Gilgit Game* (1979), pp. 87f.

169 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 8, 11. Younghusband, *The heart of a continent* (1896), pp. 297f.

170 Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), p. 143.

171 Kim, *Holy War in China* (2004), pp. 164–78.

172 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 72–79. Clairmont Percival Skrine and Pamela Nightingale, *Macartney at Kashgar. New Light on British, Chinese and Russian Activities in Sinkiang, 1890–1918* (1973; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 23–26.

173 Percy Thomas Etherton, *In the Heart of Asia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926), p. 111.

174 Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), p. 25.

175 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 146.

176 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 64. Haymerle, *Ultima Thule* (1885), p. 10. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), p. 95.

177 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 64.

178 Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), p. 257.

179 Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), p. 108. Taline Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire. Reginald Teague-Jones Mastery Spy of the Great Game* (London: Hurst, 2014), p. 67.

180 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 116f. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 64–69.

181 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 96f. Sergeev, *The Great Game 1856–1907* (2013), pp. 181f.

182 Sergeev, *The Great Game 1856–1907* (2013), pp. 183–87.

183 The Martini-Henry rifle was replaced in 1888 by the Lee Metford and Lee Enfield rifles. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 236f, 299.

184 *Treaty of Gandamak*, 26 May 1879 http://www.phototheca-afghanica.ch/uploads/tx_fmphototheca/Treaty_of_Gandamak.pdf

185 Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), pp. 47–49.

186 Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts of Kandahar, *Forty-One Years in India: from subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*; 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1897), vol. II, p. 177.

187 Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 116f. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 251–53.

188 Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews* (1904), pp. 97–100.

189 Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), p. 259.

190 Niccolo Machiavelli, *Der Fürst, 'Il Prinzipe'* (1513; Stuttgart: Kröner, 1972), pp. 38, 68.

191 They used to stall after only a few shots. Rodney Atwood, *The March to Kandahar. Roberts in Afghanistan* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2008), p. 87.

192 Roberts, *Forty-One Years in India* (1897), vol. II, pp. 181–309. See also: Atwood, *The March to Kandahar* (2008), pp. 112–15. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 117–46. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 258–80.

193 Wyatt, *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire* (2011), pp. 269f.

194 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), p. 396.

195 Roberts (1897), *Forty-One Years in India,* vol. II, pp. 310–70. See also: Atwood, *The March to Kandahar* (2008), pp. 132–57. Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 147–65. Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), pp. 280–318.

196 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 213.

197 Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews* (1904), pp. 138–190, 194.

198 Sergeev, *The Great Game 1856–1907* (2013), pp. 198f.

199 Marvin, *Reconnoitring Central Asia* (1885; 1996), p. 179.

200 Marvin, *Reconnoitring Central Asia* (1885; 1996), pp. 179, 213–16, 385–400.

201 Marvin, *Reconnoitring Central Asia* (1885; 1996), p. 400.

202 Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), p. 113.

203 Alikhanov was a major, who was demoted to a soldier because of a duel and then had risen again to lieutenant. Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), p. 411.

204 Before Alikhanov, the Irish journalist Edmond O'Donovan had scouted Merv in 1880/81. First arrested as a Russian spy, he was then elected to the ruling triumvirate. The leaders of Merv, who had heard of the British conquest of Kandahar, believed that the British forces would soon advance to Herat and Merv and drive out the Russians. They ascribed Skobelev's decision to not march on Merv after taking Geok Tepe to the presence of O'Donovan. When the journalist learned that Kandahar would soon be evacuated again, he quickly sneaked off. Edmond O'Donovan, *The Merv Oasis: Travels and adventures East of the Caspian during the years 1879 – 80 – 81 including five months' residence among the Tekkés of Merv* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1882), vol. II, pp. 270–88, 353–437.

205 Charles Thomas Marvin, *The Russians at the Gate of Herat* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), pp. 17–45.

206 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 84.

207 Marvin, *The Russians at the Gate of Herat* (1885), p. 51.

208 Marvin, *The Russians at the Gate of Herat* (1885), p. 48.

209 See below pp. 157f.

210 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 87f.

211 Marvin, *The Russians at the Gate of Herat* (1885), p. 172.

212 Henry Lansdell, *Chinese Central Asia. A Ride to Little Tibet* (London: Sampson Low et al, 1893), vol. I, p. 83.

213 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 294. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 125–28. Cobbold, *Innermost Asia* (1900), p. 275. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 79, 81.

214 Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), p. 356.

215 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 84.

216 Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, 'The North-West Frontier of India' (1924), p. 142.

217 Greaves, 'Iranian relations with Great Britain and British India' (1991), p. 409. For the same reason, in 1873, Britain had rejected the plan from Ferdinand de Lesseps, architect of the Suez Canal, to construct a railway from Orenburg and Tashkent to Peshawar. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), p. 126.

218 Greaves, 'Iranian relations with Great Britain and British India' (1991), p. 417.

219 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 82.

220 Marvin, *The Russians at the Gate of Herat* (1885), p. 50. Hermann Roskoschny, *Afghanistan und seine Nachbarländer. Der Schauplatz des letzten russisch-englischen Konflikts in Zentral-Asien* (Leipzig: Gressner & Schramm, 1885), vol. II, map facing page 336.

221 Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), pp. 97, 110. Marvin, *The Russians at the Gate of Herat* (1885), pp. 55, 73, 119. Malleson, *The Russo-Afghan Question* (1885), pp. 114f.

222 Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), pp. 97, 110, 121.

223 Arthur Campbell Yate, *England and Russia Face to Face. Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1887), p. 322.

224 Yate, *England and Russia Face to Face* (1887), p. 328. Much to the annoyance of the British officers who were present, they were forbidden from assisting their Afghan brothers in arms. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), pp. 128, 136.

225 Haymerle, *Ultima Thule* (1885), p. 30. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), pp. 126–31.

226 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 96, 100.

227 Bijan Omrani, 'The Durand Line: History and Problems of the Afghan-Pakistan Border' (London: *Asian Affairs*, vol. XL, No. II, July 2009), p. 177.

228 The Zulfikar Pass resembles a canyon more than a mountain pass.

229 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 99, 104.

230 The British naval military strategy demanded that the navy be superior to the two next largest fleets combined. Popowski, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1977), pp. 149–51.

231 In Herat, Holdich had the Musalla, the large mosque and madrasah complex, torn down to get a clear shot at any attacking Russians. Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. 3 (2016), p. 296, fig. 214. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (1901), pp. 142f, 149–63. Yate, *England and Russia Face to Face* (1887), pp. 424–46.

232 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 221.

233 See above p. 89.

234 See above p. 157f.

235 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 160. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 120.

236 Sir Francis Younghusband, *The heart of a continent: a narrative of travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Chitral, 1884–1894* (London: John Murray, 1896), pp. 185–87, 235–38.

237 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 121.

238 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 211.

239 Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), pp. 5, 9, 14, 34.

240 Ralph P. Cobbold, *Innermost Asia. Travel & Sport in the Pamirs* (London: William Heinemann, 1900), p. 67.

241 Cobbold, *Innermost Asia* (1900), p. 32f. The eleven Pamirs are as follows: in China, Kara Köl, Sarikol, Taghdumdash and Mariang; in Tajikistan, Khargush, Rang Köl, Sariz, Alichur, Kalan and Khurd and further west Shewa. Markus Hauser, 'The Pamir Archive: A world of information', in: *Pamirs at the Crossroads*, edited by Andrei Dörre, Hermann Kreutzmann and Stefan Schütte (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2016), p. 88. The toponym 'Pamir' may stem from the Sanskrit *Upa-Meru*, 'below Mt Meru', or from the Persian *Paya Mihr*, 'throne of Mithra'. Mursajew, *Auf unbetretenen Pfaden* (1956), pp. 252–54.

242 Lord Dunmore saw the stele in the autumn of 1892 in a museum in Tashkent., 7th Earl of Dunmore (Charles Adolphus Murray), *The Pamirs. A narrative of a year's expedition on horseback and on foot through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary and Russian Central Asie* (London: John Murray, 1893), vol. II, p. 167, note.

243 Garry, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 225f. Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 466f. Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), pp. 33f.

244 Colonel T.H. Holdich, a senior member of the British Pamir Boundary Commission in 1895, greatly relativised this danger, however: 'There is, indeed, no reasonable probability that any practical method of connecting Russia with India across the Hindu Kush will ever be discovered.' Holdich, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (1901), p. 173.

245 Younghusband, *The heart of a continent* (1896), p. 290.

246 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 225f. Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), pp. 122f. Keay, *The Gilgit Game* (1979), pp. 210–12. Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), pp. 33–35. Younghusband, *The heart of a continent* (1896), pp. 288–95.

247 Roberts of Kandahar, *Forty-One Years in India* (1897), vol. II, p. 446.

248 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 123.

249 Durand, Algernon, *The Making of a Frontier* (1899, Reprint Karachi: Indus Publications, 1977); pp. 245–65. The English journalist and author Edward F. Knight was eyewitness of the British conquest of Hunza and Nagar. E.F. Knight *Where Three Empires Meet. A narrative of recent travel in*

Kashmir, western Tibet, Gilgit, and the adjoining countries (London: Longmans, Green, 1896); pp. 357–466, 517.

250 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 130. Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), pp. 42–45.

251 G.J. Younghusband and Sir Francis Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral* (1895; Reprint Rawalpindi: English Book House, 1976).

252 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 234, 238, 250.

253 George N. Curzon, 'The Pamirs and the source of the Oxus', revised and reprinted from *The Geographical Journal*, July–Sept. 1896 (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1898), p. 46,

254 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 252.

255 Ralph p. Cobbold, *Innermost Asia. Travel & Sport in the Pamirs* (London: William Heinemann, 1930), p. 260.

256 Robert Middleton and Huw Thomas, *Tajikistan and the High Pamirs* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2008), p. 430.

257 In a letter of 29 August 1893, the then commander-in-chief in India, Lieutenant General George White, expressed the fear to the Duke of Cambridge, the former commander of the British forces, that Abdur Rahman could put himself under Russian protection: 'It is of great importance to impress the Afghans with the advantage of an English alliance against Russia over the plan of the Amir making direct terms with Russia or perhaps throwing in his lot with her. The Provinces – Roshan, Shighnan & Wakhan – referred to are at the other side of the Hindu Kush and would therefore form an impossible local theatre of War for us.' Private collection.

258 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 330; see also pp. 264–68, 274f.

259 For the entire agreement see: Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), pp. 330–33.

260 Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), pp. 38f.

261 Andrew M. Roe, *Waging War in Waziristan* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), pp. 84–87.

262 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), Appendix VII, pp. 334f.

263 Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), pp. 124–26, 169f, 238.

264 Ewans, *Securing the Indian Frontier* (2010), p. 140. Middleton and Thomas, *Tajikistan and the High Pamirs* (2008), p. 609.

265 Gerard, Holdich, Wahab and Alcock, *Report on the proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission 1896* (1897). See also: Holdich, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (1901), pp. 284–313.

266 Gerard, Holdich, Wahab and Alcock, *Report on the proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission 1896* (1897), p. 25.

267 Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier* (1963), p. 285.

268 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 218. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), p. 268. For a description of Kafiristan prior to its Islamisation see: George Scott Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1896), and for Nuristan prior to the Soviet invasion: Lennart Edelberg and Schuyler Jones, *Nuristan* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979).

269 Career-hungry officers or consuls occasionally hoped to find a pretext to occupy the province.

270 Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), p. 74.

271 Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), p. 121.

272 Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), pp. 197, 206f, 220f, 232nd.

273 For the text of the treaties of 1886, 1890 and 1893: Hugh M. Richardson, *Tibet & and its History* (Boulder: Shambhala, 1984), pp. 264–68. See also: Alastair Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia. The Road to Lhasa 1767–1905* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 174–238. Siegel, *Endgame* (2002), p. 12.

274 Peter Fleming, *Bayonets to Lhasa* (1961; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 39–48. Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia* (1960), pp. 241–88.

275 Arash Bormanshinov, 'A Secret Kalmyk Mission to Tibet in 1904', in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 36, No. 3–4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 174f. Sergeev, *The Great Game* (2013), pp. 252–63. John Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia. The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev, Lhasa's Emissary to the Tsar* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1993), pp. 50–89.

276 Siegel, *Endgame* (2002), p. 14.

277 Great Britain put a halt to the German railway construction to Basra when it concluded an initial protection agreement with the sheikdom of Kuwait in 1899, which was expanded into a protectorate in 1903. Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission to Kabul* (2014), p. 12.

278 For the text of the two agreements: Siegel, *Endgame* (2002), appendices 4–5, pp. 273–77.

279 On the Triple Entente, see Siegel, *Endgame* (2002), pp. 46, 51.

280 Charles Allen, *Duel in the Snows. The true story of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa* (London: John Murray, 2004), p. 65, see also pp. 1–3, 19f, 29–33, 196, 287.

281 Allen, *Duel in the Snows* (2004), pp. 104–28. Fleming, *Bayonets to Lhasa* (1985), pp. 72–152. Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia* (1960), pp. 282–95. Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia* (1993), pp. 108–10. Younghusband, Francis, *India and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1910), pp. 173–79.

282 Highly interesting are the eyewitness accounts of the invasion of 1903–4: Perceval Landon, *Lhasa. An account of the country and people of Central Tibet and of the progress of the mission sent there by the English government in the years 1903–04*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905). Sir Frederick O'Connor, *On the frontier and beyond. A record of thirty years' service* (London: John Murray, 1931). William John Ottley, *With mounted infantry in Tibet* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906). L. Austine Waddell, *Lhasa and its mysteries. With a record of the expedition of 1903–1904* (London: Methuen, 1906). Sir Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet. History of the relations which have subsisted between the two countries from the time of Warren Hastings to 1910; with a particular account of the mission to Lhasa of 1904* (London: John Murray, 1910).

283 Fleming, *Bayonets to Lhasa* (1985), pp. 251–55, 268. Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia* (1960), pp. 302f. Richardson, *Tibet & and its History* (1984), pp. 264–68.

284 Allen, *Duel in the Snows* (2004), pp. 279, 303. Fleming, *Bayonets to Lhasa* (1985), pp. 267–75. Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia* (1960), pp. 303–11. Younghusband was indeed appointed Political Agent in Kashmir after his return, but he was not consulted on major issues. He returned to England in 1909, but when the 51-year-old volunteered for military service in 1914, he was dismissed as unsuitable. He was considered a loose cannon. Patrick French, *Younghusband. The last great Imperial adventurer* (London: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 263f, 270, 290f.

285 French, *Younghusband* (1994), p. 257 Sergeev, *The Great Game* (2013), p. 274. Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia* (1993), p. 126.

286 Balfour, 22 December 1903. Sergeev, *The Great Game* (2013), p. 296.

287 Russia-related dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar.

288 Hopkirk, *The Great Game* (1994), pp. 508f, 513–17. Sergeev, *The Great Game* (2013), pp. 295–301. Wyatt, *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire* (2011), pp. 140–42.

289 Wyatt, *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire* (2011), p. 178.dc

290 For the Agreement with respect to Persia and Afghanistan: Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission to Kabul* (2014), pp. 201–3; regarding Tibet: Richardson, *Tibet & and its History* (1984), pp. 273–75.

291 Sir Percy Sykes, 'Afghanistan: The present position', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXVII, No. 2, April 1940 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1940), p. 146.

292 Richardson, *Tibet & and its History* (1984), p. 273.

293 Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission to Kabul* (2014), pp. 202f.

294 Since petroleum has twice the thermic potential as coal, oil was sprayed on the coal.

295 Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission to Kabul* (2014), pp. 201f.

296 Antony Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game. Sir Percy Sykes, Explorer, Consul, Soldier, Spy* (London: John Murray, 2003), p. 162.

297 Sergeev, *The Great Game* (2013), pp. 237f. Siegel, *Endgame* (2002), pp. 137–39, 186f.

298 Erik J. Dahl, 'Naval Innovation. From Coal to Oil' (JFQ, Winter 2000–01), pp. 50–56. Nikki Keddie and Mehrdad Amanat, 'Iran under the later Qajars', in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7 (1991), p. 208. Siegel, *Endgame* (2002), pp. 178–84. Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game* (2003), p. 149.

299 The Constantinople Agreement, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantinople_Agreement Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), pp. 50f. Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game* (2003), p. 249.

VI. The Drive for Sovereignty – Central Asia between the World Wars

1 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 110.

2 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 109, 129, 199–203.

3 The Arabic word '*jadid*' means 'new'.

4 The mastermind of the Jadidists, Ismail Gaspraly (1851–1914), strived for a cultural alliance of all Turkic-speaking peoples. Forsyth, *The Caucasus* (2013), p. 315.

5 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 198–208. Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 71–88.

6 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), pp. 196f. Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 89f.

7 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), p. 208.

8 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 228–34.

9 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), pp. 208–13. Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 119–21. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 389–91. Starr, *Ferghana Valley* (2011), p. 76.

10 According to the Julian calendar, the revolution began on 23 February. It deviated from the Gregorian calendar – which the Bolsheviks introduced on 14 February 1918 – by 13 days in the early twentieth century. The revolution brought the tsarist regime to an end. Tsar Nicholas was forced to abdicate on 15 March 1917 and was shot dead on 17 July 1918. In the present study, the data is reproduced according to the Gregorian calendar.

11 Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 122f.

12 Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), p. 234.

13 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 253–57. Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 124–47.

14 R.Y. Radjapova, 'Establishment of Soviet power in Central Asia (1917–24)', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (2005), pp. 154–58.

15 Unlike Lenin's Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks wanted to give the broad masses a limited say in the socio-political development.

16 Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 148–51.

17 Charles Howard Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode 1918–1919* (London: Hutchinson, 1963), p. 163. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), p. 241.

18 The heterogeneous units that fought in the Russian Civil War of 1918–22 against the Bolsheviks were called 'White Armies'.

19 Leonid Mitrokhin, *Failure of Three Missions* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1987), p. 75.

20 The Red Guards were forerunners of the Red Army; in Turkestan they consisted of former tsarist soldiers, Austrian and German prisoners of war and Armenian units of the Dashnaks, who were members of the 'Armenian Revolutionary Federation' *Dashnaktsutyun*.

21 See below p. 178. Starr, *Ferghana Valley* (2011), pp. 98f.

22 Michael Sargent, 'British Military Involvement in Transcaspia (1918–1919)', in: Conflict Studies Research Centre, Caucasus Series (Shrivenham: Defence Academy, 2004/2), p. 2.

23 Arthur Swinson, *Beyond the Frontiers. The Biography of Colonel F.M. Bailey, Explorer and Secret Agent* (London: Hutchinson, 1971), p. 175.

24 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 234f, 283f, 262–69. Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 148–58. Radjapova, 'Establishment of Soviet power' (2005), pp. 162–65.

25 Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), p. 159. Radjapova, 'Establishment of Soviet power' (2005), p. 166.

26 The Czechoslovak volunteer units fought until the October Revolution on the side of the Allies. In May 1918, they revolted due to catastrophic conditions and controlled the Trans-Siberian Railway from Penza (west of the Volga) to Vladivostok. Richard H. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War. Anglo-Soviet Relations, 1917–1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 212.

27 Transcaspia was a tsarist and early Soviet administrative unit east of the Caspian Sea. It corresponded roughly to present-day Turkmenistan and south-west Kazakhstan.

28 See below pp. 184f. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), p. 315.

29 Mitrokhin, *Failure of Three Missions* (1987), p. 75.

30 Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), pp. 234–38. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), pp. 191–229, 332.

31 Frederick Marshman Bailey, 'In Russian Turkestan under the Bolsheviks', in: *Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VIII, No. 1, 1921 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1921), p. 60.

32 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), pp. 231f, 236–39. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia* (1992), pp. 234–37. Dilip Hiro, *Inside Central Asia. A political and cultural history of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Iran* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2009), p. 40. K. Nurpeis, 'Kazakhstan', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (2005), pp. 255f. Radjapova, 'Establishment of Soviet power' (2005), p. 168.

33 See below pp. 184f.

34 Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 141–43.

35 Frederick Marshman Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946), pp. 237–39. L.V.S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 1922), pp. 158–61.

36 For photos of the bombed city of Bukhara, see: Rudolf A. Mark, *Krieg an fernen Fronten* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013), figs. 20–24.

37 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), pp. 245f. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 289–95. Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 159–77.

38 The term 'Basmachi', used by the soviets, was an insult meaning 'bandits'. Radjapova, 'Establishment of Soviet power' (2005), p. 174.

39 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (2004), pp. 289–95. Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 303–5.

40 Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), pp. 183.

41 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 46.

42 Rafis Abazov, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), maps 37–38. Radjapova, 'Establishment of Soviet power' (2005), pp. 180f. A few cities were renamed, e.g. Pishpek to Frunze, Khujand to Leninabad, Dushanbe to Stalinabad, etc.

43 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia. Geopolitics, Great Power Rivalry and Radical Islam* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2009), pp. 109f

44 Shireen Hunter, *Islam in Russia* (2015), p. 329.

45 The Brusilov Offensive (4 June to 20 September 1916) foreshadowed the Russian collapse, as it proved to be a Pyrrhic victory. The losses of the Russian army amounted to a total of 1 million dead, wounded or captured soldiers, which devastated the troops' morale and triggered mass desertions. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), p. 4.

46 The German Hentig–Niedermayer mission (1915–16) will be discussed in the following excursus.

47 The German military attaché in Persia Georg Graf von Kanitz-Podangen and Oskar Niedermayer had already been working on a plan since 1915 to free these prisoners of war and to use them in Persia against the British and the Russians. Mark, *Krieg an fernen Fronten* (2013), pp. 105–9.

48 For the missions of Sykes, Dunsterville and Malleson, see the official report: Frederick James Moberly (ed.), *Operation in Persia, 1914–1919. Compiled by arrangement with the Government of India, under the direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence by Brig.Gen. F.J. Moberly* (1929; Reprint London: Imperial War Museum, 1987). Also the reports of the main protagonists: Lionel C. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (London: Arnold, 1920). 'Military mission to North-West Persia, 1918', in: *Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1921), pp. 79–98. Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963). Sir Wilfrid Malleson, 'The British military mission to Turkistan, 1918–20', in: *Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. IX, No. 2, 1922 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1922), pp. 95–110. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1930), pp. 451–517.

49 Thomas L. Hughes, 'The German Mission to Afghanistan, 1915–16', in: *German Studies Review*, XXV/3, Oct, 2002 (German Studies Association, 2002), pp. 460f. Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), p. 54.

50 Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game* (2003), p.262.

51 Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), pp. 181f, 200–11.

52 Hendrik Gröttrup, *Wilhelm Wassmuss. Der deutsche Lawrence* (Berlin: Metropol, 2013), pp. 248–60. Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), pp. 55–62. Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game* (2003), pp. 259–317.

53 Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent* (1946), pp. 26, 40–44. Sir George Macartney, 'Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918', in: *Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VII, Nos. 2–3, 1920 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1920), p. 49.

54 The fact that Bailey was ignorant of the British military involvement in Transcaspia was due to the lack of coordination by British India.

55 Blacker, *On Secret Patrol* (1922), pp. 24–26, 139, 223f. Gerald Uloth, *Riding to War* (Stockbridge: Monks, 1993), p 138. Since Austria-Hungary was a multi-ethnic state, these soldiers were recruited from a dozen nationalities.

56 Teague-Jones dates the battle of Kaakha to 28 August 1918, Ellis 26 August. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent* (1946), pp. 38–40. Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 31, 52. Swinson, *Beyond the Frontiers* (1971), pp. 13–48. Reginald, Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared. Diary of a Secret Mission to Russian Central Asia in 1918* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1990) pp. 107–10. See below p. 185..

57 See below p. 185.

58 Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent* (1946), pp. 71, 82–286. Swinson, *Beyond the Frontiers* (1971), pp. 156–96.

59 Lionel C. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (1920).

60 At the beginning of the twentieth century, the oil fields of Baku met almost half the global demand. Megoran, *Central Asia in International Relations* (2013), p. 104.

61 James Forsyth, *The Caucasus. A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 367–73.

62 Charles Howard Ellis, 'The Transcaspian episode', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XLVI, No. 2, April 1959 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1959), p. 107. Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires. A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), pp. 328–30.

63 Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 17f. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), p. 303–6.

64 Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990) p. 82.

65 Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (1920), pp. 140f.

66 Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 35, 37. Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990), pp. 52, 62f, 82.

67 Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), p. 348.

68 Alfred Rawlinson, *Adventures in the Near East, 1918–1922* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1923).

69 Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), p. 22. Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), p. 333. Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990), pp. 60f. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), pp. 307f.

70 Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990), pp. 62–69.

71 On the strategic importance of cotton, see also: Blacker, *On Secret Patrol* (1922), pp. 6, 20f.

72 Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (1920), p. 207. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), pp. 309f.

73 Since Stalin and Trotsky launched a political campaign against Teague-Jones in March 1919 and blamed him for the shooting of the Bolshevik commissars, he assumed a new identity and called himself Ronald Sinclair. Sinclair continued to work for British intelligence, and his true identity was only discovered and made public after his death in 1988. Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 59–62. Peter Hopkirk, *On Secret Service East of Constantinople. The Plot to Bring Down the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 358–65, 388–99. Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), pp. 5, 10, 105–39, 174. Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990), pp. 12, 119–22, 211–16.

74 Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (1920), 230f, 235–37, 241–70, 274f, 279f.

75 Hopkirk, *On Secret Service* (1994), pp. 283f, 332–57. Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), pp. 344f, 364f. Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990), pp. 10f. Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), pp. 113–15. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), p. 310.

76 Malleson, 'The British military mission to Turkistan, 1918–20' (1922), p. 98f. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, vol. 2 (1930), pp. 497f.

77 Afterwards the British occupied Batumi at the Black Sea on 23 December and Tbilisi on 25 December 1918. Mitrokhin, *Failure of Three Missions* (1987), pp. 49, 51.

78 Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 86f, 121. Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), pp. 420–24. The last British troops left Baku on 19 August 1919.

79 Malleson, 'The British military mission to Turkistan, 1918–20' (1922), p. 99.

80 Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), p. 391.

81 Ellis, *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 26f, 30, 52f, 66–80. Sargent, 'British Military Involvement in Transcaspia' (2004/2), pp. 9–15, 19–22. Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), p. 359–62. Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990), pp. 100–11, 157, 189, 196–98. Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), pp. 78–88. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), pp. 311–20.

82 Blacker, *On Secret Patrol* (1922), pp. 142f. Uloth, *Riding to War* (1993), pp. 139f.

83 Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent* (1946), p. 52. Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), pp. 85–87. According to Uloth, the Mensheviks had three armoured trains. Uloth, *Riding to War* (1993), pp. 137.

84 Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), pp. 447–51.

85 Ellis, 'The Transcaspian episode', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XLVI, No. 2, April 1959 (1959), pp. 106–18. *The Transcaspian Episode* (1963), pp. 144–54. Mitrokhin, *Failure of Three Missions* (1987), p. 100. Sargent, 'British Military Involvement in Transcaspia' (2004/2), pp. 26–33. Teague-Jones, *The Spy Who Disappeared* (1990), pp. 201f. Ullmann, *Intervention and the War* (1961), pp. 320–28. J.K. Tod, 'The Malleson Mission to Transcaspia in 1918', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXVII, No. 1, January 1940 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1940), pp. 45–67.

86 Veit Veltzke, *Unter Wüstensöhnen. Die deutsche Expedition Klein im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2014).

87 Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission* (2014), p. 77.

88 Hans-Ulrich Seidt, *Berlin, Kabul, Moskau. Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer und Deutschlands Geopolitik* (München: Universitas, 2002), pp. 44–48.

89 The expedition was born from the merger of two different missions: the first military mission was organised by the German General Staff; their original leader was Wassmuss and then Niedermayer. The second mission was the diplomatic mission of von Hentig, which was adopted at the beginning of spring 1915 and stood under the auspices of Emperor Wilhelm II and the Foreign Office. Stewart, *The Emperor's Mission* (2014), pp. 37, 58.

90 Otto Werner von Hentig, *Von Kabul nach Shanghai: Bericht über die Afghanistan-Mission 1915/16 und die Rückkehr über das Dach der Welt und durch die Wüsten Chinas* (Lengwil: Libelle, 2009), p. 10.

91 Mark, *Krieg an fernen Fronten* (2013), pp. 99–101. Oskar von Niedermayer, *Unter der Glutsonne Irans. Kriegserlebnisse der deutschen Expedition nach Persien und Afganistan* (Hamburg: Uhlenhorst, 1925), p. 33.

92 A short time later, Listermann, the German consul in Bushehr, failed to destroy his consular code book before his arrest. Even earlier, on 26 August 1914, the Russians found the radio code of the German navy in the wreck of the SMS *Magdeburg*.

93 A slightly different account of the events is given by C.J. Edmonds, Acting Vice-Consul in Bushehr at that time. Edmonds had arrested Listermann on 9 March 1915 and found in the German consulate two cypher code books. He believes that Wassmuss had managed to get his code book to Listermann and that his book was one of the two cypher dictionaries he, Edmonds, had found. C. J. Edmonds, 'The Persian prelude to the Zimmermann telegram', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XLVII, No. 1, January 1960 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1960), pp. 63–66.

94 Gröttrup, *Wilhelm Wassmuss* (2013), pp. 136–38. Ter Minassian, *Most Secret Agent of Empire* (2014), p. 59.

95 Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission* (2014), p. 49.

96 For the routes taken by German agents in Persia in 1915–16 see: Moberly, *Operation in Persia* (1987), map 5.

97 Otto Werner von Hentig, *Mein Leben: eine Dienstreise* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), p. 164. Niedermayer, *Unter der Glutsonne Irans* (1925), p. 95.

98 Niedermayer, *Unter der Glutsonne Irans* (1925), p. 95.

99 Otto Werner von Hentig, *Meine Diplomatenfahrt ins verschlossene Land* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1918), pp. 70–86. Niedermayer, *Unter der Glutsonne Irans* (1925), pp. 95–121. Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission* (2014), p. 67.

100 Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission* (2014), p. 68.

101 Hughes, 'The German Mission to Afghanistan' (2002), p. 465. Siegel, *Endgame* (2002), p. 60. Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission* (2014), p. 70.

102 Niedermayer, *Unter der Glutsonne Irans* (1925), pp. 147–57. Stewart, *The Emperor's Mission* (2014), pp. 71f, 77–81, 89f.

103 Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission* (2014), p. 68.

104 Emil Rybitschka, *Im gottgegebenen Afghanistan als Gäste des Emirs* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1927), pp. 49–53, 56.

105 Hentig, *Mein Leben* (1962), pp. 152f. Niedermayer, *Unter der Glutsonne Irans* (1925), p. 165.

106 Stewart, *The Kaiser's Mission* (2014), pp. 95f. See also: Rybitschka, *Im gottgegebenen Afghanistan* (1927), pp. 54f.

107 This is an approximate indication, which varies depending on the calculation formula; see: http://inflation.stephenmorley.org/ ; http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html

108 Seidt, *Berlin, Kabul, Moskau* (2002), pp. 179–83, 329–99.

109 Hentig, *Meine Diplomatenfahrt* (1918), pp. 110–245. Hentig, *Mein Leben* (1962), pp. 163–443.

110 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 49f. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 405–7.

111 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), pp. 81, 257. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 55f. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 467–69. Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), p. 52.

112 Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (1978), pp. 144f.

113 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), pp. 260, 282, 300–302. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 55f. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 409–12.

114 Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), p. 51.

115 Seidt, *Berlin, Kabul, Moskau* (2002), pp. 264, 281.

116 Alimova and Golovanov, 'The evolution of nation-states: Uzbekistan', in: *History of Civilizations of Central*

Asia, vol. VI (2005), pp. 226–32. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 57f. Nurpeis, 'Kazakhstan' (2005), p. 257 Tabyshalieva, Anara, 'Kyrgyzstan', in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (2005), p. 279.

117 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 59.

118 Philip Boobbyer, *The Stalin Era* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 130. Forsyth, *The Caucasus* (2013), pp. 534–39. Nurpeis, 'Kazakhstan' (2005), p. 257. http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/USSR.TAB1B.GIF

119 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), pp. 304–6. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 234.

120 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 237 (Hiro cites a total of 753 nuclear explosions). Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), p. 481. See also: 'Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists', 28 Sept. 2009, http://thebulletin.org/lasting-toll-semipalatinsks-nuclear-testing. The bulletin estimated 18,000 km^2 to be contaminated; Hiro, by contrast, gave a figure of 300,000 km^2, which seems greatly exaggerated.

121 Renè Létolle and Monique Mainguet, *Der Aralsee. Eine ökologische Katastrophe* (Berlin: Springer, 1996). Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), pp. 428f, 478f. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 192. http://www.nzz.ch/niedergang-und-hoffnung-in-der-wueste-aralkum-1.18103484, dated June 22, 2013.

122 Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan. A History of Struggle and Survival* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012), pp. 44–48. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 270f.

123 See above p. 151.

124 Sykes, 'Afghanistan: The present position' (1940), p. 169.

125 Wyatt, *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire* (2011), pp. 114–39, 272.

126 Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 169f. Rybitschka, *Im gottgegebenen Afghanistan* (1927), pp. 129–32, 286. Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 57f.

127 Michael Volodarsky, 'First Steps in Soviet Diplomacy toward Afghanistan', in: Yaacov Ro'i (ed.), *The USSR and the Muslim World* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 218.

128 Heathcote, *The Afghan Wars* (1980), pp. 171–98.

129 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 63–65. Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 219.

130 Nevertheless, Sir Francis Humphreys had already founded the British Legation in Kabul in March 1922. Sykes, 'Afghanistan: The present position', (1940), p. 154.

131 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 69.

132 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 74.

133 Françoise Olivier-Utard, *Politique et archaéologie. Histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan 1922–1982* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2003), pp. 17–24.

134 Jules Barthoux, *The Hadda Excavations*, vols. I & III, (1930, 1933; Reprint Bangkok: SDI Publications, 2001), I, pp. 2, 12.

135 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 75f. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 278–80.

136 To quash the rebellion of 1924, Amanullah received two British Indian and five Soviet war planes. Christopher M. Wyatt, 'Change and discontinuity: war and Afghanistan, 1904–1924', in: *Asian Affairs*, vol. XLVII, No. III, November 2016 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 2016), pp. 380f.

137 Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), p. 281.

138 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp.88–94. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 281f.

139 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 95–106. Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (2008), pp. 284–86.

140 Sykes, 'Afghanistan: The present position', (1940), p. 161.

141 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 363. Seidt, *Berlin, Kabul, Moskau* (2002), pp. 318f.

142 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp.114–23.

143 Peter Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan. Messianic terrorism, tribal conflicts, and the failures of the Great Powers* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013), p. 89.

144 The Central Treaty Organization included Great Britain, Iraq (until 1958), Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and de facto the United States.

145 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 91.

146 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 92f.

147 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 130f. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 94–95.

148 David B. Edwards, *Before Taliban. Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 46f.

149 The Muslim Brotherhood is a Sunni, politically and religiously conservative revolutionary organisation with roots in the Middle East and Egypt.

150 Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 167f. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 10f.

151 Vyacheslav Belokrenitsky, 'Islamic Radicalism in Central Asia: The Influence of Pakistan in Afghanistan', in: Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 159, 166.

152 Hekmatyar did not participate in the fighting and remained in Peshawar. His critics believe that he deliberately let the other conservative leaders rush into a disaster to consolidate his own power over the Afghan exiles living in Pakistan. Edwards, *Before Taliban* (2002), p. 236.

153 Hassan Abbas, *The Taliban Revival. Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 47. Edwards, *Before Taliban* (2002), p. 76. Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 176f. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 107–9.

154 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 110.

155 See above p. 75.

156 Charles R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 80–88.

157 Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 193f. Robert Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled. A Political History of the Mongolian People's Republic 1900–1978* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1979), pp. 5–7, 45, 92.

158 In 1924, Urga was renamed Ulaan Baatar ('red hero') in honour of General Sükhbaatar. The name of Urga was introduced by the Russians; it derived from the Mongol word Örgö ('palace'). Before 1924, the Mongols called the city Da-Khure ('big monastery') Mursajew, *Auf unbetretenen Pfaden* (1956), p. 295.

159 Batsaikhan, Emergent Ookhnoi, *Bogdo Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, The Last King of Mongolia. Mongolia's National Revolution of 1911* (Ulaan Baatar: Institute of International Studies, 2009), pp. 34f, 192. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 193–95.

160 Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 196–99. Haslund-Christensen, *Zajagan* (1936), pp. 130–39. Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), pp. 8–10. D. Vasilev, 'The Sayan-Altai Mountain Region and South-Eastern Siberia', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (2005), pp. 335f.

161 It remains unclear whether Agvan Dorjiev had the competence to sign a treaty for Tibet; presumably Tibet never ratified it. Batsaikhan, *Bogdo Kebtsundamba Khutuktu* (2009), pp. 248–51. Charles Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present* (1924; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), pp. 150f, 229f, 304f. Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia* (1993), pp. 150–52.

162 http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Russo-Japanese+Treaties+and+Agreements Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), p. 199.

163 Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present* (1992), pp. 305f.

164 Batsaikhan, *Bogdo Jebtsundamba Khutuktu* (2009), pp. 290–94. Conceptually, the Kyakhta Agreement resembled the Simla Convention negotiated by Britain, China and Tibet in 1913–14, which provided for the division of the Tibetan-inhabited areas into an Inner and Outer Tibet. China refused to ratify the Convention, however. Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia* (1993), pp. 154f.

165 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia* (2004), p. 471. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 204f.

166 James Palmer, *The Bloody White Baron. The extraordinary story of the Russian nobleman who became the last khan of Mongolia* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), pp. 115f.

167 Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), pp. 25f.

168 Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 209.

169 Ungern was handed over to the Soviets by his own officers and shot. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 216–35. Palmer, *The Bloody White Baron* (2009), pp. 125–231.

170 Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), pp. 24, 44.

171 Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 239–91.

172 Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), pp. 37f, 54, 124.

173 Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (1968), pp. 301–27, 359–73. Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), pp. 53–59, 124.

174 Mursajew, *Auf unbetretenen Pfaden* (1956,) p. 372.

175 Palmer, *The Bloody White Baron* (2009), p. 239.

176 Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* (1992), pp. 321f. Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), pp. 45f, 63. Palmer, *The Bloody White Baron* (2009), pp. 239–41.

177 Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia* (2004), pp. 556f. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia,* (1992), pp. 279–82. Vasilev, 'The Sayan-Altai Mountain Region and South-Eastern Siberia' (2005), pp. 335–38.

178 Ts. Batbayar, 'The Mongolian People's Revolution of 1921 and the Mongolian People's Republic (1924–46)', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (2005), pp. 370f.

179 Rupen, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled* (1979), pp. 74–86.

180 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 164–69. Skrine, *Macartney at Kashgar* (1987), pp.173–88, 213–35.

181 Wu, Aitchen K., *Turkistan Tumult* (1940; London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 42–44.

182 Andrew D.W. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia. A political history of Republican Sinkiang 1911–1949* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2010), p. 41. Wu, *Turkistan Tumult* (1984), p. 5. Xinjiang's governors reinforced the isolation of the province by means of a sort of visa requirement for citizens of other Chinese provinces. Eric Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937), p. 39.

183 Justin M. Jacobs, *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), p. 72f.

184 Jacobs, *Xinjiang* (2016), pp. 60–62. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 185f. Wu, *Turkistan Tumult* (1984), pp. 40f.

185 The Guomindang Party, led by Chiang Kai-shek from 1927, was the ruling party of China, but its control over the various autonomous warlords was merely nominal. It was at war with the Japanese invaders from July 1937.

186 Wu, *Turkistan Tumult* (1984), p. 41.

187 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 31.

188 Wu, *Turkistan Tumult* (1984), pp. 45–51.

189 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 43–51.

190 Mildred Cable and Francesca French, *The Gobi Desert* (London: Virago Press, 1984), p. 223.

191 See note 185 above. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was Head of Government of China from 1927 to 1949 and afterwards of Taiwan.

192 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 52–62, 106f. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 198. Wu, *Turkistan Tumult* (1984), pp. 66, 71, 75f.

193 See also: Eric Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937), p. 187.

194 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 70–72, 97–106. Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia* (1950), p. 72. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 195–98. Wu, *Turkistan Tumult* (1984), pp. 71–118.

195 Yulbars Khan became military commander of Kumul, where he met the British envoy Sir Eric Teichman in 1935. Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan* (1937), pp. 85f, 188.

196 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 73–93.

197 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 96, 113–16, 123f.

198 Millward, 'Political History and Strategies' (2004), p. 78.

199 Yaqub Beg's emirate is not comparable to TIRET because he came from Kokand and conquered Kashgar from the outside by military means.

200 Joy R. Lee, *The Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan and the Formation of Modern Uyghur Identity in Xinjiang* (Manhattan: Kansas State University, 2006), pp. 27f.

201 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 117–21. Wu, *Turkistan Tumult* (1984), pp. 236f.

202 Ma Zhongying kept his word and sent the car, trucks and drivers back to Hedin intact after using them. *Die Flucht des Großen Pferdes* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1939), pp. 111–32, 154–63, 220.

203 Jacobs, *Xinjiang* (2016), p. 104. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 122–26.

204 Allen S. Whiting and General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, *Sinkiang: Pawn or Pivot?* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958), p. 193.

205 In 1936–37, Ma Hushan held the German explorer Wilhelm Filchner captive over the course of seven months in Khotan. Wilhelm Filchner, *Bismillah! Vom Huang-ho zum Indus* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1940), pp. 250–91.

206 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 127–44.

207 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 136, 145–46. Whiting and Sheng, *Sinkiang* (1958), pp. 56–66.

208 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 208, 244.

209 Whiting and Sheng, *Sinkiang* (1958), pp. 186–88, 201–8, 218–27, 280–86.

210 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 157–61. Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia* (1950), pp. 77–81.

211 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 70–247. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 213.

212 Jacobs, *Xinjiang* (2016), p. 131.

213 Jacobs, *Xinjiang* (2016), pp. 139–41.

214 Jacobs, *Xinjiang* (2016), pp. 148–53.

215 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 170–96. Millward, 'Political History and Strategies' (2004), pp. 82f.

216 Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims* (2010), pp. 220–22. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 239.

217 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. 2 (2014), pp. 7, 14. Jacobs, *Xinjiang* (2016), pp. 174f. Millward, 'Political History and Strategies' (2004), pp. 87–94. *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 240f, 246–63.

218 Millward, 'Political History and Strategies' (2004), pp. 94–96. *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 265–76.

219 Stanley W. Toops, 'The demography of Xinjiang', in: Starr, *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (2004), pp. 244–49.

VII. A Multilateral Great Game in Afghanistan, 1978–92

1 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 446.

2 S. Mahmud Ali, *US-China Cold War Collaboration 1971–1989* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 179, 189–200.

3 Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000), p. 165.

4 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 143.

5 The word 'mujahideen' is derived from 'jihad' and refers today to those fighting to defend or spread Islam.

6 In Pakistan, the prime minister has only limited authority over the army.

7 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. XIV, 243, 290.

8 In Saudi Arabia, state and religion are not separated, and the state religion is Wahhabi-influenced Islam. The absolute monarchy of the al-Saud family rests on a close alliance with the clerical al-Wahhab family, which holds the most important religious offices. This alliance of the al-Saud with the al-Wahhab goes back to the pact which the local Amir Muhammad ibn Saud (1710–65) of Diriyah, near the modern town of al-Riyadh, entered into with the Hanbali preacher Sheikh Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92) in 1744. Al-Wahhab committed himself to the religious legitimisation of the al-Saud regime and ibn Saud to the exclusive promotion of the Wahhabi doctrine. The founder of the Wahhabi doctrine along with Osama bin Laden and the Egyptian mastermind of the Muslim Brotherhood, Sayyid Qutb (1906–66) invoked the militant lawyer Taqi al-Din ibn Taymiyyah (1262–1368), who cited the principles of *takfir* and *jihad* to legitimise the use of violence. *Takfir* refers to the condemnation of 'bad'; that is, 'non-Wahhabi' Muslims, especially Shiites, who are condemned as apostates; and *jihad*, in this context, denotes the war against the infidels. Ibn Taymiyyah called on Muslims to follow the example of the *Salaf al-saleh* ('pious ancestors'). Al-Wahhab's slogan was: 'One ruler – one religious authority – one mosque'. The Islamic State also invokes al-Wahhab's understanding of *takfir* and *jihad*. Wahhabism can also be interpreted as a 'purging' of Islamic culture of all non-Arab; that is, Iranian, elements. Abdel Bari Atwan, *Islamic State. The Digital Caliphate* (London: Saqi, 2015), pp. 156–58, 202f. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 184–86.

9 To put it simply, Salafists are non-Saudi Wahhabis. See Note 8.

10 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. XIV, 181f, 519.

11 Panagiotis Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union, China and Anglo-American Intelligence in the Afghan War* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2013), pp. 174f. Mike Martin, *An Intimate War. An Oral History of the Helmand Conflict, 1978–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 56.

12 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 128f.

13 Edwards, *Before Taliban* (2002), pp. 65f, 83–85. Martin, *An Intimate War* (2014), pp. 42f. Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 190f.

14 Gregory Feifer, *The Great Gamble. The Soviet War in Afghanistan* (New York: Harper Prudentials, 2010), p. 24.

15 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p.133.

16 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 194.

17 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 144.

18 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 45–48.

19 Ali, *US-China Cold War Collaboration* (2005), p. 168–70. A former Uzbek fighter verbally described to the author in February 2016 the deployment of Soviet 'volunteers' from Central Asia.

20 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 50–54. Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 38–49.

21 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 13f, 58f. Artemy Kalinovsky, 'Decision-Making and the Soviet War in Afghanistan. From Intervention to Withdrawal' (Harvard: *The Journal of Cold War Studies*, 2009).

22 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 58–81.

23 Ali, *US-China Cold War Collaboration* (2005), p. 172.

24 Ali, *US-China Cold War Collaboration* (2005), p. 173.

25 Ali, *US-China Cold War Collaboration* (2005), pp. 176f.

26 Mohan Malik, *Dragon on Terrorism: Assessing China's tactical gains and strategic losses post-September 11* (Carlisle Barracks: US Army War College, October 2002), p. 5.
27 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), p. 83.
28 Ali, *US-China Cold War Collaboration* (2005), p. 178. Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 82f.
29 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 206f.
30 The official Soviet loss estimate of 13,833 soldiers is much too low. Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 4, 254f. Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 200f, 346.
31 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), p. 153.
32 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), p. 136.
33 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 149f.
34 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 179–81, 191–98.
35 Atwan, *Islamic State* (2015), p. 167. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 196–98.
36 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 204. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 10, 17, 246f, 290, 296, 513.
37 Edwards, *Before Taliban* (2002), pp. 235–68. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. XXV–XXVIII, 4, 304, 310f.
38 Edwards, *Before Taliban* (2002), p. 262. Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 98f.
39 See below p. 227.
40 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. XXV, 217, 302, 564, 598, 603.
41 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), p. 165. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 196, 220f, 243.
42 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 274. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 215.
43 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 249–51, 366, 381f.
44 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), p. 109.
45 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 256.
46 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 256f.
47 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), p. 172. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 213.
48 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 150, 175f. Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 209–12. Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 267.
49 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 185–90. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 224f.
50 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 214–17.
51 Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 218f.
52 Edwards, *Before Taliban* (2002), pp. 279–83.
53 Four days before the treaty was signed in Geneva, the ammunition and weapons depot in Rawalpindi, operated by the ISI for the mujahideen, exploded. The KGB and KHAD secret services were both suspected as the culprits, along with the ISI itself, which allegedly wanted to cover up the theft of Stinger missiles. The CIA refused to immediately replace the destroyed arsenal. Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 218, 221f, 228. Feifer, *The Great Gamble* (2010), pp. 238f.
54 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 229–33.
55 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 250, 290, 294, 335, 344f.
56 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 255–62, 320–34.
57 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 223, 232. Brian Glyn Williams, *The Last Warlord: The Life and Legend of Dostum, the Afghan Warrior Who Led US Special Forces to Topple the Taliban regime* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2013), pp. 138f.
58 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), p. 232. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 404–10.
59 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 406, 773n.17.
60 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 367, 386–89.
61 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 433f.
62 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), p. 233. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 448–55, 467.
63 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 209. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 5, 462. Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), p. 148.
64 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 210. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 481.
65 Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), pp. 49f. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 5–14, 481, 540.
66 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 512.
67 In 1994, Karzai had to hastily leave Kabul because of his unofficial contact with Hekmatyar. Bette Dam, *A Man and a Motor Cycle. How Hamid Karzai came to Power* (Utrecht: Ipso facto, 2014), p. 31.
68 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 14–15, 484–94, 509f. Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), p. 151–55.

VIII. Afghanistan Forces the Three Major Powers to Engage in a Joint Struggle against Islamic Extremism

1 Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), p. 207.
2 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 222.
3 Antonio Giustozzi, *Empires of Mud. War and Warlords in Afghanistan* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), p. 285.
4 Micheline Centlives-Demont (ed.), *Afghanistan. Identity, Society and Politics since 1980* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2015), p. 84. Edwards, *Before Taliban* (2002), p. 289. Giustozzi, *Empires of Mud* (2009), p. 73. Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 222. Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), pp. 155–58.
5 While Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan border on the Caspian Sea, the latter is a dead end without access to the oceans.
6 After the First Gulf War in 1990–91, the Saudis pressured Pakistan to have Hekmatyar removed because he had supported Saddam Hussein. Centlives-Demont (ed.), *Afghanistan* (2015), p. 97.
7 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 391, 533–35.
8 It is ironic that a woman educated at the Western universities Harvard and Oxford was partly responsible for the rise of the Taliban.
9 Personal comment on 17 May 2017.
10 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 222–24. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 531–38. The oft-repeated tale that the Taliban arose spontaneously in 1994, when Omar Mullah with only 30 men liberated two kidnapped girls and a boy, over whom two local commanders were feuding, belongs to the realm of myth.
11 Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars. The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 339.
12 Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), p. 50.
13 Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), pp. 45, 165f, 178f. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 538, 561.
14 Saudi Arabia had in 1994 deprived bin Laden of his citizenship and expelled him whereupon he lived in Sudan till 1996. Centlives-Demont (ed.), *Afghanistan* (2015), p. 115.
15 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), p. 73. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 544.
16 Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 195, 210. *Taliban* (2000), p. 166.
17 Dimitrakis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan* (2013), p. 237. Hunter, *Islam in Russia* (2015), pp. 339, 356–59.
18 Christoph Bluth, *US Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Politics, Energy and Security* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), p. 144. Carlotta Gall and Thomas de Waal, *Chechnya. Calamity in the Caucasus* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 308.
19 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 7. 11. 2016, p. 13th
20 Hunter, *Islam in Russia* (2015), p. 309.
21 On the disputes concerning a trans-Afghan pipeline, see Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), pp. 157–82.
22 The rump government of Rabbani and Massoud retained Afghanistan's seat in the United Nations. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 540, 542.
23 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 140f, 165f, 173, 176, 224.
24 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 550.
25 Dam, *A Man and a Motor Cycle* (2014), p. 47. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. xvif, 697.
26 Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), pp. 173–85, 199.
27 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 284.
28 Carlotta Gall, *The Wrong Enemy. America in Afghanistan, 2001–2014* (Boston: Mariner, 2014), p. 52. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 541, 555, 571.
29 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 50.
30 Centlives-Demont (ed.), *Afghanistan* (2015), p. 137. One of the highest output in opium production occurred in 2007 with 7,400 tonnes, followed by 6,400 tonnes in 2014. In 2017, the output rose to 9,000 tons. https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/36697/umfrage/produktion-von-opium-in-afghanistan-seit-1990/ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 1 March 2018, p. 7.
31 Martin, *An Intimate War* (2014), p. 108.
32 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 165, 229. *Taliban* (2019), p. 243. See also pp. 278f.
33 Marcela Grad, *Massoud. An intimate portrait of the legendary Afghan leader* (St Louis: Webster University Press, 2009), pp. 286f.
34 Coll, *Ghost Wars* (2004), p. 561. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 555f.
35 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 555f.
36 Coll, *Ghost Wars* (2004), pp. 564–73.
37 Coll, *Ghost Wars* (2004), pp. 574–76, 582. Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), p. 206.

38 Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), pp. 54f.
39 Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), p. 61.
40 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia* (2014), p. 45. Lena Jonson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia* (London, I.B.Tauris, 2004), 74f.
41 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia* (2014), pp. 44–47.
42 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 231, 265.
43 Central Command (CENTCOM) is one of six American regional command centres and responsible for the Middle East, Central Asia and East Africa.
44 Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), pp. 63–69.
45 'Green Berets' is the name for members of the elite United States' Army Special Forces Command (Airborne).
46 Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), pp. 215–42.
47 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), pp. 295–304. Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), pp. 258–60.
48 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 304.
49 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 62f.
50 Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 304f. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 604–7.
51 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 608–13.
52 General Richards did not have General Franks in mind here, but politicians. David Richards, *Taking Command. The Autobiography* (London: Headline, 2014), p. IX.
53 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 90–92, 242f.
54 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), p. 96.
55 Ibrahim Azeem, *U.S. Aid to Pakistan. – U.S. Taxpayers Have Funded Pakistani Corruption* (Harvard: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, July 2009), p. 40. Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 236.
56 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 627.
57 Dam, *A Man and a Motor Cycle* (2014), pp. 120–24, 153–60, 170–74. Williams, *The Last Warlord* (2013), pp. 266–72.
58 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 197–201. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung,* 3 April 2014, p. 7.
59 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 295–97. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/22/world/asia/afghan-presidential-election.html?_r=1
60 See below p. 243.
61 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 222.
62 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. xvi.
63 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), pp. 187, 223.
64 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 67–74.
65 Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), p. 232.
66 Akexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules. The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 43.
67 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 620, 634, 658.
68 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung,* 10 September 2016, p. 5; 26 June 2017, p. 5.
69 The terrorist network is led by Jalaluddin Haqqani and his son Sirajuddin. The network has close links to the Taliban and al-Qaeda, but only operates regionally; it is financed through donations from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, as well as through the extortion of protection money inside Afghanistan, kidnapping, and smuggling. The network introduced the method of suicide attacks in Afghanistan, which was alien to the Afghans.
70 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 298.
71 The Sunni organisation Islamic State, al-daula al-Islamiya, which has been active since 2003, represents a jihadist, Salafist ideology and aims at a supranational caliphate. By 2014, it was called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Greater Syria), ISIS.
72 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung,* 17 February 2016, p. 3.
73 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 294.
74 *The Guardian*, 18 October, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/18/taliban-afghanistan-secret-talks-qatar
75 *The Guardian*, 22 September 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/22/butcher-of-kabul-pardoned-in-afghan-peace-deal
76 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/04/afghan-warlord-gulbuddin-hekmatyar-returns-kabul-20-years-call-peace.
77 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 132.
78 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 163–70.
79 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), pp. 151–59. Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), pp. 225, 239. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 649.
80 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 298.
81 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 6 February 2009. *Washington Post*, 9 May 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the-taliban-once-ruled-pakistans-swat-valley-now-peace-has-returned/2015/05/08/6bb8ac96-eeaa-11e4-8050-839e9234b303_story.html
82 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), pp. 141–50.
83 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung,* 2 November 2016, p. 12.
84 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 244.
85 In most parts of Helmand and Kandahar, the voter turnout in the presidential election of 2009 was between 1 per cent and 5 per cent. Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), p. 234.
86 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), pp. 173, 183.
87 Richards, *Taking Command* (2014), pp. 211f.
88 Yorke, *Playing the Great Game* (2012), p. 387.
89 Martin, *An Intimate War* (2014), pp. 111, 124, 138–41, 210f. There are other warlords, such as Atta Mohammad Noor, who also became wealthy, but moreover helped his Balkh province to achieve relative prosperity from 2004. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10 January 2014.
90 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), pp. 81, 117. Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 74f, 161.
91 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), p. 102.
92 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), pp. 102f.
93 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 102.
94 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), p. 202. Dam, *A Man and a Motor Cycle* (2014), pp. 204–5. Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 99f. Martin, *An Intimate War* (2014), pp. 2–5, 125, 133.
95 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 640, 673. See also: Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 263.
96 Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), pp. 229, 232. Tanner, *Afghanistan* (2002), p. 339.
97 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), pp. 212–15.
98 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), pp. 160, 295. Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), pp. 670f, 683.
99 Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan* (2013), p. 674. See also pp. 665, 670, 683, 694.
100 Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), p. 261.
101 Richards, *Taking Command* (2014), pp. 194.
102 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 261f. Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan* (2012), pp. 267f.
103 Gall, *The Wrong Enemy* (2014), p. 162.
104 Afghanistan also has huge deposits of the light metal lithium. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 June 2010, p. 3. Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), p. 84.

IX. The New Independence of Central Asian States

1 Rashid, *Taliban* (2000), p. 232.
2 S.N. Abashin, *Central Asia: How we see it* (2011), in: Alexey Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence. Russia in Central Asia* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013), p. 13.
3 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy* (2014), p. 81. Martha Brill Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), p. 71.
4 See above pp. 243f.
5 Lena Jonson, Lena, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia. The Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy* (London: I.B.Tauris 2004), p. 43.
6 *The Moscow Times*, 25 July 2016. https://themoscowtimes.com/articles/tatarstan-special-status-expires-58483
7 See above pp. 207–10.
8 See above Chapter III.
9 Toops, 'The demography of Xinjiang' (2004), pp. 244–49. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xinjiang
10 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), p. 278.
11 PLA stands for People's Liberation Army.
12 Yitzak Shichor, 'The Great Wall of Steel: Military and Strategy in Xinjiang', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 149, 158.
13 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 282, 322–24.
14 J. Todd Reed and Diana Raschke, *The ETIM. China's Islamic Militants and the Global Terrorist Threat* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010), p. 43.
15 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 289f.
16 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 299f.
17 Marlene Laruelle and Sebastian Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia. Geopolitics and the Challenges of Economic Development* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 174, 176.
18 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 301f.
19 China has stationed air defence systems and built runways on seven man-made islands. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 August 2016, p. 12. http://www.nzz.ch/meinung/kommentare/nach-dem-urteil-zum-suedchinesischen-meer-zittern-vor-china-ld.111104. http://www.nzz.ch/international/asien-und-pazifik/streitfall-suedchinesisches-meer-eine-chinesische-festung-im-ozean-ld.135095.
20 Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography* (New York: Random House, 2013), p. 210.
21 Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 2 (2014), p. 170.
22 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 311–23. Reed, Raschke, *The ETIM* (2010), pp. 26f. Stanley W. Toops, 'The ecology of Xinjiang', in: Starr, S.

Frederick (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 264–74.

23 Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 325–28. Reed, Raschke, *The ETIM* (2010), pp. 47, 55.

24 Reed, Raschke, *The ETIM* (2010), pp. 35–47, 55–67. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/July_2009_%C3%9Cr%C3%BCmqi_riots

25 The resettlement of some 220,000 Uyghurs from the old town into supposedly earthquake-proof apartment blocks on the outskirts did not take place to weaken the culture and identity of the Uyghurs, as is often claimed in the West, but for financial reasons. In China, the land belongs to the state, whereas residents only own their homes. This is why resettlement in provided apartments is legal. The city can then rent out the vacated building area to the highest-bidding real estate company.

26 China puts the blame for the riots on the World Uyghur Congress. Its president Rabiya Kadeer's use of fake photos to prove the alleged brutality of Chinese authorities has undermined her credibility. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* FAZ, 10 July 2009, p. 2.

27 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Kunming_attack

28 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/01/at-least-50-reported-dead-in-september-attack-as-china-celebrates-xinjiang

29 Abbas, *The Taliban Revival* (2014), p. 108. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads* (2007), pp. 337f. Reed, Raschke, *The ETIM* (2010), pp.46–54, 68–73.

30 Morris Rossabi, *Modern Mongolia. From Khans to Commissars to Capitalists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 7–28.

31 Rossabi, *Modern Mongolia* (2005), pp. 49–73, 104, 109, 246f.

32 The five main livestock animals are horses, sheep, goats, yaks and camels.

33 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 7 August 2009, p. 23.

34 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 12 August 2012, p. 37; 4 May 2013, p. p. 35; 24 March 2015, p. 26. Rossabi, *Modern Mongolia* (2005), pp. 234–37.

35 Rossabi, *Modern Mongolia* (2005), pp. 238, 244f, 249.

36 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 July 2016, p. 31. Deutsches Auswärtiges Amt http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/Mongolei/Wirtschaft_node.html

37 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 172–85, 259.

38 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 134, 155. Werner Hermann and Johannes F. Linn (eds.), *Central Asia and The Caucasus. At the Crossroads of Eurasia in the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), pp. 12, 44, 56, 114.

39 Jonson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia* (2004), pp. 45, 50f, 63, 65, 81, 127.

40 The EAEU includes Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Belarus; Tajikistan is a candidate country. Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules. The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 56–61. The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), founded on 8 December 1991, has lost a great deal of its relevance in recent years.

41 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 74–78, 95.

42 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), p. 9.

43 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 241–48.

44 Allworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance* (1994), p. 602.

45 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 96.

46 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy* (2014), pp. 81, 115, 122, 202. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 248–51.

47 See above p. 193. http://thebulletin.org/lasting-toll-semipalatinsks-nuclear-testing

48 Jonathan Aitken, *Nazarbayev and the Making of Kazakhstan* (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 147f. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 250.

49 Aitken, *Nazarbayev* (2010), pp. 148f. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), pp. 110, 135–38.

50 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 248, 251. Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography* (2013), p. 185.

51 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy* (2014), pp. 119f.

52 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 245, 252f. Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), pp. 199–202, 250, n.8.

53 https://web.archive.org/web/20100212175154/http://www.stat.kz/p_perepis/Pages/n_04_02_10.aspx

54 Aitken, *Nazarbayev* (2010), pp. 157–70. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 256, 261. Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), pp. 31, 104.

55 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/01/kazakhstan-russian-neighbour-putin-chilly-nationalist-rhetoric

56 The World Bank, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD, retrieved 23 June 2017. See also: International Monetary Fund, *World economic outlook*, April 2016, retrieved 17 September 2016. http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/01/weodata

57 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 165, 199.

58 The barrel is a standard measurement, corresponding to 159 litres.

59 OPEC Annual Statistics Bulletin 2016; http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/publications/202.htm. US Energy Information Administration, *International Energy Statistics*, 2016; http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/data/ Hermann, Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus* (2011), pp. 78f.

60 CIA, *The World Factbook*, 2014 Estimate; https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2253rank.html. As the neighbouring states continue to feud over the drilling rights, the huge oil and gas reserves in the middle of the Caspian Sea are not included in these figures. If this inland water is defined as a sea, then the neighbouring states would only have rights to the strip of a few nautical miles off their coasts. In this case, the large central area would be considered international waters and the feuding parties would have to come to an agreement about the extraction of the deposits there. If the Caspian Sea is defined as a lake, then the fish stocks and natural resources need to be divided equally.

61 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 7 August 2009, 29 October 2016, p. 35. Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (2005), pp. 32f.

62 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 253–55.

63 Milan Hauner, 'Russia's Asian Heartland Today and Tomorrow', in: Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova, (eds), *Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013), p. 145.

64 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy* (2014), p. 59. Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 91f. Hermann, Linn, (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus* (2011), pp. 33f. Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), pp. 423–27. The oil and gas industry is divided into an upstream business, which deals with the exploration, drilling, and production of raw materials, and a midstream and downstream business, which includes processing, refining, marketing and distribution.

65 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), p. 173.

66 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 174, 176. The pipeline runs from Turkmenistan through Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to Xinjiang, southern China and Hong Kong.

67 Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 113. The construction of the fourth D pipeline was interrupted early 2016. See below, p. 286. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Asia%E2%80%93China_gas_pipeline#cite_note-br160614-20

68 On the pipelines in Central Asia, see: Hermann, Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus* (2011), p. 39. Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), p. 174.

69 *The Astana Times*, 17 November 2015. http://astanatimes.com/2015/11/turkmenistans-pipeline-strategy-building-a-diversified-export-infrastructure/

70 Hermann, Linn, (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus* (2011), pp. 102, 104–6, 122.

71 The Economist, 23 October 2003. http://www.economist.com/node/2155717

72 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 264–66, 285f, 289.

73 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 151, 277. http://www.worldstopexports.com/wheat-exports-country/ ; http://www.world-grain.com/Departments/Country-Focus/Country-Focus-Home/Kazakhstan-2016.aspx?cck=1

74 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 7, 2016, p. 7.

75 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 290. Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 67–69.

76 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 297. Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (2005), pp. 41f. Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), p. 69.

77 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), p. 86. The border demarcation with China was regulated in the treaties of 1996, 1999, and 2001, respectively. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 301. Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), p. 136.

78 See above n. 56.

79 Estimates for the 2012. Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), p. 63. Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), pp. 6, 92, 136.

80 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 304.

81 Hermann, Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus* (2011), pp. 147, 158.

82 Regional electricity trade and exchange among the five republics declined by 85 per cent from 1990 to 2008. Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), p. 219.

83 Hermann, Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus* (2011), pp. XXV, 9f, 26. Lena Johnson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia. Geopolitics, Great Power Rivalry and Radical Islam* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2009), pp. 19, 117f. Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia*

(2015), pp. 219f, 230, 236. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 October 2008, p. 9; January 22, 2016, p. 5.

84 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 296f, 305f.

85 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 304–7.

86 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 13, 45, 48. Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), pp. 20, 291. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/nov/26/ukraine.usa

87 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 306. https://www.opendemocracy.net/about. The so-called 'Tulip Revolution' was not actually a revolution insofar as it did not result in a change of government, but merely a change of ruler.

88 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 159f.

89 Vitaly V. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Between Pen and Rifle* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), p. 92.

90 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 164, 172, 178.

91 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 161, 177.

92 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 24 January 2013, p. 9.

93 Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), pp. 96, 101f.

94 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 121f.

95 Jonson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia* (2004), p. 96. http://gca.satrapia.com/russia-obtains-military-base-prolongation-in-kyrgyzstan

96 The US base was handed over to the Kyrgyz armed forces in June 2014.

97 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 22, 123.

98 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 36, 143–46.

99 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 3, 58, 67, 124–27.

100 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 127–29.

101 Stephan Flechtner and Dagmar Schreiber, *Kirgistan* (Berlin: Trescher, 2015), pp. 79–81.

102 The government charged ousted President Bakiyev and his family with having provoked the riots.

103 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 130f. Flechtner, Schreiber, *Kirgistan* (2015), pp. 78f. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 July 2010, p. 6; 7 September 2010, p. 7.

104 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 126.

105 The Fergana Valley has more than 10 million inhabitants, three-quarters of whom are ethnic Uzbeks; 60 per cent of the territory belongs to Uzbekistan, 25 per cent to Tajikistan, and 15 per cent to Kyrgyzstan, where a significant Uzbek minority lives. Johnson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), p. 115.

106 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 130–44.

107 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 146. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), p. 58. The internationally operating Islamic Revival Party IRP was founded in 1990 by the North-Caucasian Akhtayev and was very active in the North Caucasus. Forsyth, *The Caucasus* (2013), p. 702.

108 Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 38, 66. Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), p. 50.

109 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 152, 316f. Johnson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), p. 112.

110 Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 84.

111 On the Samanids and Rudaki see: Baumer, *The History of Central Asia,* vol. 3 (2016), pp. 25–32.

112 Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 20.

113 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 149, 154–56, 269–72. Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (2005), p. 120. Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), pp. 304f.

114 World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/country/uzbekistan retrieved 27 November 2016.

115 Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (2005), p. 50. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Uzbekistan#External_trade_and_investment

116 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 53, 149. Paul, *Zentralasien* (2012), p. 487.

117 Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), pp. 202–4. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 6 Setember 2016, p. 25.

118 Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 37f, 58–60, 66.

119 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), p. 115. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 136, pp. 39–247.

120 Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), p. 155. Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 115, pp. 23–247.

121 The period of establishment is cited as 1996–98.

122 Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 29, 68–71.

123 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy* (2014), p. 145. Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 140–42, 154, 166, 224.

124 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 144, 154, 165, 173, 176.

125 The responsability of IMU for the attack is sometimes questioned and sought among the United Tajik Opposition, UTO.

126 See above p. 274.

127 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 167–72.

128 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 173–77.

129 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), p. 179.

130 Limited military cooperation had already begun between Uzbekistan and the United States in 1999. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 165, 173.

131 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), pp. 184.

132 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy* (2014), p. 146. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 107f.

133 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), p. 105.

134 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 183f. Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 206. Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia* (2005), pp. 283, 290.

135 'Preliminary findings in the events in Andijan, Uzbekistan, May 13, 2005' (Warsaw: OSCE, 20 June 2005). http://www.osce.org/odihr/15653?download=true

136 Bluth, *US Foreign Policy* (2014), pp. 21, 153. Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), p. 38–40. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 188–90, 413.

137 The lack of legal certainty was revealed, for instance, when the government announced in 2011 that it would end the joint venture with Amantaytau Goldfields, founded in 2003, and nationalise the 50 per cent stake of the English company Oxus Gold. An Uzbek court declared Amantaytau Goldfields bankrupt at the beginning of 2013. http://www.italaw.com/sites/default/files/case-documents/ita0589.pdf ; http://rapsinews.com/judicial_news/20130204/266282267.html

138 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 December 2016, p. 5.

139 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 September 2017, p. 6.

140 Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), p. 203.

141 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 312, 332.

142 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 129, 314.

143 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 317–24. Hunter, *Islam in Russia* (2015), p. 331. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 213f. Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (2005), pp. 45f.

144 Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 214f.

145 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 325–36. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 214–22.

146 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 152, 316f, 335–37. Johnson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), pp. 112f. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 223, 227.

147 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 340.

148 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), pp. 45–48, 89, 96, 147. Naumkin, *Radical Islam in Central Asia* (2005), pp. 227–36.

149 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), p. 48.

150 Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 156.

151 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), p. 63. Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 161.

152 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), pp. 49–56, 65f, 79–81.

153 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 8 September 2015, p. 7; 21 January 2016, p. 9.

154 Lena Jonson, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (2009), pp. 85f, 115f.

155 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 387.

156 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 12 July 2012, p. 7.

157 See above p. 272.

158 Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), pp. 156f. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 7 March 2011, p. 7.

159 *Techno-economic assessment study for Rogun hydroelectric construction project. Executive Summary* (The World Bank, July 2014), pp. 5–6.

160 President Rahmon de-Russified his name in 2007 by removing the Russian suffix '-ov.' Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 22.

161 *Oil & Gas Journal*, 5 June 2013. http://www.ogj.com/articles/print/volume-111/issue-5/exploration---development/tajikistan-pamir-pipedream-or-new.html

162 *The Diplomat*, 31 May and 3 June 2016. http://thediplomat.com/2016/05/line-d-of-the-central-asia-china-gas-pipeline-delayed/ http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/chatter-surrounds-turkmenistans-gas-export-plans/

163 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, September 8, 2015, p. 7; 10 May 2016, p. 7.

164 Officially, the country has 6.7 million inhabitants: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/01-Nodes_Uebersichtsseiten/Turkmenistan_node.html

165 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 193, 199.

166 President Niyazov and his family apparently demanded bribes from international investors and corporations of up to 33 per cent of the project scope. Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), p. 206. Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), p. 187.

167 The Ruhnama is a peculiar mixture of history, rules of conduct, and spiritual guidance.

168 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 205, 215–17, 225. Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), pp. 174–76, 182.

169 Malashenko, *The Fight for Influence* (2013), pp. 183f.

170 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 192f.

171 https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2253rank.html . http://zentralasien.ahk.de/news/einzelansicht-nachrichten/artikel/bp-turkmenistan-hat-viertgroesste-gasreserven-der-welt/?cHash=f4f14b98bf2f12eb1cd8a21b7ac359e1
172 See above pp. 231ff.
173 Freight transport was first put into operation in 2015. *Railway Gazette* 26 June 2015. http://www.railwaygazette.com/news/policy/single-view/view/pakistan-railways-out-of-intensive-care.html
174 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 200, 211f, 380–82, 388. http://www.railway-technology.com/projects/northsouthtransnatio/ ; http://www.railway-technology.com/projects/northsouthtransnatio/ Until 2015, the cross-border transport of goods to Pakistan remained modest.
175 Kazakhstan had already overcome the Russian pipeline monopoly with its first natural gas pipeline to China in 2006. *Astana Times*: http://astanatimes.com/2015/11/turkmenistans-pipeline-strategy-building-a-diversified-export-infrastructure/
176 Rashid, *Jihad* (2002), p. 219.
177 Hiro, *Inside Central Asia* (2009), pp. 212, 382f, 389, 408.
178 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), p. 68.
179 In 2008, Gazprom procured around 45 bcm. *EurasiaNet*, 6 July 2016; http://www.eurasianet.org/node/79551
180 Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules* (2012), pp. 66–68. There had been a severe political crisis between Turkmenistan and Russia already in 2003, when Niyazov refused to extend the agreement on dual citizenship. Those affected were given two months to either voluntarily adopt the Turkmen nationality or, in the absence of an exit visa, to be expelled and forfeit all their belongings. Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (2005), p. 162.
181 *The Diplomat,* 6 January 2016; http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/russias-gazprom-stops-buying-gas-from-turkmenistan/ *Eurasia Net*, 6 July 2016; http://www.eurasianet.org/node/79551
182 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 19 January 2016, p. 28.
183 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 19 January 2016, p. 28.

X. Outlook

1 Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography* (2013), pp. 3f.
2 Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan* (1651; Ware: Wordsworth Classic, 2014).
3 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), p. 254.
4 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 250f, 255. As Laruelle and Peyrouse stress, the feasibility studies and profitability analyses by international financial institutions are not unbiased, since these institutions *want* to grant loans.
5 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), pp. 255f. http://www.trans-eurasia-logistics.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Railways_03-15_D_S.3637.pdf; http://www.nieuwsbladtransport.nl/Nieuws/Modaliteiten/Scheepvaart/ArticleScheepvaart/ArticleID/51256/ArticleName/IntweewekenvanChinanaarDuisburg
6 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 February 2016, p. 15.
7 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung,* 4 April 2015, p. 6.
8 *The New York Times*, 25 August 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/25/world/europe/russia-tanker-christophe-de-margerie.html
9 Laruelle, Peyrouse, *Globalizing Central Asia* (2015), p. 38.
10 DAWN, 20 December 2015, http://www.dawn.com/news/1227664/new-railway-tracks-planned-under-cpec-report. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 23 July 2016, p. 28.
11 *The Diplomat*, 6 June 2015, 2 September 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/china-qatar-and-rmb-internationalization/, http://thediplomat.com/2016/09/china-and-saudi-arabia-a-new-alliance/
12 The new land Silk Road is primarily conceived as a railway. *Xinhua*, 28 March 2015, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-03/28/c_134105435.htm. See also http://www.xinhuanet.com/silkroad/english/index.htm
13 *Xinhua*, 24 June 2016; http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-06/24/c_135464233.htm
14 The confrontation between the Burmese armed forces and the Muslim Rohingyas since October 2016 in south-west Burma could lead to a radicalisation of the latter which may endanger the China-sponsored project of constructing a deep-sea harbour at Kyaukphyu in the Rakhine State, Myanmar. The project is of strategic importance for China since it includes the construction of an oil and of a gas pipeline to Kunming, China, thus avoiding the vulnerable Straits of Malacca.
15 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 January 2016, p. 4; http://www.nzz.ch/international/asien-und-pazifik/die-rolle-der-taliban-in-afghanistan-die-rueckkehr-des-grossen-spiels-ld.137678
16 The airdrop of a mega bomb (Massive Ordnance Air Blast) ordered by President Trump on 13 April 2017, which destroyed a tunnel complex of the IS in Nangarhar, does not indicate a new American security strategy for Afghanistan.

Captions

1 Clements R. Markham (editor and translator), *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–06* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1859), p. 124.
2 Vaughan, 'Dekorative Künste [Indien Sultanate und Moghuln]' (2000), pp. 475f.
3 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (2005), p. 13.
4 Vaughan, 'Dekorative Künste [Indien Sultanate und Moghuln]' (2000), pp. 490–93.
5 Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 65. Georg Huth, *Die Inschriften von Tsaghan Baisin. Tibetisch-mongolischer Text* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1894), pp. 20–23, 44, 51, 62.
6 Marylin M. Rhie, Robert F. Thurman, *Wisdom and Compassion. The Sacred Art of Tibet* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 1991), pp. 68, 144f, 267.
7 Müller und Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben* (2005), pp. 348–54.
8 Michael Henss *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet. The Central Regions* (Munich: Prestel, 2014), vol. I, p. 70.
9 Charleux, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (2006), p. 94. Pyotr K. Kozlov, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto. Mit einem Geleitwort von Dr. Sven Hedin* (Berlin: Neufeld & Henius, 1925), pp. 83f
10 Renato Sala and Jean-Marc Deom, *Petroglyphs of South Kazakhstan* (Almaty: Laboratory of Geoarchaeology), pp. 57, 109f.
11 Henss, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet* (Munich: Prestel, 2014), vol. I, pp. 107, 110.
12 Henss, 'The Bodhisattva-Emperor' (2001), vol. XLVII, No. 3, pp. 3, 5.
13 See: Baumer, *The History of Central Asia*, vol. 3 (2016), fig. 75.
14 Vámbéry, *Voyages d'un faux derviche* (1865), pp. 133f.
15 Carrère, *Islam and the Russian Empire* (2009), p. 38.
16 Leaflet and copyright of the Foundation Phototheca Afghanica, Bubendorf, Switzerland. See also: Ella K. Maillart, *The Cruel Way* (1947; London: Virago Press, 1986), pp. 127f. Rudolf Stuckert, *Erinnerungen an Afghanistan 1940–1946. Aus dem Tagebuch eines Schweizer Architekten* (Liestal: Foundation Bibliotheca Afghanica, 1994), p. 67.
17 Omar Khan, *From Kashmir to Kabul: the photographs of John Burke and William Baker, 1860–1900* (Munich; New York: Prestel, 2002), p. 120.
18 Khan, *From Kashmir to Kabul* (2002), p. 131.
19 Younghusband, *The Heart of a Continent* (1896), pp. 157, 206.
20 Perceval Landon, *Lhasa. An account of the country and people of Central Tibet and of the progress of the mission sent there by the English government in the years 1903–04* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905), vol. I, pp. 256–68, vol. II, pp. 84–90.
21 Leaflet and copyright of the Foundation Phototheca Afghanica, Bubendorf, Switzerland.
22 Leaflet Harvard-Yenching Library.
23 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Reagan_sitting_with_people_from_the_Afghanistan-Pakistan_region_in_February_1983.jpg ; https://www.quora.com/Who-is-the-woman-sitting-with-Reagan-and-the-Mujahideen-in-this-picture
24 Helmut R. Schulze, *Afghanistan. Reisen hinter den Horizont* (Heidelberg: Edition HRS, 2008), p. 110.
25 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung from 28 July 2015. http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/luege-ueber-kriegsdenkmaeler-in-russland-empoert-russen-13720292.html

Bibliography

Abbas, Hassan, *The Taliban Revival. Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

Abbott, James, *Narrative of a Journey from Heraut to Khiva, Moscow and St. Petersburgh, during the late Russian invasion of Khiva; with some account of the Court of Khiva and the Kingdom of Khaurism* (London: Allen & Co, 1843).

Abdullaev, Ravshan, Khotamov, Namoz and Kenensariev, Tashmanbet, 'Colonial Rule and Indigenous Responses, 1860–1917', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Ferghana Valley. The Heart of Central Asia* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), pp. 69–93.

Abdurakhimova, N.A., 'Tsarist Russia and Central Asia', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI, eds Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005), pp. 125–52.

Abliyazov, Kamil Alimovich, *Istoricheskaiya sutba tatar* (Saratov: Nauchnaiya kniga, 2012).

Abuseitova, Meruert, 'The spread of Islam in Kazakhstan from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century', in: Gian Luca Bonora, Niccolo Pianciola and Paolo Sartori (eds), *Kazakhstan: Religions and Society in the History of Central Asia* (Turin: U. Allemandi, 2009), pp. 125–36.

Afghanistan Institute and *Phototheca Afghanica*, Bubendorf, Switzerland. http://www.afghanistan-institut.ch/

Aitken, Jonathan, *Nazarbayev and the Making of Kazakhstan* (London: Continuum, 2010).

Akasoy, Anna, Burnett, Charles and Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit (eds), *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

Albrecht, Max von, *Russisch Central-Asien. Reisebilder aus Transkaspien, Buchara und Turkestan* (Hamburg: Druckerei A.-G., 1896).

Alder, Garry, *British India's Northern Frontier 1865–95* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1963).

—*Beyond Bokhara. The Life of William Moorcroft. Asian Explorer and Pioneer Veterinary Surgeon, 1767–1825* (London: Century Publishing, 1985).

Alexander of Malabar, Friar, 'The story of the sack of Ispahan by the Afghans in 1722', 1724, translated by Sir Arnold Wilson, *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXIII, No. 4, October 1936 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1936), pp. 643–53.

Alfieri, Bianca Maria, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Laurence King, 2000).

Ali, M. Athar, 'The Mughal empire and its successors', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 299–323.

Ali, S. Mahmud, *US-China Cold War Collaboration 1971–1989* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005).

Alimova, D.A. and Golovanov, A.A., 'The evolution of nation-states: Uzbekistan', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 225–46.

Allen, Charles, *Duel in the Snows. The true story of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa* (London: John Murray, 2004).

Allworth, Edward (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

Alphen, Jan van (ed.), *Schamanismus in Tuva*, exhib. cat. Museum für Völkerkunde Wien (Wien: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1998).

Altan Tobči, trans. and ed. Charles Bawden (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1955).

Amini, Iradj, *Napoleon and Persia: Franco-Persian Relations under the First Empire* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999).

Amirpur, Katajun, *Schia gegen Sunna. Sunna gegen Schia* (Zurich: Vontobel-Stiftung, 2013).

Amitai, Reuven and Biran, Michal (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

Amitai-Preiss, Reuven and Morgan, David O. (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

André, Paul (ed.), *The Art of Central Asia* (Bournemouth: Parkstone Press, 1996).

Andreyev, Alexandre (ed.), *Tibet in the Earliest Photographs by Russian Travellers, 1900–01* (New Delhi: Studio Orientalica, 2013).

Annanepesov, M., 'The Khanate of Khiva (Khwarazm)', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 63–71.

—'Relations between the Khanates and with other powers', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 82–88.

Anonymous, *Der Persianische Cromwel oder Leben und Thaten des Miri-Ways, Fürsten von Candahar und Protectoris von Persien* (no publisher, 1723).

Ashrafyan, K.Z., 'Central Asia under Timur from 1370 to the early fifteenth century', in: M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 319–45.

Atchinson, J.E.T., *Notes on the Products of Western Afghanistan and of North-Eastern Persia* (Edinburgh: Neil, 1890).

Atkin, Muriel, *Russia and Iran, 1780–1828* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980).

Atkinson, James, *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London: Graves, 1842).

Atkinson, Thomas Witlam, *Oriental and western Siberia: a narrative of seven years' exploration and adventures in Siberia, Mongolia, the Kirghis Steppes,* *Chinese Tartary, and a part of Central Asia* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1858).

Atwan, Abdel Bari, *Islamic State. The Digital Caliphate* (London: Saqi, 2015).

Atwood, Christopher, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004).

Atwood, Rodney, *The March to Kandahar. Roberts in Afghanistan* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2008).

Audouin-Dubreuil, Ariane, *Expedition Seidenstraße* (München: Frederking & Thaler, 2003).

Avery, Peter, 'Nadir Shah and the Afsharid Legacy', in: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 3–62.

Axworthy, Michael, *The Sword of Persia. Nader Shah, from Tribal Warrior to Conquering Tyrant* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006).

Azeem, Ibrahim, *U.S. Aid to Pakistan. – U.S. Taxpayers Have Funded Pakistani Corruption* (Harvard: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, July 2009).

Baabar, B., alias Bat-Edeniin Batbayar, *History of Mongolia* (Cambridge: The White Horse Press, 1999).

Bababekov, H.N., 'Fergana and the Khanate of Kokand', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 71–81.

Baber, Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed, *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber,* trans. John Leyden and William Erskine (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1826).

Bailey, Frederick Marshman, 'In Russian Turkestan under the Bolsheviks', *Journal of the The Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VIII, No. 1, 1921 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1921), pp. 49–69.

—*Mission to Tashkent* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946).

Bailey, Jonathan, Iron, Richard and Strachan, Hew (eds), *British Generals in Blair's Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Baipakov, Karl, *Drevnjaja i Srednevekovaja Urbanizatsija Kasachstana*, 3 vols (Almaty: Institut arkheologii MON RK; Kazakhstanskoe arkheologicheskoe obshchestvo, 2012, 2013, 2014).

Baipakov, Karl and Kumekov, B.E., 'The Kazakhs', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 89–108.

Baipakov, Karl and Smagulov, E.A., *The Medieval Town Sauran* (Almaty: Credo, 2005).

Baipakov, Karl, Smagulov, E.A. and Aklhatov, G.A., *The Medieval Jaiyk Site* (Almaty: Credo, 2005).

Bakshi, S.R. and Sharma, S.K. (eds), *Babar. The Great Moghul* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 2000).

Balint, Csanad, *Die Archäologie der Steppe* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989).

Ball, Warwick, 'The archaeology of Afghanistan: a reassessment and stock-taking', in: Juliette van Krieken-Pieters (ed.), *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan: Its Fall and Survival* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 39–48.

—*The Monuments of Afghanistan: History, Archaeology and Architecture* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008).

Balland D., 'Ashraf Gilzai, the Afghan chief who rules as Shah over part of Iran from 1137/1725 to 1142/1729', in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2011. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/asraf-gilzay-the-afghan-chief-who-ruled-as-shah-over-part-of-iran-from-1137-1725-to-1142-1729

Balloni, Nicola Franco and Kukovalska, Nelia (eds), *The Genoese in Crimea: A Historical Guide* (Kiev: Gorobez, 2009).

Barfield, Thomas J., *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

—*Afghanistan. A cultural and political history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Barger, Evert, 'Exploration of Ancient Sites in Northern Afghanistan', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. XCIII, No. 5, May 1939 (London: RGS, 1939), pp. 377–98.

—'Some Problems of Central Asian Exploration', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. CIII, Nos 1, 2, January–February 1944 (London: RGS, 1944), pp. 1–17.

Barthold, V.V., *Die geographische und historische Erforschung des Orients mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der russischen Arbeiten* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1913).

—*12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, 1935).

Barthoux, Jules, *The Hadda Excavations*. vols. I and III (1930, 1933) (Reprint Bangkok: SDI Publications, 2001).

Basiner, Theodor Friedrich Julius, 'Reise durch die Kirgisensteppe nach Chiwa', *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Russischen Reiches und der angrenzenden Länder Asiens*, Fünfzehntes Bänchen (St Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1848).

Batbayar, Ts., 'The Mongolian People's Revolution of 1921 and the Mongolian People's Republic (1924–46)', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 363–71.

Batsaikhan, Emergent Ookhnoi, *Bogdo Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, The Last King of Mongolia. Mongolia's National Revolution of 1911* (Ulaan Baatar: Institute of International Studies, Academy of Sciences, Mongolia, 2009).

Baud, Aymon, Forêt, Philippe and Gorshenina, Svetlana, *La Haute-Asie telle qu'ils l'ont vue: Explorateurs et scientifiques de 1820 à 1940* (Geneva: Olizane, 2003).

Baumer, Christoph, *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery across Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008).

—*China's Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

—*The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Steppe Warriors*, vol. 1 of 4 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

—*The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Silk Roads*, vol. 2 of 4 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014).

—*The History of Central Asia: The Age of Islam and the Mongols,* vol. 3 of 4 (London: I.B.Tauris, 2016).

—*The Church of the East. An illustrated history of Assyrian Christianity* (London: IB Tauris, 2nd edition 2016).

Baumer, Christoph and Weber, Therese, *Eastern Tibet: Bridging Tibet and China* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2005).

Bawden, Charles R., *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968).

Beaulieu, Lord Montagu of, 'The North-West Frontier of India', *Journal of the The Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. XI, No. 2, 1924 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1924), pp. 136–46.

Becker, Seymour, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia. Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

Bell, Charles, *Tibet, Past and Present* (1924, Reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992).

Bell, John of Antermony, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia, to diverse parts of Asia in two volumes* (Glasgow: Printed for the author by Robert and Andrew Foulis printers to the University 1763).

Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew (ed.), *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe: Sedentary Civilization vs. 'Barbarian' and Nomad* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

Bellér-Hann, Ildikó, *Community Matters in Xinjiang, 1880–1949: towards a historical anthropology of the Uyghur* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

Belokrenitsky, Vyacheslav, 'Islamic Radicalism in Central Asia: The Influence of Pakistan in Afghanistan', in: Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 152–94.

Bemmann, Jan, Ahrens, B., Grützner, C., Klinger, R., Klitzsch, N., Lehmann, F., Linzen, S., Munkhbayar, L., Nomguunsuren, G., Oczipka, M., Piezonka, H., Schütt, B. and Saran, S. (eds), 'Geoarchaeology in the steppe: first results of the multidisciplinary Mongolian-German project in the Orkhon Valley, Central Mongolia', *Studia Archaeologica Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Mongolicae* (Ulaan Baatar) 30 (2011), fasc. 5, pp. 69–97.

Beneveni, Florio, *Poslannik Petra I na Vostoke: posol'stvo Florio Beneveni v Persiû i Buharu v 1718–1725 godach* (Moskva: Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija, 1986).

Benjamin, Craig and Lieu, Samuel (eds), *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

Bennison, A.K. and Gascoigne, A.L. (eds), *Cities in the Pre-modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (London: SOAS/Routledge, 2007).

Bergholz, Fred W., *The Partition of the Steppe. The Struggle of the Russians, Manchus, and the Zungar Mongols for Empire in Central Asia, 1619–1758* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993).

Bergmann, Benjamin, *Schicksale des Persers Wassilij Michailow unter den Kalmüken, Kirgisen und Chiwensern* (Riga: Hartmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1804).

—*Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmücken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803*, 4 vols (Riga: Hartmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1804–5).

Berinstain, Valérie, *Mughal India. Spendours of the Peacock Throne* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998).

Bernier, François, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656–1668*. A revised and improved edition based upon Irving Brock's translation by Archibald Constable (1891; Reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1996).

Berry, Scott, *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune. The Japanese in Tibet* (London: Athlone Press, 1995).

Beurmann, Eduard, *Über Afghanistan* (Darmstadt: Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1844).

Bianchini, Marie-Claude (ed.), *Afghanistan: une histoire millénaire* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002).

Bishop, George, *In Search of Cathay. The Travels of Bento de Goes, S.J. (1562–1607)* (Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1998).

Blacker, L.V.S., *On Secret Patrol in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 1922).

—'Wars and travels in Turkistan, 1918–1919–1920', *Journal of the The Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. IX, No. 1, 1922 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1922), pp. 4–20.

Blair, Sheila and Bloom, Jonathan M., *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Blank, Stephen, *Energy, Economics, and Security in Central Asia: Russia and Its Rivals* (Carlisle Barracks: Strategic Sudies Institute, 1995).

Blankennagel, Major, 'Bemerkungen über eine in den Jahren 1793 und 1794 ausgeführte Reise nach Chiwa', in: *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Rußland*, vol. 18, 1859, pp. 351–83 (Berlin: Reimer, 1859).

Bloom, Jonathan and Blair, Sheila (eds), *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Blouet, Brian W., 'Mackinder: Imperialism, the Empire of India and Central Asia', in: Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova (eds), *Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013), pp. 39–68.

Bluth, Christoph, *US Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Politics, Energy and Security* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014).

Bonora, Gian Luca, Pianciola, Niccolo and Sartori, Paolo (eds), *Kazakhstan: Religions and Society in the History of Central Eurasia* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2009).

Bonvalot, Gabriel, *Du Caucase aux Indes à travers le Pamir* (Paris: Plon, 1889).

Boobbyer, Philip, *The Stalin Era* (London: Routledge, 2000).

Bormanshinov, Arash, 'A Secret Kalmyk Mission to Tibet in 1904', *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXXVI, no. 3–4, 1949 (Reprint Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 161–87.

— 'The Kalmyks in America', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. L, No. 3, June 1963 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1963), pp. 149–51.

Borodina, Iraidna, *Central Asia. Gems of 9th–19th Century Architecture* (Moscow: Olanety, 1987).

Bornet, Philippe and Gorshenina, Svetlana (eds), *L'orientalisme des marges: éclairages à partir de l'Inde et de la Russie* (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 2014).

Bosworth, C.E. (ed.), *A Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977).

—*The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980).

Boulger, Demetrius Charles, *The Life of Yakoonb Beg; Athalik Ghazi, and baudelet; Ameer of Kashgar* (London: W.H. Allen, 1878).

Bouillane, Henry de Bouillane de Lacoste, *Autour de l'Afghanistan (Aux frontiers interdites)* (Paris: Hachette, 1908).

Braithwaite, Sir Rodric, 'The Russians in Afghanistan', *Asian Affairs*, vol. XLII, No. II, July 2011 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 2011), pp. 213–29.

Brauen, Martin (ed.), *Die Dalai Lamas,* exhib. cat. Völkerkundemuseum Zürich (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2005).

Bregel, Yuri, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003).

—'Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 221–36.

—'The new Uzbek states: Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand: c. 1750–1886', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 392–411.

—'The Abu'l-Khayrids', in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (20 February 2009, updated 21 July 2011). http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abul-khayrids-dynasty

Brenton, Sir Tony, 'Russia and China: An Axis of Insecurity', *Asian Affairs,* vol. XLIV, No. II, July 2013 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 2011), pp. 231–49.

Bretschneider, Emil, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources: Fragments towards the Knowledge of the Geography and History of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th Century*, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1888).

Bubnova, M.A., *Arxeologitcheskya karta Tadjikistana. Gorno-Badaxshanckaya Avtonomnaya Oblast. Zapadnyi Pamir* (Dushanbe: UCA, 2007).

Bugajski, Janusz and Assenova, Margarita, *Eurasian Disunion. Russia's vulnerable flanks* (Washington: Jamestown Foundation, 2016).

Bulag, Uradyn E., *The Mongols at China's Edge. History and the Politics of National Unity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).

Burnaby, Fred, *A Ride to Khiva* (1877; Reprint London: Century Publishing, 1983).

Burnes, Alexander, *Travels into Bokhara; containing the Narrative of a voyage on the Indus from the sea to Lahore, with presents from the King of Great Britain; and an account of a journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia. Performed by order of the Supreme Government of India, in the years of 1831, 32, and 33*; 3 vols (London: John Murray 1835).

—*Kabul. Schilderung einer Reise nach dieser Stadt und Aufenthaltes dasselbst, in den Jahren 1836, 1837 und 1838* (1842; German translation Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1843).

—*Cabool: Personal narrative of a journey to, and residence in that city, in the years 1836, 7, and 8* (1843, Print on demand, Champaign: Book Jungle, 2016).

Cable, Mildred and French, Francesca, *The Gobi Desert* (1942; London: Virago Press, 1984).

Çağatay, Ergun and Kuban, Dogan (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006).

The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7. The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I, eds Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 9. Part One: The Ch'ing Empire to 1800, ed. Williard J. Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods, vol. 6, eds Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic, vol. 7, eds Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Cameron, Nigel, *Barbarians and Mandarins. Thirteen Centuries of Western Travellers in China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Carrère d'Encausse, Hélène, *Islam and the Russian Empire. Reform and Revolution in Central Asia* (1966; English translation: London, I.B.Tauris, 2009).

—'Systematic Conquest, 1865–1994', in: Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 131–50.

—'Organizing and Colonizing the Conquered Territories', in: Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 151–71.

—'The Stirring of National Feeling', in: Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 172–88.

—'The Fall of the Czarist Empire', in: Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 207–23.

—'Civil War and New Governments', in: Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 224–53.

—The National Republics Lose Their Independence', Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 254–65.

Carruthers, Douglas, *Unknown Mongolia; a record of travel and exploration in north-west Mongolia and Dzungaria* (1913; Reprint New Delhi, 1994).

Castagné, Joseph, *Les monuments funéraires de la steppe des Kirghizes* (Orenburg: Typografia Turgaïskavo, 1911).

Castle, John, 'Journal von der Ao 1736 aus Orenburg zu dem Abul Geier Chan der Kirgis-Cavsack Tartarischen Horda aus freyem Willen und bloß zu dem Besten des russischen Reiches unternommenen höchst nöthigen und zwar gefährlichen doch glücklich vollbrachten Reise', in: *Materialien zu der russischen Geschichte seit dem Tode Kaisers Peters des Großen. Zweiter Theil, 1730–1741* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1784).

Centlives-Demont, Micheline, *Afghanistan. Identity, Society and Politics since 1980* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2015).

Chaliand, Gérard, *Nomadic Empires: From Mongolia to the Danube* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004).

Charleux, Isabelle, *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure* (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2006).

Chase, Kenneth, *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Chavanne, Josef, *Afghanistan. Land und Leute mit Rücksicht auf den Englisch-Afghanischen Krieg* (Wien: A. Hartleben's Verlag, 1879).

Cherniaev, G.M., 'Memorandum of G.M. Cherniaev sent to Field Marshal Prince Bariatinskii in March 1869', in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 247–52.

Chmelnizkij, Sergey, 'Architektur [der Shaibaniden und Khanfürstentümer]', in: Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 436–47.

Christian, David, 'State formation in the Inner Eurasian steppes', in: David Christian and Craig Benjamin (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies II (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 51–76.

Christian, David and Benjamin, Craig (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies II (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

—*Realms of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies IV (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

—*Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

Cimorelli, Dario (ed.), *Trésors du Bouddhisme au pays de Gengis Khan*, exhib. cat. Musée Guimet (Paris: Silvana Editoriale, 2009).

Clinch, Elizabeth and Nicholas, *Through a Land of Extremes. The Littledales of Central Asia* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2008).

Crosby, Oscar Terry, *Tibet and Turkestan* (New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1905).

Chuvin, Pierre (ed.), *Les arts de l'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 1999).

Cobbold, Ralph P., *Innermost Asia. Travel & Sport in the Pamirs* (London: William Heinemann, 1900).

Coene, Frederik, *The Caucasus* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Cohn-Wiener, Ernst, *Turan. Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1930).

Colegrave, Bill, *Halfway House to Heaven. Unravelling the mystery of the majestic River Oxus* (London: Bene Factum Publishing, 2010).

Coll, Steve, *Ghost Wars. The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (London: Penguin, 2004).

Collins, Joseph J., *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 2011).

Compareti, Matteo, Raffetta, Paola and Scarcia, Gianroberto (eds), č*Ērān ud Anĕrān: Studies Presented to Boris Il'i*č*Maršak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, 2003. http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/

Conolly, Arthur, *Journey to the north of India, overland from England, through Russia, Persia and Affghaunistaun:* in two volumes (1834; Reprint in the US, no date, *ca.* 2015).

Consten, Hermann, *Weidenplätze der Mongolen. Im Reiche der Chalcha*, 2 vols (Berlin: Reimer, 1919).

Cooley, Alexander, *Great Games, Local Rules. The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Corfield, Justin J., *The History of Kalmykia: from ancient times to Kirsan Ilyumzhinov and Aleksey Orlov* (Victoria: Gentext Publications, 2015).

Crossley, Pamela Kyle, 'The Conquest Elite of the Ch'ing Empire', in: Williard J. Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 9. Part One: The Ch'ing Empire to 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 310–59.

Curzon, George N., *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889).

—*Persia and the Persian Question*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892).

—'The Pamirs and the source of the Oxus', revised and reprinted from *The Geographical Journal*, July–Sept. 1896 (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1898).

Dahl, Erik J., 'Naval Innovation. From Coal to Oil' (Washington DC: National Defense University Press, Joint Force Quarterly JFQ, Winter 2000–01), pp. 50–56. http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a524799.pdf

Dale, Stephen, 'The later Timurids', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 199–217.

Dalrymple, William, *Return of a King. The Battle for Afghanistan, 1839–42* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013).

Dam, Bette, *A Man and a Motor Cycle. How Hamid Karzai came to Power* (Utrecht: Ipso facto, 2014).

Davidovich, E.A., 'Monetary policy and currency circulation under the Shaybanid and the Janid (Astarkhanid) dynasties', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 427–43.

Davies, Brian L., *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700* (London: Routledge, 2007).

De Goeje, M.J., *Das alte Bett des Oxus, Amû-Darja* (Leiden: Brill, 1875).

Deasy, Henry H.P., *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Being the record of three years' exploration* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901).

Develin, R.E., *Views in Chitral taken during the advance of the 3rd Brigade of the Chitral Relief Force under the command of Brigadier-General W.F. Gatacre, D.S.O., by Sergeant-Major Develin, R.E., 1895* (London: Maclure & Co. [1896]).

Di Cosmo, Nicola (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

—'Military aspects of the Manchu Wars against the Čaqars', in: Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 337–68.

—(ed.), *Military Culture in Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

—'The Qing and Inner Asia: 1636–1800', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 333–62.

Di Cosmo, Nicola, Frank, Allen J. and Golden, Peter B. (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Dimitrakis, Panagiotis, *The Secret War in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union, China and Anglo-American Intelligence in the Afghan War* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2013).

Donohoe, Martin Henry, *With the Persian Expedition* (1919, London: Naval & Military Press, undated reprint).

Drew, W.J. and Wheeler, Geoffrey, 'Sinkiang in the modern world', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. LVI, No. 3, October 1969 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1969), pp. 42–50.

Dreyer, Edward L., 'Military origins of Ming China', in: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 58–106.

Dubovitskii, Victor with Bababekov, Khaydarbek, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Ferghana Valley. The Heart of Central Asia* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), pp. 29–68.

Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, *Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, Et Physique De L'Empire De La Chine Et De La Tartarie Chinoise: Enrichie Des Cartes Générales Et Particulieres de ces Pays, de la Carte générale & des Cartes particulieres du Thibet, & de la Corée*; vol. 4 (Den Hague: Scheurleer, 1736).

—*The general history of China: Containing a geographical, historical, chronological, political and physical description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet.* Done from the French of P. du Halde. The third edition corrected, 4 vols (London: Printed for J. Watts: And sold by B. Dod, 1741).

Dunmore, 7th Earl of (Murray, Charles Adolphus), *The Pamirs. A narrative of a year's expedition on horseback and on foot through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary and Russian Central Asie*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1893).

Dunsterville, Major General Lionel C., *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (London: Arnold, 1920).

—'Military mission to North-West Persia, 1918', *Journal of the The Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1921), pp. 79–98.

Dupree, Louis, 'Afghanistan in the twentieth century', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. LII, No. 1, January 1965 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1965), pp. 20–30.

— 'Afghanistan and the unpaved road to democracy', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. LVI, No. 3, October 1969 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1969), pp. 272–78.

— *Afghanistan* (1973; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Durand, Algernon, *The Making of a Frontier* (1899, Reprint Karachi: Indus Publications, 1977).

Ebülgâzî Bahadir Khan, Khan of Khorezm, *A general history of the Turks, Moguls, and Tatars, vulgarly called Tartars. Together with a Description of the Countries they inhabit* 2 vols (London: Knapton et al, 1730; Reprint Bibliolife, 2016).

Ekbal, Kamran, 'Charles Christie, Captain (d. 1812), of the Bombay Regiment, an Anglo-Indian officer under the command of Sir John Malcolm', in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (1991, 2011). http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christie-captain-charles-d

Edelberg, Lennart and Jones, Schuyler, *Nuristan* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979).

Edmonds, C .J., 'The Persian prelude to the Zimmermann telegram', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XLVII, No. 1, January 1960 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1960), pp. 58–67.

Edwards, David B., *Before Taliban. Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Edwards, Henry Sutherland, *Russian Projects against India. From the Czar Peter to General Skobeleff* (London: Remington, 1885).

Ellenborough, Lord, 'India Board to Lord Bentinck, 12 January 1830', published as 'The Board of Control of the East India Company expresses concern to the Governor General about Russian designs in Central Asia' in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 69–74.

Ellesmere, Earl of (ed.), *History of the two Tartar Conquerors of China, including the two Journeys into Tartary of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, in the Suite of the Emperor Kang-Hi* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1854).

Ellis, Charles Howard, 'The Transcaspian episode', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XLVI, No. 2, April 1959 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1959), pp. 106–18.

—*The Transcaspian Episode 1918–1919* (London: Hutchinson, 1963).

Elphinstone, Mountstuart, *Tableau du royaume de Caboul et de ses dépendances, dans la Perse, la Tartarie et l'Inde, offrant les mœurs, usages et costumes de cet empire,* 3 vols (1815; French translation Paris: Nepveu, 1817).

—English edition: *An account of the kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India: comprising a view of the Afghaun nation, and a history of the Doorannee monarchy*; in 2 vols (London: Bentley, 1842).

Erdeni-tobči: See Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi.

Eshraghi, E., 'Persia during the period of the Safavids, the Afshars and the early Qajars', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 247–71.

Espagne, Michel et al. (eds), *Asie Centrale. Transferts culturels le long de la Route de la Soie* (Paris: Vendéminaire, 2016).

Etherton, Percy Thomas, *In the Heart of Asia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926).

Evans, John L., *Mission of N.P. Ignat'ev to Khiva and Bukhara in 1858*, translated and edited by John Evans (Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1984).

Ewans, Martin, *Afghanistan. A Short History of its People and Politics* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002).

—*The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004).

—*Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006).

—*Securing the Indian Frontier in Central Asia. Confrontation and Negotiation, 1865–95* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Eyre, Vincent, *The military operations at Cabul, which ended in the retreat and destruction of the British army, January 1842. With a journal of imprisonment in Afghanistan* (London: James Murray, 1843).

Fairweather, Jack, *The Good War. Why we couldn't win the war or the peace in Afghanistan* (London: Penguin, 2014).

Farrell, Thomas D., 'The founding of the North-West Frontier militias', *Asian Affairs*, vol. III (old series vol. 59), No. 2, June 1972 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 1972), pp. 165–78.

Feifer, Gregory, *The Great Gamble. The Soviet War in Afghanistan* (New York: Harper Prudentials, 2010).

Filchner, Wilhelm, *Ein Ritt über den Pamir* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1903).

—*Bismillah! Vom Huang-ho zum Indus* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1940).

Filiu, Jean-Pierre, *From Deep State to Islamic State. The Arab Counter-Revolution and its Jihadi Legacy* (London: Hurst, 2015).

Fisher Alan W., *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978).

—*Between Russians, Ottomans and Turks: Crimea and Crimean Tatars* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1998).

Fitzhugh, William W., Rossabi, Morris and Honeychurch, William (eds), *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Empire*, exhib. cat. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2009).

Flechtner, Stephan and Schreiber, Dagmar, *Kirgistan* (Berlin: Trescher, 2015).

Fleming, Peter, *News from Tartary. A Journey from Peking to Kashmir* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1936).

—*Bayonets to Lhasa* (1961; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Fleming, Zara and Shastri, Lkhagvademchig (eds), *Mongolian Buddhist Art: Masterpieces from the Museums of Mongolia. Vol. 1, Parts 1&2, Thangkas, Appliqués and Embroideries* (Chicago: Serindia, 2011).

Forbes, Andrew D.W., *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia. A political history of Republican Sinkiang 1911–1949* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2010).

Forsyth, James, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia. Russia's North Asian Colony 1581–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

—*The Caucasus. A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Forsyth, Sir Thomas Douglas, *Report of a mission to Yarkund in 1873, under command of Sir T.D. Forsyth with historical and geographical information regarding the possessions of the ameer of Yarkund* (Calcutta: Foreign Dept. Press, 1875).

Fourniau, V. and Poujol, C., 'The states of Central Asia (second half of nineteenth century to early twentieth century)', in: Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005), pp. 29–50.

Frank, Allen J., *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

—'The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 237–60.

—'The Qazakhs and Russia', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 363–79.

—'Russia and the peoples of the Volga-Ural region: 1600–1850', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 380–91.

Fraser, James Baillie, *J. B. Fraser›s Reise nach und in Khorasan in den Jahren 1821 bis 1822: nebst Nachrichten von den nordöstlich von Persien gelegenen Laendern, und Bemerkungen über den National-Character der Perser, wie über die Regierung und die Macht Persiens*; 2 vols (1825; German translation Weimar: Verl. d. Gr. H. S. pr. Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs 1828–29).

Frechtling, Louis E., 'Anglo-Russian rivalry in Eastern Turkistan, 1863–1881', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXVI, No. 3, July 1939 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1939), pp. 471–89.

French, Patrick, *Younghusband. The last great Imperial adventurer* (London: HarperCollins, 1994).

Friedman, Victor A., 'The Zaporozhian letter to the Turkish Sultan: Historical commentary and linguistic analysis', *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, vol. 8 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978), pp. 25–37.

Fuller, Graham E. and Lipman, Jonathan N., 'Islam in Xinjiang', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 320–52.

Furman, Dimitrii, 'The Regime in Kazakhstan', in: Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 195–267.

Futterer, Karl, *Durch Asien. Erfahrungen, Forschungen und Sammlungen während der von Amtmann Dr. Holderer unternommenen Reise*, vol. I (Berlin: Reimer, 1901).

Gafurov, B.G., *Central Asia. Pre-Historic and Pre-Modern Times*, 2 vols (1972; English edition Delhi: Dhipra, 2005).

Gall, Carlotta, *The Wrong Enemy. America in Afghanistan, 2001–2014* (Boston: Mariner, 2014).

Gall, Carlotta and De Waal, Thomas, *Chechnya. Calamity in the Caucasus* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

Gammell, Charlie, 'The Place of Herat in a Modern Afghanistan: Lessons from the March 1979 Uprising', *Asian Affairs*, vol. XLVI, No. II, July 2015 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 2011), pp. 51–67.

Gammer, Moshe, 'Russia and the Eurasian Steppe Nomads: An Overview', in: Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 483–502.

Gao Yanqing (ed.), *Neimenggu Zhenbao: Treasures of Inner Mongolia*, 6 vols (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2007).

Gascoigne, Bamber, *The Great Moghuls* (New Delhi: Time Books International, 1987).

Geiss, James, 'The Chia-ching reign, 1522–1566', in: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 440–510.

Geiss, Paul Georg, *Pre-Tsarist and Tsarist Central Asia: Communal Development and Political Order in Change* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2013).

Gentiletti, Claude (ed.), *Trésors de Mongolie*, exhib. cat. Musée Guimet (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993).

Georgi, Johann Gottlieb, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidungen und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten* (St Petersburg, C.W. Müller, 1776–80).

Gerard, Montagu Gilbert, Holdich, Thomas Hungerford, Wahab, R.A. and Alcock, M.B., *Report on the Proceedings of the Pamir Boundary Commission 1896* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendant of Government Printing, India, 1897).

Gillett, Michael, 'Afghanistan', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. LIII, No. 3, October 1966 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1966), pp. 238–44.

Gilmour, David, *Curzon* (London: John Murray, 1994).

Giustozzi, Antonio, *Empires of Mud. War and Warlords in Afghanistan* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009).

Gladney, Dru C., 'The Chinese Program of Development and Control', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 101–19.

Gmelin, Samuel Gottlieb*, Astrakhan Anno 1770. Its History, Geography, Population, Trade, Flora, Fauna and Fisheries* (1770–84; English translation Washington: Mage Publishers, 2013).

Golden, Peter B., *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Goldstein, Melvyn C., *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–51. The Demise of the Lamaist State* (New Delhi: Manoharlal, 1993).

Gorâčeva, Valentina, *Srednevekovie gorodskie zentry i architekturnie ansambli Kirgizii. Burana, Uzgen, Safed-Boulan* (Frunze: Ilim, 1983).

Gordon, Thomas Edward, *The Roof of the World: being a narrative of a journey over the high plateau of Tibet to the Russian frontier and the Oxus sources on Pamir* (1876; Reprint Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing, 1971).

Gorshenina, Svetlana, *La Route de Samarcande. L'Asie Centrale dans l'objectif des voyageurs d'autrefois* (Genève: Olizane 2000).

—*Asie centrale. L'invention des frontiers et l'héritage russo-soviétique* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2012).

Götting, Doris (ed.), *Bilder aus der Ferne – Historische Fotografien des Mongoleiforschers Hermann Consten*, exhib.cat. (Bonn: Deutsch-mongolische Gesellschaft, 2005).

Grad, Marcela, *Massoud. An intimate portrait of the legendary Afghan leader* (St Louis: Webster University Press, 2009).

Greaves, Rose, *Persia and the Defence of India 1884–1892. A Study in the Foreign Policy of the Third Marquis of Salisbury* (London: Athlone, 1959).

—'Iranian relations with Great Britain and British India', in: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 374–425.

Green, Sir Henry, *The Defence of the North-West Frontier of India with Reference to the Advance of Russia in Central Asia* (London: Harrison, 1873).

Green, Nile (ed.), *Writing Travel in Central Asian History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India 1785–1849* (1929; Reprint Uckfield: The Naval & Military Press, no date).

Gröttrup, Hendrik, *Wilhelm Wassmuss. Der deutsche Lawrence* (Berlin: Metropol, 2013).

Grousset, René, *L'empire des steppes: Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan* (Paris: Payot, 1939). English edition: *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1970).

Guchinova, Elza-Bair, *The Kalmyks* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

Gumppenberg, Marie-Carin von and Steinbach Udo (eds), *Zentralasien. Geschichte, Politik, Wirtschaft. Ein Lexikon* (München: C.H. Beck, 2004).

Haarmann, Harald, *Universalgeschichte der Schrift* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1998).

Habib, Irfan, 'Colonialism in Central Asia', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 335–42.

Haidar, Mansura, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century* (Delhi: Manohar, 2002).

Halperin, Charles J., *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Russian History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1985).

Hambis, Louis, *Documents sur l'histoire des mongols à l'époque des Ming* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969).

Hambly, Gavin, *Cities of Mughul India* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1968).

—'The Pahlavi autocracy: Riza Shah, 1921–1941', in: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 214–43.

Hammer-Purgstall, Josef, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim unter osmanischer Herrschaft. Aus türkischen Quellen zusammengetragen* (1856, Reprint Charleston: BiblioLife, print-on-demand ca. 2012).

Harrington, Peter (ed.), *William Simpson's Afghanistan: Travels of a Special Artist and Antiquarian During the Second Afghan War, 1878–1879* (Solihull: Helion, 2016).

Haslund-Christensen, Henning, *Jabonah. Abenteuer in der Mongolei* (Insel-Verlag, Leipzig, 1933).

—*Zajagan. Menschen und Götter in der Mongolei* (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1936).

Hattstein, Markus and Delius, Peter (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architektur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000).

Hauner, Milan, 'Russia's Asian Heartland Today and Tomorrow', in: Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova (eds), *Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013), pp. 117–47.

Hauser, Markus, 'The Pamir Archive: A world of information', in: Andrei Dörre, Hermann Kreutzmann and Stefan Schütte (eds), *Pamirs at the Crossroads* (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2016), pp. 87f. https://www.academia.edu/27962074/The_Pamir_Archive_A_world_of_information

Haymerle, Alois Ritter von, *Ultima Thule. England und Rußland in Central Asien* (Wien: Verlag von Streffleur's Österreichischer militärischer Zeitschrift, 1885).

Hayward, George J.W., 'Journey from Leh to Yarkand and Kashgar, and Exploration of the Sources of the Yarkand River', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, vol. 40 (London: John Murray, 1870), pp. 33–166.

Heathcote, T.A., *The Afghan Wars, 1839–1919* (London: Osprey, 1980).

Hedin, Sven, *Southern Tibet: Discoveries in former times compared with my own researches in 1906–1908,* 12 vols (Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army, 1917–22).

—*Auf grosser Fahrt. Meine Expedition mit Schweden, Deutschen und Chinesen durch die Wüste Gobi 1927–28* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1929).

—*Die Flucht des Großen Pferdes* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1939).

Heissig, Walther, *Mongolenreise zur späten Goethezeit. Berichte und Bilder des J. Rehmann und A. Thesleff von der russischen Gesandschaftsreise 1805/06* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971).

—*Die Mongolen. Ein Volk sucht seine Geschichte* (Bindlach: Gondrom, 1989).

—*Religions of Mongolia* (London: Kegan Paul, 2000).

Heissig, Walther and Müller, Claudius C. (eds), *Die Mongolen* (Innsbruck: Pinguin-Verlag, 1989).

Hejazi, Mehrdad and Saradj, Fatemeh M., *Persian Architectural Heritage*: *Architecture* (Southampton: Architecture WIT Press, 2014).

Helmersen, Gregor von (ed.), *Nachrichten über Chiwa, Buchara, Chokand und den nordwestlichen Teil des chinesischen Staates, gesammelt von dem Präsidenten der asiatischen Grenz-Commission in Orenburg, General-Major Gens* (St Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1839).

Henss, Michael, 'The Bodhisattva-Emperor: Tibeto-Chinese Portraits of Sacred and Secular Rule in the Qing Dynasty', *Oriental Art* (Singapore: Oriental Art Magazine, 2001), vol. XLVII, No. 3, pp. 2–16, and No. 5, pp. 71–83.

—*The Cultural Monuments of Tibet. The Central Regions*, 2 vols (Munich: Prestel, 2014).

Hentig, Otto Werner von, *Meine Diplomatenfahrt ins verschlossene Land* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1918).

—*Mein Leben: eine Dienstreise* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962).

—*Von Kabul nach Shanghai: Bericht über die Afghanistan-Mission 1915/16 und die Rückkehr über das Dach der Welt und durch die Wüsten Chinas* (Lengwil: Libelle, 2009).

Herfort, Frank, *Imperial Pomp. Post-Soviet High-Rise* (Bielefeld: Kerber, 2013).

Hermann, Werner and Linn, Johannes F. (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus. At the Crossroads of Eurasia in the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011).

Hildinger, Erik, *Warriors of the Steppe: A Military History of Central Asia 500 B.C. to 1700 A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001).

Hiro, Dilip, *Inside Central Asia. A political and cultural history of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Iran* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2009).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. V. *Development in Contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century*, edited by Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003).

History of Civilizations of Central Asia, vol. VI. *Towards the Contemporary Period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century*, edited by Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005).

Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan* (1651; Ware: Wordsworth Classic, 2014).

Hok-Lam Chan, 'The Chien-wen, Yung-lo, Hung-hsi, and Hsüan-te reigns, 1399–1435', in: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644,* Part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 182–304.

Holdich, Thomas Hungerford, *The Indian Borderland 1880–1900* (London: Methuen, 1901).

Hopkirk, Peter, *Setting the East Ablaze. Lenin's Dream of an Empire in Asia* (London: John Murray, 1984).

—*The Great Game. The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (New York: Kodansha America, 1994).

—*On Secret Service East of Constantinople. The Plot to Bring Down the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Hu, Richard W., 'China's Central Asia Policy: Making Sense of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization', in: Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 130–51.

Hudud al-Alam: The Regions of the World – A Persian Geography 372 A.H.–982 A.D., translated and explained by V. Minorsky, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Cambridge: reprint by Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Hughes, Thomas L., 'The German Mission to Afghanistan, 1915–16', in: *German Studies Review*, XXV/3, Oct 2002 (German Studies Association, 2002), pp. 447–76. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1432596

Humboldt, Alexander von, *Asie Centrale. Recherches sur les chaines de montagnes et la climatologie comparée*, 3 vols (Paris: Gide, 1843).

Hunter, Shireen, *Islam in Russia: The Politics of Identity and Security* (Oxon: Routledge, 2015).

Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (London: Simon & Schuster 1997).

Huth, Georg, *Die Inschriften von Tsaghan Baisin. Tibetisch-mongolischer Text* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1894).

Ides, E. Ysbrants, *Three years travels from Moscow over-land to China: thro' Great Ustiga, Siriania, Permia, Sibiria, Daour, Great Tartary, &c. to Peking* (London: Printed for W. Freeman et al., 1706).

Ingle, Harold N., *Nesselrode and the Russian Rapprochement with Britain, 1836–1844* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

Ingram, Edward, *The Beginning of the Great Game in Asia 1828–1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Iqtidar, A. Khan, 'Inter-state relations (c. 1550–1850)', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 325–34.

Ishjamts, N., 'The Mongols', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 209–24.

Jacobs, Justin M., *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

Jenkinson, Anthony, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*. Edited by E. Delmar Morgan and C.H. Cote, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1886).

Jerryson, Michael K., *Mongolian Buddhism. The rise and fall of the Sangha* (Chiang Mai: Silverworm Books, 2007).

The Jewel Translucent Sutra, Erdeni Tunumal Sudur. Altan Khan and the Mongols in the Sixteenth Century. Edited, translated and annotated by Johan Elverskog (*ca.* 1607; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Johnson, Rob, *Pulverfass am Hindukush. Dschihad, Erdöl und die Großmächte in Zentralasien* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2008).

Jones, Harford, 'Letter to Sir Hugh Inglis Bart, November 29, 1802', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 49–52.

Jonson, Lena, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia. The Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy* (London: I.B.Tauris 2004).

—*Tajikistan in the New Central Asia. Geopolitics, Great Power Rivalry and Radical Islam* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2009).

Jourdain, John, *The Journal of John Jourdain 1608–1617 describing his experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago.* Edited by William Foster (1905, Reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational services, 1992).

Kaplan, Robert D., *The Revenge of Geography* (New York: Random House, 2013).

Kappeler, Andreas, *Rußland als Vielvölkerreich. Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall* (Frankfurt a.M.: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1992).

Kassimbekov, M.B., *Nazarbayev: A Life Story of the First President of Kazakhstan* (London: Stacey Intl., 2012).

Kauz, Ralph, 'Trade and Commerce on the Silk Road after the End of the Mongol Rule in China, Seen from Chinese Texts', *The Silk Road Journal* 4/2 (2006/07), pp. 54–59.

Kaye, John William, *History of the War in Afghanistan: from the unpublished letters and journals of political and military officers employed in Afghanistan throughout the entire period of British connexion with that country,* 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1851).

—*Lives of Indian Officers, Illustrative of the History of the Civil and Military Services of India,* 2 vols (London: A. Strahan and Co & Bell and Daldy, 1867).

Kazemdazeh, F., 'Iranian relations with Russia and the Soviet Union', in: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 314–49.

Kearns, Gerry, 'Imperialism and the Heartland', in: Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova (eds), *Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013), pp. 69–90.

Keay, John, *The Honourable Company. A History of the English East India Company* (London: HarperCollins, 1991).

—*The Gilgit Game. The Explorers of the Western Himalayas* (London: John Murray, 1979).

Keddie, Nikki and Amanat, Mehrdad, 'Iran under the later Qajars', in: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 174–212.

Kent, Neil, *Crimea. A History* (London: Hurst, 2016).

Kermani, Navid, *Ausnahmezustand. Reisen in eine beunruhigte Welt* (München: C.H. Beck, 2015).

Kessler, Melvin M., *Ivan Viktorovich Vitkevich 1806–39: A Tsarist Agent in Central Asia* (Washington: Central Asian Collectanea, 1960).

Khan, Omar, *From Kashmir to Kabul: the photographs of John Burke and William Baker, 1860–1900* (Munich; New York: Prestel, 2002).

Khan, Sultan Mahomed, *The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1900).

Khodarkovsky, Michael, *Where Two Worlds Met. The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

—*Russia's Steppe Frontier. The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

Khwandamir, Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad, *Habibu al-Siyar* [Beloved of Careers]', in: *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, translated and annotated by Wheeler Thrackston, vol. II (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Kim, Hodong, 'The early history of the Moghul nomads: the legacy of the Chagatai Khanate', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 290–318.

—*Holy War in China. The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Kimura, Hisao, *Japanese Agent in Tibet. My Ten Years of Travel in Disguise* (London: Serindia, 1990).

Kinneir, Sir John Macdonald, *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire* (1813; Reprint Repressed Publishing, 2013, no location given).

Kinvig, Clifford, 'Review of *The Scope and Methods of Geography and the Geographical Pivot of History* by Halford Mackinder' (London: *International Affairs*, vol. 27, no 4, 1951), pp. 540–41.

Kinvig, Clifford, *Churchill's Crusade: The British Invasion of Russia 1918–1920* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006).

Kircher, Athanasius, *Athanasii Kircheri e Soc. Jesu China monumentis, qvà sacris quà profanis: nec non variis naturæ & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata, auspiciis Leopoldi Primi roman. Imper. semper augusti* (Amstelodami: apud Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge & Elizeum Weyerstraet, 1667).

Kleveman, Lutz, *The New Great Game. Blood and Oil in Central Asia* (London: Atlantis, 2003).

Kljaštornyj, S.G. and Sultanov, T.I., *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens. Altertum und Mittelalter* (Berlin: Schletzer, 2006).

Knight, E.F., *Where Three Empires Meet. A narrative of recent travel in Kashmir, western Tibet, Gilgit, and the adjoining countries* (London: Longmans, Green, 1896).

Knobloch, Edgar, *Monuments of Central Asia: A Guide to the Archaeology, Art and Architecture of Turkestan* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2001).

—*The Archaeology & Architecture of Afghanistan* (Charleston: Tempus, 2002).

—*Russia & Asia. Nomadic and Oriental Traditions in Russian History* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2007).

Kohl, Johann Georg, *Reisen in Südrußland*, 3 vols. (1847; Reprint Boston: Elibron Classics, 2008.

Kollmar-Paulenz, Karenina, 'Durch die Kraft des ewigen blauen Himmels: Zur Konstruktion religiöser Identität bei den Mongolen' (13.–frühes 17. Jahrhundert)', *Asiatische Studien* (Bern) 56/4 (2002), pp. 857–77.

Kolmaš, Josef, *Tibet and Imperial China: A Survey of Sino-Tibetan Relations up to the End of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1967).

Kotkin, Stephen and Elleman Bruce, A. (eds), *Mongolia in the Twentieth Century. Landlocked Cosmopolitan* (London: Routledge, 2015).

Kozlov, Pyotr K., *Mongolija i Amdo i mertvij gorod Xara-Xoto* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo, 1923).

—*Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto. Mit einem Geleitwort von Dr. Sven Hedin* (Berlin: Neufeld & Henius, 1925).

Kradin, Nikolay N., *Nomads of Inner Asia in Transition* (Moscow: URSS, 2014).

Kreutzmann, Hermann, *Pamirian Crossroads. Kirgiz and Wakhi of High Asia* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015).

Krieken-Pieters, Juliette van (ed.), *Art and Archaeology of Afghanistan: Its Fall and Survival* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006).

Krist, Gustav, *Alone through the Forbidden Land. Journeys in Disguise through Soviet Central Asia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1938).

Kurbatov A.A., *Astrakhan Kremlin* (Rostow am Don: I.P. Yutishev, 2010).

Kuropatkin, Alexei Nikolajewitsch, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews in Turkmenien nebst einer Übersicht der kriegerischen Tätigkeit der russischen Truppen in Zentralasien von 1839–1876* (Mühlheim am Rhein: C. G. Künstler Wwe., 1904).

Kyzlasov, L.R., 'The peoples of Southern Siberia in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 173–80.

Lacy Evans, Sir George, *On the Designs of Russia* (1828, Reprint Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2016).

—*On the practicability of an invasion of British India and on the commercial, and financial prospects and resources of the Empire* (1829, Reprint Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2016).

Lain, Sarah, 'Strategies for Countering Terrorism and Extremism in Central Asia', *Asian Affairs*, vol. XLVII, No. III, November 2016 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 2016), pp. 386–405.

Lal, Mohan, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul: with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian, and Persian Governments, including the victory and disasters of the British army in Afghanistan*; 2 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846).

Lamb, Alastair, 'Tibet in Anglo-Chinese Relations: 1767–1842', parts I and II, *Royal Central Asian Journal* (London: Separatum, April 1958).

—'Some notes on Russian intrigue in Tibet', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XLVI, No. 1, Janury 1959 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1959), pp. 46–65.

—*Britain and Chinese Central Asia. The Road to Lhasa 1767–1905* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

Lamb, Christina, *Farewell Kabul. From Kabul to a more dangerous world* (London: William Collins, 2016).

Landon, Perceval, *Lhasa. An account of the country and people of Central Tibet and of the progress of the mission sent there by the English government in the years 1903–04*, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905).

Langlois, John D. 'The Hung-wu reign, 1368–1398', in: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 107–81.

Lansdell, Henry, *Chinese Central Asia. A Ride to Little Tibet*, 2 vols (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Co., 1893).

Larson, Frans A., *Die Mongolei und mein Leben mit den Mongolen* (Berlin: Kiepenheuer, 1936).

Laruelle, Marlene and Peyrouse, Sebastian, *Globilizing Central Asia. Geopolitics and the Challenges of Economic Development* (London: Routledge, 2015).

Lattimore, Owen, *The Desert Road to Turkestan* (London: Methuen, 1928).

—*The Mongols of Manchuria* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1934).

—*Pivot of Asia. Sinkiang and the Inner Asia Frontiers of China and Russia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950).

Lawrence, Sir John, 'Dispatch No. 162 of 23 October 1867', published as 'A case against the "Forward Policy", October 1867' in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 225–35.

—'Dispatch dated 4 January 1869', published as 'The Government of India responds to an invitation to comment on Sir Henry Rawlinson's Memorandum of 1868' in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 237–46.

Leach, Hugh, 'A Ride to Shiwa: a Source of the Oxus', *Asian Affairs*, vol. XVII (old series vol. 73), No. 3, October 1986 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 1986), pp. 264–76.

Lebedynsky, Iaroslav, *Les Nomades* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2007).

—*La Horde d'Or. Conquête mongole et 'Joug tatar' en Europe 1236–1502* (Arles: Éditions Errance, 2013).

Leder, Hans, 'Eine Sommerreise in der nördlichen Mongolei im Jahr 1892', in: *Mitteilungen der Kais. Königl. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. XXXVIII.1 (Wien: R. Lechner, 1895), pp. 26–57.

Lee, J.L., *The 'Ancient Supremacy'. Bukhara, Afghanistan and the Battle for Balkh, 1731–1901* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

Lee, Joy R., *The Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan and the Formation of Modern Uyghur Identity in Xinjiang*, a thesis (Manhattan: Kansas State University, 2006).

Le Fèvre, Georges, *Expédition Citroën Centre-Asie. La Croisière Jaune. Troisième mission Georges-Marie Haardt, Louis Audouin-Dubreuil* (Paris: Plon, 1933).

Létolle, René and Mainguet, Monique, *Der Aralsee. Eine ökologische Katastrophe* (Berlin: Springer, 1996).

Levi, Scott C. and Sela, Ron, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

Lincoln, Bruce W., *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Lincoln, Frances, Michell, George et al., *Kashgar. Oasis City on China's Old Silk Road* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008).

Linn, Johannes F, 'Connecting Central Asia and the Caucasus with the World', in: Werner Hermann and Johannes F. Linn (eds*), Central Asia and The Caucasus. At the Crossroads of Eurasia in the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), pp. 1–15.

Linschoten, Alex Strick van and Kuehn, Felix, *An Enemy We Created. The Myth of the Taliban-Al Qaeda Merger in Afghanistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Lipman, Jonathan N., *Familiar Strangers. A History of Muslims in Northwest China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.)

Lockhart, Laurence, 'European contacts with Persia, 1350–1736', in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 373–411.

Lunt, James, *Bokhara Burnes* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969).

Ma Dazheng, 'The Tarim Basin', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 181–208.

Mac Gahan, J. A., *Campaigning on the Oxus and the Fall of Khiva* (1874; Reprint New York: Arno Press, 1970).

Macartney, Sir George, 'Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918', *Journal of the The Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VII, Nos. 2–3, 1920 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1920), pp. 42–58.

MacGregor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, *War in Afghanistan, 1879–80. The Personal Diary of Major General Sir Charles Metcalfe MacGregor*, edited by William Trousdale (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995).

MacKenzie, David, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002).

Machiavelli, Niccolo, *Der Fürst, 'Il Prinzipe'* (1513; Stuttgart: Kröner, 1972).

Macrory, Patrick, *Signal Catastrophe. The Story of the Disastrous Retreat from Kabul 1842* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966).

Maillart, Ella K., *The Cruel Way* (1947; London: Virago Press, 1986).

Malashenko, Alexey, *The Fight for Influence. Russia in Central Asia* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013).

Malcolm, John, 'Despatch to Lord Elgin, British Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, 23 March 1801', published as 'An assessment of the possibility of a Russian invasion of India' in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 32–37.

Malik, Mohan, *Dragon on Terrorism: Assessing China's tactical gains and strategic losses post-September 11* (Carlisle Barracks: US Army War College, October 2002).

Malleson, George Bruce, *The Russo-Afghan Question and the Invasion of India* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1885).

Malleson, Sir Wilfrid, 'The British military mission to Turkistan, 1918–20', *Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. IX, No. 2, 1922 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1922), pp. 95–110.

Mänchen-Helfen, Otto, *Reise ins asiatische Tuva* (Berlin: Der Bücherkreis, 1931).

Mandelbaum, Michael (ed.), *Central Asia and the World* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1994).

Manucci, Niccolao, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653–1708*. Translated with introduction and notes by William Irvine, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1907).

Mark, Rudolf A., *Krieg an fernen Fronten* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013).

Markham, Clements R. (editor and translator), *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–06* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1859).

Marshall, Tim, *Prisoners of Geography: ten maps that explain everything about the world* (New York: Scribner, 2015).

Martin, Janet, 'Muscovite Relations with the Khanates of Kazan and the Crimea (1460s to 1521)', in: *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 17, No. 4 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1983), pp. 435–53.

Martin, Mike, *An Initimate War. An Oral History of the Helmand Conflict, 1978–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Marvin, Charles Thomas, *The Russians at the Gate of Herat* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885).

—*Reconnoitring Central Asia. Pioneering adventures in the region lying between Russia and India* (1885; Reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1996).

Masson, Charles, *Narrative of a Journey to Kalât, including an Account of the Insurrection at that Place in 1840; and a Memoir on Eastern Balochistan* (London: Richard Bentley, 1843).

Mayers, Kit, *The first English Explorer. The Life of Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1611) and his adventures on the route to the Orient* (Kibworth Beauchamp: Matador, 2017).

McCants, William, *The ISIS Apocalypse. The History, Strategy, and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2015).

McChesney, R. D., 'The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 277–302.

—*Central Asia. Foundations of change* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1996).

McKay, Alex, *Tibet and the British Raj. The Frontier Cadre 1904–1947* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997).

Megoran, Nick and Sharapova, Sevara (eds), *Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013).

Mehra, Parshotam, *The McMahon Line and After. A Study of the Triangular Contest on India's North-Eastern Frontier Between Britain, China and Tibet, 1904–47* (Madras: Macmillan, 1974).

Menges, Karl H., 'People, Languages, and Migrations', in: Edward Allsworth (ed.), *130 Years of Russian Dominance, a Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 60–91.

Meyendorff, Georges de, *Voyage de Orenbourg a Boukhara, fait en 1820, a travers les steppes qui s'étendent a l'est de la mer d'Aral et au-dela de l'ancien Jaxartes; rédigé par et revu par M. le chevalier Amédée Jaubert* (Paris: Librairie Orientale de Dondey-Dupré, père et fils, 1826).

Meyer, Karl E. and Brysac, Shareen Blair, *Tournament of Shadows. The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Central Asia* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

Middleton, Robert and Thomas, Huw, *Tajikistan and the High Pamirs* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2008).

Mikaberidze, Alexander (ed.), *Conflict and Conquest in the Islamic World*, 2 vols (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2011).

Mikusch, Dagobert von, *Wassmuss, der deutsche Lawrence: auf Grund der Tagebucher und Aufzeichnungen des verstorbenen Konsuls, deutscher und englischen Quellen und des unter gleichem Titel erschienenen Buches von Christoper Sykes* (Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg1937).

Miller, Charles, *Khyber. British India's North West Frontier. The Story of an Imperial Migraine* (London: Macdonald and Jane, 1977).

Mills, Nick B., *Karzai: The Failing American Intervention and the Struggle for Afghanistan* (Hoboken: John Wiley, 2007).

Millward, James A., *Eurasian Crossroads. A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

—'Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800' in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 260–76.

Millward, James and Perdue Peter C., 'Political and Cultural History of the Xinjiang Region through the Late Nineteenth Century', in: Starr, S. Frederick (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 27–62.

Millward, James and Tursun, Nabijan, 'Political History and Strategies of Control, 1884–1978', in: Starr, S. Frederick (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 63–98.

Minassian, Taline Ter, *Most Secret Agent of Empire. Reginald Teague-Jones Master Spy of the Great Game* (London: Hurst, 2014).

Mir I'sset-Uellah, 'Reise nach Mittelasien im Jahr 1812', *Hertha Zeitschrift für Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde*. Unter Mirwirkung des Freiherrn Alexander v. Humboldt, besorgt von Berghaus in Berlin und Hoffmann in Stuttgart (Stuttgart und Tübingen: J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1826).

Mirfendereski, Guive, *A Diplomatic History of the Caspian Sea. Treaties, Diaries and Other Stories* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, trans. D. Ross, ed. N. Elias (1895; Reprint in 2 vols (New Delhi, 1998).

—*Tarikh-i-Rashidi: a history of the Khans of Mogulistan*, in *Classic Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, translated and annotated by Wheeler Thrackston, vol. I (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Mitra, Pradeep K., 'The Impact of the Global Financial Crisis and Policy Responses: Central Asia and the Caucasus', in: Werner Hermann and Johannes F. Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus. At the Crossroads of Eurasia in the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), pp. 135–71.

Mitrokhin, Leonid, *Failure of Three Missions* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1987).

Miyawaki, Junko, 'The early history of the Mughal nomads', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 290–318.

Moberly, Frederick James (ed.), *Operation in Persia, 1914–1919. Compiled by arrangement with the Government of India, under the direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence by Brig. Gen. F.J. Moberly* (1929; Reprint London: Imperial War Museum, 1987).

Monserrate, Father, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*; translated from the original Latin by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee (London: Oxford University Press, 1922).

Montell, Gösta, 'Mongol life and a journey to Etsingol', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXIV, No. 4, October 1937 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1937), pp. 605–23.

—*Durch die Steppen der Mongolei* (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1938).

Moorcroft, William and Trebeck, George, *Travels in India. Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara*. Prefaced and edited by Horace Hayman Wilson, 2 vols (1841; Reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989).

Morgan, David, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007).

Morgan, Gerald, *Ney Elias. Explorer and envoy extraordinary in High-Asia* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971).

—*Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia: 1810–1895* (Oxon: Routledge, 1981).

Morrissey, John, 'US Central Command and liberal imperial reach: "Shaping the Central Region for the 21st Century"', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 182, No. 1, March 2016 (London: RGS, 2016), pp. 15–26.

Moser, Henri, *A travers l'Asie Centrale. La steppe kirghize – le Turkestan Russe – Boukhara – Khiva – le pays des Turcomans et la Perse* (Paris: Plon, 1885).

Moses, Larry William, *The Political Role of Mongol Buddhism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997).

Mote, Frederick W., 'The rise of the Ming dynasty, 1330–1367', in: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 11–57.

—'The Ch'eng-hua and Hung-chi reigns, 1465–1505', in: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 343–402.

Moubayed, Sami, *Under the Black Flag. At the Frontier of the New Jihad* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2015).

Mukminova, R. G., 'The Timurid states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', in: M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, part 1 (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), pp. 347–63.

Mukminova, R.G. and Mukhtarov, A., 'The Khanate (Emirate) of Bukhara', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 33–62.

Müller, Claudius und Wenzel, Jacob (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, exhib. cat., Kunst und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik, Bonn (Munich: Hirmer, 2005).

Müller, Gerhard Friedrich, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte. Des zweyten Bandes fünftes u. sechstes Stück* (St Petersburg: Kaiserliche Academie der Wissenschaften, 1758).

Munis, Shir Muhammad Mirab and Agahi, Muhammad Riza Mirab, *Firdaws al-Iqbal. History of Khorezm*, translated and annotated by Yuri Bregel (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

Murawjew, Nicolaus von, *Des Kaiserlichen Russischen Gesandten Nicolaus von Murawjew Reise durch Turkmanien nach Chiwa in den Jahren 1819 und 1820* (Berlin: Reimer, 1824).

Mursajew, E. M., *Auf unbetretenen Pfaden. Durch Asiens Wüsten und Hochgebirge* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1956).

Nalivkine, Vladimir Petrovic, *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889).

Napoleon Bonaparte, 'Instructions for General Gardane, 10 May 1807', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 53–56.

Naumkin, Vitaly V., *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Between Pen and Rifle* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

Nebolsin, P.J. 'Bericht eines russischen Handelsreisenden über Taschkent', *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Rußland*, vol. 11, 1852, pp. 570–79 (Berlin: Reimer, 1852).

Niedermayer, Oskar von, *Afganistan* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1924).

—*Unter der Glutsonne Irans. Kriegserlebnisse der deutschen Expedition nach Persien und Afganistan* (Hamburg: Uhlenhorst, 1925).

Noack, Christian, 'The western steppe: the Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea under Russian rule', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 303–309.

Noda, Jin, *The Kazakh Khanates between the Russian and Qing Empires. Central Eurasian International Relations during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Nourzhanov, Kirill, 'Russia's Asian Heartland Today and Tomorrow', in: Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova (eds), *Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013), pp. 117–48.

Nurpeis, K., 'Kazakhstan', in: Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005), pp. 247–62.

O'Connor, Sir Frederick, *On the Frontier and Beyond. A record of thirty years' service* (London: John Murray, 1931).

O'Donovan, Edmond, 'Merv and its surroundings', in: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, vol. IV, no. 6, June 1882 (London.RGS, 1882), pp. 345–57.

—*The Merv Oasis: Travels and adventures East of the Caspian during the years 1879 – 80 – 81 including five months' residence among the Tekkés of Merv,* 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1882).

O'Hara, Sarah and Heffernan, Michael, 'From Geostrategy to Geo-Economics: The "Heartland" and British Imperialism Before and After Mackinder', in: Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova (eds*), Central Asia in International Relations. The Legacies of Halford Mackinder* (London: Hurst & Co., 2013), pp. 91–116.

Okada, O., 'Painting in Mughal India', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 585–609.

Olcott, Martha Brill, *The Kazakhs* (Washington DC: Hoover Institution Press, 1995).

—*Central Asia's New States. Independence, Foreign Policy and Regional Security* (Washington: United States Institute for Peace, 1996).

—*Central Asia's Second Chance* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005).

—'Rivalry and Competion in Central Asia', in: Werner Hermann and Johannes F. Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus. At the Crossroads of Eurasia in the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), pp. 17–42.

—'Central Asia's Oil and Gas Reserves: To Whom Do They Matter?', in: Werner Hermann and Johannes F. Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus. At the Crossroads of Eurasia in the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), pp. 95–134.

Olivier-Utard, Françoise, *Politique et archaéologie. Histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan 1922–1982* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2003).

Olufsen, Ole, *Through the Unknown Pamirs. The Second Danish Pamir Expedition 1898–99* (London: William Heinemann, 1904).

Omrani, Bijan, 'The Durand Line: History and Problems of the Afghan-Pakistan Border' (London: *Asian Affairs*, vol. XL, no. II, July 2009), pp. 177–95.

Omrani, Bijan and Leeming, Matthew, *Afghanistan. A companion and guide* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2005).

Otgony, Purev and Gurbadaryn, Purvee, *Mongolian Shamanism*, 2 vols (Ulaan Baatar: Munkin, 2012).

Ottley, William John, *With Mounted Infantry in Tibet* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906).

Palat, Madhavan K., 'The British in Central Asia', in: Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005), pp. 103–23.

Pallas, Peter Simon, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1793–1794,* 3 vols (Leipzig: G. Martini, 1799–1801).

Palmer, James, *The Bloody White Baron. The extraordinary story of the Russian nobleman who became the last khan of Mongolia* (New York: Basic Books, 2009).

Patrikeef, Felix, 'An Elaboration of Empire: Russia's Eastward Expansion and the Imperial Military', in: Craig Benjamin and Samuel Lieu (eds), *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History*, Silk Road Studies VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 79–100.

—'The Geopolitics of Myth: Interwar Northeast Asia and Images of Inner Asian Empire', in: David Christian and Craig Benjamin (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies IV (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 239–60.

Patrikeef, Felix and Perkins, John, 'National and Imperial Identity: A Triptych of Baltic Germans in Inner Asia', in: David Christian and Craig Benjamin (eds), *Worlds of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern*, Silk Road Studies IV (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 291–306.

Paul, Jürgen, *Zentralasien*, Neue Fischer Weltgeschichte Band 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2012).

Paul I, Zar of Russia, 'Excerpts from Personal Supreme Rescripts by His Imperial Majesty Paul I. to the Ataman of the Don Cossack Troops, Cavalry General Vasily Petrovich Orlov, Relating to the Expedition to India, St. Petersburg, 1901,' in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 46–48.

Pelliot, Paul, *Notes critiques d'histoires Kalmouke*, 2 vols (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1960).

Perdue, Peter C., 'Fate and Fortune in Central Eurasian Warfare: Three Qing Emperors and their Mongol Rivals', in: Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 369–404.

—*China Marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Belkenap Press, 2005).

Petech, Luciano, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century. History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 1972).

Pewzov, Michail, W., *Wo man mit Ziegeltee bezahlt. Bericht über eine Reise durch die Mongolei und die nördlichen Provinzen des Inneren China* (1883; Shortened German translation Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1953).

Pierce, Richard A., *Russian Central Asia 1867–1917. A study in colonial rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

Plattner, Felix Alfred, *Jesuiten zur See. Der Weg nach Asien* (Zürich: Arlantis, 1946).

Pokotilov, D., *History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634* (Chengtu: West China Union University, 1947).

Pomfret, Richard, 'Trade and Transport in Central Asia', in: Werner Hermann and Johannes F. Linn (eds), *Central Asia and The Caucasus. At the Crossroads of Eurasia in the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), pp. 43–61.

Popowski, Josef, *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* (1893; Reprint Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977).

Pottinger, George, *The Afghan Connection. The Extraordinary Adventures of Major Eldred Pottinger* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983).

Prejevalsky, Nicolay, *Mongolia, the Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet, with Introduction and Notes by Henry Yule,* 2 vols (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1876).

Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine-François (author, translator and publisher), *Histoire générale des voyages ou nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre*, vol. 7 of 25, translated from the English: John Green, *A new general collection of voyages and travels* published in London 1745–47 (Paris: Didot, 1749).

Prioux, A., *Les Russes dans l'Asie Centrale. La dernière campagne de Skobelev* (1886; Reprint in the US, no date, *ca.* 2014).

Privratsky, Bruce G., *Muslim Turkestan. Kazak Religion and Collective Memory* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001).

Pugachenkova, Galina and Khakimov, *Akbar, The Art of Central Asia* (Leningrad: Aurora, 1988).

—'Architecture in Transoxania and Khurasan', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 477–508.

The Quran, Arabic-German edition, translated by Hazrat Mirz Nasir Ahmad (Rabwah: Oriental & Religious Publishing Corp. Ltd., 1954).

The Quran, translated into French by D. Masson, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1967).

The Quran, Arabic-English edition, translated by A. Yusuf Ali (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1975).

Radjapova, R.Y., 'Establishment of Soviet power in Central Asia (1917–24)', in: Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005), pp. 185–210.

Rageth, Jürg, et al.*, Turkmen carpets: a new perspective: an interdisciplinary study based on radiocarbon dating, dye, mordant, and technical analysis, as well as historical and art historical sources*; 2 vols (Riehen: Jürg Rageth, 2016).

Rashid, Ahmed, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000).

—*Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

Rawlinson, Sir Henry, *England and Russia in the East: A Series of Papers on the Political and Geographical Condition of Central Asia* (London: John Murray, 1875).

Rawlinson, Alfred, *Adventures in the Near East, 1918–1922* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1923).

Rayfield, Donald, *Edge of Empires. A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

Reed, J. Todd and Raschke, Diana, *The ETIM. China's Islamic Militants and the Global Terrorist Threat* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010).

Rhie, Marylin M., Thurman, Robert F., *Wisdom and Compassion. The Sacred Art of Tibet* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 1991).

Richards, David, *Taking Command. The Autobiography* (London: Headline, 2014).

Richards, John F., *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Richardson, David and Sue, *Qaraqalpaqs of the Aral Delta* (Munich, 2012).

Richardson, Hugh M., *Tibet & and its History* (Boulder: Shambhala, 1984).

Rickmer Rickers, Wilhelm, *The Duab of Turkestan. A physiographic sketch and account of some travels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913).

Roberts, Sean R., 'A "Land of Borderlands": Implication of Xinjiang's Trans-border Interactions', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 216–37.

Roberts of Kandahar, Lord Frederick Sleigh, *Forty-One Years in India: from subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*; 2 vols (London: Bentley, 1897).

Robertson, Sir George Scott, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1896).

Robinson, B.W., 'Rothschild and Binney collections: Persian and Mughal arts of the book', in *Persian and Mughal Art*, exhib. cat. (London: P&D Colnaghi, 1976).

Robinson, Francis, *The Mughal Emperors and the Islamic Dynasties of India, Iran and Central Asia* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

Rockhill, William W., *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1894).

Roe, Andrew M., *Waging War in Waziristan* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010).

Roemer, H.R., 'The Successors of Timur', in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 98–146.

—'The Safavid period', in: Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 147–88.

—'The Türkmen dynasties', in: Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 189–372.

Roerich, Georges de, *Sur les pistes de l'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Geuthner, 1933).

Romanovsky, D., *Notes on the Central Asiatic Question* (Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1870).

Rorlich, Azade-Ayse, *The Volga Tatars. A Profile in National Resilience* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1986).

Rossabi, Morris, *Modern Mongolia. From Khans to Commissars to Capitalists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

Roskoschny, Hermann, *Afghanistan und seine Nachbarländer. Der Schauplatz des letzten russisch-englischen Konflikts in Zentral-Asien*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Gressner & Schramm, 1885).

Roth Li, Gertraude, 'State Building before 1644', in: Williard J. Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 9. Part One: The Ch'ing Empire to 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 9–72.

Roux, Jean-Paul, *Histoire des Turcs. Deux milles ans du Pacifique à la Méditerranée* (Paris: Fayard, 1984).

—*L'Asie Centrale: Histoire et civilisations* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

Roy, Olivier, *L'Afghanistan. Islam et modernité politique* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1985).

Roxburgh, David J. (ed.), *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, exhib. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005).

Rubel, Paula G., *The Kalmyk Mongols. A Study in Continuity and Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1967).

Rudelson, Justin and Jankowiak, William, 'Acculturation and Resistance: Xinjiang's Identities in Flux', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 299–319.

Rumer, Boris (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005).

Rupen, Robert, *How Mongolia is Really Ruled. A Political History of the Mongolian People's Republic 1900–1978* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1979).

Ryavec, Karl, E., *A Historical Atlas of Tibet* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Rybitschka, Emil, *Im gottgegebenen Afghanistan als Gäste des Emirs* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1927).

Rytschkow, Nikokaus, *Herrn Nikolaus Rytschkow kaiserlicher russischer Capitains Tagebuch über seine Reise durch verschiedne Provinzen des russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1769, 1770 und 1771* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1774).

Sabloff, Paula W. (ed.), *Modern Mongolia. Reclaiming Genghis Khan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2001).

Sagaster, Klaus, 'Der mongolische Buddhismus', and 'Das Kloster Erdeni Joo (Erdenezuu)', in: Claudius Müller and Jacob Wenzel (eds), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, exhib. cat., Kunst und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik, Bonn (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), pp. 342–56.

Saikal, Amin, *Modern Afghanistan. A History of Struggle and Survival* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

Sala, Renato and Deom, Jean-Marc, *Petroglyphs of South Kazakhstan* (Almaty: Laboratory of Geoarchaeology, 2005).

Sale, Lady Florentia, *A Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan, 1841–2* (1843; Reprint Uckfield: The Naval and Military Press, 2005).

Salzmann, Erich von, *Im Sattel durch Zentralasien. 6000 Kilometer in 176 Tagen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1908).

Sanders, Alan K., *Historical Dictionary of Mongolia* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2003).

Sargent, Michael, 'British Milirary Involvement in Transcaspia (1918–1919)', in: *Conflict Studies Research Centre, Caucasus Series* (Shrivenham: Defence Academy, 2004/2), pp. 1–50. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/87659/04_apr.pdf

Saruulbuyan, J., Eregzen, G. and Bayarsaikhan, J. (eds), *National Museum of Mongolia* (Ulaan Baatar: The National Museum of Mongolia, 2009).

Sawa, Hisaji (ed.), *Gobi Sabaku [The Gobi Desert]* (Tokyo: Meguro Shoten Shôwa 18, 1943).

Schamiloglu, Uli, 'Tatar or Turk? Competing Identities in the Muslim Turkic World during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', in: Ergun Çağatay and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006), pp. 232–43.

Schefer, Charles, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary. Afghanistan, Boukhara, Khiva, Khoqand depuis les dernières années du règne de Nadir Chah, 1153 jusqu'en 1223 de l'Hégire, 1740–1818 A.D.* (1876; Reprint Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970).

Schlagintweit, Hermann Rudolph Alfred, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien: Eine Darstellung der Landschaft, der Cultur und Sitten der Bewohner, in Verbindung mit klimatischen und geologischen Verhältnissen: Basirt auf die Resultate der wissenschaftlichen Mission von Hermann, Adolph und Robert von Schlagintweit, ausgeführt in den Jahren 1854–1858,* 4 vols (1869–80; Reprint Saarbrücken: Fines Mundi, 2006).

Schulemann, Günther, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas* (Leipzig: VEB Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

Schulze, Helmut R., *Afghanistan. Reisen hinter den Horizont* (Heidelberg: Edition HRS, 2008).

Schuyler, Eugene, *Turkistan. Notes on a Journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Khuldja*, 2 vols (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876).

Schwarz, Franz von, *Turkestan, die Wiege der indogermanischen Völker* (Freiburg i.B.: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1900).

Schwarz, Henry G., 'The Khwajas of Eastern Turkestan', in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 20, No. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), pp. 266–96.

'Secret Committee's Despatch to Lord Auckland, 25 January 1836', published as 'The Secret Committee of the East India Company's Board of Control prompts and authorizes the Governor-General to initiate the First Anglo-Afghan War', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia,* edited by Martin Ewans, vol. IV (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. 84f.

Seidt, Hans-Ulrich, *Berlin, Kabul, Moskau. Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer und Deutschlands Geopolitik* (München: Universitas, 2002).

Semenov, Petr Petrovich, *Travels in the Tian'Shan' 1856–1857* (London: Haklyut Society, 1998).

Sergeev, Evgeny, *The Great Game 1856–1907. Russo-British Relations in Central and East Asia* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013).

Shah, Mir Hussain, 'Afghanistan', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 273–98.

Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D., *Tibet: A Political History* (New York: Potala Publications, 1984).

Shakespear, Richmond, 'A Personal Narrative of a Journey from Heraut to Ourenbourg on the Caspian in 1840', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 95–135.

Shaw, Robert, *Visits to High Tartary, Yârkand, and Kâshghar (formerly Chinese Tartary), and Return Journey over the Karakoram Pass* (London: John Murray, 1871).

Shichor, Yitzak, ‘The Great Wall of Steel: Military and Strategy in Xinjiang’, in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China’s Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 120–60.

Siegel, Jennifer, *Endgame. Britain, Russia and the Final Struggle for Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2002).

Sikorski, Radek, *Dust of the saints. A journey to Herat in time of war* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1989).

Simpson, William, *The Autobiography of William Simpson, R.I.* Edited by George Eyre-Todd (1903; Reprint Oxton: InfoDial, 2007).

Sinha, Sri Prakash, *Afghanistan im Aufruhr* (Freiburg i.B.: HeCHt-Verlag, 1980).

Skobelev, M.D., ‘Memorandum of Adjutant General M.D. Skobelev about a campaign to India’, January 1878, in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880*, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 439–48.

Skrine, Clairmont Percival, *Chinese Central Asia* (London: Methuen, 1926).

Skrine, Clairmont Percival and Nightingale, Pamela, *Macartney at Kashgar. New Light on British, Chinese and Russian Activities in Sinkiang, 1890–1918* (1973; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Smagulov, E.A., *Drevnii Sauran* (Almaty: ABDI, 2005).

Sneath, David, *The Headless State. Aristocratic orders, kinship society and misrepresentations of nomadic Inner Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Snelling, John, *Buddhism in Russia. The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev, Lhasa’s Emissary to the Tsar* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1993).

Solomon, Hilel, ‘The Anfu Clique and China’s Abrogation of Outer Mongolian Autonomy’, *The Mongolia Society Bulletin*, vol. 10, No. 1 (Bloomington, 1971), pp. 67–86.

Soucek, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Spence, Jonathan, ‘The K’ang-hsi Reign’, in: Williard J. Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 9. Part One: The Ch’ing Empire to 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.120–82.

Spuler, Bertold, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland 1223–1502* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943).

Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses [Erdeni-tobči]*, trans. from the Mongolian and ed. by Issac Jacob Schmidt (St Petersburg, 1829).

Starr, S. Frederick (ed.), *Xinjiang. China’s Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

—*Ferghana Valley. The Heart of Central Asia* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2011).

Starr, S. Frederick and Perdue, Peter C., ‘Political and Cultural History of the Xinjiang Region through the Late Nineteenth Century’, in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China’s Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 27–62.

Starr, S. Frederick and Tursun, Nabijan, ‘Political History and Strategies of Control, 1884–1978’, in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China’s Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 63–100.

‘State of the Taliban, January 6, 2012. Detainee perspectives. A summary of reflections on the current state of the insurgency, ISAF operational effectiveness, external influences shaping the Taliban, and their views on ending the war and moving forward.’ Secret Report ISAF. http://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/296489/taliban-report.pdf

Staunton, Sir George Thomas, *Narrative of the Chinese embassy to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, in the years 1712, 13, 14 & 15, by the Chinese ambassador [T’u-Li-Shin], and published by the emperor’s authority, at Pekin* (London: John Murray, 1821).

Stein, Sir Aurel, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928).

Sternberg, Troy, ‘Desert Boundaries: the once and future Gobi’, *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 181, No.1, March 2015 (London: RGS, 2015), pp. 61–72.

Stewart, Jules, *Spying for the Raj. The Pundits and the Mapping of the Himalaya* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2006).

—*On Afghanistan’s Plains. The Story of Britain’s Afghan Wars* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

—*The Kaiser’s Mission to Kabul. A Secret Expedition to Afghanistan in World War I* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014).

Stöllner, Thomas und Samašhev, Zajnolla (eds), *Unbekanntes Kasachstan. Archäologie im Herzen Asiens*, exhib. cat., 2 vols (Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, 2013).

Strahlenberg, Philipp Johann von, *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze russische Reich mit Siberien und der grossen Tartarey in sich begreiffet* (Stockholm: published by author, 1730).

Strindberg, August, ‘Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg och hans karta öfver Asien’, in: *Svenska Sällskapet för anthropolpgi och geografi* (Stockholm: Geografiska Sektionens Tidskrift, vol. I, nr. 6, 1879), pp. 1–12.

Stuckert, Rudolf, *Erinnerungen an Afghanistan 1940–1946. Aus dem Tagebuch eines Schweizer Architekten* (Liestal: Fondation Bibliotheca Afghanica, 1994).

Süleymanova, Güzel Valeeva, ‘Tatar Art and Culture at the Crossroads of Civilization’, in: Ergun Çağatay and Dogan Kuban (eds), *The Turkic Speaking Peoples: 2,000 Years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans* (Munich/New York: Prestel, 2006), pp. 214–31.

Sultan-i-Rome, ‘The Durand Line Agreement (1893): – Its Pros and Cons’ (2004), http://www.valleyswat.net/literature/papers/The_Durand_Line_Agreement.pdf

Sun Tsu, *The Art of War*, transl. Thomas Cleary (Boston: Shambala, 1988).

Swinson, Arthur, *Beyond the Frontiers. The Biography of Colonel F.M. Bailey, Explorer and Secret Agent* (London: Hutchinson, 1971).

Sykes, Sir Percy, *Thousand Miles in Persia or Eight Years in Iran* (London: John Murray, 1902).

—‘Persia and the great war’, *Journal of the The Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. IX, No. 4, 1922 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1922), pp. 175–87.

—*A History of Persia*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1930).

— ‘Afghanistan: The present position’, *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXVII, No. 2, April 1940 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1940), pp. 141–71.

—*A History of Afghanistan*, 2 vols (1940; reprint, New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2002).

Sykes, Ella and Sir Percy, *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1920).

Syroezhkin, Konstantin, ‘Russia: On the Path to Empire’, in: Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 93–129.

Tabyshalieva, Anara, ‘Kyrgyzstan’, in: Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. VI (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005), pp. 271–85.

Tadgell, Christopher, *Islam: From Medina to the Maghreb and from the Indies to Istanbul – Architecture in Context III* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Taki, Victor, *Tsar and Sultan. Russian Encounters with the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2016).

Tanaka, Giichi, *Eingabe an den japanischen Kaiser über eine positive Politik gegen die Mandschurei und Mongolei, eingereicht am 25. Juli 1927 vom Premierminister Tanaka* (Woosung: Tung-Chi Universität, 1932).

Tanner, Stephen, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War against the Taliban* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002).

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste*, Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, ecuyer baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes: pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir, accompagnez d'observations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coûtumes & le commerce de chaque pays, avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours*, 3 vols (Utrecht: Guillaume van de Water, Guillaume & Jacob Poolsum, 1712).

Tchoroev, T., 'The Kyrgyz', in: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V, eds Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 109–25.

Teague-Jones, Reginald, *The Spy Who Disappeared. Diary of a Secret Mission to Russian Central Asia in 1918. Introduction and Epilogue by Peter Hopkirk* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1990).

Techno-economic assessment study for Rogun hydroelectric construction project. Executive Summary (The World Bank, July 2014). https://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/eca/central-asia/TEAS_Executive%20Summary_Final_eng.pdf

Teichman, Sir Eric, *Journey to Turkistan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937).

Terentief, M.A., *Russia and England in Central Asia*, translated from the Russian by F.C. Daukes, 2 vols (1876, Reprint, Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2016).

Thomas, Lowell, *Beyond Khyber Pass* (London: Hutchinson, 1927).

Timkovski, George, *Voyage à Pékin. A travers la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821* (1823, reprint of the French translation from 1827; Édition Kimé, 1993).

Tod, J.K., 'The Malleson Mission to Transcaspia in 1918', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXVII, No. 1, January 1940 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1940), pp. 45–67.

Tomsen, Peter, *The Wars of Afghanistan. Messianic terrorism, tribal conflicts, and the failures of the Great Powers* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013).

Tomson Glover, J., 'Present-day Kashgaria', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXIV, No. 3, July 1937 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1937), pp. 437–53.

Toops, Stanley W., 'The demography of Xinjiang', in: Starr, S. Frederick (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 241–63.

—'The ecology of Xinjiang', in: Starr, S. Frederick (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 264–75.

Treaty of Gandamak, 26 May 1879 http://www.phototheca-afghanica.ch/uploads/tx_fmphototheca/Treaty_of_Gandamak.pdf

Tredinnick, Jeremy, Baumer, Christoph and Bonavia, Judy, *Xinjiang: China's Central Asia* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2012).

Trench, Charles Chenevix, *The Frontier Scouts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Trevelyan, C.E. and Conolly, Arthur, 'Dispatch No. 24 to Lord Bentinck of 15 March 1831', published as 'Advice on the likelihood of a Russian invasion of India', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia,* edited by Martin Ewans, vol. IV (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. 78–83.

Trotter, Sir Henry, 'The Amir Yakoub Khan and Eastern Turkistan in mid-nineteenth century', *Asian Affairs*, vol. IV, No. 4, July 1917 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 1917), pp. 95–112.

Turnerelli, Edward Tracy, *Russia on the Borders of Asia: Kazan, the ancient capital of the Tartar khans*, 2 vols (London: R. Bentley, 1854).

Twitchett, Denis and Grimm, Tilemann, 'The Cheng-t'ung, Ching-t'ai, and T'ien-shun reigns, 1436–1464', in: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 395–342.

Uchtomskij, Esper Esperowitsch, *Orientreise. Orientreise seiner kaiserlichen Hoheit des Großfürsten-Thronfolgers Nikolaus Alexandrowitsch von Rußland, 1890–1891*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1894, 1899).

Ullman, Richard H. *Intervention and the War. Anglo-Soviet Relations, 1917–1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

Uloth, Gerald, *Riding to War* (Stockbridge: Monks, 1993).

Valikanof, Shoqan and Veniukof, M., *The Russians in Central Asia: Their occupation of the Kirghiz Steppe and the line of the Syr-Darya, their political relations with Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan; also descriptions of Chinese Turkestan and Dzungaria,* transl. John and Robert Michell (1865, Print on demand, Charleston: Nabu Press 2016).

Vámbéry, Arminius, *Voyages d'un faux derviche dans l'Asie Centrale de Téhéran à Khiva, Bokhara et Samarcand par le grand désert Turkoman* (Paris: Hachette, 1865).

Vasilev, D., 'The Sayan-Altai Mountain Region and South-Eastern Siberia', in: Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2005), pp. 329–45.

Vaughan, Philippa, 'Geschichte [Indien: Sultanate und Moghuln]', in: Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 452–63.

—'Architektur [Indien: Sultanate und Moghuln]', in: Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 464–83.

—'Dekorative Künste [Indien: Sultanate und Moghuln]', in: Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (eds), *Islam: Kunst und Architekur* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), pp. 484–89.

Veit, Veronika, 'The eastern steppe: Mongol regimes after the Yuan (1368–1636)', in: Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 157–81.

Veltzke, Veit, *Unter Wüstensöhnen. Die deutsche Expedition Klein im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2014).

Vereshchagin, V., Turkestan. *Etyudy s natury. Études d'apres nature. Studien nach der Natur. Herausgegeben im Auftrag des General-Gouverneurs von Turkestan* (St Petersburg: Hofkunstbuchhandlung A. Beggrow, 1874).

Vigne, Godfrey T., *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan* (1840; Reprint New Delhi: Manoharlal, 2004.

Vinsky, G.S., 'Project concerning the consolidation of Russian trade with Upper Asia through Khiva and Bokhara in the year 1818', in: *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, edited by Martin Ewans, *vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 65–68.

Visser, Philips Christiaan, 'The Karakoram and Turkmenistan Expedition of 1929–1939', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 4, October 1934 (London: RGS, 1934), pp. 281–95.

Vogelsang, Willem, *The Afghans* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).

Voigt, Martin, *Kafiristan. Versuch einer Landeskunde auf Grund einer Reise im Jahre 1928* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1933).

Vollmann, William T., *An Afghanistan Picture Show: Or, How I Saved the World* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2013).

Volodarsky, Michael, 'First Steps in Soviet Diplomacy toward Afghanistan', in: Ro'i, Yaacov (ed.), *The USSR and the Muslim World. Issues in Domestic and Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 215–25.

Voltaire (François Marie d'Arouet), *Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*, 2 vols (no publisher given, 1763).

Waddell, L. Austine, *Lhasa and its Mysteries. With a record of the expedition of 1903–1904* (London: Methuen, 1906).

Waldmann, Matt, 'The Sun in the Sky: The Relationship between Pakistan's ISI and Afghan Insurgents' in: *Crisis States Discussion Papers* (London: Destin LSE, 2010). http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28435/

Waller, Derek, *The Pundits. British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1990).

Ware, Webb, 'The Nushkhi railway and some of the problems on which it bears', *Journal of the The Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VI, Nos. 1–2, 1919 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1919), pp. 44–87.

—'A long arm through the wilderness', *Journal of the The Royal Central Asia Society*, vol. VII, No. 1, 1920 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1920), pp. 34–37.

Weiers, Michael, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004).

Weinshtein, Sew'jan, *Geheimnisvolles Tuva. Expeditionen in das Herz Asiens* (Oststeinbeck: Alouette Verlag, 2005).

Weljaminow-Sernow, A.N., 'Historische Nachrichten über Kokand, vom Chane Muhammed Ali bis Chudajar Chan', in: *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Rußland*, vol. 16, 1857, pp. 544–62 (Berlin: Reimer, 1857).

—Nachrichten über das Reich Kokand', in: *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Rußland, vol. 17, 1858*, pp. 254–75 (Berlin: Reimer, 1858).

Wellington, Duke of (Arthur Wellesley), *The Eastern Question. Extracted from the Correspondence of the Late Duke of Wellington* (London: John Murray, 1877).

Wessels, Cornelius, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (1924; Reprint New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1992).

Whiting, Allen S. and General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, *Sinkiang: Pawn or Pivot?* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958).

Whitteridge, Gordon, *Charles Masson of Afghanistan: Explorer, Archaeologist, Numismatist and Intelligence Agent* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002).

Wiemer, Calla, 'The Economy of Xinjiang', in: S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *Xinjiang. China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 163–89.

Wigram, Sir Kenneth, 'Defence in the North-West Frontier Province', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XXIV, No. 1, January 1937 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1937), pp. 73–89.

Williams, Brian Glyn, *The Last Warlord: The Life and Legend of Dostum, the Afghan Warrior Who Led US Special Forces to Topple the Taliban Regime* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2013).

Wilson, Andrew, 'Inside Afghanistan – A background to recent troubles' *Royal Central Asian Journal*, vol. XLVII, No. 3 & 4, July–October 1960 (London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1960), pp. 286–95.

Wilson, Robert, *A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia in the Year 1817,* published in *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia,* edited by Martin Ewans, vol. IV (1817, Reprint London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

Wittock, Michel (ed.), *Western Travellers in China. Discovering the Middle Kingdom*, exhib. cat (Brussels: Bibliotheca Wittockiana, 2009).

Wolff, Joseph, *Narrative of a mission to Bokhara in the years 1843–1845, to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845).

Wood, John, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus* (London: John Murray, 1872).

Woodburn, C.W., *The Bala Hissar of Kabul. Revealing a fortress-palace in Afghanistan* (Chatham: Institution of Royal Engineers, 2009).

Woodside, Alexander, 'The Ch'ien-lung Reign', in: Williard J. Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 9. Part One: The Ch'ing Empire to 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 230–309.

Wu, Aitchen K., *Turkistan Tumult* (1940; London: Methuen, 1984).

Wyatt, Christopher M., *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire. Diplomacy and Strategy during the Great Game* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

—'Change and discontinuity: war and Afghanistan, 1904–1924', *Asian Affairs*, vol. XLVII, No. III, November 2016 (London: Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 2016), pp. 366–85.

Wynn, Antony, *Persia in the Great Game. Sir Percy Sykes, Explorer, Consul, Soldier, Spy* (London: John Murray, 2003).

—Three Camels to Smyrna. Times of War and Peace in Turkey, Persia, India, Afghanistan & Nepal 1907–1986. The Story of the Oriental Carpet Manufactuturers Company (London: Estate of the late Bryan Huffner, 2008).

Yapp, Malcolm, 'The Legend of the Great Game', in: *Proceedings of the British Academy 111. 2000 Lectures and Memoirs* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 179–98.

Yate, Arthur Campbell, *England and Russia Face to Face. Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1887).

—'Colonel Yate's mission to Herat and the Kushk Valley', *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. IX, No. 8, August 1893 (Edinburgh: RSGS, 1893), pp. 403–11.

Yeomans, Richard, *The Story of Islamic Architecture* (Reading: Garnet, 1999).

Yorke, Edmund, *Playing the Great Game. Britain, War and Politics in Afghanistan since 1839* (London: Robert Hale, 2012).

Younghusband, Sir Francis, *The heart of a continent: a narrative of travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Chitral, 1884–1894* (London: John Murray, 1896).

—India and Tibet. History of the relations which have subsisted between the two countries from the time of Warren Hastings to 1910; with a particular account of the mission to Lhasa of 1904 (London: John Murray, 1910).

Younghusband, G.J. and Younghusband, Sir Francis, *The Relief of Chitral* (1895; Reprint Rawalpindi: English Book House, 1976).

Yule, Sir Henry (ed. and trans.), *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, 4 vols (1913–16; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1967).

Zaitseva, M.S. and Koblova, E.S., *Astrakhan Kremlin* (Astrakhan: JSC Publishing House Nova, 2011).

Zalesof, Colonel, 'Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Bokhara, 1836–1843', in: Shoqan Valikanof and M. Veniukof, *The Russians in Central Asia: Their occupation of the Kirghiz Steppe and the line of the Syr-Darya, their political relations with Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan; also descriptions of Chinese Turkestan and Dzungaria,* transl. John and Robert Michell (1865; Charleston: Nabu Press, 2016).

—'Colonel Ignatief's Mission to Khiva and Bokhara in 1858', in: Martin Ewans (ed.), *Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia, 1842–1880, vol. I: Documents* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 21–86.

Zarcone, Th, 'The Sufi orders in northern Central Asia', in: Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib and Karl M. Baipakov (eds), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. V (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2003), pp. 771–80.

Zelinskij, A. N., 'Drevnie kreposti na Pamire', in: *Strany i narody Vostoka* 3 (1964), pp. 120–41.

Zhukov, Stanislav and Reznikova, Oksana, ‘Economic Ties between Russia and Kazakhstan: Dynamics, Tendencies, and Prospects’, in: Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 417–34.

Ziegler, Gudrun, *Der achte Kontinent* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2005).

Zimmermann, Carl, *Der Kriegs-Schauplatz in Inner-Asien. Bemerkungen zu der Uebersichts-Karte von Afghanistan, dem Punjab und dem Lande am unteren Indus* (Berlin: E.H. Schroeder, 1842).

—*Denkschrift über den unteren Lauf des Oxus zum Karabugas-Haff des Caspischen Meeres und über die Strombahn des Ochus, oder Tedshen der Neueren, zur Balkan-Bay* (Berlin: Reimer, 1845).

Zviagel’skaia, Irina, ’Russia and Central Asia: Problems of Security’, in: Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: At the End of the Transition* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 71–92.

List of Maps

1. **The major empires of Central Asia and neighbouring regions in 1907, and the main historical sites in the Age of Decline and Revival** (inner front endpaper). Adapted from Christoph Baumer, The History of Central Asia, Vol. III. *The Age of Islam and the Mongols* (London: 2016), inner front endpaper.

2. **The Mughal and Safavid empires, largest extent in the 17th century** (p. 49). Adapted from Louis Dupree, *Afghanistan* (Oxford, 1973, 1997), p. 320.

3. **The Russian advance into Northern Central Asia and the Dzungar Empire, late 16th to early 18th century** (pp. 78–79). Adapted from Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Asia* (Cambridge, 2005), maps 2, 4, 5, 7.

4. **The Afghan Empire of Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1762 CE** (p. 105). Adapted from Louis Dupree, *Afghanistan* (Oxford, 1973, 1997), p. 320.

5. **The Russian conquest of Central Asia 1864–95** (pp. 136–37). Adapted from Christopher M. Wyatt, *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire. Diplomacy and Strategy during the Great Game* (London, 2011), Map 1; www.zalezsky.deviantart.com/art/Central-Asian-Khanates-and-Tribes-498624624

6. **The borders of Afghanistan and the Anglo-Russian partition of Persia 1907** (p. 170). Adapted from *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. VI. *Towards the Contemporary Period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century*, edited by Chahryar Adle, Madhavan K. Palat and Anara Tabyshalieva (Paris, 2005), Map 6; Christopher M. Wyatt, *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire. Diplomacy and Strategy during the Great Game* (London, 2011), Map 3.

7. **The shrinking of the Aral Sea** (p. 192). Adapted from www.britannica.com/place/Aral-Sea; www.aramcoworld.com/en-US/Compilations/2015/September-October-2015/Reviving-the-North-Aral-Sea

8. **Gas and oil pipelines in Central Asia** (pp. 264–65). Adapted from www.energyinasiablog.com/2011/10/the-other-energy-superpower-central-asia-part-ii-of-ii/; www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/centralasia/maps.htm

9. **Central Asia in the 21st century** (inner back endpaper). Adapted from Christoph Baumer, *The History of Central Asia, vol. III: The Age of Islam and the Mongols* (London: 2016), inner back endpaper.

Satellite imagery © NASA. http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/

Photo Credits

All photos are by the author with the exception of the following:

Bridgeman Images, Berlin, Germany: fig. 110.
British Museum, London, United Kingdom: fig. 4.
Dolya Sergey, Charkiv, Ukraine: fig. 48.
Éditions Glénat, Issy-les-Moulineaux, France: fig. 123.
Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, Sweden: fig. 39.
Harvard-Yenching University Library, Harvard, USA: fig. 129.
Herfort Frank, Berlin, Germany: figs. 164, 168, 184.
Hormann Christoph, Freiburg, Germany/Imagico.de: figs. 1, 100.
Illustrated London News, London, United Kingdom: fig. 109.
KEYSTONE/MAGNUM PHOTOS/Steve McCurry, USA: figs. 64, 67, 133, 134, 142, 143, 145.
Kreutzmann Hermann, Berlin, Germany: fig. 101.
Kurbatov A.A., Astrakhan Kremlin (Rostow am Don, 2010): fig. 23.
Lujanskij Dimitrij, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: fig. 169.
Middleton Robert, Crans, Switzerland: fig. 88.
Municipal Museum of Turkistan, Kazakhstan: fig. 59.
National Army Museum, London, United Kingdom: figs. 80, 93, 94, 96.
Nelson Jimmy, Amsterdam, Netherlands: fig. 127.
Page Warrick, Los Angeles, USA: fig. 105.
Palace Museum Beijing, China: fig. 53.
Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, USA: fig. 95.
Phototheca Afghanica, Foundation Bibliotheca Afghanica, Bubendorf, Switzerland: figs. 85, 104, 119, 122.
Rossi & Rossi, London, United Kingdom: front jacket, fig. 46.
Schilling Patrick, Lucerne, Switzerland: fig. 99.
Schulze Helmut R., Heidelberg, Germany: back jacket, figs. 65, 68, 135, 136, 138–41, 144, 146–55, 165, 166, 171, 183.
Sereda Tomas, iStock by Getty Images International, Dublin, Ireland: fig. 182.
Smithsonian Institute. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC, USA: figs. 31, 54.
State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia: figs. 77, 87.
Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm, Sweden: figs. 128, 130.
US Federal Government, public domain, Washington DC, USA: fig. 137.
Weber Therese, Arlesheim, Switzerland: back inner jacket flap, at top.
Weyl Laurent, Argos, Picturetank, Paris, France: fig. 121.
Zanabazar Museum, Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia: fig. 36.

All efforts have been made to name or identify copyright holders. We will endeavour to rectify any unintended omissions in future editions of this work, upon receipt of evidence of relevant intellectual property rights.

Acknowledgements

This book is based on dozens of expeditions and journeys undertaken in the last three decades. My research was successful only thanks to hundreds of kind people in Armenia, Azerbaijan, China, Georgia, India, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Pakistan, Russia, Syria, Tajikistan, Tibet, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan; to all of them I remain grateful. The book itself was produced with the help of several people. Most preferred to remain anonymous; others are briefly acknowledged here, in alphabetical order:

Natalia Boskhaev, Elista, Republic of Kalmykia, Russian Federation, who showed me around in Elista and obtained a permission to photograph prayers and ceremonies inside the *Burkhan Bakshin Altan Sume*, the temple 'Golden Abode of Buddha Shakyamuni' in Elista.

Paul Bucherer-Dietschi, Bubendorf, Switzerland, who let me search in his vast Phototheca Afghanica, Foundation Bibliotheca Afghanica, and put images from his rich archives at my disposal.

Dr Dmitri Voyakin, Almaty, Kazakhstan, who made available scientific literature about recent archaeological discoveries in Kazakhstan.

Helmut R. Schulze, Heidelberg, for interesting and revealing discussions about recent political developments in the new Central Asian Republics and his fascinating photographs.

Håkan Wahlquist, Sven Hedin Foundation, Stockholm, Sweden, for stimulating discussions and the permission to reproduce images taken by Sven Hedin.

Prof Therese Weber, Arlesheim, Switzerland, who accompanied me on numerous expeditions and travels and participated in the research for this more than ten-year-long book project.

Ludmila Zverko, Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan, Russian Federation, who twice showed me Kazan and its surroundings and obtained from the military the permission to photograph the strictly guarded Epiphany celebrations at the Raifa Monastery near Kazan.

Index: Concepts

References to images are in *italics*.

A

the Abdali *see* the Durrani
Abu'l-Khayrids 5–18, 20
  decline and collapse 13, 16
  Shaybanids 5
  Transoxania and 8
Adolat Party 277, 278
Afaqiyya Sufi Order (Aqtaghliq) 26, 27, 28
Afghan Empire of Ahmad Shah Durrani *105*
Afghanistan Wars (1978/79–present) 1, 2, 197, 198, 214–17
  1989–92 Afghan Civil War 224–8
  1991 Negative Symmetry Agreement 225
  1992 Peshawar Accord 227–8
  assessment 247–50
  China and 250
  Geneva Accords 223
  Gulf Emirates 230
  India and 215
  Iran and 216
  Pakistan and 214, 215, 219, 225, 230, 232
  reconstruction efforts 247, 248–9
  Saudi Arabia and 214, 215–16, 230, 250
  Soviet brutalisation of the war 223
  Soviet Union and 214, 219–20
  Soviet withdrawal 223, 225
  sponsors of 215, 224, 230
  unintended killing of civilians 248
  US 214–15, 216, 219, 220, 225, 229, 234
  see also Islamism; mujahideen; al-Qaeda; the Taliban
Afghanistan's boundaries 135, 140–1, 146, 149, 154, *155*, 158, *170*
  Afghanistan/China borders 89, 141, *142*, 159, 162
  Afghanistan/Russia borders 122, 141, *142*, 157–8, 160, 162, 165
  Anglo-Russian Agreement (1895) 164–5
  Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission 158, *163*, 164
  British-Afghan Treaty (1893) 164
  British Pamir Boundary Commission 141
  Durand Line 164, 165, 195, 196, 197
  Iran and 215, 237
  Pakistan and 197, 198
  Russia, China and Great Britain's convergence 164–5
  Sino-Russian border negotiations 164
  Soviet invasion (1979) 165
Afghans 106, 134, *246*, *249*
  Afghan refugees 102, 217, 220, 223
  ethnic groups 102
Afridi Pashtuns 58, 197
agreements 88, 130, 167, 172, 193, 195, 268
  1873 Granville-Gorchakov Agreement 140–1
  1880 Lyall Agreement 152–3
  1893 Anglo-Afghan Agreement *155*
  1895 Anglo-Russian Agreement 164–5
  1991 Negative Symmetry Agreement 225
  1992 Peshawar Accord 227–8
Alash Orda government 176, 177
All-Kazakh Congress 176
  Second All-Kazakh Congress 176
Allies 185, 174, 176
amban 87, 90, 169, 201, 206
Anglo-Afghan War I (1839–42) 131–5
  Beymaroo 132
  disaster for Britain 133–4
  Gandamak, 134, 151
  Jugdulluk Pass 134
  Kajur Pass *131*
  mountain passes 131, 134
  see also Indus Army
Anglo-Afghan War II (1878–80) 148–53
  soldiers from a British Indian regiment *151*
Anglo-Afghan War III (1919) 194
Anglo-French 'Entente Cordiale' (1904) 168
Anglo-French-Russian 'Triple Entente' (1907) 2, 168, 172
Anglo-Japanese Alliance 168, 171
Anglo-Persian War (1856) 135
  Peace of Paris 135, 171
Anglo-Russian Border Commission (1884–86) 158
Anglo-Russian Border Commission (1895) *163*, 164–5, 166
Anglo-Russian Convention (1907) 124, 140, 171–2
Anglo-Russian partition of Persia *170*, 172
  revocation of 180
Anglo-Russian rivalry *x*, 1–2, 124
  beginnings 124
  prelude to 112–13, 119
  see also the 'Great Game'
APOC (Anglo-Persian Oil Company) 172
appanages 4, 8, 15, 19, 50, 63, 68
Arab Spring 294
Arabshahids 5, 7, 10, 23
  foundation of Arabshahid dynasty 23
  Yadigarids 23
'arc of instability' 2, 234, 294
architecture:
  Abu'l-Khayrids 20
  monumental architecture 51, 52
  Mughal style *46*, 57–8
  Timurids 20, 51
  Togha-Timurids 20
  see also cathedrals; fortresses; madrasahs; mausoleums; monasteries; mosques; palaces
arms 83, 169
  Afghanistan and 187, 194–5, 197–8, 217, 223, 224, 225, *226*
  anti-aircraft guns *218*, *222*
  armoured trains 185
  arms race 214
  Brown Bess rifles *127*, 131, 132, 133
  Europe 57, 60
  firearms 15, 16, 40, 56, 86, 92, 155
  Gatling machine guns 152
  German-Soviet armaments cooperation 187
  Islamism and 215, 224
  jezail rifles *127*, 131, 133
  Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles 150
  Maxim machine guns 169
  mines 223
  new technology 1, 4, 12, 47, 56–7, 60, 86, 239
  operational battalion of Russian making, Afghanistan *226*
  Ottomans 47
  Pakistan and 219, 240
  sabre with a scabbard *119*, *139*
  Soviet Union, arms industry 189–91
  taifoo *144*
  US 239
  see also military/warfare equipment; missiles; nuclear power/weapons
Asian Development Bank 259
Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank 296
Astrakhan Khanate 29, 30, 32, 36–40
  Russian conquest of 32–3, 38
ataliq 20, 115
authoritarian regimes 2, 261, 273, 277, 289–90, 294
Axis powers 197

B

Balkan crisis (1877) 143
the Barakzai 102, 104, 106, 109, 110, 135, 193, 196
Bashkirs 33, 39, 96, 97, 253
  Bashkir rebellion 93
Basmachi 178–9, 325n38
  Basmachi Revolt 176, 178
Battle of Attock 109
Battle of Baku 183–4, *184*
Battle of Bemaru (Beymaroo) 133
Battle of Çeşme 44
Battle of Chaldiran 12, 47
Battle of Chumik Shenko 169
Battle of Ghijduvan 10, 11
Battle of Hazarasp 23
Battle of Jao Modo 84
Battle of Kaakha 185, 325n56
Battle of Kandahar 20, 56, 104
Battles of Khalkyn Gol 206
Battle of Khanwa 48
Battle of Maiwand 153
Battle of Merv 9
Battle of Nimla 109
Battle of Panipat (First) 47–8
Battle of Panipat (Second) 50
Battle of Panipat (Third) 106, 314n21
Battle of Poltava 23
Battle of Qurman *86*
Battle of Tumu 66
Berlin Wall, fall of 258, 293
black death 29
Bodhisattvas *62*, *70*
  Avalokiteshvara Shadakshari *66*, 71, *74*, 76, *83*, *257*
  Green Tara *98*
  Manjushri *62*, *66*
  Manjushri, embodiment of 69, 72, 76, *88*
Boer War I (1880–81) 168
Boer War II (1899–1902) 168
Bolsheviks 2, 176–7, 184–5, 195, 202, 325n10
books 52, 56
Bosnian War (1992–95) 234
Brezhnev Doctrine 214, 218
British-Afghan Treaty (1809) 107
British-Afghan Treaty (1893) 164
British-Chinese Treaty (1906) 169
British Fleet/Home Fleet 125, 143, 171
Buddha *70*, 71, *83*, *222*, *260*
  Buddha statues of Bamiyan *222*, 237
Buddhism 61, 253
  Buddhist carvings, Tamgaly Tas *83*
  Buddhist Dzungars 26, 27

  Buddhist-Genghis-Khanid theocracy 71
  Erlig-jin Jarghagchi/Vajrabhairava *62*, *75*
  gilded Buddhist brass figures *66–7*
  Golden Abode of Buddha Shakyamuni, Kalmykia *95*
  Golden Abode of Buddha Shakyamuni, prayer drums, Kalmykia *97*
  Gombo Gur *71*
  Kalmyks 96, *97*, *98*
  Khoyar yosun alliance 71–2
  monasteries *65*, *68*, 70, 72, *73*, 75, 89, *199*, 203, *257*
  Mongols and 61, 63, 70–3, 75–6, 83, *88*, 89, 201, 203
  monks 89, *95*, 201
  Oirats and 75
  prayer in *97*, *98*
  Russia and 168
  Sherning Dyundok ceremony *98*
  Tibetan Buddhism 71, 75–6, 83–4
  Uriankhai 206
  see also Bodhisattvas; Gelugpa Order; Jonangpa Order; Khutukhtu; theocracy
Bukhara Khanate 1, 2, 318n2
Burmah Oil Company 172
Byzantine Empire 41

C

calendar: changes to the Gregorian calendar 188, 325n10
cathedrals:
  Annunciation Cathedral, Kazan *32*, *33*
  Ascension Cathedral, Almaty *179*
  Assumption Cathedral, Astrakhan Kremlin *37*
  Dormition Cathedral, Astrakhan Kremlin *189*
  St Basil's Cathedral, Moscow 32, *32*
  Trinity Cathedral, Astrakhan Kremlin *37*
  wooden Russian Orthodox cathedral of Karakol, Kyrgyzstan *94*
  see also architecture
Catholic Church: forced conversion to 36
CENTO security pact 197, 198
Central Command 238, 330n43
Centrocaspian Dictatorship 183–4
Chagatai Khanate 8, 25, 28
Chechen War I (1994–96) 234, 252
Chechen War II (1999–2000) 234, 252
Chechens 234, 243, 279
Cheremis 29, 36
Chevron 269
Chinese Revolution (1911) 201, 207
Chisthiyya Sufi Order 51
Chorasmia (Khiva) Khanate 23–5, 111–15
  annexation by Russia 112, 113
  economy of 111
  Russia and 112–15, 118–19
  as Russian protectorate 141
  severed heads, reward for *115*, 116–17
  slavery 111
Choros 68, 83
Chuvash 29, 36
CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) 214, 290, 328
  Afghanistan and 221, 223, 224, 237, 238–9, 240
CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) 270, 277, 283, 284, 290, 331n40
coinage/numismatic 9, 10, 29, 41, 59, 145
Cold War (1947–91) 197, 214–15
  Islamic extremism and 215
collectivisation policies, Soviet Union 188–90, 203
collectivisation policies, Xinjiang 211
colonial powers 4, 121, 125
Comintern (Communist International) 202, 203, 206
Confucianism 4, 67, 148
Convention of Peking 138
Cossacks 23, 24, 32, 63, 80–1, 312n73
  army of 40
  Don Cossacks 36, 96, 97, 99
  uprising 100
  Yaik Cossacks 23
  Zaporozhian Cossacks 96
cotton 139, 142, 175, 189
  ammunition production and 139, 175
  consequences of intensive cultivation of 142, 193
  food shortage and 142, 175
  harvest *278*
  importance of 139
  monoculture 175, 189, 193, 233
  Russia and 139, 142, 175
  US 139
  Uzbekistan 277, 278, *278*
  'war for cotton' 183
  World War I 142, 175, 180, 183
Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), 176
CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) 297, 298
Crimean Tatar Khanate 29, 30, 31, 32, 41–4
  Bakhchisarai *41*
  campaigns 43–4
  economy 42, 44
  Palace of Crimean khans in Bakhchisarai *42*, 43
Crimean Tatars 19, 33–4, 38, 39, 97
Crimean War (1853–56) 1, 82, 95, 112, 115, 118, 122, 125, 135, 138
Croisière Jaune expedition *195*
  Citroën Kégresse P17: *195*
CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization) 261
Czechoslovak Legion 176, 177, 185

D

democracy 279, 293, 294, 296
  Afghanistan and 247, 330n85
  fundamentalism and 277
  Mongolia and 258
Deobandism 196, 220, 236, 279
  the Taliban and 233
deportations 100, 188, 189, 191
Dogger Bank Incident 171
the Dörbet 68, 83, 96
DPT (Democratic Party of Tajikistan) 282
Dughlats 26
Dungans 88, 144, 145, 209, 210
Dunsterforce *182*, 184
the Durrani (the Abdali) 102, 103, 104, 107, 233
Dzungar empire *78*, 83–7, 94
  destruction by China 1, 87–8, 89, 90
  Russian/Dzungar trade 83
  Sino/Dzungar war 86, *89*
  steppe empire 63, 88
Dzungars 20, 23, 82, 93–4, 119
  Buddhist Dzungars 26, 27
  Chinese extermination of 1, 87–8
  Oirat Dzungars 316n43

E

EAEU (Eurasian Economic Union) 261, 331n40
East India Company 40, 45, 48, 59–60, 106, 126, 319n32
  Afghanistan and 107
  Board of Control 125, 126, 129, 130
  as crown colony 60
  governor-general/viceroy 126
  Sikh Empire 127
EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development) 280
Erdeni-yin tobči 71
ETIM (East Turkestan Islamic Movement) 256–7
  TIP (Turkestan Islamic Party) 257
EURASEC (Eurasian Economic Community) 261
Exxon Mobile 269

F

famine 175, 176, 198, 212
  see also food
February Revolution, Russia (1917) 175, 180, 325n10
financial crisis (2007/08) 269, 272, 292
food:
  cotton and cultivation of food 142, 175
  food aid 227, 285
  food imports 142, 175, 233, 236
  food shortage 142, 175, 189, 210
  opium poppy and cultivation of food 236, 247
  see also famine
fortresses 40, 80–1, 93, 115
  Ak Mejet fortress 95, 115, 120, 122, 138
  Albazin fortress 80, 81, 82
  Azov fortress 42, 44, 96, 97, 99
  Bala Hissar fortress *124*, 133
  Fort Perovsk 138
  fortified settlements 40
  Geok Tepe fortress 151, *153*, 154
  Ghazna fortress, Afghanistan *107*, 132
  Gwalior Fort, Madhya Pradesh, *50*
  Hissar fortress, Tajikistan *118*
  Karakol fortress 120
  Krasnovodsk fortress 140
  Orenburg line 93, 99, 138
  Orsk fortress 93
  Pamirsky Post fortress, the Pamirs 163
  prefabricated fortress, Sviyazhsk *30*, 32
  Raimskoe fortress 115
  Red Fort, Agra 57, *58*, 60
  Syr-Daria line 138, 139
  Terek River fortress 34, 39
  Tsaritsyn line 93, 99–100
  Ufa fortress, Kazan 33
  Verny fortress 95, 115, 122, 138
  Volga River fortresses 33
  West Siberian line 138
  Yeni-Kale fortress 42, *43*
  see also architecture
Freedom House 273

G

gardens:
  Babur and 48
  Chahar Bagh garden, Agra 48
  Chahar Bagh garden, Delhi *46*
  Chahar Bagh type 48
  Shalimar Bagh, Srinagar 52
Gazprom 269, 290, 292, 333n179
Gelaohui 207
Gelugpa Order 26, *67*, 71–4, 75, 76, 315n27, 316n41
  supremacy of 73
  see also Buddhism; Khutukhtu
Genghis Khanids 4, 20, 29, 30, 33
  Buddhist-Genghis-Khanid theocracy 71, 75
  power-political decline of 1
geography: dynamic/static understanding of 1
German Empire 168, 171, 172, 176, 180, 183, 185
  capitulation 185
  German expedition to Afghanistan 185–7, *186*
  German navy 168
  military power 168
German Weimar Republic 195, 196
the Ghilzai 102, 103, 104, 107, 165, 198, 233
Giray dynasty 29, 31, 41
Golden Horde 29, 33, 36, 41, 44, 91
  decline and dissolution of 4, 29, 37, 39
  Islam in 5
  Russia and 44
the 'Great Game' 44, 89, 123, 138, 172
  Afghanistan and 125, 140, 198–9
  Anglo-Russian rapprochement talks 157, 171
  clash in Central Asia 182
  Cold War 197
  Crimea and 125
  East Turkestan and 144
  'Great Game of Pipelines' 233
  Kashgaria and 166
  Manchuria and 158
  Pamir Mountains 158–60
  Persia and 125, 166
  revival of 180–7
  setting of 125–6
  the term 124–5
  Tibet and 125, 158, 166
  Tournament of Shadows 125
  Xinjiang and 125
    see also Anglo-Russian rivalry
Great Horde 7, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36–40, 42
  dissolution of 38
Great Northern War (1700–21) 23, 24, 44
Great Patriotic War (1941) 190
Great Turkish War (1683–99) 44
Great Wall of China 63, *64*, 65, 67, 69
  Juyong Guan Pass *64*, 65
Greek War of Independence (1821–32) 112, 125
Green Berets 239, 330n45
guerrillas 40, 198, 223, 279
  Afghanistan 19, 56, 126, 134, 198, 217
  guerrilla war of the mujahideen 2, 217, 219–23
Guomindang Party 208, 211, 328n185
  'Five Peoples of China' 210

H

Han Dynasty 90
Hazaras/Shiite Hazaras 8, 165, 230, 237, 240
heliographs 150, 152
Hentig-Niedermayer expedition 185–7, 194, 326n89
Hezb-e Wahdat alliance 230
Hotaki dynasty 103, 104
HTI (Hezb al-Tahrir al-Islami/Liberation Party) 278–9

I

IMF (International Monetary Fund) 259, 270, 279, 280, 285, 292
  see also international financial institutions
IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan) 235, 240, 243, 257, 278, 280, 285, 294
  Kyrgyzstan and 273–4
  opium and 214, 236–7, 279
  origins 279
  al-Qaeda and 279
  sponsors 279
  Tajikistan and 274, 279
  terrorism and 273–4, 280
Indo-Pakistani War (1965, 1971) 198
Indus Army *128*, 131–4, 321n88
  see also Anglo-Afghan War I
international financial institutions 259, 260, 333n4
  see also IMF; World Bank
IRP (Islamic Revival Party) 278, 332n107
IRPT (Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan) 282, 283, 284, 285, 288, 294
IRPU (Islamic Revival Party Uzbekistan) 277, 278
IS/ISIS (Islamic State/Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) 243, 250, 298, 333n16
  al-daula al-Islamiya 330n71
  Salafism and 330n71
  the Taliban and 243
ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) 238, 240, 247, 249, 250, 285
  ambulances of *246–7*
  patrol of German ISAF troops *242*
  withdrawal from Afghanistan 243
Ishaqiyya Sufi Order (Qarataghliq) 26, 28
ISI (Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence) 198, 215, 221–2, 223, 244, 249
  Haqqani network and 250
  mujahideen and 219, 220, 224
  Saudi Arabia and 224
  the Taliban and 233, 235
Islam 2, 14, 297
  Bolshevik Revolution and Muslims 176
  Bukhara and 116–17
  forced conversion into 58–9
  forced conversion of Muslims to Russian Orthodoxy 34, 36
  Golden Horde and 5
  Kazakhs, Islamisation of 94
  Moghulistan, Islamisation of 25, 26
  Mughal Empire, Islamisation of 58–9
  prayer in *21*, *27*, 145, *215*, *236*, *256*
  Sharia 188, 196, 198, 234, 236, 244, 257, 277, 278
  Soviet Union and 188, 190
  see also Jadidism
Islam Lashkarlari Party (Warriors of Islam) 277, 278
Islamic Development Bank 292
Islamism 215
  Afghanistan and 198, 214, 216, 217, 235, 294
  Afghanistan, Islamic Emirate of 235–7
  ‘arc of instability’ 2, 234
  arms and 215, 224
  Caucasus 216, 220, 234
  Central Asia and 261, 267, 294
  Cold War and 215
  Fergana Valley and 277, 278
  fundamentalism 234, 277, 282
  Islamic extremism 215, 217, 234, 237, 250, 254–5, 256–7, 261, 276, 277, 278, 294
  Islamic state and 216
  militant Islamism 214, 215
  Muslim Rohingyas 333n14
  Pakistan and 198, 215, 235, 240, 249
  Pan-Islamism 178, 179, 193, 196, 267
  political Islamism 198, 277, 280, 294
  Russia and 237
  Saudi Arabia 215–16, 235, 250, 294
  Tajikistan and 281, 282–3, 288
  terrorism 215, 235
  Turkey and 267
  US 215, 224, 237–40
  Uzbekistan and 277, 278–9
  Xinjiang and 254–5, 256–7
  see also Afghanistan Wars; jihad; mujahideen; al-Qaeda; the Taliban
Ismailis 146, 281, 311n33

J

Jadidism 174, 209, 324n4
  Jadids 174, 175, 178
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Party 233, 279
Jats 59
the Jebtsundamba 75, 76, 84
  Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu 76, 201
jihad (holy struggle) 25, 102, 233, 328n8
  anti-American and anti-Western jihad 235, 243
  anti-China jihad 257
  Laden, Osama bin and 222
  Ottoman Empire and 185
  al-Qaeda 216
  see also Islamism; mujahideen
Jonangpa Order 75
  see also Buddhism

K

Kafirs: carved ancestral figures on the tombs of *164*
Kalash: Joshi (Spring) Festival *165*
Kalmyk Khanate 83
Kalmyks 7, 39, 83, 96–100, 317n147
  Buddhism and 96, *97*, *98*
  deportation to Siberia 100
  exodus of 100
  Kalmyk Autonomous Oblast 100
  Kalmyk-Chinese alliance 99
  Oirat Kalmyks 96
  Russia and 96–7, 99
    script of 317n174
Kasimov dynasty 31
Kasimov Khanate (Meshchersky Gorodets Khanate) 29, 30
kazakh 7
Kazakh Hordes 91–5
  dissolution of 95, 112
  enthronement of a Kazakh khan *93*
  establishment of the Khanate 91
  fragmentation of the Khanate 92
  Inner Horde/Bukey Zhuz 94
  Islamisation 94
  Junior Horde/Kishi Zhuz 92, 93, 94–5
  Middle Horde/Orta Zhuz 92, 93–4, 95
  revolts 94, 95
  Russia and 92–3, 94–5, 112
  Senior Horde/Ulu Zhuz 92, 93–4, 95, 317n142
  the three Kazakh sages *92*
Kazakhs 8, 20, 23, 90, 91–5, 100, 267, 269, 317n121
  cattle breeders 188
  religion and 317n131
Kazan Khanate 29–36
  borders 29
  dissolution 43
  Kazan/Crimean Tatar Khanates dynastic union 31
  languages 29
KazMunayGas 269
Keneges 19
Khalkha princes 75, 76, 84, 315n36
Khalq, Afghan Marxist group 198, 199, 217
khanate 4
Khiva Khanate *see* Chorasmia (Khiva) Khanate
Khoit 83, 87
khoja (khwaja) 19, 28, 89, 120, 121
  Naqshbandis 26, 119
the Khoshut 26, 83, 84, 87, 96, 97
Khotan Islamic Government 209
Khutukhtu 201, 202, 314n33
  First Changkya Khutukhtu 76, 316n41
  Second Changkya Khutukhtu 76
  Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu 201
  see also Buddhism; Gelugpa Order
kidnapping 19, 41, 42, 111, 243, 274
  see also ransom
Kipchaks 29, 122, 313n108
Koh-i-Noor diamond 109, 319n32
Kokand Khanate 1, 95, 119–22
  1875 uprising 122, 146
  China and 119–20, 121
  dissolution of 122, 140
  foundation 19, 119
  General Government of Turkestan 122
  Russia and 122, 139, 140
  trade 120, 121
kolkhoze 188
koshkartas, Necropolis of Masat Ata, Kazakhstan *90*
Kulja Sultanate 145
Kumul/Hami Khanate 28, 208, 209
kuriltai 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 94
Kursk Khanate (Jagoldai) 29
Kushans 51
Kyrgyz 25, 28, 83, 84, 122, 209
  cattle breeders 188

L

La’l-i Badakhshan Party 282
landlocked geography 29, 36
  Afghanistan 102, 196, 197
  Central Asia 1, 2, 261, 285, 294–5
  Kazakhstan 267, 269, 294–5
  Tajikistan 281, 294–5
languages 261
  Chagatai 8, 47
  Iranophone group 180
  Kazan Khanate 29
  Oirat 84
  Persian 14
  Russian 188
  Tajik 188, 281
  Turkic 8, 29, 39, 188
  Uyghur 8
  Uzbek 8
  see also scripts
League of Nations 197
libraries 56
Livonian War (1558–83) 40
London Straits Convention (1841) 138
looting 24, 25, 41, 47, 87, 106, 133, 273
loya jirga (national gathering of Afghan leaders) 197, 241
Lukoil 269

M

madrasahs 188
  Divan Begi Madrasah, Bukhara *13*, 20
  Islam Khodja Madrasah, Khiva *22*
  Kukeldash Madrasah, Chor-Bakr complex, Bukhara *15*, 20
  Kukeldash Madrasah, Tashkent, *12*, *279*
  Mir-i Arab Madrasah, Bukhara, *6–7*, 20
  Qul Baba Kukeldash Madrasah, Bukhara 20
  Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan II Madrasah, Khiva *177*
  Shir Dor Madrasah, Samarkand *16–17*, *18*, 19, 22
  Tilla Kari Madrasah, Samarkand *16–17*, 19, *21*, 22
  Ulugh Beg Madrasah, Samarkand *16–17*, 22
  see also architecture
Manchu dynasty 69
Manchus 69, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88
Manghit Bukhara dynasty 115–19
  foundation of 20
Manghits 7, 20, 36, 39, 41, 115
Marathas 59, 60, 106, 314n21
maritime power 60
  Britain 1, 4, 23, 44, 124, 125, 158, 172
  German navy 168
  oil combustion and 172
  Portuguese navigators 4, 13, 48
  rail system and 155, 157
  Spanish navigators 13
maritime trade 1, 13, 294, 295, 297
  see also trade
Marxism 190, 198, 215
mausoleums 20
  Akbar Mausoleum, Sikandra 48, 52, 59
  Baha al-Din Naqshband Bukhari, Bukhara 22
  Bibi Ka Maqbara, Aurangabad 48
  ‘Gazar Gah’ Mausoleum, Herat *135*

  Humayum Mausoleum, Delhi *46*, 48
  Imam Reza, Mashhad 8, 9, 15
  Itimad al-Daula Mausoleum, Agra 48
  Jahangir Mausoleum, Lahore 48, 57
  Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, Turkestan *91*
  Niyazov Mausoleum, Turkmenistan *288*
  Pahlavan Mahmud Mausoleum, Khiva *22*
  Sufi masters' mausoleums 20, 22
  Taj Mahal, Agra 48, *54–5*, 57–8
  see also architecture
military/warfare equipment:
  Afghanistan 195, 197–8
  aircraft 195, 197, 239, 240, 274, 280
  drones 243, 248
  German Tornado combat aircraft *239*
  helicopter *244–5*
  patrol of German ISAF troops *242*
  the Taliban 233, 240
  see also arms; missiles
minarets *22*
  Emin Minaret, Xinjiang *89*
  Kalyan minaret, Bukhara *6*, 20
  'short minaret' Kalta Minar, Khiva *111*
  see also mosques
Ming dynasty of China 25, 63, 65, 68, 70, 71
Ming dynasty of Kokand 19, 119
Ming tribe 19
missiles 197
  anti-tank missiles, Milan type 223
  cruise missiles 234, 235
  intercontinental ballistic missiles 267
  mujahideen and 223
  al-Qaeda and 234
  Stinger missiles 223, 329n53
  see also arms
Moghulistan Khanate 25
monasteries:
  Amarbayas Galant Monastery, Mongolia *199*
  Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Tatarstan *31*, *32*
  Barun-khit Monastery, Mongolia *73*
  Buddhism *65*, *68*, 70, 72, *73*, 75, 89, *199*, 203, *257*
  destruction of 203
  Erdene Zuu Monastery, Mongolia *68*, *70*, *71*, 72
  Erdene Zuu Monastery, Altan Stupa and Laviran temple, Mongolia, *69*
  Gandantegchinlen Monastery, Mongolia *257*
  Pelkhor Chöde Monastery of Gyantse, Tibet *167*
  Raifa Monastery, Kazan *34*, *35*
  Samye, fortified Buddhist monastery, Mongolia *65*
  Tubten Chokhorling Monastery, Kyzyl, Russia *82*
  see also architecture
Mongol Empire 63, 75
Mongolian Democratic Union 258
Mongols 1, 2, 29, 63, 140
  1640 pan-Mongolian conference 83–4
  Buddhism and 61, 63, 70–3, 75–6, 83, *88*, 89, 201, 203
  Chahar Mongols 65
  Dolon Nor allegiance 75, 76, 84, 201
  East Central Asia and 63
  Genghis Khanid Eastern Mongols 63–4, 68, 69, 70
  impoverishment of 90
  Khalkha Mongols 75, 81
  khoyar yosun alliance 71–3, 75
  Manchurian banner system 69
  tümen (socio-military units) 68
  Uriyangkhad Eastern Mongols 64, 65
  Western Mongolian Oirats 25, 63–8, 317n147
Mordvins 29
mosques 188, 190
  Abdullah Khan mosque, Bukhara *5*
  Altyn (Golden) Mosque of Yarkand, Xinjiang *256*
  Badshahi Mosque, Lahore *57*
  Chor-Bakr complex, Bukhara *15*
  destruction of 34, 36, 212
  Friday Mosque of Tilla Kari Madrasah, Samarkand, *21*
  Friday Mosque, Turfan, Xinjiang *89*
  Hazrat Ali Mosque, Mazar-e-Sharif *108–109*, *238*
  Id Khah Friday Mosque, Kashgar, Xinjiang *27*
  Jama Masjid/Masjid-i Jahan Numa, Delhi 57, *59*
  Kalyan mosque, Bukhara, *10–11*, 20
  Kul-Sharif Mosque, Tatarstan, Russia *28*, *253*, *254*
  mihrabs *21*
  Red Mosque, Islamabad 244
  Turkmenbashi Rukhi Mosque *289*
  'White Mosque', Kazan, *253*
  see also architecture; minarets
MPRP (Mongol People's Revolution Party) 258
Mughal dynasty, foundation of 48
Mughal Empire 4, 8, 16, 20, 48, *49*, 103, 106, 311n3
  borders 48, 52
  decline 48, 59–60
  Islamic state/Islamisation of 58–9
  a land power 48
  Peacock Throne 57, 60
  Russia/Indian Mughals land route 24
Muhammadzai-Barakzai dynasty 110
mujahideen 214–17, 222, 328n5
  1991 Negative Symmetry Agreement 225
  AIG (Afghan Interim Government) 224
  banditry and 228
  China and 219, 220
  Deobandis and 220
  financial supporters of 2, 220
  guerrilla war of 2, 217, 219–23
  ISI and 219, 220, 224
  Kabul and 227, 228
  missiles and 223
  mujahideen fighters *214*, *228*
  Muslim Brotherhood 220
  opium/drug trade and 216–17, 228
  Pakistan and 2, 219, 220, 221
  power struggle of 230–4
  praying mujahid *215*
  Saudi Arabia and 2, 215, 220, 221
  Soviet Union and 2, 219–20, 222–3, 227
  Sunni mujahideen organizations
  recognised by Pakistan 220, 221
  training of 220
  US and 2, 215, 219–20, 221, 224, 227
  Wahhabism and 220
  Xinjiang and 254–5
  see also Afghanistan Wars; Islamism; jihad
Muscovy Company 13–14
Muslim Brotherhood 198, 220, 224, 278, 327n149
  use of violence and 328n8
MVP (Mongolian People's Party) 202

N

Napoleonic Wars 1, 100, 125, 131
Naqshbandi Sufi Order 20, 22, 26, 56, 196
  khojas/*khwajas* 26, 119
nationalism 171, 175, 176, 201, 202
  Afghan nationalists 234
  cultural nationalism 277
  Muslim nationalists 174, 179
  nationalist fundamentalists 282
  Russian nationalism 190
  Uyghur nationalists 209, 317n110
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 102, 237, 243, 247
  Partnership for Peace 266
NEP (New Economic Policy) 179, 188, 202
NGOs (non-governmental organisations) 243, 248–9, 277, 294
  political disturbances and Western NGOs 273, 280
Nogai Horde/Nogai 14, 19, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 39–40, 96, 97
  Greater Nogai Horde 39
  Lesser Nogai Horde 39
Norperforce 184
North-East Passage 296
Northern Alliance *230*, 235, 237, 241, 244, 248
Northern Yuan dynasty 63
nuclear power/weapons 252, 261
  Kazakhstan and 267–8
  Pakistan and 215, 216, 224, 237
  see also arms

O

October Revolution, Russia (1917) 148, 172, 175, 176, 180
officers, soldiers, guards:
  Afghan officers and leaders, Kabul *152*
  British Indian and Russian officers, Isfahan *181*
  guards and officers, Yarkand *148*
  Indian officers of the 32nd Sikh Pioneers, Khamba Dzong *166*
  ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) *230*, *242*
  Northern Alliance *230*
  soldiers from a British Indian regiment, Peshawar Fieldforce *151*
  Yaqub Khan's commanders and officers *149*
oil and gas 172, 180, 219–20, 261, 331n64
  Afghanistan 233
  Arabian Peninsula 172
  Azerbaijan 270
  Baku 39, 182, 183, 184, 210, 326n60
  Caspian Sea 269, 331n60
  CentGas (Central Asia Gas Pipeline) 234
  Central Asia 172, 261, 294
  China 269–70, 288, 292, 297, 333n14
  CNG (compressed natural gas) 261
  Darwaza gas crater *290–1*
  gas and oil pipelines in Central Asia *264–5*
  Gazprom 269, 290, 292, 333n179
  'Great Game of Pipelines' 233
  Iran 2, 172, 290, 292
  Kazakhstan 261, 269–70
  Kazakhstan-Xinjiang pipelines 2, 255, 269–70, 288, 333n175
  LNG (Liquefied natural gas) 261, 290, 296, 297
  Middle East 172
  oil refinery of Atyrau, Kazakhstan *295*
  Pakistan 233
  Persia 172
  pipelines 2, 233, 261, 269, 290
  Russian Federation 261, 269, 290, 297
  Russian pipeline monopoly 261, 269, 290, 292, 333n175
  sabotaging of pipelines 185
  Tajikistan 288
  TAP (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan) pipeline 233
  TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India) pipeline 290, 292, 297
  trans-Afghan pipeline 233, 234, 261
  trans-Caspian gas pipeline 270
  Turkmenistan 2, 233, 261, 290, 292
  US 233, 290, 292
  Xinjiang 255–6
Oirats 25, 26, 63, 64, 77, 80, 83
  Buddhism 75
  Oirat Dzungars 314n43
  Oirat Kalmyks 96
  Western Mongolian Oirats 25, 63–8, 70, 317n147
opium 121
  Afghanistan and 236, 247, 329n30
  IMU and 214, 236–7, 279
  mujahideen and 216–17, 228
  opium and heroin smuggling 214, 216–17, 236, 279
  opium poppy and cultivation of food 236, 247
  al-Qaeda and 214, 236–7
  the Taliban 236
Orthodox Church 34, 142, 190
  forced conversion to 34, 36
  Russian Orthodox Nicholas Church, Tajikistan *281*
  see also cathedrals; monasteries
OSI (Open Society Institute) 273
Ottoman Empire 4, 42, 112, 148
  Black Sea and 42
  Britain and 126
  Constantinople and 41
  Crimea and 29, 41, 96, 182
  defeats and decline of 44
  Europe and 125
  jihad against the Allies 185
  Ottoman Islamic Army 182, 183
  Ottoman protectorates 29, 41, 96, 145, 182
  Russia and 125, 150
Ottomans 13, 23, 33–4
  firearms and 47

P

painting 56, 57
  enthronement of an Uzbek or Kazakh khan, Kazakhstan *93*
  miniature painting 52, 56
  Mughal style 56
  thangka painting *62*
palaces:
  Deir al-Aman, 'Palace of Peace',

  Afghanistan *232*
  Palace of Crimean khans, Bakhchisarai *42, 43*
  Palace of Peace and Reconciliation in Astana, Kazakhstan *296*
  Potala Palace, Lhasa *85*
  Sitorai Mokhi Khosa Palace, Bukhara *175*
  urda (palace) of the governor of Yarkand *148*
  'White Palace', Mongolia *65*
  see also architecture; Tash Hauli Palace
pan-Turkism 174, 178, 179, 181, 182, 209, 267
Parcham, Afghan Marxist group 198, 199, 217
Pashtuns 102, 103, 106, 187, 196, 230, 233, 241, 248, 249
  Durand Line and 164
  Pashtunisation of north and central Afghanistan 165
Pashtunwali 102
PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) 198, 199, 200
Pentagon 223, 237, 274, 280
Persian Constitutional Revolution (1905–1906) 174
Persians 14, 20
  Uzbek Sunnis/Shiite Persians conflict 174
petroglyphs *83, 120*
pilgrimage 8, *15*, 20, 22, *34*, 96
PLA (People's Liberation Army) 212, 254
prayer:
  Buddhism *97, 98*
  Islam *21, 27*, 145, *215, 236, 256*
prisoners of war 84, 87, 117, 175
  Austrian prisoners 181, 183, 184, 187
  British prisoners 134
  Russian prisoners 19, 113
  World War I prisoners 180, 181, 183
Pugachov Uprising (1773–75) 36, 94, 100
Pundits 146, 322n163

Q

al-Qaeda 236
  Afghanistan and 243
  IMU and 279
  jihad and 216
  Laden, Osama bin 222
  missiles 234
  opium and 214, 236–7
  Pakistan and 240, 249
  terrorist attacks by 234, 237
  al-Zawahiri, Ayman 222
  see also Islamism; terrorism
Qataghan 20
Qing dynasty 1, 4, 63, 69, 71, 75, 144
  Dolon Nor allegiance 75, 76, 84, 201
  Manchurian banner system 69
  see also Mongols
the Qizilbash 9, 106
Quetta Shura 243, 244
Qungrat dynasty 24, 111
Qur'an 58, 116, *207*, 314n18
  Babur and 314n35

R

railway 155, 157
  armoured trains 185
  Berlin-Baghdad-Basra railway 155, 168, 324n277
  European-Russian rail network 155
  Iran-Turkmenistan railway 292
  Krasnovodsk-Ashgabat railway line 185
  Manchurian railway to Vladivostok 171
  Quetta, railway line to 155
  Russian superiority 157
  strategic mobility and 155
  Trans-Eurasia-Express 295–6
  Trans-Mongolian Railway 206
  Trans-Siberian railway 157, 171, 185, 201, 253, 298
  Transcaspia railway war 185
  Transcaspian railway 154–5, 182
  Uzen-Gorgan line 292
ransom 19, 30, 42, 66, 67, 243, 314n157
  see also kidnapping
raw materials:
  Central Asia 2, 23, 27, 76, 143, 261, 294, 297
  India 126
  Kazakhstan 269, 294–5
  Kyrgyzstan 261
  Mongolia 260
  Russia 40, 76, 84, 147
  Turkmenistan 297
  Uzbekistan 261, 269
  Xinjiang 255
Red Army 100, 176–7, 191, 202, 206, 253
  Afghanistan and 218
Red Guards 212, 325n20
religion 56
  see also Catholic Church; Islam; Orthodox Church; shamanism
Rogun hydroelectric plant 280, 286
Romanov dynasty 1
Russian Baltic Fleet 171
Russian Civil War (1917–22) 2, 202, 207, 325n18
Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) 33, 157, 168
  Port Arthur attack 171
Russo-Persian War (1804–13) 125
Russo-Persian War (1826–28) 126
Russo-Turkish War (1768–74) 44

S

Sadozai-Popalzai dynasty 110
Safavid Empire *49*, 99, 104
Safavids 4, 8, 23, 56, 103
  archer *9*
Safaviyya Sufi Order 4, 8–9
Salafism 196, 216, 270, 277, 278
  IS/ISIS 330n71
Sardar 102, 106
Sassanids 4
SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) 261, 266
scripts 84, 188, 318n174
  see also languages
sculptures and statues:
  carved ancestral figures on the tombs of Kafirs, Afghanistan *164*
  Emin Khoja *89*
  Erlig-jin Jarghagchi/Vajrabhairava *75*
  gilded Buddhist brass figures *66–7*
  Gombo Gur *71*
  koshkartas, Necropolis of Masat Ata, Kazakhstan *90*
  Mao Zedong *211, 255*
  Niyazov, Saparmurat *284*
  the three Kazakh sages, Kazakhstan *92*
self-determination 176, 199, 201, 254
Sepoy Mutiny 60, 134, 135
sepoys *131*, 134
serfdom/serfs 43, 65, 90, 95, 201
  abolition of serfdom 36, 95, 139
shamanism 142, 206, *252*
Shaybanids *see* Abu'l-Khayrids
Shia Islam/Shiite 8–9, 50, 104
  see also Safavids
Shia/Sunni divide 4, 13, 50–1, 103, 107
  Uzbek Sunnis/Shiite Persians conflict 174
Shura of Argestan 233
Sibir Khanate 29, 37, 39–40
  Chimgi-Tura 40
  incorporation into Russian Empire 40
Sikhs 106, 109, 110, 127, 129, 130, 134, *166*
Silk Road 295, 333n12
  Hexi Corridor 63
  'Iron Silk Road' project 296
  maritime Silk Road 297
Simla Manifesto of 1 October 130
Simurgh, mythical Persian bird *13, 298*
Sino-Japanese War I (1894–95) 168
slavery 19, 31, 42, 43, 116, 141, 143, 174, 196
  abolition of 140
  Crimea 42
  Khiva 111
  liberation of slaves 114, 166
  Russian slaves 111, 113, 114
  trade in 111
Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact 206
sovkhoze 188
spying 99, 112, 116, 117, 118, 127, 130, 182, 183, 187, 217
  geographical espionage 168
  spy network 117, 195
SSG (Pakistani Special Services Group) 225
Streltsy 32, 313n121
Sunni Islam/Sunni 4, 8, 15–16, 56
  Central Asia and 294
  Sunni conversion policy 115
  Sunni mujahideen organizations recognised by Pakistan 220, 221
  the Taliban 233
  veneration of the dead and 20
  see also Shia/Sunni divide
Sur dynasty 50

T

Taiping Rebellion (1851–64) 82, 144
Tajik Civil War (1992–96) 234, 252, 294
takfir 328n8
the Taliban 214, 215, 224, 247, 298
  Afghanistan and 235–7, 243
  anti-aircraft guns *222*
  arms and equipment 233
  Deobandism 233
  fall of 239–40
  Gulf emirates 233
  Herat and 233–4
  IS/ISIS 243
  ISI 233, 235
  Kabul 234, 240
  kidnapping by 243
  militant Islamism 214
  military/warfare equipment 233, 240
  Musharraf, Pervez and 240, 242, 244, 249
  opium and 236
  origin of 233, 329n10
  Pakistan and 198, 233, 234, 237, 240, 243, 249–50
  Pakistan as Taliban target 244
  Pakistani 'godfathers' 198, 233
  Peshawar, attack by 243
  Russia and 234
  Saudi Arabia and 233, 235
  Sharia law and 236
  sponsors 233, 244
  Sunni Islam 233
  Swat Valley and 244
  Tajikistan and 284
  Taliban fighters *221, 235*
  TTP (Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan) 244
  UAE (United Arab Emirates) and 233, 235
  UN sanctions list 298
  US and 234, 237–40, 248
  Wahhabism 233
  women and *238*, 247, *249*
  see also Islamism; terrorism
Taranchis 144–5, 211
Tash Hauli Palace:
  carved wooden column on a marble pedestal *114*
  courtyard of the harem of the khans of Khiva *113*
  reception hall and silver throne of the khans *114*
  see also palaces
Tashkent Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies 176
Tatars, 29, 313n108
  Tatar Muslims 34, 36
taxes 36, 40, 65, 76–7, 83, 96, 106, 126
  Bukhara/Russia relationship 142
  Jiziya 51, 59
  tax-free Islamic foundations/*vaqf* 115
  Xinjiang 208, 210
  Yomut Turkmen 175
Taybugids 39, 40
Tayishis 96, 99, 100, 311n7
technology 1, 196
  arms, new technology 1, 4, 12, 47, 56–7, 60, 86, 239
Teleuts 77
terrorism 196, 330n69
  09/11 attacks 215, 237, 238, 261, 266, 280, 285
  Aktobe, attack in 270
  Dar es Salaam, attack in 234, 235
  ETIM (East Turkestan Islamic Movement) 256, 257
  Laden, Osama bin and 222, 237
  Nairobi, attack in 234, 235
  Pakistan and 242, 243, 250
  Peshawar, attack in 243
  al-Qaeda and 234, 237
  Saudi Arabia and 235, 242
  suicide attacks 330n69
  Xinjiang 256, 257
  see also IMU; Islamism; al-Qaeda; the Taliban
theocracy 8, 9, 26, 75, 201, 209
  Buddhist-Genghis-Khanid theocracy 71, 75
  Lhasa 26, 72–3, 83
Timurid Empire 8
Timurids 56
  expulsion from Central Asia 4, 20

- Indian Timurids 60
- TIP (Turkestan Islamic Party) 257
  - *see also* ETIM
- Togha-Timurids 7, 19–22
  - Astarkhanids 19
  - disintegration of 19
  - Janids 19
- TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia) project 295, 297
- trade 3, 13–14
  - British trade monopoly 112
  - Bukhara 3, 14, 116, 140
  - camel caravan 14, *103*, 186
  - China 26, 27, 143, 297
  - Chinese trade boycott 63, 68, 70, 120
  - global free trade 298
  - international trade 15
  - interregional trade 14, 27
  - Kokand Khanate 120, 121
  - Russia 33, 34, 40, 76–7, 112, 115, 119, 141, 142
  - Russia/China land route 23, 76, 80
  - Russia/China trade *80*, 81, 316n71
  - Russia/Dzungar trade 83
  - Russia/India trade 112, 125
  - Russia/Khiva trade 112
  - sea routes 14
  - slavery trade 111
  - trade caravans 26, 33, 140
  - traditional land routes 1, 14, 23
  - *see also* maritime trade; opium
- Trans-Siberian route 93
- Transcaspian Ashgabat Committee 184–5
- transportation 295
  - Karakoram Highway 254, 297
  - road traffic 296
  - *see also* maritime power; maritime trade; railway
- Treaty of Berlin 171
- Treaty of Björkö 171
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk 180, 182
- Treaty of Constantinople 42, 44
- Treaty of Finkenstein 109, 318n27
- Treaty of Friendship (Britain-Afghanistan) 135
- Treaty of Friendship and Alliance (China-Soviet Union) 206
- Treaty of Friendship and Alliance (Mongolia-Tibet) 201, 327n161
- Treaty of Friendship (Russia-Tibet, alleged) 169
- Treaty of Gandamak *149*, *150*, 151, 158, 162, 193
- Treaty of Gulistan 125
- Treaty of Hamedan 104
- Treaty of Kyakhta (1727) 82
- Treaty of Kyakhta (1915) 201, 327n164
- Treaty of Livadia 147
- Treaty of Nerchinsk 81–2, 84
- Treaty of Paris (1856) 138, 171
- Treaty of Paris (1857) 135
- Treaty of Peshawar 134
- Treaty of Portsmouth 171
- Treaty of Poti 182
- Treaty of Rasht 104
- Treaty of Sa'adabad (non-aggression treaty) 197
- Treaty of San Stefano 148
- Treaty of St. Petersburg 147
- Treaty of Tilsit 109, 124
- Treaty of Turkmenchay 112, 126
- Treaty of Versailles 187
- Tripartite Treaty of Simla 130
- Tsaatan people *204–205*
- TTP (Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan) 244
- Tümed 75
- Turkmen 13, 111, 157
  - 1918 Uzbek/Turkmen conflict, Khiva 176
- Turks 4, 182, 184
  - Old Turks 8
  - *see also* Ottoman Empire
- Tuvans *204–205*, *252*
- Twelver-Shia 4, 8–10
  - Twelve Imams 9, 10

U

- Udmurts 29
- UN (United Nations) 249, 273, 329n22
  - Afghanistan and 197, 227
  - UN sanctions against the Taliban 298
  - UN Security Council 237
- USAID (US Agency for International Development) 259
- UTO (United Tajik Opposition) 284, 285
- Uyghurs 88, 254
  - Islamic theocracy 209
  - Islamist Uyghur groups 256
  - Uyghur identity 88, 316n110
  - Uyghur nationalists 209, 317n110
  - Xinjiang and *207*, 209, 211–12, *211*, 254, 256–7
- Uzbek Khanate 5–22, 92, 115
  - double khanate of Samarkand/Bukhara and Balkh 19
  - enthronement of an Uzbek khan, Kazakhstan *93*
  - four main regions of 12
  - internal conflicts 14, 15, 19
  - internal feuds 8
  - Russian conquest of 138–43
- Uzbek-Kazakhs 7, 8
- Uzbeks 5, 8, 13, 39, 92
  - Chorasmia and 23
  - *kuriltai* 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 94
  - Soviet Union, internal boundaries and 180
  - Tashkent and 25
  - Uzbek Sunnis/Shiite Persians conflict 174
  - Uzbek/Turkmen conflict, Khiva (1918) 176

V

- Votyaks 29

W

- Wahhabism 196, 233, 277
  - Islamic State and 328n8
  - mujahideen and 220
  - Saudi Arabia and 215–16, 220, 235, 250, 294, 328n8
  - use of violence and 328n8
- White Army 176–7, 206, 207–208, 209, 325n18
- World Bank 259, 286, 292
  - *see also* international financial institutions
- World War I 2, 142, 175, 207, 220
  - Afghanistan's neutrality 185, 187, 194
  - British withdrawal 177
  - cotton and 142, 175, 180, 183
  - end of 177
  - impact on Central Asia 175
  - independence of Central Asia states 174
  - outbreak of 168
  - Persia and 180–1
  - Soviet Union and 180
  - US and 185
- World War II 39, 100, 187
  - Afghanistan's neutrality 197
  - Central Asia and 190
  - Soviet Union and *203*

Y

- Yasak 90, 96
- Yedisan-Nogai 44
- Yomut Turkmen 24, 111, 175
- Young Bukharists 174, 175
- Young Turk Revolution (1908) 174
- Yuan dynasty 63, 71
- Yuz 19–20

Z

- Zoroastrians 104

Index: People

References to images are in *italics*.

A

Abashin, Sergei 251
Abatai Khan *68*, 72, 75
Abbott, James, Captain 113–14
Abd al-Ahad 174
Abd al-Aziz (Hotaki dynasty) 103, 104
Abd al-Aziz (Togha-Timurid dynasty) 19, 56
Abd al-Karim Khan 26
Abd al-Karim Khan bin Mahmud Khan 38
Abd al-Latif (Abu'l Khayrid dynasty) 13
Abd al-Latif, Khan of Kazan 31
Abd al-Mumin (Abu'l Khayrid dynasty) 15, 16
Abd al-Mumin (nominal Khan, Togha-Timurid dynasty) 20
Abdali-Pashtun Ahmad Khan *see* Ahmad Shah Durrani
Abdallah (Qungrat of Chorasmia) 111
Abdallah bin Ibrahim 7
Abdallah Khan Sadozai 103
Abdul Haq 222
Abdol Hossein Farman Farma, Prince 181
Abdu'l Karim Bey, Khan 119
Abdu'l Latif II 26
Abdu'l Rahim, Khan 119
Abdu'l Rahman, Khan 119
Abdu'l Rashid 26
Abdu'l Rashid II 27
Abdulaziz, Sultan 145
Abdullah, Abdullah 241–2, 248
Abdullah Khan (Chagataiid of Moghulistan) 26
Abdullah Khan II *5*, 14, 15–16, 20, 23, 52
Abdullah Sultan I 13
Abdur Rahman, Amir 106, 122, 149, 150, 152–3, 154, 165, 193, 324n257
  'Never trust the Russians' 197
  Oxus River, concessions on 164
  Pamir Mountains and 163–4
  Panjdeh Crisis 157, 158
  Wakhan Corridor and 163–4
Aberdeen, Lord 138
Ablai, Khan (Ab'il Mansour) 94, 277
Abu Bakr Dughlat, Mirza 25
Abu'l Fayz Khan 19–20
Abu'l Ghazi (nominal Khan, Togha-Timurid dynasty) 20
Abu'l Ghazi Khan I (Arabshahid of Chorasmia) 19, 23
Abu'l Khayr Khan 5, 7, 40, 91
Abu'l Khayr Khan (Junior Horde) 92, 93
Abu Said 7
Abu Said Khan 13
Adai Khan 63
Afaq, Khoja (Hidayetullah) 26, 27
Ahmad Alaq Khan 25
Ahmad Khan (Great Horde) 36–7, 40
Ahmad Shah Durrani 60, 89, 102, 104–106, 109, 120, 313n21
  Afghan Empire of *105*
Akayev, Askar, President 270, 273, 274, 280
Akbar, Mughal Emperor 16, 50–2, 56, 59
  administration and 51
Akbar Khan (Afghanistan) 110, 132, 133–4
Akhun, Abdul Manan 243
Akhundzada, Hibatullah 243
Ala Khan (Abul Oghlan) 145
Albuquerque, Afonso de 4, 48
Alder, Garry 116, 165
Alexander I, Tsar 107, 112
Alexander II, Tsar 95, 118, 122, 130, 138, 150
Alexander III, Tsar *139*, 167
Alexander Jagiellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania 37
Alexei I, Tsar 96
Ali ibn Abi Talib 9, *109*
Ali bin Ibrahim, Khan 31
Alikhanov, Lieutenant 154
Alim Khan (Kokand) 120, 121
Alim Khan of Bukhara *see* Mohammed Alim Khan
Alim Quli 122, 144
Allah Quli Khan 111, 113–14, 117
Altan Khan 70–2, 77, 83, 84, 96
  Dalai Lama and 71
Aman al-Mulk 162
Amanullah, Amir and King of Afghanistan 177, 187, 193, 194–6, *194*, *232*
Amin, Hafizullah 198, 199–200, 217–18
Amir Haydar Töre 115–16
Ampthill, Lord 193–4
Amursana, Khan 87, 88
Andropov, Yuri 217, 218, 276
Anna, Tsarina 44, 92, 99
Annenkov, Boris, General 207–208
Anusha Muhammad Khan 19, 23
Arab Muhammad Khan 23
Arabshah bin Fulad 5
Arughtai 63, 64, 65
Asaf Khan 52
Ashraf Khan 104
Aslonov, Qadruddin, President 282
Atambayev, Almazbek, President 275
Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal 178, 196, 277
Atkinson, James *107*, *128*, *132*
Auckland, Lord 110, 112–13, 129, 130, 133, 134
Aurangzeb, Mughal Emperor 19, 56, *57*, 58–60
Avaz Inaq 24, 111, 112
Awgan Mirza, Chorasmian prince 19
Ayub Khan 152, 153
Ayuka Khan 24, 86, 97, 99
Ayushiridara, Khan 63
Aziz Khan 196
Aziz, Shaukat, Prime Minister 233

B

Baba Sultan 312n40
Babar, Nasrullah, Major General 198, 233
Babur (Zahir al-Din Muhammad) 4, 8, 9–11, 47–8, 50, 56, 59
  Bāburnāma 47
  as calligrapher 56
  gardens and 48
  India and 47
  military strategies 47–8
  Qur'an written by 314n35
  Twelver-Shia and 9, 10
Badi al-Zaman Mirza 47
Bahadur Shah II 60
Bailey, Frederick M., Colonel 176, 180, 181–2, 325n54
Bairam Khan, General 50–1
Bakiyev, Kurmanbek, President 273, 274–5
Balfour, Arthur, Prime Minister Lord 171
Baqi Muhammad Khan 19
Barakatullah, Mohammed 185, *186*
Barannikov, Viktor 284
Baraq Khan 91
Baryatinsky, Alexander, 138
Basiner, Theodor 114, 116
Batmönkh, Jambyn 258
Batyr, Khan 92
Beg, Mirza Aslam 224
Behrens 166
Bekovich -Cherkassky, Alexander, Prince 24, 112
Bell, John 99
Beneveni, Florio 20
Bentinck, Lord William 110, 127, 129
Berdymuhamedov, Gurbanguly, President 289–90, 292
Bernier, François 58
Bey Bulad 40
Bhutto, Benazir, Prime Minister 224, 233, 329n8
Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, Prime Minister 198
Bichitr *53*, 56
Bielomestonov, Commander 181, *181*
Birilash (Buydash) Khan 91
Blacker, Latham V. S., Captain 181, 182
Blankennagel, Ivan Ivanovich, Major General 112
Bodi Alagh Khan 68
Bodoo, Dogsomyn, Prime Minister 202
Bolai Tayishi 67
Bolaji, Amir 25
Bonaparte, Napoleon 106, 107, 109, 112, 125, 132, 318n27, 318n29
Brahimi, Lakhdar 241
Brezhnev, Leonid 199, 217, 219
Brydon, William 134
Brzezinski, Zbigniew 215, 219, 220
Buchholz, Ivan, Lieutenant Colonel 23
Bughra brothers 209
Bukey, Sultan 94
Burhan al-Din Khoja 28, *86*, 89
Burke, John *124*, *149*, *150*, *151*, *152*
Burnes, Alexander, Sir 106, 116, 117, 129, 130, 131, 134
  in Bukhara 112–13, 129
  death of 129, 133, 151
  Indus River, exploration of 127
  Kabul 127
Burrows, George, Brigadier 153
Burunduq Khan 91
Bush, George H. W., President 221, 224, 225, 252
Bush, George W., President 237–8, 240, 243, 248, 249, 274
Butenev, Ivan, Major 117–18
Buyan-Badrakhu, Prince 206
Buyan Sechen Khan 68
Byambasüren, Dashiin, Prime Minister 258

C

Canning, George 112, 125
Carter, Jimmy, President 214, 215, 219, 220, 221
Casimir IV of Poland-Lithuania 37, 41
Castiglione, Giuseppe *88*
Castle, John 93
Catherine II, Tsarina (Sophie von Anhalt-Zerbst) 36, 44, 99, 100
Cavagnari, Pierre Louis Napoléon, Sir *149*, *150*, 151
Chapman, Edward Francis, General Sir *144*, *145*

Charles II, King of England and Scotland 59
Chen Yi 202
Cheney, Dick, Vice President 237
Cheremisinov, Ivan S. 38
Cheren Donduk Khan 99
Chernenko, Konstantin 223
Chernyayev, Mikhail, Major General 122, 139
Chiang Kai-shek 206, 209, 210, 328n185
Chinggunjav, Khalkha Prince 87
Chishti, Husayn, Sufi Sheikh *53*, 56
Chishti, Salim, Sufi Sheikh 51-2
Choibalsan, Khorloogiin 202, 203
Christie, Charles, Captain 320n32
Churchill, Winston 172
Clarendon, Lord 140
Clavijo, Ruy Gonzales de *18*
Clinton, Bill, President 221, 234, 252, 274
Cobbold, Ralph 159–60
Conolly, Arthur 112, 117–18, 125, 127, 129
  the 'Great Game' 124
Cotton, Willoughby, Sir 131, 133, 134
Curzon, George Nathaniel 22, 123, 155, 158, 162–3, 181, 194, 195
  Treaty of Gandamak 193
  Tibet and 167, 168–9

D

D'Arcy, William Knox 172
Da Gama, Vasco 4, 48
Daichin Tayishi 96
Dalai Lama 69, 70, 75, 76, 315n27, 315n28
  Third Dalai Lama 71, 72, 73
  Fourth Dalai Lama 72
  Fifth Dalai Lama 26–7, 72–3, *72*, 75, 83, 84, *85*
  Sixth Dalai Lama *73*, 84–5
  Seventh Dalai Lama 73, 86
  Thirteenth Dalai Lama 76, 167, 169
  Fourteenth Dalai Lama *82*
  Altan Khan and 71
  China and 87
  second 'true' Sixth Dalai Lama 85
Dalay Bagatur Tayishi 96
Damollah, Sabit 209–10
Dane, Louis 193
Danial Bey 20, 115
Daoud Khan, Mohammed, Prime Minister 173, 197–200
Daoud Shah *149*, *150*
Dara Shikoh 58
Daraisung Gudeng, Khan 68
Darma Bala 99
Dawachi, Khan 87
Dayan Khan (Batu Möngke Dayan Khan) 68, 70, 72, 315n13
De Goes, Bento 26
De Lacy Evans, George, General 125, 126
Delbeg Khan 63
Demidov, Nikita 23
Deng Xiaoping 212, 254
Dervish Ali, Khan 32
Desi Sangye Gyatso, Regent 84–5, *85*
Devlet Giray, Khan 39, 43
Disraeli, Benjamin, Prime Minister 149, 152, 153
Djunaid Khan 176
Dobbins, James 241
Donduk Dashi Khan 99
Donduk Kuular 206
Donduk Ombo Khan 99
Dorjiev, Agvan 167–8
Dost Muhammad Khan 110, 113, 116, 127, *132*, 134–5, *135*
  Afghan unity 135
  Peshawar issue 110, 129–30, 134
Dostum, Abdul Rashid, General 228, 229, 232, 241
  attack on Jalalabad 224
  Hekmatyar-Dostum-Hezb-e Wahdat alliance 230, 232
  Jumbesh-i Milli Islami 230
  Kabul and 227
  the Taliban and 235, 237, 238–40
  as Vice President 242, 244
Dügüreng Sengge 72
Dunsterville, Lionel, Major General 180, *182*, 183, 184–5
  'Dunsterforce' mission 184
Durand, Mortimer, Sir 163–4
Dutov, Alexander 176

E

Edigü, Amir 36, 39
Eisenhower, Dwight David 197
Ejei Khan 69
Elbeg, Khan 63
Elias, Ney 146, 159, 322n167
Elizabeth, Tsarina 36, 44
Ellenborough, Earl of (Edward Law) 125, 126, 134
Ellis, Charles Howard, Colonel 183, 184
Elphinstone, Mountstuart 106, 107, 130
Elphinstone, William, General 131, 133–4
Emin Khoja *89*
Enver Pasha 178, 182, 185–6, 187
Erdeni Batur Khong Tayishi, Khan 83, 84, 96
Esen Buqa 25
Esen Tayishi, Khan 63, 65–7, 83, 84
Etherton, Percy 147
Eversmann, Eduard F. 116
Eyre, Vincent, Major General Sir 132, 133

F

Fahim, Mohammed 239–40, 241, 248
Faizan, Colonel 233
Faizullah Khojaev 178
Fan Yaonan 208
Fateh Jang Khan 134
Fateh Khan 106–107, 109–10
Fatih Giray II, Khan 44
Fatima, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad 9
Fedchenko, Alexei *x*
Feodor I, Tsar 91
Fisher, Alan W. 43
Forsyth, Thomas D., Sir 145, *145*, 146, *148*
Franks, Tommy, General 238, 240
French, Francesca 209
Frunze, Mikhail, General 177–8
Fu Tajen 89
Funtikov, Fyodor 184–5

G

Gable, Mildred 209
Gagarin, Prince 86
Gailani, Sayyid Ahmad 220, 224, 228
Galdan Boshughthtu Khan 27, 75, 81–2, 84, 86
Galdan Danjin 99
Galdan Tsering, Khan 87, 92, 93
Gall, Carlotta 240
Ganbold, Davaadorjiin 258
Gaspraly, Ismail 324n4
Genghis Khan 28, 47, 63, 67
Gerard, James 129
Gerard, Montagu Gilbert, Major General 141, *163*, 164
Gerbillon, Jean-François 75, 81
Ghani, Ashraf, President 241, 243, 247
Ghazi Giray I, Khan 43
Ghazi Giray II, Khan 43
Ghilzai Hotaki 20
Giray Beg (Khan) 7, 91
Gladstone, William Ewart, Prime Minister, 153, 154, 158
Gmelin, Samuel Gottlieb 38, 39
Godunov, Boris 23, 40, 92
Golitsyn, Vasily, Prince 44, 97
Goldsmid, Frederic, General 149
Golovin, Fedor, Prince 81–2
Gombodorji, Khan 75
Gorbachev, Mikhail 206, 214, 223, 270, 277, 281–2, 289
  failed coup attempt against 225, 252, 267, 282, 289
Gorchakov, Alexander 139–40, 141
Gordon, Charles, Brigadier 152
Gordon, Charles George, Major General 158
Gordon, Thomas Edward, Lieutenant Colonel 141, 146
Granville, Lord 140–1, 146, 154
Grombchevsky, Bronislav, Captain 158–9
Gul, Hamid, Lieutenant General 224, 235
Gung Temür, Khan 63
Gurgin Khan 103
Guru Nanak 106
Gushri Khan 26, *72*, 72–3, 83, 85
Guthrie, George 116, 129

H

Habibullah Kalakani 196
Habibullah Khan, *150*, *172*, 185, 186–7, 193, *194*
  assassination of 194
Haidar, Muhammad, Dughlat 7, 8, 25, 26, 47
Hajji Giray, Khan 41–2
Hajji Jamal Khan 104, 106
Hajji Muhammad Khan (Sibir Khanate) 37, 40
Hajji Muhammad Khan I (Arabshahid of Chorasmia) 23
Hamilton, Lord 168
Haqq (Aq) Nazar Khan 91–2
Haqqani, Jalaluddin 224, 243, 248, 249–50, 330n69
Hardinge, Lord 187
Harten, Walter *232*
Hashim Khan, Prime Minister 196–7
Haydar, Sheikh 9
Haydar Giray, Khan, 42
Haymerle, Alois Ritter von, Major General 125
Hayward, George 145, 146
Hedin, Sven *66–7*, 167, *206*, 210
Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin 198, 215, 218, 223, 224–5, 237, 242, 327n152
  attempt to overthrow Najibullah 224
  Hekmatyar-Dostum-Hezb-e Wahdat alliance 230, 232
  Hezb-i Islami 220, 221, 222, 224, 227, 243
  Kabul and 228, 232
  opium and 216–17
  pardoning of 243–4
  US and 227
Hentig, Werner Otto von 182, 185–7, *186*, 194, 326n89
Herzog, Roman, President *267*, *276*
Hobbes, Thomas 294
Holbrooke, Richard 229, 242
Holdich, Thomas Hungerford, Colonel Sir 149, 154, *163*, 164–5
Humayum, Mughal Emperor 26, *46*, 48, 50, 56, 106
Hung Taiji 69, 75
Husayn Bayqara, Sultan 47, *109*
Husayn Hotaki 104

I

Ibak Khan 37, 40
Ibn al-Khattab 234
Ibn Mubarak, Abu'l Fazl 11
Ibn Saud, Muhammad 328n8
Ibn Taymiyyah, Taqi al-Din 328n8
Ibrahim bin Mahmud, Khan 30
Ibrahim Lodi, Sultan 47, 48
Ibrahim Oghlan bin Fulad 5
Ignatyev, Nikolay, Count 118–19
Ilbars Khan I 23
Ilbars Khan II 24
Iltüzer Khan 24, 111
Ilyas Khwaja 25
Imam Quli Khan 19, 92
Inayatullah, Prince 187, 193, *194*, 196
Inge, Peter, Field Marshal Lord 248
Ionov, Mikhail, Colonel 160, 162–3
Irdana Bey, Khan 119–20
Isfandiyar (Qungrat of Chorasmia) *22*, 175, 176
Isfandiyar Khan (Arabshahid of Chorasmia) 23
Ishaq, Shafi al-Din 8
Ishaq Wali 26
Ishim (Esin) Khan 92
Ishterek Bey ibn Din Achmad 39
Iskandar Khan 15
Iskandarov, Akbarsho 282
Islam Giray I, Khan 43
Islam Giray II, Khan 43
Islam Khodja *22*
Ismail Bey bin Musa 39
Ismail bin Haydar al-Safavi 4, 8, 9, 11–12
Ismail Khan (Chagataiid of Moghulistan) 26, 27
Ismail Khan (mujahideen) 224, 230, 240
Itimad al-Daula 52
Ivan III, Grand Duke of Moscow 30, 31
Ivan IV, as Grand Duke of Moscow 32
Ivan IV, as Tsar 13, 14, *30*, 32–3, *32*, *37*, 43, 76, 140
  conquest model in Siberia 40
  integration policy 34, 36

J

Jahan Khoja 28, 89
Jahangir (Salim), Mughal Emperor 48, 51, 52, 56
  painting by Bichitr *53*, 56
Jahangir, Sarimsaq's son 121
Jahangir Khan 92
Jallad Khanum, the 'Butcher Queen' 27–8
James, King, I of England and VI of Scotland *53*, 56
Jan Ali bin Allah Yar, Khan 32
Jani Beg Khan 7, 91
Jani Beg Khan bin Mahmud Khan 38
Jani Muhammad Khan 19
Janibeg, Uzbek prince 12
Jeenbekov, Sooronbay, President 275
Jenkinson, Anthony 3, 13, 14–15, 23
Jenkyns, William *150*
Jiang Zemin 251
Jin Shuren 208–209
Jingtai, Ming Emperor 66, 67
Jochi, eldest son of Genghis Khan 4, 23, 63
Jolbarys Khan 92
Jones, Harford 107, 126
Jönggen Khatun 72
Junaid, Sheikh 9

K

Kamran Shah 109, 127, 129, 130
Kandahari, Arif 51
Kangxi, Qing Emperor 4, 28, 61, 64, 75–6, 84–7
  1669–97 and 1720 campaigns 87
  occupation of Lhasa by 72, 73, 87
  Treaty of Nerchinsk 81–2
Kaplan Giray I, Khan 44
Kaplan, Robert D. 293, 294
Karimov, Islom, President 227, 267, 273, 274, *276*, 277, 283, 289
  political Islamism and 277, 279, 280
Karmal, Babrak 198, 199–200, 218, 219, 223
Karzai, Hamid, President 228, 241–2, *241*, 243, 244, 247, 248, 249, 250
Kasani, Ahmad 26
Kasim bin Ulugh Mohammad 30
Kasim Pasha 39
Kaufmann, Konstantin Petrovich von *121*, 122, *138*, 140, 141, 150–1, 152, 322n137
Kayani, Ashfaq 249
Kaye, John William 125
Keane, John, Lieutenant General Sir 131, 133
Khabarov, Yerofey 80
Khalis, Yunus 220, 228, 230
Khalilzad, Zalmay 234
Khan, Ismail 220, 224, 230, 240
Khara-Khula Tayishi, Khan 77, 83, 96
Khatami, Mohammad, President 237, 292
Khizr Khwaja 25
Khoja Buzurg 144
Khoja Niyaz 208–9
Khokhlov, Ivan Danilovich 19
Khomeini, Ruhollah 215, 221
Khoo-Örlög Tayishi, Khan 96
Khrushchev, Nikita 100, 191, 197
Khudaidad Dughlat, Amir 25
Khudayar Khan *199*, 122
Khusrau, Jahangir's son 52
Khutukhtai Sechen Khong Tayishi 71
Khwandamir, Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad 9, 47
Kilmyak 93
Kinvig, Clifford 1
Kissinger, Henry 234
Kitchener, Herbert, Field Marshal Lord 185
Klein, Fritz, Captain 185
Köchkünji (Kuchum) Muhammed Khan 9, 12, 13
Kohandil Khan 110
Kökö Temür 63
Kolchak, Alexander 176–7
Komarov, General 154, 157–8
Kostenko, Lev 146
Kosygin, Alexei, Prime Minister 199, 217, 218
Kress von Kressenstein, Friedrich, General 182
Kubay, Mehmet 189
Kublai Khan 71, 75
Küchük Mohammad, Khan 36
Küchüm Khan of Sibir 5, 40, 92
Kul Sharif *254*
Kuropatkin, Alexey, General 138, 175
Khwaja Ali, Sheikh 9

L

Laden, Osama bin 215, 216, 220, 224, 235, 237, 238, 257, 279
  055 Brigade 234
  anti-Western jihad and 222
  death of 240, 243
  exile 329n14
  al-Masada 222
  Pakistan, hiding in 240
  al-Qaeda and 222
  succession of 222, 243
  terrorism and 222, 237
  Tora Bora complex 222, 240
  use of violence and 328n8
  war on the US 234, 237
Lahori, Ahmad *56*
Lake, Gerard, General 60
Lal, Mohan 106, 109, 129, 132, 134, 237
Lama Darja, Khan 87
Lansdell, Henry 154–5
Lansdowne, Viceroy Lord 159, 163
Lattimore, Owen 208
Lawrence, John, Viceroy Sir 126, 140
Lazang Khan 85, 87
Lenin, Vladimir 176, 180, 183, *189*, 194, 202
  nation, definition of 179
  NEP and 179
Lessar, Pavel 154
Ligdan Khan 69, 73
Liu Wen Lung 209
Lomakin, Nikolai Pavlovich, General 151, 154
Longqing, Ming Emperor 70
Louzang Tayishi 96
Lumsden, Peter, General Sir 158
Lytton, Lord 149–50, 151–2, 153, 193

M

Ma Fuxing, General 207
Ma Hushan 210, 328n205
Ma Shaowu 209
Ma Shiming 209
Ma Zhancang 209
Ma Zhongying, General 208–10, *208*, 328n202
Macartney, George 159, 160, 166, 181, 182, 187
MacGregor, Charles Metcalfe, Sir Colonel 154
Machiavelli, Niccolo 151–2
Mackinder, Halford 1
Macnaghten, William, Sir 131, *132*, 133–4, 151
Madov, Andrey 80
Mahmud bin Ulugh Mohammad, Khan 29–30
Mahmud Khan 8, 25
Mahmud Khan (Golden Horde) 36–7
Mahmud Khan, Shah 196–7
Mahmud Tayishi 63, 64
Majrooh, Sayyid Bahauddin 223
Makhamov, Kakhar, President 282
Makhsum, Hasan 257
Malashenko, Alexey 277
Malcolm, John 107, 112
Malleson, Wilfrid, Major General 177, 180, 184–5
Mallya Khan 122
Mamuq (Mamat, Muhammad) Khan 31, 40
Mandughul Khan 68
Mandukai Sechen Khatun 68
Mansur, Akhtar 243
Mansur bin Edigü 39
Mansur Khan 25
Manucci, Niccolò 58
Mao Zedong 210, 211, *211*, 223, *255*, 317n110
  56 ethnic groups of China 210
  Cultural Revolution 212, *255*
  'Great Leap Forward' 212
  'Hundred Flowers Campaign' 212
Mao Zemin 210
Mar Körgis Khan 67, 68
Marvin, Charles 154
Masaliyev, Absamat 267, 270
Massoud, Ahmad Shah 198, 220, 222, 224, 225, 228
  death of 237
  Kabul and 227, 230
  the Taliban and 235–6, 237
Mattis, James, General 240
Mayo, Lord 145
Mehmed II, Sultan 41–2
Mehmed V, Sultan and Caliph 174
Mehmed Giray I, Khan 31, 43
Mehmed Giray II, Khan 43
Mengli Giray I, Khan 30, 37–8, 42
Mengli Giray II, Khan 44
Meyendorff, Georg von 116
Middendorf, Alexander von 82
Middleton, Henry, Sir 45, 48
Mikhail Romanov, Tsar 19, 77, 80
Mikhailov, Vasily 100, 318n167
Miles, Richard 273
Milyutin, Dmitry, 138
Mir Mahmud Hotaki 103–104
Mir Sultan Shah 89
Mir Ways 103
Mirziyoyev, Shavkat, President 280
Mohammad Afzal 149
Mohammad A'zam 149
Mohammadi, Mohammad Nabi 220, 228
Mohammed Alim Khan (Alim Khan of Bukhara) 174, *174*, 175, 176, 177–8
Mohammed Shah Qajar 129–30
Mojaddedi, Sibghatullah 227–8
Molon Khan (Tögüs) 68
Monro, Charles, General Sir 185
Moorcroft, William 116, 129
Moskvitin, Ivan 40
Muhammad, the Prophet 4
Muhammad Ali 117, 121
Muhammad Amin bin Ibrahim 31
Muhammad Amin Khan (Chagataiid of Moghulistan) 27
Muhammad Amin Khan (Qungrat dynasty) 24, 111, *111*
Muhammad Hakim Bey 20, 115
Muhammad Husain (Mumash) Khan 91
Muhammad Khan (Moghulistan Khanate) 25
Muhammad Khan Muqim 19
Muhammad Khudayar Khan *see* Khudayar Khan
Muhammad Rahim (Manghit Bukhara dynasty) 20, 115
Muhammad Rahim Khan I (Qungrat of Chorasmia) *22*, 111, 112
Muhammad Sultan 23, 26
Muhammad Yusuf, Khoja 26
Muhammad Zaman Khan Sadozai 103–104
Mullen, Michael, Admiral 249–50
Mumtaz Mahal *56*, 57
Münnich, Burkhard Christoph von, Count 44
Murad Bakhsh 19, 58
Murad Bey Khan 122
Muravyov-Amursky, Nikolay, Infantry General 82
Muravyov, Nikolay N., Captain 111, 112, 119
Mursajew, E.M. 203
Murtada Khan 37
Musa bin Waqqas 39
Musahiban brothers 193, 196, 197
  Hashim Khan 196
  Muhammad Nadir Khan, General 193, 196
  Shah Wali Khan 196
Musharraf, Pervez, General and President 236, 238, 244
  double game played by 240, 242, 249
Musulman Quli 122
Muzaffar al-Din 119, 122, 140, 174
Muzaffar Hussain 47

N

Nabiyev, Rahmon 281–2
Nader Shah Afshar 20, 24, 57, 60, 102, 104, 106, 109, 312n58
Nadir Divan Begi 20
Nadir Shah, King of Afghanistan (Muhammad Nadir) *194*, 196
Najibullah, Mohammad, President 223, 224–5, 227, 230, 233, 255
Najm-i Thani, General 10–11
Namangani (Juma Hojiev) 273–4, 279, 280
Narbuta Bey 120
Nasir al-Din 122
Nasrallah Khan (Amir-i Qassab/'Amir the Butcher') 113, 116–19, 122, 127
Nasrullah, Amir and Prime Minister, Afghanistan 187, 194
Nawruz Ahmad (Buraq Khan) 13, 312n40
Nazarbayev, Nursultan, President 267, 268–9, 270, 289
Nazarzoda, Abduchalim, General 288
Nazr Muhammad Khan 19, 56
Negri, M. de 116

Nesselrode, Karl Robert, Count 125, 130
Nicholas I, Tsar 112, 114, 115, 138
Nicholas II, Tsar 167–8, 171, 325n10
Nicoletti, Manfredi *271*
Niedermayer, Oskar 185–7, *186*, 189–90, 194, 325n47, 326n89
Niyazov, Saparmurat, President 267, 277, *284*, 289, 292, 332n166, 333n180
  mausoleum *288*
  Ruhnama (Book of the Soul) 289
  Turkmenbashi 289
Nogai, Amir 39
Noor, Atta Muhammad, Governor 239, 240, 244, 330n89
Norris, D.T., Commodore 184, 185
Northbrook, Viceroy Lord 146, 149
Nott, William, Major General 133, 134
Nur Devlet Giray 42
Nur al-Din bin Edigü 39
Nur Jahan 52
Nurhaci 69
Nuri, Sayid Abdullah 284–5
Nuri Pasha 182
Nutsch, Mark, Captain 239

O

Oakley, Robert 234
Obama, Barack, President 243, 249, 250, 298
Obruchev, Nikolai Nikolayevich, General 115
O'Donovan, Edmond 323n204
Öljey Temür, Khan 63, 64
Omar, Mohammad (Mullah Omar) 233, 235, 237, 238, 240
  Quetta Shura and 243, 244
Oppenheim, Max von 185
Orlov, Grigory 36
Örüg Temür, Khan 63
Osman Khan 133
al-Otaybi, Juhaiman Muhammed 220
Ötemish Giray, Khan 32
Otunbayeva, Roza, President 275, 276
Oyiradai Khan 63
Özbek Khan 5

P

Palmerston, Lord 117, 130, 139
Pander, Christian H. 116
Paul I, Tsar 109, 318n29
Peel, Robert, Prime Minister Sir 133, 134
Pereira, Thomas 81
Perovsky, Vasily, General 24, 95, 113–14, 115, 118
Peter I, Tsar 23, 24, 36, 44, 84, 97, 99, 125, 313n121
  military reform 86
Peter III, Tsar 36
Petlin, Ivan 80
Petrovsky, Nikolai 147, 159–60, 166
Pir Muhammad 13, 15
Pollock, George, General 131, 134
Polo, Marco 26
Pottinger, Eldred 112, 130, 133, 134
Povalo-Shveykovsky, General *163*, 164
Poyarkov, Vasily 80
Pratap, Mahendra 182, 185, *186*
Primakov, Yevgeny 261, 284
Primrose, Lieutenant General 152, 153
Pugachov, Yemelyan 36, 94
Pulad Khan 122
Puntsuk Tayishi, Khan 96
Putin, Vladimir 237–8, 261, 269
  'arc of instability' 2, 234

Q

Qamar al-Din Dughlat 25
Qasim bin Jani Beg, Khan 39
Qasim Khan 8, 9, 91
Qianlong, Qing Emperor 4, 28, 76, 87–9, *88*, 93, 100, 119, 316n43
  East Turkestan and 88, 90
Qutlugh Murad 111

R

Rabbani, Burhanuddin 198, 227–8, 230, 234, 241, 329n22
  assassination of 250
  Jamiat-i Islami 220, 227
Rafsanjani, Akbar Hashemi, President 292
Rahim Quli, Khan 111, 114
Rahman, Fazlur 233
al-Rahman, Jamil 224
Rahmatullah Safi 213
Rakhmonov, Emomali, President 283, 284–5
Rana Sangha 48
Ranjit Singh 109–10, 112, 127, 129, 130, 132, 319n32
Raphel, Robin 234
Rashidov, Sharaf, President 276
Rawlinson, Henry, Sir 102, 124, 126, 130, 140, 141, 145
Reagan, Ronald, President 214, *219*, 221
Renat, Johan Gustaf, Swedish officer 23–4, 87
Reza Quli 20, 312n58
Richards, David, General 240, 248, 250
Ripon, Lord 153
Roberts, Frederick, Major General Sir 151–3, *152*, 157, 158, 162
Roe, Thomas, Sir 48, 56
Röhr, Walter *186*, 187
Romanovsky, D., General Major 122, 138, 139
Romieu, Antoine-Alexandre 112, 125
Rumsfeld, Donald 238
Rytchkov, Nikolai Petrovich 93, 100

S

Saadet Giray I 43
Sabri, Masud 211
al-Sadat, Anwar 199, 200, 218
Safa Khan Giray 32
Sahib Khan Giray 31, 32, 38, 43
Sahin Giray, Khan 44
Said Khan 25–6
Saifuddin Aziz 212
Saikal, Amin 195–6
Sale, Robert, Brigadier Sir 134
Sardar Payenda Khan 106
Sarimsaq 120, 121
al-Saud family 328n8
Sayin Noyan 87
Sayyaf, Abdurassul 198, 224, 228, 230, 237
Sayyid Abdallah Khan 176, 177
Sayyid Muhammad, Khan 111, 118
Sayyid Muhammad Rahim II 111, 141, 175, *177*
Sayyid Qutb 328n8
Schlagintweit, Adolf 121
Schroen, Gary 239
Schulze, Helmut R. *235*
Seeckt, Hans von, General 187
Selamet Giray II, Khan 44
Selim I, Ottoman Sultan 11–12, 47
Selim II, Ottoman Sultan 39
Selim Giray I, Khan 43, 44
Selim Giray III, Khan 44
Semeke Khan 92
Semyonov, Grigory 202
Sengge Khong Tayishi, Khan 26, 84
Shah Abbas I 4, 16, 19, 52, 60
Shah Abbas II 56
Shah Ali of Kasimov 32
Shah Ali bin Allah Yar, Khan 31
Shah Jahan 19, 52, 56, 58, *58*, *59*, 314n46
  Taj Mahal, Agra *56*, 57–8
Shah Khan 25
Shah Mahmud 107, 109
Shah Mahmud Khan, Prime Minister of Afghanistan 196–7
Shah Murad (Manghit Bukhara dynasty) 20, 115
Shah Rukh (Kokand Khanate) 119
Shah Rukh (Timurid) 7, 51, 56, *135*
Shah Shujah 107, 109, 110, 113, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132–3, 218, 321n73
  death of 134
Shah Shuya 58
Shähidi, Burhan, Governor 211
Shahumyan, Stepan 182, 183
Shaikh Haydar, Khan 7, 37
Shakespear, Richmond, Lieutenant 114
Shakurov, Sergei *253*
Sham-i Jahan 25
Shapur Khan 134
Sharif, Nawaz, Prime Minister 233
Shaw, Robert 145, 146
Shayban 5, 7
Shaybani Khan (Muhammad Shahi Beg) 8, 9, 15, 23, 25, 47
  administration and 8
Sheikh Ahmed, Khan 37–8
Shelton, John, Brigadier 133, 134
Sheng Shicai, Governor-General 88, 209–10, *209*, 317n110
Sher Ali Khan (Afghanistan) 140–1, 149–51, 152
Sher Ali Khan (Kokand Khanate) 122
Sher Khan 50
Shevardnadze, Eduard, President 273
Shighay Khan 92
Shir Ghazi Khan 23, 24
Shirazi, Abd al-Haqq 58
Shiryay, Ivan *33*
Sholoi Ubashi Khong Tayishi, Khan 77, 80
Siddi Yaqut Khan 59
Sigismund I, King 31
Simonich, Count 130, 319n53
Skobelev, Mikhail, General 122, 123, *153*, 154, 320n2, 323n204
Sokov 166
Sonam Gyatso 71
Songgotu 81
Soros, George 273
Souter, Captain 321n89
Söyembikä, mother of Ötemish Giray 32
Söyünch (Suyunjuq) Muhammed Khoja 9, 12
Stalin, Joseph 100, 176, 179, 197, 201, 206, 209, 210, 211
  arms industry 189–91
  collectivisation policies 202–203, 206
  Don-Volga canal 313n137
  'Great Purge' 189–90
  industrialisation of Central Asia 322n147
  industrialisation of Russia 188
  NEP and 188
Starenskoi, Nechai 23
Stoddart, Charles, Colonel 113, 117–18, 130
Stolyetov, Nikolay, General 150
Stroganov family 40
  Stroganov, Grigory 40
Subhan Quli Khan 19
Sükhbaatar, Damdin, General *200*, 202, 327n158
Sulayman Shah 120
Suleiman I, Sultan 43
Sultan Hajji 23
Sultan Husayn, Safavid Shah 103, 104
Sultan Mahmud 122
Sun Tzu 126
Sykes, Percy Molesworth, Brigadier-General Sir 172, 180, *181*
  'South Persia Rifles' 181

T

Tahir Khan 91
Tahmasp I, Shah 13, 15
Tahmasp II, Shah 104
Tanai, Shahnawaz, Lieutenant General 233
Tanner, Stephen 153
Tao, General 211
Taraki, Nur Mohammad 198, 199–200, 217
Târanâtha 75
Tarrar, Sultan Amir (Colonel Imam) 233, 244
Tarzi, Mahmud Beg 193, 194, *194*
Tash Temür 41
Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste 314n46
Tavke (Tauke) Khan 92
Taybuga 39
Taylor, Annie 168–9
Teague-Jones, Reginald, Captain 180, 183, 185
  Sinclair, Ronald 326n73
Tenet, George 238, 240
Tevekkel Khan 16, 83, 92
Thomson, William Montgomery, General 184
Timur-e Lang 4, *17*, 25, 29, 47, 51, 63, *91*, 277
Timur, Muhammed 9, 12
Timur Shah 106
Tipu Sultan of Mysore 106
Togha Timur 7, 19
Toghan Tayishi 63, 65
Toghon Temür, Khan 63
Toghtoa Bukha, Khan 63, 65, 67, 68
Togo, Admiral 171
Tögüs Temür, Khan 63
Toka, Saltchak 253
Tomsen, Peter 224, 240, 242
Trebeck, George 116, 129
Trotter, Henry, Sir 146
Trump, Donald, President 298, 333n16
Tsedenbal, Yumjaagiin 258
Tsering Dondub 86–7
Tsewang Dorje Namgyal, Khan 87
Tsewang Rabtan, Khan 20, 28, 84, 85–7, 92
Tsogtu Khong Tayishi, Khalkha prince *65*, 73

Tughlugh Temür 25
Tughum Khan 91
Tulishen 86, 87, 97, 316n94
Turisbekov, Zautbek, governor *267*
Tursun Mohammad, Khan 92

U

Ubashi Khan 99, 100
Ubayd Allah 9, 10, 11–13, 47
  as Khan 13
Ubayd Allah II (Khan) 19
Ubayd Allah III (nominal Khan) 20
Ukhtomsky, Esper, Prince 168
Ulugh Beg 7, 22, 51, 56
Ulugh Mohammad Khan 29–30
Umar Khan 121
Ungern-Sternberg, Roman von 202, 327n169
Urban, Mark 223
Usmankhojaev, Inamjan 276
Usubaliyev, Turdakun 270
Uways Khan 25
Uz Temür Tayishi 7

V

Vámbéry, Arminius *115*, 116–17
Vasily II, Grand Duke 29, 30
Vasily III, Grand Duke 31, 32, 38
Vereshchagin, Vasily *153*
Vergin, Alexander, Major General 115
Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland 117, 149
Vinsky, Georg Stepanovich 112
Vitkevich, Ivan, Captain 112–13, 130
Volynsky, Artemy 99
Vrevsky, Alexander 160

W

Wade, Claude 110, 130, 132
al-Wahhab, Abd, Sheikh 328n8
Wakil, Abdul 227
Wali Khan, Sarimsaq's son 121
Wali Muhammad Khan 19
Wang Chen 66
Wang Chonggu, governor of Shaanxi Province 70–1
Wang Enmao, Lieutenant General 212
Wang Yue, governor of Datong 67
Wang Zhen, General 211
Wanli, Ming Emperor 71
Warburton, Robert, Lieutenant *151*
Wassmuss, Wilhelm 181, 185, 326n89
Watanjar, Aslam, Major 200, 227
Wellington, Duke of (Arthur Wellesley) Prime Minister 112, 124–5, 126, 130, 134
White, Jean-Claude 168
Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany 171, 187, 326n89
Wilson, Robert, General 125, 126
Wolff, Joseph 118
Wood, John 320n33, 322n125
Wu Aitchen 208
Wu Zhongxin, Governor 210

X

Xi Jinping 298
  'One Belt, One Road Initiative' 297
Xu Shuzheng 202

Y

Yadgar Muhammad, Khan 32
Yaghmurchi, Nogai prince 38
Yagidar Bey, Khan 40
Yahya Khoja 27–8
Yakovlev, Postnik 32, 33
Yalangtush Bagadur *16*, 19, 22
Yamani, Zaki, Sheikh 270
Yang Zengxin, Marshal *206*, 207–208
Yang Zuanxu 207
Yapp, Malcolm 124–5
Yar Mohammed 130
Yaqub Beg 144–6, 148, 328n199
Yaqub Khan, Amir *149*, *150*, 151, 152
Yaqub Khan, envoy 145
Yeltsin, Boris, President 225, 233, 252, 261, 268
Yermak, Timofeyevich
Yermolov, Aleksey, General 112
Yesüder, Jorightu Khan 63
Yolbars Khan 26
Yongle, Ming Emperor 63–4, 67
  campaigns in Mongolia 64–5
Yongzheng, Qing Emperor 87, 99, *199*
Younghusband, Francis 146, *157*, 158–60, 162, 167, 168–9, 181, 324n284
Yu Qian, Vice Minister of War 66, 67
Yuan Shikai 207
Yulbars Khan 208–9
Yuldashev, Abdulwali 274
Yuldashev, Tahir 279, 280
Yunus Khan 25
Yusuf Bey bin Musa 39
Yusuf Khwaja 121

Z

Zahir Shah, ceremonial King of Afghanistan 196, 197, 198, 223
Zaman Shah 106–107
Zanabazar *66–7*, *74*, 75, 76, 84, *199*
al-Zawahiri, Ayman 222, 243
Zaya Pandita 83
  todo/'Clear Script' 84
Zhang Zhizong, Governor-General 211
Zhengtong, Ming Emperor 66–7
Zia al-Din bin Yousef 257
Zia ul-Haq, President 215, 221, 223, 224, 233
Zuo Zongtang, General 146

Index: Places

References to images are in *italics*.

A

Afghanistan 102, 106, 243, 294, 318n3
  1978 communist coup 2, 199–200, 214
  as Anglo-Sikh protectorate 130
  arms and 187, 194–5, 197–8, 217, 223, 224, 225, *226*
  assessment 247–50, 294
  Britain and 110, 113, 115, 127, 129, 135, 140–1, 151, 152–3, 171, 193–4
  British India and 126, 127, 134, 151
  as central policy concern of major powers 106–107, 297, 298
  China and 89, 250, 297
  CIA and 221, 223, 224, 237, 238–9, 240
  Cold War and 197
  Communism/Communist Regime 198, 200, 217–18
  Constitution of 196, 241
  democracy and 247, 330n85
  Democratic Republic of Afghanistan 200
  East India Company and 107
  emergence as tribal alliance 102–10
  geography 102, 134
  German expedition to 185–7, *186*
  guerrilla warfare in 19, 56, 126, 134, 198, 217
  independence of 174, 187, 193–5
  invasions of 102, 193, 197, 214, 219–20, 238
  Iran and 104, 215, 237, 248
  Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan 235–7
  Islamism and 198, 214, 216, 217, 235, 294
  Jagir 102
  modernisation of 193, 196, 200
  opium and 236, 247, 329n30
  Pakistan and 197, 198, 200
  regime inserted by external powers at 129, 134
  Russia and 135, 140–1, 153, 154, 171
  Russian attack on 126–30
  as Russian protectorate 150
  Salang tunnel 197, 232
  secularisation of 196
  south-eastern Afghanistan *103*
  Soviet Union and 195–6, 197–8, 200, 214, 225, 227
  the Taliban and 235–7, 243
  a tribal society 102–10, 129, 220, 227, 230, 247
  US and 237–40, 243, 296, 333n16
  World War I and Afghanistan's neutrality 185, 187, 194
  World War II and Afghanistan's neutrality 197
Africa 197, 220, 294, 322n141
Aghil Pass *156–7*
Agra 52
  Red Fort *58*
  Taj Mahal 48, *54–5*, 57–8
Ak-Baital Pass, East Tajikistan *162*
Ak Mejet fortress 95, 115, 120, 122, 138
Aksu 25, 208–10
Alichur Lake *142–3*
Almaty 138, 145, 180, 269
    see also Verny
  Ascension Cathedral *179*
  World War II Memorial, Panfilov Park *268*
Altishahr ('Six Cities') 25, 27, 28, 87, 120, 121
Amarbayas Galant monastery *199*
Amu Darya River 111, 115, 119, 155, 158, 180, 290
    see also Oxus
  diversion of 154
  Tajikistan and 286
  water withdrawals from 193
Amur River 63, 76, 80, 81, 82, 119
Andijan 8, 9, 15, 47, 155, 280, 294
Anzob Pass, Tajikistan *283*, 285
Arabian Peninsula 172
Aral Kum Desert 193
Aral Sea 24, *190–1*
  Great Aral Sea 193
  salinisation and desiccation of 193
  shrinking of *192*, 290
  Small Aral Sea 193
Arctic Ocean 296
Armenia 182
  Bolshevik People's Commissariat 182
  Republic of Armenia 182
Ashgabat 154–5, 177, 182–5, 292
  Independence Monument *284*
  Presidential Palaces *286–7*
Astana 269
  Bayterek Tower *298*
  Concert hall, *271*
  Ministry Towers, *262–3*
  Palace of Peace and Reconciliation *296*
Astrakhan 15, 38–9, 100
  Astrakhan Kremlin *37*, 38–9, *189*
Atyrau, oil refinery *295*
Aulie-Ata (Taraz) 139
Austria 150, 168
Azerbaijan 9, 125, 269, 270
Azerbaijan Democratic Republic 182

B

Badakhshan 15, 20, 25, 115, 134, *246–7*, 284
  Afghanistan and 122, 141
  Gorno Badakhshan ASSO 180, 281
Bakhchisarai *41*, *42*
Baku 99, 180
  Bay of Baku *183*
  British troops in 182–5, 326n78
  Centrocaspian Dictatorship 183
  Memorial for the British Indian troops killed in action *184*
  oil 39, 182, 183, 184, 210, 326n60
Balkh 9, 12, 13
Baltic Sea 23, 40, 124, 125
Bamiyan 106, 129, 146, 243
  Buddha statues *222*, 237
Baroghil Pass 146, *160–1*
Barun-khit monastery *73*
Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic 253
Bashkortostan 253
Batken 274, 279
Belarus 252
Bishkek 138, 180, 273, 274
  monument honouring the fallen *275*
Black Sea 23, 41, 42
Bokhtar gas field 288
Bolan Pass 112, 127, *128*, 132, 146, 149
Bolghar 29, *253*
Bosnia-Herzegovina 148, 150, 168
the Bosphorus 44, 112, 123, 125, 138, 171
Bozai Gumbaz 160, 162
Britain 126, 168
  Afghanistan and 110, 113, 115, 122, 127, 129, 135, 140–1, 152–3, 171, 193–4
  Anglo-Persian treaties 109
  as a bipolar empire 126
  British troops in East Persia, the Caucasus and Transcaspia 180–7
  Herat and 130
  'hit and run' strategy 152
  as maritime power 1, 4, 23, 44, 124, 125, 158, 172
  Ottoman Empire and 126
  Persia and 126, 172, 180–1
  power decline 197
  security policies 168
  Tibet, invasion of 168–9, *169*, 171
  World War I, withdrawal from Transcaspia 177, 185
British India 107, 109, 112
  Afghanistan and 126, 127, 134, 151
  Anglo-Afghan War I (1839–42) 131–5
  Anglo-Afghan War II (1878–80) 148–53
  Anglo-Afghan War III (1919) 194
  Forward Policy 126, 140, 153
  Masterful Inactivity Policy 126
  parliament 126
  Russia and 1, 112–13, 138–9, 160, 162
  Russian invasion of 126, 127, 129
  Tibet and 76, 167
  see also India
British Isles 124, 168
Bukhara 8, 10, 12, 101, 115–19
  Abdullah Khan Mosque *5*
  architecture 20–1
  'Ark' citadel of *117*
  bazaar, covered and domed *14*, 20
  as capital of Uzbek Khanate 15
  Chor-Bakr complex *15*, 20, 22
  Chor Minor *116*
  decline of 20
  Emirate, abolition of 178
  famine 175
  General Government of Turkestan 122
  independence 175, 176
  indirect governance 27
  Islam in 116–17
  Kalyan mosque, *10–11*, 20
  Kokand/Bukhara geographic separation 122
  Kukeldash Madrasah, Chor-Bakr complex *15*, 20
  Lab-i Hauz complex 20
  Mir-i Arab Madrasah, Bukhara, *6–7*, 20
  Nadir Divan Begi Khanaqah 20
  Nadir Divan Begi Madrasah, Bukhara *13*, 20
  Qul Baba Kukeldash Madrasah, 20
  Russia and 118, 119, 122, 140, 141–2
  as Russian protectorate 122
  Sitorai Mokhi Khosa Palace *175*
  Soviet People's Republic of Bukhara 178, 179, 180
  trade and 3, 14, 116, 140
Burma 333n14
Buryatia 80, 81, 201
  Republic of 253

C

Caffa (Feodosia) 41–2
Caspian Sea 261
  oil and gas 269, 331n60
  Russia and 29, 32–3, 99, 126, 155
Caucasus 252
  British troops in 182–4
  Islamic extremism 216, 220, 234

  - Russia and 112, 124, 125, 126, 138
- Central Asia 1, 29, 294
  - borders 1, 29
  - Central Asia within the Russia-China-US triangle 261–6
  - challenges 294
  - China and 2, 63, 82, 88, 124, 261, 296, 297–8
  - collectivisation of agriculture 189
  - future of 296–8
  - importance of 1, 2, 23
  - impoverishment and decline 1, 2, 4, 14–15, 82
  - independence of Central Asia states 174, 232–3, 252–3, 261
  - industrial complexes in 191
  - Islamism and 261, 267, 294
  - landlocked geography 1, 2, 261, 285, 294–5
  - maps 24, *78–9*
  - oil and gas 172, 261, 294
  - Pakistan and 232–3
  - raw materials and 2, 23, 27, 76, 143, 261, 294, 297
  - Russia and 63, 76, 82, 115, 119, 124, 139, 142
  - Russian conquest of (1864–95) *136–7*
  - Russian Federation and 261, 296
  - Saudi Arabia and 294
  - security issues 297
  - Soviet Union and 2, 174, 188–93
  - stability in 294, 297
  - steppe empires 7, 29, 63, 88
  - US and 261, 266, 296
  - World War II and 190
- Chang-La Pass 322n160
- Chang-Lang Pass 145–6
- Chardju 154, 155, 185
- Charikar 133
- Chechnya 115, 234
- Chimgi-Tura (Tyumen) 7, 40
- China 1, 4, 60, 63, 66–7, 330n19
  - 1911 Revolution 201, 207
  - Afghanistan and 89, 250, 297
  - Central Asia and 2, 63, 82, 88, 124, 261, 296, 297–8
  - Communist Party 33, 212
  - Dzungars, extermination of 1, 87–8
  - Mongolia and 75, 84, 88, 89, 201, 202, 206, 260, 297
  - mujahideen and 219, 220
  - oil and gas 269–70, 288, 292, 297, 333n14
  - 'One Belt, One Road Initiative' 297, 298
  - Pakistan and 250
  - People's Republic of China 25, 33, 87, 211
  - Russian-Chinese competition 297
  - Sino/Russian border disputes 81–2, 88, 89, 201
  - Soviet-Chinese confrontation (1960–62) 206
  - Soviet-Chinese cooperation (1949–59) 206
  - Tibet and 72, 73, 87, 88, 167, 169, 171
  - trade 26, 27, 143, 297
  - trade boycott by 63, 68, 70, 120
  - Turkestan and 88
  - *see also* Xinjiang
- Chitral 146, 160, 162
- Chorasmia 5, 10, 111–12
  - Russia's First Advance on 23–4
  - *see also* Khiva
- Chumbi Valley 169
- Constantinople 41
  - Russia and 1, 44, 112, 123, 125, 172, 181
- Crimea:
  - as Ottoman protectorate 29, 41, 96, 182
  - Russian annexation of 139, 297, 319n53
  - Russian conquest of 44, 125
  - *see also* Crimean Tatar Khanate in 'Index: Concepts'

D

- Dagestan 9, 115
- the Dardanelles 44, 112, 125, 138, 171, 172, 181
- Darvaz 122, 140, 141, 146
- Daryaliq River 23
- Dasht-i Kipchak steppe 5, 8
- Deccan Plateau 59
- Delhi 20, 47, 48, 60, 106, 109, 197
  - Chahar Bagh garden *46*
  - Humayum Mausoleum *46*, 48
  - Jama Masjid/Masjid-i Jahan Numa, Delhi 57, *59*
- Diriyah 328n8
- Don River 43, 99
- Dushanbe 178, 180, 277, 279, 280, 282–3, 285–6
  - Nicholas Church *281*
- Dzungaria 25, 84, 87, 88, 90, 100

E

- East Asia 4, 23, 206, 234
- East China Sea 256
- East Turkestan 87, 88, 90, 116, 121, 144, 146
  - as Ottoman protectorate 145
  - *see also* Turkestan; Xinjiang
- Eastern Turkestan Republic 211
- Erdene Zuu Monastery *68*, 69, *70*, *71*, 72
- Elista 100
  - Burkhan Bakshin Altan Sume *95*, *97*, *98*
- Emba River 39, 96
- Eurasia 1, 4, 112, 298
- Europe 1, 294
  - arms and 57, 60
  - Ottoman Empire and 125
  - Uzbekistan and 280
  - Western Europe 4, 36, 115, 125, 233, 234, 237, 296, 298

F

- Faizabad *218*
- Farkhar *110*
- Fedchenko Glacier *x*
- Fergana Valley 119, 120, 122, 155, 276, 332n105
  - Islamic extremism 277, 278
- France 125

G

- Ghazna, 104, *107*, 110, 132, 233
- Geok Tepe 151, *153*, 154
- Georgia 125, 182
  - as German protectorate 183
  - 'Rose Revolution' 273
- Germany: Wehrmacht 100, 187, 190
- Gilgit 146, 160, 162
- Gobi Desert 63
- Grand Duchy of Lithuania 29, 33, 37
  - *see also* Poland-Lithuania
- Gulf Emirates 230, 233
- Gwadar port 297
- Gwalior *50*
- Gyantse 169, 181
  - Pelkhor Chöde Monastery *167*

H

- Hami oasis 25, 65, 86, 146, 208
- Hamun Lake 149
- Herat 9, 15, 47, 103
  - Gazar Gah *135*
  - Persian occupation of 135
  - Persian-Russian siege of 112, 124, 129–30, 319n53
  - Russia and 125–6, 129, 130, 141, 154
  - the Taliban and 233–4
  - walls of *195*
- Hindu Kush 1, 16, 52, 89, 146, 160, 162, 298
- Hindustan 11, 48
- Hissar 15, *118*, 122, 140
- Hunza 158, 159, 162, 166

I

- Ibn Sina Peak, Trans-Alai Range *121*
- Idel-Ural State 253
- Ili region 145, 146, 147, 207, 211
- India 1, 47, 60, 215, 230, 233
  - Pakistan and 219, 221, 240, 250
  - partitioning of 197
  - *see also* British India
- Indian Ocean 13, 125, 157, 197, 214, 219–20, 233, 261, 297
- Indus River 47, 110, 127, 134, 320n33
- Iran 2, 4, 215
  - Afghan rule in 104
  - Afghanistan and 215, 237, 248
  - oil and gas 2, 172, 290, 292
  - Saudi Arabia and 234
  - US and 2, 234, 290, 292, 296–7
- Iraq 243, 294
  - US invasion of 243, 248, 261
- Irkutsk 76
- Irtysh River 23, 39, 40, *77*, 92, 93, 96
- Isfahan 104
- Ishkoman Pass 146

J

- Japan 2, 168, 171, 176, 201
  - Chinese Manchuria, Japanese occupation of 203
  - Inner Mongolia and 203
  - Russian-Japanese border issues 206

K

- Kabul 16, 56, 106, 109, 110, 130
  - Bala Hissar *124*
  - British occupation of 113
  - cemetery in *231*
  - Deir al-Aman Palace *232*
  - mujahideen and 227, 228
  - patrician mansion *225*
  - Russia and 129, 130
  - the Taliban and 234, 240
  - uprising in 133
- Kajur Pass *131*
- Kalgan 74
- Kalmykia 100
  - Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Kalmykia 100, 253
- Kandahar 8, 18, 26, 30, 62, 66, 103, 113, 114, 142, 162, 330n85
  - Russia and 130
  - siege of 56, 153
- Karachaganak gas field *264*
- Karakalpak ASSO 180
- Karakol *94*
- Karakoram Mountains 145, 146
- Karakoram Pass *145*, 254
- Karakorum 63, 70, 72
- Karakum Canal 154, 193, 290
- Karo La pass *169*
- Kashagan oil field *264*
- Kashgar 16, 25, 121, 144, 146
  - Id Khah Friday Mosque *27*
  - Mao Zedong monument *255*
  - as Russian colony 147, 148
- Kashgaria 15, 28, 120, 121, 143, 146, 207
  - the 'Great Game' 166
- Kashmir 26
- Kazakh ASSR 179–80
- Kazakh steppes 24, 93, 95, 115, 120, 139, 180
- Kazakhstan 1, 2, 191, 267–70, *267*
  - 2007/08 financial crisis 269
  - Baikonur Cosmodrome 268
  - border disputes 268
  - collectivisation policies 189
  - economic diversification 270
  - independence of 252, 267, 268
  - KASSR (Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic) 177
  - Kazakh national flag *266*
  - Kazakhs in 267, 269
  - Kazakhstan-Xinjiang pipelines 2, 255, 269–70, 288, 333n175
  - nuclear weapons 267–8
  - oil and gas 261, 269–70
  - parade of presidential guard, Almaty *266*
  - raw materials 269, 294–5
  - Russia and 269, 297
  - Russian colonisation of 95
  - Slavs in 268–9
  - water management 272–3
- Kazan 29
  - Kremlin *28*, *33*, *254*
  - political integration into Russia 34
  - Russian conquest of 32, 33
  - as shipbuilding centre 36
- Kerch Strait 42, *43*, 44
- Khamba Dzong *166*, 168
- Kharg Island 130
- Khiva *22*, 23, *115*, 174–5
  - 1918 Uzbek/Turkmen conflict 176
  - Islam Khodja Madrasah *22*
  - Kalta Minar *111*
  - Russia and 140, 141–2
  - Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan II Madrasah *177*
  - slavery and 111
  - Soviet Chorasmia People's Soviet Republic 177, 179
  - Tash Hauli Palace, *113–14*
  - western city walls of *24*, *178*
  - *see also* Chorasmia
- Khobdo 83, 84, 145, 201
- Khorasan 8, 9, 12–13, 16
  - as Dar al-harb/'House of War' 15
- Khujand 15, 122, 179, 281–3
- Khyber Pass 134, 146, 150, 151, 153, 187
- Kipchak:
  - mausoleum for President Niyasov *288*

  - Turkmenbashi Rukhi Mosque *289*
- Kokand 138
  - General Government of Turkestan 122
  - Islamic Kokand's autonomy 176
  - Kokand/Bukhara geographic separation 122
  - Russian annexation of 141, 143
- Korea 168, 171, 214
- Kosovo 234, 294
- Koyo Mountain *161*
- Kumtor gold mine 270, 273
- Kunduz *110*, 240, *244*
- Kurram Valley 150, 151, 153
- Kushk 155, 182
- Kyakhta 167, 202
- Kyrgyz ASSR 180, 270
- Kyrgyzstan 25, 261, 270–6, 280
  - 2007/08 financial crisis 272
  - authoritarian regime 273
  - collectivisation policies 189
  - corruption 273, 274–5
  - economy 270, 272–3, 275
  - gold and 270, 275
  - IMF and 270
  - IMU in 273–4
  - independence of 252, 270
  - raw materials 261
  - remittances 272, 274
  - riots 275–6
  - Russian Federation and 273–4, 276
  - 'Tulip Revolution' 273
  - US and 274
  - water management 272–3, 275
- Kyzyl Art Pass *147*, *162*
- Kyzyl Orda 95, 120, 138, 180
- Kyzyl, Tuva *82*, *252*

L

- Ladakh 26, 143, 145, 159
  - Valley of the Shyok *145*
- Lahore 26, 48, 50, 52, 106, 109, 127
  - Badshahi Mosque *57*
- Lake Baikal 76
- Lake Balkhash 7, 25, 84, 92, 100, *137*, *265*
- Lake Yashil Kul 90
- Lake Zorkul (Wood's Lake) 141, 155, 164, 322n125
- Langar *120*
- Lhasa 168
  - Chinese occupation of 72, 73, 87
  - Dzungars in 87
  - Potala Palace, Lhasa *85*
  - Russia and 168
  - theocracy 26, 72–3, 83
  - *see also* Tibet
- Lop Nor nuclear test site 212

M

- Manchukuo 206
- Manchuria 171, 203
- Mangyshlak Peninsula 14, 90
- Marmara, Sea of 143, 148
- Masat Ata necropolis *90*
- Mashhad 15, 104, 107
  - Imam Reza sanctuary 8, 9, 15
- Masjed Suleyman 171
- Mazar-e Sharif 106, 227, 237, 239, *239*
  - Hazrat Ali Mosque *108–109*, *238*
- Mediterranean Sea 125
  - Russia and 138
- Mengjiang 206
- Merv 9, 111, 115, 158, 323n204
  - Bolsheviks' invasion of 185
  - Russian annexation of 154
- Mes Aynak copper mine 250, 297
- Mesopotamia 9
- Middle East 4, 172
- Moghulistan 15, 16, 25, 91
- Mongolia 1, 2, 63, 201–206, 294
  - China and 84, 88, 89, 201, 202, 206, 260, 297
  - Chinese invasion of 75
  - constitutional monarchy 202
  - democracy and 258
  - economic and political challenges 258–60
  - hoshun 201
  - independence of 1, 201, 202, 206, 258
  - Inner Mongolia 64, 69, 75, 76, 89, 201, 203, 315n37
  - Japan and 203
  - Outer Mongolia 69, 75, 89–90, 201–202, 315n37
  - power centres of 65
  - raw materials 260
  - Russia and 76, 201, 202
  - Soviet Union and 202–203, 206
  - yurt settlements *258*–9
- Moscow 29
  - 1480 'Great Stand on the Ugra River' 30, 37
  - Grand Duchy of Moscow 29–30, 31–4
  - St Basil's Cathedral 32, *32*
- Moskva River 29
- Mozdok Line 99
- Murghab River 146, 322n167
- Murghab town *162*, 163

N

- Nerchinsk 80, *80*, 81–2, 84, 316n65
- Nichi-kang-sang Mountain (Nojin Kangtsang) *169*
- Nurek dam 286
- Nuristan (Kafiristan) *164*, 165, *227*
- NWFP (North-West Frontier Province) 193, 196, 197

O

- Oka River 29, 30
- Okhotsk, port of 40
- Omsk 23, 93
- Orenburg:
  - Alash-Orda government 176, 177
  - Bolsheviks in 176
- Orenburg line 93, 99
- Oxus River 9, 13, 23, 24, 89, 146
  - *see also* Amu Dary
  - Afghanistan and 140–1
  - Russia and 118, 138, 141
  - source of 322n125
  - tributaries 146, 322n125
  - Wakhjir-Panj River and 322n125

P

- Pakistan 52, 102, 197
  - Afghan Civil War (1979–present) 214, 215, 219, 225, 230, 232
  - Afghanistan and 197, 198, 200
  - 'arc of instability' and 234
  - arms and 219, 240
  - Central Asia and 232–3
  - China and 250
  - Durand Line 164, 165, 195, 196, 197
  - India and 219, 221, 240, 250
  - Islamism and 198, 215, 235, 240, 249
  - mujahideen and 2, 219, 220, 221
  - as nuclear power 215, 216, 224, 237
  - oil and gas 233
  - al-Qaeda and 240, 249
  - the Taliban and 198, 233, 234, 237, 240, 243, 244, 249–50
  - terrorism and 242, 243, 250
  - US and 219, 221, 240
  - Wakhan corridor 164
- Pamir Mountains *x*, 26, *162*, 281, 283, 285, 311n33
  - Alichur Pamir 158
  - Anglo-Russian Agreement (1895) 164–5
  - China and 159–60
  - the 'Great Game' 158–60
  - as no-man's land 146, 147, 159
  - Pamirsky Post fortress 163
  - Russia and 160, 162, 163
  - Russia, China and Great Britain's convergence 164–5
  - Soma Tash 160, 162
- Pamir River 164
- Panj River 122, *155*, 160, 163
- Panjdeh oasis 125–6, 154, 165, 196
  - Panjdeh Crisis 141, 157–8
- Panjshir Valley 224, *226*, 237
- Pashtunistan 197, 198, 200, 215, 221, 240
- Persia 4
  - Anglo-Persian treaties 109
  - Anglo-Russian partition of (1907) *170*, 172
  - Britain and 126, 172, 181
  - British troops in East Persia 180–1
  - Herat, Persian siege of 112
  - Russia and 172
  - Russian-Persian border agreement (1881) 154
  - as Russian protectorate 112, 125, 126
  - Russian withdrawal from 180
  - World War I and 180–1
- Persian Gulf 4, 157, 168, 172, 219–20, 292, 297
- Peshawar 107, 110, 129, 130, 243
- Poland-Lithuania 30, 31, 37, 40, 41, 42, 96
  - *see also* Grand Duchy of Lithuania
- Portugal 36
- Povalo Shveikovski Peak (Kokrash Kol) 165
- Punjab 106, 319n32

Q

- Qarshi 10–11, 15, 20

R

- Raifa Monastery *34*, *35*
- Rogun dam 286
- Roshan 122, 141, 146, 163, 164, 324n257
- Russia 1, 19
  - 1917 tsarist regime fall 2, 325n10
  - advance into northern Central Asia and the Dzungar Empire *78–9*
  - advances to the East 76–81, 116
  - Afghanistan and 126–30, 135, 140–1, 150, 153, 154, 171
  - agriculture 43
  - British India and 1, 112–13, 126, 127, 129, 138–9, 160, 162
  - Buddhism 168
  - Bukhara and 118, 119, 122, 140, 141–2
  - Caspian Sea and 29, 32–3, 99, 126, 155
  - Caucasus and 112, 124, 125, 126, 138
  - Central Asia and 63, 76, 82, 115, 119, 124, 139, 142
  - Central Asia, conquest of (1864–95) *136–7*
  - Chorasmia (Khiva) Khanate 112–15, 118–19, 141
  - conquests in Asia 40
  - Constantinople and 1, 44, 112, 123, 125, 172, 181
  - cotton and 139, 142, 175
  - Crimea and 44, 125
  - Eurasia and 112
  - expansion of 1, 143, 158
  - First Advance on Chorasmia 23–4
  - indirect governance 27
  - industry and 139, 143, 147
  - Khiva and 140, 141–2
  - as land power 23, 36, 44, 124, 139
  - Mongolia and 76, 201, 202
  - Ottoman Empire and 125, 150
  - Oxus River and 118, 138, 141
  - protectionist economic policy 139
  - Provisional Executive Committee 175
  - raw materials 40, 76, 84, 147
  - Sino/Russian border disputes 81–2, 88, 89, 201
  - Tibet and 167–8
  - trade 33, 34, 40, 76–7, 112, 115, 119, 141, 142
  - Uzbek Khanates, conquest of 138–43
  - *see also* Herat; Russian Federation; Soviet Union
- Russian Federation 252–3, 298
  - Central Asia and 261, 296
  - Crimea, annexation of 139, 297, 319n53
  - Kazakhstan and 269, 297
  - Kyrgyzstan 273–4, 276
  - oil and gas 261, 269, 290, 297
  - pipeline monopoly 261, 269, 290, 292, 333n175
  - Russian-Chinese competition 297
  - Tajikistan and 285, 297
  - Uzbekistan and 280

S

- Samarkand 7, 8, 10, 12, 47, 140, 179, 180
  - destruction of 20
  - Registan Square *16–17*, *18*, 19, 22, *276*
  - Shir Dor Madrasah *16–17*, *18*, 19, 22
  - Tilla Kari Madrasah *16–17*, 19, *21*, 22
  - Ulugh Beg Madrasah *16–17*, 22
- Saraichik 39
- Sarakhs 154, 157–8, 292
- Sarikol Mountains 146
- Saudi Arabia 198, 294
  - Afghan Civil War (1979–present) 214, 215–16, 230, 250
  - 'arc of instability' and 234
  - Central Asia and 294
  - Iran and 234
  - ISI and 224
  - Islamism and 215–16, 235, 250, 294
  - mujahideen and 2, 215, 220, 221
  - the Taliban and 233, 235
  - terrorism and 235, 242
  - Wahhabism and 215–16, 220, 235, 250, 294, 328n8
- Shahjahanabad 57
- Shahr-i Sabz *18*, 19, 122, 140
- Shugnan 122, 141, 146, 163, 164
- Shymkent 120, 122, 138, 139

Siberia 23, 43, 76–7, 81, 138, 269
  deportation to 100, 188
  West Siberian Line 138
Sibir 40, 96
Sighnaq 7
Sikkim 167, 168
Sikri/Fatehpur Sikri 51–2, 56
  Ankh Micholi Treasury *51*
  Diwan-i-Khas *51*
Sistan 149, 172
South China Sea 256, 297
Soviet Union 1, 100, 197
  Afghan Civil War (1979–present) 219–20, 223, 225
  Afghanistan and 195–6, 197–8, 200, 214, 225, 227
  arms and 189–90
  Central Asia and 2, 174, 188–93
  China and 206
  collapse of 1, 2, 4, 33, 180, 225, 252, 293, 294
  collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture 189–90
  collectivisation policies 188–9, 203
  ecological disasters in 191, 193
  homo sovieticus 2
  interventions by 218
  Islam and 188, 190
  Mongolia and 202–203, 206
  mujahideen and 2, 219–20, 222–3, 227
  political entities of 179–80
  regional policy 195–6, 206
  Russification 188
  Soviet Centralism in Central Asia 188–93
  Soviet-Chinese confrontation (1960–62) 206
  Soviet-Chinese cooperation (1949–59) 206
  Soviet-Japanese confrontation 203, 206
  Soviet Union/US rivalry 1, 197
  World War I, withdrawal from 180
  World War II and *203*
  worst post-Soviet conflicts 252
  Xinjiang and 174, 207, 210–11
  see also Russia
Spain 36
Sublime Porte 42, 43, 44
Suez Canal 112, 125, 295, 298, 323n217
Sükhbaatar Square, Mongolia 200, 258
Sviyazhsk *30*, *31*, 32
Syr Darya River (Iaxartes) 7, 8, 20, 120, 193
Syria 257, 243, 298

T

Tajik ASSO 180
Tajikistan 2, 261, 281–8, 294–5
  challenges 288
  Civil War (1992–96) 281–5, *282*, 294
  Communist Party 281, 282
  corruption 281, 288
  economic crisis 285
  gas field at 288
  IMU and 274, 279
  independence 282
  Islamism and 281, 282–3, 288
  poverty 281
  power centres 281
  remittances 285
  Russian Federation and 285, 297
  the Taliban and 284
  Uzbekistan and 285–6, 288
  water management 272–3, 286
Takhar, northern Afghanistan *216*
Taklamakan Desert 256
Tamgaly Tas *83*
Tarim Basin 25, 90, 144, 207, 209
Tarim River 256
Tashkent 8, 12, 87, 92, *279*
  1917 power struggle 175–6
  1966 earthquake 276
  annexation by Russia 122
  Bolshevik Revolution 176
  General Government of Turkestan 122
  Kukeldash Madrasah *12*, *279*
  Russia and 138, 139, 140
  Sovnarkom 176
  Uzbeks and 25
Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic 253
Tatarstan, Republic of 253
Tengiz oil field 269
Tian Shan mountain range 25, 210
Tibet 27, 73, 75, 84
  1724 division of the Tibet region 87
  British India and 76, 167
  British invasion of 168–9, *169*, 171
  as British protectorate 169
  China and 72, 73, 87, 88, 167, 169, 171
  the 'Great Game' and 125, 158, 166
  as Mongolian protectorate 73
  Red Guards in 212
  Russia and 167–8
  Tibetan Buddhism 71, 75–6, 83–4
  see also Lhasa
TIRET (Turkic-Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan) 210
Tobol River 40, 83
Tobolsk 40, 76
  Tobolsk Kremlin *77*
Toktogul Dam *272*, 286
Tomsk 23, 40, 76
Tora Bora mountains 222, 240, 257
Trans-Alai Mountains *147*
Transbaikalia (Dauria) 80, *80*, 81, 202
Transcaspia 176, 177, 183, 325n27
  Anglo-Russian clash in 182
  British Troops in 182–3, 185
  railway war 185
Transcaucasian Commissariat 182
Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic 182
Transoxania 7
  isolation 14
  Mawarannahr 4, 20, 96, 120
  political and economic crisis in 20
  Timurid Transoxania 4
Tsaritsyn line 93, 99–100
Tsushima Straits 171
Tura River 40
Turfan 25, 84, 90, 146, 209
  Emin Minaret and Friday Mosque *89*
Turkestan 27, 87
  ASSR Turkestan 176, 177, 179
  Autonomy of Turkestan 176
  China and 88
  Emirate of Turkestan 144–8
  General Government of Turkestan 122
  see also East Turkestan
Turkestan Turkic Independent Islamic Republic 178
Turkey 119, 180, 184, 185
  Islamisation and 267
Turkistan 8, 87, 92, 122, 139
  city wall *91*
Turkmen SSR 179
Turkmenistan 1, 2, 289–92
  1948 earthquake 289
  authoritarian regime 289–90
  corruption 289
  Darwaza gas crater *290–1*
  economy 290, 292
  independence of 289
  natural gas pipeline/railway line to Iran 2, 292
  oil and gas 233, 261, 290, 292
  raw materials 297
  Russia and 151, 292, 333n180
Tuva 63, 87, 201, 206, 207
Tuva, Republic of 253
Tyumen (Chimgi-Tura) 7, 40, 76

U

UAE (United Arab Emirates) 233, 235
Ufa 40, 76
Ukraine 43, 44, 96, 252
  'Orange Revolution' 273
  Russia and 139, 297
Ural River 29, 92
the Urals 23, 29, 36, 40, 80, 100, 188
Urga (Ulaan Baatar) 201–202, *258–9*, *260*, 327n158
  Gandantegchinlen Monastery *257*
  Sükhbaatar Square *200*
  Zaisan Monument *203*
Urgench 23
Uriankhai (Tuva) 201, 206
Ürümqi 144, 146, 195, 206, 207–11, 256–7
US (United States) 197, 198–9
  09/11 terrorist attacks 215, 237, 238, 261, 266, 280, 285
  Afghan Civil War (1979–present) 214–15, 216, 219, 220, 225, 229, 234
  Afghanistan and 237–40, 243, 296, 333n16
  American Civil War (1861–65) 139
  arms and 239
  Central Asia and 261, 266, 296
  Iran and 2, 234, 290, 292, 296–7
  Iraq, invasion of 243, 248, 261
  Islamism and 215, 224, 237–40
  Kyrgyzstan 274
  mujahideen and 2, 215, 219–20, 221, 224, 227
  oil and gas 233, 290, 292
  'Operation Enduring Freedom–Afghanistan' 238
  Pakistan and 219, 221, 240
  Soviet Union/US rivalry 1, 197
  the Taliban 234, 237–40, 248
  Uzbekistan and 274, 280
  World War I and 185
Uyghur Autonomous Region 212, 254–7
Uyghuristan 255
  'Republic of Uyghuristan' 210
Uzbek SSR 179
Uzbekistan 8, 191, 276–80
  1966 earthquake 276
  2005 Andijan riots 280, 294
  challenges 280
  collectivisation policies 189
  corruption 276–7
  cotton 277, 278, *278*
  economy 277–8, 280
  Europe and 280
  independence of 277
  IMU 279
  Islamic extremism 277, 278–9
  raw materials 261, 269
  remittances 278
  Russian Federation and 280
  Soviet Union collapse 1, 2, 180
  Tajikistan and 285–6, 288
  Timurid Transoxania 4
  US and 274, 280
  water management 272–3, 286
Uzboy River 23, 24, 112, 154

V

Vaksh River 286
Vanj River *155*
Varzob River *283*
Verny 95, 115, 122, 138, 145 *see also* Almaty
Volga River 14, 29, 39
  Russia and 29, 32–3
  settlement of German immigrants along 99
Vorukh 274

W

Wakhan 140, 141, 146, 163, 164
  Wakhan corridor 160, *163*, 164
Wakhan Mountains 164
Wakhan Valley, Afghanistan *159*
White Sea 14

X

Xinjiang 25, 88, 90, 207–12
  centres of power 207
  China and 146, 148, 174, 207, 211–12
  collectivisation policies 211
  'Develop the West' programme 256
  ecological crisis at 256
  famine 212
  Han Chinese and 148, 212, 254
  importance of 255–6
  independence 207, 211, 255
  Islamic extremism 254–5, 256–7
  isolation 207, 328n182
  Karakoram Highway 254
  Kazakhstan-Xinjiang pipelines 2, 255, 269–70, 288, 333n175
  mujahideen and 254–5
  Muslim revolts 116, 144
  oil and gas reserves 255–6
  population 254
  raw materials 255
  riots 256–7
  Russia and 147, 148
  secession from China 255, 256, 257
  sinicisation of 208, 210–11
  as Soviet protectorate 210
  Soviet Union and 174, 207, 210–11
  taxes 208, 210
  terrorism 256, 257
  Tin Mine Agreement (1940) 210
  Uyghurs *207*, 209, 211–12, *211*, 254, 256–7
  Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region 254–7
  see also East Turkestan

Y

Yakutsk 76
Yarkand 16, 26, 144, *148*
  Altyn (Golden) Mosque *256*
Yarkhun valley *160–1*
Yatung (Yadong) 168
Yellow Sea 1, 256
Yenisei River 25

Z

Zeravshan River 140
Zulfikar Pass 157, 158, 323n228

Praise for *The History of Central Asia*

The Age of the Steppe Warriors, Volume 1

‘This is a most impressive book. Dr Baumer has a wide-ranging knowledge of his subject, an extensive on-the-ground acquaintance with Central Asia itself, and an ability to convey that knowledge in a most interesting and comprehensible way. He has a gift for the striking observation. For example, he remarks on a curious parallel between a Central Asian story about a hero’s sword having to be thrown into the sea and the rather similar tale about Excalibur, commenting that this is perhaps not merely coincidence: might it have something to do with the Sarmatian soldiers sent by Marcus Aurelius to guard Hadrian’s Wall? Another excellent idea is the periodic insertion of “excursuses”, on such topics as Roy Chapman Andrews the “dinosaur hunter”, the Siberian collections of Peter the Great, and the Amazons. No history of Central Asia, or indeed of anywhere else, can ultimately claim to be “complete”. But this one is certainly very comprehensive indeed, far more so than any other recent work of which I am aware. The publication of this volume, and of its successors too, seems to me to be a very valuable enterprise indeed.’
—**David Morgan**, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and author of *The Mongols*.

‘*The Age of the Steppe Warriors* is as magnificent as it is magisterial. From landscapes and ancient stelae to artefacts of gold, bronze, wood and even textile, the book is filled with images that are in turn fascinating, mysterious and dazzling. For the most part, the photos are of places that are inaccessible to most of us or of artefacts from museums in Russia and Central Asia that few readers will have ever visited… *The Age of the Steppe Warriors* is a beautiful, evocative and thought-provoking book.’
—***Asian Review of Books***

‘In an age of specialists, Christoph Baumer is a rare creature: a generalist. Explorer, archaeologist, adventurer, enthusiast, historian, photographer – no one could be better qualified to tackle a subject so vast in time and space. He must be a book lover, for this, the first of four volumes on the subject, is a gorgeous creation, with creamy paper, crisp design and perfect colour pictures… A cultural guidebook on a grand scale… [it] is stamped with his personality… The start of a truly monumental undertaking.’
—***Literary review***

The Age of the Silk Roads, Volume 2

‘Christoph Baumer devotes the second book of his four-volume history of Central Asia to the Silk Roads, those extraordinarily significant routes that linked the Eurasian civilizations. He provides an excellent description, focusing on their importance in cultural diffusion. In this well-written survey, Baumer offers the reader a clear portrait of the array of societies that flourished along the Silk Roads. Just as valuable, he emphasizes the means by which religions, methods of governance, and technological innovations spread across Eurasia. He enlivens the text with colorful depictions of rulers, commanders, and voyagers who played notable roles in Silk Roads history. Well-versed in the secondary literature, Baumer provides fine coverage of the Silk Roads’ numerous influences on civilizations.’
—**Morris Rossabi**, Distinguished Professor of History, The City University of New York, and Adjunct Professor of Inner Asian History, Columbia University

‘It is difficult to fault this remarkable volume. The publishers have created a book of quality with stunning illustrations and lucid maps. It will, I believe, become a standard reference for all who study the complex history of Central Asia and the Silk Road. This is the second volume of Christoph Baumer’s projected four-book series on Central Asia and shows its author to be an extraordinary person, whose skills encompass those of an explorer, a historian, an archaeologist and a photographer. Moreover, in each of these exacting disciplines he is no amateur. He displays the rare qualities of both an academic and a man of action. His sparkling prose ensures that the armchair traveller will not nod off. Because of the author’s personal engagement this book exudes authority.’
—***Spectator***

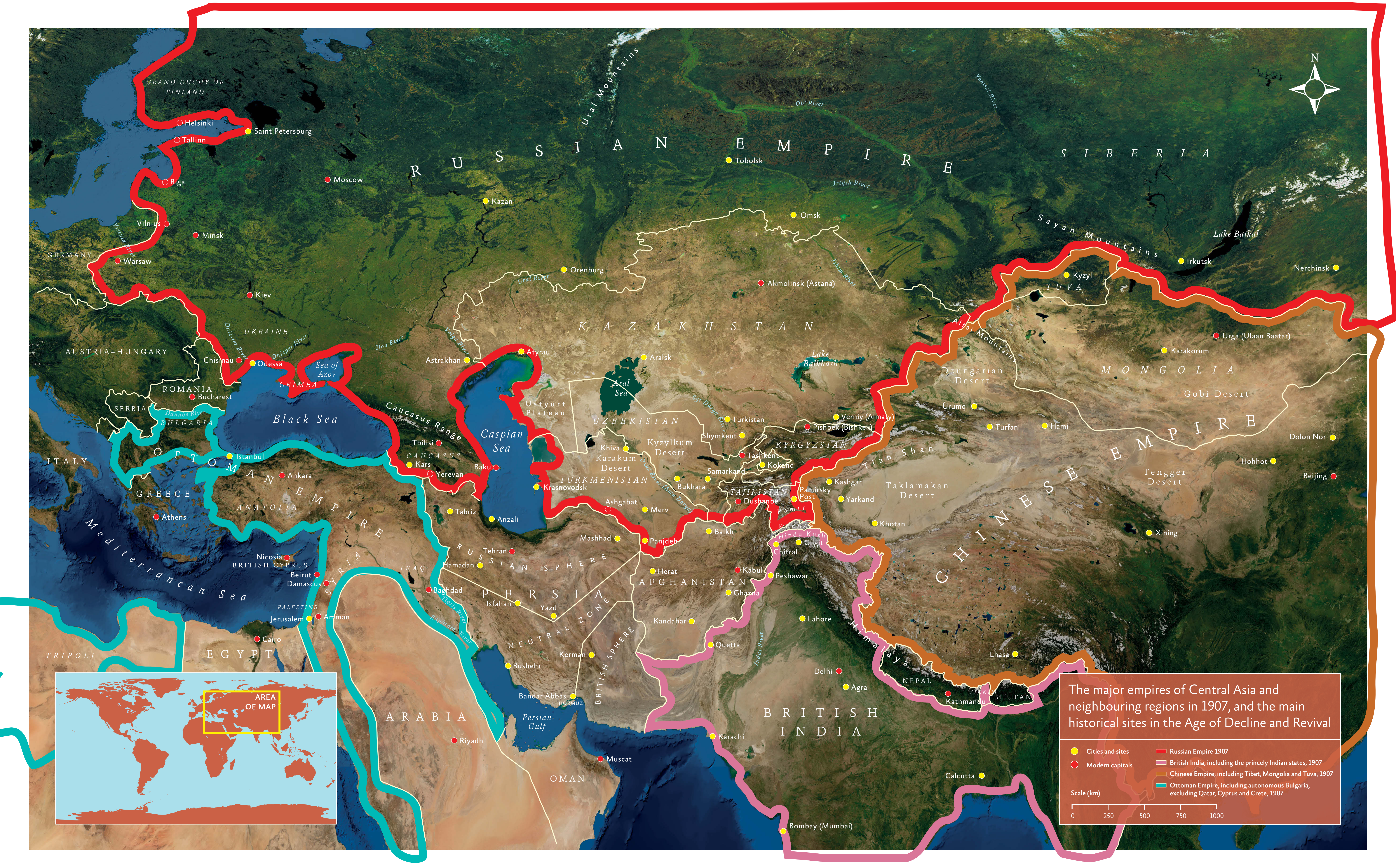
The Age of Islam and the Mongols, Volume 3

‘This lavishly illustrated book provides a most welcome overview of an often overlooked region during a still more neglected period of history. Addressing the rise of the independent Iranian states that had begun to throw off the Arab stranglehold which descended upon the whole region in the seventh century, Christoph Baumer charts the re-emergence of the Persians and establishment of those Iranian dynastic regimes that succeeded in distancing themselves from the Abbasid caliphs and expanded to the east. This is a hugely ambitious project but Baumer has succeeded in presenting a magnificent vision of medieval Turkestan, combining concise and comprehensive narrative with gorgeous, often startling but always captivating and vivid images. This a remarkable book which maintains the exemplary standards which have earned the author his fully deserved reputation.’
—**George Lane**, Senior Teaching Fellow in the History of the Middle East and Central Asia, SOAS, University of London, author of *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran* (2003), *Genghis Khan and Mongol Rule* (2004), *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire* (2009) and *A Short History of the Mongols* (I.B.Tauris, 2018)

‘Central Asia history can be confusing for the non-specialist. Into this confusion steps Christoph Baumer with a masterly third volume in his four-volume series on Central Asia, covering the age of Islam and the Mongols. With his consummate professionalism, Baumer cuts through the historical smokescreen and gives a detailed and authoritative account appropriate for both scholar and layman alike. Many have written about Genghis Khan and his successors’ national and international military campaigns. But seldom has the prose been lucid and the illustrations so illuminating. In the Great Khan’s words, “All the face of the earth from the going up of the sun to its going down [has been] given [to me by God].” Under Baumer’s expert guidance and firm hand, historians, religious scholars and the non-specialist can follow Genghis Khan’s Islamic predecessors and the Mongols along the surface of the earth.’
—***Spectator***

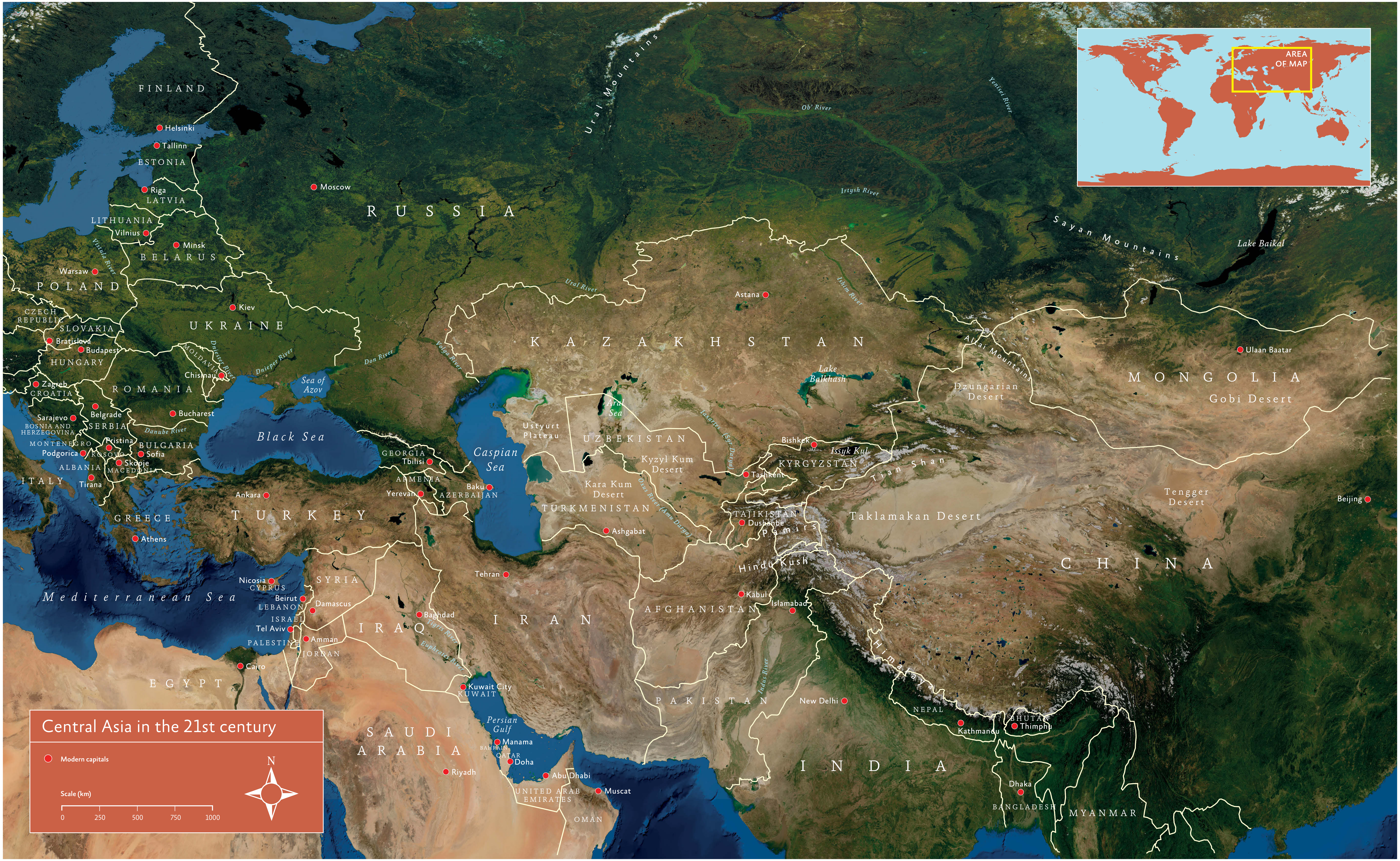
The Age of Decline and Revival, Volume 4

‘Christoph Baumer’s highly anticipated *The Age of Decline and Revival* completes his four-volume *The History of Central Asia* and takes the story of this important region up to the present-day. The text is beautifully produced and illustrated, featuring excellent maps, and is informed by a high level of scholarship that comprehensively and uniquely integrates history and archaeology with artistic, cultural and economic developments. Another remarkable aspect of Baumer’s work is its inclusiveness, drawing on an extensive range of materials from the Caucasus to China. The series is a must-have for anyone interested in this vast area lying at the very centre of world history.’
—**John E Woods**, Professor of Iranian and Central Asian History, University of Chicago



The major empires of Central Asia and neighbouring regions in 1907, and the main historical sites in the Age of Decline and Revival

N
GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND
Helsinki
Tallinn
Saint Petersburg
Riga
Moscow
Vilnius
Minsk
GERMANY
Vistula River
Warsaw
Kiev
UKRAINE
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Dniester River
Dnieper River
Chisinau
Odessa
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
ROMANIA
Bucharest
SERBIA
Danube River
BULGARIA
Black Sea
ITALY
Istanbul
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Ankara
GREECE
ANATOLIA
Athens
Mediterranean Sea
Nicosia
BRITISH CYPRUS
Beirut
Damascus
SYRIA
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Amman
Cairo
TRIPOLI
EGYPT
IRAQ
Baghdad
Tigris River
Euphrates River
ARABIA
Riyadh
OMAN
Muscat
Persian Gulf
HORMUZ
Bandar Abbas
Bushehr
Kerman
BRITISH SPHERE
NEUTRAL ZONE
PERSIA
Isfahan
Yazd
Hamadan
Tehran
RUSSIAN SPHERE
Tabriz
Anzali
Tbilisi
CAUCASUS
Kars
Yerevan
Baku
Caucasus Range
Caspian Sea
Astrakhan
Don River
Volga River
Atyrau
Ural River
Orenburg
Kazan
Ural Mountains
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Ob' River
Tobolsk
Irtysh River
Omsk
Yenisei River
SIBERIA
Sayan Mountains
Lake Baikal
Irkutsk
Nerchinsk
Kyzyl
TUVA
Urga (Ulaan Baatar)
Karakorum
MONGOLIA
Gobi Desert
Dolon Nor
Hohhot
Beijing
Tengger Desert
Xining
CHINESE EMPIRE
Akmolinsk (Astana)
Ilim River
KAZAKHSTAN
Aralsk
Aral Sea
Ustyurt Plateau
UZBEKISTAN
Syr Darya River
Turkistan
Shymkent
Kyzylkum Desert
Khiva
Karakum Desert
TURKMENISTAN
Krasnovodsk
Oxus River (Amu Darya)
Bukhara
Samarkand
Tashkent
Kokand
KYRGYZSTAN
Pishpek (Bishkek)
Verniy (Almaty)
Lake Balkhash
TAJIKISTAN
Dushanbe
Pamirsky Post
Pamir
WAKHAN
Ashgabat
Merv
Mashhad
Panjdeh
Balkh
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Ghazna
Kandahar
Quetta
Hindu Kush
Chitral
Gilgit
Peshawar
Lahore
Indus River
Karachi
Delhi
Agra
BRITISH INDIA
Bombay (Mumbai)
Calcutta
Himalaya
NEPAL
Kathmandu
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
Lhasa
Kashgar
Yarkand
Khotan
Tian Shan
Taklamakan Desert
Altai Mountains
Dzungarian Desert
Urumqi
Turfan
Hami
AREA OF MAP
Cities and sites
Modern capitals
Russian Empire 1907
British India, including the princely Indian states, 1907
Chinese Empire, including Tibet, Mongolia and Tuva, 1907
Ottoman Empire, including autonomous Bulgaria, excluding Qatar, Cyprus and Crete, 1907
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000



Central Asia in the 21st century

AREA OF MAP
● Modern capitals
Scale (km)
0
250
500
750
1000
N
FINLAND
Helsinki
Tallinn
ESTONIA
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
Minsk
BELARUS
Warsaw
Vistula River
POLAND
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
Bratislava
Budapest
HUNGARY
Zagreb
CROATIA
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Sarajevo
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Belgrade
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
Podgorica
Pristina
KOSOVO
Sofia
BULGARIA
Skopje
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
Tirana
ITALY
GREECE
Athens
Moscow
RUSSIA
Kiev
UKRAINE
MOLDAVIA
Chisinau
Dniester River
Dnieper River
Don River
Volga River
Danube River
Sea of Azov
Black Sea
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
ARMENIA
Yerevan
Baku
AZERBAIJAN
Ankara
TURKEY
Caspian Sea
Ural Mountains
Ural River
Ob' River
Irtysh River
Yenisei River
Ishim River
Sayan Mountains
Lake Baikal
Astana
KAZAKHSTAN
Ustyurt Plateau
Aral Sea
UZBEKISTAN
Kyzyl Kum Desert
Kara Kum Desert
TURKMENISTAN
Ashgabat
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
Oxus River (Amu Darya)
Tashkent
Bishkek
Issyk Kul
KYRGYZSTAN
Lake Balkhash
Tian Shan
TAJIKISTAN
Dushanbe
Pamirs
Hindu Kush
Altai Mountains
Dzungarian Desert
Ulaan Baatar
MONGOLIA
Gobi Desert
Tengger Desert
Beijing
Taklamakan Desert
CHINA
Nicosia
CYPRUS
Mediterranean Sea
SYRIA
Beirut
LEBANON
Damascus
ISRAEL
Tel Aviv
PALESTINE
Amman
JORDAN
Cairo
EGYPT
Baghdad
IRAQ
Tigris River
Euphrates River
Tehran
IRAN
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Islamabad
Indus River
PAKISTAN
Kuwait City
KUWAIT
Persian Gulf
SAUDI ARABIA
Riyadh
BAHRAIN
Manama
QATAR
Doha
Abu Dhabi
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
Muscat
OMAN
New Delhi
INDIA
Himalaya
NEPAL
Kathmandu
BHUTAN
Thimphu
Dhaka
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR